GUIDE TO THE SP9 CARAJA FILE

The Caraja are an ethnic group located along Brazil's Araguaya River, with their territory centering on the Island of Bananal (8°-17° S. Lat. x 48°-52° W. Long.). This ethnic group is composed of three major "tribal" divisions - the Caraja proper, the Javahe, and the nearly extinct Shambioa (1: Lipkind p. 179). The Caraja proper were further subdivided into two territorial groups or "hordes" distributed north and south of Bananal (cf. 5: Krause). The "tribal" divisions manifest only slight dialectical differences, but somewhat greater variations in degree of acculturation and perhaps in certain aspects of social organization. Greenberg classifies their language as a separate stock within the Ge-Pano-Carib phylum. Fish is the most important source of food, and there is a somewhat distinctive, although still inadequately analyzed system of double descent, with matrilineages being the crucial descent groups.

The file consists of nine sources, including three translations from the German and one from the French. Six of these sources are by professional anthropologists. The professional literature divides into two broad groupings from the standpoint of time periods. The first period, which includes the most substantial accounts, centers around the turn of the century. These accounts are mostly the work of German ethnologists, and reflect their particular orientation in that the Caraja data were gathered in the course of ethnographic surveys of extended geographic areas, and emphasis is placed upon the description of material culture items collected in the field for museum purposes. 4: Ehrenreich (1891) seems to be the earliest important study, while 5: Krause (1911) remains the major general ethnography, as well as presenting a fairly thorough

review of the historical literature. Both sources include extensive data on population and settlement patterns and the subsistence economy. 5: Krause is supplemented by 2:Krause, which contains a detailed, illustrated description of Caraja art in both its plastic and decorative forms. A good, complementary work is 6: Cook (1909), a missionary account which, although superficial in many respects and drawing in part from 1: Ehrenreich, incorporates many fresh and useful observations.

No other work of basic significance appears until the publication of 1:Lipkind in 1948, which marks the beginning of our second period. This is a comprehensive cultural summary based largely upon Lipkind's own field work in 1937. It is supplemented by 7: Lipkind, a brief description of Caraja cosmography. The next and most recent key source is 3: Dietschy, based upon field work in 1954-55, but only published in 1963. Dietschy presents a Caraja cultural profile in terms of the categories used by Murdock in his "World Ethnographic Sample" (1957), emphasizing particularly the kinship system since this is the aspect most poorly covered in the previous literature. This is a valuable but much too brief article.

The file is completed by two very short papers, 8: and 9: Gow-Smith (both published in 1925), dealing respectively with a dance ceremony and a few items of material culture.

Because the Caraja are one of the more accessible and colorful Indian groups - with their lip and ear plugs, many photographers and movie-makers have used them as a background, and there exist numerous popular travel accounts. These works are generally very superficial and misleading and have not, therefore, been included in the file.

As it now stands, the Caraja file covers fairly well the general range of cultural topics, but quantitatively it is heavily weighted in the direction of material culture - and even here the emphasis is upon ornamentation and art products rather than basic technology. There are a number of major weaknesses, the most serious of which are: (1) poor coverage of social organization, and (2) an almost complete lack of concrete, behavioral data. In the case of our early major authorities, Ehrenreich and Krause, this is probably due both to their orientation and to the relatively short period of time they spent in the field - Ehrenreich seems to have spent only about two months among the Caraja in 1888, and Krause about five months in 1908. Perhaps this situation will be corrected by further publications from our modern authorities, Lipkind and Dietschy, since as yet they have published only minor portions of their field data.

The relevant source pages have been subheaded for Javahe or Shambioa where the data refer specifically to these divisions. The huts where the masked dance costumes are made and stored have been marked for category 346, and the masked dance ceremonies for category 535, since the sacred or religious character of these phenomena is generally not specified in the sources. Also, the clay figurines or "dolls" have been marked for category 532, because it is usually not clear whether they are used as children's toys.]

Processed in 1965-1966.

1:Lipkind E-5 (1937) 1948 SP9 Caraja SP9

THE CARAJÁ[1]

By William Lipkind

TRIBAL DIVISIONS AND TERRITORY

The *Carajá* are a river people who since pre-Columbian times have held as the central portion of their territory the inland Island of Bananal, which is formed by the great fork of the Araguaya River (lat. 8°–17° S., long. 48°–52° W., map 1, *No. 1*; see Volume 1, map 7). They must be regarded as an independent linguistic family for the present; their language displays no convincing similarities to any other recorded South American language.

The term *"Carajá"* is used to designate the entire people as well as the largest of the three tribal divisions; the other two are the *Shambioá* and the *Javahé*. The *Carajá* proper have 20 villages on the western or main branch of the Araguaya River, widely spread from Leopoldina south of Bananal clear down to the end of the Island. The *Shambioá*, now nearly extinct, have only two villages left, a little way below Conceicão. The eight villages of the *Javahé* lie on the eastern or minor branch of the Araguaya River and on the small streams within Bananal. The general location and the relative sizes of the three groups have remained the same since the earliest times.

The native names give some notion of intergroup attitudes. All three groups regard themselves as a single people and use a name meaning "we" to distinguish themselves from other tribes. The *Carajá* proper are called the "great people" by the other two groups. The *Shambioá* are the "companion people." The *Javahé* are called by a name which is used generally to mean "Indian" and bears the pejorative connotation "backwoodsman" or "hick." There is a possible analysis which makes it the "old people" but, even if this etymology is correct, the word no longer has that meaning.

Dialectical differences are slight and other differences not very great, with the *Shambioá* occupying a middle position culturally between the other two groups. This account is based on field work with the *Carajá* proper and refers to the other groups only where they exhibit important differences.

[1] The present description of the *Carajá* is based on the author's field work during 1937, done under the auspices of the Department of Anthropology, Columbia University.

/1/ Preface

114 In the following I am publishing the material in the field of art which I collected on my expedition to the interior of Brazil. In 1908 I undertook an ethnographic research trip for the [101] [122] Leipzig Museum für Völkerkunde to the Araguaia River (Goiás Province), in the course of which I became acquainted with the Karajá /Caraja/, Šavajé /Javahe/, and Kayapó /Cayapo/ (1)

[104] [113]

1. For the transcription of the Indian names I use the sound-notation given by Meinhof in: Neumayer, Anleitung zu wissenschaftlichen Beobachtungen auf Reisen /Introduction to Scientific Observations on Journeys/, 3rd edition, p. 484.

Indian tribes settled there. Whereas the visit among the latter two tribes was limited to only a few days, I was in constant contact with the Karajá for a full five months, so that I was able to penetrate more deeply into the culture and thought world of this people.

126 In addition to the easily acquired ethnographic objects and most important ethnographic facts, I was also able, by means of an ever deeper intimacy with these Indians, to obtain all kinds of objects and information otherwise difficult to procure. In this way I was able, above all, to collect considerable material which permits us insight into the artistic creativity of the Indians, and thus into an important area of their spiritual life. And, moreover, this is not only drawings, which are already available from several Indian tribes, but above all a great many plastic representations (plaited, wax, and clay figures), which arouse our interest all the more since we possess only a few of these from South America. Again, among the drawings, in addition to figure representations, /2/ the manifold plaiting patterns are particularly important, since they will provide a valuable contribution on the question of ornamentation (1).

[101] 1. In the following, in addition to drawings

/2 cont./

126 1. (cont.)
and representations by the Karajá, I
[101] have also dealt with some by the Šavajé,
a tribe which in language and culture is
very closely related to the Karajá.

121 In view of the interest which ethnologists, psychologists, art historians, and cultivated circles in general display today with respect to primitive art, I felt that the exceedingly abundant material collected by me should be published separately, apart from the other results of my expedition, among which it would have fallen too far into the background.

121 I am reproducing the material as such, arranged only ac-
128 cording to certain points of view, which can be seen from the "Table of Contents," and provided with the most important explanations about the maker, the method of production, the purpose and significance of the object or figure. I hope that the individual things are defined so precisely by this means that no doubts and misinterpretations can arise, so that, in other words, anyone, whatever his position on particular theories about the development of primitive art, can work with this material on a secure basis. The article is meant simply as a straightforward publication of material. I believe that research is better served in this way than if I myself, ay an analysis of my results, had tried to assume a position on the great controversies about the development of primitive art which are being argued at the present time.

128 To make the material still more useful I am giving in the appendix /untranslated; see the foreign text, pp. 30-31/ a general view of the share which the two related tribes, the Karajá and Šavajé, have in it, and then also a general view of the distribution of the sketchbook drawings among the individual artists, arranged according to their ages, and finally a systematic listing of all the objects represented.

126 The objects discussed are all to be found in the Museum für
128 Völkerkunde at Leipzig. On occasion reference has been made to the objects acquired by Ehrenreich in 1888 on the Araguaia and

/9 cont./

*532 The individual types cannot be recognized as running parallel in any way. The different kinds of representation of the arms, breasts, and hair are associated with all three kinds of leg representation, so that nothing regular can be found. If that which is truest to nature be taken as a yardstick, then the most perfect male representations are Fig. 18 /see p.48 / and Fig. 28 /see p. 49/, the most perfect female ones Fig. 24 /see p. 48 / and Fig. 34 /see p. 49/.

Apart from these dolls there are still other clay dolls, which differ principally from the form discussed in the formation of the head. It seems that alien Indian tribes are represented by these forms, whereas the first form reproduces the Karajá themselves.

1. The dolls have no face; a wax cap constitutes the upper end of the pointed torso (Figs. 43-46 /see p.49 /).

[101] 2. Kläläu, i.e., Kayapó. Instead of the head, a clay plate projecting forward, which has colored grooving on the upper surface, forms the end of the trunk; under it are two clay buttons which represent the breasts. Only female figures are represented (Fig. 47 /see p. 49 /). They have legs of type 1, the stomach plate, concave navel, and apron.

[101] 3. Dōbäi, i.e., a tribe on the Rio das Mortes. The body ends at the top in a round cylinder which on its flat upper surface bears colored lines arranged radially (Figs. 48, 49 /see p. 50 /). /10/ The last figure has arm appendages on both sides; its upper end is somewhat thickened and hollowed out from above.

4. Dōbäi, in a different representation (Fig. 50 /see p. 50 /). Here the cylinder ends flat and narrow at the top. Under the upper edge is a hole which is surrounded by a circle of several colored holes.

5. Dōbäi (Figs. 51 and 52 /see p.50 /). At the top the cylinder bears a narrow plate with colored horizontal stripes, over which is a hair roll. Fig. 52 represents the male figure for Fig. 51; it has the upper hole under the plate, which is lacking in Fig. 51.

Perhaps Fig. 53 /see p. 50 / also represents a doll of this kind. The plate is undecorated, and the upper hole is lacking;

121 /43/ Three years ago G. P. Murdock published his "World Ethnographic Sample." It goes without saying that an endeavor of this scope can only be incomplete. Now, as far as the Carajá, one of the nine tribes classified under the heading "Eastern Brazil," are concerned, the set of 30 characteristic features of this society in Murdock's attempt displays significant gaps and serious inaccuracies. It is my intention, here and now, to remedy this state of affairs as well as possible, in order to contribute from my side, while concerning myself with only one case among 565, to a fairer calculation of the human probabilities.

114 [122] [101] [127] To accomplish this task I shall use as a base the data that I was able to collect personally, in the company of my wife and aided by the National Swiss Foundation for Scientific Research, during the rainy season of 1954 to 1955 among the Carajá of the south, as well as, naturally, on the information from our predecessors in the field, Ehrenreich, Krause, Baldus, and Lipkind above all. I am using this opportunity to express the great regret that I feel every time I think of the fact that the rich materials collected by Lipkind have never been published in a satisfactory fashion. The Carajá, although they have been known for a long time, are basically misunderstood. To be fair, it must be added that they themselves do not make the task of investigators easy, and it goes without saying that under these circumstances my own contribution must remain fairly fragmentary in view of the too short period of our stay among them.

121 On the other hand I am convinced that the presentation of facts alone — allegedly pure facts — does not help us to become better acquainted with the human condition, and the second aim of my article is to present to you a first attempt at interpretation of the data concerning the Carajá kinship system, which, not without reason, was left blank in Murdock's attempt.

128 To facilitate the comparison I shall follow the framework of the columns of the "World Ethnographic Sample." The 433 [34] 462 [231] Carajá cultivate primarily tropical tubercles, although maize is not lacking; true domesticated animals are absent.

SP9 Caraja SP9
Cariban Indians SR7
Cayapo SP11
Amanaye SQ2
Arara SQ4

CI 121 174 /3 cont./ were such a "missing link"; from even a short word-list this could be assumed with complete certainty in the case of a tribe on the left bank of the lower Tocantins, the Apiaka /Apiaca (Arara)/, which has only recently become well-known. When our expedition disbanded in May, 1888, after finishing its work, I decided to contribute to the solution of this question by a trip down the Araguaia and Tocantins to Pará.

C 174 101 After an overland journey of two months, I arrived in Goyaz in July, 1888, boarded ship on August 21 at Leopoldina on the Araguaia, and reached Pará on November 2 of the same year.

C 101 Of the large Indian population of the region traversed, only the Karaya could be investigated in detail. They proved to be a nation sui generis, which is related to no other, in particular not with the Karaib, still defies any classification, and is unique in language, customs, and physical form, isolated in the midst of the large well-characterized Gês /Ge/ nations surrounding them.

C 126 The collection of ethnological specimens acquired here by me can, despite a number of gaps, be designated as the first which gives a fairly true picture of the culture and living conditions of this important people, almost unknown up to now.

CO 126 Also the most important Gê tribe, that of the Kayapo /Cayapo/, is represented in it by certain objects, which as the first to reach Europe from the free, northern hordes of this great people, command special interest.

Am 101 126 The unpretentious objects of the Anambê, a pure Tupi people on the lower Tocantins, among whom the Brazilian Couto Magelhães wrote down the Tupi legends printed in the work O selvagem /The savage/, are important only because they are the the first and at the same time the last objects that have come to us from a people that is now reduced to four individuals as the result of a devastating smallpox epidemic.

Am [173] [161]

Ar 101 /4/ As neighbors of the Anambê, the Apiaka (1), of whom

1. Whether this is their national name or was given to them by the Brazilians is uncertain. In any case, they should not be confused, as often happens, with

/4 cont./

Ar 101

1. (cont.)
the Apiaka /Apiaca/ of the upper and middle Tapajós, a true Tupi tribe. Externally they are distinguished from the latter by their tribal tattooing. Among the Apiaka of the Tapajós, the mouth region is tattooed black; those of the Tocantins are characterized by a blue line drawn from the outer corner of the eye to the corner of the mouth.

Ar [302]

Ar 167 [101] [197]

I met only civilized individuals, live farther in the interior. They actually proved to be the connecting link sought. They are a true Karaib tribe, closely related linguistically and somatically to the Bakairi, but only a relatively short time ago, about the middle of this century migrated from the upper Xingu or Tapajós region to the lower Tocantins. If migrations of such dimensions have taken place in recent times, their possibility at least cannot be ruled out for earlier periods.

C 114

From Manáos I undertook in the middle of December, 1888, a three-month trip to the primeval forest regions of the middle Purus, during which I became acquainted with three of the most important tribes of these regions. Because of unfavorable conditions, the yield in collection specimens was relatively small here. The exhaustion of my means, but in particular the poor health of my two companions, prevented extending the trip to the upper Purus regions and necessitated our return as early as the end of February. Nevertheless, this journey did contribute something toward the clarification of the distribution of peoples in these regions. Almost all the tribes there belong to the large Maipure or Nu-Aruak group (v.d. Steinen) and form the connecting link between the Nu tribes of Guiana and Colombia and those of Bolivia and Mato Grosso. Ascertaining this fact has substantially simplified the confused ethnographic picture of central South America.

C 121

C [101]

C 128

The following presentation is therefore devoted to the Karaya and the Purus tribes of the Yamamadi, Ipurina, and Paumari /Paumary/. All the other ethnological observations and inquiries, as well as all of the linguistic and anthropological material, will be reserved for special publications.

/5 cont./

175 came in contact with the Karaya (4) as early as 1863 on a short

[113] 4. In the no longer extant Aldeamento da Estiva near Salinas, where Chavante and Karaya were settled in the care of an Italian missionary. Cf. Peterm. Mitth., 1876, p. 222.

trip to S. José, but later traveled the whole river on repeated occasions, had the most opportunity to become acquainted with this remarkable people. He did not publish anything in connection with this, however. Some scattered notes are to be found in his [113] first travel report of 1863 and in the work O Selvagem (Rio de Janeiro, 1874).

/6/ In 1879 the engineer Moraes Jardim investigated the navigable stretch of the Araguaia from Leopoldina to Santa Maria. Appended to his report (1) is a description of the Karayahi villages

[113] 1. O rio Araguaya, relatorio de sua exploração /The Araguaia River, an Account of Its Exploration/. Rio de Janeiro, 1880.

written by his companion, Dr. Spinola, which is, on the whole, correct.

Also the travel account of the former president of Goyaz, Dr. Joaquim Leite Moraes (1882), contains some interesting material [126] about the Karaya. The first fairly complete collection of ethnological objects was made by this traveler on his way to São Paulo. It is now scattered, but I succeeded in acquiring for the Royal Museum two of the best pieces from the owner, the war clubs of the well-known Sambioa chiefs, Roco and Ambura.

Territorial Distribution

131 101 Whereas until a few years ago only the Karaya on the Araguaia were known, the existence of other hordes of the same nation on the right bank of the middle and lower Xingu was proved by the first Xingu expedition.

/6 cont./

000 648 Xingu expedition. Their relationship to the neighboring tribes and to the Brazilian settlers of the rubber districts is, however, completely hostile here, so that up to now any approach was impossible. The Yuruna suffer most from their attacks. Traces of battles, devastated dwelling places, and the like were found everywhere by the first expedition of v. d. Steinen.

● 101 Some ethnographic objects from these tribes, acquired among the Yuruna, leave no doubt but that we are dealing with true Karaya here.

The likelihood that there is a still further extension of these Karaya into the upper region of the river was discovered by the 171 second Xingu expedition. Objects acquired among the Kamayura /Camayura/ (below 12° south latitude) allegedly came from a tribe known there under the name of Aruma: a broken club, various arrows, feather headdresses, which are completely identical with those of the Karaya. Also, the tribe neighboring the Kamayura, the Trumai, had much in common with the Karaya, for example, the men's custom of tying the foreskin over the glans with a cotton thread, the bast aprons of the women, which are, however, much narrower and shorter than those of the Karaya women, the feather headdresses and the form of the arrow-thrower. The languages of the two tribes, however, show no relationship.

101 The Karaja of the Araguaia are no longer connected with those of the Xingu. The two are separated from each other by the great warlike Gês nations of the Kayapo and Akuã (Chavante), who pushed in between them a long time ago.

131 Their dwelling sites lie along the middle course of the Araguaia 133 between the mouth of the Rio Crixas and the first great rapids, S. 361 Miguel, where the river breaks through or flows around the mountain ranges which border the northern slope of the great plateau of interior Brazil.

133 Already below 15° south latitude it enters a broad plain filled with alluvial materials, which in general has the same character [139] about as far as S. Maria (9° 30'). Flat, densely overgrown islands in the river, the banks bordered by sand dunes, behind which rises on higher ground a luxuriant strip of forest which, however, as

/7 cont./

132 The life of the inhabitants is determined by the sharp division of the seasons. The rainless period lasts from May to the end of September, and farther north even until far into October. Then broad sandbanks (praias) are exposed everywhere, with the sun [221] beating down on them day after day. For the Indians this is the real period of river life. Fishing then governs all interests. With the beginning of November the rainy season has usually already set [133] in with strength; in December and January the river is highest, ten to twelve meters above the low level. From bank to bank, without interruption, a tremendous mass of water fills the bed, flooding the neighboring low plains for some distance.

136 Swarms of annoying insects, mosquitoes and pium /a very 221 small mosquito/, which are completely absent in the dry season, now fill the air. The Indian is forced to retreat to higher ground, where he then attends to cultivating the fields and, if need be, [226] hunts. Fishing can be carried on only in the lagoons at this time.

133 When the water lowers, bad fevers are not uncommon on the 164 middle Araguaia, where extensive swamps accompany the river.

Hordes. The Karaya of the Araguaia are divided into the 10 three large tribes of the Yavahē, Karayahi, and Šambioa, which [161] together may number about 4,000 persons. The first inhabit the [131] interior of the still completely unknown Bananal Island. We know [361] only this much about it, that in its northern part there is a large lake near which the three villages of the Yavahē are located. It has an outlet into the eastern arm (furo) of the Araguaia, at the mouth of which some of these savages were spoken to for the last 177 time in April, 1888. In the meantime no one has sought them out here, although they have indicated several times their desire to trade with the colonists. They badly need iron tools, which now come to them only rarely through the agency of the Karayahi. In the villages of the latter one sometimes meets some Yavahē. They do not like to leave their hiding place in large numbers, since they justifiably fear importing epidemic diseases.

361 The Karayahi live in 12-15 villages of various size on the west arm of the Araguaia in the region of the navigable stretch from S. José below the mouth of the Crixas to the region of S. Maria.

/7 cont./

36 Their northernmost settlement near S. Maria was attacked and
[648] completely destroyed in 1881 by the Kayapo of the left bank.
Since then they have not ventured far beyond the northernmost tip
of Bananal Island with their settlements. Their farthest excursions
go below S. Maria to the rapids of Joncon (i.e., it is at an end).

439 They perform important services for the traffic on the river by
felling wood for the steamers. As payment they receive axes and
knives, which they on their part trade to other tribes, such as the
177 Yavahẽ and Tapirapé. Understandably, when steamboat transpor-
tation was established, care was taken from the first to stay on good
terms with the savages. The merit for introducing this excellent
relationship and maintaining it for 20 years belongs to the courageous
commander of the steamer, Sebastião de Freitas, who served so
well in exploring the Araguaia. It is thanks to his unselfish, kind
work that perhaps /8/ nowhere else in Brazil are the relations be-
tween the native population and the settlers so good as here.

To be sure, for the Karayahi the contact with "civilization"
[184] has not been without consequences. In comparison with the in-
dependent Šambioa, a certain lack of order and cleanliness in
their villages and less care and taste in their artifacts are noticeable.
On the other hand, a wealth of most interesting ethnological ob-
[126] jects are still present among them. The most important pieces in
the collection were acquired from them.

311 Their material position cannot be described as especially favor-
able. The lower riverbanks of their region are so exposed to floods
that they can practice agriculture only to a limited extent. They
[648] venture onto the higher left bank only temporarily, out of fear of
their worst enemies, the Akuã and Kayapo.

13 The third large Karaya horde is that of the Šambioa, about
[101] whom Castelnau brought back the first more detailed reports.
[361] They possess four rather large villages between the Pau d'arco rapids
[224] and the great Cachoeira de S. Miguel. Their hunting expeditions,
however, extend beyond the Cachoeira grande, in former times up
to the region of the Apinagés, near the present São Vincente, from
[172] where increasing settlement has scared them away. The rock
sculptures of the so-called Martirios Island between the Carreira

/iii/ Foreword

121 In the year 1908, under the auspices of the city of Leipzig,
[122] I undertook an ethnographic research expedition into central Brazil, the purpose of which was the scientific investigation, with the most modern methods and instruments, of the Indian tribes visited, as well as the salvaging of visible examples of their cultural life for the Leipzig Museum für Völkerkunde. Its
[101] goal was the region of the middle Araguaya /Araguaia/, between the 15th and 9th degrees, southern latitude, with the Indian tribes of the Karajá /Caraja/, Šavajé /Javahe/, Tapirapé, and Kayapó /Cayapo/.

114 The expedition set out on 29 January 1908 and returned to Leipzig on 7 February 1909. The program was, by and large, carried out; only the proposed advance to the west had to be cut short because of insurmountable geographical difficulties.

126 Abundant material in the form of observations of all kinds, photographs and phonographic recordings, sketchbook drawings, etc. was brought back. The ethnographic collection, containing more than 1,100 specimens, has been handed over to the Museum
113 für Völkerkunde zu Leipzig. Of my findings I have published up
126 to now only reproductions of the dance masks of the Karajá Indians, in connection with a description of the use of masks by this tribe (in the Jahrbuch des Museums für Völkerkunde zu Leipzig, Volume 3, Leipzig, 1910), as well as a study of the art of the Karajá Indians (in the Bässler-Archiv, Vol. 2, No. 1, Berlin, 1911), in which the material collected by me on the artistic activities of the Indians in the plastic arts and drawing was reproduced.

128 All the rest of the material is now to be presented to the public here.

As a first part, and before the actual results, I am giving a report on the expedition /the first part is omitted in the translation/. I regard this as very important; for the findings of the expedition can be properly evaluated only if one knows how they were obtained, in other words, the conditions under which the studies were made. Thus, the travel report gives the external course

/176 cont./

175 In 1812 Padre Luiz Antonio da Silva e Souza wrote his
[113] work: Memoria sobre o descobrimento, governo, população, e cousas mais notaveis da capitania de Goyaz /Memoir on the discovery, government, population, and other notable things about the province of Goiás/, in which he gives good historical data about all the journeys of exploration since the discovery of the province (18).

18. Rev. trim. 12 (2nd series, 5), 1849, pp. 429-510.

[113] In the second large work: Chorographia historica da Provincia de Goyaz /Historical Chorography of the Province of Goiás/, 1842, Raymundo José da Cunha Mattos studied old documents and brought out a great deal of information about the Indians; however, he occasionally combines and thus confuses
175 the ethnic picture. According to him, the Carajás live in a vil-
● 101 lage on the Furo do Bananal and in three villages in the cataract
131 region of the river (identical with our present-day Sambioá vil-
[361] lages); they prevent passage through the Furo. The Carajahís live on the left bank of the Araguaya and occasionally appear on Bananal. The Javaés on Bananal are almost extinct; the Xambiuás live on Bananal and then again on the river shore, and they prevent passage through the west arm of the Araguaya. He also mentions that the Tapirapés occasionally visited Bananal Island (19).

19. Rev. trim. 37 and 38.

175 It is only Castelnau, in the year 1844, who again brings more clarity. This French explorer traveled from Goyaz to the Rio de Peixe, embarked here, traveled down this river to where it empties into the Araguaya, traveled down the Araguaya through the eastern arm of Bananal, reached the entrance into the Tocantins, and, traveling up this river, returned to Goyaz. Along

/176 cont./

175 the Araguaya he met only the Chambioá, of whose cultural Along
[131] possessions he made a collection, which, however, was lost in a shipwreck on the Tocantins. He was the first to describe the use of masks by these Indians. He, too, reports only hearsay about the Carajás, Carajahís, Javahais, and Tapirapés (20).

[113] 20. F. de Castelnau, Expedition dans les parties centrales de l'Amerique du Sud /Expedition into the Central Parts of South America/, 1843-47. Paris, 1850, Vols. 1 and 2. The same, Vue et scenes /Survey and scenes/. Paris, 1853.

We owe complete clarity, however, to the expedition of Dr. Rufino Theotonio Segurado, who traveled upstream from Pará in 1846/47. He first visited the Chambioás, who, he said, were [101] a tribe of the Carajás, then tried to travel up the eastern arm of Bananal, but was obliged to give up the plan because the river was too shallow, then traveled up the western arm of the Araguaya, as the first explorer, and visited the Carajás Indians living here. He extended his trip as far as the Rio Vermelho on which he traveled upstream for eleven days, in order to reach Goyaz then by land. To him we therefore owe the first more exact information about the dwelling sites of the Karajá (21).

[115] 21. Viagem de Goyaz ao Pará em 1846 e 1847, Roteiro do Dr. Rufino Theotonio Segurado /Voyage from Goiás to Pará in 1846 and 1847, Logbook of Dr. Rufino Theotonio Segurado./ Rev. trim. 10 (2nd series, Vol. 3), pp. 178-212.

/177/ I unfortunately have not been able to find the report of Dr. Eduardo Olympio Machado from the year 1850, which Moraes Jardim mentions in the introduction of his work, O Rio Araguaya.

/177 cont./

175 At the same time the Presidio de Santa Izabel (now Capoeira de Santa Izabel Velha) existed on Bananal Island: it was later transferred to near the mouth of the Rio das Mortes (Santa Izabel do Morro, now Karajá cemetery), but then given up (22).

22. Moraes Jardim, O Rio Araguaya, foreword.

We owe the first brief, more recent ethnographic description of the Karajá to Dr. Couto de Magalhães, who in 1863 traveled down the Rio Vermelho, founded the town of São José, and visited the subsequently abandoned Aldea da Estiva, one league north of Salinas, in which Chavantés and Carajás lived (23).

[113] 23. Viagem ao Araguaya /Voyage to the Araguaia/. Goyaz, 1863, pp. 124 ff.

[101] [16] [36] [131] In another work (24) he reports that the Chambioás, Carajás,

[113] 24. Dr. C. Magalhães, Região e raças selvagens do Brasil /The Country and Savage Races of Brazil/. Rio de Janeiro, 1874.

Carajahís, and Javaés form a nation and live, 7-8000 souls strong, in 70-80 villages along the Rio Araguaya from Furo to Intaipabas.

[648] The same, in 1871, founded the settlement of Dumbasinho with the Collegio Izabel, two leagues below Leopoldina on the west bank (Leopoldina was founded in 1852), for the purpose of training and educating young Indians (Karajá, Kayapó, and Tapirapé) as colonists. The Collegio was given up at the beginning of the nineties.

175 114 The next detailed report about the Carajás was furnished by Dr. Spinola, who in 1879 accompanied Moraes Jardim on his Araguaya journey from Leopoldina to Santa Maria, which was undertaken for the purpose of making a map of the river. His

/178 cont./

175 Since then we have remained without any information on this area; no explorer again reports on the tribes along the Araguaya. Meanwhile steamer traffic expanded further, and new Brazilian settlements arose, especially the mission station Conceição among the Kayapó in the north. At the beginning of the twentieth century, the Bishop of Goyaz, accompanied by the steamer contractor Adolofo Guedes, undertook a journey on the Araguaya. According to the personal account of the [361] latter, they traveled, at high water, up the eastern arm of [177] Bananal from the north, came across a huge village of Šavajé, landed, but were quickly obliged to turn back in the face of resistance by the many Indians who were frightened by the 70 armed Brazilians. After that the wildest rumors swept through the land about the hostility and the great number of the Šavajé.

114 Such were the circumstances when I traveled on the [101] Araguaya in 1908. I navigated it from Leopoldina to Conceição, visited the Karajá, undertook side trips on foot to the Kayapó at Conceição and to the Šavajé on Bananal, and traveled up the Rio Tapirapé to the source region, where I came across the deserted villages of the Tapirapé Indians.

101 By way of supplement, a few statements about how the designations of the tribes have changed in the course of time might follow.

[131] I distinguish the following three hordes of the Karajá: the Šambioá in the stretch of the rapids, the Šavajé on Bananal Island, the Karajá proper on the Araguaya, west and south of Bananal.

101 The Šambioá are called Carajás by the first discoverers 175 (Antonio Pires de Campo in 1746, Souza Villa Real in 1792/93; Cunha Mattos also calls them this in his Chorographia de Goyaz, 1824). The name /179/ Šambioá appears for the first time in Cunha Mattos for a tribe which, roving about, sometimes visits Bananal Island, sometimes dwells on the Rio Cuyaba, and blocks passage through the western arm of the Araguaya (29). It is not

29. Rev. trim. 37, p. 393; 38, p. 20.

/179 cont./

101 175 known how Cunha Mattos arrived at this strange localization. The present Šambioá are called by this name for the first time by Castelnau in 1844, then Rufino in 1846, and Ehrenreich in 1888. This name is now the one commonly used; only Coudreau again calls them Carajá. This name, given to them by the Karajá, should be retained to distinguish them from the other hordes.

The Šavajé are mentioned for the first time as Javaes and Javahes in 1773 by Fonseca, who met them as visitors among the Karajá. (I do not know whether Pinto de Gaia mentions them.) Since then they have continued to be known under this name. They are mentioned again by Vasconcellos-Fonseca in 1774, Cunha Mattos in 1824, Castelnau in 1844, Spinola in 1879, Ehrenreich in 1888, and Coudreau in 1896/97, though none of them, except the first, again came into close contact with them.

The horde of the Karajá proper is mentioned for the first time by José Machado in 1772, and, to be sure, under the name of Carajás. They continued to be known under this name and were described by Fonseca and Vasconcellos in 1773 and 1774. They were not visited again after that; reports about them become confused, especially through the occurrence of the name Carajahí for a horde whose sites cannot be precisely located. Souza Villa Real, in 1793, is the first to mention the Carajahí: they had four chiefs. The authors of the two large historical works from the beginning of the nineteenth century confuse the picture completely. Silva e Souza reports (1812) that the Carajá and Carajahí occupy seven villages on the Araguaya, and that the Carajahí came to Salinas in order to make peace, but, since they were badly treated, they set out for their villages again. Cunha Mattos reports in 1824 that the Carajás live on the Furo and in the rapids region (see under Šambioá), and that the Carajahís occupy the left bank of the Araguaya and only occasionally come to Bananal Island. In Rev. trim. 37, page 363, he reports further that the Carajás come to Salinas to beg for iron implements. From these reports no clear picture is to be gained about the relationships between Carajá, Carajahí, and Šambioá. The picture remains just as confused after

10 114 175 [36] [131]

/179 cont./

101 Castelnau's report (1844). He says that the Carajás often stay in Salinas on visits, whereas the Carajahís live on the western arm in three or four villages. Rufino in 1846/47 finally brings clarity as the first to navigate the western arm again. He calls the Indians living here in nine villages Carajás, in other words, restores the old name, while he does not mention the name Carajahí. From then on they are again called Carajás generally, as by Magalhães in 1863, Spinola in 1879; in 1874, however, Magalhães also mentions Carajahís, besides Carajás and Chambioás, without /180/ making clear their mutual relationship. In 1888 Ehrenreich uses the name Carayahí for all Karajá Indians on the Araguaya, west and south of Bananal Island, and Cavalcanti (1895) joins him in this; this name, however, has not 101 become customary in Brazil. Coudreau (1896) again calls them Carajás, and I, too, find it necessary to retain this name, and, to be sure, with the spelling Karajá. I repeatedly asked the Indians about the name Carayahí, and they always declared that they did not know it. They call themselves only Karajá, and among the Brazilian population, too, they are only called by this name.

I admit that the name Carayahí is very practical for distinguishing this horde from the entire tribe of the Karajá, and that detailed explanations are sometimes required in order to make clear whether by Karajá one means the whole tribe or only the southern group; in my opinion, however, one does better to go to the slight trouble of making this explanation with a few additional words rather than to use a nonexistent name.

I. The Karajá.

1. Anthropological Data.

126 Direct anthropological measurements were taken by me only with respect to height and color of skin. All other data are based on observations or were taken from the examination of photographs taken by me. For comparison I used Ehrenreich, Anthropologische

/185 cont./

142 the other hand, only four times (Pl. 11, Ill. 4; 38, Ill. 1; 44, Ill. 2). The color of the hair is black, with a reddish shimmer [302] in an oblique light. Beard hair is sparse and is plucked out. Underarm hair is present, though not thick; it is sometimes pulled out, sometimes left. Pubic hair is heavily developed among the male sex; it does not extend much beyond the pubic bone and is not removed. I was unable to observe among the Indians any fine skin hair on the rest of the body; their skin is completely smooth. They, on the contrary, were astonished to see hair on my arms, hands, and fingers, the white sheen of which on my sunburned [302] skin did indeed look peculiar. Eyebrows and lashes are plucked out.

164 Pathological formations on bodies were only rarely observed; I saw only one umbilical rupture in the case of a boy of about 12. Chief Ilk apparently suffered from an inguinal hernia 142 (Pl. 36, Ills. 1 and 2, right). Signs of past pregnancies were less noticeable on the body than on the breast.

The general picture of the Karajá is thus the following: Small to medium height, brown in color, with straight, sometimes curly hair; broad-shouldered, wide-chested, narrow-hipped figures with long lower arms and short hands and feet. Well- [46] nourished, extremely muscular human beings. The women lag behind the men in every respect.

/186/ 2. Dwelling Sites, Arrangement, Number.

101 131 One large Indian nation, that of the Karajá, inhabits the banks of the Araguaya from 15 1/4-7° southern latitude. It is divided into the three tribes of the Šambioá, Šavajé, and Karajá. The Šambioá inhabit the stretch of rapids between 7° and 8°. southern latitude, the Šavajé the middle section of the river island of Bananal, between 11° and 12° southern latitude, while the settlements of the Karajá proper extend along the rapids-free course of the river from 10° 12' to 15° 15' southern latitude.

/186 cont./

131 Apparently there are Karajá living outside of the river valley. The first German Xingu-expedition, on the lower Xingu in the regions of the Yuruna, everywhere came across traces of struggles
171 with alien Indians who were called Karajá by the Yuruna. The
[126] objects brought back that the Yuruna designated as coming from the Karajá, which are in the Museum für Völkerkunde in Berlin, reveal a culture reminiscent of that of the Karajá and that of the Kayapó (1). Thus, they might well have belonged to a splintered-off

1. The clubs, Nos. 1596 and 1597, have handles similar to those of the Šambioá clubs and oars (3979, e, d). Club 1597 is again similar to the one brought back by Herrmann Meyer from the Kayapó of the Paranayuba (4466), but, on the other hand, completely different from my Kayapó and Karajá clubs, whose handles are identical with those of the Šavajé and others of the Šambioá (3983). The diadem, 1595, is identical with a Karajá diadem brought back by Ehrenreich, as well as two of my Kayapó diadems. The arrow, 1598, is like the Ehrenreich Karajá arrows. -- The numbers of the objects refer to the Berlin catalogue.

Karajá tribe, whose culture, altered by its sojourn among
101 Kayapó tribes, became similar to that of the Kayapó. The tribe of the Karajá proper did not, according to my investigations,
173 know anything about any fellow tribesmen on the Xingu. It
[115] was only below Santa Maria that I learned from a Brazilian settler, who seemed to be acquainted with conditions among the Šambioá, that the branching off of the Xingu Karajá is explained by them in the following way: A Šambioá chief (Roca?; cf. Coudreau, p. 123) kidnapped a white woman; his son fell in love with her and wanted to take her away from his father. There was a fight in which the father proved to be the weaker, so he was obliged to depart with his followers; he turned westward toward the Xingu. How much of this story is credible we do not know as yet.

/186 cont./

173 At any rate, it shows that the Xingu Karajá are brought into
[101] closer relationship with the Šambioá than with the Karajá; in view of the geographical conditions and the above statements about the club handles, probably an acceptable opinion.

171 In the source region of the Xingu, the second German Xingu-
[126] expedition heard about an Arumá tribe. Objects from this tribe, which were acquired among other tribes, show the same middle
[101] position between Karajá and Kayapó culture (2). They therefore

2. The four arrows, Berlin 3874 a-d, have, in part, been given new shafts with Bakairí /Bacairi/ feathering; the old shafts, however, show traces of a feathering which is very similar to that of the Karajá, and the points are the same, except for one of the Karajá arrows. The grooved front end of a club (Berlin 2990) could have come from the Karajá or from the Kayapó.

belong to the same ethnographic /187/ province as the Karajá. Now Meyer (1) calls the Arumá Caribs (Bakairí-Apiaká

[113] 1. Cf. Meyer, Zeitschrift f. Ethnol., Berlin, Vol. 30, 1898, p. 258.

173 /Bacairi-Apiaca/). Perhaps the cultural change in the direction of the Bakairí goes back to the influence of the Šavajé. According to statements of the Karajá, the Šavajé split up about 20-30 years ago at the place called Barreira de Santa Izabel Velha; one part continued to live on Bananal, the other moved west across the Araguaya and has since then disappeared. Perhaps this part of the Šavajé went southwest to the Xingu and affected the cultures there in the manner indicated.

101 Of the above-named three tribes, I studied the Šavajé briefly, the Karajá during a lengthy stay.

/187 cont./

101 The Karajá proper (2). They call themselves: kărăjă,

2. As explained above, I mean by Karajá the Indians called Carayahĭ by Ehrenreich. In accordance with the rather sharp J sound, which was often pronounced like dj, I was obliged to change the spelling to Karajá.

[104]

kărădjă, or krădjă. In addition, ĭnă and ĭnaŭlă were given as designations for themselves. They are called Karayá by the Brazilians. Among the Šavajé, according to their own statement, they are called šŭšomădŏ or bĕrĕhŏkŭwăndŭ, among the
131 Cherénte wărăšūtŏrŏ. They inhabit the middle course of the
[439] Araguaya, at present from 15° 15' to 10° 12' south latitude; their boundaries are thus the mouth of the Rio Vermelho in the south, a place between the north end of Bananal Island and Santa Anna in the north; only occasionally do they undertake trade voyages to Santa Maria and Conceição. In general they
[648] are confined to the banks of the river and its immediate hinterland, and they inhabit both shores equally; today, at any rate, there can no longer be any talk of the habit of avoiding the
484 west bank out of fear of enemies (3). They also extend their
[437]

3. Moraes Jardim, O Rio Araguaya; Ehrenreich, "Südamerikanische Stromfahrten," p. 38.

[113]

fishing and trading expeditions over large stretches on either side. In the east they visit the Šavajé in the interior of Bananal, but avoid going there in small numbers. In the west they navigate
[361] the large tributaries. In the Rio das Mortes, 15 leagues above the mouth, there is supposed to be a small Karajá village; they allegedly do not go farther upstream here. They travel
[225] up the Rio Cristallino for a stretch to fish for turtles. On the
131 Rio Tapirapé they go just below the waterfall; a tree with two bullet-tracks, a fire area, and the remains of utensils mark the boundary here against the Tapirapé Indians.

/187 cont./

101 Their neighbors are therefore the following:

In the south, Kayapó and Bororo, the latter known to the Karajá only by name.

/188/ In the west on the Rio das Mortes, the Chavãte, in Karajá: kḷĭũẓă (kĭlŏẓă, kŭḷĭẓă); on the Rio Tapirapé, the Tapirapé, ũŏhŭ; from Santa Anna northward, the Kayapó, kḷāḷăŭ.

In the east, on the upper Tocantins, the Cherente, ĭnŏlātŭ; on the south end of Bananal, the so-called Canoeiros, tĭăbĕẓă; in the middle of Bananal, the Šavajé, šăwăjē, (ĭ)šā(n)dĭwăndŭ.

In the north, the Šambioá: šămbĭŏă.

Of the tribes with whom they were unacquainted, the dōbăĭ were mentioned on the Rio das Mortes in the east the ĭšăwŭndăhō.

648 The Karajá live on a war footing with all these tribes, except for the related Šavajé and Šambioá; they show great fear [439] of all of them. They formerly carried on trade with the Tapirapé, but for five or six years the two tribes have avoided each other as a result of a feud which flared up between them because of the 619 kidnapping of women by the Karajá. The Karajá show great respect even before the two tribes related to them. This is prob- [162] ably due to the fact that the Šavajé and Šambioá live in a few large villages, whereas the Karajá are scattered in many small settlements, and that they therefore, unaccustomed to great crowds of people, are afraid of the imposing number of armed men. Apparently, fear of other tribes is customary among the Indians generally.

162 The tribe of the Karajá is at present divided into two hordes:

361 The north horde lives from the northern end of Bananal 622 Island to the Rio das Mortes in the following 14 fixed villages (from north to south) (1): village of the chief Wălătă, Crĭsŏtĕ,

1. By fixed villages I mean those that are again established in their particular district after each rainy season with the move to the river sandbanks again.

/193 cont./

162 Thus, the migration southward seems to continue to this day,
166 and it seems to have affected the Šavajé as well. Apparently the south horde has a bit of Šavajé blood in it, which is noticeable above all in the taller build. Today only about one-fifth of the Karajá live south of Bananal; the majority still live in the north horde, but we have seen that in it, too, a trend toward the south is making itself noticeable (4).

[361] 4. A migration from the south horde to the north horde took place long ago: people emigrated from Schischá and settled on the Corrego; this is the village of José (six men, eight women).

174 Whether this migration to the south is a continuation of an older migration which brought the Karajá to the Araguaya I should like to leave undecided. As is well known, Ehrenreich pointed out many similarities between the Karajá and the Indians of Guiana.
171 Without wishing to pursue these cultural connections further at present, I should like to state, from a comparison of Karajá and Kayapó culture, that the Karajá show very many cultural traits related to the Kayapó, but also harbor a large percentage of foreign /194/ elements that seem to point to the north or northwest. It will remain for later investigations to pursue these cul-
174 tural problems further. The present-day distribution of the Karajá,
131 their confinement to the river valley in a narrow band beyond 8 1/2
648 degrees of latitude in the midst of hostile tribes, especially those
[101] of the Ges /Ge/ family, seems to point to the fact that the Karajá migrated up the Araguaya from the north, breaking up the tribes
648 living here. So far the Karajá have not yet come to an amicable relationship with the neighboring tribes. Efforts to bring this about
[797] were undertaken at Conceição by the mission, but they failed after initial success (1).

[115] 1. The reports, for which I am indebted to a Brazilian near Santa Maria, that the Kayapó and Šambioá meet annually at a particular place on

/341 cont./

C 829 648 S 105

What the Karaja say about the neighboring Indian tribes (1).

1. For their statements about Šavajé, Tapirapé, and Kayapó, see under these peoples /see pp. 310 and 336 with regard to the first two; the material dealing with the last-named people has not been translated/.

C S [101]

The Chavánte (kliũzã, kũliẓã) live on the west bank, on the Rio das Mortes, on campo territory; between São José and Leopoldina they also come as far as the Araguaya. They are tall, have fat paunches and a light skin color. Old men wear beards; the hair is cut short in front, as among the Karajá, is worn hanging down very long in back and tied together with red string. The men tie up the penis in front with a black string; in the lower lip they wear small buttons of wood. A genipap painting on the chest is popular: a line from each armpit to the lower end of the breastbone. The Chavánte fish with poison cipo, and the Karajá maintained that they first learned this method of fishing from them. The Chavánte are a true campo people; they do not like to travel in the forest; they even burn off the campo, in order to be able to travel better. They transport their supplies in carrying baskets which are carried by the men. As for weapons, they carry lances, clubs, bows and arrows. The arrows are like those of the Karajá, but are regarded as ugly. One kind has points of tucum wood; these remain stuck in a wound and are broken off (whereas the bamboo blade points of the Karajá arrows may be pulled out, but they tear large holes, so that the wounded person bleeds to death). The feathers of the feathering are given their shape by burning. There are no poisoned arrows. The Chavánte are the enemies of the Karajá. They have already killed many Karajá, whereas the latter have killed only one Chavánte (2).

C [177]

S 648 [113]

2. This hostile relationship dates from ancient times. As Fonseca reports (Rev. trim. 8, pp. 382-388), the Chavánte, who lived between

/352 cont./

175 forced them to retreat, with a Šavajé walking on either side of each Brazilian. When the steamer whistled upon departure, many Šavajé, out of terror, leaped from their canoes into the river. In any case, from then on great fear prevailed among the Brazilian population concerning the more powerful Šavajé.

361 [162] [131] 2. Dwelling sites. On the basis of my inquiries among the Karajá, the Šavajé live in the interior of Bananal Island in three to five villages which are distributed over a long stretch of territory. The northernmost small village is said to lie in the interior, three to four days above the north end of Bananal Island. The main village lies, in the dry season, about eight days above the mouth of the Furo on a sandbank at the entrance of a brook (outlet of the inland lake?). In the middle of August it is moved into the interior. It is said to be very large, "like a city"; Pedro drew six rows, each with 20-25 houses, in the sand. The bachelors [346] are said to sleep in the mask house, located apart. Farther south, one to two days (?), one or two small villages lie in the interior [114] of Bananal. I visited one of them from Karajá Village No. 15, from which it is located quite directly east. One reaches it by [487] a well arranged route: after half a day's march, one comes to the Karajá village of Korumaré on a river. Either one travels up the river for one and a half days in a boat, describing a large arc to the south and east, or one walks for a day across the campo eastward to the harbor, from which it is another three to four hours' march to [162] the village. The village, which contains five houses with approximately 100-150 /Pl. 59 appears here/ /353/ inhabitants, lies on a lake; it is moved several times in the course of the dry season. [132] In the rainy season the entire region is inundated with water; apparently this lake then forms a part of the large lake that Fonseca mentions. I was unable to find out where the village is moved to during the rainy season. Finally, there is said to be a fifth small village still farther south, but the accounts about it vary.

131 162 101 361 166 This is the one branch of the Šavajé. A second one lives near the south horde of the Karajá, and, indeed, in the two southernmost villages: Schischá and near Leopoldina. They migrated here in the last generation but one, for Chief Chico in

[Text continues on p. 312]

/353 cont./

166 Schischã, the deceased chief Pedro Manco, and Mother Joana from the migratory camp No. 9, people about 60-70 years old, are regarded as the children of the immigrant Šavajé. Recently, Šavajé again came from Bananal to Schischã; in October 1908 they lived in a separate house. These Šavajé, of course, entered into frequent alliances with the Karajá.

167 [101] A third branch is supposed to have separated from the Šavajé on Bananal, apparently in the previous generation. This horde crossed the Araguaya and moved toward the west; among the Karajá of the Araguaya they are regarded as lost. The separation took place in the region of the mouth of the Rio das Mortes or somewhat more to the south.

619 Before I enter into a discussion of the culture of the Šavajé, I should like to report very briefly what the Karajá told me about them: The Šavajé are their kinsmen; they speak the same lan-
628 [438] guage and have the same tribal tattooing. They live in peaceful relations with the Karajá, they intermarry; above all, there is an active trade in which the Karajá trade to the Šavajé stone tools, which the Šavajé lack, as well as iron goods, fabrics, and chains of beads in exchange for urucũ, net coverings, araras, and
511 food. In clothing and ornamentation the Šavajé are supposed to be equal to the Karajá, but to have much more beautiful things. Among the Karajá, they are considered rich in ornaments and foodstuffs; hence, in times of hardship, the Karajá often migrate over to them. I found these statements to be generally true.

101 Phonetically the name of the people should be written Šăvăjé, in accordance with the pronunciation customary among the Karajá. The Karajá also call them: (ĭ)šăndjũ, (ĭ)šă(n)dĭwăndũ.
361 [114] I cannot give their number, because I became acquainted with only a small village of five huts. In any case, besides three or
[161] four such small villages, there seems to be a very large village, similar to those of the Šambioá, so that the number may perhaps
[162] be given as 800-1000. The Šavajé living among the southern Karajá perhaps reach 50 in number.

/403/

IV. The Tapirapé.

175 1. Historical. Up to now the tribe of the Tapirapé has been known only from explorations. Their country was probably visited for the first time about 1746-1748 by the adventurer João de Godoy Pinto da Silveira, who evidently repeated the expedition of Pires Campos to look for the Martyrios gold mines (Rev. trim. 37, p. 262, note 18). Their name is mentioned for the first time in 1773 by Fonseca, who heard among the Karajá that the latter were living in peace with them (Rev. trim. 8, p. 388). Souza Villa Real reports that they had eight chiefs. The statement by Silva e Souza (1812) is somewhat confusing: the Tapirapé live on the Rio Grande (upper course of the Araguaya) and are a peaceable, agricultural people who know how to spin and weave; they are said to come from the sertões of the province of Rio de Janeiro (Rev. trim. 12, p. 496). These dwelling sites would be far away from what was otherwise assumed to be their territory on the Rio Tapirapé. It is more in keeping with this general assumption when Cunha Mattos (Rev. trim. 37, p. 393) mentions that they occasionally come to Bananal Island. Castelnau mentions a village of the Tapirapé on a small river opposite the north end of Bananal Island (Vol. 2, page 114). On his map, however, in the source region of the Rio Tapirapé whose course, incidentally, is in general shown correctly, there are three villages: one of the Tapirapé, one of the Mangara Curera, and one of the Milo. Moraes Jardim reports (O Rio Araguaya, Rio, 1880) that a river steamer traveled ten leagues up the Tapirapé to the harbor of these Indians. He says that the Tapirapé still have no contact with civilization, but are teachable and industrious. Ehrenreich reports ("Südamerikanische Stromfahrten /South American River Journeys/," p. 11) that the steamer with which he traveled had already gone up the Tapirapé for 60 kilometers (perhaps this is the same steamer and the same journey). Here, he says, lives that remarkable Tupi people, the Tapirapé, who are regarded as hospitable and gentle. Unfortunately, Ehrenreich was unable to
[101] visit them because the steamer went on. At any rate, these reports merely show that on the Rio Tapirapé live the people called Tapirapé, who are on peaceful terms with the Karajá. Coudreau
[113] now confuses the entire picture by his report (Voyage au Tocantins-
[114] Araguaya, Paris, 1897). According to him)p. 110), the Tapirapé

5: Krause

SP9 Caraja SP9
Tapirape SP22

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T
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Sec. 1
/p. 366/

Sec. 2
/p. 367/

Sec. 3
/p. 368/

Chart of Positions of End Map A.
[Facing p. 365]

5:Krause--366 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9
Tapirape SP22

C
T
101
102
103
131
133
361

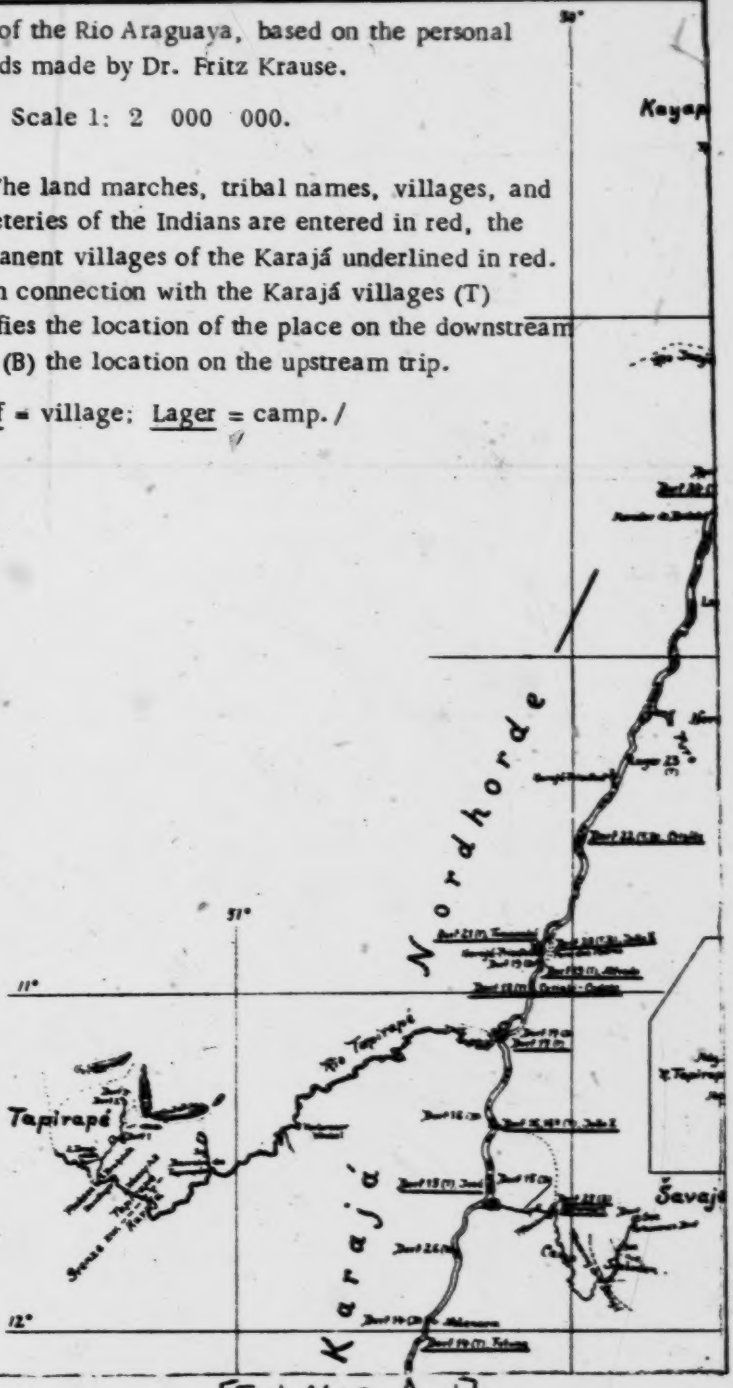
Map of the Rio Araguaya, based on the personal records made by Dr. Fritz Krause.

Scale 1: 2 000 000.

The land marches, tribal names, villages, and cemeteries of the Indians are entered in red, the permanent villages of the Karajá underlined in red.

In connection with the Karajá villages (T) signifies the location of the place on the downstream trip, (B) the location on the upstream trip.

/Dorf = village; Lager = camp./



[End Map A-1]

5: Krause--367 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9●
Tapirape SP22

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103
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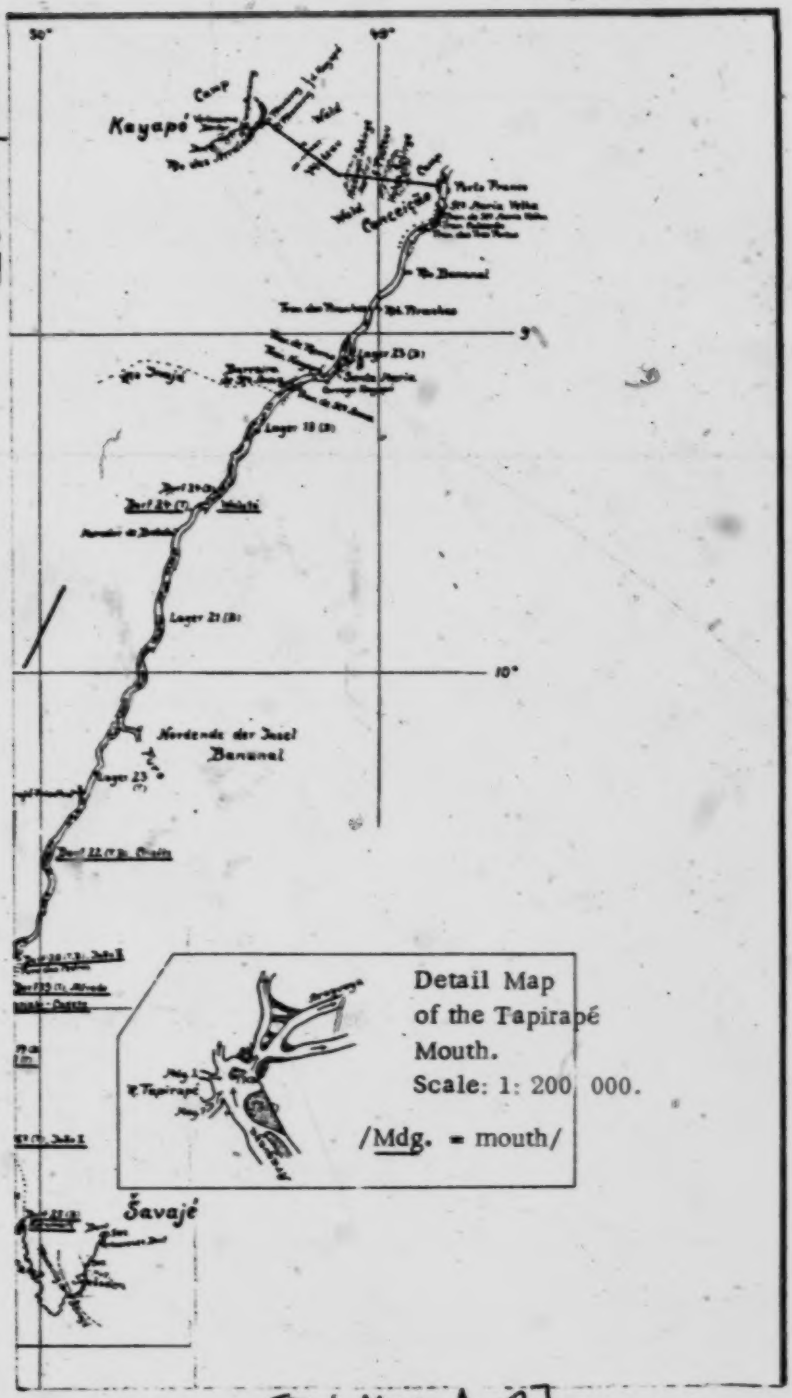

[End Map A-2]

5: Krause--368 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9 Tapirape SP82

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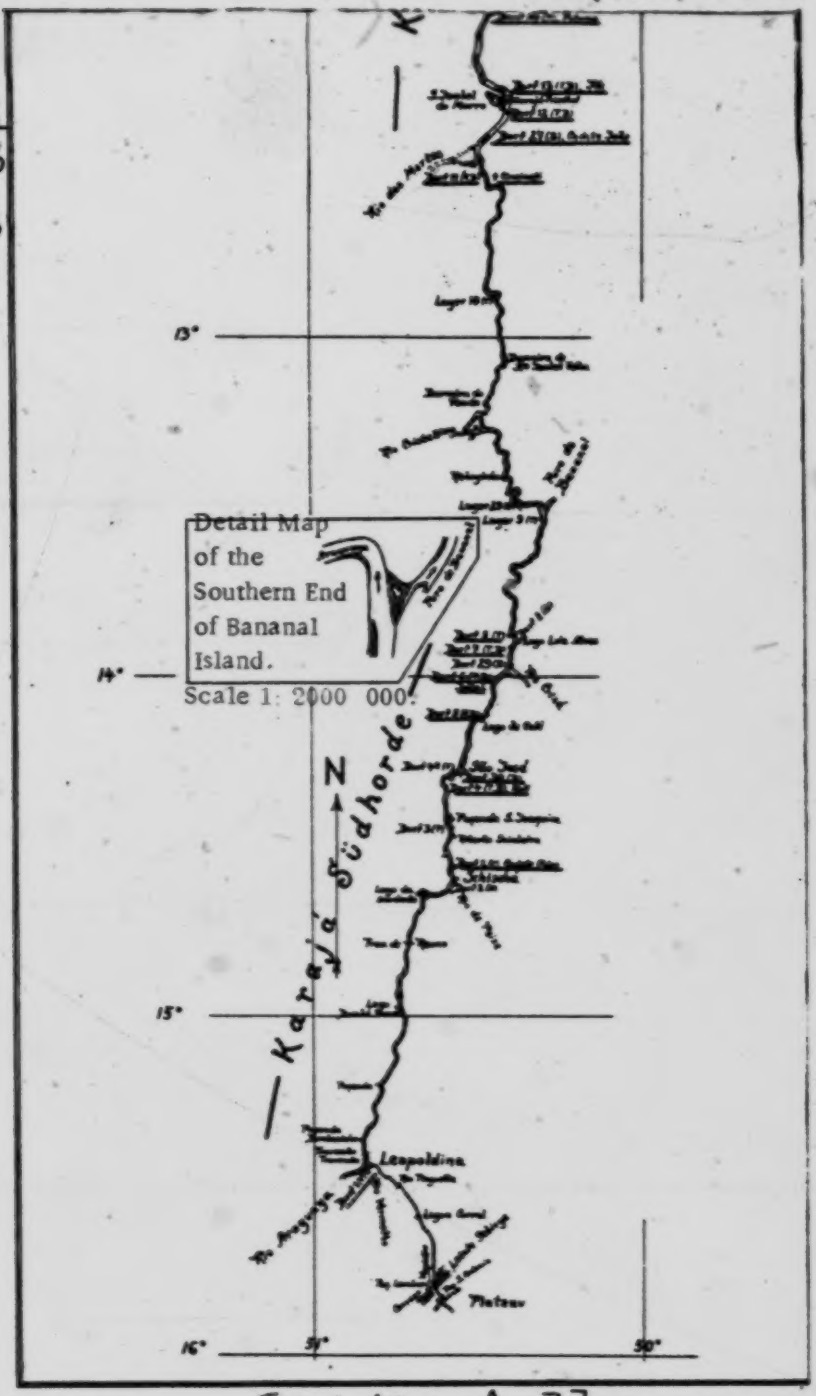

[End Map A-3]

5: Krause

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SP9 Caraja SP9
Bororo SP8
Tapirape SP22

Sec. 1 /p. 369/	Sec. 2 /p. 370/	Sec. 3 /p. 371/
Sec. 4 /p. 372/	Sec. 5 /p. 373/	Sec. 6 /p. 374/

Chart of Positions of End Map B.
/Facing p. 368/

5: Krause--369 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9 ●
Bororo SP8
Tapirape SP22

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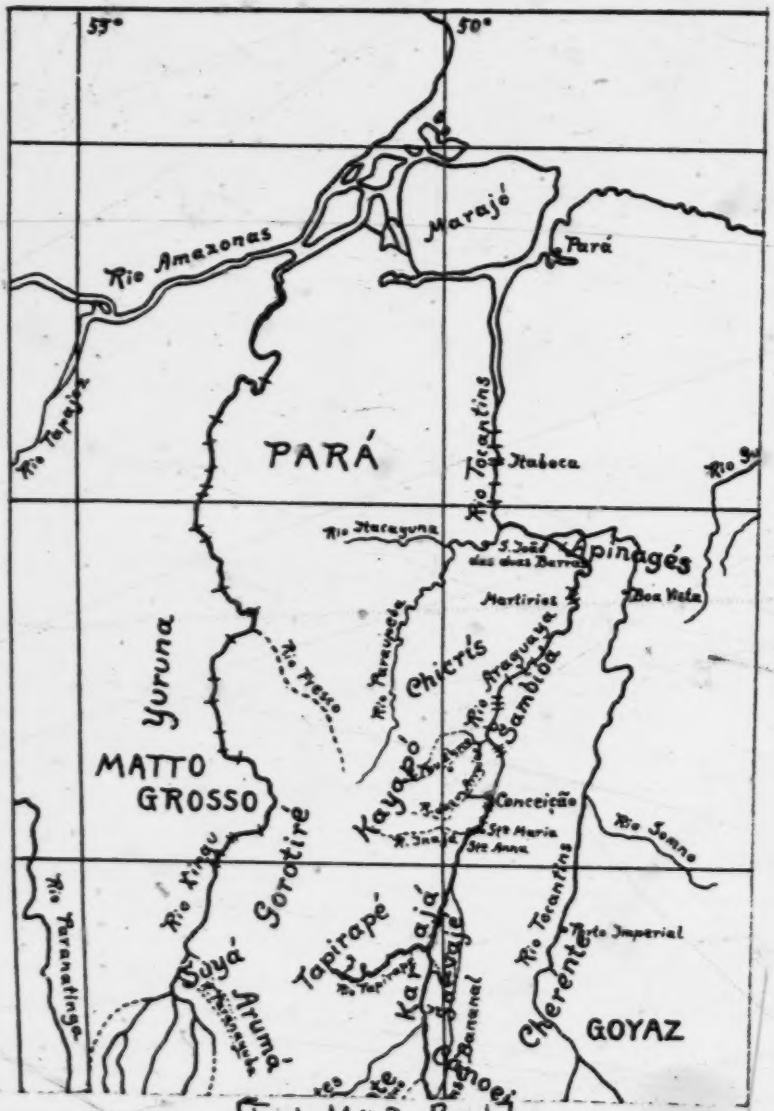
Survey Map

Scale 1: 20'000 000.



[End Map B-1]

5: Krause--370 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9
Bororo SP8
Tapirape SP 22

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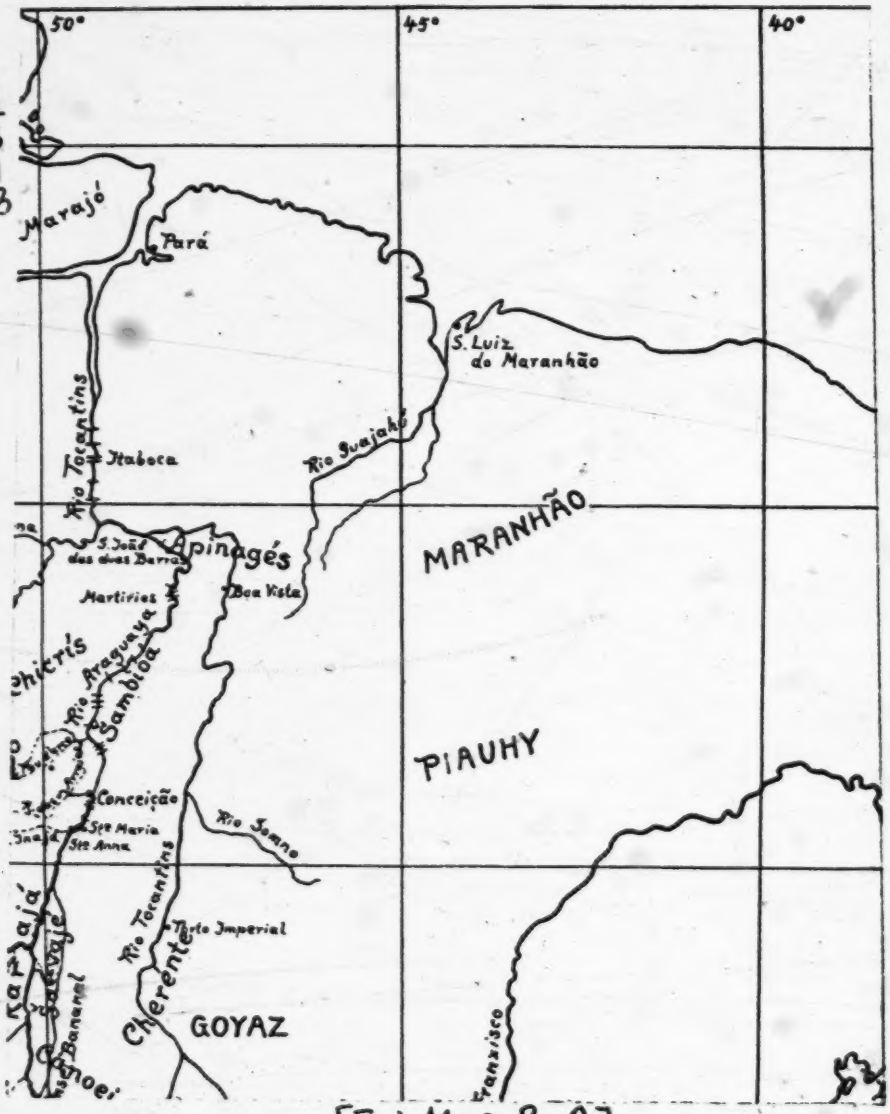

[End Map B-2]

5: Krause--371 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9
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Tapirape SP22

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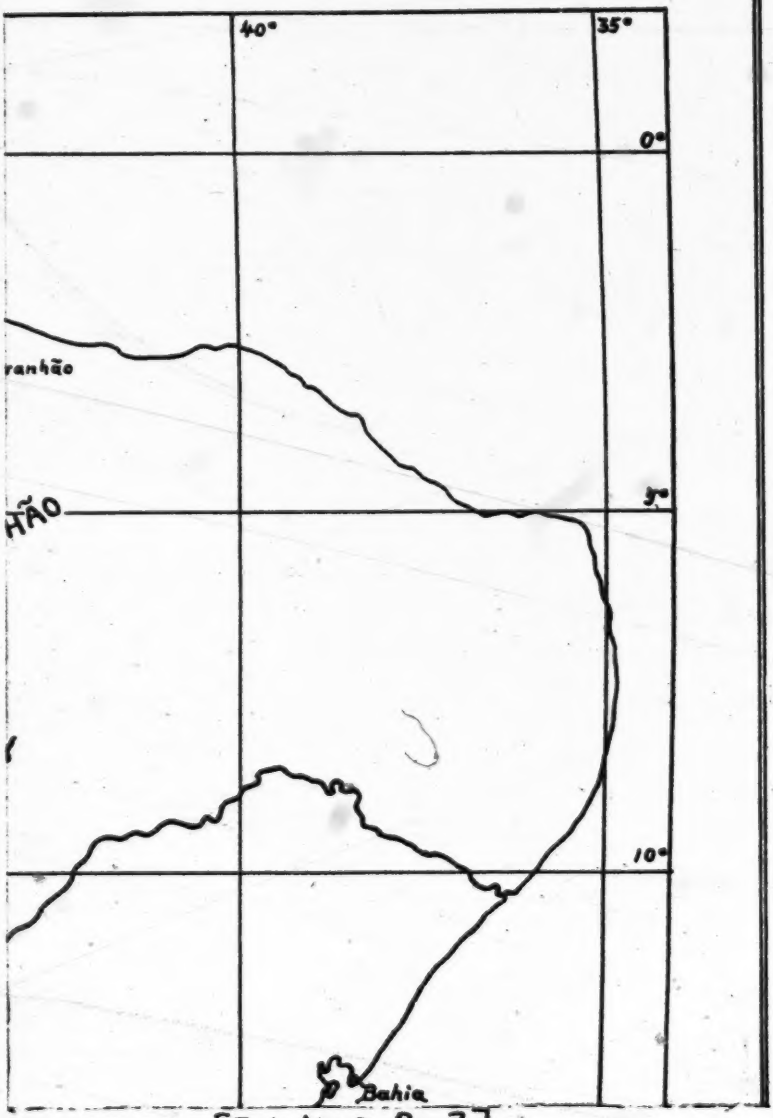

[End Map B-3]

5: Krause--372 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9 Bororo SP8 Tapirape SP22

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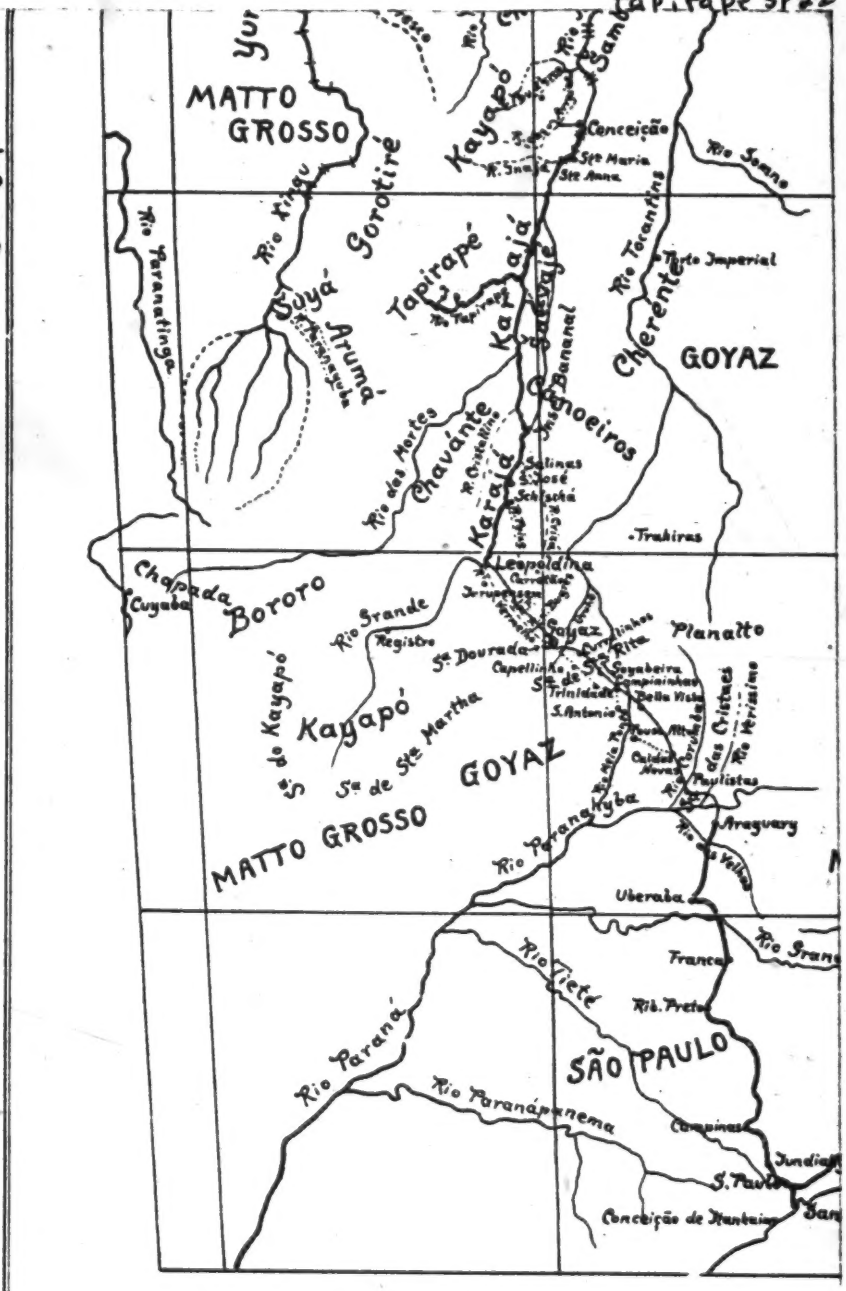

The travel route and the tribal names are entered in red.

[End Map B-4]

5: Krause--373 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9
Bororo SP8
Tapirape SP22

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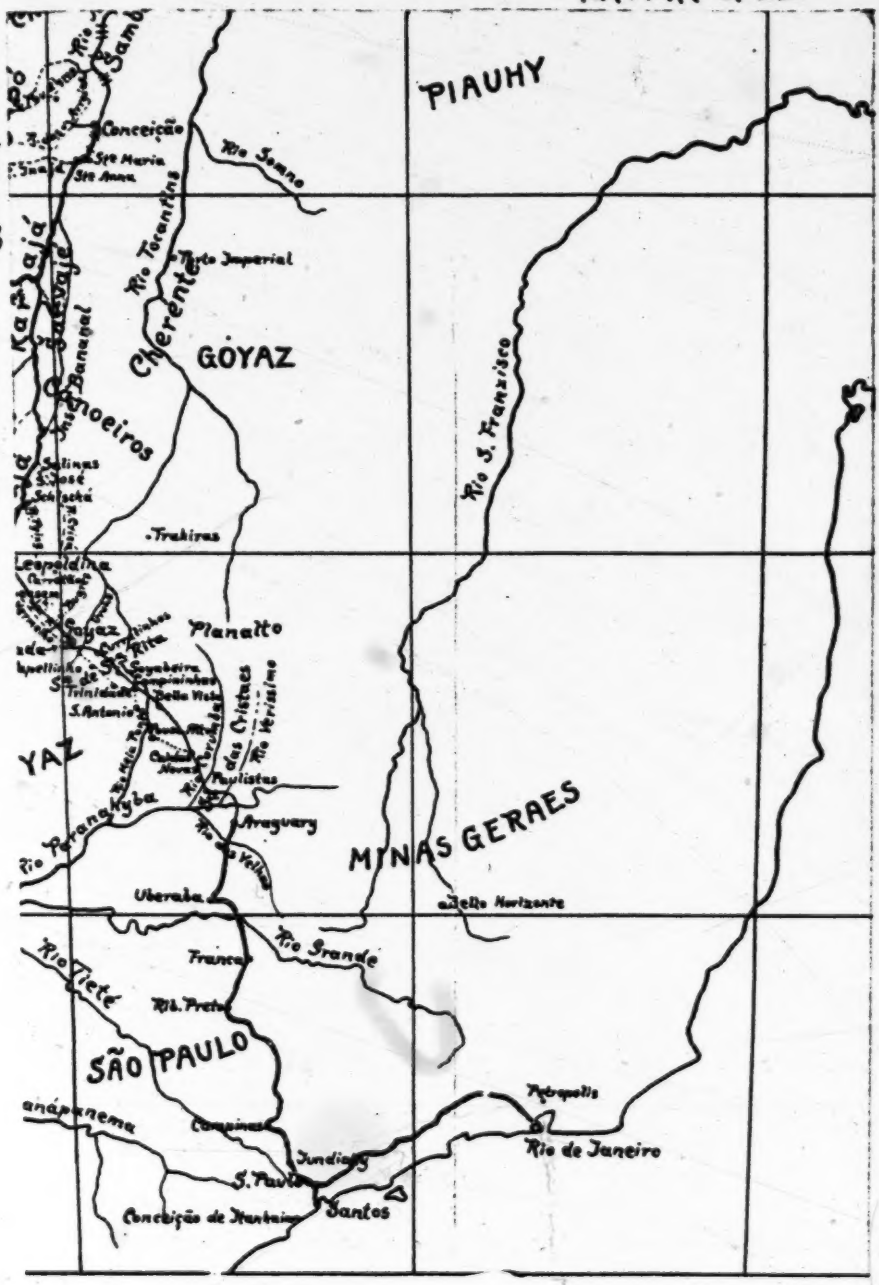
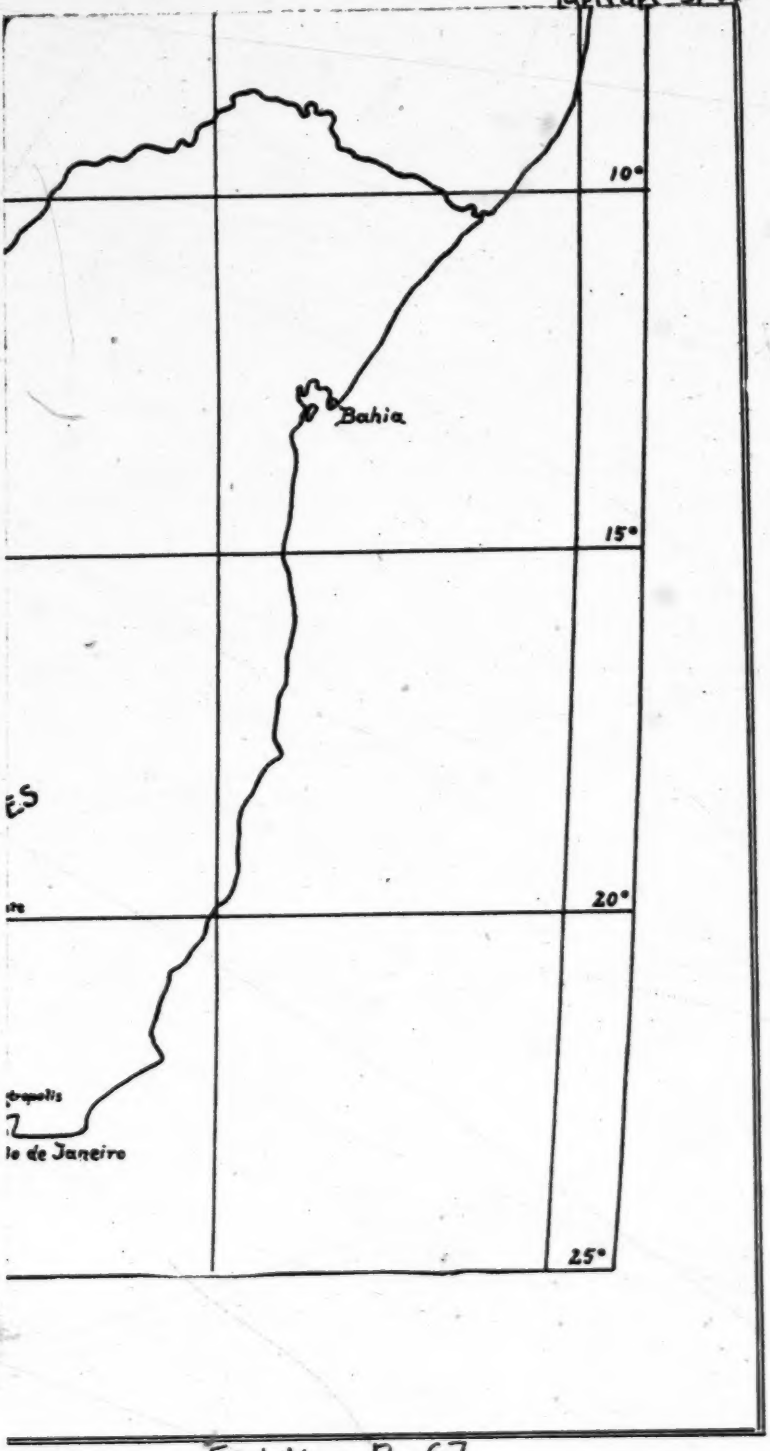


[End Map B-5]

5: Krause--374 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9
Bororo SP8
Tapirapé SP22



[End Map B-6]

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca.1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

Chapter VIII.

THE KARAYÁ.—RECEIVING STRANGERS.—PERSONAL ADORNMENT.—DOMICILES.—MENAGERIES.—FISHING AND HUNTING.—HUSBANDRY.—FOODS.

101 [161] The Karayá tribe is divided into three great divisions, or separate tribes, called the Yavahé, the Karayáhy and the Sambiôa, numbering in all about four thousand. Little is 131 known of the Yavahé division except that they dwell in three 162 villages, or encampments, by a large lake, or lagoon, in the unknown interior of the great Isle of Bananal, which is between three and four hundred miles long and nearly one hundred miles broad, being formed by the two arms of the 133 Araguaya river. The Yavahé lake has an outlet into the [114] eastern arm of the Araguaya. In our descent of the Araguaya, we followed the western arm.

177 186 The Yavahé, though hostile to civilized men, and determined to avoid all contact with "civilization," much desire, neverthless, to obtain the steel implements, such as axes, knives and grubbing hoes, which civilization alone can furnish them. Neither does the Sambiôa branch wish to have any direct contact with "civilization" because they see plainly that their brethren of the Karayáhy division, who live in touch with the "civilization" that exists in the interior of Brazil, and which we know to be semi-barbarous, immoral and superstitious, are in a worse plight, morally, socially and physically than they themselves are—that they are extremely poor and demoralized, and suffer from various diseases, contracted from "civilization," with which they themselves are

CARAJÁ COSMOGRAPHY

By William Lipkind

101 114 131 The Carajá are an isolated people inhabiting a large territory slightly north of the geographical center of Brazil. During 1938 and 1939 I lived with the Carajá and collected a large body of textual material which forms the basis of the generalized presentation of Carajá world-view which follows.[1]

772 The Carajá universe is very small. Their own territory (Bananal), an island formed by a large fork of the Araguaya river is its center. To the west the great Chavante plateau stretches out to the huge river in which [834] the sun goes down. All night the sun moves through the underworld and in the morning he comes up out of another river which is the eastern boundary of the world. If you paddle many days downriver, you will come to a village of the transformer Kanashiwe, the world's northern limit. An equal journey upstream will take you to its southern limit, another village of Kanashiwe.

[833] The Carajá are perfectly acquainted with the middle portion of this parallelogram. Every beach, high bank, wood and lake along the Araguaya, every body of water and distinctive patch of ground within Bananal, is known and has a name. The tributaries are known in less detail and only up to a few days' journey from their mouths. Inland from the rivers their knowledge peters out after a short distance and you are soon in mythical country.

[775] To the Carajá this world seems very large. The journey to its northern and southern limits is the initiation journey of the dead. No man since legendary times has gone very far toward the eastern and western boundaries, and, besides, there are two other dimensions, the underworld and the sky.

772 773 In the underworld, the original home of the Carajá, there was neither sickness nor death. As the emergence myth states, "More people kept being born. Nobody died. There wasn't room enough. When a man got old, he sat there in one place without moving. Kaboi couldn't add any more houses to the village. It was full. A new father was lying on the mat. It was time to eat honey. He went off hunting honey. While he was hunting he heard a *seriema* (Portuguese name of a bird) sing. He scooped a hole toward it and came out. He found fruit at once and decided to return. When he got back he gave his folk the fruit to taste. They found it very good and wanted to come out. They invited the others to come with them. Wobedu sent his folk out first and he went first among them. Kaboi came

[122] [1] The work was financed by Columbia University.

9:Gow-Smith T-5 (no date) 1925
SP9 Caraja SP9
Cayapo SP11

CARAJA AND CAYAPÓ ARTIFACTS FROM BRAZIL

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BEAUTIFULLY fashioned feather head-dresses, ingenious and terrible weapons, strange little images, implements and ornaments that characterize the lives and customs of the Caraja and Cayapó Indians, hitherto little known tribes that live in Matto Grosso and Para, the hinterland of Brazil, have been brought to the Museum by the writer, who has spent more than four years in this little-known region of South America.

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The Cayapó maidens wear narrow fillets of reed upon which are bound the short, curved feathers from the breasts of parrots, with short quills protruding in front. Some are of red and some of yellow feathers, the latter resembling fluffy halos. Occasionally the Cayapó find feathers of mixed red and yellow, not unlike striped tulips of those colors, and with these the women make fillets of exquisite beauty (fig. 95). Others are made by binding a number of short pieces of polished bamboo to a reed, topping them with iridescent feathers, and adding a long gray-white

/494 cont./

000

266 a-b.	Doll of white earth.	340
267.	The fish-fence on the fish-lake of the Tapirapé, viewed from the river. (Drawn from a photograph.)	343
268.	Turtle cage. (Drawn from a photograph.)	344
269 a-c.	Grills of the large roasting place of the Tapirapé.	345
270 a-b.	Tapirapé arrows.	345

Maps

102 1. Survey Map. Scale 1:20'000 000. 1

2. Map of the Rio Araguaya. Scale 1: 2'000 000. 2

Remarks on the Maps.

For the survey map our German atlases were used as a basis; the drawing in of the land route and of the Araguaya, however, was based on my records, which were taken with compass and watch.

For the land route from the Araguaya to Leopoldina this has resulted in essential deviations from our German maps, whereas my records agree better with the Brazilian map of the Companhia Mogyana (S. Paulo, 1905). Especially /495/ important are the changes I made on the stretch from Araguary to Caldas Novas.

The river survey was made from the south from Leopoldina to Village 16, from there to Conceição from the north.

It shows radical deviations from our atlases. The distances northward from the Rio das Mortes seem too great; moreover, the direction of the river differs from there to the east. In order to fit my data into the survey map, the stretch from the Rio das Mortes to Conceição had to be shortened by one-fifth and, in addition, turned approximately 9. 5° to the west. I did not make these corrections in the detail map of the river. My linear measurements are most nearly like those on Ehrenreich's map [113] (Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin, Vol. 27, Plate 3).

1 [cf. End Map B on pp. 369-374.]

2 [cf. End Map A on pp. 366-368.]

/495 cont./

102 [114] I should like to remark that on our maps the lower Araguaya from the north end of Bananal Island to the confluence with the Tocantins is represented very differently in its linear proportions, deviates sharply from the Ehrenreich map, which is based on the map of Moraes Jardim existing in Goyaz, and is more like Coudreau's map. Coudreau, however, traveled on the river under abnormal conditions -- extraordinarily high water. /The index, pp. 496-512, is omitted in the translation; see the foreign text./

5: Krause

SP9 Caraja SP9
Tapirape SP22

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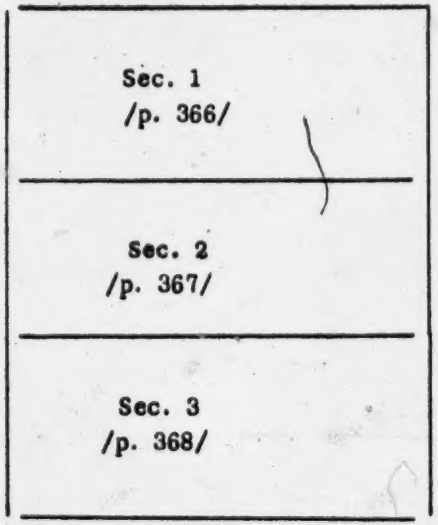

Chart of Positions of End Map A.
[Facing p. 365]

5:Krause--366 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9
Tapirape SP22

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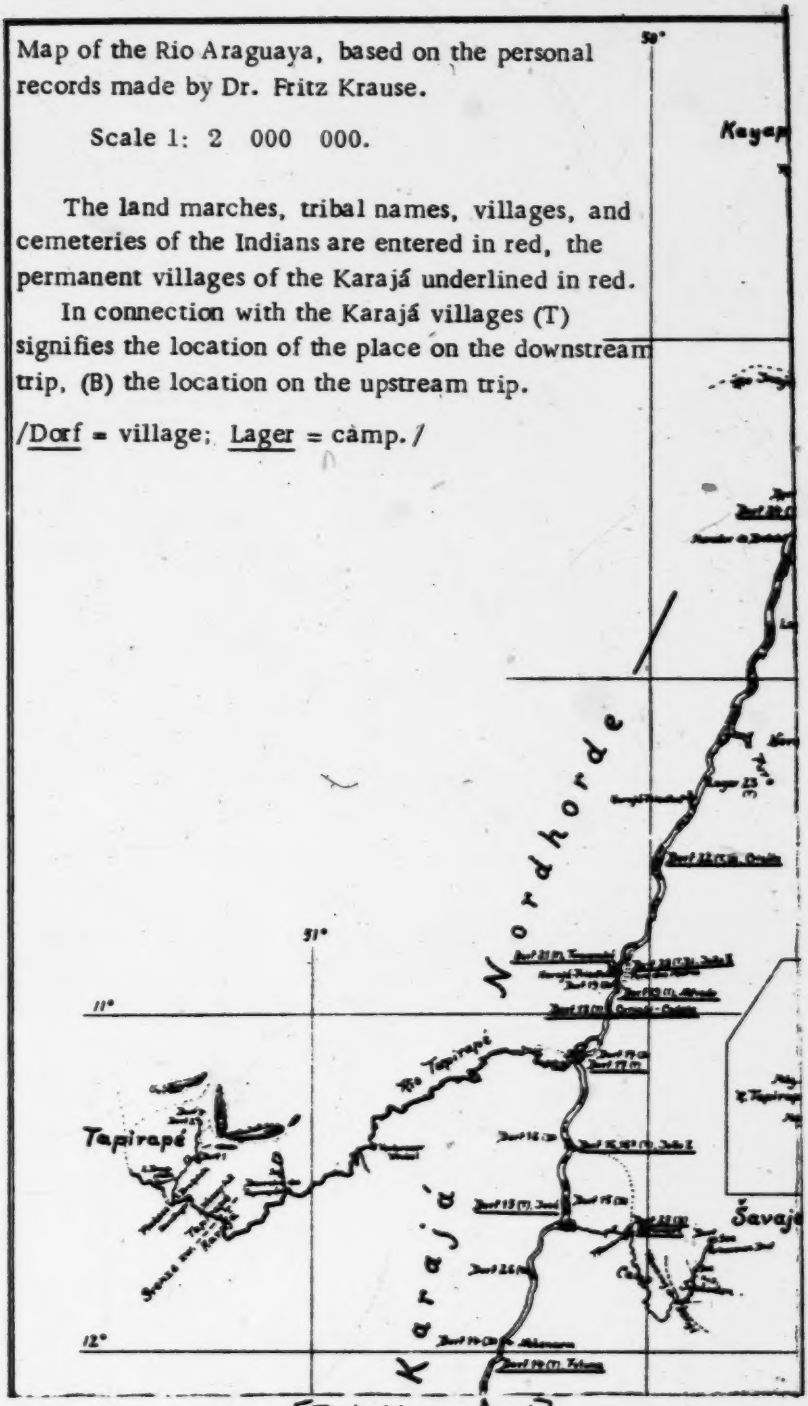
Map of the Rio Araguaya, based on the personal records made by Dr. Fritz Krause.

Scale 1: 2 000 000.

The land marches, tribal names, villages, and cemeteries of the Indians are entered in red, the permanent villages of the Karajá underlined in red.

In connection with the Karajá villages (T) signifies the location of the place on the downstream trip, (B) the location on the upstream trip.

/Dorf = village; Lager = camp./



[End Map A-1]

5: Krause--367 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9 ●
Tapirape SP22

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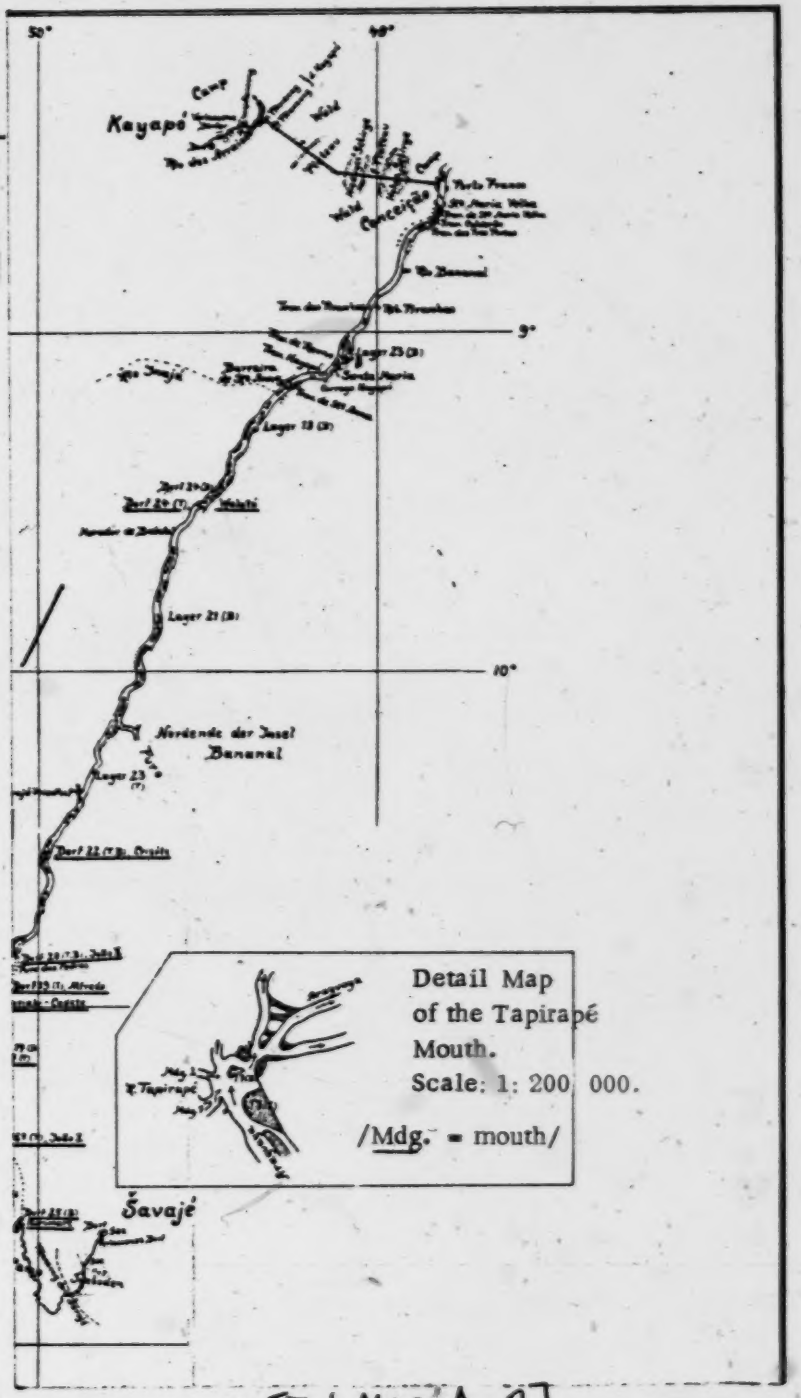

[End Map A-2]

5: Krause--368 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9
Tapirape SP82

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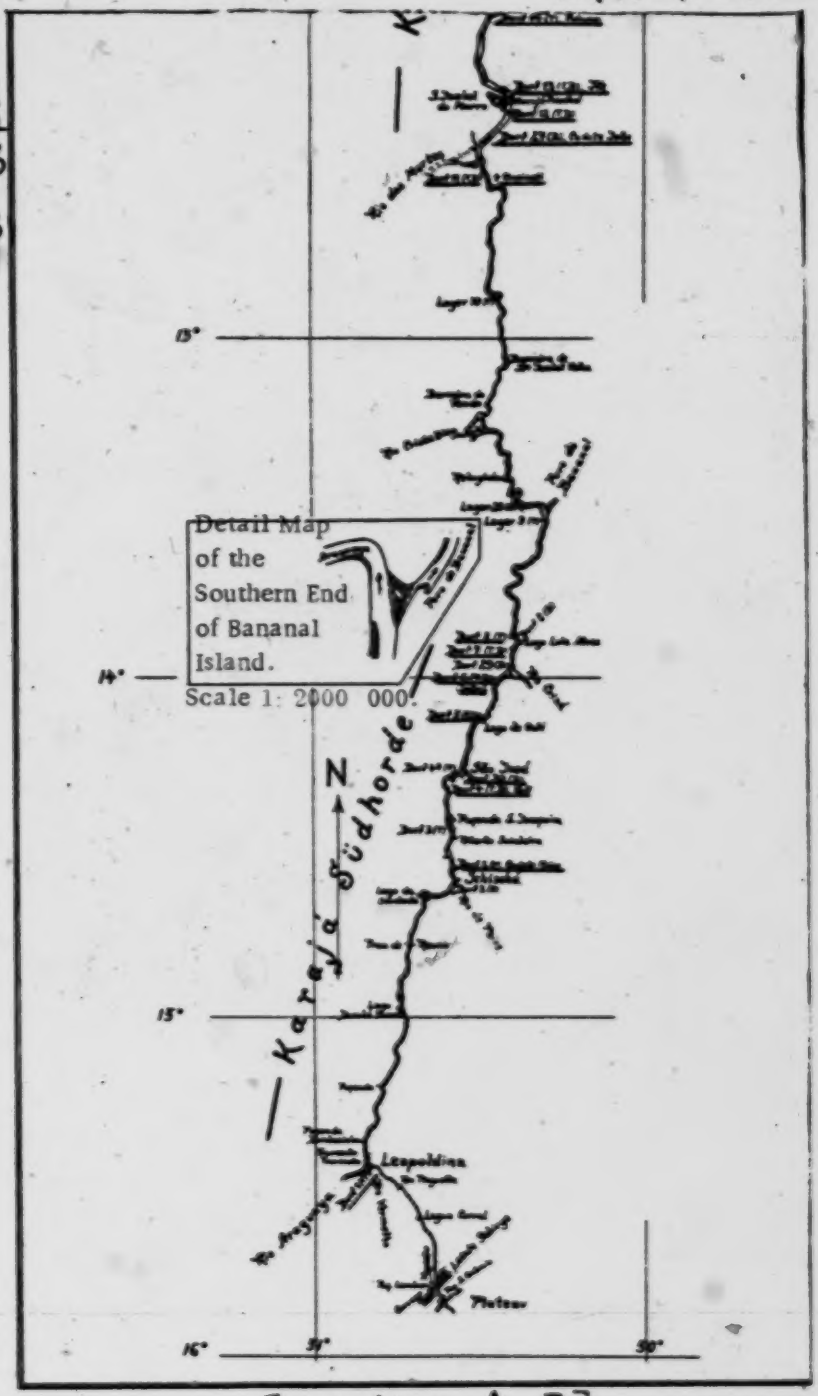

[End Map A-3]

5: Krause

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SP9 Caraja SP9
Bororo SP8
Tapirape SP22

Sec. 1 /p. 369/	Sec. 2 /p. 370/	Sec. 3 /p. 371/
Sec. 4 /p. 372/	Sec. 5 /p. 373/	Sec. 6 /p. 374/

Chart of Positions of End Map B.
/Facing p. 368/

5: Krause--369 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9
Bororo SP8
Tapirape SP22

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Survey Map

Scale 1: 20'000 000.

53°
50°
Marajó
Pará
Rio Amazonas
Rio Tocantins
PARÁ
Rio Tocantins
Rio Araguaya
Rio Tocantins
Rio Xingu
Rio Tocantins
Rio Jauno
Rio Paranatinga
Rio Tocantins
Rio Tocantins
Rio Tocantins

5: Krause--370 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9
Bororo SP8
Tapirape SP 22

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[End Map B-2]

5: Krause--371 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9
Bororo SP8
Tapirape SP22

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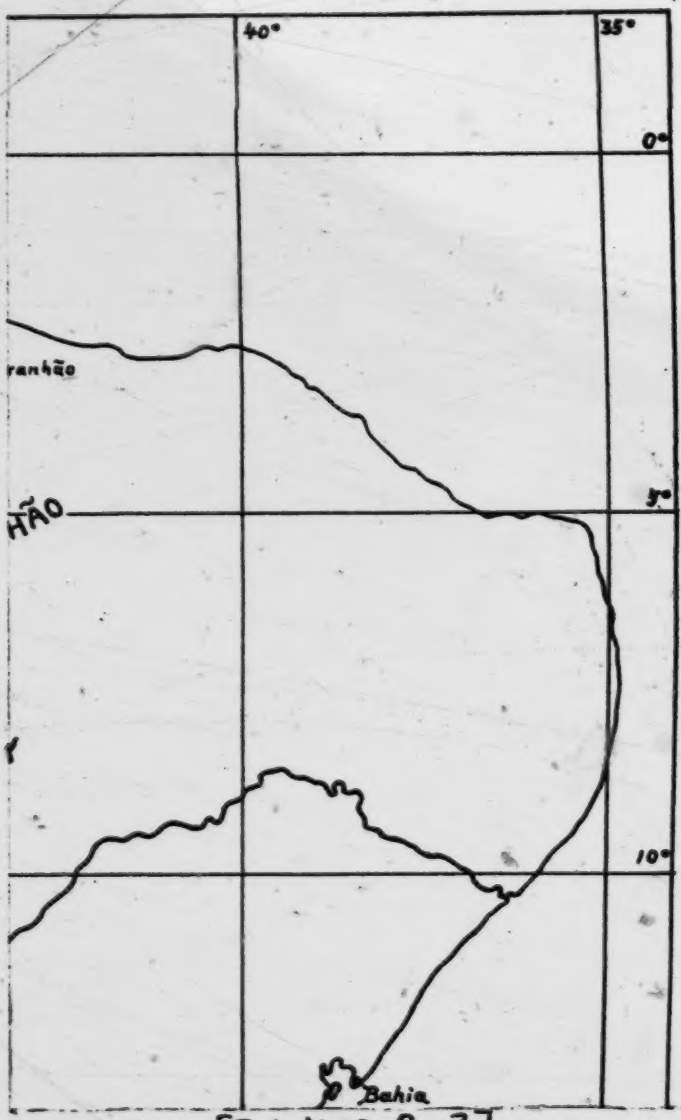

[End Map B-3]

5: Krause--372 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9 Bororo SP8 Tapirape SP22

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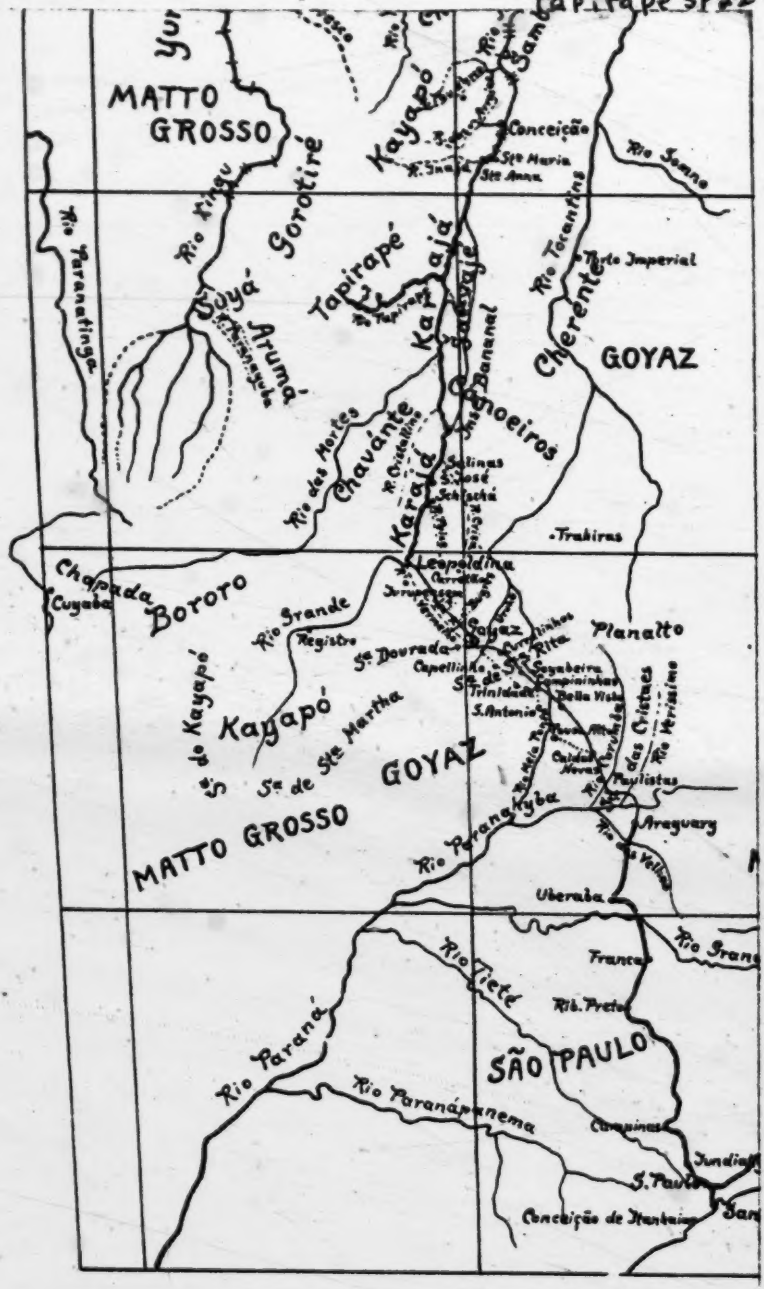

The travel route and the tribal names are entered in red.

[End Map B-4]

5: Krause--373 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9 ●
Bororo SP8
Tapirape SP22

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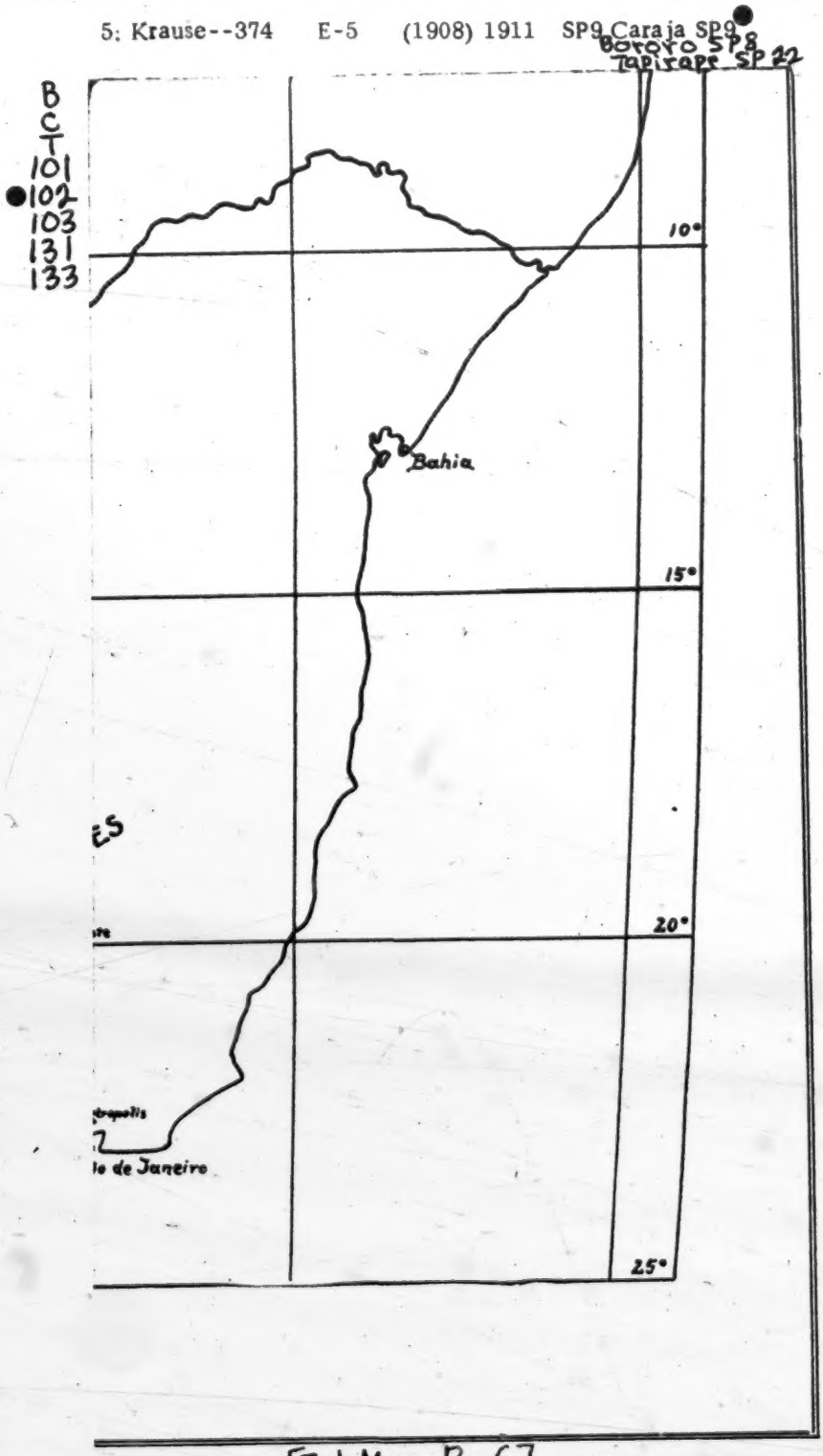
[End Map B-5]

5: Krause--374 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9



[End Map B-6]

/188 cont./

36 Tŭmănăkū (said to have died in September 1908), João III,
[162 Alfredo, Cyriāki-Cadete (Cyriāki moved to the mouth of the
[622 Tapirapé in September 1908), village on the mouth of the Tapirapé, village of the chief João II, José, Fŏtūnă, Ilk, village on the Izabel Morro, Cadete João, village of the deceased Cincinati. The villages are divided into three groups and an
[484 outlying settlement: Walata lives four days' journey (the days'
[622 journeys are calculated for the descent in a rowboat) below
[578 Crisote, since he is hostile to all the Karajá and therefore is duly feared by them; in the fall of 1908, however, there seems to have been a reconciliation between them. Crisote also lives somewhat isolated, namely, a full day's journey below Tumanakū. From Tumanakū to José there is a string of villages; the average distance between them is a three hours' journey. Only the village on the mouth of the Tapirapé is a trip of four or five hours away from either of the two neighboring villages. Between José and Fotuna there is a distance of one and a half days' journey; then the villages again follow at shorter distances.

[622 A branch of the north horde is the Karajá village of Chief Kŏrŭmăré along the river on Bananal, located a day's march to the east from the village of José. /Pl. 38 appears here./

36 /189/ The south horde lives from the Rio Crixá to the Rio
[162 Vermelho in eight fixed settlements: on the Lago Luiz Alves,
[103 below and above the Rio Crixá, on the Lago de Café, in São José (āũwĭ), just above São José (hōlĕnĕkă), just below the Rio de Peixe (šĭšă), on the mouth of the Rio Vermelho above
[484 Leopoldina (šĭšămādŏ). These villages, too, are divided into several groups: three villages lie on the Rio Crixá at a distance of about three to four hours' travel apart. The village on the Lago de Café is midway between Rio Crixá and São José and is
[103 about four to six hours of travel in distance from the two. Near
[484 São José there are two villages: šĭšă is one and a half days' journey away; šĭšămādŏ is two and a half days' journey from
[621 šĭšă. šĭšămādŏ is an outlying settlement that has existed for

[TEXT Continues on P. 62]

/351/

II. The Šavajé.

175 1. Historical.

Up to the present time the Šavajé /Javahe/ have been known almost only by name. The first to see the entire island of Bananal was Diogo Pinto da Gaia in 1720; I was unable to obtain his report, however, so I cannot say whether he encountered the Šavajé. We have the oldest report by José Pinto da Fonseca, who in 1773 navigated the Araguaya and pacified the Karajá. [62] He reported (Rev. trim. 8, pp. 376 ff.) that they lived in three [31] villages on the island of Bananal. He says that in the interior of the island there was a large lake abounding in fish (1).

1. Ibid., p. 389.--This report does not show that the Šavajé lived on this lake, as subsequent investigators construed (Ehrenreich, "Beiträge," pp. 5, 7).

[574] During his sojourn among the Karajá, the latter were visited by the Šavajé; wrestling took place as a greeting. According to his statements, the two peoples lived in peace. The Šavajé came riding up in large numbers in boats; they bore feather ornaments on their heads and lances adorned with feathers in their hands and blew on trumpets.

In 1774 Vasconcellos was on the Araguaya with Fonseca; he established a presidio and the aldeamendo Nova Beira on the east arm of Bananal where he settled Karajá and Šavajé. He [103] named the three villages of the Šavajé Cunha, Mello, and Ponte de Lima (Rev. trim. 37, p. 393). The presidio and aldeamendo soon ceased to exist: in 1782 the Indians of the aldeamendo were resettled in the new aldea of São José de Mossamedes, where they gradually perished. It is not absolutely certain whether there were Šavajé also at the aldea Pedro III (Carretão). In 1786 Miguel de Arrudo e Sá received the order to make war on the Chavánte and establish an aldea for them. He

5: Krause

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Tapirape SP22

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Sec. 1 /p. 366/
Sec. 2 /p. 367/
Sec. 3 /p. 368/

Chart of Positions of End Map A.
[Facing p. 365]

5:Krause--366 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9
Tapirape SP22

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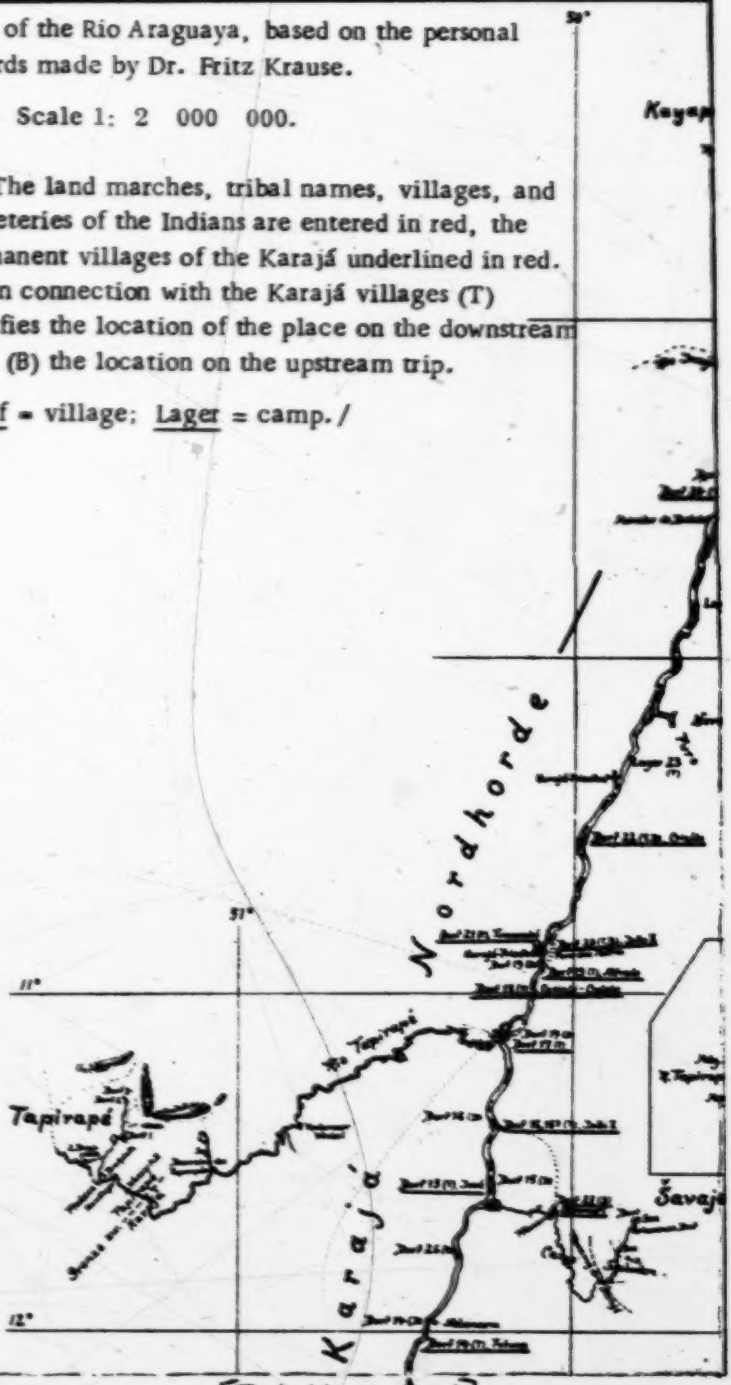
Map of the Rio Araguaya, based on the personal records made by Dr. Fritz Krause.

Scale 1: 2 000 000.

The land marches, tribal names, villages, and cemeteries of the Indians are entered in red, the permanent villages of the Karajá underlined in red.

In connection with the Karajá villages (T) signifies the location of the place on the downstream trip, (B) the location on the upstream trip.

/Dorf = village; Lager = camp./



[End Map A-1]

5: Krause--367 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9

Tapirape SP22

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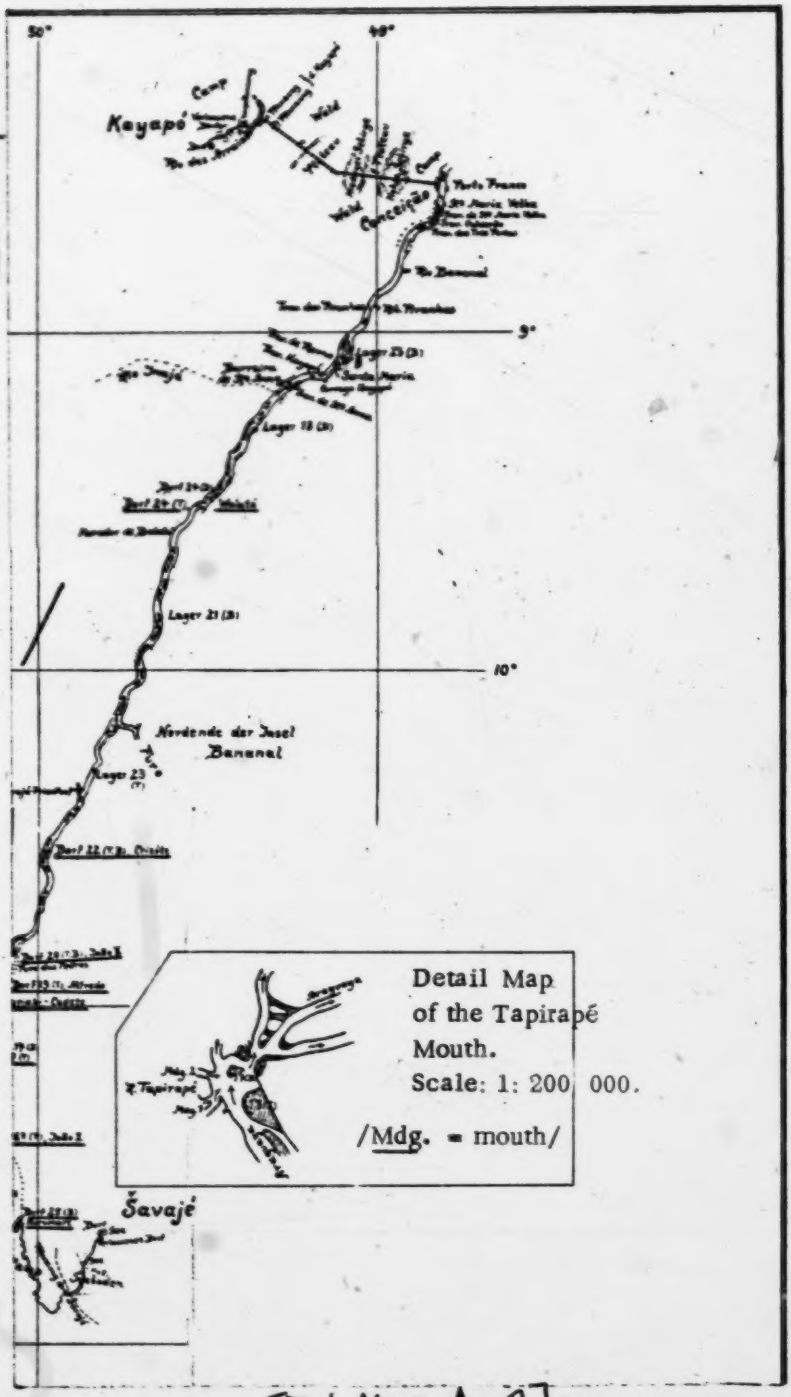

[End Map A-2]

5: Krause--368 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9 Tapirape SP82

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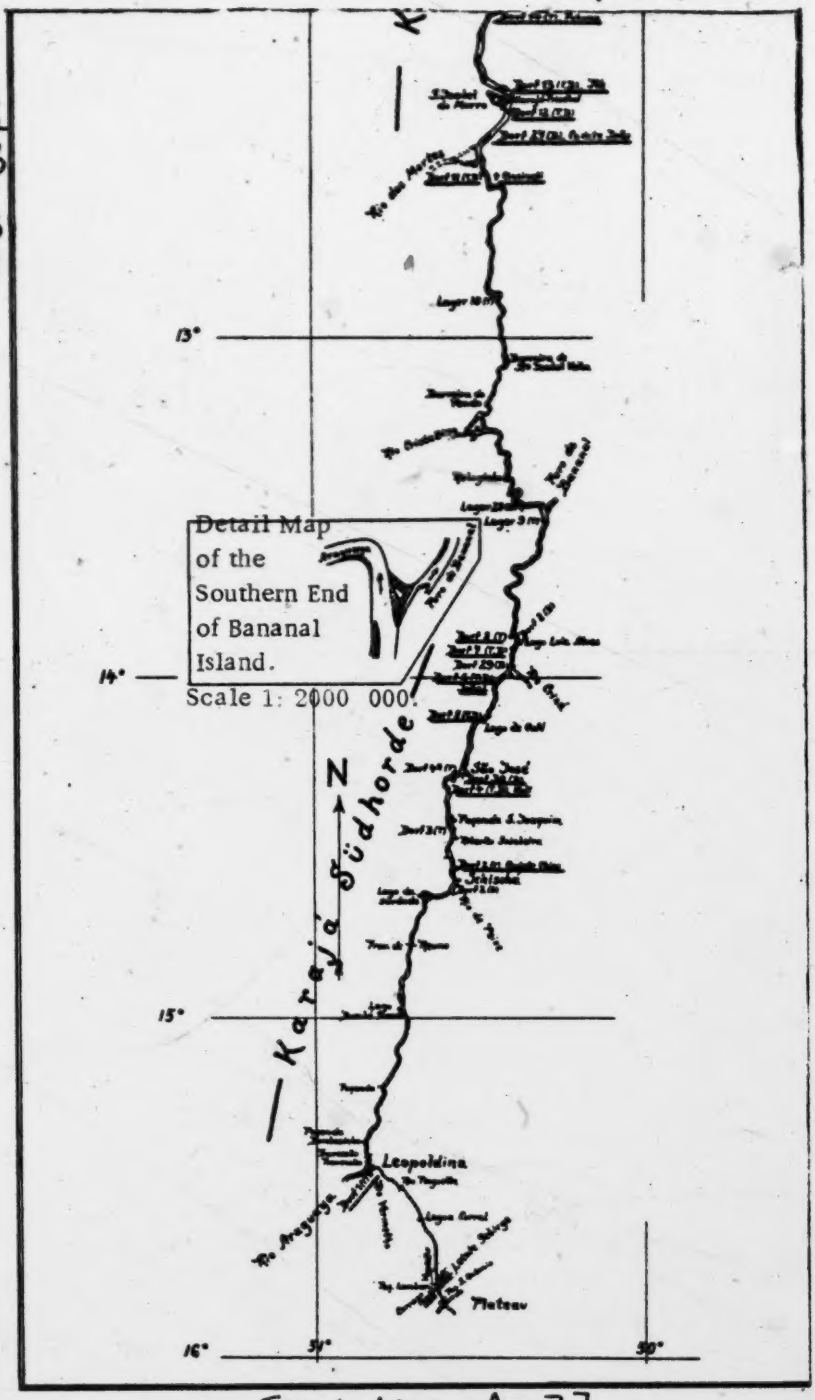

[End Map A-3]

5: Krause

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SP9 Caraja SP9
Bororo SP8
Tapirape SP22

Sec. 1 /p. 369/	Sec. 2 /p. 370/	Sec. 3 /p. 371/
Sec. 4 /p. 372/	Sec. 5 /p. 373/	Sec. 6 /p. 374/

Chart of Positions of End Map B.
/Facing p. 368/

5: Krause--369 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9
Bororo SP8
Tapirape SP22

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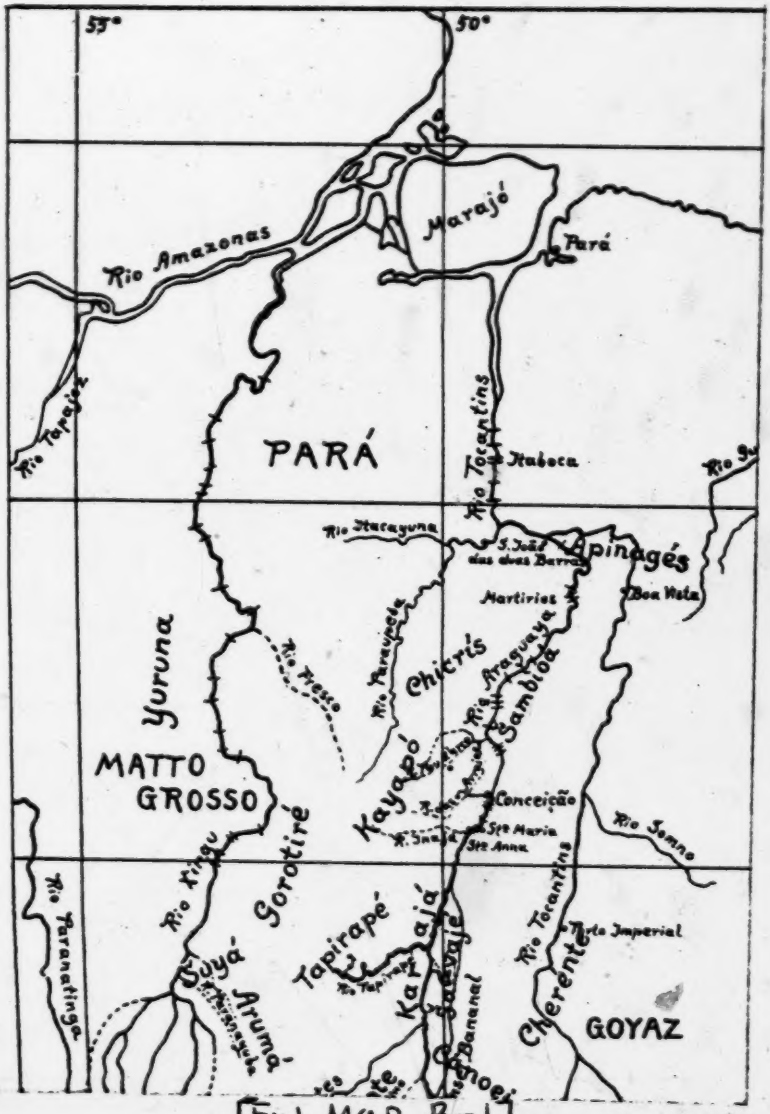
Survey Map

Scale 1: 20'000 000.



[End Map B-1]

5: Krause--370 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9
Bororo SP8
Tapirape SP 22

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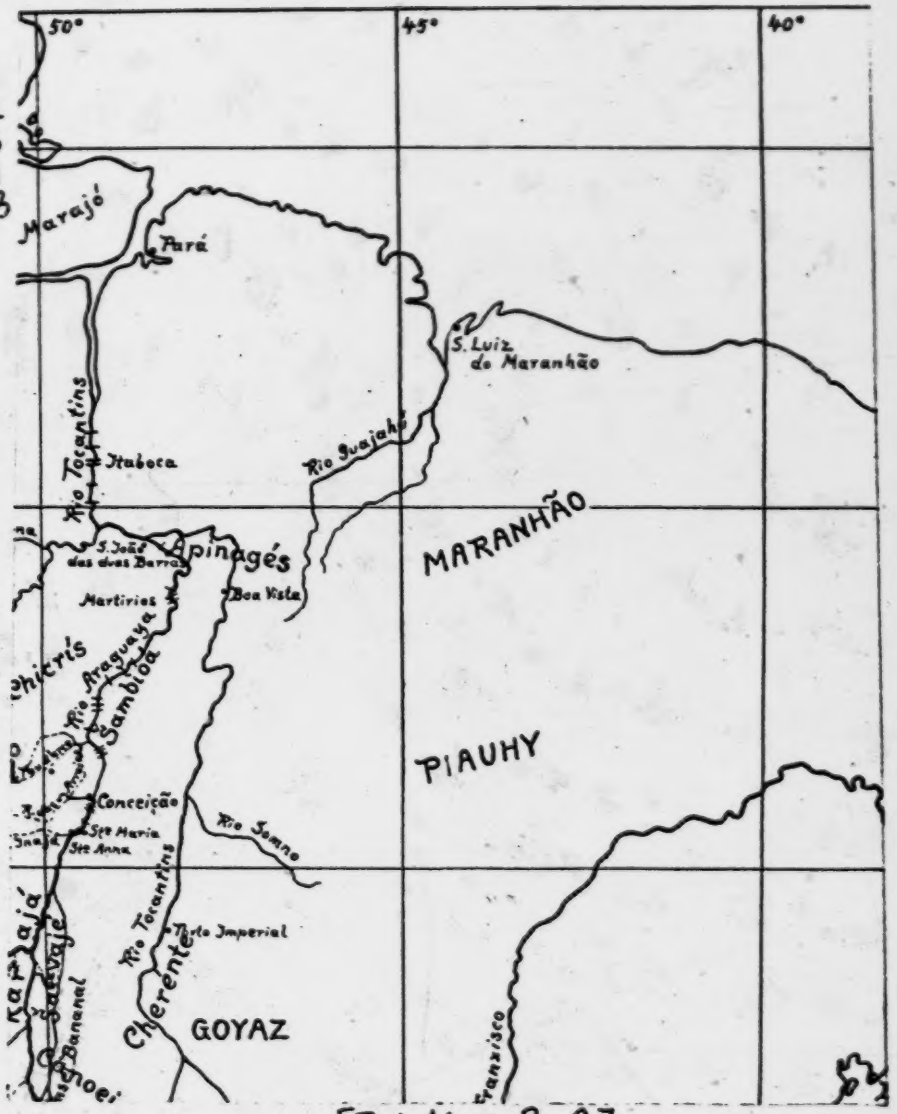

[End Map B-2]

5: Krause--371 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9
Bororo SP8
Tapirape SP22

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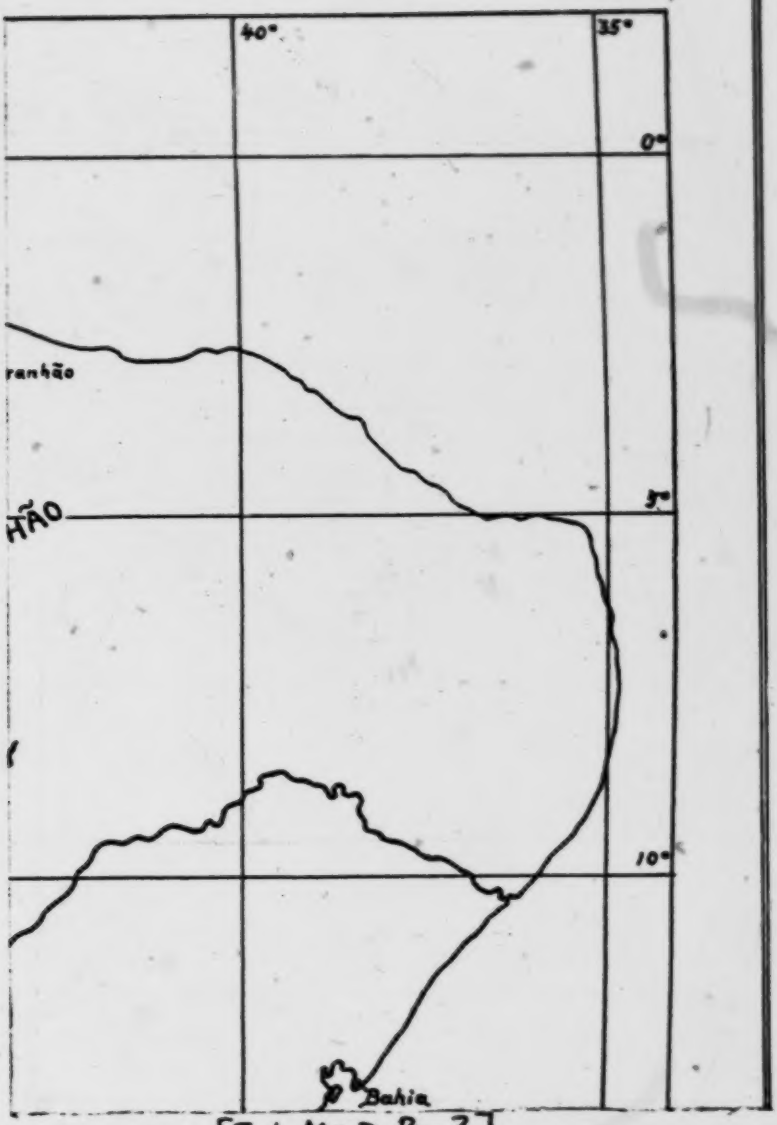

[End Map B-3]

5: Krause--372 E-5 (1908) 1911 · SP9 Caraja SP9 Bororo SP8 Tapirape SP22

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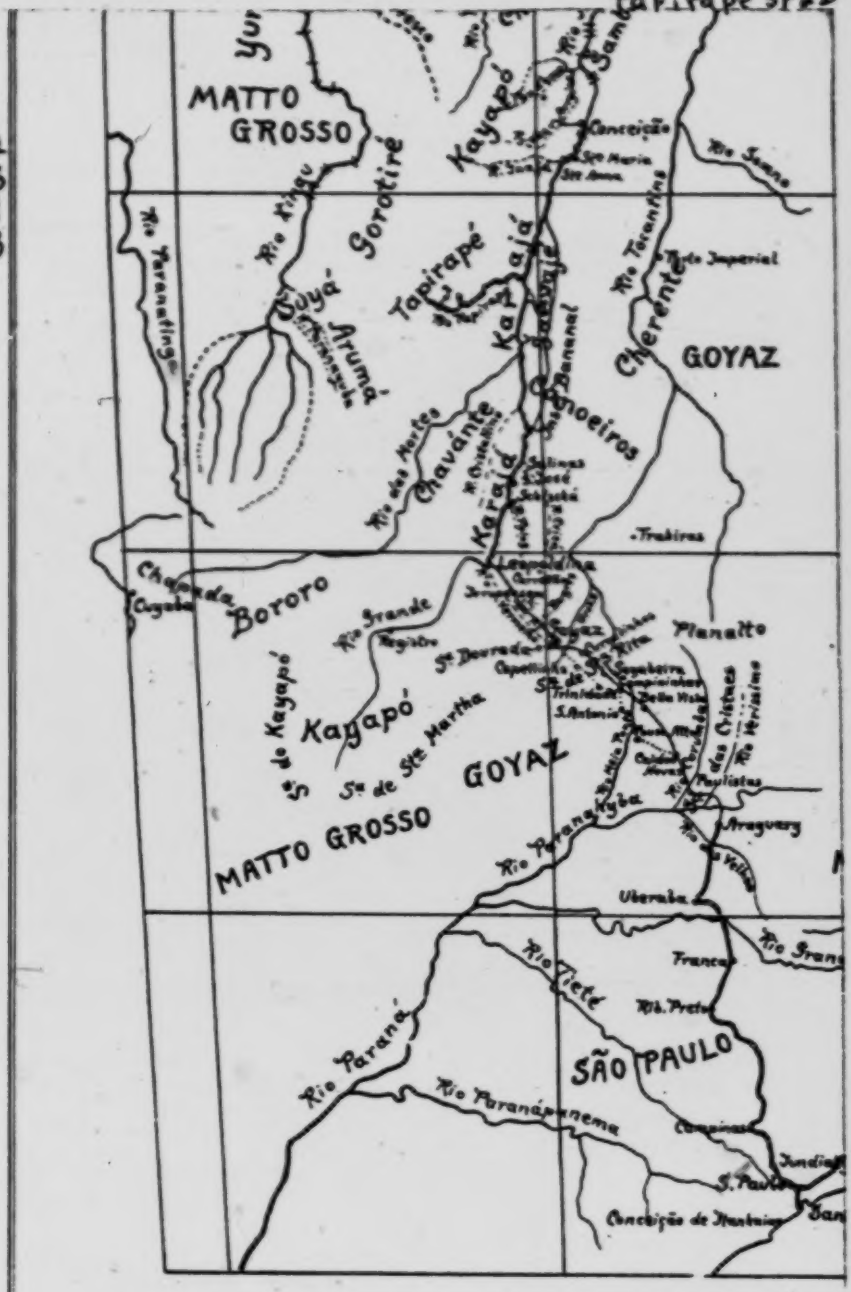

The travel route and the tribal names are entered in red.

[End Map B-4]

5: Krause--373 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9
Bororo SP8
Tapirape SP22

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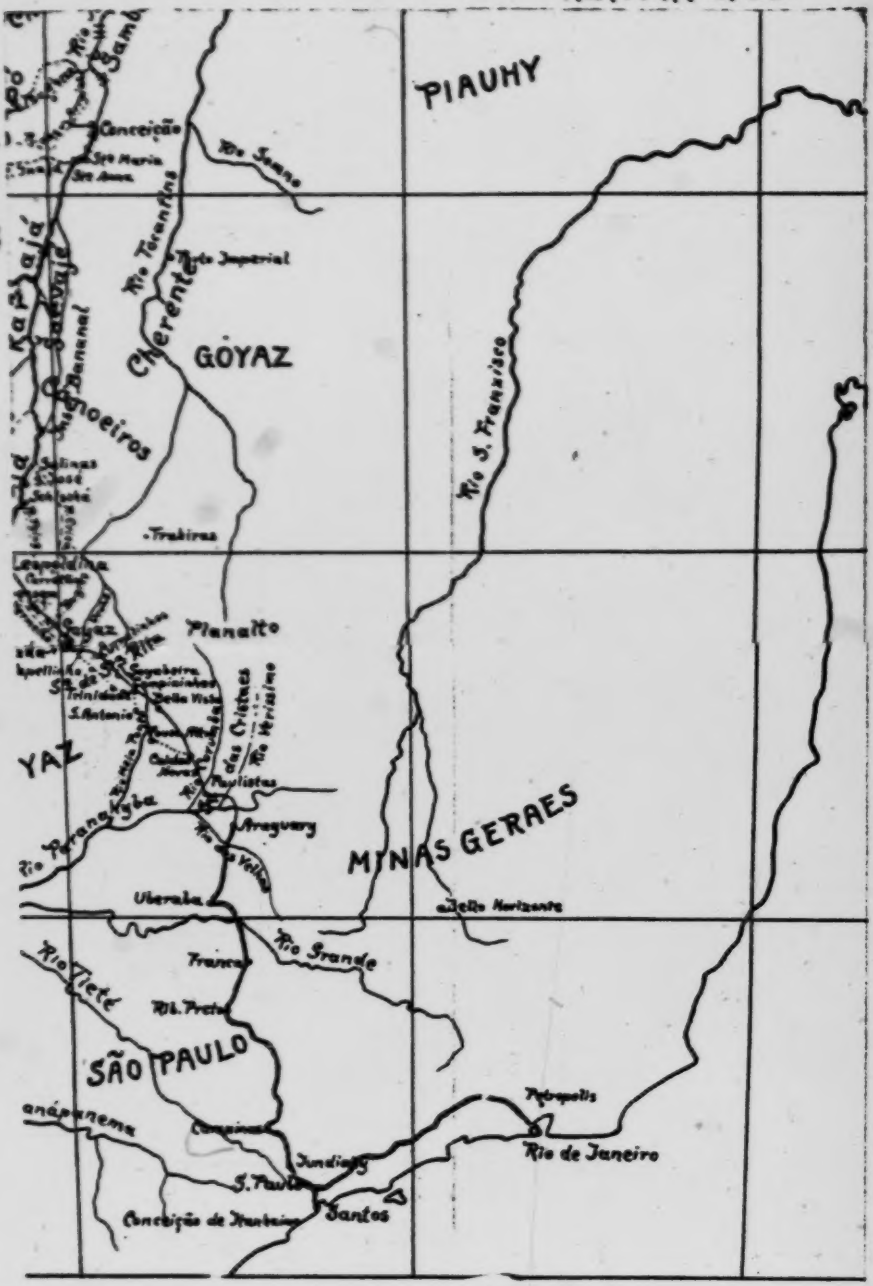
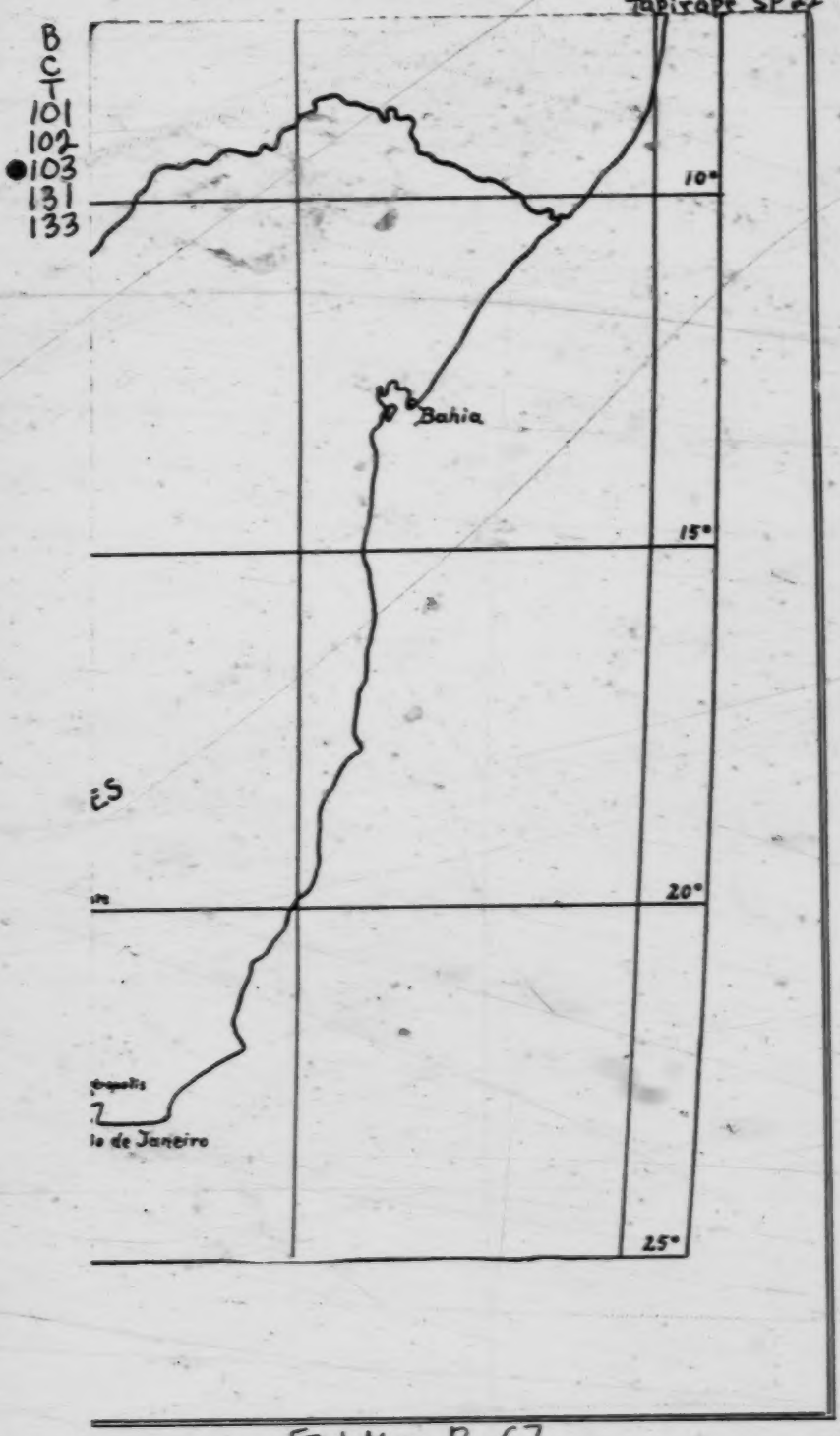


[End Map B-5]

5: Krause--374 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9
Bororo SP8
Tapirape SP22



[End Map B-6]

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

000 mas it was to me! How almost infinitely removed it was from the situations and environments of former Christmas days! I seemed to be a wanderer in a world wholly different from that which I had formerly known. The afternoon of Christ-
133 mas day, we passed the principal mouth of the Rio das Mor-
[103] tes—a river with an uncanny name because of a sombre history. It takes its name, I believe, from the fact that a party of explorers, while navigating the Araguaya in canoes long ago, were slain here by the savages. It is a great river, though almost unknown to the world, and drains a vast region
114 that is almost wholly unexplored. While passing the outlet of this mysterious river, a storm burst upon us, and our
[132] large canoe, becoming unmanageable, was finally driven ashore. Darkness closing in rapidly we prepared and ate our Christmas dinner in the wind and rain at the edge of the
000 forest. We had no expectation that Santa Claus would penetrate the unknown, mysterious wildernesses that enveloped us to fill our stockings; though a few of our party did fear that the tiger might come to us for *his* Christmas dinner. So we all slept under a large tree close around the fire.

764 The next day, we visited a Karayá cemetery on top of a hill. As we entered the cemetery, I saw one of our Karayá canoe men, who had preceded us, standing over a nice water-
[262] melon that had grown there. I wondered why he did not eat it at once as they are fond of this fruit. But he would not touch it, nor would any of the Karayá, because it was a product of the cemetery, and intended, perhaps, as food for those who had gone to the shadow land. Two of our party did eat it; however, one of whom was myself. But I must acknowledge that it tasted unpleasantly like a Karayá smells. Our woman voyager declared that we had eaten the flesh of a defunct Karayá. Broken pottery was lying about in the cemetery together with skulls and other human bones; while sunk into the ground or standing on the surface were large clay urns containing the osseous remains of dead Karayá. Pumpkins also were growing in the cemetery as well as melons.

/1/ Preface

114 In the following I am publishing the material in the field of art which I collected on my expedition to the interior of Brazil. In 1908 I undertook an ethnographic research trip for the [101] [122] Leipzig Museum für Völkerkunde to the Araguaia River (Goiás Province), in the course of which I became acquainted with the Karajá /Caraja/, Šavajé /Javahe/, and Kayapó /Cayapo/ (1)

[104] [113]

1. For the transcription of the Indian names I use the sound-notation given by Meinhof in: Neumayer, Anleitung zu wissenschaftlichen Beobachtungen auf Reisen /Introduction to Scientific Observations on Journeys/, 3rd edition, p. 484.

Indian tribes settled there. Whereas the visit among the latter two tribes was limited to only a few days, I was in constant contact with the Karajá for a full five months, so that I was able to penetrate more deeply into the culture and thought world of this people.

126 In addition to the easily acquired ethnographic objects and most important ethnographic facts, I was also able, by means of an ever deeper intimacy with these Indians, to obtain all kinds of objects and information otherwise difficult to procure. In this way I was able, above all, to collect considerable material which permits us insight into the artistic creativity of the Indians, and thus into an important area of their spiritual life. And, moreover, this is not only drawings, which are already available from several Indian tribes, but above all a great many plastic representations (plaited, wax, and clay figures), which arouse our interest all the more since we possess only a few of these from South America. Again, among the drawings, in addition to figure representations, /2/ the manifold plaiting patterns are particularly important, since they will provide a valuable contribution on the question of ornamentation (1).

[101] 1. In the following, in addition to drawings

4: Ehrenreich--1 E-5 (1888) 1891 SP9 Caraja SP9
Cariban Indians SR7

/1/
000 I. The Karaya /Caraja/ Tribes on the Araguaia River (Goyaz) /pp. 4-97 /.

II. Concerning several Peoples on the Purus River (Amazonas) /untranslated/.

/Page 2 is blank. /

/3/ Foreword

C 114 121 The ethnological material communicated in the following is the result of a journey through little-known regions of the interior of Brazil, undertaken in connection with the second Xingu expedition of Dr. Carl von der Steinen, which set out at the beginning of the year 1887 in order to subject to closer study the wild tribes still living on a pre-Columbian level of culture in the source area of this river.

CI 121 174 One of the most important results of this expedition was the final solution of the Karaib /Carib/ question. That the original home of the Karaib tribes, whose ethnographic position had been so unclear up to now, was not to be sought in northeastern South America, but in the central regions of the continent was made sufficiently certain by the discovery of two large Karaib peoples in the Xingu source region, the Bakairi /Bacairi/ and Nahuqua, the more detailed investigation of their languages, and the fortunate discovery of the traditions concerning their migrations. It was then a matter of following the traces of those ancient displacements of peoples, of finding Karaib tribes which formed the connecting link between the two widely separated groups of this large family of peoples. Certain observations permitted the assumption that the Karaya (1) of the lower Xingu and the middle Araguaia

C ●104

1. The spelling Karaya, instead of Caraja or Karaža, was chosen because the sound j in the mouths of the people themselves sounds like a German j (phonetic y). The soft sibilant ž occurs in their language only in the combination dž.

/9 cont./

reception uncommonly difficult. It is certain that this language is related to no other Brazilian language known up to now, although odd word-similarities with Gês dialects do occur.

Its noteworthy peculiarity is the existence of separate men's and women's languages, as is found in like manner among the Guaicuru and Chiquitanos. Only a few words, however, are completely different; for most of them the form is merely modified unimportantly. For instance, where two vowels come one after the other in the men's dialect, a k comes between the two in the women's dialect. Thus:

rain ♂ biũ, ♀ bikũ, maize ♂ mahĩ, ♀ makĩ.

At times the women's word merely has one more syllable at the end, etc. Probably the women have merely retained an older form of the language. The native words printed in italics in the text are accented on the final syllable where something different is not expressly noted.

External Appearance, Clothing, Adornment.

According to their physical appearance, the Karaya represent one of the handsomer types among the tribes of Brazil. They are not particularly robust in stature, but rather are medium-sized and gracile; however, the slender body, the regularity of their limbs, the proud mien make them seem bigger than they really are. Their impressive muscular power, the elasticity and agility of their movements come to the fore especially in boxing matches, their most popular sport. The neck musculature is very strongly developed, as among all Indians, which makes them capable of carrying enormous loads with a forehead-tumpline.

The form of the skull is consistently hypsidolichocephalic, without especially prominent prognathism. The absence of eyebrow ridges make the face somewhat open. The eyelid, horizontal or slightly slanted, is remarkably small, but nevertheless does not lend the face a really Mongoloid appearance, because of the always very prominently projecting nose. The nose itself starts very far down.

[This source contains a number of local, Brazilian terms which are fairly uncommon and difficult to identify. The probable meanings of some of these terms are indicated below.]

Foreign term	Page reference	Identification
mutum	1, 148, 155, 157	currassow
taquara	98 ff.	a kind of bamboo
aruera (wood)	110	probably aroeira
jabuticaba	149	*Mouriria pusa*
mangaba	149	*Hancornia speciosa* (fruit of)
cara	149	*Dioscorea* sp.

/171/

Second Part

Scientific Findings

/Page 172 is blank. /

/173/ Historical Review

175 The first one about whom we have reports that he visited the Araguaya /Araguaia/ region is Capitão Diogo Pinto de Gaia, who traveled up the river from Pará to the southern tip of Bananal in the year 1720. He is supposed to have seen all of Bananal Island on this occasion (1).

[113] 1. Moraes Jardim, o Rio Araguaya /The Araguaia River/, foreword; Ehrenreich, "Beiträge zur Geographie /Contributions to Geography/," II, p. 149.

We find the first mention of the Karajá in the report about the journey of the Paulista Antonio Pires de Campos, which must have taken place between the years 1718 and 1746. Pires Campos traveled with his father from Cuyaba down the Rio das Mortes in a boat, then traveled northward on the Araguaya as far as the cachoeira /cataract/ of Itaboca, from the litoral mountains of which they saw in the west the mountains of the Araes, where gold was said to be found in beech leaves. On the return journey, above the confluence of the Paraupebas (2), they met many

2. The Tocantins, according to Rev. trim. 37, p. 263, note 19.

Indians (Apinages? /Apinaye/), visited the Martírios, and from there had a rough trip to the Ilha dos Carajás (3). Across the

[104] 3. The tribal names are given here in the form used by the respective authors.

/187 cont./

101 The Karajá proper (2). They call themselves: kărăjă̆,

2. As explained above, I mean by Karajá the Indians called Carayahí by Ehrenreich. In accordance with the rather sharp J sound, which was often pronounced like dj, I was obliged to change the spelling to Karajá.

[104]

kărădjă̆, or krădjă̆. In addition, ĭnă̆ and ĭnau̯ă̆ were given as designations for themselves. They are called Karayá by the Brazilians. Among the Šavajé, according to their own statement, they are called šŭšomădŏ or bĕrĕhŏkŭwăndŭ, among the
13| Cherénte wārăšŭtŏrŏ. They inhabit the middle course of the
[437] Araguaya, at present from 15° 15' to 10° 12' south latitude; their boundaries are thus the mouth of the Rio Vermelho in the south, a place between the north end of Bananal Island and Santa Anna in the north; only occasionally do they undertake trade voyages to Santa Maria and Conceição. In general they
[648] are confined to the banks of the river and its immediate hinterland, and they inhabit both shores equally; today, at any rate, there can no longer be any talk of the habit of avoiding the
484 west bank out of fear of enemies (3). They also extend their
[437]

3. Moraes Jardim, O Rio Araguaya; Ehrenreich, "Südamerikanische Stromfahrten," p. 38.

[113]

fishing and trading expeditions over large stretches on either side. In the east they visit the Šavajé in the interior of Bananal, but avoid going there in small numbers. In the west they navigate
[361] the large tributaries. In the Rio das Mortes, 15 leagues above the mouth, there is supposed to be a small Karajá village; they allegedly do not go farther upstream here. They travel
[225] up the Rio Cristallino for a stretch to fish for turtles. On the
13| Rio Tapirapé they go just below the waterfall; a tree with two bullet-tracks, a fire area, and the remains of utensils mark the boundary here against the Tapirapé Indians.

1. Lipkind, William. The Caraja. Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 143, Vol. 3, pp. 179-191. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1948.

7 figures, 1 text plate, bibliography; 2 end plates.

HRAF Copy.

/This source is a summary outline of Caraja ethnography with data on basic identification and location of the Caraja, culture history, population, agriculture, hunting, fishing and collecting activities, food preparation, houses and villages, dress and ornaments, manufactures (bark cloth, basketry, textiles, feather-work, weapons and pottery), social and political organization, etiquette, the life cycle (child care and feeding, naming, puberty and initiation, and death), warfare, esthetic and recreational activities (art, music and dancing), religion and shamanism. The material presented here serves as an excellent introductory background to additional sources in this file.

This article is based on the author's field work among the Caraja carried on in 1937 under the auspices of the Department of Anthropology, Columbia University/.

Field date: 1937
Analyst: John Beierle

Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1965

2: Krause, Fritz. Die Kunst der Karajá-Indianer (Staat Goyaz, Brasilien) /The Art of the Caraja Indians (Goiás State, Brazil)/. Baessler-Archiv, Vol. 2, pp. 1-31. Leipzig and Berlin: B. G. Teubner, 1912.

Yale: Nk10 +B14 v.2 /HRAF MS. pp. 1-66/.

Translated from the German for the Human Relations Area Files by Richard Fort.

/In the year 1908 the author undertook a field expedition for the Leipzig Museum für Völkerkunde to the Araguaia River in Goiás Province, Brazil. Here he came into contact with the Carja, the Savajé (a subgroup of the Caraja tribe), and the Cayapo, all of whom lived in the area, and although he only remained a few days with the Savajé and Cayapo, he did stay a full five months with the Caraja gathering much ethnographic information. Upon the completion of his field work, and knowing the interest of ethnologists, psychologists, art historians and various other scholars, in primitive art, the author decided to publish his findings on this aspect of ethnography separately from his other data.

The source is divided into two parts dealing with Caraja art, the first of which treats of the various forms of representative art found among these people, basically in the form of what he calls the "plastic arts" such as plaiting, wood carving, and the making of clay and wax figures, and those which he terms "surface representation of drawings." This latter group includes sand drawings, incising and painting of gourds, and the use of the author's supply of pencils and paper to make sketch book drawings. The

2: Krause, Fritz.

second half of the source deals with decorative art, with information on patterns borrowed from the plaiting technique, forms of carved decorations, poker work, and women's art. The source presents very detailed discussions of the various forms of Caraja art listed here and is fully illustrated. /

Field date: 1908
Analyst: John Beierle

Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1965, 1966

3: Dietschy, Hans. Le système de parenté et la structure sociale des indiens Carajá /The Kinship System and Social Structure of the Caraja Indians/. VIe Congrès International des Sciences Anthropologiques et Ethnologiques (1960), Vol. 2, Part 1, pp. 43-47. Paris: Musée de l'Homme, 1963.

/HRAF MS: 8 pp./

Yale: Nk10 In77A 1960:2:1.

Translated from the French for the Human Relations Area Files by Richard Fort.

/This article was written expressly for the purpose of correcting and completing the classification of Caraja ethnographic data according to the categories used by Murdock in his "World Ethnographic Sample" (American Anthropologist 59: 664-687, 1957), and the latter must be consulted for a full comprehension of Dietschy's discussion. The author generally agrees with Murdock's classification of Caraja subsistence economy and sexual division of labor, but in the areas of settlement patterns and social organization he furnishes a number of important modifications. Particular emphasis is given to the kinship system, including descent, unilineal descent groups, family organization, and especially the kinship terminology which was previously unreported. Unfortunately, no native kin terms are provided, and the author's analysis is at times ambiguous. In fact, his treatment of social organization in general is much too brief to be satisfactory, and one is left with many questions and doubts. We must still await a definitive account of Caraja social structure./

Field date: 1954-55 Evaluation: Ethnologist-5

Analyst: Robert O. Lagacé Processed in 1966

4: Ehrenreich, Paul. Beiträge zur Völkerkunde Brasiliens /Contributions to the Ethnography of Brazil/. Veröffentlichungen aus dem Königlichen Museum für Völkerkunde, Vol. 2, pp. 1-80. Berlin, 1891.

/HRAF MS: pp. 1-115, including 13 plates/.

Yale: Nk37 +B45 v.1-2.

Translated from the German for the Human Relations Area Files by Shelton Hicock.

Not processed for the Files: Part 2, pp. 49-74, Plates XIII-XV and the explanations for these plates, all of which pertains to other cultures, and the index on pp. 75-77.

[This is a typical tropical tale in the style of traditional 19th-century German ethnology. The emphasis is upon historical ethnology and material culture. The data were gathered in the course of a wide-ranging ethnographic survey, and from the dates given it may be estimated that Ehrenreich spent less than two months with the Caraja. Topics covered in greatest detail are the masked dances, with particular reference to the costumes, and mythology, a number of fairly long legends being given in translation. Weapons and feather ornaments are described in detail, while briefer data are given on a broad range of ethnographic subjects. Among the most valuable of these are: a short history of European contacts with the Caraja, description of the major ethnic subdivisions, settlement patterns and village types,

4: Ehrenreich, Paul.

population, and subsistence patterns including food and food preparation. One striking feature which emerges is that although hunting is relatively unimportant economically, animals and their symbolization play a significant role in Caraja social life and ideational systems. /

Field date: 1888
Analyst: Robert O. Lagacé

Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1966

5: Krause, Fritz. In den Wildnissen Brasiliens; Bericht und Ergebnisse der Leipziger Araguaya-Expedition 1908 /In the Wilderness of Brazil; Report and Results of the Leipzig Araguaia Expedition of 1908/. Leipzig: R. Voigtländers Verlag, 1911.

Pp. viii 512; 69 plates; 270 text figures; 2 end maps.

/HRAF MS: pp. i-viii, 1-374/.

Yale: C71c 911k. DLC: F2519.K91. DLC card: 12-1240.

Translated from the German for the Human Relations Area Files by Frieda Schütze.

Not processed for the Files: description of the expedition and its travels on pp. 1-170, except for Plates 7-22 and 28-35 and text illustrations 1-2 and 4-16, which pertain to the Caraja or Tapirape; and pp. 368-402 and 461-468, which deal with the Northern Cayape.

Not translated for the Files: the appendix on pp. 413-460 and 469-482, and the index on pp. 496-512; see category 116, foreign text.

[This is a basic ethnography of the Caraja, which both parallels and supplements Ehrenreich's earlier account (cf. category 116, source No. 4). Together these two sources provide a fairly comprehensive picture of Caraja culture during the period of the late 19th and early 20th centuries. But each reveals the same major weakness which runs through nearly all of the Caraja literature - i.e. a lack of adequate information on social organization.

5: Krause, Fritz.

Krause's book opens with a critical review of the historical literature on the Caraja. He then distinguishes the main "tribal" subdivisions, namely, the Caraja proper, the Javahe, and the Shambioa, indicating for each their nomenclature, location, and distribution. Next comes the bulk of the source which deals primarily with the Caraja proper (pp. 45-55, 58-307). This is followed by a short cultural sketch of the Javahe (pp. 308-334) and of an entirely different ethnic group, the Tapirape (pp. 335-347). Krause did not visit the Shambioa and only mentions them peripherally.

The Caraja proper are subdivided into a North horde and a South horde manifesting some degree of cultural variation. In the sphere of social organization interesting data are presented on the role of village chiefs, legal norms and sanctions, status distinctions, forms of greeting, and inter-tribal relations involving trade, warfare, and the treatment of captives (pp. 263-269). Some aspects of the life cycle are also treated, including marriage, sex, and family relations, pregnancy and birth, the care, activities and status of children, and death and burial (pp. 269-279). Particularly notable is the pattern of inter-village relations in which a visit must commence with a wrestling match between the men of the two villages (pp. 253-255). For other cultural topics, especially useful data are given on population and settlement patterns and settlement plans (pp. 58-87), the subsistence economy and food patterns (pp. 145, 148-175), trade and exchange transactions (pp. 203-205), division of labor, technology and crafts (pp. 205-240), magic, sorcery, magical therapy, folk medicine and morbidity (pp. 279-289), and Caraja knowledge and views of a number of surrounding tribes (pp. 293-296). Many of these same topics are

5: Krause, Fritz.

treated, although in much briefer fashion, for the Javahe; while the information on the Tapirape mostly concerns material culture.

The section on the Tapirape is a rather unusual one from the standpoint of the provenience of the data. Krause evidently did not use any Tapirape informants nor did he ever visit a viable Tapirape community. Rather, his data are derived from Caraja informants, observation of a few Tapirape captives in Caraja villages, examination of material items which the Caraja told him were of Tapirape origin, and a trip into Tapirape territory where he saw a number of fishing sites and three abandoned villages.]

Field date: 1908
Analyst: Robert O. Lagacé

Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1966

6: Cook, William Azel. Through the Wildernesses of Brazil by Horse, Canoe and Float. New York: American Tract Society, 1909.

Pp. iv, 487.

Yale: Brazil Ehh 909C.

Only pages 58-128 and 4 accompanying plates were processed for this file.

[Although the cultural data reported in this travel account mainly cover topics treated more extensively in other sources in the file, the author does provide many fresh observations and some new items of information. He admittedly draws upon Ehrenreich (source 4, this file) for some of his data, but unfortunately does not indicate where he has done so. Along with the usual descriptions of flora and fauna, material culture, ornamentation, subsistence economy, food patterns, and some aspects of marriage and family relations, there is interesting material on the caution required in approaching Caraja settlements so as not to be mistaken for an enemy raiding party (pp. 76-83), variations in the degree of acculturation among the major tribal subdivisions (pp. 84-5), the process of tapirage (pp. 94-5), role of the village chief (pp. 113-15), funeral rites (pp. 117-20), and myth and ritual, including a description of the masked dance ceremonies (pp. 122-28).]

Field date: ca. 1900 Evaluation: Missionary-3, 4

Analyst: Robert O. Lagacé Processed in 1966

7: Lipkind, William. Carajá Cosmography. The Journal of American Folk-Lore, Vol. 53, pp. 248-251. New York: American Folk-Lore Society, 1940.

Yale: Nkg10 J82 v.53.

[This very brief source investigates several aspects of Carajá religious beliefs, with primary emphasis on cosmography and mythology, but with some discussion on eschatology, and the role of the shaman and sorcerer in the society. The author concludes his work with a few comments on the resistance of the Carajá to outside influence in changing their world view.
Data for the source was gathered in 1938-1939 at which period the author was living among the Carajá.]

Field date: 1938-1939
Analyst: John Beierle

Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1966

8: Gow-Smith, Francis. The Arawana, or Fish Dance, of the Carja Indians of Matto Grosso, Brazil. Indian Notes, Vol. 2, pp. 96-99. New York: Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, 1925.

1 photograph.

Yale: C52 4ℓ 2.

[This source presents a succinct account of the Arawana or fish dance of the Caraja, which is performed by men. Major emphasis in the article, however, is on the special dress and accompanying paraphernalia used in the dance, and the sacred "wigwam" where the dress is made and guarded prior to the performance. Additional information is also given here on the role of women in the society with their relegation to the position of spectators in the Arawana dance. The author mentions penalties imposed upon women should they forget their position and enter the sacred hut and/or gaze upon the dance costume when it is not being worn.]

Field date: no date
Analyst: John Beierle

Evaluation: Traveler -5
Processed in 1966

9: Gow-Smith, Francis. Caraja and Cayapó Artifacts from Brazil. Indian Notes, Vol. 2, pp. 219-227. New York: Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, 1925.

7 figures (95-101).

Yale: C52 4i 2.

[Several aspects of Caraja and Cayapó material culture are discussed and illustrated in this source, these being Cayapó feathered headdresses, Caraja spears, Cayapó and Caraja bows, arrows and clubs, and toy canoes and clay dolls. These data, where appropriate, have been subheaded for the Cayapó file (SP11).]

Field date: no date
Analyst: John Beierle

Evaluation: Traveler-5
Processed in 1966

Baldi, Mario. Joni-Uoni oder die Letzten Indianer am Grossen Wasser. Düsseldorf: Bastion-Verlag, 1952.

Pp. 96; plates.

Harvard Peabody: S.A. B 193 u.

[This source is a romanticized view of episodes in Caraja life as seen through the eyes of a 13-year old Caraja boy. Baldi is a professional photographer who has spent four years among the Caraja and Bororo. Since it seems difficult to separate fact from fiction in this account, it has not been processed for the Caraja file.]

Surveyed in 1965

SP9 Caraja
SP22 Tapirape

Dessauer, Erwin von. Vanini, Tage im Urwald /Vanini, Days in the Primitive Forest/. München, Prestel-Verlag, 1960.

Pp. 99; 62 photographs.

New York Public Library, History of the Americas Collection: HBC 1960.

[This source is an illustrated travel book with material on both the Caraja and the Tapirape. The author made two trips to these groups, apparently in the 1950s. He visited a Franciscan mission with a Tapirape village attached to it at Santa Therezinha and gives a biographical sketch in the first person of Vanini, a young Tapirape. Incidental information on the Caraja is also presented. A description of a great feast and dance in honor of Cauim, the staple food of the Tapirape, is given in the second part. Since little is known of Dessauer and his qualifications, and since much the same material is already in both files, this source has not been processed.]

Surveyed in 1965.

Macintyre, Archie. Down the Araguaya, Travels in the Heart of Brazil. Foreword by the Rev. J. Stuart Holden. London: The Religious Tract Society, /1924/.

Pp. 159; 16 photographs; 1 map.

Library of Congress: F2566.M15.

/This source is an impressionistic travel book written by a Protestant missionary from the Evangelical Union of South America. He took a canoe trip down the Araguaya from Leopoldina to its junction with the Tocantins and traveled back up the Tocantins and its immediate neighborhood to Roncador. During the trip (apparently made during the early 1920s) he met various groups of Caraja, Northern Cayapo and Sherente. He also gives bits of information on the Tapirape and the Canoeiros, although he did not meet either group. Since the material is so diffuse and impressionistic, this source has not been processed for the Caraja file./

Surveyed in 1965.

Severin, Kurt. Figurines of the Carajá. Natural History, Vol. 74, No. 4, pp. 54-55. New York: American Museum of Natural History, April 1965.

4 photographs.

HRAF copy.

[This brief source consists of four photographs with descriptive material concerning the making of clay figurines by the Caraja. Since much the same material may be found in other sources in the Caraja file, this source has not been processed.]

Surveyed in 1965.

1:Lipkind E-5 (1937) 1948 SP9 Caraja SP9

Games.—Of numerous games, the most important is a formal wrestling match which is an indispensable part of most religious ceremonies and of all intervillage visits. 526 796 628

Narcotics and stimulants.—Like the other tribes in this region, the *Carajá* have no alcoholic beverages. They smoke tobacco in short cylindrical pipes (fig. 21, *c*). They are heavy smokers, some of the children beginning before they are weaned. 273 276

SUPERNATURALISM

Cults.—*Carajá* religion consists of two distinct cults: a cult of the dead and a mask cult (fig. 24). The cult of the dead, which is under the direction of the priest, has for its object the placation of ghosts by a periodical ceremonial which comes to its climax in several large calendrical feasts. The most important of these feasts is the Big House Feast, which is celebrated shortly after the beginning of the rainy season. All the villages which comprise a ceremonial unit come to the one village where the feast is conducted. There is a great mass of ceremonial addressed to various classes of ghosts, but the central portion of the ceremony is the impersonation of animal ghosts. Another important feast, already mentioned, occurs at the height of the dry season and is directed toward the control of enemy ghosts. Two other feasts held in the dry season are chiefly for the entertainment of the ancestors. 795 769 796 [782 793] [628]

The mask cult is concerned with the worship of another class of supernaturals. It consists of an elaborate routine of feasts, interrupted only by death. In these feasts, conducted by the shaman, the supernaturals are impersonated in the complex dances mentioned above. 795 796 [766]

The two cults are independent of each other and are both strictly men's cults. Any women intruding upon the secrets of the cults is subjected to gang rape and remains a wanton thereafter. [688]

Shamanism.—A shaman is trained by apprenticeship to an older shaman. A certain amount of medical lore is taught but the essence of the training is learning how to communicate with supernaturals in a state of trance. 756

There is a considerable amount of sorcery. The main technique is bottling a supernatural being into a small image and then directing it into the body of the victim. As almost all deaths are interpreted as the result of sorcery, feuding is continual. 754 [761] [628]

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/1/ Preface

114 In the following I am publishing the material in the field of art which I collected on my expedition to the interior of Brazil. In 1908 I undertook an ethnographic research trip for the [101] [122] Leipzig Museum für Völkerkunde to the Araguaia River (Goiás Province), in the course of which I became acquainted with the Karajá /Caraja/, Šavajé /Javahe/, and Kayapó /Cayapo/ (1)

[104] [113] 1. For the transcription of the Indian names I use the sound-notation given by Meinhof in: Neumayer, Anleitung zu wissenschaftlichen Beobachtungen auf Reisen /Introduction to Scientific Observations on Journeys/, 3rd edition, p. 484.

Indian tribes settled there. Whereas the visit among the latter two tribes was limited to only a few days, I was in constant contact with the Karajá for a full five months, so that I was able to penetrate more deeply into the culture and thought world of this people.

126 In addition to the easily acquired ethnographic objects and most important ethnographic facts, I was also able, by means of an ever deeper intimacy with these Indians, to obtain all kinds of objects and information otherwise difficult to procure. In this way I was able, above all, to collect considerable material which permits us insight into the artistic creativity of the Indians, and thus into an important area of their spiritual life. And, moreover, this is not only drawings, which are already available from several Indian tribes, but above all a great many plastic representations (plaited, wax, and clay figures), which arouse our interest all the more since we possess only a few of these from South America. Again, among the drawings, in addition to figure representations, /2/ the manifold plaiting patterns are particularly important, since they will provide a valuable contribution on the question of ornamentation (1).

[101] 1. In the following, in addition to drawings

/2 cont./

128 now in the Berlin Museum für Völkerkunde (2). I have not gone
126

[113] 2. Published in: Ehrenreich, "Beiträge zur Völkerkunde Brasiliens /Contributions to the Ethnography of Brazil/," Veröffentlichungen aus dem Kgl. Museum für Völkerkunde, Vol. II, Nos. 1/2, Berlin, 1891.

into any detailed comparison of my material with that brought back from the Xingu by the Von den Steinen cousins and from the Rio Negro territory by Koch-Grünberg. A general comparison [53] shows the interesting fact that the Karajá are on a significantly higher level of development artistically than those primitive tribes.

/3/

Introduction

*532 The artistic activity of the Karajá is limited to interior art.
531 This is divided into free (representative) art and decorative art.

Free art here is concerned with the representation of the forms of living creatures and objects, which it reproduces in full form (plastic) or superficially (in drawings); decorative art, the adornment of objects with geometric patterns.

*532 In representative art we pursue the reproduction of forms
128 plastically in different materials, whereby we pass from the most brittle (plaiting with leaves) through fairly hard (clay and wood) to the most pliable (wax). In representation by drawing we consider first the types familiar to the Indian, in sand and on gourd utensils /Cuyen/, and only then the method of reproduction in a sketchbook, foreign to him until now. Each time the development from the simplest to the most accomplished form is shown, but it is not known whether this is really the course of the development, or whether simpler forms might perhaps represent stylizations which arose at later stages, whereas the most accomplished forms are only the result of particularly high personal talent.

/12 cont./

*532 visible (1).
535

[113]

1. For more details about these dance masks, see my article: "Tanzmaskennachbildungen vom mittleren Araguaya (Zentral Brasilien) /Dance-mask Reproductions from the Central Araguaia (Central Brazil)/, in the Jahrbuch des städtischen Museums für Völkerkunde zu Leipzig, Vol. 3, Leipzig, 1910, pp. 97-122. (R. Voigtländer, Leipzig.) A number of illustrations from that article are reproduced here.

Fig. 69. Model of the idjazó mask in natural material.

Fig. 70. Reproduction of the idjazó mask in wax.

Fig. 69 shows the Idjăzŏ mask in a model of natural material. The rather crudely executed wax reproduction of the same mask (Fig. 70) is to be compared with it. The two legs are indicated by two tips into which the mask runs at the bottom, the apron by two projections, one above the other. The cylinder is depicted by the pointed roll of wax; at the top it has two small points, evidently the two feathered rods.

/16 cont./

* 532 could not create anything on their own initiative, but had to
126 have assignments set by me; others (and they were in the majority)
153 filled page after page with ever new figures as they happened to occur to them. In the following those drawn on demand are marked by *).

In this way I obtained representations of human beings, animals, birds, fish, reptiles, insects, trees, objects, constellations, and other things. They claimed unanimously that they could not draw human beings, but finally provided me with pictures when I asked for a portrait of myself. Of animals they liked best to draw birds and fish. Pictures of trees are very rare. They usually only produced objects on request. They liked most of all to produce patterns (see decorations /pp.42 ff./).

[412] Drawings were made only by the male sex, usually in bed
[513] by candlelight in the evenings. The significance of individual figures was immediately ascertained through questions and written down next to each figure.

*532 We distinguish between three kinds of drawings:

1. Simple line drawing, 2. outline drawing, 3. filled-in figures.

The relationship of the simple line drawing to the other kinds has not yet been determined because of the lack of comparative material. I should like to discuss it here first of all. With regard to the other two kinds, it is certain that the filled-in figures represent a higher stage than the outline drawings (2).

• [113] 2. Cf. Dr. S. Levinstein, Kinderzeichnungen bis zum 14. Lebensjahr /Children's Drawings up to the 14th Year/, R. Voigtländer's Publishing House, Leipzig, 1905.

Almost two-thirds of all the drawings are filled-in figures, whereas simple line drawings make up only one quarter, outline drawings only one seventh of the material. The Karajá therefore stand on a very high level artistically.

The line drawings are all made with a pencil, the outline drawings with pencil and colored crayon, the filled-in figures

/46 cont./

121 sociology as well as for the history of the South American Indians. I hope, however, that my material can be useful in the discussion on the social structures of central Brazil recently started by Lévi-Strauss and Maybury-Lewis, even if it is not yet the right moment for me to enter into it from my side.

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Discussion

184 Professor H. Baldus emphasizes the necessity of considering geographical differences in the study of the social organization of the Carajá of the north and of the south.

/4 cont./

I. The Karaya Tribes on the Araguaia River (Goyaz).

Historical.

175 The Karaya are mentioned for the first time on the occasion of that well-known raid which the Paulista gang-leader Antonio Pires Campos (2) undertook around the year 1684 from Cuyaba down

2. According to others, Manuel Pires Campos.

the Rio das Mortes to the Araguaia. It was at that time that the gold mines of the "Martirios," which play so important a role in modern Brazilian folk-tales, were discovered; they were later lost again and are still most eagerly sought to the present day. [131] On his return Pires Campos visited the "Ilha dos Carajas," the large island now called Bananal or Ilha da Santa Anna, which the [197] Araguaia forms between 13 1/2° and 10 1/2° south latitude. Numerous captives were dragged off from here to São Paulo as slaves.

In the forties of the previous century the son of the above, who had been called on by the Goyans for assistance against the hostile Kayapo, organized a second slave hunt along the Araguaia from Goyaz.

There is detailed information about this expedition in the report of the alferes José Pinto da Fonseca (3), who visited the river

[113] 3. Rev. trim., Vol. 8, pp. 376 ff.

in 1775 on the orders of the then commander-in chief of Goyaz, José Almeida de Vasconcellos, in order to establish friendly relations with the wild tribes there, since the need to open the principal rivers of the province to navigation was making itself felt more and more. In June of the year concerned he and his troop reached the southern tip of Bananal Island and were soon able to win over the Karaya living there.

/5/

175 At first he was met with distrust, since everyone was still
199 under the influence of the horrible deeds which Pires Campos had committed there 25 years earlier. Soon, however, by means of his intelligent, kind behavior, Pinto succeeded in getting the savages to put themselves under the protection of the governor of
[648] Goyaz. Their chief, Abeonona, swore an oath of fealty to the king of Portugal, the exact words of which are communicated in the above-mentioned letter.

175 The description of the Karaya which Pinto presents corresponds completely to present-day conditions. Through him we receive
[131] the first information about the large lake in the northern part of Bananal Island, not yet visited by any traveler, on the shores of
[161] which live the Yavahē /Javahe/. Pinto estimates the number of
[361] the Karaya at 9,000 souls in nine large villages, three of which belong to the Yavahē.

A second expedition left in the following year to lay out near the largest of the Indian villages on the island a military post which was given the name of Colonia da nova beira.

Later other such posts were established on the Araguaia, and some in the region of the Šambioa /Shambioa/. Under the prevailing mismanagement, however, these cultural centers very
[167] soon fell to ruin (1). Already in 1782 it was necessary to transport
[164]

1. Cazal, Corogr. bras. /Chorography of Brazil/,
[113] I, p. 340. -- Cunha Mattos, Corogr. de Goyaz." Rev. trim., Vol. 37, I, p. 393.

800 Karaya to S. José de Mossamedes in Goyaz, and in 1786 other bands were settled at Carretão, which, however, after a short time fell victim to an epidemic of measles. The colony of Mossamedes, too, did not prosper. Pohl found the place in the most wretched condition in the twenties of our century. Every trace of the earlier colonizing activities soon disappeared on the Araguaia. The island of Bananal in particular is as unknown today as at the time of its discovery.

/5 cont./

175 Nevertheless, the relationship of the Karaya to the immigrant
177 population remained rather good. On various occasions individuals of this people reached Pará on trading ships. In 1791 the chief, Aribedu, gave the then governor of this province information about the currents of the Araguaia. The trading expedition which traveled along the Tocantins and Araguaia in 1792 also brought many Karaya from the interior.

On the other hand, in the beginning of this century serious
[721] hostilities broke out. The newly established post of Santa Maria
[648] was completely destroyed in 1813 by the Karaya and the Akuã (Chavante) allied with them (2).

● [113] 2. Rev. trim., Vol. 25, II, p. 91.

175 Then for a long time the reports are silent; the Karaya are mentioned by Martius, Pohl, and Aug. St. Hilaire only in passing.

We do not get more detailed information again until the great expedition of Castelnau in 1844. Since the French traveler did not travel on the left arm of the river, now navigated exclusively, but rather on the right one, east of Bananal Island, he did not become acquainted with the Karayahi. He also saw no Yavahẽ. He erroneously designates the island as uninhabited. On the other hand, he spent several days in the large Šambioa villages. He
[535] wrote down the first word-list and above all, described the strange dance masks, whose true significance, however, remained hidden from him. Unfortunately his whole collection was lost in the cataracts of the lower Tocantins.

Three years later the Brazilian official, Dr. Rufino Theotonio
[131] Segurado, came upstream from Pará. His excellent travel report contains notes on the Šambioa whom he encountered just above the rapids Carreira comprida. He also visited the Karayahi (3).

[113] 3. Rev. trim, Vol. 5, pp. 178 ff.

Of other Brazilian travelers, General Couto Magelhães, who did so much for Araguaia shipping and who, as president of Goyaz,

/5 cont./
175 came in contact with the Karaya (4) as early as 1863 on a short

4. In the no longer extant Aldeamento da Estiva near Salinas, where Chavante and Karaya were settled in the care of an Italian missionary. Cf. Peterm. Mitth., 1876, p. 222.

[113]

trip to S. José, but later traveled the whole river on repeated occasions, had the most opportunity to become acquainted with this remarkable people. He did not publish anything in connection with this, however. Some scattered notes are to be found in his first travel report of 1863 and in the work O Selvagem (Rio de Janeiro, 1874).

[113]

/6/ In 1879 the engineer Moraes Jardim investigated the navigable stretch of the Araguaia from Leopoldina to Santa Maria. Appended to his report (1) is a description of the Karayahi villages

[113]

1. O rio Araguaya, relatorio de sua exploração /The Araguaia River, an Account of Its Exploration/. Rio de Janeiro, 1880.

written by his companion, Dr. Spinola, which is, on the whole, correct.

Also the travel account of the former president of Goyaz, Dr. Joaquim Leite Moraes (1882), contains some interesting material about the Karaya. The first fairly complete collection of ethnological objects was made by this traveler on his way to São Paulo. It is now scattered, but I succeeded in acquiring for the Royal Museum two of the best pieces from the owner, the war clubs of the well-known Sambioa chiefs, Roco and Ambura.

[126]

Territorial Distribution

131 Whereas until a few years ago only the Karaya on the Araguaia
101 were known, the existence of other hordes of the same nation on the right bank of the middle and lower Xingu was proved by the first Xingu expedition.

/13 cont./

231 Domestic animals. In a description of the Indian house
825 its animal fellow-lodgers must not be passed over. A genuine Indian still-life is inconceivable without them. The naïve joy of primitive man in animals and their behavior is expressed in his care for them. He considers the animal as
[181] his equal. The feeling of solidarity, indeed, of relation-
[538] ship with the animal world, which expresses itself in tribal tales and a rich treasury of animal fables, is a principal characteristic trait of the Indian national-spirit. This at the same time explains the often stressed contradiction that the savage Indian, in spite of his astonishing ability to tame the wild, timid animals of his country, has never brought this to the actual breeding of domestic animals in our sense. The animals are captured young and reared, but only to please themselves, for entertainment, out of joy in associating with them, not in order to make them useful. Therefore they
235 are not mated. Even the domestic chicken, which the
171 Araguaia tribes have had for a long time in a domesticated
[262] state and which multiplies in great numbers, is not, as a member of the household, /14/ used for food, nor are its
[439] eggs (1). In recent times, however, it serves as a trade item

[013] 1. Im Thurn, Among the Indians of Guyana /Guiana/, p. 265, reports the same thing.

in the trade with the commercial travelers, who sell the poultry in the first settlements of the province of Pará at a great profit.

231 Of the imported domestic animals, dogs and cats are already widespread. On the other hand, the pig is absent, but, in contrast, it is raised and traded by preference by the Kayapo tribes.

235 A large Šambioa village is always at the same time a kind
825 of menagerie. The bird kingdom is most noticeable. The largest and most colorful birds are made use of, at least insofar as they must give up their feathers for feather ornaments.

/19 cont./

411 Of the three specimens the largest has a total length of 72.5 centimeters, of which 14.5 make up the handle (Pl. VI /see p. 108/, 6). Moreover, there is a children's throwing board 38.5 centimeters long.

[824] The arrows thrown (kâura) are 150-180 centimeters long, unfeathered cane pieces made of uba (Gynerium saccharoides) with inserted, 12-20 centimeter long end-knobs of palm wood, which are covered with a thick layer of wax. Thus they should be considered only as sporting equipment. That tradition still knows them as weapons, however, is shown by the legend given on p. 85 (Pl. VI /see p. 108/, 7).

393 Ceramics. The art of making pots, practiced exclusively by the women, is not especially developed. Although the technique leaves little to be desired, the forms are rather simple. [517] An artistic desire to reproduce natural objects, animal shapes, etc., as among the Xingu tribes, is not expressed in them. Everything is reckoned more in terms of the practical.

As almost everywhere in South America, the vessels are made without a wheel by putting rolls of clay over one other circularly or spirally. By patting with the dampened hand and continuous smoothing with pieces of bone and mussel shell, the pot finally reaches the desired shape and strength.

[113] According to Couto Magelhães (Archiv. do museu nac. Rio, p. 77) the ash of certain vines is mixed with the clay; their silica content makes it more resistant.

According to further information from the above observer, the firing of the pots is done, after superficial drying, in a peculiar manner. A hole is made in the side of an earth termite nest, and it is heated. The vessel is put in, and under it there is made a second opening communicating with the first one, with a fire maintained in it. A third opening at the top serves as a chimney.

415 The collection shows the most important, but not the largest types of vessels that occur (Fig. 5 /see p. 38/).

/27 cont./

582 4. The marriage of Karaya women to foreigners is permitted only when the latter allow themselves to be adopted into the tribe and take up permanent residence in the village concerned, a case which in Castelnau's time was not at all rare, but could hardly occur today.

593 Although the husband is naturally in charge as head of the
-562 family, the position of the wife is a completely honorable one. There is no trace of the degradation of women into beasts of burden, as has been falsely imputed for all Indians by analogy with the North American tribes. Certain tasks, to be sure, are performed exclusively by the women and they are tireless in fulfilling their manifold duties. The man, too, however, has his share to perform. His wife is his complete equal; he does nothing of importance without her advice. Even the chief shares his honors with his wife. Mistreatment of women is unheard of.

595 Monogamy is the usual thing. The husband, however, not uncommonly finds it necessary to take a second wife when the
[582] first one becomes too old. This is conditioned by the peculiar
[171] custom, widespread, it seems, among all South American tribes (2), that the young men court older women and the old

[113] 2. Cf. Im Thurn, op. cit., p. 223.

men younger ones. Perhaps the relatively small number of children can be traced to this.

847 Artificial abortion occurs, but only on the demand of the husband. It is brought about by pressing the uterus together with the hands and is said to cause death not uncommonly.

586 If married people do not get along, the husband is allowed
587 to trade off his wife for that of another. Anyone who repudiates his wife cannot marry again, but is allowed to have a housekeeper.

684 The husband himself punishes an adulterous wife by a beating or burning her with glowing wood. Sometimes (3) the guilty one

[113] 3. Couto Magelhães, Selvagem, p. 116

is said to be even burned to death.

/27 cont./

684 Adultery on the part of the husband is avenged by the closest relatives of the wife.

Everywhere in the social order of the Karaya the endeavor to preserve the peace of family life from any disturbance is prominent. The young people are for that reason kept under strict 836 discipline. Virginity is highly prized and protected (4);
837

[113] 4. Couto Magelhães, Peterm. Mitth., 1876, p. 222.

extramarital intercourse between the sexes is punished with strict 848 penalties and under certain conditions with death. Children originating from such relationships are not, as among other primitive peoples, likewise killed, however, but rather are turned over to the chief's care, like other orphans.

589 /28/ Single persons, distinguished externally from the married [291] ones by the above-mentioned cotton bands, are not obliged to [736] support themselves, but rather are supported by the community. Bachelors and widowers live together in a special hut and take [591] part in hunting expeditions only when they please. Likewise, unmarried and widowed women are excused from supporting themselves. They live in the house of one of their nearest relatives.

589 According to a communication from Couto Magelhães, the 736 latter seem to have some freedom in intercourse with unmarried [836] men. "There are in the Karaya villages men destined to be viri viduarum /men deprived of a wife/. These people have no other occupation, they are supported by the tribe and do not, like the others, undergo the hardships of long travels and raids. To my remark that it did not seem right to me that the community take on the support of these people, Chief Koinama replied that the peace which the families enjoyed because of this far outweighed the effort spent on their support." (Selvagem, p. 116.)

836 For the rest, the unmarried men who wish to turn to the 929 female sex are dependent on intercourse with the captured Kayapo [539] women kept in half-slavery, of which among the Sambioa every village shelters at least a few. They are considered common

/28 cont./

also hold for the relationships prevailing among the Karaya.

621 The village communities composed of such family units, each of which has a particular name, seem to be like gau

476 communities (2). The agricultural land belongs to the whole

[423]

[113] 2. Post, Stud. z. Entw. d. Familienrechts /Essay on the Development of Family Law/, p. 83.

[224] and is tilled in common. Hunting and fishing expeditions are

[226] also undertaken in common, and the yield in booty, field

622 produce, etc. divided among the families. The chief supervises all of these communal activities and achievements. He is

[421] supported by the community; the property of all tribal members

[597] belongs to him (3). On the other hand, it is his duty to adopt

[113] 3. Couto Magelhães, Peterm. Mitth., 1876, p. 121.

orphaned children, particularly the sons of those slain in war.

[178] The personal qualities to which he owes his office today are less

[648] prowess in war /29/ than the skill, experience, and linguistic knowledge required to deal with the Whites. Thus, even prisoners

[627] of war adopted into the tribe who distinguish themselves at this can achieve the position.

The chief organizes the war and hunting expeditions; he determines the camp sites and the locations of plantings and, after the burning over of the strip of forest (roça) concerned, divides the agricultural land, which is marked off by posts, among the individual families.

622 His effectiveness in the administration of justice is important.

627 In case of quarrels between men he acts as referee, while his wife decides those of the women. It is his duty to bring offenders to account, but he does not inflict the punishment, which, according to the Indian law of retaliation, is a matter for the injured party. Murder or bodily injury are therefore avenged by the relatives of the victim without further ado.

/iii/ Foreword

121 In the year 1908, under the auspices of the city of Leipzig,
[122] I undertook an ethnographic research expedition into central Brazil, the purpose of which was the scientific investigation, with the most modern methods and instruments, of the Indian tribes visited, as well as the salvaging of visible examples of their cultural life for the Leipzig Museum für Völkerkunde. Its
[101] goal was the region of the middle Araguaya /Araguaia/, between the 15th and 9th degrees, southern latitude, with the Indian tribes of the Karajá /Caraja/, Šavajé /Javahe/, Tapirapé, and Kayapó /Cayapo/.

114 The expedition set out on 29 January 1908 and returned to Leipzig on 7 February 1909. The program was, by and large, carried out; only the proposed advance to the west had to be cut short because of insurmountable geographical difficulties.

126 Abundant material in the form of observations of all kinds, photographs and phonographic recordings, sketchbook drawings, etc. was brought back. The ethnographic collection, containing more than 1,100 specimens, has been handed over to the Museum
● 113 für Völkerkunde zu Leipzig. Of my findings I have published up
126 to now only reproductions of the dance masks of the Karajá Indians, in connection with a description of the use of masks by this tribe (in the Jahrbuch des Museums für Völkerkunde zu Leipzig, Volume 3, Leipzig, 1910), as well as a study of the art of the Karajá Indians (in the Bässler-Archiv, Vol. 2, No. 1, Berlin, 1911), in which the material collected by me on the artistic activities of the Indians in the plastic arts and drawing was reproduced.

128 All the rest of the material is now to be presented to the public here.

As a first part, and before the actual results, I am giving a report on the expedition /the first part is omitted in the translation/. I regard this as very important; for the findings of the expedition can be properly evaluated only if one knows how they were obtained, in other words, the conditions under which the studies were made. Thus, the travel report gives the external course

/171/

Second Part

Scientific Findings

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/173/ Historical Review

175 The first one about whom we have reports that he visited the Araguaya /Araguaia/ region is Capitão Diogo Pinto de Gaia, who traveled up the river from Pará to the southern tip of Bananal in the year 1720. He is supposed to have seen all of Bananal Island on this occasion (1).

[113]

1. Moraes Jardim, o Rio Araguaya /The Araguaia River/, foreword; Ehrenreich, "Beiträge zur Geographie /Contributions to Geography/," II, p. 149.

We find the first mention of the Karajá in the report about the journey of the Paulista Antonio Pires de Campos, which must have taken place between the years 1718 and 1746. Pires Campos traveled with his father from Cuyaba down the Rio das Mortes in a boat, then traveled northward on the Araguaya as far as the cachoeira /cataract/ of Itaboca, from the litoral mountains of which they saw in the west the mountains of the Araes, where gold was said to be found in beech leaves. On the return journey, above the confluence of the Paraupebas (2), they met many

2. The Tocantins, according to Rev. trim. 37, p. 263, note 19.

Indians (Apinages? /Apinaye/), visited the Martirios, and from there had a rough trip to the Ilha dos Carajás (3). Across the

[104]

3. The tribal names are given here in the form used by the respective authors.

/173 cont./

C 175 Rio das Mortes they returned by land to Cuyàba. By the Carajás, mentioned here for the first time, it appears that the Šambioá /Shambioa/ were meant (4). Fonseca, in his report dated 1775,

C [113]

4. Roteiro, que deu o capitão-Mor Antonio Pires de Campos ao capitão-Mor Luiz Rodriguez Villares, procurador do povo da Villa Real do Senhor Bom Jesus de Cuyabá, para o descobrimento de grandes haveres para as aldêas dos gentios Araés. /Logbook that Capitão-Mor Antonio Pires de Campos gave to Capitão-Mor Luiz Rodriguez Villares, procurator of the people of the royal town of Senhor Bom Jesus de Cuyabá, for the discovery of large amounts of goods in the villages of the pagan Araés./ Rev. trim. 38, pp. 140-144.

mentions a journey of Antonio Pires de Campos, which is perhaps identical with the one spoken of here. It took place some 20 C [174] years before 1775. Pires reached the Carajás; the relations seemed amicable to begin with, until Pires carried out an attack on the main village. In the blood bath many Indians, even children, were murdered, and many were led away as slaves to serve as workers on the fazendas (5).

5. Rev. trim. 8 (1846, 2nd edition, 1867), pp. 377-378.

Even before 1748, João de Godoy Pinto da Silveira undertook a slave hunt into the territories of the southern Kayapó T [174] /Cayapo/, but he had no success. He brought back only a hundred Tapirapé (first mention of this tribe?), who, however, all died (6).

6. Rev. trim. 12, p. 448; 37, p. 262, note 8.

/174/

175 In 1772 José Machado undertook a military expedition by
177 land from Trahiras to the Araguaya; he succeeded in establishing amicable relations with the Carajás, but otherwise his expedition was without success (7).

7. Rev. trim. 12, p. 457; 37, p. 362, note 84.

In 1773 José Pinto da Fonseca succeeded, as the first, in remaining in peaceable contact with the Karajá for a longer time. His large military expedition seems to have come to the Araguaya by land. At a place that he called Corôa, he met
[131] the Carajás Indians (the Karajá proper). The place seems to have been located on the eastern arm of the Araguaya, approximately in the center of the lengthwise extension of Bananal Island. He succeeded in establishing amicable relations with the Karajá. Later, the Javaês /Javahe/ (first mention of this tribe) from Bananal Island, which he called Ilha de Santa Anna,
[648] came on a visit. After an initial military expedition against the hostile Chavantes, a protective alliance was concluded with the Carajás. The report ends with a reference to undertaking a second expedition against the Chavantes. More did not become known. He had heard of the Tapirapés with whom the Carajás
[114] live in peace. In this report, Fonseca gives the first cultural description of the Karajá; in the following I have often referred to his good observations, still pertinent today (8).

● [113] 8. Copia da carta, que o alferes José Pinto da Fonseca escreveu ao Exm. General de Goyazes, dando-lhe conta do descobrimento de duas nações de indios, dirigida do sitio onde portou. 2. Agosto 1775. /Copy of the letter that the alferes José Pinto da Fonseca wrote to the Exm. General de Goyazes, giving him an account of the discovery of the two parties of Indians, addressed from the place at which he arrived. 2 August 1775./ Rev. trim. 8 (1846, 2nd edition, 1867), pp. 376-390.

/175 cont./

175 There now followed a series of expeditions, the purpose of which was to make navigation on the Araguaya possible, above all, therefore, to establish communication between Goyaz and Pará.

In 1792-93 Thomaz de Souza Villa Real undertook the first journey down the Araguaya, from Goyaz to Pará by way of the eastern arm of Bananal, at the expense of a number of traders interested in shipping. He gives information about the [131] Carajás (the Šambioá are meant) and the Pinagés; he also met a few Carajás (probably Karajá proper, just below the north end of Bananal Island (13).

[113] 13. Viagem de Thomaz de Souza Villa Real pelos rios Tocantins, Araguaya e Vermelho: accompanhada de importantes documentos officiaes relativos á mesma navegação. /Voyage of Thomaz de Souza Villa Real by way of the Tocantins, Araguaia, and Vermelho rivers; accompanied by important official documents concerning the same navigation./

[361] In 1793 he traveled up the Tocantins and Araguaya as far as the lowest village of the Šambiaó (called Carajás by him). He also mentions the Carajahi (first mention of this name) and Tapirasse (13) /see footnote 13 above/.

These expeditions resulted in a little boat traffic on the Araguaya; a place on the Rio Vermelho or on the Rio de Peixe served as harbor for Goyaz. Difficulty was caused by the fact that only few boatmen were available for such journeys, and there was a lack of points where fresh provisions could be obtained along the way.

Further expeditions followed. In 1800, the new governor of Goyaz, João Manoel de Menezes, traveled from Pará up the

/176 cont./

175 In 1812 Padre Luiz Antonio da Silva e Souza wrote his
[113] work: Memoria sobre o descobrimento, governo, população, e cousas mais notaveis da capitania de Goyaz /Memoir on the discovery, government, population, and other notable things about the province of Goiás/, in which he gives good historical data about all the journeys of exploration since the discovery of the province (18).

18. Rev. trim. 12 (2nd series, 5), 1849, pp. 429-510.

[113] In the second large work: Chorographia historica da Provincia de Goyaz /Historical Chorography of the Province of Goiás/, 1842, Raymundo José da Cunha Mattos studied old documents and brought out a great deal of information about the Indians; however, he occasionally combines and thus confuses
175 the ethnic picture. According to him, the Carajás live in a vil-
101 lage on the Furo do Bananal and in three villages in the cataract
131 region of the river (identical with our present-day Sambioá vil-
[361] lages); they prevent passage through the Furo. The Carajahís live on the left bank of the Araguaya and occasionally appear on Bananal. The Javaés on Bananal are almost extinct; the Xambiuás live on Bananal and then again on the river shore, and they prevent passage through the west arm of the Araguaya. He also mentions that the Tapirapés occasionally visited Bananal Island (19).

19. Rev. trim. 37 and 38.

175 It is only Castelnau, in the year 1844, who again brings more clarity. This French explorer traveled from Goyaz to the Rio de Peixe, embarked here, traveled down this river to where it empties into the Araguaya, traveled down the Araguaya through the eastern arm of Bananal, reached the entrance into the Tocantins, and, traveling up this river, returned to Goyaz. Along

/176 cont./

175 the Araguaya he met only the Chambioá, of whose cultural Along
[131] poesessions he made a collection, which, however, was lost in a shipwreck on the Tocantins. He was the first to describe the use of masks by these Indians. He, too, reports only hearsay about the Carajás, Carajahís, Javahais, and Tapirapés (20).

[113] 20. F. de Castelnau, Expedition dans les parties centrales de l'Amerique du Sud /Expedition into the Central Parts of South America/, 1843-47. Paris, 1850, Vols. 1 and 2. The same, Vue et scenes /Survey and scenes/. Paris, 1853.

We owe complete clarity, however, to the expedition of Dr. Rufino Theotonio Segurado, who traveled upstream from Pará
[101] in 1846/47. He first visited the Chambioás, who, he said, were a tribe of the Carajás, then tried to travel up the eastern arm of Bananal, but was obliged to give up the plan because the river was too shallow, then traveled up the western arm of the Araguaya, as the first explorer, and visited the Carajás Indians living here. He extended his trip as far as the Rio Vermelho on which he traveled upstream for eleven days, in order to reach Goyaz them by land. To him we therefore owe the first more exact information about the dwelling sites of the Karajá (21).

[115] 21. Viagem de Goyaz ao Pará em 1846 e 1847, Roteiro do Dr. Rufino Theotonio Segurado /Voyage from Goiás to Pará in 1846 and 1847, Logbook of Dr. Rufino Theotonio Segurado./ Rev. trim. 10 (2nd series, Vol. 3), pp. 178-212.

/177/ I unfortunately have not been able to find the report of Dr. Eduardo Olympio Machado from the year 1850, which Moraes Jardim mentions in the introduction of his work, O Rio Araguaya.

/177 cont./

175 At the same time the Presidio de Santa Izabel (now Capoeira de Santa Izabel Velha) existed on Bananal Island: it was later transferred to near the mouth of the Rio das Mortes (Santa Izabel do Morro, now Karajá cemetery), but then given up (22).

22. Moraes Jardim, O Rio Araguaya, foreword.

We owe the first brief, more recent ethnographic description of the Karajá to Dr. Couto de Magalhães, who in 1863 traveled down the Rio Vermelho, founded the town of São José, and visited the subsequently abandoned Aldea da Estiva, one league north of Salinas, in which Chavantés and Carajás lived (23).

[113] 23. Viagem ao Araguaya /Voyage to the Araguaia/. Goyaz, 1863, pp. 124 ff.

In another work (24) he reports that the Chambioás, Carajás,

[101] [16] [36] [131] 24. Dr. C. Magalhães, Região e raças selvagens do Brasil /The Country and Savage Races of Brazil/. Rio de Janeiro, 1874.

[113]

Carajahís, and Javaés form a nation and live, 7-8000 souls strong, in 70-80 villages along the Rio Araguaya from Furo to Intaipabas.

[648] The same, in 1871, founded the settlement of Dumbasinho with the Collegio Izabel, two leagues below Leopoldina on the west bank (Leopoldina was founded in 1852), for the purpose of training and educating young Indians (Karajá, Kayapó, and Tapirapé) as colonists. The Collegio was given up at the beginning of the nineties.

175 114 The next detailed report about the Carajás was furnished by Dr. Spinola, who in 1879 accompanied Moraes Jardim on his Araguaya journey from Leopoldina to Santa Maria, which was undertaken for the purpose of making a map of the river. His

/177 cont./
195 remarks prove to be correct for the most part, except for those
[114] on religion (25).

[113] 25. O Rio Araguaya. Relatorio da sua exploração pelo Major d'Engenheiros Joaquim R. de Moraes Jardim, precedido de um resumo historico sobre sua navegação pelo Tenente-Coronel d'Engenheiros Jeronimo R. de Moraes Jardim e seguido de um estudo sobre os Indios, que habitam suos margens pelo Dr. Aristides de Souza Spinola, presidente de Goyaz. /The Araguaia River. An account of its exploration by Major d'Engenheiros Joaquim R. de Moraes Jardim, preceded by a historical summary on its navigation by Tenente-Coronel d'Engenheiros Jeronimo R. de Moraes Jardim and followed by a study of the Indians who live on its banks by Dr. Aristides de Souza Spinola, president of Goiás. / Rio de Janeiro, 1880.

The report about the journey of Dr. Joaquim Leite Moraes, which appeared in 1892 in Goyaz, was unfortunately not available to me.

195 The most detailed information was brought back by Dr. Paul
114 Ehrenreich, who in 1888, in connection with the second German Xingu-Expedition, traveled from Goyaz down the Araguaya to Pará. He navigated the upper part of the river, free of cataracts, in a steamer, so that of the Karajá, for whom he uses the name Carayahi, he was able to obtain only a fleeting impression, which, however, was fundamentally deepened through the statements, worthy of thanks, of the old Karajá chief accompanying him, Pedro Manco. He was able to study in greater detail the Šambioá, whose territory he traveled through in a rowboat. Of the Yavahe and Tapirapé he reports only hearsay. His /178/ ethnographic collection, which is often referred to in the following, is in the Berlin Museum für Völkerkunde (26).

[113] 26. He published the following works about his

/178 cont./

175 [113]

26. (cont.)
journey: 1. "Beiträge zur Geographie Zentralbrasiliens /Contributions to the Geography of Central Brazil/," in: Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin, Vol. 26, pp. 167 to 190; Vol. 27, pp. 121-152. 2. "Südamerikanische Stromfahrten /South American River Journeys/," in Globus, Vol. 62 (1892). 3. Beiträge zur Völkerkunde Brasiliens /Contributions to the Ethnology of Brazil/. Veröffentlichungen aus dem königlichen Museum für Völkerkunde /Publications of the Royal Museum of Ethnology/, Vol. 2, Nos. 1 and 2. Berlin, Spemann, 1891. 4. Anthropologische Studien über die Urbewohner Brasiliens /Anthropological Studies of the Brazilian Aborigines/. Brunswick, 1897.

We owe the next brief report to Dr. A. Cavalcanti, who, in connection with the explorations for the establishment of a new capital city for Brazil, navigated the Araguaya from Leopoldina to Santa Maria and visited the Carajahí on this occasion (27).

[113]

27. Commissão de Estudos da Nova Capital da União /Commission for Studies on the New Capital of the Union/. Rio, 1896. Relatorio do Dr. A. Cavalcanti /Account by Dr. A. Cavalcanti/.

During the rainy season of 1896/97, the French explorer Coudreau traveled on the Araguaya from Pará to the mouth of the Rio Tapirapé. He visited the Chambioá and Carajás; he also traveled a short stretch on the Rio Tapirapé. His statements, however, are not very accurate and tend to confuse completely the entire picture, especially on the Tapirapé (28).

[114]

[113]

28. Voyage au Tocantins-Araguaya. Paris, 1897.

127 /180 cont./ For comparison I used Ehrenreich, Anthropologische
113 Studien über die Urbewohner Brasiliens /Anthropological Studies of the Brazilian Aborigines/, Brunswick, 1897.

141 Height. Ehrenreich gives (p. 108) the average body height of the men of the Carayahí as 168.2, of the women as 152.8 centimeters; thus, according to his measurements, the women are significantly (15.4 centimeters) smaller than the men. In gen-
[114] eral this proportion is correct, but there are considerable individual deviations.

141 The southern horde on the whole seems to be taller than the
142 northern horde; this is probably attributable to the admixture of Savajé blood, for the Savajé are distinguished from the Karajá by their greater height. In the southern horde there were many men who were as tall as I and a few who were taller (I measured 167 centimeters barefoot), but the tallest probably did not exceed 170 centimeters. For the southern horde one may probably assume 166 centimeters to be the average. The women of the southern horde were also in part quite tall, but in general they remained behind the men in the same proportion as in the northern horde.

Among the latter there was no one who exceeded me in height, and only a few who equaled me, and such tall figures were very rare (Pl. 37, Ill. 1). The great majority of the men were considerably shorter than I; they might be 160-162 centimeters tall on the average. Their height varies by half a head. The women are considerably smaller; /Pl. 36 appears here/ /181/ they remain about half a head behind the men; thus Ehrenreich's average could be assumed for them (Pl. 17).

Besides this, however, there are elements of the population which one must definitely call short. One should compare the two small youths in Illustration 1, Plate 37, who are a full head shorter than the tallest ones (these are about 165 centimeters tall), so that they approach Pygmy measurements (140-145 centimeters). The same is true for two other youths on Plate 44, Illustration 1. Most striking is the appearance of the dwarf woman on Plate 17, who reaches just to the shoulders of the man standing next to her, who is about 164 centimeters tall. I often encountered such small, but fully grown persons in the north horde (compare also the Savajé), whereas it was not

[Text continues on p. 48]

/186 cont./

173 At any rate, it shows that the Xingu Karajá are brought into
[101] closer relationship with the Šambioá than with the Karajá; in view of the geographical conditions and the above statements about the club handles, probably an acceptable opinion.

171 In the source region of the Xingu, the second German Xingu-
[126] expedition heard about an Arumá tribe. Objects from this tribe,
[101] which were acquired among other tribes, show the same middle position between Karajá and Kayapó culture (2). They therefore

2. The four arrows, Berlin 3874 a-d, have, in part, been given new shafts with Bakairí /Baeairi/ feathering; the old shafts, however, show traces of a feathering which is very similar to that of the Karajá, and the points are the same, except for one of the Karajá arrows. The grooved front end of a club (Berlin 2990) could have come from the Karajá or from the Kayapó.

belong to the same ethnographic /187/ province as the Karajá. Now Meyer (1) calls the Arumá Caribs (Bakairí-Apiaká

•[113] 1. Cf. Meyer, Zeitschrift f. Ethnol., Berlin, Vol. 30, 1898, p. 258.

173 /Bacairi-Apiaca/). Perhaps the cultural change in the direction of the Bakairí goes back to the influence of the Šavajé. According to statements of the Karajá, the Šavajé split up about 20-30 years ago at the place called Barreira de Santa Izabel Velha, one part continued to live on Bananal, the other moved west across the Araguaya and has since then disappeared. Perhaps this part of the Šavajé went southwest to the Xingu and affected the cultures there in the manner indicated.

101 Of the above-named three tribes, I studied the Šavajé briefly, the Karajá during a lengthy stay.

/187 cont./

101 The Karajá proper (2). They call themselves: kărăjă,

2. As explained above, I mean by Karajá the Indians called Carayahí by Ehrenreich. In
[104] accordance with the rather sharp J sound, which was often pronounced like dj, I was obliged to change the spelling to Karajá.

kărădjă, or krădjă. In addition, ĩnă and ĩnau̯ḷă were given as designations for themselves. They are called Karayá by the Brazilians. Among the Šavajé, according to their own statement, they are called šŭšomădŏ or bĕrĕhŏkŭwăndŭ, among the
131 Cherénte wărăšŭtŏrŏ. They inhabit the middle course of the
[439] Araguaya, at present from 15° 15' to 10° 12' south latitude; their boundaries are thus the mouth of the Rio Vermelho in the south, a place between the north end of Bananal Island and Santa Anna in the north; only occasionally do they undertake trade voyages to Santa Maria and Conceição. In general they
[648] are confined to the banks of the river and its immediate hinterland, and they inhabit both shores equally; today, at any rate, there can no longer be any talk of the habit of avoiding the
484 [437] west bank out of fear of enemies (3). They also extend their

3. Moraes Jardim, O Rio Araguaya;
[113] Ehrenreich, "Südamerikanische Stromfahrten," p. 38.

fishing and trading expeditions over large stretches on either side. In the east they visit the Šavajé in the interior of Bananal, but avoid going there in small numbers. In the west they navigate
[361] the large tributaries. In the Rio das Mortes, 15 leagues above the mouth, there is supposed to be a small Karajá village; they allegedly do not go farther upstream here. They travel
[225] up the Rio Cristallino for a stretch to fish for turtles. On the
131 Rio Tapirapé they go just below the waterfall; a tree with two bullet-tracks, a fire area, and the remains of utensils mark the boundary here against the Tapirapé Indians.

/192 cont./

167 In any case this summary shows that the south horde owes its
648 origin first of all probably to the establishment of the aldeamendos
[177] at Carretão and Salinas. The Indians settled there and the contact with civilization provided by it (iron tools, liquor, tobacco) soon attracted more, and this influx continued even after the aldeamendos were given up.

166 Even today this southern migration is continuing; this can be
361 definitely proved by my observations. Let us consider first the shifts within the two hordes during the summer of 1908.

In the case of the north horde I met 13 occupied villages with 71 houses on my journey downstream, and in addition 14 deserted village sites with about 40 houses and four migratory villages, two of which were traveling north, two south. On the upstream journey the situation was as follows: there were 13 inhabited villages with 63 houses. The difference in comparison with the villages of the downstream trip lay in the fact that two villages had been given up, two were newly founded, and five had been moved. Four villages were migrating, three to the north and one to the south. There were still ten abandoned village sites with about 25 houses.

If we take the Rio Tapirapé as the point of separation, there were: /Plates 39 and 40 appear here/

/193/

	below:	above:
on the downstream trip...	6 villages, 1 migratory village.	7 villages, 3 migratory villages,
on the upstream trip...	4 (1) villages, 3 migratory villages,	9 villages, 1 migratory village.

• [113]

1. In March 1909 Kissenberth came across these same four villages, as well as one migratory village, below the Tapirapé. Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, 1909, Vol. 41, p. 967.

[Text continues on p. 70]

/194 cont./

342 I myself did not see the rainy-season huts. In October /195/ (beginning of the rainy season) the Karajá occupied, on the sand-banks, a hut form differing from the dry-season type; according to their statements, they build their houses on the high banks from November to March in the same way as this transitional type. The chief difference in contrast to the dry-season house is that the two open narrow sides are each closed off by a round structure projecting out about one meter, in each of which a small opening permits entrance (Pl. 40, Ill. 1). The manner in which the round structures are built is shown in Ill. 2 of Plate 40. They are covered in the same way as the rest of the house. Apparently they serve to prevent rain from entering from the side.

[335] By far the majority of these closed huts showed a second difference: they were once again as long; the framework thus consisted of six arches (1). The long houses, /Ill. 18 appears here/

[113] 1. Such long huts with a low entrance on the front side are already mentioned by Villa Souza Real in 1792 from among the Šambioá. Rev. trim., Vol. 11, p. 430.

closed on both sides, naturally afford far greater protection from rain and at the same time to a greater number of persons than, say, two short huts (Pl. 32, Ill. 1).

The entrances are fashioned differently: at the beginning and end of the rainy season, only two-thirds of the rounding is covered on the side, and the last third is left free as an entrance (Pl. 39); at the time of the heavy rains, however, the entire rounding is covered, except for a low entrance in the center (Pl. 32, Ill. 2). In the transition periods all possible variations occur: short house with a round structure, long house open on both sides, etc.

342 184 177 In the southernmost villages, near Schischá and São José, there were houses which deviated considerably from this method of construction; they represented a mixed type from the building method of the Šavajé and Brazilians. They look very rancho-like.

[335] The side walls are formed by three vertical posts about one meter

/211 cont./

303 are tossed in until there is no longer any liquid oil. For use, a
[302] tuft is pulled out, squeezed out between the hands, and the oil is rubbed into the hair, on the skin of the body, mixed with pigments, etc. The tuft is again tossed into the gourd vessel.

302 b) Body hair. The beard growth is little developed. When a
[142] small hair appears, it is plucked out. Cheek and chin hair allegedly does not grow at all among them; some, however, have short, faint /212/ mustache hairs. Since they find them ugly, however (they compared our mustaches with the long barbs of the
[535] pirarara), they pluck them out. On the other hand, they are supposed to wear artificial beards of human hair in the cascudo dance, according to their statements. The mustache-like beard is placed between the lower lip and the chin, pulled up toward the ears, and fastened in back of the head with strings (1).

●[113]

1. See Jahrbuch des Museums für Völkerkunde zu Leipzig, Vol. 3, 1910, p. 114.

Eye hair. Eyebrows and lashes are removed, and, to be sure, pulled out with the fingers. For this purpose, the fingers are first dipped in ashes, probably so that they will not slip off the smooth hair. This plucking is said to be very painful; it is undertaken even in the case of small children and repeated when the hair has grown in again. As a reason for it they could only say that they did not want this hair to grow. Why they do not want this, they could not explain.

142 The rest of the body hair is usually only slightly developed.
302 The fine hairs of the skin were scarcely to be seen. Underarm hair, too, was only slightly developed; its removal is left to the discretion of the individual. The pubic hair was heavily developed; it was not removed, as far as I could see, at least among the men.

302 c) Body painting. For body painting, red, black, and white color is used.

/255 cont./

261 that the women usually refused salted food. Instead, however,
263 they all ate whole handfuls of sand. Charcoal and ashes are also eaten, but all this is supposed to be very constipating. They are also said to make little pellets of clay which are eaten; the eating of them is supposed to cause jaundice.

D. Eating.

264 Eating utensils are very few in number. Roasted things, as well as boiled fish, are eaten with the fingers; mush, etc. are spooned out of the large cooking dish or out of small eating dishes.
415 Halved gourds are used as such and are generally decorated on the outside with carved decorations (Ill. 94). Shallow clay bowls are also customary (Ill. 95). I did not see oval clay bowls with a partition (Berlin 3866) or round and elliptical clay plates (Berlin 3863-3865), as described by Ehrenreich. Only in Schischá were [177] tall clay dishes with a red border decoration made (1), evidently [53]

1. See also my article on "Die Kunst der Karaja-
[13] Indianer /The Art of the Karaja Indians/," in the Bässler-Archiv, Vol. 2, No. 1, 1911.

412 under Brazilian influence (Ill. 96). Mussel shells serve as spoons, and, to be sure, the three types kădālă (Plate 55, Ill. 5a), kădālă liŏlĕ (Ill. 5b), and wălăbōkădālă (Ill. 5c); also small half-gourds isă liŏlĕ, kăisŏ, ŭālŭ, which are generally decorated with pyrography and exhibit various shapes (Ills. 97, 98). I did not come across anywhere the spoons (katară) of wood (Berlin 3934, 35) and clay (Berlin 3870) mentioned by Ehrenreich.

/256/ To crack open the roasted palm nuts striking stones are used. Rather heavy blows are required to split the shells of the nuts. Flat stones serve as a base; as beaters, fist-sized round ones of quartz, ground conical stones, or old stone axes. All these stones come from the regions north of the Tapirapé mouth. For all striking stones the name mănă (stone) was given. Ill. 99 a-c

/261 cont./

7. Weapons for War, Hunting, Fishing.

128 In order not to disrupt the survey of the manifold forms of these implements by arranging them subordinately into individual groups according to use, I shall discuss them together here. This has already been referred to above under hunting and fishing. A brief survey of the distribution according to purpose might come first.

411 Clubs, as well as bows and arrows with bamboo blade points, serve as weapons of war. Lances and bows and arrows with wooden points and with bamboo blade points serve for hunting. For fishing, bows and arrows with small bone points added on are used exclusively. Sport is practiced with bows and arrows and the throwing board with arrows. Other, perhaps previously customary weapons are the pellet-bow /Kugelbogen/, the sling (?), the boomerang (?). Thus, bows and arrows play the chief role. Everything else is far behind them.

/262/ Bow [w(ă)s(ĭ)ūhădĕ] and arrow (ŭŏhŭ) are usually made by each one for himself. They are always taken along on boat trips, and, indeed, the most diverse kinds of arrows (war, hunting, and fishing arrows) are taken along.

For shooting, the bow is held vertically (Pl. 56, Ill. 1). The arrow rests on the bow between it and the second finger of the left hand, on the bowstring between the first and second fingers of the right hand, while the rest of the fingers draw the bowstring back. In the stretching, the arrow is drawn against the shoulder.

411 526 Shooting from the feet is done as a sport. I did not observe it myself; it was described to me as follows. The men lie on the ground and stretch their feet up close together. The bow lies across the soles of the feet; the bowstring is drawn with the hands toward the chest. Thus they shoot upward. The bow, of course, likewise flies off their feet; the recoiling bowstring is said to cause sharp pain in the feet (1).

[191 013]

1. In this connection cf. the same custom among

/262 cont./

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1. (cont.)
the Indians near Rio de Janeiro, in Debret,
Voyage pittoresque et historique du Brésil
/Picturesque and historical journey to Brazil/,
Vol. 1, Paris, 1836, Plate 5.

411
868

Boys learn how to shoot arrows at an early age; I saw boys three to four years old handling small weapons. These weapons (see under "Toys" /see pp. 241 ff./) serve for practice in shooting. First they shoot toward a fixed goal, a soft, cylindrically shaped root about 30 centimeters high and ten centimeters thick, which is set in the sand (Ill. 109). Later the father proceeds to instruction with the movable target. The father rolls a bast ring along on the ground. The boy stands about ten meters away from the father and shoots from ever greater distances into the moving ring. The arrow must remain hanging in the bast. A little boy four years old succeeded in doing this on the third shot at a distance of two meters. This bast ring [(wă)ṣiŏḷōḷŏ] is a ring-shaped bast pad three and a half centimeters thick and 18 1/2 centimeters in diameter, which is tightly wound with bast (Pl. 56, Ill. 2). Ehrenreich (Berlin 3960) designates it erroneously as a ring for carrying objects on the head, a practice which is not customary among the Karajá Indians. Later comes shooting at a flying target, with green gourds thrown into the air. Thus, the boys learn to shoot the bow at an early age and in general achieve great accuracy. There were Indians who made almost no missed shots while fishing; there were others, however, who were less skilled.

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The bow consists of palm wood. This wood (ŏlōtŏ, wŏāḷūŏ) allegedly grows only in the Tapirapé region. In any case, the Indians of the south horde, according to their unanimous testimony, obtain their bows or the material for them from the Karajá of the north horde or from the Tapirapé themselves. As a result, I was able to acquire bows only in the north horde; they were precious possessions in the south horde.

The bow is round, often slightly flattened on the front side, tapers /263/ /Ills. 109-112 appear here/ /264/ toward both ends,

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 182]

/272 cont./

411 [237] [284] The point is formed by a sharpened thigh bone of the jaguar; /Pl. 56 appears here/ /273/ it is about 20 centimeters long. Where it is mounted on the shaft, the latter is wound for about ten centimeters with red cotton string, from the upper circuits of which long tassels of arara feathers hang down. To

Ill. 123. Club.

Ill. 124. Club with plaiting around the handle end.

Ill. 125. Child's club. Karajá.

Ill. 126. Lance.

411 285 [531] this winding is joined below a patterned plaiting which consists of yellow longitudinal strips of taquara interwoven crosswise all around with strips of embira. The plaiting is 50-80 centimeters long; its ornaments are the common plaited ornaments (1).

[113] 1. See my article, "Die Kunst der Karajá-Indianer /The Art of the Karajá Indians/," Bässler Archiv, Vol. II, No. 1, 1911.

[Text continues on p. 195]

/318 cont./

534 used, are very rare. I came across only two of these specimens
[237] (Pl. 58, Ill. 10 a, b). Otherwise gourds (ŭãlŭ) are commonly used
[824] as the bodies of rattles, which are usually 12-15.5 centimeters long
and 5.5-13 centimeters thick (a small rattle is 6.5 centimeters
[531] long and 6 centimeters thick). Most of these gourd rattles are
carved with the customary designs (1); many bear feather ornaments

[113] 1. See my article on "Die Kunst der Karajá-indianer," Bässler Archiv, Vol. II, No. 1.

on the stem end projecting out of the gourd at the top (Ill. 181 a, b). These rattles are swung rhythmically in the hand by the masked dancers.

533 Singing plays a considerably larger role. Only the men sing; it is only during the period of mourning that the women, like the men, intone monotonous songs of lament in a high pitch. The singing is one-part singing; mass singing seldom occurs. Only once did I hear a cappella singing. During dances two men simultaneously sing the same thing; otherwise they sing individually, especially when fishing. Apparently the Karajá are very musical; they sing gladly and well. Most of their songs are masked-dance
[176] songs, but it seems as though certain people invented and handed down specific songs. It was often said to me: this is the song of this boy or of that youth. Certain dances and songs seem to be transmitted through tradition only in certain families; others are quite familiar with them, but do not sing them. In 1908 Chief Ilk in Village 13 just below Izabel do Morro knew most of the songs. He was almost inexhaustible. The wŏrĭzŏ dance and song were handed down in his family. He knew not only Karajá songs, but also sang songs of the Šavajé and Tapirapé. He was known as a singer in all the villages, and everywhere people requested me to
1[illegible]6 play back the phonograms recorded with him. In all I recorded
533 phonographically 44 cylinders of songs. The Indians liked to sing
152 into the apparatus, as soon as the initial shyness had been overcome. To do this I used European music, which amazed them very much. They laughed aloud in astonishment, and many held

/326 cont./

586 longer wants the other. In any case the children remain with the father. The divorced wife keeps her property. Ehrenreich re-
[589] ports ("Beiträge," p. 27) that a man who rejects his wife may not marry again, but merely takes a housekeeper. According to my observations, the case from Village No. 5 reported above is quite typical. Contempt is by no means the lot of such a man, as Königswald reports (1).

[113] 1. Globus, Vol. 94, p. 237.

589 768 Widows and orphans. Widowed persons again don their leg and arm bands. The widower lives like a bachelor; he may marry again, but generally does so only if he has children who need a mother. Otherwise he is afraid of the work incumbent on a husband. Widows continue to live in the house, which, of
589 course, is their property. They may marry again. They get their 1136 maintenance from the chief, in case there are no grown sons who are able to care for them. Otherwise the chief appoints someone who is to plant and fish for her, and pays him for it. Orphans are reared and provided for by the brother of the mother.

836 Extramarital sex life. The girls do their utmost to preserve their purity; thus, they do not go into the forest alone, for fear of the young men. If a girl nevertheless has misfortune, she is not punished, at any rate not in the south horde. Even in
[114] this case she is married by another party. I was unable to learn anything about the severe punishment for premarital intercourse and adultery, as reported by Ehrenreich and Königswald. /327/
[548] Before marriage, the men enjoy complete freedom. In many
[485] villages there are Tapirpaé and Šavajé women who serve as prostitutes and are also put at the disposal of strangers. The Karajá nevertheless also seem to become involved occasionally in adventures even with tribal members. Pedro flirted in many villages with young girls whom he called his primas (cousins); in Camp No. 23 proposals for nocturnal trysts were made to him by two women, but he refused them. I did not discover anything about the arrangement of viri viduarum, about which Ehrenreich reports from Magalhães ("Beiträge," p. 28).

/331 cont./

532 dance masks, but masks of beggars who travel around on certain occasions and beg for food; others seem to be connected with the /332/ cult of the dead. In any case, these are still quite primi-
561 tive forms; a strict organization of the young people seems to be entirely lacking; only the age group of the unmarried men and the men's house (mask house) have developed (1). As a

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1. Dr. Walter Lehmann-München, in a discussion of my essay on masks in the Zentralblatt für Anthropologie, XVI, 1911, p. 100, suspects that the dance masks, like those in Central America, could in part be connected with the cult of the dead, and that they could be associated with totemistic ideas in combination with puberty rites. The connection with the cult of the dead seems actually to exist for the ĭõõnĭ mask, but, unfortunately, I was able to obtain too little information about this (see Part I, p. 78 /untranslated/) to be able to say anything about it with certainty. As for the second point, I suspected totemism among the Karajá Indians from the very beginning, but, in spite of all efforts, I could not discover anything of this nature. And it is the same with puberty rites. I therefore believe that I am right if I abstain from such combinations. It must one day be the task of a researcher who visits the Karajá during the rainy (dance) season to devote his attention to this problem.

As a

535 result, priests are, as yet, entirely lacking; everyone may still
796 take part equally in all the dances. The arrangement is the duty
[793] of the chief. Everything concerning the masks is kept secret from the women. For more detail on the mask arrangements, see
[113] my article, "Tanzmaskennachbildungen vom mittleren Araguaya (Zentralbrasilien) /Copies of Dance Masks from the Middle

/332 cont./
535 Araguaia (Central Brazil)/" (2).
746
[113]

2. Jahrbuch des städtischen Museums für Völkerkunde zu Leipzig, Vol. 3, Leipzig, 1910, pp. 97-122.

346 I should like only to make a few remarks here about the
532 mask huts. Castelnau mentions and illustrates (Vue et scènes, Paris, 1853, Plate 8 and text page 7) in the first Sambioá village an almost semicircular, vertical palm-leaf wall, the convex side of which is turned toward the village. In the open space stand about ten dance masks. Beside this there is a framework of poles which consists of several oblique poles stuck in a circle, from the center of which projects a long pole bearing a bunch of leaves at the end. These two structures are shown somewhat larger on page 9. In front of the palm-leaf wall are two dancers who have placed the masks on their heads. The way they are portrayed (the absence of the leaf-aprons and the way they are leaping about) proves that Castelnau was not present at the dances. Ehrenreich also reports on such semicircular compartments for masks, and, to be sure, also among the Karajá ("Beiträge," p. 34). I never saw such compartments, but only the house-like mask huts described by me.

775 About the world beyond, the Karajá were unable to give me any information. Allegedly the deceased go to the heavens.

787 Dreams, which are said to be very frequent, are regarded as reality. For example: "If someone dreams that a relative of his has died, he gets into his boat and rides there, in order to see whether it is true." (Kurisĭ.)

789 Magic (lŏbūnĭ) of all kinds is very widespread; even enlightened Karajá still firmly believe in its effect. It is believed that through /333/ manipulations natural events (rain) can be influenced or that other people can be harmed through magic.

Rain magic is very common; everyone can use it, everyone has the apparatus necessary for it. I obtained several of these:

/341 cont./

C 829 648 S 105

What the Karaja say about the neighboring Indian tribes (1).

1. For their statements about Šavajé, Tapirapé, and Kayapó, see under these peoples /see pp. 310 and 336 with regard to the first two; the material dealing with the last-named people has not been translated/.

C S [101]

The Chavánte (kliūzǎ, kŭlizǎ) live on the west bank, on the Rio das Mortes, on campo territory; between São José and Leopoldina they also come as far as the Araguaya. They are tall, have fat paunches and a light skin color. Old men wear beards; the hair is cut short in front, as among the Karajá, is worn hanging down very long in back and tied together with red string. The men tie up the penis in front with a black string; in the lower lip they wear small buttons of wood. A genipap painting on the chest is popular: a line from each armpit to the lower end of the breastbone. The Chavánte fish with poison cipo, and the Karajá maintained that they first learned this method of fishing from them. The Chavánte are a true campo people; they do not like to travel in the forest; they even burn off the campo, in order to be able to travel better. They transport their supplies in carrying baskets which are carried by the men. As for weapons, they carry lances, clubs, bows and arrows. The arrows are like those of the Karajá, but are regarded as ugly. One kind has points of tucum wood; these remain stuck in a wound and are broken off (whereas the bamboo blade points of the Karajá arrows may be pulled out, but they tear large holes, so that the wounded person bleeds to death). The feathers of the feathering are given their shape by burning. There are no poisoned arrows. The Chavánte are the enemies of the Karajá. They have already killed many Karajá, whereas the latter have killed only one Chavánte (2).

C [197]

S 648 [113]

2. This hostile relationship dates from ancient times. As Fonseca reports (Rev. trim. 8, pp. 382-388), the Chavánte, who lived between

/343 cont./

192 north horde. With Ehrenreich's Karajá words and Castelnau's
184 Sambioá words and Coudreau's Karajá words my records show
[114] correspondences as well as differences. The latter probably go back in part to misunderstandings on both sides, as may be definitely proved in a few cases. With regard to the Šavajé language, there are several very striking differences, the reason for which is as yet unknown.

197 The language of the Karajá, for the time being, is still to be regarded as isolated; the few agreements with Ge languages do not, for the present, justify our counting it among these.

192 From the beginning I followed up the differences between
186 the men's dialect and the women's dialect, which Ehrenreich (1)
562

[113]

1. "Materialien zur Sprachenkunde Brasiliens /Materials for Brazilian Linguistics/": I. Die Sprache der Caraya (Goyaz) /The Language of the Caraja (Goiáz)/. Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, Vol. 26, 1894, p. 23.

discovered, and in this way obtained a great number of women's words. Those from the south horde were obtained directly from women, those from the north horde from men. The latter were able to say many words immediately; often, however, they reflected a long time before they found the word. It is doubtful whether they always gave the proper word; in any case, the women's words from the north horde should be taken with some
[191] caution. The men described the language of the women as ibinãli = very poor. They maintained that the two sexes did not understand all of each other's expressions, but that there were words which were foreign to the other sex. My records have so
194 far not confirmed this assertion. The chief difference is that in
562 the women's language a k is inserted where, among the men two vowels stand next to each other; the initial k of the women is omitted among the men. Ehrenreich gives a few further

/367 cont./

535 but turned toward each other, and sang a verse with gourd-rattle accompaniment. They then danced forward together toward the village and back again. This was repeated several times. The 533 dance ended with lively bows at the village. At night the young men sat in front of the mask hut and sang dance songs with the [184] rattle accompaniment. These songs, too, were very similar to those of the Karajá. The Šavajé did not permit photographing 532 the masks on the next day, so I was obliged to resort to sketching. 535 The masks were cylinder masks with a feather-mosaic covering. 126 Black-dyed leaf-aprons for hips and shoulders served as body coverings.

In Schischá I acquired copies of masks, and, to be sure, of the ĭdjālhēnĭ mask, the ămbŭšāwādiă mask, and the lădēnĭ mask. Of these, ĭdjālhēnĭ seems to be a typical Šavajé mask, for the songs of this mask which I was able to record phonographically among the Karajá were always designated by the latter as Šavajé [533] songs. Of other Šavajé songs I obtained phonographically dĕsóĭ dĕsóĭ, a song that they sing after slaying a jaguar.

For further data on the masks of the Šavajé, see my article, [113] "Tanzmaskennachbildungen vom mittleren Araguaya /Dance Mask Reproductions from the Middle Araguaia/," Jahrbuch des Museums für Völkerkunde zu Leipzig, Volume 3, Leipzig, 1910.

197 Their language, according to my data, seems to be identical with that of the Karajá. It does contain some completely different words; see tapir, gavião, maize, red and black neck tassels, lower-arm ornament of two pads with fringe hangings, calf ornament with tassels, leaf pipe; caracara is divergent.

A comparison shows that the south horde of the Karajá is linguistically somewhat closer to the Šavajé than the north horde, undoubtedly a result of the migrations of the Šavajé to the south horde. /Section III, "Die Kayapó (The Cayapo)," pp. 368-402, with Plates 62-68 and Ills. 209-261, is omitted in the translation./

/403/

IV. The Tapirapé.

175 1. Historical. Up to now the tribe of the Tapirapé has been known only from explorations. Their country was probably visited for the first time about 1746-1748 by the adventurer João de Godoy Pinto da Silveira, who evidently repeated the expedition of Pires Campos to look for the Martyrios gold mines (Rev. trim. 37, p. 262, note 18). Their name is mentioned for the first time in 1773 by Fonseca, who heard among the Karajá that the latter were living in peace with them (Rev. trim. 8, p. 388). Souza Villa Real reports that they had eight chiefs. The statement by Silva e Souza (1812) is somewhat confusing: the Tapirapé live on the Rio Grande (upper course of the Araguaya) and are a peaceable, agricultural people who know how to spin and weave; they are said to come from the sertões of the province of Rio de Janeiro (Rev. trim. 12, p. 496). These dwelling sites would be far away from what was otherwise assumed to be their territory on the Rio Tapirapé. It is more in keeping with this general assumption when Cunha Mattos (Rev. trim. 37, p. 393) mentions that they occasionally come to Bananal Island. Castelnau mentions a village of the Tapirapé on a small river opposite the north end of Bananal Island (Vol. 2, page 114). On his map, however, in the source region of the Rio Tapirapé whose course, incidentally, is in general shown correctly, there are three villages: one of the Tapirapé, one of the Mangàra Curera, and one of the Milo. Moraes Jardim reports (O Rio Araguaya, Rio, 1880) that a river steamer traveled ten leagues up the Tapirapé to the harbor of these Indians. He says that the Tapirapé still have no contact with civilization, but are teachable and industrious. Ehrenreich reports ("Südamerikanische Stromfahrten /South American River Journeys/," p. 11) that the steamer with which he traveled had already gone up the Tapirapé for 60 kilometers (perhaps this is the same steamer and the same journey). Here, he says, lives that remarkable Tupi people, the Tapirapé, who are regarded as hospitable and gentle. Unfortunately, Ehrenreich was unable to [101] visit them because the steamer went on. At any rate, these reports merely show that on the Rio Tapirapé live the people called Tapirapé, who are on peaceful terms with the Karajá. Coudreau [113] [114] now confuses the entire picture by his report (Voyage au Tocantins-Araguaya, Paris, 1897). According to him)p. 110), the Tapirapé

/494 cont./

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266 a-b.	Doll of white earth.	340
267.	The fish-fence on the fish-lake of the Tapirapé, viewed from the river. (Drawn from a photograph.)	343
268.	Turtle cage. (Drawn from a photograph.)	344
269 a-c.	Grills of the large roasting place of the Tapirapé.	345
270 a-b.	Tapirapé arrows.	345

Maps

102 1. Survey Map. Scale 1:20'000 000. 1

2. Map of the Rio Araguaya. Scale 1: 2'000 000. 2

Remarks on the Maps.

For the survey map our German atlases were used as a basis; the drawing in of the land route and of the Araguaya, however, was based on my records, which were taken with compass and watch.

For the land route from the Araguaya to Leopoldina this has resulted in essential deviations from our German maps, whereas my records agree better with the Brazilian map of the Companhia Mogyana (S. Paulo, 1905). Especially /495/ important are the changes I made on the stretch from Araguary to Caldas Novas.

The river survey was made from the south from Leopoldina to Village 16, from there to Conceição from the north.

It shows radical deviations from our atlases. The distances northward from the Rio das Mortes seem too great; moreover, the direction of the river differs from there to the east. In order to fit my data into the survey map, the stretch from the Rio das Mortes to Conceição had to be shortened by one-fifth and, in addition, turned approximately 9. 5° to the west. I did not make these corrections in the detail map of the river. My linear measurements are most nearly like those on Ehrenreich's map [113] (Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin, Vol. 27, Plate 3).

1 [cf. End Map B on pp. 369-374.]

2 [cf. End Map A on pp. 366-368.]

113, 143

Chiriguano SF10
Choroti SK6
Mataco SI7
Tehuelche SH5
Caraja SP9
Tucano SQ19
Guarani SM4
Timbira SO8
Araucanians SG4
Paez SC15
Canari SD4
Jivaro SD9
Aymara SF5
Ona SH4
Yahgan SH6

/For information on genic locations based on Streng's diagram of co-ordinates of the blood groups of the natives of South America, see: 4: Hill et al., SS18 Warao, Category 116, pp. 107-114./

1:Lipkind E-5 (1937) 1948 SP9 Caraja SP9

THE CARAJÁ[1]

By William Lipkind

TRIBAL DIVISIONS AND TERRITORY

The *Carajá* are a river people who since pre-Columbian times have held as the central portion of their territory the inland Island of Bananal, which is formed by the great fork of the Araguaya River (lat. 8°–17° S., long. 48°–52° W., map 1, *No. 1*; see Volume 1, map 7). They must be regarded as an independent linguistic family for the present; their language displays no convincing similarities to any other recorded South American language.

The term *"Carajá"* is used to designate the entire people as well as the largest of the three tribal divisions; the other two are the *Shambioá* and the *Javahé*. The *Carajá* proper have 20 villages on the western or main branch of the Araguaya River, widely spread from Leopoldina south of Bananal clear down to the end of the Island. The *Shambioá*, now nearly extinct, have only two villages left, a little way below Conceicão. The eight villages of the *Javahé* lie on the eastern or minor branch of the Araguaya River and on the small streams within Bananal. The general location and the relative sizes of the three groups have remained the same since the earliest times.

The native names give some notion of intergroup attitudes. All three groups regard themselves as a single people and use a name meaning "we" to distinguish themselves from other tribes. The *Carajá* proper are called the "great people" by the other two groups. The *Shambioá* are the "companion people." The *Javahé* are called by a name which is used generally to mean "Indian" and bears the pejorative connotation "backwoodsman" or "hick." There is a possible analysis which makes it the "old people" but, even if this etymology is correct, the word no longer has that meaning.

Dialectical differences are slight and other differences not very great, with the *Shambioá* occupying a middle position culturally between the other two groups. This account is based on field work with the *Carajá* proper and refers to the other groups only where they exhibit important differences.

[1] The present description of the *Carajá* is based on the author's field work during 1937, done under the auspices of the Department of Anthropology, Columbia University.

/1/ Preface

1/4 In the following I am publishing the material in the field of art which I collected on my expedition to the interior of Brazil. In 1908 I undertook an ethnographic research trip for the Leipzig Museum für Völkerkunde to the Araguaia River (Goiás Province), in the course of which I became acquainted with the Karajá /Caraja/, Šavajé /Javahe/, and Kayapó /Cayapo/ (1)

[101] [127]

[104] [113]

1. For the transcription of the Indian names I use the sound-notation given by Meinhof in: Neumayer, Anleitung zu wissenschaftlichen Beobachtungen auf Reisen /Introduction to Scientific Observations on Journeys/, 3rd edition, p. 484.

Indian tribes settled there. Whereas the visit among the latter two tribes was limited to only a few days, I was in constant contact with the Karajá for a full five months, so that I was able to penetrate more deeply into the culture and thought world of this people.

126 In addition to the easily acquired ethnographic objects and most important ethnographic facts, I was also able, by means of an ever deeper intimacy with these Indians, to obtain all kinds of objects and information otherwise difficult to procure. In this way I was able, above all, to collect considerable material which permits us insight into the artistic creativity of the Indians, and thus into an important area of their spiritual life. And, moreover, this is not only drawings, which are already available from several Indian tribes, but above all a great many plastic representations (plaited, wax, and clay figures), which arouse our interest all the more since we possess only a few of these from South America. Again, among the drawings, in addition to figure representations, /2/ the manifold plaiting patterns are particularly important, since they will provide a valuable contribution on the question of ornamentation (1).

[101] 1. In the following, in addition to drawings

/14 cont./

*532

2. Surface Representations = Drawings (1)

[114]

1. All of the examples of surface representations published in the following come only from the Karajá.

Representations of this kind are found in sand as well as on gourd utensils; in addition the Indians gave me considerable material in my sketchbook.

[126]

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Fig. 96. Iadení masked dancers.

Fig. 97. Sand drawing of the Iadení mask.

Fig. 95. Sand drawing of the idjazó mask.

121 /43/ Three years ago G. P. Murdock published his "World Ethnographic Sample." It goes without saying that an endeavor of this scope can only be incomplete. Now, as far as the Carajá, one of the nine tribes classified under the heading "Eastern Brazil," are concerned, the set of 30 characteristic features of this society in Murdock's attempt displays significant gaps and serious inaccuracies. It is my intention, here and now, to remedy this state of affairs as well as possible, in order to contribute from my side, while concerning myself with only one case among 565, to a fairer calculation of the human probabilities.

114 [122] [101] [127] To accomplish this task I shall use as a base the data that I was able to collect personally, in the company of my wife and aided by the National Swiss Foundation for Scientific Research, during the rainy season of 1954 to 1955 among the Carajá of the south, as well as, naturally, on the information from our predecessors in the field, Ehrenreich, Krause, Baldus, and Lipkind above all. I am using this opportunity to express the great regret that I feel every time I think of the fact that the rich materials collected by Lipkind have never been published in a satisfactory fashion. The Carajá, although they have been known for a long time, are basically misunderstood. To be fair, it must be added that they themselves do not make the task of investigators easy, and it goes without saying that under these circumstances my own contribution must remain fairly fragmentary in view of the too short period of our stay among them.

121 On the other hand I am convinced that the presentation of facts alone — allegedly pure facts — does not help us to become better acquainted with the human condition, and the second aim of my article is to present to you a first attempt at interpretation of the data concerning the Carajá kinship system, which, not without reason, was left blank in Murdock's attempt.

128 To facilitate the comparison I shall follow the framework of the columns of the "World Ethnographic Sample." The 433 [41] 462 [231] Carajá cultivate primarily tropical tubercles, although maize is not lacking; true domesticated animals are absent.

/43 cont./

241 is not lacking; true domesticated animals are absent. Planting
433 is important as a source of subsistence, but fishing and turtle
462 hunting stand higher in masculine preference as well as being a basis of life. Not only are the men charged with fishing and hunting — less important owing to the scarcity of game — but activity in the gardens is also primarily the business of the men, since the women are satisfied to help as they please, which is undeniably rare among the Amazonian Indians.

433 Up to here we are in perfect agreement with the cate-
462 gories chosen by Murdock (Ro, Im, Oo, Dm; columns 1-4). However, in column 5 we find the /44/ first gap. The division of labor assigns gathering to the female sex, except for the harvesting of wild honey, which is considered more as hunting and belongs among the men's tasks. So the Carajá could, after all, be put in the category of "standard division of labor by sex" (thus Ia; column 5).

114 Real difficulties arise when we take into consideration what is properly called social organization. Categorial decisions
361 are not so easy to make there. It is true that our Indians live
[221] in compact villages, especially during the rainy seasons. During the rest of the year the Carajá proper like to disperse on the beaches, forming smaller local units, which, nevertheless, are always lined up along the river, the houses of the men (if there are any in the encampments) remaining at the rear, as if the periphery of a circle had been opened and rolled back in a straight line, leaving the center — the houses of the men — at
361 the side of the line. Since the large villages of the rainy season,
62 which are all like this and bear a name, are in reality agamous
[114] and without clans, but display a certain tendency toward endogamy, the category assigned by Murdock — compact village observing agamy — (Va; column 6), if it is not definitely wrong, is nevertheless to be taken cum grano salis (tendency toward Sd).

59 As for the family structure, it is normally of the extended type, at least during the rainy season, but the extension is not

/44 cont./

59 so great, and there are, besides the linear families or nonnamed minimal lineages, some independent families (i.e., rather Ll, often Ss and In, instead of Ee; column 7), which agrees with the fact that, besides the customary matrilocal marriage, "neolocal" residence is found (Mn, instead of Mm; column 8) in the dry season on the one hand, and, on the other hand, as a possible
595 nucleus of a new extended family. Polygyny is neither frequent
583 nor favored, whereas it is true that material considerations are absent on the occasion of marriage (thus Mo or To rather than Lo; column 9).

611 We shall now take up the most confused aspect of Carajá
[121] ethnography. The Handbook of South American Indians speaks
615 correctly of double descent. I have shown elsewhere that be-
[119] cause of some inattention in the editing of the famous manual, an incorrect idea of the real nature of this coexistence of patrilineal and matrilineal groupings has arisen. It is a matter, not of moieties, but of three large, named, patrilineal groups, which are primarily the men's affair, in their ceremonial and political life, but nevertheless are concerned with women in the sense of an endogamous tendency. Thus it is not a matter of true parallel descent, and, on the other hand, it is by no
[621] means a question of exogamy, and still less of moieties. At the most one may speak of nonexogamy or agamy as in the case of the villages, which are themselves matrilineal groupings on account of the matrilocal rule of the domestic group just men-
613 tioned. In a strict sense only the small extended family,
596 which can be described as a non-named, minimal, matrilineal
582 lineage, seems to be exogamous. Marriage is permitted with any cousin, parallel or cross, and the matrilateral preference reported by Lipkind (incidentally without any indication of whether it is a matter of parallel or cross cousins!) seems to be only the normative expression of matrilocal marriage, whereas the slight patrilateral preference ascertained by myself is equally in agreement with the rule of endogamy of the patrilineal groups.
[601] In reality, since the relatives are usually "brother" and "sister" with regard to each other, being male and female cousin, as we

/44 cont./

582 shall presently see, the difference does not have much explicative value. In the light of what has been said, it is therefore [616] necessary to correct the categories set up by Murdock, taking [615] into account the fact that his category "agamous (nonexogamous) [114] moieties" should be completed by "agamous phratries" (thus: Pa or Na, La, Da; columns 10-12).

601 The kinship system of the Carajá must now be set forth for the first time, albeit briefly. Murdock left the pertinent [114] column completely blank. /45/ With regard to male and female cousins, the terminology is of the "Hawaii" type, that is to say, my own generation contains only brothers and sisters.

128 Before continuing, permit me to remind you that we have been able to speak of principles which govern kinship systems. In order not to fall into the trap of "verbalism" decried by Murdock, I hasten to add that it is not a question of causes, but rather of logical principles likely to operate in view of a given situation, whether these be circumstances pertaining to the environment, demography, or the fundamental type of social communication which is involved in each case. Now we could pair up these principles by forming contrasts in the manner of the linguists, contrasts whose terms exclude each other when it is a question of particular relations, but which can alternatively be combined into a whole system of kinship relations. Perhaps it would be preferable to formulate only opposite contrasts, but for the moment I will be satisfied, except in the first case, with contrasts which are clearly contradictory, and thus easier to handle, for that will suffice to attain our immediate goal of elucidating

601 the kinship system of the Carajá. There is contradiction between the classified unity of the generation and the unity of the line of filiation, there is contradiction between differentiation and nondifferentiation of the sexes, as well as of respective ages, between reciprocity and nonreciprocity of terms, finally between classificatory unity and nonunity of brothers and sisters — classificatory unity which, by the way, is not to be confused with the unity of the group of brothers and sisters classified together, nor with a denominative unity.

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I. The Karaya /Caraja/ Tribes on the Araguaia River (Goyaz) /pp. 4-97 /.

II. Concerning several Peoples on the Purus River (Amazonas) /untranslated/.

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/3/

Foreword

C 114 121 The ethnological material communicated in the following is the result of a journey through little-known regions of the interior of Brazil, undertaken in connection with the second Xingu expedition of Dr. Carl von der Steinen, which set out at the beginning of the year 1887 in order to subject to closer study the wild tribes still living on a pre-Columbian level of culture in the source area of this river.

CI 121 174 One of the most important results of this expedition was the final solution of the Karaib /Carib/ question. That the original home of the Karaib tribes, whose ethnographic position had been so unclear up to now, was not to be sought in northeastern South America, but in the central regions of the continent was made sufficiently certain by the discovery of two large Karaib peoples in the Xingu source region, the Bakairi /Bacairi/ and Nahuqua, the more detailed investigation of their languages, and the fortunate discovery of the traditions concerning their migrations. It was then a matter of following the traces of those ancient displacements of peoples, of finding Karaib tribes which formed the connecting link between the two widely separated groups of this large family of peoples. Certain observations permitted the assumption that the Karaya (1) of the lower Xingu and the middle Araguaia

C 104

1. The spelling Karaya, instead of Caraja or Karaža, was chosen because the sound j in the mouths of the people themselves sounds like a German j (phonetic y). The soft sibilant ž occurs in their language only in the combination dž.

Cariban Indians SR7
Cayapo SP11
Amanaye SQ2
Arara SQ4

CI 121 174 /3 cont./ were such a "missing link"; from even a short word-list this could be assumed with complete certainty in the case of a tribe on the left bank of the lower Tocantins, the Apiaka /Apiaca (Arara)/, which has only recently become well-known. When our expedition disbanded in May, 1888, after finishing its work, I decided to contribute to the solution of this question by a trip down the Araguaia and Tocantins to Pará.

C 119 101 After an overland journey of two months, I arrived in Goyaz in July, 1888, boarded ship on August 21 at Leopoldina on the Araguaia, and reached Pará on November 2 of the same year.

C 101 Of the large Indian population of the region traversed, only the Karaya could be investigated in detail. They proved to be a nation sui generis, which is related to no other, in particular not with the Karaib, still defies any classification, and is unique in language, customs, and physical form, isolated in the midst of the large well-characterized Gẽs /Ge/ nations surrounding them.

C 126 The collection of ethnological specimens acquired here by me can, despite a number of gaps, be designated as the first which gives a fairly true picture of the culture and living conditions of this important people, almost unknown up to now.

CO 126 Also the most important Gẽs tribe, that of the Kayapo /Cayapo/, is represented in it by certain objects, which as the first to reach Europe from the free, northern hordes of this great people, command special interest.

Am 101 126 The unpretentious objects of the Anambẽ, a pure Tupi people on the lower Tocantins, among whom the Brazilian Couto Magelhães wrote down the Tupi legends printed in the work O selvagem /The savage/, are important only because they are the Am [173] [161] the first and at the same time the last objects that have come to us from a people that is now reduced to four individuals as the result of a devastating smallpox epidemic.

Ar 101 /4/ As neighbors of the Anambẽ, the Apiaka (1), of whom

1. Whether this is their national name or was given to them by the Brazilians is uncertain. In any case, they should not be confused, as often happens, with

/4 cont./

Ar 101

1. (cont.)
the Apiaka /Apiaca/ of the upper and middle Tapajós, a true Tupi tribe. Externally they are distinguished from the latter by their tribal tattooing. Among the Apiaka of the Tapajós, the mouth region is tattooed black; those of the Tocantins are characterized by a blue line drawn from the outer corner of the eye to the corner of the mouth.

Ar [302]

Ar 167 [101] [197]

I met only civilized individuals, live farther in the interior. They actually proved to be the connecting link sought. They are a true Karaib tribe, closely related linguistically and somatically to the Bakairi, but only a relatively short time ago, about the middle of this century migrated from the upper Xingu or Tapajós region to the lower Tocantins. If migrations of such dimensions have taken place in recent times, their possibility at least cannot be ruled out for earlier periods.

C 114

From Manáos I undertook in the middle of December, 1888, a three-month trip to the primeval forest regions of the middle Purus, during which I became acquainted with three of the most important tribes of these regions. Because of unfavorable conditions, the yield in collection specimens was relatively small here. The exhaustion of my means, but in particular the poor health of my two companions, prevented extending the trip to the upper Purus regions and necessitated our return as early as the end of February. Nevertheless, this journey did contribute something toward the clarification of the distribution of peoples in these regions. Almost all the tribes there belong to the large Maipure or Nu-Aruak group (v.d. Steinen) and form the connecting link between the Nu tribes of Guiana and Colombia and those of Bolivia and Mato Grosso. Ascertaining this fact has substantially simplified the confused ethnographic picture of central South America.

C 121

C [101]

C 128

The following presentation is therefore devoted to the Karaya and the Purus tribes of the Yamamadi, Ipurina, and Paumari /Paumary/. All the other ethnological observations and inquiries, as well as all of the linguistic and anthropological material, will be reserved for special publications.

/13 cont./

342 principally to close off the narrow sides. To the right and left of the door are planted two high poles which give the palm-leaf layers of the front side more solid support.

352 The interior furnishing of the houses is rather simple. Part of the floor is covered with buriti mats which also serve as an [513] underlayer for sleeping. A smooth wooden cylinder pushed underneath represents the pillow. The various storage baskets, the 353 [415] containers for ornamental feathers, the finished feather orna- [239] ments, bottle gourds, and other things hang from the horizontal beams. Bows and arrows are stuck in the rafters. [342] Lances and clubs stand in the corner, always at hand. Some sledge-like 352 415 stools, as well as pots and gourd /cuia/ bowls of varying sizes complete the household equipment.

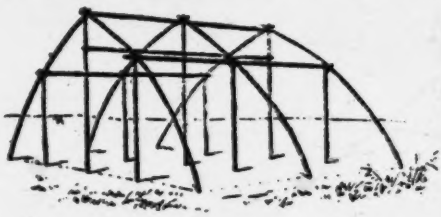


Fig. 3. Hut construction.

346 At some distance from the village is found the somewhat dif- [532] ferently constructed "medicine hut," where the mysterious dance masks are stored. It has the form of an ordinary rancho, with a steeply sloping roof, and is tightly closed on three sides, whereas [784] the side facing the village is wide open. Female creatures may not venture near it.

[114] Castelnau already makes mention of it. Couto Magelhães in his first report speaks of a hut which serves as an arsenal for storing weapons. Nothing of this sort is known to me. Evidently he means by it this mysterious sacred place whose true purpose no one wanted to reveal to him. We shall return to it in the following.

825 It is also noteworthy that in front of two Šambioa villages dead king-vultures (Sarcoramphus papa) with outspread wings were fastened on a high frame of poles. They are probably supposed to scare away demons in the manner of the bird figures carved out of wood in front of Malay villages.

/26 cont./

532 collected, 24 centimeters high, without an apron, belongs here. The face is clearly modeled, the hair reproduced by a thin layer of wax with cotton fringes hanging down in front, a chain of Ricinus kernels and pierced snail-shells with black tassels decorates the neck (Pl. XI /see p. 113/, 6).

Finally we have completely finished forms (obtained only from the Šambioa). Face and body are imitated completely true to nature, the arms folded over the stomach. The wax hair hangs far down in back. Line painting covers the chest and limbs. Some are supplied with ear sticks and necklaces, others with small "redes." Unfortunately the legs and the seat of almost all of them are of unnatural thickness (Pl. XI, 7). A black wax figure, the best one of the collection, nevertheless shows proportional form throughout (Pl. XI, 9). Whereas all figures of this type wear an apron, others of gray clay are without it. They also lack hair; on the other hand, they have on their backs a carrying basket likewise made of clay. The arms are drawn up against the chest (Pl. XI, 8). The male figures of this category are disproportionately long and narrow in the upper trunk, with almost spherical lower legs. Hair and genitals are of wax. There are sticks in the ears, chains of glass beads around the neck (Pl. XI, 10).

[177] The caricatures of Brazilian soldiers made out of lumps of wax, with the uniform indicated by bits of blue and red cloth pasted on, are very crude, but not without a certain humor in the execution.

Social Life, Law and Custom.

•114 The social arrangements of the Karaya can for the present be treated only fragmentarily. Nevertheless, the little that I [115] observed myself or that was learned through the agency of my companion and most important informant, the old chief Pedro Manco, may at least provide points of reference for further research.

/28 cont./

836 property and are offered to ships' crews, despite their usually
727 most horrible appearance. Unfortunately, one also sees children
used for the same purpose. Here is clearly shown the dualism in
836 the ethics of the savages, whose moral laws apply only to mem-
727 bers of their own tribe. This view, common to all primitive
577 peoples, cannot therefore change our judgment of the morality
[186] of the Karaya in general. When Castelnau doubts this, saying,
[114] "Ce fait (the stern punishment of a transgression against morals) est peu d'accord avec les offres qui étaient fait continuellement a nos gens /this fact is hardly in accord with the offers that were continually made to our men/" (Hist. du voyage, I, p. 446), he overlooks the fact that these "offres" concerned not their own, but foreign women.

855 In spite of the lack of external signs of tenderness, which are absent among all Indians, the treatment of the children is very loving throughout.

854 The smaller ones are continually carried about by the mothers and tended with tireless care, hung with ornaments and
853 painted, etc. They are suckled for an extraordinarily long time.

857 Older children are left entirely to themselves, but in spite of this demonstrate a natural decency and a modesty of behavior that the highly educated offspring of civilized men only all too
858 often lack. It would be unthinkable among the Karaya that children be traded to the settlers, as unfortunately still frequently occurs in other regions of Brazil, especially on the Amazon. Upon the founding of the Collegio Izabel at Leopoldina, whose purpose was to train young Indians and settle them later as colonists, efforts to obtain Karaya children for it were in vain. Since they once allowed themselves to be misled years ago, and some were lured away and abducted by force, all the young people as a rule take flight at the approach of a boat and only with great difficulty are persuaded to return.

764 The fact that the animal decorations put on the grave poles
532 (cf. p. 63) are marks of the family concerned or of a wider kin
602 grouping indicates the existence of totemism, or clan formation. To be sure, nothing more precise is known about this, but the family system discovered among the Arawak by Im Thurn (1) may also hold for the relationship prevailing among the Karaya.

1. Im Thurn, op. cit., p. 175.

/30 cont./

526 On beautiful moonlit nights the young people practice wrestling on the praias. The hold is the same as the one customary among us. It is principally a matter of bringing down the opponent by tripping him, at which even apparently weak individuals develop an astounding agility.

535 Some of the dances have already been described by Castelnau.
[114] I myself had the opportunity in the third Šambioa village to attend a war dance. Eight feather-adorned men armed with spears, clubs, and bows took part under the leadership of a head-dancer, whom they surrounded in a semicircle. The dancers moved only a little from their places, at most a few steps forward and back. Rapid hopping on one leg and artistically correct, rhythmic swinging of the weapons provided the main action. Everything was carried out with the greatest precision.
[177] This dance is said to have been borrowed from the Kayapo.

764
[768]

[524] Fig. 15. Top (1/4).

Obsequies and burial. At the death of a Karaya all the objects that he used daily, weapons, ornaments, etc., are burned amidst loud lamentations of the relatives; the rest is divided among those who bury him. The mourners wound themselves with cuts and shear their hair.

764
535

Next follows the dance of the dead around the corpse (1), which is colored

[763] 1. Not infrequently the ceremonies begin before death has actually occurred.

with urucú and, wrapped in mats, is hung up on a horizontal pole.

Under the direction of two leading singers, who are relieved from time to time, the row goes around in a circle, whereby the participants hold their fingers pushed over one another. The
[533] song is a kind of dialogue. The chorus asks the deceased where he is and how he is; one of the leading singers answers for him.

/30 cont./

764 One such verse might be reproduced in translation, at least
535 the sense of it.
539 Chorus: dž̌oiri koniko -- hidž̌ohoho (repeated 4-5 times) otohoniko -- kudž̌ã beboniko, i.e.: He lives no more, it is over for him, do not think of him any more, he hangs on the pole (kudž̌ã).

The deceased: roniro nira -- koti uaidž̌ã uaniro bioko nero -- aidž̌odž̌ã biowa, i.e.: I am in a beautiful country, bring me tobacco (koti), have you put the lip plug on me? Further: I lack nothing, but bring water to the grave, etc.

Between times the chorus repeats over and over the muted: haidž̌ã hã hã hãṅ -- hã hãṅ -- hã hãṅ, i.e.: It is all over.

764 /31/ The burial takes place the next day, or, when death has occurred in the morning, in the evening of the same day.
[765] The ceremonies, songs, and dances are then continued for three or four more days, during which time no one works.

The burial places are always close to the river on higher
[126] ground. Two of them; one near S. José, the other somewhat above the mouth of the Rio das Mortes on the right bank, were more closely investigated by me and some skeletons exhumed.

The grave (Fig. 16 a-d /see p. 63/) is a rectangular pit two meters long, one meter wide, and 50-70 centimeters deep, over which some poles are placed in the long direction. The corpse, wrapped in buriti mats, hangs in a horizontal position, swinging free, on the centermost pole (1) (a). A container filled with food

[114] 1. Castelnau's statement, op. cit., I, p. 446, that the deceased stands vertically in the grave (la tête fait une saillie au dessus du sol /the head projects above the ground/) is probably based on confusion with the method of burial in a squatting position customary among the Kayapo.

/Fig. 16 appears here/ stands under it on the ground. The pit is covered with a mat, over which lies a foot-high layer of earth (b).

/33/

304 757 While the patient convulsively clasps a pole, the points are pressed deep into the skin of the ailing part of his body, and it is scratched open in various directions with quick movements. The blood is scraped off with strips of palm leaves, the wounds rubbed with sand in the bath. It is said to be not uncommon that pulverized pepper is applied to increase drainage.

Even when there is no special suffering, such blood-lettings are done from time to time on legs and arms, "in order to strengthen muscle power."

753 171 The belief common to all primitive peoples that sickness, as well as death, is something highly unnatural and comes about only through the influence of hostile powers, which the witch doctor alone knows how to ban, prevails among the tribes of South America in such a completely similar manner that everything known about it from one people also holds without additions [114] for the others. One need only refer to the lucid, exhaustive presentation by Im Thurn (1), to which there is hardly anything to add.

1. Im Thurn, op. cit., p. 328 ff.

756 Among the Karaya the rank of witch doctor (kahotebädõ, according to Spinola hori), of which every village possesses several, does not belong to a closed caste any more than it does among the Xingu tribes.

Anyone who is willing to undergo the required mortifications can become a sorcerer. Nervous individuals, epileptics, etc. are, of course, especially suited for it. Even women can attain this office.

789 791 We had no opportunity to observe the medicine man treating the sick, but did observe him in his no less important activity as rain conjurer. He stepped ceremoniously in front of the hut, [276] holding a tobacco pipe in one hand, in the other a long switch with thornback spines stuck on the tip. His face turned toward the heavens, he uttered inarticulate sounds in a loud voice, again and again blew smoke towards the clouds, then mumbled, swinging his staff around his head, incomprehensible words

/34 cont./

535 detail that Kleinschmidt's description of the duck-duck festival
121 of New Britain would also fit mutatis mutandis the animal dances of the Karaya.

535 Castelnau, who first mentions them, obtained one of these
114 masks with great difficulty (1), but it was later lost, along with

1. Castelnau, op. cit., p. 441.

all the other collections, in the cataracts of the Tocantins. The depiction of a dance given by him on Plate IX of his Vues et scenes /Views and Scenes/ (Paris, 1852) is incorrect inasmuch as the lower trunk and legs of the dancers are not uncovered, as the illustration shows, but are hidden under long buriti hangings. Also the height of the headdresses seems exaggerated.

Later Spinola (2) published something about them and also

2. Op. cit., p. 45.

obtained some mask costumes for the anthropological exhibition in Rio (1882), which, however, never reached their destination, but were lost in Goyaz.

126 That I was successful in luckily bringing home some of the
535 most interesting masks I owe to the intervention of the chief Pedro
532 Manco, without whose intercession the superstitious mistrust of
[123] his fellow tribesmen could hardly have been overcome. These
[178] sacred objects had already been unwisely profaned several times by travelers, in particular by Spinola himself. Contrary to expecta-
532 tion, the most beautiful specimens were found among the
535 Karayahi, whose villages alone exhibit the above-described
184 "medicine huts." Smaller camps had, instead of them, simple semicircular compartments, open at the top and back, as Castelnau depicts them, whereas the huts are completely absent among the Šambioa. Probably in this case they had already been torn down again after the conclusion of the festivities. The palm-straw costumes collected there lay thrown in a heap in the nearby forest and are for that reason somewhat defective.

/iii/ Foreword

121 In the year 1908, under the auspices of the city of Leipzig,
[122] I undertook an ethnographic research expedition into central Brazil, the purpose of which was the scientific investigation, with the most modern methods and instruments, of the Indian tribes visited, as well as the salvaging of visible examples of their cultural life for the Leipzig Museum für Völkerkunde. Its
[101] goal was the region of the middle Araguaya /Araguaia/, between the 15th and 9th degrees, southern latitude, with the Indian tribes of the Karajá /Caraja/, Šavajé /Javahe/, Tapirapé, and Kayapó /Cayapo/.

114 The expedition set out on 29 January 1908 and returned to Leipzig on 7 February 1909. The program was, by and large, carried out; only the proposed advance to the west had to be cut short because of insurmountable geographical difficulties.

126 Abundant material in the form of observations of all kinds, photographs and phonographic recordings, sketchbook drawings, etc. was brought back. The ethnographic collection, containing more than 1,100 specimens, has been handed over to the Museum
113 für Völkerkunde zu Leipzig. Of my findings I have published up
126 to now only reproductions of the dance masks of the Karajá Indians, in connection with a description of the use of masks by this tribe (in the Jahrbuch des Museums für Völkerkunde zu Leipzig, Volume 3, Leipzig, 1910), as well as a study of the art of the Karajá Indians (in the Bässler-Archiv, Vol. 2, No. 1, Berlin, 1911), in which the material collected by me on the artistic activities of the Indians in the plastic arts and drawing was reproduced.

128 All the rest of the material is now to be presented to the public here.

As a first part, and before the actual results, I am giving a report on the expedition /the first part is omitted in the translation/. I regard this as very important; for the findings of the expedition can be properly evaluated only if one knows how they were obtained, in other words, the conditions under which the studies were made. Thus, the travel report gives the external course

/174/

175 In 1772 José Machado undertook a military expedition by
177 land from Trahiras to the Araguaya; he succeeded in establishing amicable relations with the Carajás, but otherwise his expedition was without success (7).

7. Rev. trim. 12, p. 457; 37, p. 362, note 84.

In 1773 José Pinto da Fonseca succeeded, as the first, in remaining in peaceable contact with the Karajá for a longer time. His large military expedition seems to have come to the Araguaya by land. At a place that he called Corôa, he met
[131] the Carajás Indians (the Karajá proper). The place seems to have been located on the eastern arm of the Araguaya, approximately in the center of the lengthwise extension of Bananal Island. He succeeded in establishing amicable relations with the Karajá. Later, the Javaês /Javahe/ (first mention of this tribe) from Bananal Island, which he called Ilha de Santa Anna,
[648] came on a visit. After an initial military expedition against the hostile Chavantes, a protective alliance was concluded with the Carajás. The report ends with a reference to undertaking a second expedition against the Chavantes. More did not become known. He had heard of the Tapirapés with whom the Carajás
[114] live in peace. In this report, Fonseca gives the first cultural description of the Karajá; in the following I have often referred to his good observations, still pertinent today (8).

[113] 8. Copia da carta, que o alferes José Pinto da Fonseca escreveu ao Exm. General de Goyazes, dando-lhe conta do descobrimento de duas nações de indios, dirigida do sitio onde portou. 2. Agosto 1775. /Copy of the letter that the alferes José Pinto da Fonseca wrote to the Exm. General de Goyazes, giving him an account of the discovery of the two parties of Indians, addressed from the place at which he arrived. 2 August 1775./ Rev. trim. 8 (1846, 2nd edition, 1867), pp. 376-390.

/177 cont./

175 At the same time the Presidio de Santa Izabel (now Capoeira de Santa Izabel Velha) existed on Bananal Island: it was later transferred to near the mouth of the Rio das Mortes (Santa Izabel do Morro, now Karajá cemetery), but then given up (22).

22. Moraes Jardim, O Rio Araguaya, foreword.

We owe the first brief, more recent ethnographic description of the Karajá to Dr. Couto de Magalhães, who in 1863 traveled down the Rio Vermelho, founded the town of São José, and visited the subsequently abandoned Aldea da Estiva, one league north of Salinas, in which Chavantés and Carajás lived (23).

[113] 23. Viagem ao Araguaya /Voyage to the Araguaia/. Goyaz, 1863, pp. 124 ff.

[101] [16] [36] [131] In another work (24) he reports that the Chambioás, Carajás,

24. Dr. C. Magalhães, Região e raças selvagens do Brasil /The Country and Savage Races of Brazil/. Rio de Janeiro, 1874.

[113]

Carajahís, and Javaés form a nation and live, 7-8000 souls strong, in 70-80 villages along the Rio Araguaya from Furo to Intaipabas.

[648] The same, in 1871, founded the settlement of Dumbasinho with the Collegio Izabel, two leagues below Leopoldina on the west bank (Leopoldina was founded in 1852), for the purpose of training and educating young Indians (Karajá, Kayapó, and Tapirapé) as colonists. The Collegio was given up at the beginning of the nineties.

175 114 The next detailed report about the Carajás was furnished by Dr. Spinola, who in 1879 accompanied Moraes Jardim on his Araguaya journey from Leopoldina to Santa Maria, which was undertaken for the purpose of making a map of the river. His

/177 cont./
175 remarks prove to be correct for the most part, except for those
[114] on religion (25).

[113] 25. O Rio Araguaya. Relatorio da sua exploração pelo Major d'Engenheiros Joaquim R. de Moraes Jardim, precedido de um resumo historico sobre sua navegação pelo Tenente-Coronel d'Engenheiros Jeronimo R. de Moraes Jardim e seguido de um estudo sobre os Indios, que habitam suos margens pelo Dr. Aristides de Souza Spinola, presidente de Goyaz. /The Araguaia River. An account of its exploration by Major d'Engenheiros Joaquim R. de Moraes Jardim, preceded by a historical summary on its navigation by Tenente-Coronel d'Engenheiros Jeronimo R. de Moraes Jardim and followed by a study of the Indians who live on its banks by Dr. Aristides de Souza Spinola, president of Goiás. / Rio de Janeiro, 1880.

The report about the journey of Dr. Joaquim Leite Moraes, which appeared in 1892 in Goyaz, was unfortunately not available to me.

175 The most detailed information was brought back by Dr. Paul
114 Ehrenreich, who in 1888, in connection with the second German Xingu-Expedition, traveled from Goyaz down the Araguaya to Pará. He navigated the upper part of the river, free of cataracts, in a steamer, so that of the Karajá, for whom he uses the name Carayahi, he was able to obtain only a fleeting impression, which, however, was fundamentally deepened through the statements, worthy of thanks, of the old Karajá chief accompanying him, Pedro Manco. He was able to study in greater detail the Šambioá, whose territory he traveled through in a rowboat. Of the Yavahe and Tapirapé he reports only hearsay. His /178/ ethnographic collection, which is often referred to in the following, is in the Berlin Museum für Völkerkunde (26).

[113] 26. He published the following works about his

/178 cont./

175 [113]

26. (cont.)
journey: 1. "Beiträge zur Geographie Zentralbrasiliens /Contributions to the Geography of Central Brazil/," in: Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin, Vol. 26, pp. 167 to 190; Vol. 27, pp. 121-152. 2. "Südamerikanische Stromfahrten /South American River Journeys/," in Globus, Vol. 62 (1892). 3. Beiträge zur Völkerkunde Brasiliens /Contributions to the Ethnology of Brazil/. Veröffentlichungen aus dem königlichen Museum für Völkerkunde /Publications of the Royal Museum of Ethnology/, Vol. 2, Nos. 1 and 2. Berlin, Spemann, 1891. 4. Anthropologische Studien über die Urbewohner Brasiliens /Anthropological Studies of the Brazilian Aborigines/. Brunswick, 1897.

We owe the next brief report to Dr. A. Cavalcanti, who, in connection with the explorations for the establishment of a new capital city for Brazil, navigated the Araguaya from Leopoldina to Santa Maria and visited the Carajahí on this occasion (27).

[113]

27. Commissão de Estudos da Nova Capital da União /Commission for Studies on the New Capital of the Union/. Rio, 1896. Relatorio do Dr. A. Cavalcanti /Account by Dr. A. Cavalcanti/.

During the rainy season of 1896/97, the French explorer Coudreau traveled on the Araguaya from Pará to the mouth of the Rio Tapirapé. He visited the Chambioá and Carajás; he also traveled a short stretch on the Rio Tapirapé. His statements, [114] however, are not very accurate and tend to confuse completely the entire picture, especially on the Tapirapé (28).

[113]

28. Voyage au Tocantins-Araguaya. Paris, 1897.

/178 cont./

175 Since then we have remained without any information on this area; no explorer again reports on the tribes along the Araguaya. Meanwhile steamer traffic expanded further, and new Brazilian settlements arose, especially the mission station Conceição among the Kayapó in the north. At the beginning of the twentieth century, the Bishop of Goyaz, accompanied by the steamer contractor Adolofo Guedes, undertook a journey on the Araguaya. According to the personal account of the [361] latter, they traveled, at high water, up the eastern arm of [177] Bananal from the north, came across a huge village of Šavajé, landed, but were quickly obliged to turn back in the face of resistance by the many Indians who were frightened by the 70 armed Brazilians. After that the wildest rumors swept through the land about the hostility and the great number of the Šavajé.

114 Such were the circumstances when I traveled on the Araguaya in 1908. I navigated it from Leopoldina to Conceição, [101] visited the Karajá, undertook side trips on foot to the Kayapó at Conceição and to the Šavajé on Bananal, and traveled up the Rio Tapirapé to the source region, where I came across the deserted villages of the Tapirapé Indians.

101 By way of supplement, a few statements about how the designations of the tribes have changed in the course of time might follow.

[131] I distinguish the following three hordes of the Karajá: the Šambioá in the stretch of the rapids, the Šavajé on Bananal Island, the Karajá proper on the Araguaya, west and south of Bananal.

101 The Šambioá are called Carajás by the first discoverers 175 (Antonio Pires de Campos in 1746, Souza Villa Real in 1792/93; Cunha Mattos also calls them this in his Chorographia de Goyaz, 1824). The name /179/ Šambioá appears for the first time in Cunha Mattos for a tribe which, roving about, sometimes visits Bananal Island, sometimes dwells on the Rio Cuyaba, and blocks passage through the western arm of the Araguaya (29). It is not

29. Rev. trim. 37, p. 393; 38, p. 20.

/179 cont./

101 175 known how Cunha Mattos arrived at this strange localization. The present Šambioá are called by this name for the first time by Castelnau in 1844, then Rufino in 1846, and Ehrenreich in 1888. This name is now the one commonly used; only Coudreau again calls them Carajá. This name, given to them by the Karajá, should be retained to distinguish them from the other hordes.

The Šavajé are mentioned for the first time as Javaes and Javahes in 1773 by Fonseca, who met them as visitors among the Karajá. (I do not know whether Pinto de Gaia mentions them.) Since then they have continued to be known under this name. They are mentioned again by Vasconcellos-Fonseca in 1774, Cunha Mattos in 1824, Castelnau in 1844, Spinola in 1879, Ehrenreich in 1888, and Coudreau in 1896/97, though none of them, except the first, again came into close contact with them.

The horde of the Karajá proper is mentioned for the first time by José Machado in 1772, and, to be sure, under the name of Carajás. They continued to be known under this name and were described by Fonseca and Vasconcellos in 1773 and 1774. They were not visited again after that; reports about them become confused, especially through the occurrence of the name Carajahí for a horde whose sites cannot be precisely located. Souza Villa Real, in 1793, is the first to mention the Carajahí: they had four chiefs. The authors of the two large historical 101 114 175 works from the beginning of the nineteenth century confuse the picture completely. Silva e Souza reports (1812) that the Carajá [36] and Carajahí occupy seven villages on the Araguaya, and that the Carajahí came to Salinas in order to make peace, but, since they were badly treated, they set out for their villages [131] again. Cunha Mattos reports in 1824 that the Carajás live on the Furo and in the rapids region (see under Šambioá), and that the Carajahís occupy the left bank of the Araguaya and only occasionally come to Bananal Island. In Rev. trim. 37, page 363, he reports further that the Carajás come to Salinas to beg for iron implements. From these reports no clear picture is to be gained about the relationships between Carajá, Carajahí, and Šambioá. The picture remains just as confused after

/179 cont./

101 Castelnau's report (1844). He says that the Carajás often stay in
175 Salinas on visits, whereas the Carajahís live on the western arm
[114] in three or four villages. Rufino in 1846/47 finally brings clarity
as the first to navigate the western arm again. He calls the
[361] Indians living here in nine villages Carajás, in other words,
restores the old name, while he does not mention the name
Carajahí. From then on they are again called Carajás generally,
as by Magalhães in 1863, Spinola in 1879; in 1874, however,
Magalhães also mentions Carajahís, besides Carajás and
Chambioás, without /180/ making clear their mutual relation-
ship. In 1888 Ehrenreich uses the name Carayahí for all Karajá
Indians on the Araguaya, west and south of Bananal Island, and
Cavalcanti (1895) joins him in this; this name, however, has not
101 become customary in Brazil. Coudreau (1896) again calls them
Carajás, and I, too, find it necessary to retain this name, and,
to be sure, with the spelling Karajá. I repeatedly asked the
Indians about the name Carayahí, and they always declared that
they did not know it. They call themselves only Karajá, and
among the Brazilian population, too, they are only called by
this name.

I admit that the name Carayahí is very practical for distinguishing this horde from the entire tribe of the Karajá, and that detailed explanations are sometimes required in order to make clear whether by Karajá one means the whole tribe or only the southern group; in my opinion, however, one does better to go to the slight trouble of making this explanation with a few additional words rather than to use a nonexistent name.

I. The Karajá.

1. Anthropological Data.

126 Direct anthropological measurements were taken by me only with respect to height and color of skin. All other data are based on observations or were taken from the examination of photographs
000 taken by me. For comparison I used Ehrenreich, Anthropologische

127 /180 cont./ For comparison I used Ehrenreich, Anthropologische
113 Studien über die Urbewohner Brasiliens /Anthropological Studies of the Brazilian Aborigines/, Brunswick, 1897.

141 Height. Ehrenreich gives (p. 108) the average body height of the men of the Carayahí as 168.2, of the women as 152.8 centimeters; thus, according to his measurements, the women are significantly (15.4 centimeters) smaller than the men. In gen-
[114] eral this proportion is correct, but there are considerable individual deviations.

141 The southern horde on the whole seems to be taller than the
142 northern horde; this is probably attributable to the admixture of Savajé blood, for the Savajé are distinguished from the Karajá by their greater height. In the southern horde there were many men who were as tall as I and a few who were taller (I measured 167 centimeters barefoot), but the tallest probably did not exceed 170 centimeters. For the southern horde one may probably assume 166 centimeters to be the average. The women of the southern horde were also in part quite tall, but in general they remained behind the men in the same proportion as in the northern horde.

Among the latter there was no one who exceeded me in height, and only a few who equaled me, and such tall figures were very rare (Pl. 37, Ill. 1). The great majority of the men were considerably shorter than I; they might be 160-162 centimeters tall on the average. Their height varies by half a head. The women are considerably smaller; /Pl. 36 appears here/ /181/ they remain about half a head behind the men; thus Ehrenreich's average could be assumed for them (Pl. 17).

Besides this, however, there are elements of the population which one must definitely call short. One should compare the two small youths in Illustration 1, Plate 37, who are a full head shorter than the tallest ones (these are about 165 centimeters tall), so that they approach Pygmy measurements (140-145 centimeters). The same is true for two other youths on Plate 44, Illustration 1. Most striking is the appearance of the dwarf woman on Plate 17, who reaches just to the shoulders of the man standing next to her, who is about 164 centimeters tall. I often encountered such small, but fully grown persons in the north horde (compare also the Savajé), whereas it was not

[Text continues on P. 48]

/181 cont./

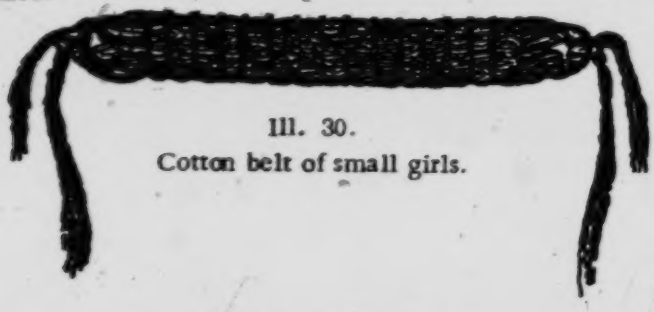
142 The shoulders among the men and women seem to me to be generally /182/ normal in their development, but there are quite a number of persons, mostly of the male sex, among whom they are markedly developed, and not only among the men (Pl. 36; Pl. 38, Ill. 1), but also among youths and boys (Pl. 44, Ill. 1; Pl. 49, Ill. 1). Probably this tremendous breadth-development of the bones of the shoulder girdle and the muscles attached to it, especially the Latissimus dorsi (Pl. 15, Ill. 4a), [114] is a result of rowing. I saw only a few actually narrow-shouldered people, in contrast to Ehrenreich, who (p. 118) describes the Karajá as of slight shoulder-breadth and gracile body build. I must, however, agree with his statement that generally the women are inferior to the men in shoulder breadth, and quite significantly.

The thorax is well-rounded among men and women. One must call the Indians broad-chested, as Ehrenreich (p. 119) does (Pl. 16; Pl. 36; Pl. 43, Ill. 3). In addition, among the men there is the tremendous development of the chest musculature, especially the Pectoralis major (Pl. 15, Ill. 3; Pl. 43, Ill. 2), which in combination with the powerful shoulder musculature, makes the upper half of the body completely outweigh the lower. This powerful development causes first of all a prominence of the breasts, which among some men take on a female shape (Pl. 36), and the formation of a trough-like depression between the points of attachment of the chest muscles to the breast bone (Pl. 14, Ill. 3). The breasts of the women apparently develop [145] slowly; thus, the maiden (Pl. 16) does not yet have fully developed breasts. In youth they show taut forms (Pl. 16; Pl. 17), whereas after births they soon become pendulous (Pl. 37, Ill. 2; Pl. 42, Ill. 1), and in old age they hang down limply Pl. 11, Ill. 4). In shape they are hemispherical and conical, seldom plate-shaped. The nipple areola is usually prominent (Pl. 17; Pl. 42, Ill. 1).

/205 cont./

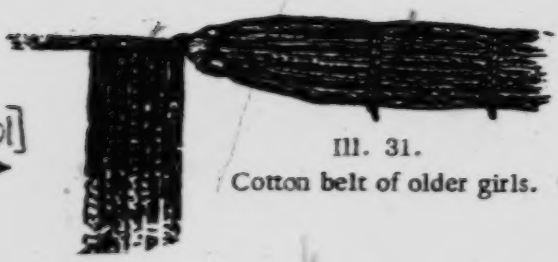
291 It consists of a red cotton string one to two meters long and [283] from 0.2-0.3 centimeters wide, which is either twisted out of two threads or plaited with four edges.

Whether it was connected in any way with the penis cord in former times could no longer be determined. From a second name for it, nõhõmõdi (from nõõ = penis), one might perhaps [114] conclude this. In any case, Königswald's statement (Globus, Vol. 94, p. 223) that it serves as a penis support is not conclusive.



Ill. 30.
Cotton belt of small girls.

[301]



Ill. 31.
Cotton belt of older girls.

Ill. 32.
Youth with bast band. Drawn from a photograph.

On the other hand, it sometimes serves for fastening small [412] implements to it. Knives are commonly stuck through it at the back; one man shoved a piece of tobacco given to him, out of lack of a pocket, simply under the hip cord at the small of his back.

/208 cont./

272 The net covering [ri̇(i)ŏ̥, ri̇ŭ̥], on the other hand, is worn by both sexes at all ages. It is knotted of cotton threads and has the shape of a hammock, the two ends of which are each tied together, but lack the cords for hanging it up. The net coverings of the Karajá are of a solid color; the original white color gradually becomes a dirty yellowish-brown with use. Patterned coverings come from the Šavajé or Tapirapé. They are worn for protection against mosquitoes, against sunburn, against the dew of the night, whether the Indians stand, lie, or sit. The manner of wearing them differs: either one end is pulled over the head so that the covering falls down the back (Pl. 12, Ill. 1), or the covering is wrapped around the shoulders so that the two ends fall down in front (Pl. 9, Ill. 1; Pl. 42, Ill. 1). At night they serve [513] as coverings: the feet of the drawn-up legs, in the side or back position, are stuck into one end, the head into the other end, so that the covering protects the body lying beneath it from mosquitoes and dew. Thus, they are not used as an underlayer, as Ehrenreich says, but as coverings. Small net coverings hung on strings as [854] [114] cradles for infants, such as Ehrenreich mentions, I did not see anywhere, despite the fact that I visited almost all the huts (1).

1. See, however, Šavajé, small net covering /see pp. 314 -315/.

[287] Small plaited mats of bast are worn by pregnant women before and after birth, and, to be sure, in such a way that they are wrapped around the body from the back and held together in front with the hands (Pl. 42, Ills. 2, 3). They serve as a protection against wind and rain. Above all, women with nursing babies take such mats with them when they go out, so as to be able to protect the child and themselves to some extent in a sudden downpour.

834 I should like to add a very few words here about the Indians' feeling of modesty. As far as the men are concerned, I should [197] like to refer to my remarks above about the purpose of the penis cord /see p. 88/: the question is, however, whether the explanation given by the Indians does not go back to Brazilian influence.

/227 cont./

*301 a) Cotton ornaments for the neck, hips, arms, and legs. They represent a large part of the Karajá ornaments, but are worn only occasionally, probably because of their weight. With [824] reference to color, the black ornaments for children are distinguished from the red ornaments for young people.

A narrow head-band of black cotton plaiting set with small shell disks was brought back by Ehrenreich from the Karajá [114] (Berlin 3676). I doubt that this object is really a head band. For one thing, I never saw such an ornament, and then the band seems much too long for a head band. Similar bands, on the other hand, are found as belts for girls' string aprons and as bands for the cylindrical dance-masks.

*301 283 On their necks the youths wear long red tassels (nõhõzãzõ) on a braided string which is hung on the necklace by an eyelet in back. Two such tassels are always worn. The ornament (Ill. 68a) is very rare. In place of it children wear black strings, on each end of which there is a thick, short black tassel (nõhõzã). Two such strings are placed one on top of the other, so that the tassels coincide, and are then folded in half so that all four tassels hang down at the bottom. The upper loops are knotted [237] and then drawn through the necklace. In the case of the neck tassels of girls, /228/ snail shells (Castalia dolabella) are often drawn over the tassels from above (Ill. 68b; Pl. 18, right).

Around the hips the girls sometimes wear an apron [(g)ũõhĩ] that falls far down and is made of black cotton strings which are plaited into a belt at the top, and this is sometimes trimmed with mother-of-pearl disks. The apron, closed, is drawn up from below over the hips. The strings fall down to the feet; in walking the thighs are visible between them. This ornament was also very rare (Ill. 69; Pl. 18). /Ills. 68 and 69 appear here./

Arms and legs correspond with regard to the type of cotton ornaments. We distinguish between three different kinds:

The first kind consists of long black strings, each with two tassels at one end. These strings are wound around the upper arm in the following way: first one holds the tassels against the shoulder, then wraps the upper arm beginning at the top, and leads the wrapping from the elbow upwards again, until the entire string is used up. The end is knotted, and the tassels are then allowed

/230 cont./

*301 283 are called kōdēsi, in both cases their hangings hang down only on the outer side of the arm. The lower-arm bands are worn behind the arm cuffs (dēsi). In this ornament, too, a plaiting of the upper part sometimes occurs (Ill. 74 a, b). For such calf bands, which are worn underneath the real calf bands, /231/ two names were mentioned: ūljāŭ and wŏdāĭdĭ. In this case the fringe hangs all around the leg (Ill. 75).

*301 [237] b) All other ornaments are worn only by the unmarried; married persons have no feather ornaments, whereas young people are abundantly provided with them, though they seldom wear them. The ornaments most often worn are the feather caps (boys), bead necklaces, and finger rings, as well as cotton belts with feather hangings. All other ornaments seem to be worn only occasionally for dances, festivities, etc. [415] In between times they are carefully stored in the elegant, long, covered baskets. The female youth wear only necklaces and finger rings; the girls also wear feather caps and feather arm-bands. One girl nine to eleven years old wore the following ornaments: feather cap, red ear-rosettes, black neck-tassels with snail shells, feather arm-bands behind the red cuffs, black belt with gray bast-apron over it, a long black string-skirt to go with it, and, finally, calf bands (Pl. 18).

[484] [177] On journeys my Indians had no ornaments; some of them wore Brazilian clothing, as well as lip plugs and native finger-rings. Almost all of the single ones tied a piece of fish line around their ankles. [184] It was remarkable that in the villages of the north horde located north of the Tapirapé mouth there was only a little ornamentation and feather ornaments were almost entirely lacking.

[184] The village on the Tapirapé mouth occupies a special position. All strikingly divergent forms, which will be specially discussed in the following, come from this village. I cannot decide whether this is a coincidence or whether there is Tapirapé influence here.

[237] [114] Of the feather head-ornaments mentioned by Ehrenreich, I did not see the following:

/231 cont./

*301 *237 The headdresses for the crown of the head, which consist of a rhombic plaited plate, from which rise two Cacicus feathers, each mounted on two feather-sheathed quills ("Beiträge," Ill. 8); the hindhead dance ornament lurinã (ibid., Pl. II, 2; IX, 2), which I came across only among the Šavajé in an incomplete specimen; the diadems ahetõ (ibid., Pl. IX, 5) which spread out at the top when they are tied on; the ornament õdjĩ (Pl. 48, Ill. 7) brought back by me from the village on the Tapirapé mouth is similarly constructed.

*301 114 The reasons for this lack among the Karajá may be of three kinds: either the Ehrenreich specimens come from the Šambioá, whose culture, after all, does deviate somewhat from that of the Karajá, or it is only a coincidence that the Karajá did not have these particular ornaments on hand during my presence, or, and this seems to me the most plausible, a different fashion prevailed in Ehrenreich's time. The circumstance that Ehrenreich brought back several specimens of the lurinã, whereas I did not come across any among the Karajá and only a single specimen among the Šavajé, seems /232/ to point to the fact that the ornament, formerly so common, is now no longer worn to such an extent.

*301 *237 [284] The ordinary head ornament is represented by the feather caps (dõlĩdõlĩ). They are worn by children of both sexes; usually one sees boys walking about all day in this ornament. They consist of a net, into the threads of which individual feathers or feather rosettes fastened to rods are knotted. The caps are drawn over the back of the head and fastened with a chin string (lẽrũdĩ) [287] (Ill. 76). The nets are made of fine bast fiber or thick bast plaiting. They can be turned inside out, and the chin string serves as a drawstring to close them; they are stored in this manner (Pl. 47, Ill. 1). Stiffened nets are very rare. The nets that can be turned inside out may be grouped according to two characteristics: according to the way the feathers are fastened, [284] and according to their arrangement in zones. According to the type of fastening we distinguish between two chief types: by far the greater number of them show in each case two small feathers tied to the threads (not into the knots) by means of separate threads (Ill. 77a).

/235 cont./

*301 holds it spread apart. The wheel, however, is not entirely
*237 closed at the bottom; the size of the open angle varies among the individual specimens. In addition there is still the forehead band, which is placed horizontally around the head and over which the forehead feathers are tied (Pl. 49, Ill. 1).

[114] Ehrenreich did not know how this ornament was worn. He distinguished two kinds: wheels with a one-sided covering layer of small feathers, which he regarded as mantles for feather helmets, and wheels with a two-sided covering of small feathers, which were worn crosswise over the head or as

[284]

Ill. 79.
Schematic representation of the fastening of the hindhead wheel.

Ill. 80.
Schematic representation of the construction of the hindhead wheel.

a collar around the neck or as a complement to the tuft feathers. With the second and last of these four assumptions he comes closest to actuality. The one-sided or two-sided covering layer has no further significance for the way it is worn. The Indians like to conceal the lower portions of the feathers with feather layers; since both sides are visible in the case of the above-mentioned manner of wearing it, the double-sided covering layer is easily explained, whereas the one-sided covering layer, always found on the front side, is perhaps explained by the fact that on the back side the quills are covered by the disk.

[284] The feather wheels (lāhidò) consist of long feathers which are strung fan-shaped on a cord (see Ill. 8, layer c). They are, moreover, connected together by several continuous strings which emerge at the two lateral walls of the fan and, tied together, /236/ hold the wheel open. The whole is so

/241 cont./

222 gathered at the beginning of October. Of other fruits Ehrenreich
262 mentions: caju /acajou/, jabuticaba, pitangu, and Bromeliaceae, and Königswald also the mangaba. I never saw these fruits in the villages, however. As vegetable plants there are eaten: mormão (dãdẽdãlĩ), which is gathered the end of October; on the other hand, the mandioca do matto (ãzõ) is supposedly not eaten, because it is too poisonous.

241 The following food plants are cultivated: the poisonous
262 (ãndjĩũlã) and the sweet (ĩ(ĩ)lũ) manioc; four varieties of maize, mãĩ, dõlĩmẽ with large, round kernels, ĩzẽlãlã with round kernels, mãidũzõ with red kernels; batatas (kõdẽrũtĩ), and cara (kãrã). Of fruits, bananas are probably cultivated. The green banana is called jãdãũãbõ, the ripe one jãdàzõ. I obtained bananas in Indian villages only twice, and, indeed, at the beginning of July; I never saw any in the plantings. Perhaps bananas occur only here and there, for example, according /242/ to the statements of Brazilians, among the Šavajé on Bananal Island, which is supposed to have been named ãfter them. I did not see oranges (nãlãdjã) anywhere. Of other fruits Königswald also lists: gourds, water-
[824] melon, pineapple, and sugar cane (mã(ĩ)ĩtĩ). The gourd is not eaten, but used only for the making of vessels; the watermelon is generally gathered in the wild state, probably only rarely cultivated; only once in a village of the south horde, did I meet a family who stored seeds of these plants in small bast packets. Pineapple is surely not cultivated, and I did not see sugar cane either. If they had had any, they would probably not have begged
[114] me for sugar to the extent that they did. The statement of Ehrenreich that during the dry season sugar-cane shoots are planted on the sandbanks should be corrected to read manioc and maize stalks.

241 Of spice plants, peppers (kãšĩwẽrã), of plants for enjoyment, tobacco (kõtĩ), are cultivated.

Moreover, one finds in the plantings: as industrial plants, cotton and gourds; as plants used in ornamentation, ĩšĩũlã shrubs (for necklaces) and the urucú shrub; and a quantity of medicinal plants.

/257 cont./

273 From maize they allegedly make a drink kănūā́, with the preparation of which, however, I am unfamiliar.

The most common festive drink, which is drunk on all visits and other /258/ occasions, is made out of manioc mush (ĭūārŭk). The way of making it is described by Ehrenreich ("Beiträge," pp. 16-17). The slight fermentation is brought about by chewing the residuum of the cooled mush. The Indians, men and women, scoop out the drink in huge quantities. It is slightly intoxicating; the people quickly get puffy faces, watery eyes, and are inclined to chatter. It tastes like unseasoned diced-potato soup.

[177] Sugar-cane liquor (cachaça: ĭbūālĕ) is already penetrating here, too, through the Brazilians. There is only one village, however, Schischá, in which liquor is drunk by all, presumably because liquor is made in the vicinity and the drink is therefore very cheap. Otherwise I found very few Indians who accepted liquor (for example, Chief Ilk); women never drank any, except in Schischá. Usually it was also refused by the men and young people.

F. Food Prohibitions.

262 It has already been mentioned above that the potentialities for food are not fully utilized, that some foodstuffs are scorned. [114] The reason for this is difficult to find. I already thought that I was on the trail of a totemistic system, but I did not succeed in proving it. Apparently, along with superstitious notions, personal taste also plays a role in this.

The following are quite generally not eaten: the meat of domestic animals, eggs, howling monkeys, capybaras, dolphins, crayfish, and mussels. The tracajá turtle and its eggs are eaten only by old people; young people scorn them, because eating them is said to have a bad effect. Allegedly chiefs are said not to eat red-deer meat. Grilled piranha is regarded as the sole food for sick persons; pregnant women, too, are forbidden many foods. Individual persons did not eat certain things: thus, Pedro

/267 cont./

411 The shaft (b'dõlẽ) consists of taquara cane. This cane
[824] seems to occur south of the Rio Tapirapé only in the region of the south horde. At the southern end of Bananal Island I came across a village that was on the move southward in order to obtain taquara for their arrows near Leopoldina. The shaft is 0.8-1.0 centimeters thick on the average; its length fluctuates, depending on the type of point (see above). I never saw shaft decorations.

411 The feathering, on the average, is 17-22 centimeters long.
237 Of all my arrows there are only two exceptions, one of which is 15 centimeters long, the other 31. The feathering is attached directly to the lower end of the shaft. Ehrenreich reports that the feathered end is often set into the shaft separately. His assump-
[114] tion that in this case the arrows had been repaired /268/ is confirmed by a specimen in my collection which was thus restored (Ill. 119a).

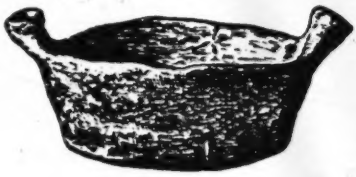
Great care is used in the construction of the feathering. It
[284] consists of two feathers standing opposite each other, the upper tips of which are held fast by the notch-lashing, and the inner
[314] vanes of which are clipped short. At the place where the quills are supposed to be fastened, the shaft is rubbed with resin; the halved quill ends are pressed on it, whereupon the vanes are set vertically to the shaft and /Ills. 118 and 119 appear here/ are given a turn (an eighth to a quarter of the circumference of the
[284] shaft) (Ill. 119b). Then the quill ends are tightly wound with
[283] black cotton thread (ãsõdẽbẽ), whereupon the outer vanes are cut to shape (Ill. 119c). In former times, the feathers were given the desired shape by singeing, but since the introduction of iron shears they are cut. Not until the feathering is finished is the point inserted.

A different kind of feathering (spiral winding through the two halved /269/ /Ill. 120 appears here/ /270/ feathers) is found in the case of a few children's arrows of the north horde (see "Children's Toys" /see p. 241/). It is not yet certain whether this is an old feathering that has now become lost to adults.

/284 cont. /

415 192 [439] very pronounced in the pottery in the villages from Leopoldina to São José. These villages furnish the Brazilians with cooking and eating vessels, so that in São José and Leopoldina one finds Indian vessels almost exclusively. They have already been [531] adapted, however, to the taste of the Brazilians: the small eating dishes have the typical bowl-shape and on the edge bear a decoration in red color (Ill. 96). The water-cooling vessels, too, which the Indians in the villages mentioned make for the Brazilians, show the purely Brazilian type and red decoration. [386] The red designs are made with an earth color. The red earth [317] for this (zūzŭ, zŏŭbūlĕ) comes from the Barreira do Veado and is taken along to São José and Schischá by the Indians of the north horde traveling south for arrow cane, in order to sell it to the Indians [531] there. It is applied mixed with water. The true Indian vessels are undecorated.

192



Ill. 133.
Old clay-vessel.

I obtained in Schischá a most peculiar vessel, whose origin is unknown (Ill. 133). It is irregularly spotted dark red and black as a result of uneven firing; it is apparently made out of very crude clay and in a very primitive fashion. The two knobs on the edge, which are slightly hollowed out on top, are striking. The vessel was found several decades ago in the sand of a sandbank by Indians from Schischá on a journey downstream. The Indians themselves were unable to say where the vessel might come from.

415 114 I did not see anywhere the pot and bowl forms brought back by Ehrenreich: shallow, round dishes (Berlin 3862), flat, round plates (3863 and 3864), flat, oval plates (3865), low elliptical double bowls with a dividing wall running lengthwise (3866), cylindrical pot with turned-down rim and bast hanging-band (3861), double conical pot with hanging band (3858), and clay spoons (3878).

/286 cont./

396 out with the ax. In this crude shape the boat is brought into the village and placed on two forked posts about half a meter high (Pl. 56, Ill. 5). With oaguassu palm fronds, which are laid in the hollow, the interior space is completely burned out and blackened, while at the same time burning through the walls is prevented by quickly snatching out the fire. Then, while the wood is still warm, about 20 cross-sticks, each approximately three centimeters thick, are stretched from wall to wall; palm fronds are propped against the boat all around and are lighted at four or five places on either side by one man each. After about five minutes the outside charring and blackening of the boat is completed. The struts remain in the boat until the next day; they are very bent. Afterwards the boat is put through an inspection, during which possible irregularities, especially of the bottom, which could cause disturbances in the balance, are removed with the ax. At the front, narrowly tapering end a hole is cut into the right wall, directly under the edge, for the loop into which the boat pole is stuck during the rowing or lying quietly on the bank. This hole is supposedly cut in with a sharp knife under the application of a wooden mallet.

415 I did not see wooden vessels. Ehrenreich brought back a
412 few: a round vessel hollowed out from a tree root, with a carry-
114 ing string (Berlin 3875) and two spoons, the handle of one of which terminates in a tucano head (3934, 3935). In the case of fire
[372] sticks, according to him, the drilling stick consists of taquara, the base of Bixa orellana.

415 Of larger fruits only gourds are used. They are carefully
[824] dried by being stuck on sticks that stand in the glaring sun and in the sand of the sandbanks. Later, tied together, they are hung on a vertical stick (Ill. 26 a, b). Hollowed out, they serve as oil containers, as hanging containers for white down feathers, with a bast stopper (Pl. 58, Ill. 3a) or wax seal (the hanging band is fastened with wooden wedges; Pl. 58, Ill. 3 b, c), halved paint bowls and eating dishes, smaller ones as spoons. The whole-
[531] gourd vessel and larger half-gourd vessels are usually decorated with incised ornamentation, the smaller half-gourds with pyrography.

/295 cont./

286 who make better and, as far as the Tapirapé are concerned, patterned, thicker coverings (1).

1. The net coverings are mentioned for the first time in 1791 among the Šambioá.

174 /296/ Ehrenreich ("Beiträge," p. 12) assumes that the
286 Karajá learned this technique from the Brazilians. Fonseca in
114 1773 is supposed to have taught weaving to the Šavajé on Bananal. Ehrenreich believes that he can support these statements by the fact that the Šavajé to this day make better coverings. In my opinion this is not a substantiation of this assumption, for the Tapirapé make still better coverings than the Šavajé, and the Karajá bought a great many coverings from them in former, peaceful times. Hence the Karajá could just as well have adopted this technique from the Tapirapé. Now, in the houses of the Tapirapé and at their large fishing sites I found no signs of sleeping places, so I must assume that the Tapirapé sleep in hammocks. It would be peculiar then that the Karajá bought the hammocks (for in shape the coverings are nothing else), but removed the suspension ropes and used the coverings as shawls and blankets. Furthermore, the taffeta-like woven covering which Ehrenreich describes as probably belonging to the Šavajé undoubtedly comes, not from the Šavajé, but from the Tapirapé, for the Šavajé use and make coverings which are exactly like those of the Karajá, whereas the Tapirapé produce the taffeta-like texture. Hence the Karajá, who, of course, live closer to the Tapirapé than the Šavajé and have the role of intermediaries between these two peoples, could not have taken over this texture from the Šavajé. To be sure, Fonseca reports that he built a loom for the Karajá and gave them their first instruction in weaving
286 (Rev. trim. 8, p. 387). It seems to me that this note more likely
174 refers to the making of the girls' belts and the dance belts, which actually show a sort of weaving. The technique by which the coverings are made is not weaving, but knotting, and it is a purely

/324 cont./

609 576 Indians who were in the service of whites. When I came into a village, my Indians sat motionless in the boat, with bowed heads and disconcerted faces, until the chief of the village had addressed them. During the entire time of my stay in the village they did not lift a hand, nor did they eat any of my cooking, but rather went hungry, if they did not have relatives in the village who provided for them. They were precisely sem vergonha.

576 Upon returning from the journey, they were received with tearful speeches by their female relatives and family (1). During

1. This way of greeting long unseen kin by female relatives is already mentioned by Fonseca in 1773 (Rev. trim. 8, p. 379).

this the two parties seldom look at each other; they often stand one behind the other. The laments are made in a whimpering tone. Suddenly, they stop and converse in an entirely friendly manner with the ones who have returned. Apparently the whole thing is merely ceremony, the exaggeration of which on the part of particular women evoked derisive smiles even among the other Indians.

14. Marriage, Birth, Education, Death.

• 114 Marriage. I did not witness an engagement or a marriage, so my statements about this are based merely on the accounts of the Indians.

582 The age at which marriage takes place was difficult to determine. Men apparently marry between 17 and 20 years, women sooner, at 14-16. The only obstacle to marriage is the immediate relationship between siblings; cousins, on the other hand, may marry each other. I did not encounter anywhere any suggestion of marriage prohibitions which might perhaps be based on totemism.

584 /325/ The suitor first tries to win over the mother and the other relatives of the girl. The decision rests with the girl herself, however. The mother gives the suitor the answer. According to Pedro, the father-in-law receives presents from the suitor's father,

/326 cont./

586 longer wants the other. In any case the children remain with the father. The divorced wife keeps her property. Ehrenreich re-
[587] ports ("Beiträge," p. 27) that a man who rejects his wife may not marry again, but merely takes a housekeeper. According to my observations, the case from Village No. 5 reported above is quite typical. Contempt is by no means the lot of such a man, as Königswald reports (1).

[113] 1. Globus, Vol. 94, p. 237.

589 Widows and orphans. Widowed persons again don their leg
768 and arm bands. The widower lives like a bachelor; he may marry again, but generally does so only if he has children who need a mother. Otherwise he is afraid of the work incumbent on a husband. Widows continue to live in the house, which, of
589 course, is their property. They may marry again. They get their
736 maintenance from the chief, in case there are no grown sons who are able to care for them. Otherwise the chief appoints someone who is to plant and fish for her, and pays him for it. Orphans are reared and provided for by the brother of the mother.

836 Extramarital sex life. The girls do their utmost to preserve their purity; thus, they do not go into the forest alone, for fear of the young men. If a girl nevertheless has misfortune, she is not punished, at any rate not in the south horde. Even in
[114] this case she is married by another party. I was unable to learn anything about the severe punishment for premarital intercourse and adultery, as reported by Ehrenreich and Königswald. /327/
[548] Before marriage, the men enjoy complete freedom. In many
[485] villages there are Tapirpaé and Šavajé women who serve as prostitutes and are also put at the disposal of strangers. The Karajá nevertheless also seem to become involved occasionally in adventures even with tribal members. Pedro flirted in many villages with young girls whom he called his primas (cousins); in Camp No. 23 proposals for nocturnal trysts were made to him by two women, but he refused them. I did not discover anything about the arrangement of viri viduarum, about which Ehrenreich reports from Magalhães ("Beiträge," p. 28).

/329 cont./

763 Death and burial (2). The occurrence of death is recog-

[114] 2. I myself did not observe a death; my statements about this are based on the unanimous accounts of various Indians.

nized when /330/ the deceased is called to and shaken; if he gives no answer, he is regarded as surely dead.

764 The corpse is then smeared with resin (dŏmăłĕ) upon which are glued white down feathers. The face is painted with urucú (perhaps also only a section from the ear across the chin to the other ear), the lip plug is removed, arara feathers are stuck into the ears; the rest of the ornaments are also put on (for example, the bead chains are hung around women). Then the body is wrapped in a sleeping mat and tied to a pole which is taken to a stake standing upright in the sand away from the village. I could not find out whether it is tied to this or what else happens to it. Here the laments of the women and relatives take place. The young men hold the death watch here; in return they are provided with food by the brother of the deceased. If the dead person died in the evening, he is buried the next morning; if he died during the day, he is removed as quickly as possible. Burial [162] is the task of the men; the women content themselves with weeping and lamenting. All the dead are treated and buried in the same way.

The dead are buried in the cemetery. There are several large collective cemeteries (urn cemeteries); in addition there seem to be smaller village cemeteries for burials. All of them lie on high banks above the high-water mark, some of them days' journeys in distance from the village. Cemeteries to be newly laid out are marked out by the oldest Karajá. The Karajá seek by all means to be buried in their tribal cemeteries. Thus, Kabiśá from Leopoldina brought his dead grandchild to the cemetery at Schischá (three days' journey downstream from Leopoldina) because there was "unconsecrated ground" there.

/331 cont./

765 loud, high voice in a monotonous intonation; at the same time rattle gourds are swung. It seems that laments take place as soon as anything reminds them of the deceased. In any case definite times of the day for these could not be determined. The people, however, are sincerely grieved; one can see their sorrow in their faces, at least at first. The father allegedly mourns a child only one day, the mother four days. This statement is certainly not true, for in Schischá I heard lamentations for a child who was said to have died three weeks before. The husband mourns his wife only a short time; on the other hand, the wife her husband for a year. After this time has elapsed, the widow is painted with urucú and hung with ornaments at the command of the chief. After this she mourns one more day, and with this the period of mourning is at an end.

15. Religion, Masks, Magic, Medicine.

114 771 Concerning the religious views of the Karajá I was able to discover but little. The researcher does not come across anything that could suggest any belief in spirits or a cult, with the exception of the masked dances.

114 535 796 Unfortunately, I saw very few such dances, since I traveled in the Karajá region from June to October, whereas the time of the dancing seems to be precisely from November to April. Thus, I am unable to report anything about the meaning of these dances; all my efforts to find out anything about this from the people by questions failed because of the meager possibility of mutual [532] understanding or the deliberate withholding of information. I assume, however, that these dances, which coincide with the time of ripening of certain field produce and at which masks representing animals are used, are in part harvest festival dances, but in part originate from ideas out of which the so-called magic by analogy developed later on. More cannot be said about this; all 532 else would be useless speculation. Some of the masks are not

/331 cont./

532 dance masks, but masks of beggars who travel around on certain occasions and beg for food; others seem to be connected with the /332/ cult of the dead. In any case, these are still quite primi-
561 tive forms; a strict organization of the young people seems to be entirely lacking; only the age group of the unmarried men and the men's house (mask house) have developed (1). As a

●114 532 535

1. Dr. Walter Lehmann-München, in a discussion of my essay on masks in the Zentralblatt für Anthropologie, XVI, 1911, p. 100, suspects that the dance masks, like those in Central America, could in part be connected with the cult of the dead, and that they could be associated with totemistic ideas in combination with puberty rites. The connection with the cult of the dead seems actually to exist for the ĭõõnĭ mask, but, unfortunately, I was able to obtain too little information about this (see Part I, p. 78 /untranslated/) to be able to say anything about it with certainty. As for the second point, I suspected totemism among the Karajá Indians from the very beginning, but, in spite of all efforts, I could not discover anything of this nature. And it is the same with puberty rites. I therefore believe that I am right if I abstain from such combinations. It must one day be the task of a researcher who visits the Karajá during the rainy (dance) season to devote his attention to this problem.

As a

535 result, priests are, as yet, entirely lacking; everyone may still
796 take part equally in all the dances. The arrangement is the duty
[793] of the chief. Everything concerning the masks is kept secret
[113] from the women. For more detail on the mask arrangements, see my article, "Tanzmaskennachbildungen vom mittleren Araguaya (Zentralbrasilien) /Copies of Dance Masks from the Middle

/335 cont./

755 ends, as well as by the utilization of medicines to be used in-
757 ternally and externally. Altogether I learned of seven doctors,
756 but their number may be larger. One of these, in Village 16, was regarded as an evil witch doctor. The sick chief of this village was not being treated by him, but rather downstream in Village 19 by a famous doctor to whom the Karajá came from
758 afar to be cured. He had opened a sort of hospital: several
756 mat walls had been stretched, in the shade of which the sick lay on mats, tended and supported by their relatives. There were three or four sick persons of both sexes lying here.

114 I did not see any curing ceremonies. In Village 14 I heard
755 singing and rattling coming from the west end of the village, but I was not permitted to go there when I announced my intention of observing Chief Ilk from Village 13 during his activity as doctor.

756 The doctors are paid for their services in boats, pots, food, etc. If the patient dies, they allegedly receive no payment.

752 The Karajá have considerable knowledge of surgery.

[278] Minor wounds are brushed with the decoction of a red tree bark (ōdŭdĕwŏ) which is kept in large quantities in pots with a little water. Or ashes are sprinkled on bleeding wounds (for example, cutting the umbilical cord), or a little urucú oil color is brushed on minor injuries, so that flies do not get on them. Applying tourniquets to injured limbs also seems to be known already. Festering leg wounds (as a result of injury: kūdjŭ) are washed with warm water; in this way they heal by themselves.

Deep wounds, such as those from arrow shots and the like, are /336/ also cauterized. For this, a human lower-leg bone is used (Ill. 187; dēĭ or wŏlĭsŏtĭ), which is wound with bast. Its lower end is browned from the fire. In the case of arrow shots, another remedy is said to be used, one that brings about complete healing in a very short time, allegedly in one day (?).

Broken limbs, according to Ehrenreich ("Beiträge," p. 32), are healed with splints. The chief of Village 16, whom I met in the hospital, /Ill. 187 appears here/ allegedly had a broken leg, but there was no splint bandage. According to Kurĭĭ's statement, they do not know how to heal broken arms and legs.

/343 cont./

192 north horde. With Ehrenreich's Karajá words and Castelnau's
184 Sambioá words and Coudreau's Karajá words my records show
[114] correspondences as well as differences. The latter probably go back in part to misunderstandings on both sides, as may be definitely proved in a few cases. With regard to the Šavajé language, there are several very striking differences, the reason for which is as yet unknown.

197 The language of the Karajá, for the time being, is still to be regarded as isolated; the few agreements with Ge languages do not, for the present, justify our counting it among these.

192 From the beginning I followed up the differences between
196 the men's dialect and the women's dialect, which Ehrenreich (1)
562

[113] 1. "Materialien zur Sprachenkunde Brasiliens /Materials for Brazilian Linguistics/": I. Die Sprache der Caraya (Goyaz) /The Language of the Caraja (Goiáz)/. Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, Vol. 26, 1894, p. 23.

discovered, and in this way obtained a great number of women's words. Those from the south horde were obtained directly from women, those from the north horde from men. The latter were able to say many words immediately; often, however, they reflected a long time before they found the word. It is doubtful whether they always gave the proper word; in any case, the women's words from the north horde should be taken with some
[191] caution. The men described the language of the women as ibinãli = very poor. They maintained that the two sexes did not understand all of each other's expressions, but that there were words which were foreign to the other sex. My records have so
194 far not confirmed this assertion. The chief difference is that in
562 the women's language a k is inserted where, among the men two vowels stand next to each other; the initial k of the women is omitted among the men. Ehrenreich gives a few further

/351 cont./

175 settled 3,500 Indians in Carretão. Souza e Silva, in 1812, speaks only of Chavánte who were housed there, whereas Cunha Mattos also ascribes this fate to the Šavajé. An epidemic of measles destroyed almost all the Indians; the rest were transferred in 1788 to the aldea Salinas. After that the Šavajé disappear from view; they gradually become a savage, feared people, about
175 which nothing more specific is known. In 1824 Cunha Mattos
131 (Rev. trim. 38, p. 20) reports only that they live on Bananal Island, are very light and almost extinct. In 1844 Castelnau describes the island as uninhabited; according to him, /352/ the Šavajé live about 30-40 miles above the northern end of Bananal Island and three to four days' journey east of the Furo,
[114] in the territory of the Chavanté. Obviously this information rests on misunderstood stories of his boatmen (Vol. 2, p. 115). In the work, O Rio Araguaya, by Moraes Jardim, dated 1880, it is reported that near a Karajá village there is a lake that is connected with the large lake in the interior of Bananal Island, and that from this a canal leads over to the Furo near a Šavajé village. It is said in a later note that all the villages of the Šavajé are supposed to lie on the Furo. Ehrenreich repeats Fonseca's statements ("Beiträge," pp. 5 and 7); at the same time he reports that the Šavajé lived in three villages on the lake and had last been spoken to, in 1888, at the mouth of the lake's outlet into the Furo. They are generally regarded as a tribe linguistically related to the Karajá. In 1896, Coudreau, finally, states only (Araguaya-Tocantins, p. 110) that they lived on Bananal and were but little known, but that they were the strongest of the Karajá tribes.

175 In Goyaz I learned that during the first years of the twentieth century the Bishop of Goyaz navigated the Araguaya
[361] with a steamboat. On this occasion the Brazilians entered the Furo from the north and came across a huge village of the Šavajé at the entrance of a brook. An avenue of bananas led from the river to the village. Since they came in large numbers (approximately 70 men) and all armed, the Šavajé soon

/352 cont./

175 forced them to retreat, with a Šavajé walking on either side of each Brazilian. When the steamer whistled upon departure, many Šavajé, out of terror, leaped from their canoes into the river. In any case, from then on great fear prevailed among the Brazilian population concerning the more powerful Šavajé.

361 2. Dwelling sites. On the basis of my inquiries among the
[162] Karajá, the Šavajé live in the interior of Bananal Island in three
[131] to five villages which are distributed over a long stretch of territory. The northernmost small village is said to lie in the interior, three to four days above the north end of Bananal Island. The main village lies, in the dry season, about eight days above the mouth of the Furo on a sandbank at the entrance of a brook (outlet of the inland lake?). In the middle of August it is moved into the interior. It is said to be very large, "like a city": Pedro drew six rows, each with 20-25 houses, in the sand. The bachelors
[346] are said to sleep in the mask house, located apart. Farther south, one to two days (?), one or two small villages lie in the interior
[114] of Bananal. I visited one of them from Karajá Village No. 15,
[487] from which it is located quite directly east. One reaches it by a well arranged route: after half a day's march, one comes to the Karajá village of Korumaré on a river. Either one travels up the river for one and a half days in a boat, describing a large arc to the south and east, or one walks for a day across the campo eastward to the harbor, from which it is another three to four hours' march to
[162] the village. The village, which contains five houses with approximately 100-150 /Pl. 59 appears here/ /353/ inhabitants, lies on a lake; it is moved several times in the course of the dry season.
[132] In the rainy season the entire region is inundated with water; apparently this lake then forms a part of the large lake that Fonseca mentions. I was unable to find out where the village is moved to during the rainy season. Finally, there is said to be a fifth small village still farther south, but the accounts about it vary.

131 This is the one branch of the Šavajé. A second one lives
162 near the south horde of the Karajá, and, indeed, in the two
101 southernmost villages: Schischá and near Leopoldina. They
361 migrated here in the last generation but one, for Chief Chico in
166

[Text continues on p. 312]

/353 cont./

166 Schischá, the deceased chief Pedro Manco, and Mother Joana from the migratory camp No. 9, people about 60-70 years old, are regarded as the children of the immigrant Šavajé. Recently, Šavajé again came from Bananal to Schischá; in October 1908 they lived in a separate house. These Šavajé, of course, entered into frequent alliances with the Karajá.

167 [101] A third branch is supposed to have separated from the Šavajé on Bananal, apparently in the previous generation. This horde crossed the Araguaya and moved toward the west; among the Karajá of the Araguaya they are regarded as lost. The separation took place in the region of the mouth of the Rio das Mortes or somewhat more to the south.

619 Before I enter into a discussion of the culture of the Šavajé, I should like to report very briefly what the Karajá told me about them: The Šavajé are their kinsmen; they speak the same lan-
628 [438] guage and have the same tribal tattooing. They live in peaceful relations with the Karajá, they intermarry; above all, there is an active trade in which the Karajá trade to the Šavajé stone tools, which the Šavajé lack, as well as iron goods, fabrics, and chains of beads in exchange for urucú, net coverings, araras, and
511 food. In clothing and ornamentation the Šavajé are supposed to be equal to the Karajá, but to have much more beautiful things. Among the Karajá, they are considered rich in ornaments and foodstuffs; hence, in times of hardship, the Karajá often migrate over to them. I found these statements to be generally true.

101 Phonetically the name of the people should be written Šavajé, in accordance with the pronunciation customary among the Karajá. The Karajá also call them: (ĭ)šăndjŭ, (ĭ)šă(n)dĭwăndŭ.
361 I cannot give their number, because I became acquainted with
[114] only a small village of five huts. In any case, besides three or
[161] four such small villages, there seems to be a very large village, similar to those of the Šambioá, so that the number may perhaps
[162] be given as 800-1000. The Šavajé living among the southern Karajá perhaps reach 50 in number.

/403/

IV. The Tapirapé.

175 1. Historical. Up to now the tribe of the Tapirapé has been known only from explorations. Their country was probably visited for the first time about 1746-1748 by the adventurer João de Godoy Pinto da Silveira, who evidently repeated the expedition of Pires Campos to look for the Martyrios gold mines (Rev. trim. 37, p. 262, note 18). Their name is mentioned for the first time in 1773 by Fonseca, who heard among the Karajá that the latter were living in peace with them (Rev. trim. 8, p. 388). Souza Villa Real reports that they had eight chiefs. The statement by Silva e Souza (1812) is somewhat confusing: the Tapirapé live on the Rio Grande (upper course of the Araguaya) and are a peaceable, agricultural people who know how to spin and weave; they are said to come from the sertões of the province of Rio de Janeiro (Rev. trim. 12, p. 496). These dwelling sites would be far away from what was otherwise assumed to be their territory on the Rio Tapirapé. It is more in keeping with this general assumption when Cunha Mattos (Rev. trim. 37, p. 393) mentions that they occasionally come to Bananal Island. Castelnau mentions a village of the Tapirapé on a small river opposite the north end of Bananal Island (Vol. 2, page 114). On his map, however, in the source region of the Rio Tapirapé whose course, incidentally, is in general shown correctly, there are three villages: one of the Tapirapé, one of the Mangara Gurera, and one of the Milo. Moraes Jardim reports (O Rio Araguaya, Rio, 1880) that a river steamer traveled ten leagues up the Tapirapé to the harbor of these Indians. He says that the Tapirapé still have no contact with civilization, but are teachable and industrious. Ehrenreich reports ("Südamerikanische Stromfahrten /South American River Journeys/," p. 11) that the steamer with which he traveled had already gone up the Tapirapé for 60 kilometers (perhaps this is the same steamer and the same journey). Here, he says, lives that remarkable Tupi people, the Tapirapé, who are regarded as hospitable and gentle. Unfortunately, Ehrenreich was unable to [101] visit them because the steamer went on. At any rate, these reports merely show that on the Rio Tapirapé live the people called Tapirapé, who are on peaceful terms with the Karajá. Coudreau [113] now confuses the entire picture by his report (Voyage au Tocantins-[114] Araguaya, Paris, 1897). According to him)p. 110), the Tapirapé

/495 cont./

102 [114] I should like to remark that on our maps the lower Araguaya from the north end of Bananal Island to the confluence with the Tocantins is represented very differently in its linear proportions, deviates sharply from the Ehrenreich map, which is based on the map of Moraes Jardim existing in Goyaz, and is more like Coudreau's map. Coudreau, however, traveled on the river under abnormal conditions -- extraordinarily high water. /The index, pp. 496-512, is omitted in the translation; see the foreign text./

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca.1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

000 ing the seed. I gave our kind host a Testament, which was gratefully received. The second family gave us permission to levy upon their patch of melons and pumpkins further down the river. This was a valuable addition to our scant supply of food. At evening, we landed at a rude abode where we were to take on a dozen or more sacks of manioc meal for food while passing through the savage world. This dwelling was merely a roof of palm branches supported upon four posts planted in the ground with one corner fenced off as a "private apartment" for the family.

What a remarkable scene was presented as our little flotilla arrived! Everything animate came out, apparently, to greet us;—men, women and children—the color of the ground—and dogs, pigs and fowls. Our contingent of dogs, added to the resident animals, constituted a menagerie of no mean proportions. As the evening meal—dinner—was being prepared, the squeels and yelps of hungry pigs and dogs, as they fought, and were kicked for attempting to devour our food while it was cooking, caused a continual uproar.

114 We delayed here three days while our men helped to prepare the manioc or cassava meal. The manioc is a large root almost entirely starch, with a woody fibre running through it. Two kinds are commonly met with in Brazil, the domestic and the "wild," though both are cultivated. It is propagated by planting small sections of the trunk of the little tree that grows from the root. The "wild" variety grows much the largest, becoming two feet long and five or six inches thick when it can grow throughout the year uninjured by frost. This kind is deadly poison; but when the sap, or liquid, is pressed out the poison seems to go with it. The "domestic" kind contains no poison, and may be boiled and eaten like ordinary potatoes. To make the manioc meal, the black skin, or bark, is scraped off, then the root is grated, like horse-radish, into a wooden trough; next the juice is removed by subjecting the mass to a heavy pressure, and it is finally kiln dried. The contrivance used to press out the liquid is very rude. The grated manioc is put into a

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

large dugout trough near a tree, then a rough slab of wood, 114
fitting loosely into the trough, is placed upon the manioc, and upon this again still other large blocks of wood are built up, all of which become the fulcrum for a heavy beam, the base of which is secured in a mortice in the before mentioned tree; and lastly, heavy weights are piled upon the outer end of the beam. The meal is dried by placing thin layers of it upon an elevated surface, like a huge griddle, under which is a light fire, then stirring it with a wooden hoe.

I saw here, near the dwelling, a valuable fruit tree with 136
hollow limbs in which five or six species of wild honey bees had established themselves. There are a great many kinds of wild bees in Brazil, but none of them, I understand, has [800]
a sting; and what is still more remarkable, all, or nearly all, make acid honey—or *sour* honey, as we commonly say. It is used as a drink, which is much prized, by mixing one part honey to five or six parts water and sweetening it with sugar. The expression, "sweet as honey," would be meaningless to many Brazilians. That honey needs to be sweetened with common sugar appears strange indeed.

At length, all the manioc meal we needed, or could carry, 114
was made and stowed into the canoes, and we resumed our voyage. I was astonished at the great quantity of this food stuff we were taking with us. Our canoes were loaded to the water's edge with it, and we seemed to have sufficient to feed half a dozen horses a month. But as we journeyed, [761]
and I saw the tremendous eating capacity of our Cherente, Karayá and Brazilian canoe men, I was convinced that we had none too much of the meal. These men seemed never to reach their limit—if they had a limit—for they always continued to eat as long as there was anything to levy upon. Their common dinner "plate"—or trough—was a large pan with a capacity of over half a bushel. Around this they all squatted, as it rested upon the ground, and devoured, a few with iron spoons, and the others with nature's five-tyned forks, gathering the food into large balls and tossing it into their mouths. One day, a large, fish-eating bird, called a [136]
manguary,

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

114 manguary, was shot, which filled our largest pot while cooking. When it was done, our men filled their bushel "plate" half full of manioc meal and poured the pot of game, with the liquid, over it. Just as they finished devouring this mountain of food, two of our party, who had gone fishing, returned with two very large fish; and "to save the fish from spoiling," they at once prepared and boiled a big pot of it, poured the mess over another half bushel of manioc meal, and soon this second heap of food disappeared also.

Fortunately for us, the annual rise of the river was late this year, therefore the *praias*—extensive sand bars—were still exposed. We needed these places to camp upon at night, as it was difficult or dangerous to sleep in the forest on the main land because of insects, reptiles and wild beasts. The [136] mosquito tribes are highly developed in the tropics, for they have the whole of every year in which to perfect themselves. Some varieties, called "powder" by the Brazilians, are mere specks and can fly through ordinary mosquito netting.

136 Many large and interesting creatures live in the Araguaya river. The *lontra* is the king of the river. It is a kind of river dog, or fresh-water seal. Its body is about five feet in length and it has four very short legs. It subsists entirely upon fish; but it lands on the beach to wander about, and bears its young in a hole which it digs in the bank of the river. When it pokes its head above water while in the river, it appears to be an enormous bull dog. I must confess that I was not a little startled when the head of one appeared above the water close to where I was about to go in bathing, as I had never seen the creature, nor knew of its existence.

Another interesting creature is the fresh-water dolphin, called a *bouto*—stub nose. It is a slate-colored carnivorous mammal which attains a length of ten feet, and a weight of six hundred or a thousand pounds. Its head resembles that of the hippopotamus; but it has no legs, and cannot leave the water. These beasts are very numerous in the Araguaya, or where fish are abundant, for I have seen as many as three pairs

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

CHAPTER VII.

LIFE IN THE SAVAGE WORLD.—JUNGLE DINNERS.—SYLVAN DORMITORIES.—MIDNIGHT ADVENTURES.

LEAVING São José, we entered an altogether savage world, 114
encountering not a vestige of "civilization" again for six or seven hundred miles. We often journeyed part or all of the night, allowing ourselves to be borne along by the current. But I soon found traveling by night very dangerous, especially while we were in the upper part of the river, for there were many obstructions in the river; and the pilot, who was supposed to keep a sharp lookout so as to arouse the oarsmen when danger threatened, often fell asleep, with the result that both our lives and our property were imperiled. Frequently, as we floated quietly onward in the darkness and stillness of the night, we were suddenly thrown into intense excitement because threatened with destruction. But, we never suffered any harm. An unseen Power was caring for us, notwithstanding the carelessness of our canoe men.

As our beef spoiled, we had to depend upon fish and game 114
for our meat, which we never lacked, usually having an 136
abundance. As regards fish, it was much to our advantage that the river was still low. When it rises above its banks and submerges the contiguous country, which it does in places many miles inland, it is difficult to catch fish; one reason being that the fish now find a great abundance of food. We fished every day with hook and line as we floated along with the current, and usually caught very large fish—so

114 large, indeed, that one was sometimes sufficient to make two
136 meals for our entire party, notwithstanding our enormous eating capacity.

000 One day, I witnessed a new use for tobacco. A large fish having been hooked, and played until nearly exhausted, was drawn gradually alongside the canoe; then the angler, having masticated a big lump of tobacco, injected it into the mouth of the fish, causing it to stiffen instantly, with the tail slightly curved, in which condition, it was easily drawn into the canoe. If tobacco will paralyze a fish, can it fail to injure the human consumer?

114 As there were many kinds of water and tree fowls along
136 the river, we dined frequently upon game. At other times, wishing a still greater assortment of food, and to enjoy the chase, we disembarked for a few hours to hunt deer, pigs,
000 tapirs and the like. One morning, a nice pig having been taken in the thicket near the edge of the river, we landed on the first sand-bar for breakfast. Getting ashore, a few of our men set to work at once to prepare the pig, while the others watched the operation, each one evidently thinking of making a good meal, and the part he would select for his portion. The repulsive turkey-buzzards—the scavengers of South America—getting wind promptly of what was occurring, came to observe with an anxious, give-us-the-tripe look, and flopped and jumped about awkwardly, like sack racers, their constantly increasing numbers forming a black ring around us. Our colony of dogs, also, stole quietly about seeking an opportunity to levy upon something. Soon, the pig was cleaned and each of us chose his favorite part. The scene presented was amusing: One man, having roasted the liver at the camp fire, was eating it with a relish; another was stewing the heart; two others were roasting the hams with much solicitude, thinking of the feast they would have slicing and eating from them momentarily during the rest of the day and evening as they paddled, or floated onward in the canoes. The little, old Karayá captain, recently added to our crew as a pilot, had cheated the buzzards of the tripe, and

[i.e., Pig Tripe--Analyst]

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

137 for they frequently appear to reach out from the trunk seventy or eighty feet.

114 We often disembarked at some charming arboreal palace to prepare and eat our food, for, on the sand-bars, we could not always obtain fuel, and were, moreover, exposed to the blistering heat of the sun. At such times, when we were not troubled by insects, we enjoyed a delightful picnic, with which our jungle banquet was in keeping. Occasionally, we were forced to pass the night in the forest. Late one afternoon, we disembarked in the forest for dinner; but before we had finished our repast, a storm broke and darkness closed in quickly upon us—darkness, too, that could almost be felt, obliging us, finally, to grope our way among the trees as if we were blind. It was unsafe to reembark, so we hastily pitched our tents while we could still see a little. I swung my hammock in my tent, and our motley company of canoe men stretched themselves side by side on the ground, forming a human carpet, over which I was suspended, like judgment. The dripping of the rain on our canvas house, the moaning and sighing of the wind through the forest, and the incessant rumble and boom of the thunder, were the only sounds. Soon, the strata of humanity on the ground was snoring loudly, undisturbed even by the bats that bled them on the toes. Some time after high night, because of the still-
[136] ness, I gradually became conscious of the fact that the storm had ceased, then that the snoring also had ceased, succeeded by a continual slapping, for the mosquitoes had come in clouds and filled our tent, now that there was no rain or wind. "Let us go outside!" exclaimed Sépé, the Cherente, to his companions, and the tent was promptly vacated by all but myself. They imagined they would be free from the little pests in the open air, for, having filled a tent or a house, they torment the occupants all night long, whereas, in the open air, they are in motion but a short time. This time, however, there were myriads of mosquitoes outside the tent as well as in; and again Sépé called out, addressing me, "Shall we not go away from here at once?" I replied in the affirmative,

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

for to sleep was impossible; and though the darkness was still so gross that we had to feel our way down to the river, we struck camp, tumbled everything into the canoes, then casting ourselves into the arms of the great, silent flood, were swept rapidly away. 114

We saw the tracks of the tapir everywhere, but did not have the good fortune to capture one while on the Araguaya. They always make for the water at full speed when alarmed, remaining below the surface a surprising length of time. When the jaguar springs upon the back of the tapir and tries to break its neck, he sometimes fails, for its neck is short, very thick and strong. It rushes madly toward the river at such times, dashing among the trees and through the dense underbrush, bolting under fallen trunks and bumping against some in a manner most unpleasant for its ferocious rider, so that he is usually glad to seize the first opportunity to dismount. The jaguar is known to have been killed in one of these wild stampedes, its neck being broken in collision with a tree. I have heard of such a horse and rider tearing through an encampment and among hammocks occupied by sleeping men. 136

We were often entertained at dawn by monkeys roaring their morning anthem. The great volume of sound seemed to indicate that there were a dozen of these vocalists and that they were a mile distant from us, when, in truth, there were but two and they only a quarter or half a mile distant. There are thirty or forty varieties of monkeys in the Brazilian forests, most of which will doubtless never be seen in zoological parks, for they cannot live in captivity, not even in their native land. We frequently saw colonies of one kind or another climbing about among the tree-tops, or sitting on their haunches observing us.

One day, we sighted far down the river in advance of us, what appeared to be two lines of soldiers drawn up at the water's edge. Studying the objects with a field glass, we found them to be a line of giant storks standing at the margin of the river waiting to seize their breakfast of fish.

Brazil.

136 They are as tall as a man, and, standing in line, their uniform black heads, white breasts and long, black legs, gave them a decidedly military appearance. The reflection in the water gave the illusion of a double line. I believe this is the largest bird that flies. It must have a long, clear space or it cannot rise. From standing humped up, like a goose on a cold day, it takes a few hesitating steps, then several determined strides, then breaks into a run, followed by a long series of big jumps and flapping of its huge wings, until, finally, it gets clear of the ground.

114 As we were borne along at night where the river was broad and deep and free of obstructions, all slept, or tried to sleep, excepting one or two watchers. My improvised bed in our large canoe was made of a large, square tin can, the side of a big tin wash-basin and the half of a gourd shell. My companions reclined on similar beds.

609 One obscure night, as we moved silently onward, like a giant phantom, we descried a light some distance ahead and heard Karayá shouting to us from a sand island. Fearing that they might not be friendly, and because of the darkness, our first thought was to pass on and not land where they [206] were. But a moment later, we discovered that they were a friendly fishing party: so we went ashore. As we drew [533] near to land, our Karayá pilot, Pedro Monco, sang one of their familiar tribal songs. It was of a joyful strain, though extremely peculiar, suggesting, somewhat, the running and bleating of a deer. tI is usually sung for the purpose of announcing to those on shore that visitors are arriving, that they are friendly, and that they are happy to meet their friends on land. Our trumpets were also sounded, and I played a hymn on the cornet. Our arrival appeared to give the fishing party much pleasure. The first thing they asked for was manioc meal and fish hooks. They were all in nature's dress, except the captain of the band, who wore a blanket.

262 Soon after we disembarked, which was past midnight, a [252] Karayá appeared with what resembled a skinned cat, and placed it over the fire to broil. "What is this?" I inquired.

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca.1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

mas it was to me! How almost infinitely removed it was from the situations and environments of former Christmas days! I seemed to be a wanderer in a world wholly different from that which I had formerly known. The afternoon of Christmas day, we passed the principal mouth of the Rio das Mortes—a river with an uncanny name because of a sombre history. It takes its name, I believe, from the fact that a party of explorers, while navigating the Araguaya in canoes long ago, were slain here by the savages. It is a great river, though almost unknown to the world, and drains a vast region that is almost wholly unexplored. While passing the outlet of this mysterious river, a storm burst upon us, and our large canoe, becoming unmanageable, was finally driven ashore. Darkness closing in rapidly we prepared and ate our Christmas dinner in the wind and rain at the edge of the forest. We had no expectation that Santa Claus would penetrate the unknown, mysterious wildernesses that enveloped us to fill our stockings; though a few of our party did fear that the tiger might come to us for *his* Christmas dinner. So we all slept under a large tree close around the fire.

The next day, we visited a Karayá cemetery on top of a hill. As we entered the cemetery, I saw one of our Karayá canoe men, who had preceded us, standing over a nice watermelon that had grown there. I wondered why he did not eat it at once as they are fond of this fruit. But he would not touch it, nor would any of the Karayá, because it was a product of the cemetery, and intended, perhaps, as food for those who had gone to the shadow land. Two of our party did eat it, however, one of whom was myself. But I must acknowledge that it tasted unpleasantly like a Karayá smells. Our woman voyager declared that we had eaten the flesh of a defunct Karayá. Broken pottery was lying about in the cemetery together with skulls and other human bones; while sunk into the ground or standing on the surface were large clay urns containing the osseous remains of dead Karayá. Pumpkins also were growing in the cemetery as well as melons.

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

Returning to our canoes, we saw a wild fruit tree growing close to the water—its habitat—the fruit of which the Brazilians call *arósa*. It resembles a reddish plum, but has a double stone and is very acid. But it is a very wholesome fruit and would make, I imagine, an excellent sauce. The tree appears to be partly a climber, for the limbs, which are one or two inches thick, maintain a uniform size throughout their length, and coil around one another, serpent like. The river was now a mile or more broad and the navigation very open; so, wishing to take advantage of the current as much as possible, we reembarked after a five o'clock dinner one day and floated along quietly hour after hour in the obscurity until past midnight. Then, desiring to find a sandbar on which to sleep until morning, we at last descried a gray outline and pulled for it. Happening to enter shallow water, we grounded before getting close to shore, and lost a pike overboard. But just as we were getting afloat again, we suddenly heard a shuffling sound coming from the shore close by; and looking that way, our hearts stood still as we beheld the dusky forms of thirty or forty naked and painted savages rushing down upon us fully armed with long war lances and heavy killing clubs, ready to scatter our brains on the beach. We now discovered that we were innocently attempting to land just above a portable Karayá village, the existence of which, at this place, was not known even to our pilot, Pedro Monco. Our creeping up here at the dead of night without giving any signals announcing who we were, and if we were friends or foes, had convinced the villagers that we were enemies.

The situation in which we found ourselves was extremely critical for a few minutes. But the natives, seeing who we were, paused briefly, which gave us an opportunity to communicate with them and explain matters, and also to make them some presents to pacify them. Our large canoe only was involved in this midnight adventure, the other having pulled up elsewhere for the night; so our party was small. Our canoe was drawn up on the sand, and the savage band stood

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

CHAPTER VIII.

THE KARAYÁ.—RECEIVING STRANGERS.—PERSONAL ADORNMENT.—DOMICILES.—MENAGERIES.—FISHING AND HUNTING.—HUSBANDRY.—FOODS.

101 [161] THE Karayá tribe is divided into three great divisions, or separate tribes, called the Yavahé, the Karayáhy and the Sambiôa, numbering in all about four thousand. Little is 131 known of the Yavahé division except that they dwell in three 162 villages, or encampments, by a large lake, or lagoon, in the unknown interior of the great Isle of Bananal, which is between three and four hundred miles long and nearly one hundred miles broad, being formed by the two arms of the 133 Araguaya river. The Yavahé lake has an outlet into the [114] eastern arm of the Araguaya. In our descent of the Araguaya, we followed the western arm.

177 186 The Yavahé, though hostile to civilized men, and determined to avoid all contact with "civilization," much desire, neverthless, to obtain the steel implements, such as axes, knives and grubbing hoes, which civilization alone can furnish them. Neither does the Sambiôa branch wish to have any direct contact with "civilization" because they see plainly that their brethren of the Karayáhy division, who live in touch with the "civilization" that exists in the interior of Brazil, and which we know to be semi-barbarous, immoral and superstitious, are in a worse plight, morally, socially and physically than they themselves are—that they are extremely poor and demoralized, and suffer from various diseases, contracted from "civilization," with which they themselves are

7:Lipkind E-5 (1938-1939) 1940
SP9 Caraja SP9

CARAJÁ COSMOGRAPHY

By William Lipkind

101 The Carajá are an isolated people inhabiting a large territory slightly
114 north of the geographical center of Brazil. During 1938 and 1939 I lived
131 with the Carajá and collected a large body of textual material which forms the basis of the generalized presentation of Carajá world-view which follows.[1]

772 The Carajá universe is very small. Their own territory (Bananal), an island formed by a large fork of the Araguaya river is its center. To the west the great Chavante plateau stretches out to the huge river in which
[8-4] the sun goes down. All night the sun moves through the underworld and in the morning he comes up out of another river which is the eastern boundary of the world. If you paddle many days downriver, you will come to a village of the transformer Kanashiwe, the world's northern limit. An equal journey upstream will take you to its southern limit, another village of Kanashiwe.

[8-3] The Carajá are perfectly acquainted with the middle portion of this parallelogram. Every beach, high bank, wood and lake along the Araguaya, every body of water and distinctive patch of ground within Bananal, is known and has a name. The tributaries are known in less detail and only up to a few days' journey from their mouths. Inland from the rivers their knowledge peters out after a short distance and you are soon in mythical country.

[775] To the Carajá this world seems very large. The journey to its northern and southern limits is the initiation journey of the dead. No man since legendary times has gone very far toward the eastern and western boundaries, and, besides, there are two other dimensions, the underworld and the sky.

772 In the underworld, the original home of the Carajá, there was neither
773 sickness nor death. As the emergence myth states, "More people kept being born. Nobody died. There wasn't room enough. When a man got old, he sat there in one place without moving. Kaboi couldn't add any more houses to the village. It was full. A new father was lying on the mat. It was time to eat honey. He went off hunting honey. While he was hunting he heard a *seriema* (Portuguese name of a bird) sing. He scooped a hole toward it and came out. He found fruit at once and decided to return. When he got back he gave his folk the fruit to taste. They found it very good and wanted to come out. They invited the others to come with them. Wobedu sent his folk out first and he went first among them. Kaboi came

[122] [1] The work was financed by Columbia University.

9:Gow-Smith T-5 (no date) 1925
SP9 Caraja SP9
Cayapo SP11

CARAJA AND CAYAPÓ ARTIFACTS FROM BRAZIL

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BEAUTIFULLY fashioned feather head-dresses, ingenious and terrible weapons, strange little images, implements and ornaments that characterize the lives and customs of the Caraja and Cayapó Indians, hitherto little known tribes that live in Matto Grosso and Para, the hinterland of Brazil, have been brought to the Museum by the writer, who has spent more than four years in this little-known region of South America.

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The Cayapó maidens wear narrow fillets of reed upon which are bound the short, curved feathers from the breasts of parrots, with short quills protruding in front. Some are of red and some of yellow feathers, the latter resembling fluffy halos. Occasionally the Cayapó find feathers of mixed red and yellow, not unlike striped tulips of those colors, and with these the women make fillets of exquisite beauty (fig. 95). Others are made by binding a number of short pieces of polished bamboo to a reed, topping them with iridescent feathers, and adding a long gray-white

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*532 535 īdjǎzõ (Fig. 95 /see p. 25/). The arrangement goes out from a center line, to which the component parts are symmetrically added. The two aprons are represented by parallel strokes, which run diagonally downward from the middle toward both sides; the fall of the leaf strips /15/ of the apron is thus well reproduced. The cylinder is designated by the center line; the feathered wings, by parallel lines going away from it diagonally downward; the rods with the tufts of feathers on the end, by two diverging lines, each with a circle at the end.

Fig. 96 /see p. 25/ can be taken as a model for the lǎdēnĩ mask. This mask consists of a plaited palm-leaf cylinder running out into a long tube whose upper edge forms a feather wreath, from the center of which rises a stick with feather ornamentation on the end. The arrangement of the drawing (Fig. 97 /see p. 25/) is also symmetrical with respect to a vertical center line. Two diverging lines at the lower end form the feet. The aprons are represented as on the īdjǎzõ masks, except that here the lower apron is closed, the upper apron is open, whereas in the case of īdjǎzõ it was the other way around. The head structure is reproduced by the center line, which goes through a larger and a smaller circle, the two feather wreaths.

*532 [115] My Indian comrade, Manoel, drew a number of animal tracks for me in the sand. /Figs. 98-103 appear here./

Fig. 98 /see p. 26/, wālilĩ (large anteater). The hand is curved and the edge pressed into the sand; then with the bent forefinger the toes are added to this impression.

Fig. 99 /see p. 26/, dēsiõ (?). A fist is made, and the upper side, formed by the thumb and the forefinger, is pressed into the sand. The six (!) toes were drawn with the forefinger.

To make the tracks of the capybara (hũã), the hand is pressed into the sand with the fingers spread out.

Fig. 100 /see p. 26/, wālũlĩ (jabiru). The four toe furrows are drawn by the finger, and then the center hole is pressed in.

Fig. 101 /see p. 26/, hĕdaulẽ (duck). The track was made with a knife. The impressions of the web were produced by pushing the sand aside, the claw impressions by cutting into and lifting out the sand.

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532 collected, 24 centimeters high, without an apron, belongs here. The face is clearly modeled, the hair reproduced by a thin layer of wax with cotton fringes hanging down in front, a chain of Ricinus kernels and pierced snail-shells with black tassels decorates the neck (Pl. XI /see p. 113/, 6).

Finally we have completely finished forms (obtained only from the Šambioa). Face and body are imitated completely true to nature, the arms folded over the stomach. The wax hair hangs far down in back. Line painting covers the chest and limbs. Some are supplied with ear sticks and necklaces, others with small "redes." Unfortunately the legs and the seat of almost all of them are of unnatural thickness (Pl. XI, 7). A black wax figure, the best one of the collection, nevertheless shows proportional form throughout (Pl. XI, 9). Whereas all figures of this type wear an apron, others of gray clay are without it. They also lack hair; on the other hand, they have on their backs a carrying basket likewise made of clay. The arms are drawn up against the chest (Pl. XI, 8). The male figures of this category are disproportionately long and narrow in the upper trunk, with almost spherical lower legs. Hair and genitals are of wax. There are sticks in the ears, chains of glass beads around the neck (Pl. XI, 10).

[177] The caricatures of Brazilian soldiers made out of lumps of wax, with the uniform indicated by bits of blue and red cloth pasted on, are very crude, but not without a certain humor in the execution.

Social Life, Law and Custom.

114 The social arrangements of the Karaya can for the present be treated only fragmentarily. Nevertheless, the little that I [115] observed myself or that was learned through the agency of my companion and most important informant, the old chief Pedro Manco, may at least provide points of reference for further research.

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535 of abstraction (1). Insofar as these animal spirits are supposed to
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1. Im Thurn, op. cit., p. 370.

be influenced in a way favorable to human beings, the first trace of a cult appears in these dances.

535 If one asks the Indians themselves why they keep the secret
532 from the women, they answer without exception that the women
562 are not permitted to see everything, they talk too much.

The need to maintain the authority of the men over the women appears wherever such mysterious festivals are current. The same thing is known from Greek and Oriental antiquity. It is possible that in this effort, which may often appear to the civilized man as a brutal tyranny over the weaker sex, one of the most ancient "folk ideas" belonging to all mankind finds its expression.

The whizzing stick does not seem to be in use among the Karaya; at least nothing could be learned about it.

Legends and Folklore

126 In the last days of our stay in S. Maria old Pedro Manco
115 dictated a number of legends, which, given the paucity of
773 such materials from South America and despite their simplicity and poverty of ideas, as well as the in part garbled form, nevertheless command some interest. Unfortunately because of the lack of time, they could not be written down in the original language, and in particular working out an interlinear translation met insuperable difficulties.

773 Whether these traditions have remained completely free of
170 foreign influence can be decided with certainty only when someone is successful in drawing on other informants as a check. The chances, to be sure, are very slight. For the present nothing opposes the presumption that we are actually dealing here with genuine products of the Indian folk-spirit.

773 These myths differ neither in form nor in content from those otherwise from America. The very saga which is most

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131 Apparently there are Karajá living outside of the river valley. The first German Xingu-expedition, on the lower Xingu in the regions of the Yuruna, everywhere came across traces of struggles with alien Indians who were called Karajá by the Yuruna. The 171 [126] objects brought back that the Yuruna designated as coming from the Karajá, which are in the Museum für Völkerkunde in Berlin, reveal a culture reminiscent of that of the Karajá and that of the Kayapó (1). Thus, they might well have belonged to a splintered-off

1. The clubs, Nos. 1596 and 1597, have handles similar to those of the Šambioá clubs and oars (3979, e, d). Club 1597 is again similar to the one brought back by Herrmann Meyer from the Kayapó of the Paranayuba (4466), but, on the other hand, completely different from my Kayapó and Karajá clubs, whose handles are identical with those of the Šavajé and others of the Šambioá (3983). The diadem, 1595, is identical with a Karajá diadem brought back by Ehrenreich, as well as two of my Kayapó diadems. The arrow, 1598, is like the Ehrenreich Karajá arrows. -- The numbers of the objects refer to the Berlin catalogue.

Karajá tribe, whose culture, altered by its sojourn among 101 Kayapó tribes, became similar to that of the Kayapó. The tribe of the Karajá proper did not, according to my investigations, know anything about any fellow tribesmen on the Xingu. It 173 [115] was only below Santa Maria that I learned from a Brazilian settler, who seemed to be acquainted with conditions among the Šambioá, that the branching off of the Xingu Karajá is explained by them in the following way: A Šambioá chief (Roca?; cf. Coudreau, p. 123) kidnapped a white woman; his son fell in love with her and wanted to take her away from his father. There was a fight in which the father proved to be the weaker, so he was obliged to depart with his followers; he turned westward toward the Xingu. How much of this story is credible we do not know as yet.

/193 cont./

162 Thus, the migration southward seems to continue to this day,
166 and it seems to have affected the Šavajé as well. Apparently the south horde has a bit of Šavajé blood in it, which is noticeable above all in the taller build. Today only about one-fifth of the Karajá live south of Bananal; the majority still live in the north horde, but we have seen that in it, too, a trend toward the south is making itself noticeable (4).

[361] 4. A migration from the south horde to the north horde took place long ago: people emigrated from Schischá and settled on the Corrego; this is the village of José (six men, eight women).

174 Whether this migration to the south is a continuation of an older migration which brought the Karajá to the Araguaya I should like to leave undecided. As is well known, Ehrenreich pointed out many similarities between the Karajá and the Indians of Guiana.
171 Without wishing to pursue these cultural connections further at present, I should like to state, from a comparison of Karajá and Kayapó culture, that the Karajá show very many cultural traits related to the Kayapó, but also harbor a large percentage of foreign /194/ elements that seem to point to the north or northwest. It will remain for later investigations to pursue these cul-
174 tural problems further. The present-day distribution of the Karajá,
131 their confinement to the river valley in a narrow band beyond 8 1/2
648 degrees of latitude in the midst of hostile tribes, especially those
[101] of the Ges /Ge/ family, seems to point to the fact that the Karajá migrated up the Araguaya from the north, breaking up the tribes
648 living here. So far the Karajá have not yet come to an amicable relationship with the neighboring tribes. Efforts to bring this about
[799] were undertaken at Conceição by the mission, but they failed after initial success (1).

• [115] 1. The reports, for which I am indebted to a Brazilian near Santa Maria, that the Kayapó and Šambioá meet annually at a particular place on

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648 [115] 1. (cont.)
the river in order to make exchanges, and that there is now a Karajá boy among the Kayapó and a Kayapó boy among the Karajá for the purpose of learning the other language and later using it at home, probably refer to these efforts.

[721] The feuds, therefore, continue to this day, and even today women and children are abducted by both sides. Thus, the Šambioá are in constant strife with the Kayapó, the Karajá with the Tapirapé, and the Šavajé with the Canoeiros. Among the [720] [548] Šambioá Ehrenreich found many Kayapó women who are used as prostitutes by the tribe. The same is true of the Tapirapé women among the Karajá. In 1908 their number was small: in the south horde there was one girl, in the north horde three women, a girl, 179 and two boys. These Tapirapé seem not to have exerted any cultural, linguistic, or physical influence, whereas the cultural influence of the Tapirapé on the Karajá in former times must have been very strong, especially at the mouth of the Tapirapé, there was a great number of objects which were not seen in any other Karajá village and which appeared to be foreign.

3. House and Village.

342 The house (hãtõ) is built in different ways, depending on the season of the year (dry season, rainy season).

[335] The framework of the dry-season house consists of three arches, one behind the other, each made out of two sticks tied together at the top with bast. Palm fronds serve as covering: the pinnae are bent over to one side; two such fronds are then placed one on top of the other and tied together at the ribs. These fronds are then fastened to the arches from below in such a way that the upper ones cover the lower ones somewhat. The ridge is not finished off; it is not specially covered. About 15 centimeters below the ridge, on either side, a pole is tied parallel to it on the leaf covering (see Pl. 39). These simple huts are about three meters long, two meters wide, and one and a half meters high.

/344 cont./

191 general, they pronounce Brazilian words badly; they seldom succeed in pronouncing f correctly, usually they say p for it (pãcõ for facão, žipre for chifre, pãrinã for farinha, pãsẽr for facer).

126 For the list of words and texts recorded by me, along with the translations, see the appendix I and II /untranslated: see the foreign text, pp. 415-482/.

18. Myths.

773 Myths were told me by two persons: Chief Cadete Chico of
126 Schischã told me the creation myth; I obtained a second version
115 of this, as well as all the rest, from Kurišĩ. Usually he told them the most vividly and in the greatest detail the first time, and considerably more simply in repetitions. Some features had to be verified by much questioning, if they were overlooked in the first notation. When questioned, Kurišĩ said that he was telling the myths as his mother had told them to him. According to this, the myth seems to be handed down through the mother among the Karajã. To me it was surprising that he professed not to know any of the myths reported by Ehrenreich /345/ ("Beiträge," pp. 39-44), with the exception of the howling monkey myth. Apparently they were truly unfamiliar to him. This is all the more surprising since he is the grandson of Pedro Manco, Ehrenreich's informant, and thus should have known about the store of myths preserved in this family.

773 The Karajã regard the Furo das Pedras as their original home.
[619] There the ancient Karajã lived under water. They regard the
[875] Šavajé and Šambioã as their tribal kinsmen. Animals are regarded as beings like human beings, so that transformations of human beings into animals and the reverse play an important role. They
[821] think of the stars as inhabited by creatures who temporarily came to the earth and there came into contact with human beings.

T /403 cont./
175 are Karajá who are so named because they live on the lower course
114 of the Tapirapé. On page 174 he mentions a village of the /404/ Tapirapé on the Fecho de Tapirapé and a village of the Karajá five days upward in the Tapirapé River; the one village consists of one house with ten occupants, the other, one house with 20 (p. 186). Here, therefore, the Tapirapé are regarded as a horde of the Karajá who live at the mouth of the river itself, and in the river, five days above the mouth, there is another village of Karajá! Coudreau was here the end of April; he encountered only a few places of the Karajá. His other reports are likewise very confused and uncertain, so that one may trace these, too, back to misunderstood information given by the Karajá.

C 115 2. Information obtained /Erkundetes/. The information that
T I obtained from the Karajá was the following:

131 The Tapirapé (in Karajá: ũõhũ) live six to nine days' journey
[101] in a boat above the emptying of the river into the Araguaya. From the landing place one is obliged to walk another half day, according to others two days, over the campo in order to reach their vil-
T 105 lages. They occupy three villages, and, to be sure, one large one and two smaller ones (according to one isolated statement, four villages). The men wear penis cuffs plaited out of palm leaves. Both sexes wear the hair hanging down to the small of the back. The men wear long lip-plugs of (reddish?) stone. Ear plugs are also customary. Their ornaments are similar to those of the Karajá. Tattooing occurs among the married women: they cut vertical lines into their chins and one line on either side of the corners of their mouths, obliquely downward; these lines are colored black. They obtain their food primarily by cultivating manioc; since they
C are very industrious, they cultivate large quantities. They are
[829] therefore considered rich by the Karajá. Of animals they keep dogs and, above all, araras, which the Karajá buy from them. Their weapons are bows and arrows, clubs, spears, and spear throwers.
C They know how to work with cotton. They wind the spun threads
T [939] into big balls, like those of the Karajá. The Karajá like to buy their large, firmly plaited, cotton net coverings with a wide, black center stripe.

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JULIAN H. STEWARD, *Editor*

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[Title Page]

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THE CARAJÁ[1]

By William Lipkind

TRIBAL DIVISIONS AND TERRITORY

The *Carajá* are a river people who since pre-Columbian times have held as the central portion of their territory the inland Island of Bananal, which is formed by the great fork of the Araguaya River (lat. 8°–17° S., long. 48°–52° W., map 1, *No. 1*; see Volume 1, map 7). They must be regarded as an independent linguistic family for the present; their language displays no convincing similarities to any other recorded South American language.

The term *"Carajá"* is used to designate the entire people as well as the largest of the three tribal divisions; the other two are the *Shambioá* and the *Javahé*. The *Carajá* proper have 20 villages on the western or main branch of the Araguaya River, widely spread from Leopoldina south of Bananal clear down to the end of the Island. The *Shambioá*, now nearly extinct, have only two villages left, a little way below Conceição. The eight villages of the *Javahé* lie on the eastern or minor branch of the Araguaya River and on the small streams within Bananal. The general location and the relative sizes of the three groups have remained the same since the earliest times.

The native names give some notion of intergroup attitudes. All three groups regard themselves as a single people and use a name meaning "we" to distinguish themselves from other tribes. The *Carajá* proper are called the "great people" by the other two groups. The *Shambioá* are the "companion people." The *Javahé* are called by a name which is used generally to mean "Indian" and bears the pejorative connotation "backwoodsman" or "hick." There is a possible analysis which makes it the "old people" but, even if this etymology is correct, the word no longer has that meaning.

Dialectical differences are slight and other differences not very great, with the *Shambioá* occupying a middle position culturally between the other two groups. This account is based on field work with the *Carajá* proper and refers to the other groups only where they exhibit important differences.

[1] The present description of the *Carajá* is based on the author's field work during 1937, done under the auspices of the Department of Anthropology, Columbia University.

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ARCHEOLOGY

172 Large circular hollows in the ground are found at various points in *Carajá* territory, always in the close vicinity of a stream. By tradition these are ancient cemeteries; of old, they say, people did not mourn at a funeral but held a feast in the hollow. One of these hollows located on the height above the river bank at Fontoura is 18 m. (about 58 ft.) long, 15 m. (about 50 ft.) wide, and 1½ m. (5 ft.) deep at its center. The mound forming the northern side was excavated, disclosing two lines of burials with associated pottery, bone labrets, and beads.

The pottery is very similar to modern *Carajá* pottery and the labrets are exactly like those now in the possession of the *Carajá*. The cemetery cannot, however, definitely be identified as *Carajá*. The present-day [764] *Carajá* cemetery is different in location and ground plan. There is now secondary urn burial, and in the first burial the bodies are laid at right angles to the river rather than parallel as were those disclosed by the excavation. Still, the remains show even less resemblance to the *Ge* and *Tupi* peoples in the neighborhood. The question must be left open for further archeological study.

HISTORY

648 175 Since the earliest times, the *Carajá* have been at war with their *Ge* and *Tupi* neighbors. The sole exception is the *Tapirapé*, with whom at one time the *Javahé* maintained close and friendly relations. The *Shambioá* were the first to come in contact with the Neo-Brazilians early in the 17th century. Contact with the *Carajá* proper must have begun shortly after the founding of Santa Anna by Bartholomeu Bueno in 1682. The *Carajá* are [439] on good terms with the Neo-Brazilians, trading skins and fish for clothing, beads, knives, axes, guns, sugar, and salt.

161 **Population.**—According to the census made by the author in 1939, the *Carajá* number 1,510, divided as follows: *Carajá* proper, 795; *Javahé*, 650; *Shambioá*, 65. These figures should be contrasted with Castelnau's (1850–59) count in 1845 of 2,000 *Shambioá* in four villages, and his estimate of a total of 100,000 *Carajá*, and with Krause's (1911) estimate of 10,000 *Carajá* in 1908.

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

241 **Farming.**—Clearings are made in the thick forest along the watercourses. Gardens must be so located as to be accessible by canoe in the dry season and yet not flooded in the rainy season. The scarcity of such land results in some of the plots being several miles distant from the village. Proximity to fishing grounds is generally held to be more important. The work of clearing is begun in May at the beginning of the dry season. Maize

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is planted in September, when the first rains come, and manioc shortly after. There is little cultivation beyond weeding. The basic crop is manioc, both the sweet and bitter varieties being cultivated, with maize next in importance. Four varieties each of sweet and bitter manioc and 10 varieties of maize are cultivated. Other crops are: Five varieties of potatoes, two varieties of cara, four varieties of watermelon, three varieties of squash, four varieties of beans, and ten varieties of bananas, as well as peanuts, urucú, tobacco, cotton, calabashes, sugarcane, yams, peppers, pineapples, and papayas. Men do all the work with a little assistance in harvesting and weeding from older women. The *Javahé* are more industrious farmers than the other *Carajá*, cultivating extensive plantations. 241 [462] [184]

Collecting.—A large number of vegetable products are gathered for use as food, medicine, and raw material for manufacture, but only a few are of great importance. The babassu and the buriti palms, used for food and textile materials, are among the most valuable. The taquara reed is sought after for arrows. Turtle eggs are a significant item of food during the dry season. Honey is indispensable for feasting. 222 262 [441]

Hunting.—Although the *Carajá* are passionate hunters, very few of the animals available in the region are eaten. Only the peccary is really sought and constitutes a sizable item in the larder. The other animals that are eaten—the cutia, coati, woodsdeer, monkey, iguana, and a few birds, such as the mutum, jao, and jacu—are killed when encountered but are not eaten by everyone. Peccaries are hunted in a communal drive, the most favorable time being shortly after the beginning of the rainy season when large droves are trapped on islands. 224 [262]

The chief purpose of hunting is to get feathers, and the most desirable birds are the various parrots, herons, the male stork, and the flamingo. The nesting of valuable birds is carefully watched, and the young are stolen and tamed. Feathers stored in small baskets almost constitute a currency, because they are readily negotiable at all times and maintain a stable value. 223 237 [231] [436]

The principal weapons are the bow and club. The bow, made of a variety of woods but with a preference for juari when available, is round in cross section and about 6 feet (2 m.) long. The arrow is preferably of taquara reed and variously tipped with wood, animal bone, or fish bone. Clubs are beautifully fashioned of heavy hardwood, decorated with delicate carving, and are swung and thrown with equal skill. The lance is now used only for ceremonial purposes. 441

Fishing.—Fish is the most important food supply. Trapping and drugging fish with timbo is a communal affair; individuals fish with the bow and arrow. There is occasional night fishing, with spearing by torchlight. The pirarucu is killed by harpoon. The hook and line is little used, and apparently was borrowed recently from the Neo-Brazilians. 226 [262] [177]

Food preparation.—Manioc is peeled, grated, squeezed out by hand, and cooked into a soup. When the soup cools, it is masticated for a few 252

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252 minutes, then allowed to stand for a while. The resulting fermentation is not allowed to continue long enough to produce an intoxicating drink.
262 This soup, along with a similar soup made of maize, is a daily staple.
252 Manioc and ground maize are also made into cakes, but this is a holiday variation of diet rather than the staff of life as in other regions. The standard methods of cooking meat, fish, and vegetables are boiling, roasting on a spit, roasting on a grate, and roasting in the embers. Occasionally, some vegetables are baked in hot sand. Maize is the only food that
[251] is stored. On platform shelves at the top of their rainy-season houses, the *Jcvahé* pile a supply of maize dried on the cob sufficient to last throughout the dry season.

HOUSES AND VILLAGES

361 The permanent or rainy-season village is erected on a high bank overlooking the river. One or two rows of houses face the river, and the men's
[535] house, about 50 feet (15.2 m.) back, faces down river. All the space between the men's house and the family houses is kept perfectly clean and constitutes the dancing plaza of the village. The surrounding clearing extends only a few yards in all directions. All neighboring forest which
[487] must be traversed in hunting or gathering is threaded by well-marked trails. A path leads down from the center of the village to the main port where women, married men, and children bathe, and married men land their canoes. Another path cuts diagonally down from the men's house to the bachelor's port where the young men bathe and visitors to the masked dances land their canoes.

342 The house is rectangular in ground plan with supported horizontal ridge poles (fig. 18). Saplings are sunk into the ground at the sides and

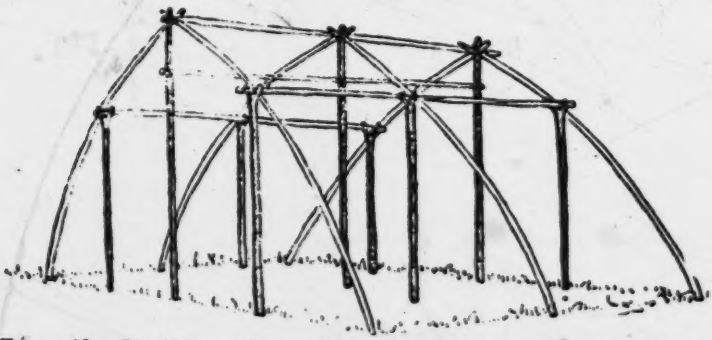

FIGURE 18.—*Carajá* house frame. (Redrawn from Ehrenreich, 1891 b, fig. 3.)

bent over to the ridge pole at the top, where they are firmly tied with bast. Then the whole structure is tightly thatched with successive overlapping layers of palm frond tied to the saplings (pl. 20, *top*). The entrance is a small rectangular opening at the bottom, through which one crawls after

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pushing aside a door of plaited palm. Every married woman in the family cooks at her own fireplace, which consists of two lumps of hardened clay. Mats used for sleeping and sitting are spread over the entire floor. Wooden stools (fig. 19) may also be found. Bows, arrows, and rattles

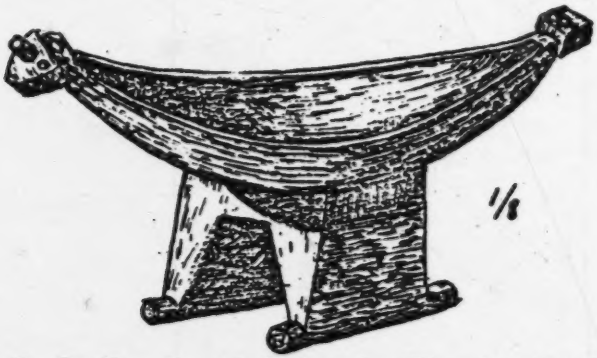

FIGURE 19.—*Carajá* wooden stool. (Redrawn from Ehrenreich, 1891 b, fig. 13.)

are shoved into the wall thatch. Baskets, used for storing such things as tobacco, urucú, and feathers, are hung by a string from the ridge poles. Large baskets containing vegetables lie on the ground next to the thatch.

The dry-season house is identical in form but smaller and of flimsier construction. Thatching is looser and the walls are thatched only about halfway to the ground, the north and west sides often being left completely open. The dry-season village is generally constructed on a long beach and, as the site grows dirty, is moved along the beach. The ground plan of the dry-season village is identical with the rainy-season village.

DRESS AND ORNAMENTS

The most prominent facial decoration is a blue-black circular scarification about an inch in diameter over each cheekbone. The ears of infants are pierced and an ornament consisting of a small polished capybara tooth with a feather attached is inserted. A common ear ornament for children is a mother-of-pearl disk with a cut feather fringe set on a blackened thin rod. In a perforation of their lower lips, men wear wood or bone labrets of a variety of shapes (pl. 21; fig. 21, *a*), each assigned to a different age grade; old men use simple wooden plugs.

Men wear their hair long, winding it round a plaited cotton rope reddened with urucú. Women wear their hair about shoulder length.

Armlets crocheted of cotton are worn at the wrists and just above the elbow; similar ornaments are worn just below the knee and at the ankle. These are worn particularly by children and are supposed to aid growth.

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301 Young men wear large armlets almost 12 inches (30 cm.) long crocheted of cotton with hanging fringes.

291 Women wear a bark-cloth girdle, which is wound round the body and under the crotch and looped over, hanging down in front. Feather head-
[292] dresses of a number of different designs are worn by men on festal occasions. Men tie the prepuce with a firmly wound string and wear a string belt.

302 Elaborately decorated woven belts with hanging ema feathers are worn
[292] for wrestling matches. Bird down is glued on the shoulders, arms, and
[237] legs. Body painting is very elaborate, and designs covering the entire body are carefully executed with genipa. Urucú is spread generally, with accents on the cheekbones, the nose, and the upper arm.

TRANSPORTATION

501 The *Carajá* manufacture elongated dugouts, neatly adapted to landing and freeing their craft among the sandbanks.

MANUFACTURES

287 **Bark cloth.**—Bark cloth is made of *Apeiba* bast, soaked, beaten with flat stones, and dried until it becomes very soft and white.

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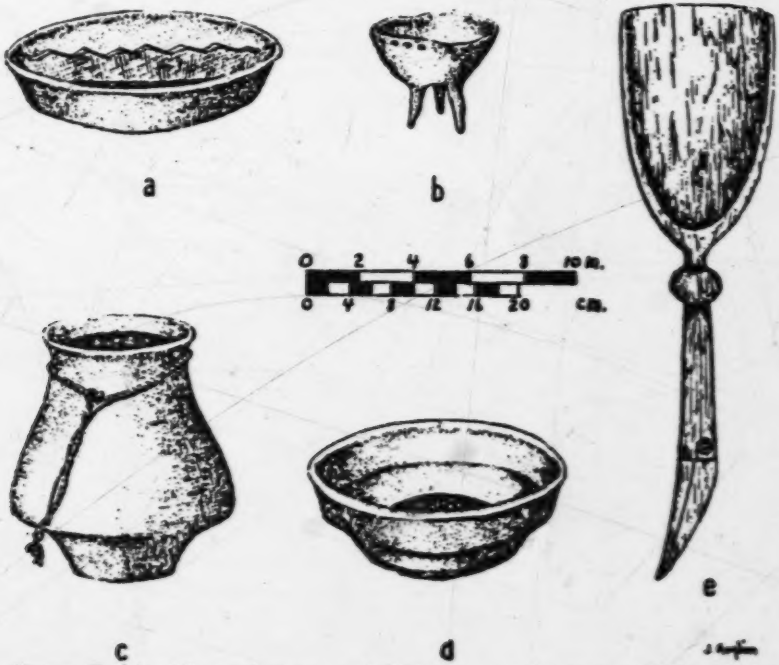

FIGURE 20.—*Carajá* manufactures. *a-d*, Pottery; *e*, wooden scoop. (Redrawn from Ehrenreich, 1891 b, figs. 5 and 14.)

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Basketry.—The *Carajá* excel in the variety and solidity of their plaitwork, which includes burden baskets, strainers, shoulder bags, bottles, elliptical feather cases, and boat-shaped containers for suspension. Twilling and twining are the dominant techniques (pl. 22). 285

Textiles.—The *Carajá* produce some taffetalike fabrics, but in 1775 Pinto da Fonseca found them using cotton solely for fish nets and bowstrings, so that he himself introduced a loom and taught the women how to work it. 286 177

Featherwork.—In contrast to their *Ge* neighbors of Eastern Brazil, the *Carajá* are outstanding for featherwork. They make wide-meshed and close-meshed caps with feathers tied to the intersection of the interlaced splints and arranged into rosettes, diadems of feathers stuck into radially mounted cane tubes, and other types of ornaments (pl. 21). 287

Axes.—Stone axes figure in old *Carajá* petroglyphs and have been found by many travelers in the area. They were used for adzing, chopping, and warfare, and as chief's badges. Iron axes have rapidly replaced them. 412 172

301 412 531 276

FIG. 21.—*Carajá* manufactures. *a*, Labrets; *b*, comb; *c*, pipe. (Approximately ½ actual size.) (Redrawn from Ehrenreich, 1891 b, figs. 2, 9, and 4.)

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PLATE 20.—Carajá house and physical types. *Top:* House. (Courtesy University Museum, Philadelphia.) *Bottom, left:* Warriors. *Bottom, right:* Girls. (After Ehrenreich, 1891 b.)

[Facing P. 186]

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411 **Weapons.**—The *Carajá* use bows and arrows (pls. 20, *bottom, left;* 21, *left* and *center*), and their mythology indicates aboriginal use of the spear thrower for hunting monkeys. Recently, they have used a spear thrower of the upper Xingú River type for sport.

[773] [774]

323 **Pottery.**—Pottery vessels include several forms of plain ware (fig. 20).

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

611 The kinship structure may be described as double descent. Both lines are important, the greater emphasis falling on the mother's line, and both lines serve different functions. Village citizenship, adoption, and the closest affectional ties are reckoned in the mother's line. Moiety membership and the offices of chief, priest, and food-divider are patrilineally inherited.

[428]

621 622 The fundamental unit of social organization is the village. Every village has one or more ioló, children of chiefly line, designated by the chief for preferential treatment by the members of the village. The chief names the ioló who is to succeed him or, if he fails to do so, the village makes the choice at his death. Girls of chiefly line are similarly chosen for preferential treatment; each of them is known as the "hidden woman." There is some indication that women functioned as chiefs in former times, but today there is no woman chief. The chief has no coercive powers but directs the village by recognizing the will of the majority in such matters as the selection of camp and garden sites and the announcement of a move at change of season. His principal function is to act as peacemaker, and people readily submit to his adjudication. Because of the importance of religious ceremonials, the priest and the shaman frequently exercise more authority than the chief. When all three offices are vested in a single individual, his authority may be considerable, but it is kept in check by the right of a discontented person to move at any time to another village.

[562] [177] [756] [793] [622]

59 Within the village the important unit is the household. Residence being matrilocal, a household consists of sisters, their husbands, children, and the husbands of grown daughters. Marriage is restricted to one's own generation, the preferred mate being a cousin on the mother's side. There is no sanction but ridicule against wrong marriages, and there are many cases of cross-generational marriage. Marriage is predominantly monogamous, but a few instances of polygyny and one of polyandry were encountered. The avunculate is very important and involves many social and especially ceremonial duties. Cooperation in the household is close and in the village fairly close. In addition, villages are grouped together in ceremonial units, generally consisting of three or four neighboring villages, which celebrate important feasts jointly. This ceremonial unit acts as an insurance group when a village's crop fails or its fish supplies grow scarce. Beyond this, the only intervillage ties

[591] [592] [582] [626] [595] [604] 78 628 [476]

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78 are the product of intermarriage and formal friendship. Intervillage
628 feuds are common and are restrained only by the religious community,
626 sanctuary being granted at all religious ceremonials.

ETIQUETTE

576 All dealings with visitors are conducted according to elaborate formal
195 patterns. The language is rich in formal appellations, exclamations, and
562 honorific phrases. The most remarkable feature is that women are permitted to behave with perfect freedom, whereas men, until they become fathers, behave with a shy and deferential modesty resembling but exceeding that of the Victorian maiden. Normal relations between members [52] of the same village are formal and dignified; only in the men's house or on fishing and hunting trips is the behavior of men relaxed enough to permit horseplay and casual joking.

LIFE CYCLE

553 **Childbirth and Childhood.**—The child gets two sets of names, one
551 male and one female, as soon as the mother is known to be pregnant. These
843 are one's own names given by grandparents of both lines. Taboos in
846 regard to diet and behavior are required of both parents before and after birth. There is a well-developed couvade based on the notion of an
853 intimate connection between the infant and its father. Babies are nursed
862 until they turn to other food of their own volition; sometimes ridicule is used as a sanction against particularly recalcitrant children. No inter-
854 course is allowed during the period of lactation. Babies are carried on the hip, and sleep with the mother until weaning, when they are paired [29] off with other children or with a grandparent. The girl child wears no clothing until weaned and then receives a fringed belt.

881 **Puberty and Initiations.**—At menstruation, a girl's cheeks are scarified and she assumes the girdle.

[304] A boy passes through a first initiation at about the age of 8 or 9,
[302] when his lower lip is pierced and a small bone labret inserted. A couple of years later, he passes through a second initiation, when his hair is cut short to a tonsure, his entire body is stained black with genipa, and he assumes the penis cord. When his hair has grown out to shoulder length, it is put up in a braid, and he attains full status as a young man.
885 The next change of status for both boys and girls occurs at marriage, when, for the first time, they take on the responsibilities of regular work.
551 Teknonymy is a matter of pride and follows the birth of the first child. The name is retained permanently thereafter, even though the child should
888 die. At about 45 both parents discard their ornaments and accept the
561 status of old age. All the above age grades are named and involve differential behavior and dietary observances.

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775 **Death.**—At death, the soul becomes a wild ghost if the person has been violently killed and a regular resident of the village of the dead if he has suffered a quiet death. A shaman's soul is translated to the skies. Mourning puts an end to all religious ceremonies and is celebrated by self-laceration, the destruction of property, and daily keening. There 764 is separate burial in formal cemeteries for those who died quietly and [766] those who died violently. The corpse is wrapped in a mat with his weapons and ornaments, and the mat is hung in a shallow grave covered [765] by poles (fig. 22). Food and drink are provided for a short period. After the next change of season, the bones are exhumed and placed in a family urn.

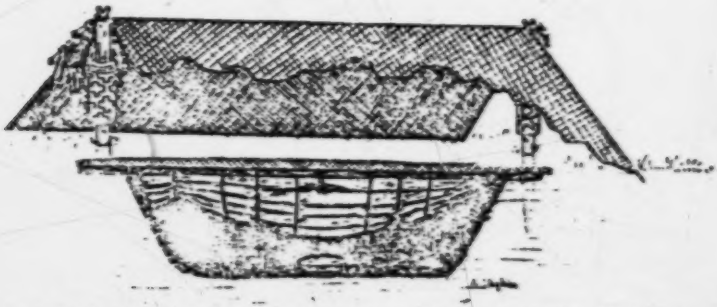

FIGURE 22.—*Carajá* burial. (Redrawn from Ehrenreich, 1891 b, fig. 16)

WARFARE

726 The *Carajá* are good fighters and have maintained themselves since prehistoric times in a territory surrounded on all sides by warlike enemies. Their usual tactics are waiting outside an enemy village at night and attacking at dawn. In defense, they run to the nearest water, where they [411] are unbeatable. They use the bow and arrow and club, and are skilled [526] wrestlers. They cut off a foot bone of a dead enemy and carry it back [727] to their village; this places them in control of the ghost, who now be- [775] comes a caretaker of the village and is impersonated in a special dry-season ceremony. At one such ceremony there were two *Tapirapé* ghosts, [648] three *Chavante*, one *Cayapó*, and one Neo-Brazilian. Present-day war- [727] fare is largely with the *Chavante*, the *Cayapó*, and the *Canoeiro*. Now and then a Neo-Brazilian may be killed by stealth to avenge a personal grievance. No captives are taken except women and small children, who are treated as full members of the group.

ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

531 **Art.**—Decorative art is confined to woven designs on baskets and mats, feather ornaments, elaborate masks with superimposed feather designs,

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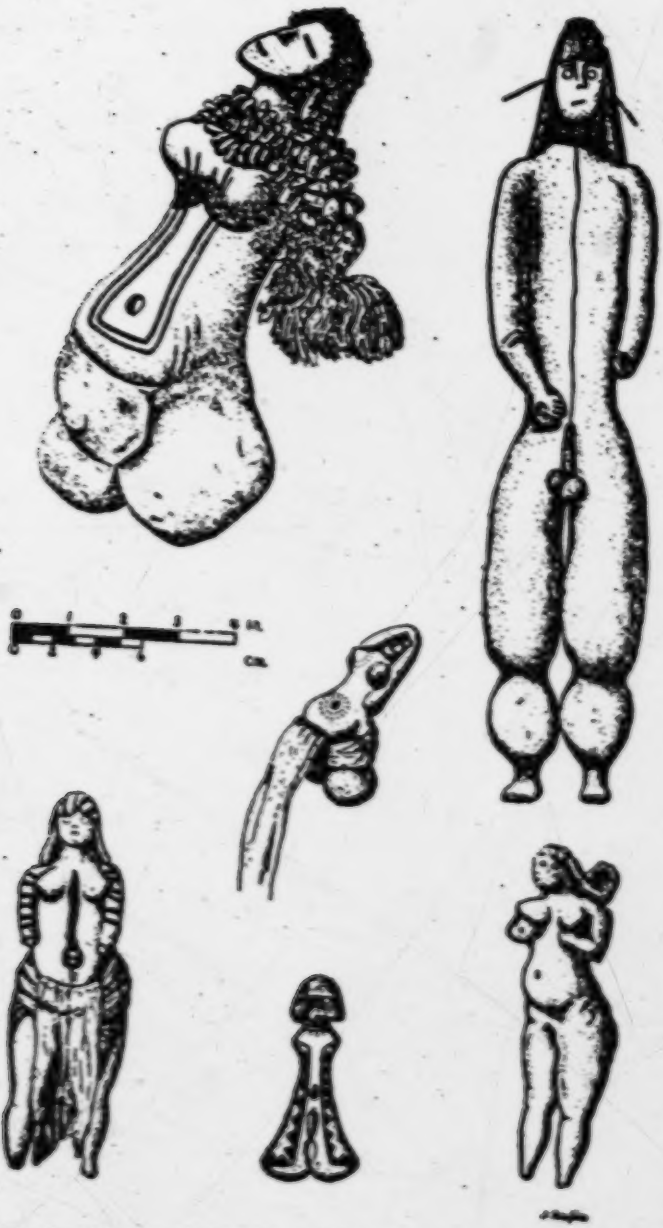

FIGURE 23.—*Carajá* wax and clay dolls. (Redrawn from Ehrenreich, 1891 b, pl. 12.)

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small clay dolls (fig. 23), delicately carved clubs, body paint designs, and a little painting and incising of pottery. 531

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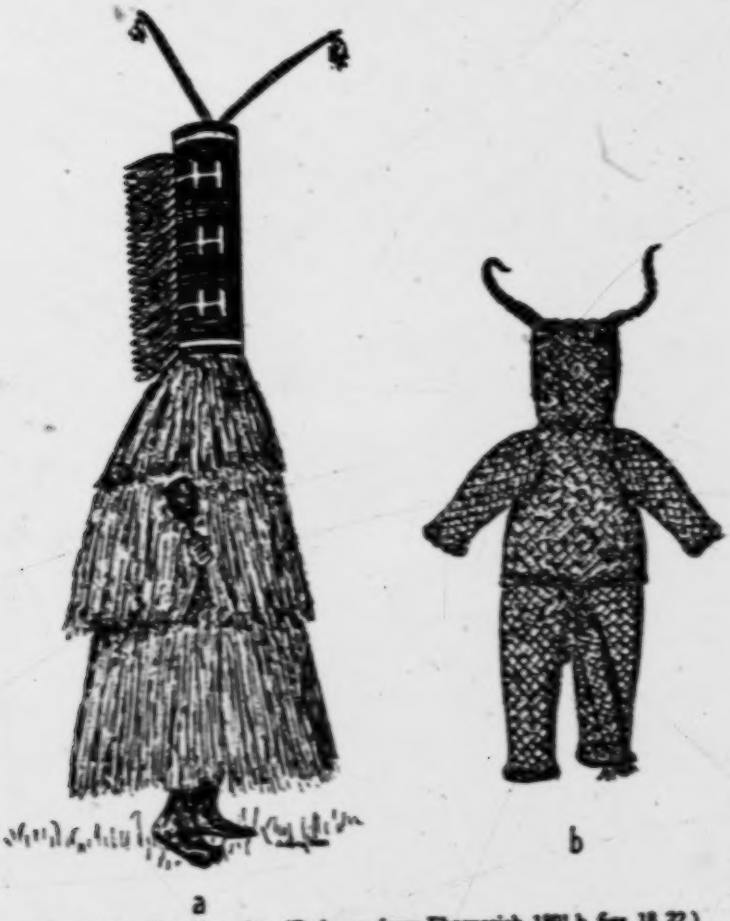

FIGURE 24.—*Carajá* masks. (Redrawn from Ehrenreich, 1891 b, figs. 18, 22.)

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533

Music and dances.—The major art of the *Carajá* is music. A large number of elaborate dances with complex songs, each dance having a separate song style, make up the chief body of the music. These are all religious. In addition, there are some secular dances, and songs are interspersed in the tales. Musical instruments are very few, there being only a rattle accompanying the singers and a small flute which is used as a toy. 534

1:Lipkind E-5 (1937) 1948 SP9 Caraja SP9

Games.—Of numerous games, the most important is a formal wrestling match which is an indispensable part of most religious ceremonies and of all intervillage visits. 526 796 628

Narcotics and stimulants.—Like the other tribes in this region, the *Carajá* have no alcoholic beverages. They smoke tobacco in short cylindrical pipes (fig. 21, *c*). They are heavy smokers, some of the children beginning before they are weaned. 273 276

SUPERNATURALISM

Cults.—*Carajá* religion consists of two distinct cults: a cult of the dead and a mask cult (fig. 24). The cult of the dead, which is under the direction of the priest, has for its object the placation of ghosts by a periodical ceremonial which comes to its climax in several large calendrical feasts. The most important of these feasts is the Big House Feast, which is celebrated shortly after the beginning of the rainy season. All the villages which comprise a ceremonial unit come to the one village where the feast is conducted. There is a great mass of ceremonial addressed to various classes of ghosts, but the central portion of the ceremony is the impersonation of animal ghosts. Another important feast, already mentioned, occurs at the height of the dry season and is directed toward the control of enemy ghosts. Two other feasts held in the dry season are chiefly for the entertainment of the ancestors. 795 769 796 [792 793] [628]

The mask cult is concerned with the worship of another class of supernaturals. It consists of an elaborate routine of feasts, interrupted only by death. In these feasts, conducted by the shaman, the supernaturals are impersonated in the complex dances mentioned above. 795 796 [766]

The two cults are independent of each other and are both strictly men's cults. Any women intruding upon the secrets of the cults is subjected to gang rape and remains a wanton thereafter. [688]

Shamanism.—A shaman is trained by apprenticeship to an older shaman. A certain amount of medical lore is taught but the essence of the training is learning how to communicate with supernaturals in a state of trance. 756

There is a considerable amount of sorcery. The main technique is bottling a supernatural being into a small image and then directing it into the body of the victim. As almost all deaths are interpreted as the result of sorcery, feuding is continual. 754 [761] [628]

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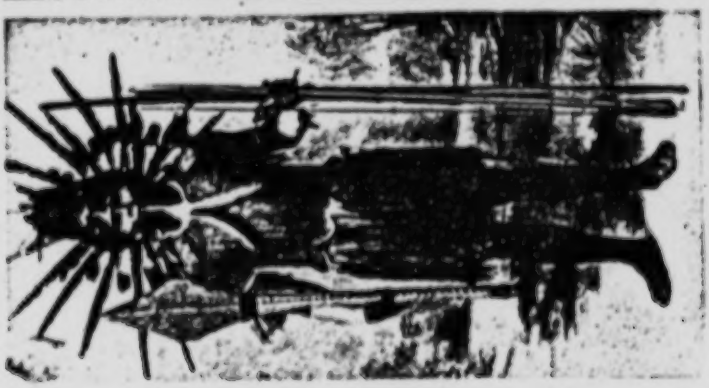

PLATE 21.—Carajá types. (Courtesy University Museum, Philadelphia.)

[End Plate 1]

1:Lipkind E-5 (1937) 1948 SP9 Caraja SP9

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PLATE 22.—Carajá paddles, gourds, and basketry. (After Ehrenreich, 1891 b.)

[End Plate 2]

2: Krause E-5 (1908) 1912 SP9 Caraja SP9

000 The Art of the Caraja Indians (Goiás State, Brazil)
[Die Kunst der Karajá-Indianer (Staat Goyaz, Brasilien)]

Fritz Krause

Leipzig and Berlin: 1912
Baessler-Archiv
Vol. 2, pp. 1-31

Translated from the German by Richard Fort

Human Relations Area Files
1965

[Title page]

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Appendix I. Distribution of the Objects and Drawings among the Individual Tribes /untranslated/

Appendix II. Index of the Figures and Patterns Drawn by the Same Persons /untranslated/

Appendix III. Systematic Index of the Objects Represented /untranslated/

/1/ Preface

114 In the following I am publishing the material in the field of art which I collected on my expedition to the interior of Brazil. In 1908 I undertook an ethnographic research trip for the [101] [122] Leipzig Museum für Völkerkunde to the Araguaia River (Goiás Province), in the course of which I became acquainted with the Karajá /Caraja/, Šavajé /Javahe/, and Kayapó /Cayapo/ (1)

[104] [113] 1. For the transcription of the Indian names I use the sound-notation given by Meinhof in: Neumayer, Anleitung zu wissenschaftlichen Beobachtungen auf Reisen /Introduction to Scientific Observations on Journeys/, 3rd edition, p. 484.

Indian tribes settled there. Whereas the visit among the latter two tribes was limited to only a few days, I was in constant contact with the Karajá for a full five months, so that I was able to penetrate more deeply into the culture and thought world of this people.

126 In addition to the easily acquired ethnographic objects and most important ethnographic facts, I was also able, by means of an ever deeper intimacy with these Indians, to obtain all kinds of objects and information otherwise difficult to procure. In this way I was able, above all, to collect considerable material which permits us insight into the artistic creativity of the Indians, and thus into an important area of their spiritual life. And, moreover, this is not only drawings, which are already available from several Indian tribes, but above all a great many plastic representations (plaited, wax, and clay figures), which arouse our interest all the more since we possess only a few of these from South America. Again, among the drawings, in addition to figure representations, /2/ the manifold plaiting patterns are particularly important, since they will provide a valuable contribution on the question of ornamentation (1).

[101] 1. In the following, in addition to drawings

/2 cont./

126 1. (cont.)
[101] and representations by the Karajá, I have also dealt with some by the Šavajé, a tribe which in language and culture is very closely related to the Karajá.

121 In view of the interest which ethnologists, psychologists, art historians, and cultivated circles in general display today with respect to primitive art, I felt that the exceedingly abundant material collected by me should be published separately, apart from the other results of my expedition, among which it would have fallen too far into the background.

121 128 I am reproducing the material as such, arranged only according to certain points of view, which can be seen from the "Table of Contents," and provided with the most important explanations about the maker, the method of production, the purpose and significance of the object or figure. I hope that the individual things are defined so precisely by this means that no doubts and misinterpretations can arise, so that, in other words, anyone, whatever his position on particular theories about the development of primitive art, can work with this material on a secure basis. The article is meant simply as a straightforward publication of material. I believe that research is better served in this way than if I myself, ay an analysis of my results, had tried to assume a position on the great controversies about the development of primitive art which are being argued at the present time.

128 To make the material still more useful I am giving in the appendix /untranslated; see the foreign text, pp. 30-31/ a general view of the share which the two related tribes, the Karajá and Šavajé, have in it, and then also a general view of the distribution of the sketchbook drawings among the individual artists, arranged according to their ages, and finally a systematic listing of all the objects represented.

126 128 The objects discussed are all to be found in the Museum für Völkerkunde at Leipzig. On occasion reference has been made to the objects acquired by Ehrenreich in 1888 on the Araguaia and

/2 cont./

128 now in the Berlin Museum für Völkerkunde (2). I have not gone
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[113] 2. Published in: Ehrenreich, "Beiträge zur Völkerkunde Brasiliens /Contributions to the Ethnography of Brazil/," Veröffentlichungen aus dem Kgl. Museum für Völkerkunde, Vol. II, Nos. 1/2, Berlin, 1891.

into any detailed comparison of my material with that brought back from the Xingu by the Von den Steinen cousins and from the Rio Negro territory by Koch-Grünberg. A general comparison [53] shows the interesting fact that the Karajá are on a significantly higher level of development artistically than those primitive tribes.

/3/

Introduction

*532 The artistic activity of the Karajá is limited to interior art.
531 This is divided into free (representative) art and decorative art.

Free art here is concerned with the representation of the forms of living creatures and objects, which it reproduces in full form (plastic) or superficially (in drawings); decorative art, the adornment of objects with geometric patterns.

*532 In representative art we pursue the reproduction of forms
128 plastically in different materials, whereby we pass from the most brittle (plaiting with leaves) through fairly hard (clay and wood) to the most pliable (wax). In representation by drawing we consider first the types familiar to the Indian, in sand and on gourd utensils /Cuyen/, and only then the method of reproduction in a sketchbook, foreign to him until now. Each time the development from the simplest to the most accomplished form is shown, but it is not known whether this is really the course of the development, or whether simpler forms might perhaps represent stylizations which arose at later stages, whereas the most accomplished forms are only the result of particularly high personal talent.

000 /3 cont./
forms are only the result of particularly high personal talent.

531 128 Decorative art is limited to the application of geometric patterns. These patterns, which are usually interpreted as animals, are borrowed from the plaiting technique. We shall therefore first of all look at the decorations borrowed from the plaiting technique which are on the plaited work itself, then at their transference in carving on gourd utensils, and at the same time we shall take into consideration the great number of such patterns which the Indians drew in the sketchbook for me. Only then will the other decorations, ordinarily in carving and poker work, be dealt with.

531 462 Decorative artistic activity is limited solely to the men; only they know how to execute the patterns. I have seen only a few clay tobacco pipes, two spindle whorls, some modern clay bowls, a doll's apron, and a mat which had been decorated by women. These objects show completely different patterns, though [177] it must be noted that they have apparently taken over the clay tobacco pipes and clay bowls only very recently from the Brazilians. *532 462 So here the woman stands completely behind the man. It is the same in free art. There only the stylized clay figures are made by the women, whereas the more lively figures in other material and the drawings are produced by the men. So here, too, we find 184 462 the striking pre-eminence of the man over the woman. Thus it seems as though among the Karajá the man is more artistically inclined than the woman, whereas in technical skills the two sexes are probably equal.

A. Representative Art

1. Plastic Art

*532 [524] Plastic representations are encountered frequently; they are produced only for play or as toys.

/3 cont./

a) Plaiting with Oaguassu Pinnae

(Plate I) 1

*532
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In plaiting the form is most strongly dependent on the material, which during the plaiting makes all kinds of bends and angles, and these are adapted only with difficulty to the form to be represented. The artist cannot create so freely as, for example, in clay or wax. Therefore if a figure coming very close to the natural form is achieved with plaiting, this must be acknowledged as very high artistic skill.

The Karajá Indians are basically good plaiters; all their baskets, mats, and the plaiting around objects are neatly and tastefully executed. It is therefore not surprising that they have also reached a high level in plaiting figures. It is to be noted in
[462] this connection that the /4/ plaiting of figures is practiced only by the male sex, just as only the objects plaited by men show patterns, whereas all the plaited work produced by women is unpatterned.

*532
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The plaited figures described below were made by boys and youths as a pastime, in part before my eyes and on their own initiative. Thus, for example, I obtained those of the Šavajé when we were holding a conversation hour in the evening by the mask hut, and I, in order to stimulate the people, pulled a leaf pinna from my sitting-mat and began to plait. Scarcely had I begun than the young people immediately followed my example and produced for me a great number of interesting figures.

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[171]

The method of plaiting is in part the one customary among us. For example, figures such as the small basket (Fig. 1 /see p. 47 /) and the honeycombs (Fig. 2 /see p.47 /) are also made in our kindergartens.

The reproductions of the rattlesnake (Fig. 3 /see p.47/), the tobacco pipe (Fig. 4 /see p.47 /), and the very accomplished representations of birds (Fig. 5 a and b /see p.47 /), however, are already more complicated.

1 [see p. 47--Analyst]

/4 cont./

*532 Procreation and the genital organs play a large role in the
205 thought world of the Indians. Thus it is not surprising to find
P31 representations of the sexual parts also. They are conscientiously affixed everywhere, on dolls, wax figures, tree and sand drawings. The male youth, above all, delight in such representations, in all harmlessness, and especially enjoy reproducing the penis in plaited work. Fig. 6 /see p.47 / represents such a penis. It was characteristic of the harmlessness of the people that, when I asked what this was supposed to be, a woman who happened to be present held out a wax cylinder of a small doll, about 30 centimeters in length, as a penis.

*532 The meaning of the following figures of the Savajé is un-
205 known: Fig. 7 (djēdjá) /see p.47 /, Fig. 8 (dālá, kōdĭé, probably representing the black vulture (urubu)) /see p. 47 /, Fig. 9 (ĭdjōlālé, a very elegant piece of work; the method of production of this puzzling figure is unkown to me /see p. 47/), Fig. 10 /see p. 47 /, and Fig. 11 a and b (kŏdūdŭ or ĭnaûinĭ; a, position of rest; b, tensed) /see p. 47 /. This last figure is plaited like the preceding ones, but in such a way that the leaf ribs form one edge. If one pulls on the part of the leaf stalk which projects out free at the bottom of the plaiting, then the upper tip makes nodding movements.

*532

b) Wood carvings,

(Plate II) 1/A

[462] only rarely encountered and likewise made by men, are somewhat less dependent on the material. The form can therefore already be better reproduced.

I obtained only one wooden doll (Fig. 12 /see p. 48 /), which represents a maiden. It is made out of a /Fig. 14 a and b and Fig. 15 appear here/ 2/A forked piece of wood in such a way that the forked twigs form the two legs, and the trunk forms the body. Arms are thus absent and are not painted on either. The head is set off, nose and forehead are carved in relief, eyes and mouth

1/A [see p. 48--Analyst]
2/A [Figs. 14a & b & 15 appear on p. 7--Analyst]

/4 cont./

*532 are cut in as horizontal lines. The ears are missing; the breasts are lightly indicated. The torso above the apron is deeply notched, a type of representation of the female body which is repeated in all the clay figures. The sexual organs are reproduced in naturalistic fashion under the bast apron. On the legs the thighs and calves are worked out plastically. The feet are represented by offset wooden blocks; calf and ankle bands are reproduced by a wrapping of red cotton thread. /5/ The figure is painted; on one side of the head small red feathers are affixed with wax as an ear rosette.

*532 352 Also belonging here are the wooden stools (Fig. 13 a and b /see p.48 /), which, with sledge-like runners, are carved out of one piece of wood. The sitting surface runs out to a point on both sides and on each into a triangular head which bears a beak in relief. The whole seat is supposed to depict an arara (see the front view, Fig. 13b). The eyes are reproduced by pasting on shell disks with a wax button in the center; tufts of feathers are attached [366] to the edges of the head as ear tassels. The whole is painted black with the dye of the genipa fruit.

*532 276 Finally, relief-type representations are still to be mentioned here, first the tobacco pipe (Fig. 14) which bears carving in relief

[831] →

Fig. 14 a and b.
Decorated tobacco pipe.

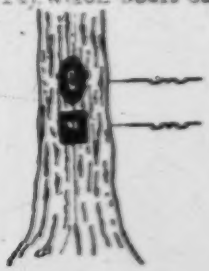

Fig. 15. Relief-type
tree-drawing.

on one side, the significance of which I was unfortunately unable to discover. Apart from this, it is decorated on the upper edge with a neat carved pattern recurring only twice elsewhere (half-
000 gourd, Pl. XI, Figs. $201a_2$ and 202a /see p. 57 /). Then later,

/5 cont./ Then later

*532 on a tree in the forest near the Šavajé settlement, I saw the adjacent
P31 relief of the female sexual organs (Fig. 15 /see p. 7/) driven in with an ax. It had been hewed there previously by a Karajá accompanying me.

c) Clay Figures (likŏkŏ)

(Plates II-IV)

*532 Clay is much more pliable; in it forms can be reproduced
[524] true to nature. The clay figures, which are made by the women
[462] and serve as toys for the girls, include only representations of human figures of both sexes and of all ages; they represent the following tribes: Karajá, Šavajé, Kayapó, and finally the Dōbāī on the Rio das Mortes. Such clay figures were present in large numbers in all villages and were offered to me everywhere. Wherever the stock
[126] was exhausted, some were quickly made for me, which, however, I seldom bought because they showed exactly the same typical forms as the figures on hand, that is to say, they showed no personal influence of any kind. Only once did I receive a portrait, the representation of the grandmother bent with age (Plate III, Fig. 42 /see p.49 /). Now it is very striking to observe that these representations are completely stylized. To be sure, several levels can be distinguished here, but only in the case of a few examples is a reasonably accurate reproduction of the shape of the human body achieved.

*532 Before I discuss the forms themselves, I wish to report briefly
323 on the method used to produce these figures. Bodies, legs, and head are made from a lump of clay. The fat buttocks and the penis are put on separately; the navel is bored in with a wooden stick. Then the lines for the later painting are pressed in with a slender bamboo rod by drawing the rod lightly over the soft clay and at the same time exerting light pressure at regular intervals. In this way lines with small holes strung along in a row like beads are produced. When the figure is prepared to this extent, it is put in
σσσ the sun to dry; the figures are only very rarely fired. Then the next stage

/5 cont./

*532 Then the next stage of production can begin. In the case of female figures the apron [289] is now tied on; a piece of tree bast is cut to the necessary length, and the inner layer is pulled off and made pliable by being pulled through the mouth several times. The way it is fastened as an [314] apron is shown on Fig. 24 /see p. 48 /. Then the hair is put on. Black resin is warmed on a block of wood, rolled out on a gourd or on the thigh into a long roll, and this is then pressed tightly on the head. A thick layer of resin is put on the back of the head. If the resin becomes hard too quickly, it is warmed up again with [318] the block of wood. Only now does the painting with black genipa and red urucú dye follow. A slender bamboo rod is dipped into the paint and drawn along the indented lines. Larger red areas of color are also put on with the index finger.

/6/ The adornment characteristic of the different sexes and ages is usually put on as well. Almost all figures are painted; I do not know whether the patterns correspond to the patterns of [302] body painting customary otherwise; in any case I never saw patterns of that kind on the bodies of the people themselves, though it must be remarked that I very seldom encountered patterning on the body at all.

Ear rods are represented here and there by fine rods (Figs. 17, 23 /see p.48 /); ear rosettes are made very small from feathers (Fig. 16 a and b /see p48 /). Long narrow strips of cane serve the men as lip plugs (Fig. 18 /see p.48 /).

Necklaces are either painted on (Fig. 19b /see p. 48 /) or reproduced by beads (Fig. 16 /see p. 48 /) or, in the majority of cases, by cotton threads, which either fit tightly (Figs. 18, 22 /see p. 48 /) or hang down (Fig. 21 /see p.48 /, Fig. 35 /see p.48 /).

Neck tassels for the children are formed in wax; they lie tightly against the back of the figures (Figs. 20, 21 /see p.48 /).

Cuffs are sometimes attached to the extensions of the wax hair-roll by attaching two fine rolls of wax, with the space between them painted red (Figs. 17, 18, 20, 21, 22, 35).

Arm tassels of string are shown in Fig. 22.

Calf bands are represented by two fine rolls of wax, with the space between them only rarely painted red (Figs. 18, 22, 23).

/6 cont./

F32 Other adornments are: head-ring made of bast (Fig. 18 /see p. 48 /), chin tattooing (Fig. 24a /see p. 48 /).

Tribal tattooing is usually present; it consists of two circles cut in the cheeks and painted black (Figs. 18, 19b, 24a, 26 /see p. 48 /).

Eyes are usually lacking; when they are present they are represented by small horizontal strokes just under the edge of the hair (Fig. 24a); tattooing and eyes very rarely occur together; both are absent on a large number of dolls.

The mouth is formed by a small horizontal cut. The representation of the mouth as a hole, as is to be seen on several of Ehrenreich's figures ("Beiträge," Pl. XI, Figs. 2 and 3) occurs in my collection on only five dolls (Figs. 25 /see p. 48 /, 33 /see p. 49 /, 50, 52, 54 /see p. 50 /).

The nose is lacking or is represented in relief; the two nostrils are frequently reproduced as two small holes. Ears are consistently lacking; they would also disappear under the hair.

The male figures, with few exceptions, are characterized by a penis attached separately, the female by the bast band. Fig. 21 /see p. 48/, as a girl, wears a string belt with a bast band; Fig. 56 /see p. 50 / wears a long black string-skirt; in the case of Fig. 26 /see p. 48 / the bast apron is painted. The apron is usually worn drawn between the thighs, only rarely hanging down. The female sexual organs are not reproduced under the apron. Concerning the portrayal of the breasts, see below.

I shall now deal first with the reproduction of the individual parts of the body, legs, torso, arms, breasts, hair, and then go briefly into the representation as a whole.

The legs. There are three types of leg form. The commonest and at the same time the least true to nature shows two short fat rolls which are either attached smoothly to the body (Figs. 16, 19, 25 /see p. 48 /, Fig. 32 /see p. 49/) or project far out on both sides (Figs. 17, 20, 26 /see p. 48 /, Figs. 35, 36 /see p. 49 /). The second form is very rare: the projecting rolls run out at the bottom into an extended tip. In only two examples from this group is a foot hinted at (Fig. 27 /see p. 49 /, Fig. 46 /see p. 49 /). The third form is more frequent: at the bottom of

/6 cont./

*532 the rolls there is put on, with a strong lacing, a second spherical roll, which runs out into a point at the bottom (Figs. 18, 21, 22, 23 /see p.48 /, Fig. 45 /see p.49 /) or in an attached foot (Fig. 24 /see p.48 /, Figs. 28 and 34 /see p.49 /). The feet come in all forms from the short stump to the fully fashioned foot (Fig. 28 /see p. 49 /). Worthy of note is the great exaggeration of the calves, thighs, and hips in the case of the second and third forms, /7/ and parallel with it goes the formation of /Fig. 29 appears here/ buttocks often assuming enormous dimensions (Figs. 23, 24b /see p.48 /, Figs. 28b, 30, 34b /see p.49 /), two phenomena which are lacking in the first form. They are explicable by a comparison with the body shapes of the Indians (Fig. 29 a and b [142] /see p. 12/). They possess extremely strong musculature on the [301] thighs, the calves stand out prominently because of the tightly tied calf-bands of the young people, and even the cushion of fat on the seat is exceedingly strongly developed. The ideal of the [826] Indians is the strongest possible development of these phenomena and this ideal is apparently represented in the figures.

Only one figure falls outside of these three types (Fig. 30); it probably arose out of an extension of the second form. Stretching downward from the upper projections there are two long cylinders which remain uniformly thick to the bottom and are cut off horizontally.

The torso shows nothing remarkable in the case of the male figures. It has the deeply bored navel which is surrounded by indented painting. On the other hand, the torso of the female figures is singularly formed in that it juts out into a plate, sometimes projecting out quite far, on which the navel is found. The apron is [142] attached below this plate. This phenomenon probably goes back [291] to the protrusion of the belly caused by the tightly drawn bast apron, as was sometimes to be seen (Fig. 31 /see p. 12/).

An equally difficult subject is the representation of the arms and breasts; I must deal with them together, since it is not immediately obvious which of the two is represented.

[see p. 12--Analysis]

/7 cont./

*532 Both are completely lacking on some male and female figures (Fig. 32 /see p. 49 /). [142] [301] [302] On one female figure, a bulge is marked only by a small roll (Fig. 33 /see p. 49 /). These would, therefore, fall outside of our considerations.

The male figures show the following types:

a) Only one figure has fully formed arms and, in addition, small breasts (Fig. 18 /see p.48 /).

Fig. 29 a and b. Painted Karajá maiden.

b) Side protuberances from the upper body, which clearly signify arms, are present on a fairly large number of dolls (Figs. 28, 30 /see p.49 /).

Now follow three types on which it is at first not clear whether arms or breasts are represented.

c) On the upper body, in front, there is attached a transverse roll which ends in two breast-like cones on the sides (Figs. 16, 17, 19 /see p.48 /).

[142] [29] d) This roll is somewhat idented in the middle, so that the cones even more approximate a breast form (Fig. 36 /see p. 49 /).

Fig. 31. Protrusion of the belly of Karajá women in front and on the sides because of the tightly drawn bast-belt.

/8/

*532 e) Similar to type d), except that the cones are pointed forward and are strongly convex (Fig. 23 /see p. 48 /, Fig. 38 /see p.49 /).

The female figures show the following types:

a) Two figures have fully formed arms and also true, forward-pointing breasts in the shape of four-sided pyramids (Fig. 34 /see p.49 /).

Type b) of the male figures is lacking.

The next four types are similar to those of the male figures; here, too, it is at first not clear whether arms or breasts are represented.

c) Corresponds to the above type c) (Fig. 26 /see p. 48 /).

d) Corresponds to the above type d) (Fig. 35 /see p49 /).

e) is missing from this group. On the other hand,

f) shows two breastlike protuberances which point slantingly sideways (Fig. 27 /see p. 49 /).

In g) these protuberances point toward the front and downward (Figs. 24, 25 /see p. 48 /).

Types c) to e) of the male and c) to g) of the female figures give the appearance of representing breasts; in e) of the male, f) and g) of the female dolls this assumption seems fairly certain. This is supported by another circumstance. On a number of figures the hair roll extends down to the hips on both sides, and at its lower ends the above-described cuffs are attached. Evidently, therefore, the extensions of the hair are supposed to represent the arms. Now we find this form of the arms

on male figures of type c) (Fig. 17 /see p. 48 /),

on female figures of type c) and d) (Fig. 26 /see p. 48 /, Fig. 35 /see p.49 /). It will not do to interpret the side protuberances as arms on figures thus equipped, for then they would be represented twice. We have already seen that the form of these protuberances differs considerably from those which are clearly to be interpreted as arms (type b of the male figures) and approximates the breast form. I believe, therefore, that these protuberances must be interpreted as breasts.

/8 cont./

*532 One might hesitate over the fact that breasts are then also made on male figures. It is true that this would be a fairly serious objection, fot it cannot be assumed without further ado that the Indians add body parts which after all are not present. If, however, they are interpreted on the male figures as arms, then logically this must also be done in the case of the female figures; for, again, it cannot be assumed that the Indians in the one case represent arms and in the other case breasts in the same way. But then one would wonder why the Indians did not attach the female breasts, which after all constitute such a striking feature, but instead put arms in this spot, and then on a large number of figures further added arms of wax. This assumption is surely to be rejected. Thus there remains only the view that on the female figures it is certainly a matter of breasts, and that analogously the protuberances on the male figures also represent them. If one then considers the whole schematic arrangement of the figures and takes into consideration the fact that for many Indian men the breasts were slightly convex, then it will no longer be surprising to find the transference of a female organ to male figures.

The hair, as described above, is formed by a roll which is laid around the face. The back of the head as far down as the shoulders, sometimes even the back as far down as the small of [3/4] the back, is covered with a layer of resin (Fig. 20 /see p. 48 /). On the sides the hair roll goes as far as the chin (Figs. 19, 28 /see pp. 48 & 49/, Fig. 30 /see p. 49 /), to under the arms and breasts (almost only on female figures [Figs. 24, 25 /see p. 48 /, Figs. 27, 32, 34 /see p.49 /]), or down to the hips (Figs. 17, 20, 21, 22, 26 /see p. 48 /, Figs. 33, 35 /see p.49 /). In the latter case a small topknot is usually made on top, from which an indented, red-dyed part comes down to the forehead (Fig. 17 /see p. 48/). The lower ends of the roll represent the arms; they often wear cuffs. On both of the other kinds the part and the topknot are seldom found. Male figures with a short coiffure sometimes have at the back /9/ braids made out of a roll of wax

/9 cont./

*532 reaching down to the small of the back. These braids are narrow (Fig. 19a /see p. 48 /) or wide (Fig. 23 /see p. 48 /), bear a ribbon (Fig. 16b /see p. 48 /), or are completely entwined in string (Fig. 36 /see p. 49 /) and correspond to the braids woven round [302] with bast or entwined in red-dyed cotton string, which the young people customarily wear (Fig. 37).

Of specially formed dolls of this type the following should be mentioned:

[142] [302] 1. Representations of children (Fig. 32 /see p. 49 /). These dolls have legs of type 1 and hair of type 1. Arms, breasts, eyes,

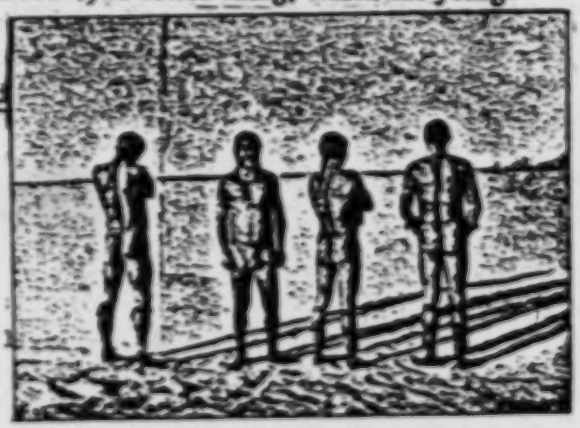

Fig. 37. Youths with long braids.

tattooing, navel, and stomach plate are missing. The male figures are characterized by a small penis, the female ones by a black string belt. Some wear necklaces, others neck-tassels and ear rosettes.

2. Seated figures (Fig. 21 /see p. 48 /, Fig. 38 /see p. 49 /). The upper body leans far back.

3. Bulky figures (Figs. 39, 40 /see p. 49/) represent pregnant women. The bulky abdomen is put on separately. On Fig. 40 it had broken off while drying and was stuck on again with wax.

I also obtained a male figure (Fig. 41 /see p. 49/) which is [84] made in similar fashion. When I asked what the bulky abdomen meant, they said: a child. Unfortunately I was unable to acquire further information on this, which might perhaps have thrown light on the origin of the custom of the male childbed.

4. Portrait of the old grandmother walking in a bent position (Fig. 42 /see p. 49 /). The figure is made like all the other female dolls; the upper body is bent very far forward. When I asked what this figure meant, the mother pointed, amidst the joyful shouts of her children, to the age-enfeebled grandmother, who was lying under a mat by the hearth fire.

/9 cont./

*532 The individual types cannot be recognized as running parallel in any way. The different kinds of representation of the arms, breasts, and hair are associated with all three kinds of leg representation, so that nothing regular can be found. If that which is truest to nature be taken as a yardstick, then the most perfect male representations are Fig. 18 /see p.48 / and Fig. 28 /see p. 49/, the most perfect female ones Fig. 24 /see p. 48 / and Fig. 34 /see p. 49/.

Apart from these dolls there are still other clay dolls, which differ principally from the form discussed in the formation of the head. It seems that alien Indian tribes are represented by these forms, whereas the first form reproduces the Karajá themselves.

1. The dolls have no face; a wax cap constitutes the upper end of the pointed torso (Figs. 43-46 /see p.49 /).

2. Kḷãḷãũ, i.e., Kayapó. Instead of the head, a clay plate projecting forward, which has colored grooving on the upper surface, forms the end of the trunk; under it are two clay buttons which represent the breasts. Only female figures are represented (Fig. 47 /see p. 49 /). They have legs of type 1, the stomach plate, concave navel, and apron.

3. Dõbãĩ, i.e., a tribe on the Rio das Mortes. The body ends at the top in a round cylinder which on its flat upper surface bears colored lines arranged radially (Figs. 48, 49 /see p. 50 /). /10/ The last figure has arm appendages on both sides; its upper end is somewhat thickened and hollowed out from above.

4. Dõbãĩ, in a different representation (Fig. 50 /see p. 50 /). Here the cylinder ends flat and narrow at the top. Under the upper edge is a hole which is surrounded by a circle of several colored holes.

5. Dõbãĩ (Figs. 51 and 52 /see p.50 /). At the top the cylinder bears a narrow plate with colored horizontal stripes, over which is a hair roll. Fig. 52 represents the male figure for Fig. 51; it has the upper hole under the plate, which is lacking in Fig. 51.

Perhaps Fig. 53 /see p. 50 / also represents a doll of this kind. The plate is undecorated, and the upper hole is lacking;

/10 cont./

*532 on the other hand, breasts are attached and the hair roll extends down very far on both sides.

6. Three other clay figures are very peculiar.

Fig. 54 /see p. 50 / is evidently a male figure with legs of type 1. The head is pointed and surrounded by a small wax cap. There is a small mouth-hole in the face. Arms are lacking. The torso shows a hollow extending from top to bottom, the edges of which jut out somewhat over the rest of the body.

Fig. 55 /see p. 50 /: īnǒ, i.e., human being. It is made of gray clay, has legs of type 1, arms, penis, and cylinder-shaped body, to which is attached a large head with a huge nose, wide-open mouth, and slit eyes.

Fig. 56 /see p. 50 /. This female figure is made of white earth; legs are missing, the body is spherically fashioned and is covered by a long black string-skirt.

Ehrenreich in his "Beiträge" shows in Figure 1 on Plate XI an illustration of a primitive clay figure which is not represented in my collection. It is pointed at the top and bottom and has a navel hole and a mouth hole. I should like to remark that I [126] tried to collect all the types present so that my collection would exhaust the types encountered by me among the Karajá and Šavajé, but I did not see this form. The mouth hole alone, on the other hand, is sometimes found (Figs. 34, 42 /see p. 49 /; Dōbāi, Figs. 50, 52 /see p. 50 /; Fig. 54). In the same way [124] the accomplished forms (Ehrenreich, "Beiträge," Plate XI, Figs. 7, 8, 10) with their arms drawn up against their breasts, which come from the Šambioá /Shambioa/, were not to be found *532 among the Karajá and Šavajé. Should this lack be no accident, 124 then we would be confronted by a striking phenomenon. The 126 lack of the most primitive stage seems to prove that the Indians in the last 20 years have grown beyond this stage, whereas the lack of individual accomplished types shows that the Karajá and Šavajé have even today not yet caught up with the Šambioá. [126] I brought no dolls back with me from the Šavajé; they only had a few and they were completely identical with those of the Karajá.

/10 cont./

d) Wax Figures

(Plates IV-VI)

*532 Boys and youths very much like to make wax figures for fun. [232] [524] Wax pigs in particular could be encountered in the hands of small boys almost everywhere. I found an occasional one of another shape here and there in the baskets; all the others were made [123] spontaneously before my eyes when the Indians had seen my interest in such figures, and indeed of their own free judgment, not at my request. Thus these figures show the activity of instantaneous free creation by these Indians. There were skillful and un- [463] skillful modelers among them; one boy and one youth in particular distinguished themselves by lively reproductions.

The wax figures represent human beings and animals. [184] They all stem from the northern horde of the Karajá; I found none among the southern horde. The three best representations of human figures come from the Šavajé.

/11/ The human forms show many correspondences with the stylized forms of the clay dolls; only five of them stand out due to their true-to-life representation.

*532 I obtained five specimens of male figures from the Karajá, 126 one of which (Fig. 63 /see p. 50 /) represents a Šavajé youth. Of the nine female examples six come from the Karajá and three from the Šavajé. Three examples from the Karajá represented Karajá women (Figs. 60, 61 /see p.50 /); the three others, which, as an exception, were made by a woman, represented Tapirapé women (Fig. 62 /see p50 /). These two groups remind one much more strongly of the clay figures, whereas the three figures from the Šavajé (Figs. 65 and 66 /see p. 50 /) represent the most accomplished forms.

*532 The primitively made human-figures look like clay figures covered with wax.

Fig. 57 /see p. 50 / has legs of type 1 of the clay dolls and arms attached at the sides. Head and hair form a triangle pointed toward the top.

/11 cont./

*532 Fig. 58 /see p. 50/ has legs of the same type, a cylinder-shaped trunk, and a breast of type f) of the female clay-dolls. The hair roll reaches down to below the breast, the face is set off, the nose is in relief.

Fig. 59 /see p.50 / has fat buttocks, legs of type 3, but no feet; the arms are put on separately; the hair is formed by a small wax cap; face and nose are fashioned as in the previous figure.

The six primitive female figures (Figs. 60-62 /see p. 50 /) all have legs of type 1. Breast-like mounds of type d) and f) are attached on all of them. The hair is formed by a roll which, with two exceptions, reaches down to the breasts. On Fig. 62 the ends reach as far as the hips and at the bottom have reproductions of cuffs like the clay figures. The three Karajá figures wear the women's apron; the three Tapirapé women are naked. Fig. 61 has a child on the back and is wrapped in a net covering of colored cotton material.

In contrast to these primitive figures the five others are made very full of life. On the two male Karajá figures (Figs. 63, 64 /see p.50 /) the arms and legs are fashioned true to nature, and on Fig. 64 even hands and feet are represented. The seat is somewhat thickened only on Fig. 63. This same figure has a navel which was bored by means of a hollow reed so that the kernel remained. Arm and leg bands are marked by rolls with red painting in between. Eyes and mouth are incised; the nose is in relief. Fig. 64 wears a head band of reed strips; Fig. 63 has a wax hair-roll, put on separately, with a long thick braid on it.

Of the three wax figures of the Šavajé which portray maidens two are reproduced in Figs. 65 and 66 /see p.50 /. The arms and legs are well formed; hands and feet are displayed on the two illustrated. All three have fat buttocks, as well as the attachment for the stomach plate. The navel is hollow; the breasts are strongly attached. The head is set off. The hair is formed by a special layer; two figures have a part and topknot. Eyes and mouth are represented by holes (in Fig. 66 by oblong grooves), and the nose is in relief; Fig. 66 has two large nostrils

/11 cont./

*532 on the nose slightly in relief. The tattooing is cut in as a small circle. The apron is reproduced in bast. The necklaces on two are made of bast, on the third of cotton. All three wear cuffs of cotton thread, which is wound around the arm between two raised rolls of wax. Likewise, all three wear ear rods. The shapes are thus reproduced fairly proportionately. The fashioning of the chin, the arms and legs, hands and feet is particularly good. Gentle reminders of the schematic representation of the clay figures are found in the formation of the fat buttocks and the stomach plate.

Other human figures are a rider and a gourd figure.

The rider (Fig. 67 /see p. 51 /) is represented very true to life. On the horse the head and tail /12/ are depicted, the legs supplied by long sticks. The rider has long cylindrical arms and legs; hands and feet are lacking; the head is offset. The lower body and legs are wrapped with raw cotton as trousers. At his belt he carries a sword and revolver, in both arms the gun ready to fire, all fashioned in wax.

The gourd figure (Fig. 68 /see p. 51 /), which represents a youth, is formed in most peculiar fashion. The torso consists [524] of a small round gourd, on the top of which a well-fashioned wax head is placed. On the head are attached a topknot, a braid wound with red thread, ear rosettes, and necklaces of cotton thread. /Figs. 69 and 70 appear here./ 2/1

*532 I would like to add here the reproduction of masked dancers.
535 Masked dances resting on an animistic foundation take place [1.22] among the Karajá particularly in the rainy season (from October to April). Dance masks are used for this, and for the most part they represent animals. These masks are either plaited out of [225] [224] palm leaves and conceal the whole form of the dancer, or they [237] consist of a cane cylinder with a brightly colored mosaic of feathers stuck on, which is put on the head. The face is concealed by a covering attached to the lower edge of the cylinder; a leaf covering is tied around the shoulders and hips, so that of the dancer only the feet and the hands with the dance rattle are

2/1 [see p. 21 -- Analyst]

/12 cont./

*532 visible (1).
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[113]

1. For more details about these dance masks, see my article: "Tanzmaskennachbildungen vom mittleren Araguaya (Zentral Brasilien) /Dance-mask Reproductions from the Central Araguaia (Central Brazil)/, in the Jahrbuch des städtischen Museums für Völkerkunde zu Leipzig, Vol. 3, Leipzig, 1910, pp. 97-122. (R. Voigtländer, Leipzig.) A number of illustrations from that article are reproduced here.

Fig. 69. Model of the idjagó mask in natural material.

Fig. 70. Reproduction of the idjagó mask in wax.

Fig. 69 shows the idjagó mask in a model of natural material. The rather crudely executed wax reproduction of the same mask (Fig. 70) is to be compared with it. The two legs are indicated by two tips into which the mask runs at the bottom, the apron by two projections, one above the other. The cylinder is depicted by the pointed roll of wax; at the top it has two small points, evidently the two feathered rods.

/12 cont./

The two other figures of masks are known only in these reproductions. Fig. 71 represents the ïoonï mask which in its natural form has the shape of a triangular paper-screw about two meters high and consists entirely of palm-leaf plaiting. On the front, above the lower edge, there are two holes through which the arms are inserted when dancing. In the reproduction the body consists of a wax roll to which two rolls are attached at the bottom as legs. The covering is made from a piece of maize leaf, bent at the top and stuck together with wax at the front; another maize leaf sticks up on the back and ends in a long point. The arms

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Fig. 71. Reproduction of the ioonï mask in wax.

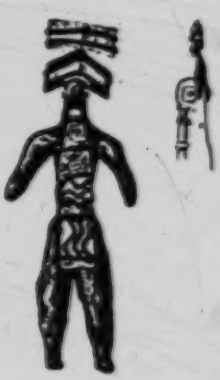

Fig. 72. Reproduction of the inauinï mask in wax.

are of wax; they are attached to the maize leaf, and thus the arm holes are not reproduced.

The ináuinï mask (Fig. 72) has no mask costume, but instead a patterned headdress at the back of the head. A long, wide, brightly painted leaf-strip, patterned with rolls of wax, hangs down from the chin; it evidently represents a painted lip plug.

*532 /12 cont./

825 The Indian likes most of all to reproduce animals, not only in plastic form, but also in drawings and as decorations. After all, he lives among the animals as one of their kind, and, accustomed /13/ to paying attention to every sound, to every movement of the animals, he has impressed their characteristic calls, shapes, and movements on his mind to such an extent that he can easily reproduce them well from memory. This is particularly true of the animals for which he hunts or fishes or which otherwise arouse his interest (such as dolphins and crocodiles).

*532 Mammals. The jaguar is found in two representations (Figs. 73ab [b, head from the front], 74 /see p.51 /).

Fig. 73 has a head wide at the front, with a wide mouth from which project four pointed teeth cut out of palm leaf. The ears are small, the tail short, the legs made from slender rods. The body is covered with round disks of leaves with a wax button in the center, the face with a square piece of leaf with several spots of wax on it; a leaf band runs around the neck. Fig. 74 has a pointed head, only one ear, and a long tail. The legs are made of wax and furnished with claws. The animal stands on the front legs and lies on the rear ones. The proportions are accurate. /Fig. 71 occurs here. /2A Face and body are trimmed with polygonal leaf-disks; a leaf band also runs around the neck here.

The stag appears in only one representation (Fig. 75 /see p. 51 /). The short, thick, stumpy tail pointed upward, the mouth, the long ears standing toward the back, and the antlers are well reproduced. The four wax legs turned out too short. The dog (Fig. 76 /see p.51 /) needs no further comment. /Fig. 72 appears here. /2A

Pigs are represented in Figs. 77 and 78 /see p. 51 /. Fig. 77 was less successful. The short tail is poorly fashioned; the legs, made of little sticks, are much too long. The small erect ears are good. Fig. 78 is much better. The thick body has no tail, the oblong ears stick out, the short, thick legs are placed forward in a running position. The long head with the broad snout is pointed forward.

2A, 2A [see p.22 --Analyst]

/13 cont./

*532 Birds. The body is usually round, cylindrical in shape. The throat is more or less long, the head not always finished. The length of the beak is kept proportional to the original. The wings are represented by wax protuberances on the sides (Fig. 82 /see p. 51 /) or usually by leaf strips cut out and stuck on; the latter are often held fast by a bridge of wax. The tail is also made of wax (Figs. 82, 83 /see p. 51 /), or it consists of a leaf strip which is stuck in the body at the back (Figs. 79, 84 /see p.51 /). The legs are represented by long, slender wooden rods.

There are represented: ĩlã (caracara, Figs. 79-81 /see p. 51 /; wõlẽ, wãḷũḷĩ (jabiru, the giant stork, Figs. 82 and 83 /see p. 51 /); the arara (Fig. 84 /see p. 51 /) is striking on account of its muzzle-like beak.

Aquatic animals. The crocodile is found in three representations (Figs. 85-87 /see p. 51/). Fig. 85 shows a fully fashioned dorsal ridge; the flat tail is etroneously represented. The fin-like webbed legs are too short. The mouth is peculiar. Fig. 86 is the best representation. Head, tail, and legs are well proportioned. The snout and the small erect ears are excellently fashioned. The patterning is reproduced by applying leaf strips. In Fig. 87 the fat clumsy legs are especially well represented. The high, flat tail and the jaw-teeth cut from leaves are peculiar.

/14/ The dolphin is also represented several times (Figs. 88 and 89 /see p.51 /). Fig. 88 has two side-fins; Fig. 89 has two fat little legs. Fig. 90 /see p.51 /, for which I obtained no interpretation, perhaps represents a dolphin.

The form of the pirarucu fish /Arapaima gigas/ (Fig. 91 /see p. 51 /) is reproduced very well. The gill slit and the way the fins (two pectoral fins and one anal fin) are reproduced are remarkable.

For the tortoises the small reproduction (Fig. 92 /see p.51 /) is very good, despite its simplicity. Under the curved shell sit two small legs; the head is attached at the front. Fig. 93 /see p. 51/ is larger and executed more carefully. The proportions are good. Patterns are incised in the carapace.

The snake (Fig. 94 /see p.52 /) consists of a long roll. The head cuts off vertically; the tail is pointed.

2: Krause--25 E-5 (1908) 1912 SP9 Caraja SP9

/14 cont./

*532 2. Surface Representations = Drawings (1)

[114] 1. All of the examples of surface representations published in the following come only from the Karajá.

Representations of this kind are found in sand as well as on gourd
[126] utensils; in addition the Indians gave me considerable material in my sketchbook.

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Fig. 96. Iadení masked dancers.

Fig. 97. Sand drawing of the Iadení mask.

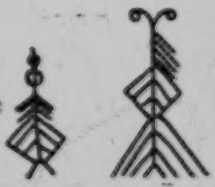

Fig. 95. Sand drawing of the idjazó mask.

/14 cont./

a) Sand drawings 532*

were often made for explanations during our conversations; first the wavy sand of the sandbanks was simply smoothed by hand and then lines were drawn with the index finger. More delicate drawings, such as animal tracks, were made with the help of a knife or small sticks. In addition to these indented outline drawings, there are also

Fig. 98. Track of the giant anteater.

Fig. 99. Track of the dešio.

Fig. 100. Track of the jabiru.

Fig. 101. Track of the duck.

Fig. 102. Woman.

Fig. 103. Crocodile.

bas-reliefs which are produced by letting sand run out of the closed hand in a fine stream. I once saw such figures in relief, being made for fun, but I was told that larger sand pictures of this kind /Figs. 95 and 97 appear here/ were also executed with sand colored red and black in or near the mask hut. I received this information from only one source and was unable to confirm it through other informants or from my own observation, not the latter in particular because I traveled through the Indian territory outside of the proper dancing season. [128]

I was able to record these drawings only by means of sketches copying them, since they were usually made in the evening or at night so that photographic records were out of the question. [126]

Fig. 104. Stag hunt.

In indented figures I saw two masked dancers, īdjăzŏ and lădēnĭ. [535]

/14 cont./

*532 535 ĩdjãzõ (Fig. 95 /see p. 25/). The arrangement goes out from a center line, to which the component parts are symmetrically added. The two aprons are represented by parallel strokes, which run diagonally downward from the middle toward both sides; the fall of the leaf strips /15/ of the apron is thus well reproduced. The cylinder is designated by the center line; the feathered wings, by parallel lines going away from it diagonally downward; the rods with the tufts of feathers on the end, by two diverging lines, each with a circle at the end.

Fig. 96 /see p. 25/ can be taken as a model for the lãdẽni mask. This mask consists of a plaited palm-leaf cylinder running out into a long tube whose upper edge forms a feather wreath, from the center of which rises a stick with feather ornamentation on the end. The arrangement of the drawing (Fig. 97 /see p. 25/) is also symmetrical with respect to a vertical center line. Two diverging lines at the lower end form the feet. The aprons are represented as on the ĩdjãzõ masks, except that here the lower apron is closed, the upper apron is open, whereas in the case of ĩdjãzõ it was the other way around. The head structure is reproduced by the center line, which goes through a larger and a smaller circle, the two feather wreaths.

*532 [115] My Indian comrade, Manoel, drew a number of animal tracks for me in the sand. /Figs. 98-103 appear here./

Fig. 98 /see p. 26/, wãlili (large anteater). The hand is curved and the edge pressed into the sand; then with the bent forefinger the toes are added to this impression.

Fig. 99 /see p. 26/, dẽsiõ (?). A fist is made, and the upper side, formed by the thumb and the forefinger, is pressed into the sand. The six (!) toes were drawn with the forefinger.

To make the tracks of the capybara (hũã), the hand is pressed into the sand with the fingers spread out.

Fig. 100 /see p. 26/, wãlũli (jabiru). The four toe furrows are drawn by the finger, and then the center hole is pressed in.

Fig. 101 /see p. 26/, hẽdãulẽ (duck). The track was made with a knife. The impressions of the web were produced by pushing the sand aside, the claw impressions by cutting into and lifting out the sand.

* /15 cont./
532 I was able to observe two sand pictures in relief, which were also made by Manoel.

Fig. 102 /see p. 26/ represents a woman. The sexual parts were marked out by a small stone.

Fig. 103 /see p. 26/ is a crocodile. It could just as well be any other long-tailed animal.

b) Gourd drawings

[415] are found on gourd containers for oil. They are made by taking off the top layer with a knife. The figures are a kind of silhouette, since they stand out in darker color against the light background. /Fig. 104 appears here./

Fig. 104 /see p. 26/ represents an entire stag hunt. This is the only representation of a scene that I found among the Karajá. The figures are, in order, dog, stag, rider, dog, man.

[534] A ladění mask carved on the gourd rattle (Plate VI, Fig. 105 /see p.52 /) does not differ much from the sand drawing of the same mask (Fig. 97 /see p. 25/).

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c) Sketchbook Drawings
(Plate VI-VII)

While these types of representations were familiar to the Indians, at first they did not know how to begin with the pencil and sketchbook. I first had to show them this manipulation; then they would try, always timidly at first, to see whether the pencil left a line behind it, but then went courageously to work with sure strokes. There were some who set about it very clumsily, whereas others were very skillful at it (1). Many

1. For the distribution of sketches among individual artists, see Appendix 2 /not translated; see the foreign text/.

/16 cont./

*532 could not create anything on their own initiative, but had to
126 have assignments set by me; others (and they were in the majority)
153 filled page after page with ever new figures as they happened to occur to them. In the following those drawn on demand are marked by *).

In this way I obtained representations of human beings, animals, birds, fish, reptiles, insects, trees, objects, constellations, and other things. They claimed unanimously that they could not draw human beings, but finally provided me with pictures when I asked for a portrait of myself. Of animals they liked best to draw birds and fish. Pictures of trees are very rare. They usually only produced objects on request. They liked most of all to produce patterns (see decorations /pp.42 ff./).

[442] [517] Drawings were made only by the male sex, usually in bed by candlelight in the evenings. The significance of individual figures was immediately ascertained through questions and written down next to each figure.

*532 We distinguish between three kinds of drawings:

1. Simple line drawing, 2. outline drawing, 3. filled-in figures.

The relationship of the simple line drawing to the other kinds has not yet been determined because of the lack of comparative material. I should like to discuss it here first of all. With regard to the other two kinds, it is certain that the filled-in figures represent a higher stage than the outline drawings (2).

[113] 2. Cf. Dr. S. Levinstein, Kinderzeichnungen bis zum 14. Lebensjahr /Children's Drawings up to the 14th Year/, R. Voigtländer's Publishing House, Leipzig, 1905.

Almost two-thirds of all the drawings are filled-in figures, whereas simple line drawings make up only one quarter, outline drawings only one seventh of the material. The Karajá therefore stand on a very high level artistically.

The line drawings are all made with a pencil, the outline drawings with pencil and colored crayon, the filled-in figures

*532 /16 cont./
with only colored crayon. The type of reproduction thus seems to depend in part on the material. With a pencil, only a narrow line can be drawn, the filling in of larger surfaces is difficult, and thus only line and outline drawings are produced. The crayon leaves a wide mark, the filling in of surfaces is easy to accomplish, and added to this there is the color attraction, so that on the whole filled-in figures are drawn with it.

Distribution according to age is as follows: line and outline drawings are made by boys and men, filled-in figures by boys, youths, and men. No development, however, can be shown; the participation of the men in both of the first types is, in fact, fairly high.

The filling in of the figures extends over the whole body and is uniform everywhere. Characteristic filling-in is lacking; this higher stage has thus not yet been reached. We find hints of it in the outline drawing of the ray (Fig. 130 /see p. 35 /). The figures are further defined by the outlines and added characteristic features.

*532 151 Special developmental stages, which play so large a role in the primitive drawings of primitive peoples and children, are almost totally lacking here. For example, the confusion of side and front views (the mixed profile) in facial representation is not found, probably because the faces are always colored in. Mixed body postures, however, occur in line drawings and filled-in figures three times altogether (Fig. 108d /see p. 32 /; Plate VI, Fig. 140 a and b /see p. 52 /).

/17/ The omission of parts of the body is very rare: the neck is in part missing on human beings in simple line drawings (Fig. 107 /see p. 32 /). Filled-in figures of mammals at one time have two legs (Plate VI, Fig. 154 /see p. 52 /) and at another time three (Plate VI, Fig. 153c /see p.52 /), with the third going up from the back.

There are no superfluous parts of the body; invisible parts are likewise not drawn in; only on plants are the roots sometimes represented.

*532 151 /17 cont./

The case of parts of the body being reproduced apart from the body occurs only once: in Fig. 169 /see p. 53 / of the ray (on Plate VII), the two eyes stand in front of the head.

So-called X-ray pictures are lacking. It is true that in the case of the birds the animal is first drawn with the wings, but then everything is filled in. The center line of the fish (Fig. 129 /see p.35 /) does not represent the spine, but rather a symmetry line, with the help of which the figures are produced, but which usually disappears again because of being painted over. The two center lines of the crocodile in Fig. 131 /see p. 35 / represent the dorsal ridge.

The side from which the figures are reproduced is always the most characteristic one.

Human beings are represented from the front in simple line drawing. Only one transition to the half profile occurs (Fig. 108d /see p. 32 /). Filled-in figures are reproduced from the front, in half and in full profile.

Animals are represented considerably better than human beings. The reproduction of animals in line and outline drawings is rare; the majority are represented as filled-in figures, the birds only in this fashion. Animals are drawn almost throughout from the side, only occasional ones, such as rays, crocodiles, and some fish, are interpreted from above.

From all this emerges the fact that the Karajá have reached a fairly high stage artistically.

*532

α) Simple Line Drawings

Human figures are all drawn from the front. The neck is in part missing, so that the head, which is represented as a button, sits directly on the body stroke, if it is not missing altogether. The arms and legs are put on separately, and, indeed, in the following four ways: both stick out diagonally from the body (Figs. 106, 108a /see p. 32/); the arms stick out at right

/17 cont./

*532 angles from the body and are bent at right angles, while the legs are drawn diagonally (Fig. 107); the arms stick out diagonally, the legs are reproduced in a right-angled representation (Fig. 108b); arms and legs are represented at right angles (Fig. 108c). Particularly noteworthy is the fact that in Fig. 108 the shapes are drawn in relative sizes; Fig. 108b represents a youth; Fig. 108c and d, the largest, represent men; Fig. 108a the smallest, represents a child.

Somewhat more detailed is the Chavánte (Fig. 109), on whom are put the fat belly, drawn as typical by the Karajá, and the sexual parts, and also the Karajá warrior (Fig. 110) with the club in one hand, bow and two arrows in the other.

One figure (Fig. 108d) is very odd, being represented in half profile in such a way that one arm is drawn through the body to the side of the other one.

/18/ Animals are represented relatively strongly in this group. Among mammals the dog (Fig. 111*) and the large anteater (Fig. 112) are found. They are seen from the side. The body is portrayed as a line,

Fig. 106 Man.

Fig. 107. Man.

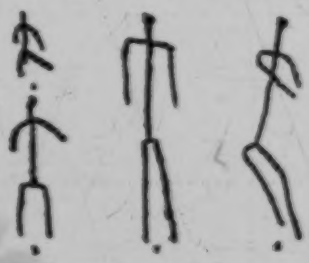


Fig. 108 a to d. Representations of Tapirape Indians.

Fig. 109. Chavánte.

Fig. 110. Karajá warrior.

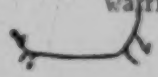


Fig. 111.* Dog.

from which the four legs go out as strokes. The tails are prolongations of the body line and reproduced in characteristic position and length. The head is drawn as a dot on the dog, as a dash on the anteaters.

Figs. 112-122 appear here.

Of the birds there is only one figure, the mutum /Crax/ (Fig. 113 /see p. 34/), whose body is actually already somewhat detailed.

[see p. 34--Analyst]

/18 cont./

*532 Of other animals there are represented: the crudely depicted dolphin (Fig. 114 /see p. 34/), the snake (Fig. 115 /see p. 34/) well portrayed by a zigzag line, and the two small mosquitoes (Fig. 116a ãhẽ, Fig. 116b lãkõ /see p. 34/), the latter with its fat body full of sucked blood. /Fig. 123 appears here./

Of plants there are found: the banana tree (Fig. 117 /see p. 34/) with leaves and fruit umbel, maize (Fig. 118 /see p. 34/), and manioc (Fig. 119 /see p. 34/), the latter with roots.

Of other representations we have the clay doll (Fig. 120 /see p. 34/); it is drawn from the front and reminds one of the representation of human beings. The pebbles in the sand (Fig. 121 /see p. 34/) are reproduced by small lines. The track of a bird (Fig. 122 /see p. 34/) is very characteristic. The Indians
[153] very much enjoyed imitating handwriting; Fig. 123 /see p. 34/ gives examples of these attempt.

β) Outline Drawings

Human figures are lacking. Only representations of in-
[β31] dividual parts of the body are found, for example, the female sexual organs, which are reproduced in Fig. 124 /see p. 34/ individually and in detail with the anus, and in Fig. 125 /see p. 34/ fill the whole page of the sketchbook in schematic representation and manifold repetition. /Figs. 125-128 appear here./
[304] The tribal tattooing, which consists of a circle colored blue and cut into each cheek with the help of a stamp, is reproduced in Fig. 126 /see p. 34/. Here the Indians were faced with the problem of drawing a circle freehand; the illustration shows the success with which they did this. See also Fig. 133 below under "objects" /see p. 35 /.

Animals are likewise seldom represented by this method of portrayal. There are no quadrupeds at all. Fig. 127 /see p. 34/ represents a bird, probably a parrot. The animal is drawn from the side. Of unknown significance is the animal ũẽmã in Fig.

[text continues on p. 35]

/18 cont./

*532

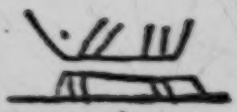


Fig. 112 a and b.

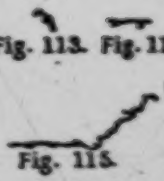


Fig. 113. Fig. 114. Fig. 115.

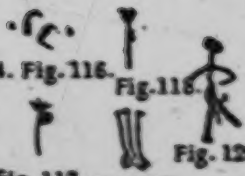


Fig. 116. Fig. 117. Fig. 118. Fig. 119. Fig. 120. Fig. 121. Fig. 122.

Fig. 112, large anteater; Fig. 113, mutum; Fig. 114, dolphin; Fig. 115, snake; Fig. 116, mosquitos; ia abé, bj lahõ; Fig. 117, banana tree; Fig. 118, maize; Fig. 119, manioc; Fig. 120, doll; Fig. 121, pebbles in the sand; Fig. 122, track of a bird.

[653]

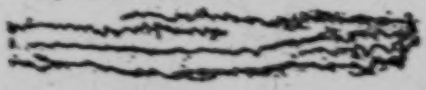


Fig. 123.
Imitation of handwriting.

[304]

[631]

Fig. 125.
Schematic representation of the genitals. (A part of the sketch-book page.)

Fig. 126. Tribal tattooing.

Fig. 124.
Female genitals with anus.

Fig. 127. Bird.

Fig. 128.
nema.

/18 cont./

128 /see p. 34/. The body is /19/ not closed at the bottom, the only example of this kind among the Karajá. The arms are put on separately. 532*

Aquatic animals are represented more abundantly, for example,

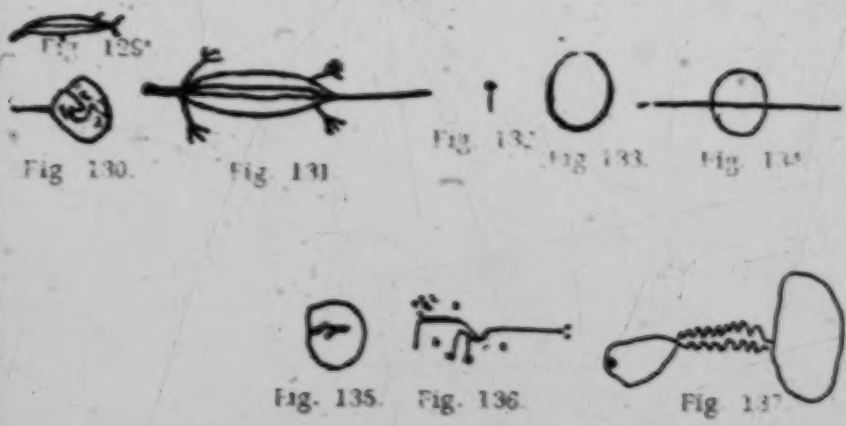


Fig. 129*. Fig. 130. Fig. 131. Fig. 132. Fig. 133. Fig. 134. Fig. 135. Fig. 136. Fig. 137.

Fig. 129*, dogfish; Fig. 130, ray; Fig. 131, crocodile; Fig. 132 gourd on a stick; Fig. 133*, pot; Fig. 134*, whir-disk; Fig. 135, moon with mountains; Fig. 136, constellations. a) Pleiades; b) iguana, which is leaping at the ostrich c); Fig. 137, egg-laying of the tortoise.

dogfish (Fig. 129*) represented from the side, the ray viewed from above (Fig. 130) with the drawing of the body marked in, and the crocodile (Fig. 131) also seen from above, whose dorsal ridge is depicted by two horizontal lines on the back.

With respect to plants only the gourd drying on a stick placed in the sand, is present (Fig. 132), just as it is encountered everywhere near the houses of the Indians.

The sketches of two objects are interesting.

Fig. 133*, reproduces a pot. It is viewed from above, the circular line of the upper rim is not badly drawn.

Fig. 134*, represents a whir-disk. A circular gourd disk is pierced twice in the center, and through these holes is led a string which is reversed upon itself. If one then takes hold of both ends [534]

/19 cont./

*532 534 of the string, hurls the disk around himself so that the string twists together, pulls on the string, and lets it go loose again, then the disk will start rotating and produce a whirring noise. It is drawn by the Indians as a circle through which the string runs as a horizontal line.

*532 821 There follow representations of stars and constellations. Fig. 135 /see p. 35/ portrays the moon with the lunar mountains conceived as a toad. The small circles in Fig. 136a /see p. 35/ signify the Pleiades, which are interpreted as parakeets. I should like to add, although it does not strictly belong here, the further representation of two constellations: the jaguar leaping at the ostrich from the rear (Fig. 136 b and c /see p. 35/). The principal stars are shown by dots, the two frontmost stars of the ostrich correspond to α and β Centauri.

*532 Finally there is still the representation of an event to be added here, a sketch which, along with the representation of the stag hunt on the gourd (Fig. 104 /see p. 26/), stands quite alone among the Karajá drawings. From the lagoon the track of the tortoise leads over the sand to the spot where the eggs are laid. One egg is drawn in the nest (Fig. 137 /see p. 35/).

γ) Filled-in figures

represent by far the majority of all the drawings present. As already noted above, they are executed only in colored crayon, from which it is to be concluded that the broad stroke and surface covering thus made possible, together with the possibility of color effects, has brought about the transition from line and outline drawing to the surface figure. As we shall see later with regard [151] to the ornamentation, surface perception and just such representation is in general peculiar to the Karajá Indians. The drawings were executed in such a way that first of all a center line was drawn, with reference to this the outlines, and only then was the whole surface drawn in. The filling-in is simple and takes no account of characteristic coloring and drawing of the bodies to be represented.

/19 cont./

532 Human figures are well represented.

/20/ The en face representations, of which Fig. 138a*) /see p. 52/ is me, Fig. 138b*) /see p. 52/ my companion Adam, are good. Above all the reproduction of the feet, pointed forward and obliquely downward, is noteworthy. Fig. 139 /see p. 52/ is the self-portrait of an Indian with a double-peaked, Brazilian soldier's cap.

Fig. 140 a and b /see p. 52/ are reproduced in mixed profile [Fig. 140a*) is me, Fig. 140b*) is Adam], both drawn by the same artist. The bodies are en face, beards and feet portrayed in profile, and in fact in b) the feet are pointed to one side, in a) outward to both sides. The beards are put on sideways, "because otherwise there is no space"; a) wears a straw hat. The fashioning of the hands and feet is noteworthy. The hands are drawn as disks with the right number of fingers appended. The feet in b) are reproduced as lines with attached claw-like toes (four on each), in a) as disks, corresponding to the hands, with five lines attached on each one. /Figs. 144-145 and 148 appear here. /1 The arrangement of both drawings is interesting. The artist drew a) starting from the feet and going toward the head, b) on the contrary starting from the head and going toward the feet.

Profile drawings are found in Figs. 141-143 /see p. 52/. The arms are both attached to one side of the body. The reproduction of the knees by thickenings is noteworthy in Figs. 141 and 142. The feet in all three are indicated by strokes added sideways. Figs. 142 and 143 each have three fingers twice, Fig. 141 has four and three fingers. Fig. 141*) portrays a youth with a braid, Fig. 142*) a woman with long hair. Fig. 143 is supposed to be me; the trunk-like nose is striking. It is remarkable that head, nose, and arms are drawn in red, the rest of the body in blue, so that the parts of the body burned red by the sun show the natural color. In general it is to be noted that as a result of the filling in of the faces the eyes, mouth, and nose are not reproduced. Details are always drawn in the right number, or too few, [151] as in the case of the fingers and toes, but never too many. Invisible parts of the body are never represented.

1 [see p. 38--Analyst]

/20 cont./

532 Figures of masks are represented in only four sketches (Figs. 144-146, 148 /see pp. 38-39/), and, indeed, the first three reproductions represent such masks in natural material (see Fig. 69 /see p. 21/ and Fig. 147 /see p. 39/); the last one, however, represents a real lǎdēnĭ dancer.

/21/ The legs are represented by two strokes at the lower edge of

Fig. 144.
ĭdjāzŏ mask.

Fig. 145.
ladení mask.

Fig. 148.
ladení-masked dancer.

the lower apron, the two aprons by triangles standing one above the other. The cylinders with their feather ornaments are very characteristically reproduced. Fig. 144 shows the ĭdjăzŏ mask, Fig. 145 the lǎdēnĭ mask. In connection with Fig. 146 /see p. 39/, dākŏhĭ mask, cf. the reproduction of the quite similar djālhēnĭ mask in natural material (Fig. 147 /see p. 39/), /Figs. 146 and 147 appear here./

The last sketch (Fig. 148*), the lǎdēnĭ dancer, is executed differently. It was drawn at my request. The artist first drew two parallel, vertical lines, to which he attached at the bottom two horizontal lines as feet. Farther up he joined them with a cross-stroke and from there on filled in everything with color. Then below on each side he added two triangles in outline, corrected these outlines several times, and

/21 cont./

532*

Fig. 147.
Reproduction of the dahkenî mask in natural material.

Fig. 146.
dakohî mask.

then filled in the triangles. At the top he drew a center line upward, onto which he symmetrically drew the mask structure in outline and then filled it in.

Animal drawings constitute the majority of all figures. Mammals are consistently shown from the side. The body is interpreted as a paunch (Figs. 149, 150b, 151, 153c /see p.52 /). The /22/ building up of the body toward the top is very rare (Fig. 153a and b, 154 /see p. 52/). The legs are reproduced as simple vertical lines or as lines sticking out obliquely. The number four is favored

/22 cont./

532 everywhere except for the animals of one artist, who at one time draws only two legs (Fig. 154 /see p. 52 /), another time only three (Fig. 153c /see p.52 /), with the third one rising up from the back. The very successful pigs (Fig. 153 a and b /see p.52/) have bent legs. Toes are found only on the monkey (Fig. 149 /see p. 52 /), three on each foot. Tails are drawn as extensions of the body; their length and direction correspond to the proportions of the animal. The head is reproduced as a dash (Figs. 150b, 151 /see p. 52 /) or in its entirety (Figs. 149, 150a, 152-154 /see p.52 /). Its position, as well as the fashioning of the mouth, are preserved extremely characteristically (e.g., on the pigs, Fig. 153 a and b /see p. 52/). Ears are lacking or are added on top as lines sticking out from the head (Figs. 150 a and b, 152, 153 a and b). In general these representations are kept very characteristic so that the bodies and limbs correspond well to the proportions of the individual animals (1). Only one artist has a

1. The illustrations represent: 149*), monkey; 150 ab, dogs; 151, cuati; 152, mule; 153 a-c, pigs; 154, woatí. /In the original text there is no reference to this footnote./

plan according to which he draws all animals: his dog (Fig. 150b /see p.52 /) is only an enlarged version of the cuati (Fig. 151). [HRAF ed.: in the index the cuati is listed separately from the coati, or Nasenbär in German.] The best representations are those of the pigs (Fig. 153 a and b) and of the mule (Fig. 152 /see p.52 /).

The birds, too, are consistently reproduced from the side. Their arrangement is as follows (Fig. 155 /see p.41 /): first of all, the back line 1) is drawn as a horizontal line, then the always curved ventral line is drawn starting from the tail 2); thirdly, the head 3) is put on, and then the wing 4) is drawn in; then it is filled in, whereby the wing is lost again. During the filling in, the line of the back 5) becomes arched and the outline

/22 cont./

532 in general retouched. Finally the legs 6) are added as dashes. No bird is represented as flying; the wings always lie against the body. Rather, the animals are all found in a peculiar recumbent position: the legs extending in a slant toward the rear. Exceptions are: the running cock (Fig. 162 /see p. 52 /), the standing gavião / a name given to a large number of Falconiformes/ (Fig. 156b /see p. 52 /), and the magnificent standing jacu (Fig. 163 /see p. 52 /). Legs, tail, head, and beak are reproduced in characteristic position and shape for the individual birds; the bodies, with few exceptions, are drawn according to the same plan (see Figs. 156-165 /see p. 52 /) (2). An artist likes to draw

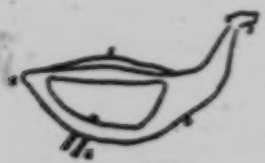


Fig. 155.
Diagram of the representation of a bird.

2. The illustrations represent: 156 ab, gavião; 157, jabiru; 158, gaviota; 159, mutum; 160, duck; 161, diving bird; 162, cock; 163, jacu; 164 cuidác; 165, mandaguali.

the birds in the same way (see Figs. 156b, 157, 164; Fig. 165 is reminiscent of these forms. All four represent different birds, but torso, neck, head, and legs are drawn almost identically.

Fish are represented from above and from the side. From above are drawn: pirarara /a sheatfish/ (Fig. 166 /see p. 53 /), chicote (Fig. 167 /see p. 53 /), pintado (Fig. 168 /see p. 53 /). In the case of the ray (Fig. 169 /see p. 53 /), the spine is drawn from the side; the eyes are placed in front of the head. All the others (Figs. 170-173 /see p. 53 /) (3) are represented in side view.

3. These illustrations represent: 170, dogfish; 171, piranha; 172, tokunaré; 173 garanha.

The outlines, fins, and tail position characterize the individual fish excellently.

/22 cont./

532 Among other animals there is still the crocodile. In Fig. 174a /see p.53 / it is reproduced from above. The conception in Fig. 174b*) /see p. 53 / is very strange; the square at the rear is inexplicable; the continuous cross-stroke through the neck, designating the front legs, is also noteworthy.

Plant representations are very rare as detailed drawings. There is a jatoba tree /Leguminosae/ (Fig. 175 /see p. 53 /) with widely spread branches, and also lũlãũ fruits (Fig. 176 /see p.53 /) which are arranged, chain-like, one above the other in rows.

Objects were usually only drawn on demand; /23/ the Indians seldom did it on their own initiative; they are represented in part from the side, in part from above. The doll (Fig. 177 /see p.53 /), which reproduces the doll type very well, is drawn from the front. The boat (Fig. 178* /see p. 53/) and the oar (Fig. 179* /see p. 53 /) are viewed from above. The bow (Fig. 180* /see p.53 /) and the gun (Fig. 181 /see p. 53 /) are drawn from the side. In the case of the club (Fig. 182 /see p.53 /) both views would be the same. The throwing stick (Fig. 183* /see p. 53 /) is reproduced from above for the grip, from the side for the pin.

B. Decorative Art

531 The men like to decorate their tools and objects with patterns. These patterns are geometric and all of them are borrowed from the plaiting technique. Whenever I asked the Indians what the patterns that they had drawn into the sketchbook meant they always said "hõdjũdjũ," which means, roughly, plaiting; only through further questioning did I receive the actual name of the pattern. They all represent animals, although interpreted in such stylized fashion that a stranger cannot possibly recognize them. I do not want here to go into the controversy about which is older, the pattern or the animal model. I want only to note that these patterns were known to all the Karajá Indians by the same name,

/23 cont./

531 whereas in general they did not recognize the figures and drawings created from free imagination, but asked me first what the latter were supposed to mean. Thus, these are well-established, apparently very old decorations.

We find the decorations plaited on fans and baskets, on the handles of crotchet needles, on lances, clubs, bows, arrows, rattles, combs; carved on whole- and half-gourd containers, gourd rattles, ear rods; pictured by poker work on gourd ladles and small gourds, and by color on gourd ladles.

[442] All these objects are made by the men; they are the bearers of this art. The women, too, sometimes decorate objects made by them, such as mats, spinning whorls, bast aprons. The patterns, however, in general differ from those of the men. Re-
[177] cently the women have gone over to decorating tobacco pipes and clay vessels under Brazilian influence; the decorations used for this, however, are quite alien, probably taken over from the Brazilians.

531 The patterns with which the Indians paint their bodies
302 have nothing in common with plaiting patterns. The patterns sometimes painted on the thighs appear similar to the plaiting patterns; they are probably connected with the masked dances
[535] at which we find similar decorations, usually depicting animals, on the cylinder masks and bask aprons.

531 The animal patterns are not line patterns, but surface
[285] patterns; thus, in plaiting, the strips plaited in one direction represent the pattern; in the same way, in the sketches, it is not the lines which stand for the pattern, but the surfaces enclosed by them. This follows from the fact that in the case of carved patterns these surfaces are in relief or indented, but in any case contrasted as surfaces from the background; in the same way in the sketches the surfaces are sometimes set off by dots or dashes. Only it is difficult in this case to decide which of the surfaces represents the background and which the pattern; here only inquiry among the Indians helps. For the characteristic features do not penetrate our awareness at all, accustomed as we are to seeing such patterns in terms of lines and not surfaces.

/23 cont./

531 In some patterns I was successful in separating pattern and back-
[128] ground from each other; others still await satisfactory investigation.

531 These patterns are made in the following manner. On
285 baskets, fans, etc., they are produced simply through different, diagonal plaiting of the leaf pinnae. For plaiting around something with yellow cane and black embira, the black embira is plaited horizontally in spirals through the strips of cane hanging
531 down vertically. Carved decorations are made with the knife;
322 the latter is then held almost vertically to the surface to be carved, and /24/ in this way small pieces of the upper layer are chipped off broadside with the point. Finer and deeper lines are carved out naturally. In poker work a splinter of cane is used as the cautery, which is made to glow on an adjacent block of wood and then quickly pressed on the spot concerned. This is,
[442] of course, very slow work, which is practiced almost exclusively
[517] by the male sex, apparently only for fun.

531 The Indians always drew the patterns in the sketchbook on
[153] their own initiative. When they had barely drawn some figures, they would already go over to the patterns. Many refused to draw figures altogether, but just treated themselves to making patterns.
531 Now it was extremely interesting to observe how the people ar-
151 ranged the patterns. As an example I shall take the one in Fig. 199 (Plate X /see p. 56 /). First of all the space was divided up by four vertical lines according to exact calculation. The Indians sitting nearby already knew which decoration the artist wanted to draw, without the latter saying anything. Then each new line to be drawn was discussed in detail beforehand, criticized afterwards. Thus, the sketch was put together as a common task. During this the lines, once the people were completely clear about direction and length, were drawn with a quick sure stroke. It should further
531 be noted that the Indians had observed how I wrote my remarks
151 about artist and pattern on the edge of the page, and now on
153 their own initiative they left a narrow margin free on one side, as I ascertained through questions, so that I could write on it. They

/24 cont./

53/ first bordered off this part; then they divided up the rest of the
151 space. Of course, not all of them calculated so skillfully;
153 there were some among them who were very clumsy, managed no straight line, and never quite succeeded with complicated patterns. (Plate XI /see p.57 /, Fig. 202b.)

53/ About the arrangement of the patterns, it is to be noted that on baskets and fans they are restricted to the middle zone, but on plaiting around something they extend over the whole plaiting. Half-gourds are almost always completely carved, usually with four vertical zones set off, which show patterns differing in part. The edge is set off by special patterns on only a very few examples. Whole gourds bear carved patterns, each according to its purpose; gourds for oil are decorated only on the upper part around the opening, gourds for feathers over the whole surface, rattles likewise, but in a vertical zone arrangement or in individual vertical stripes. Ear rods are decorated only on the front part. On half-gourds poker-work covers the edge, vertical or horizontal zones, or the whole curved upper surface; on whole gourds, the upper part, the whole surface, or two symmetrically positioned zones.

531 1. Patterns borrowed from the plaiting technique
285 (Plates VII-XI)[1]

we know from all the plaited objects and objects with plaiting around them, then as they are transferred in carving to gourd utensils and gourd rattles, and finally as sketchbook drawings. The meaning of the patterns was obtained only with difficulty. Either the Indians called them hõdjũdjũ = plaiting, or they gave names for which a translation could not be obtained. Only for a few could they give the Brazilian term.

1. Horizontal zigzag lines; dũ͡ẽhã͡ỗkõ, the bat. As a carved pattern on gourds it was also called õdãbũlã (cf. Ehrenreich, "Beiträge," Fig. 11b). Found in plaiting, on combs (Fig. 184a

[1] [see pp. 53-57 -- Analyst]

/24 cont./ Found in plaiting, on combs (Fig. 184a) /see p.53 /), crotchet needles, arrow (Fig. 184b /see p. 53 /), bow, carved on the signal horn (Fig. 184c$_{1,2}$ /see p.53 /; c$_2$ represents a rubbing from the carved end). It is probably derived from the simple basket plaiting pattern as the center part of the basket in Fig. 184d /see p. 53/ shows. Fig. 184e /see p.53 / represents the artistic reproduction. Perhaps the lance pattern in Fig. 184f /see p.53 / is a further development of it. /Plates I-XI appear here./

/25/ 2. Vertical zigzag line (according to Ehrenreich, "Beiträge," Fig. 11c, the rattlesnake). Only found plaited on combs, lances, clubs, and rattle handles (Fig. 185 a and b /see p. 54 /). Further developments are to be found in the lance plaiting (Fig. 185c /see p. 54/) and the comb plaiting (Fig. 185d /see p. 54 /). It probably arose from the basket plaiting pattern, as the edge strips of the basket in Fig. 184d.

3. A pattern of unknown meaning present on a lance plaiting (Fig. 186a /see p. 54 /). The negative of it is similar to the sketchbook pattern (Fig. 186b /see p. 54 /) called dogfish (lǎdǎ), the developments of which are reproduced in Fig. 186 c and d /see p. 54/.

4. Patterns of unknown meaning, occurring as plaiting patterns on combs (Fig. 187 a$_{1,2}$ /see p. 54 /) (1), lances,

> 1. On combs both sides are almost always reproduced (marked 1 and 2).

club-sticks (Fig. 187b /see p. 54 /), crotchet-needle handles; as carving patterns on gourd rattles and whole gourds (Fig. 187c /see p. 54 /).

5. This pattern is perhaps a development of the previous one, produced by the side attachment of hooks to the ends of the bars (Fig. 188 /see p.54 /).

6. The urubu pattern (lǎladjǎ). It occurs plaited on a club-stick (Fig. 189a /see p. 55 /) and on a drawing (Fig. 189b /see p.55 /). This representation goes back to the way /Fig. 206 appears here/ in which the urubu customarily sits on the sand

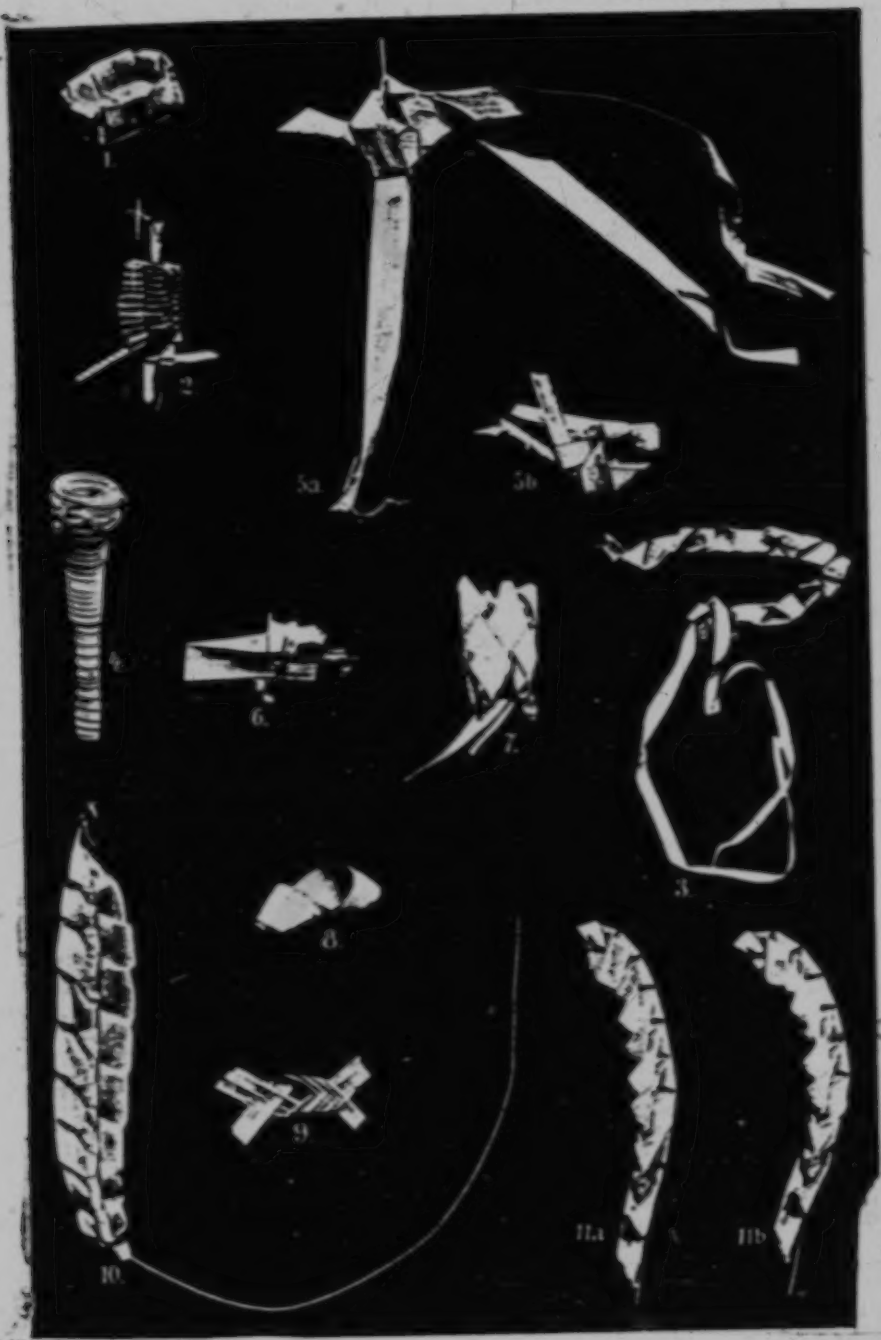
[see p. 58 -- Analysis]

[Text continues on p. 58]

2: Krause--47 E-5 (1908) 1912 SP9 Caraja SP9

Plate I

*532
215



*532

[352]

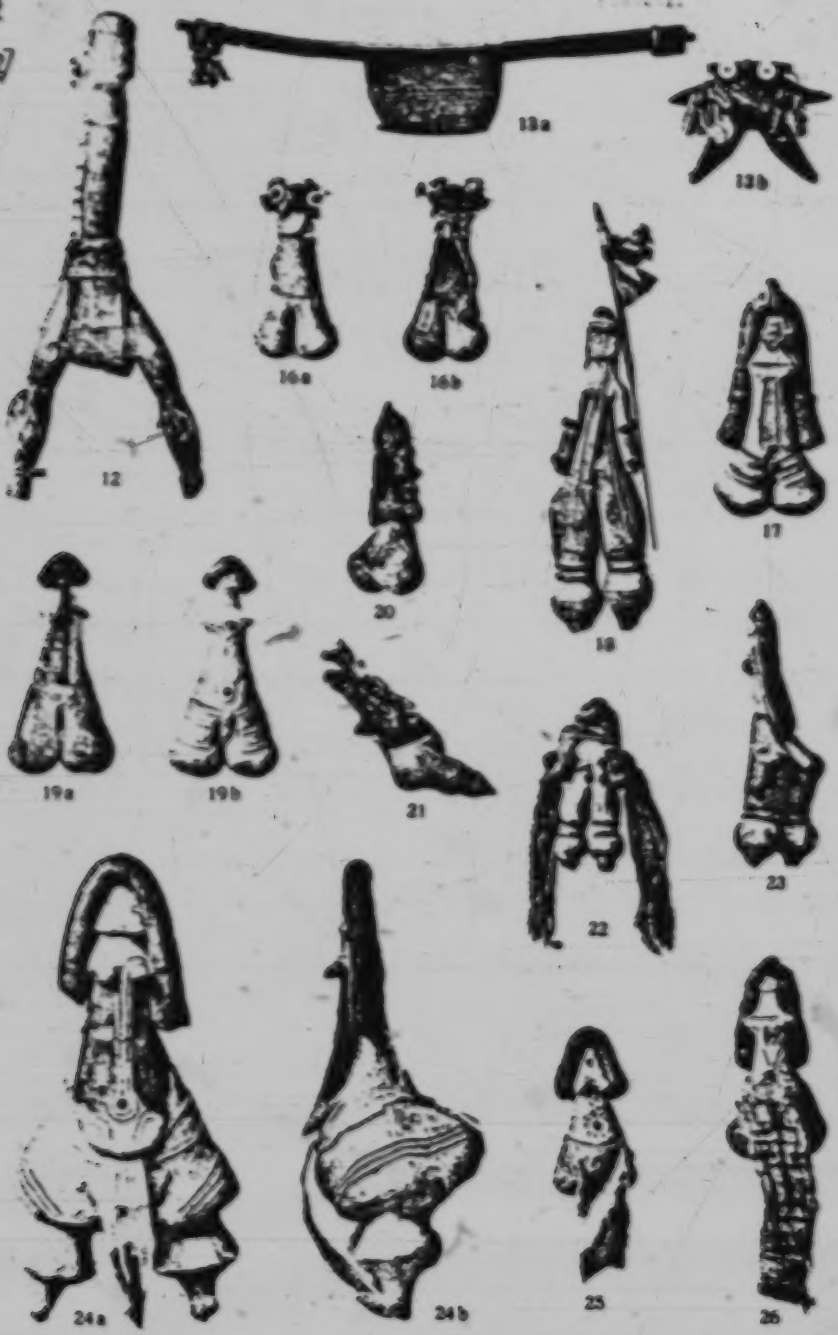


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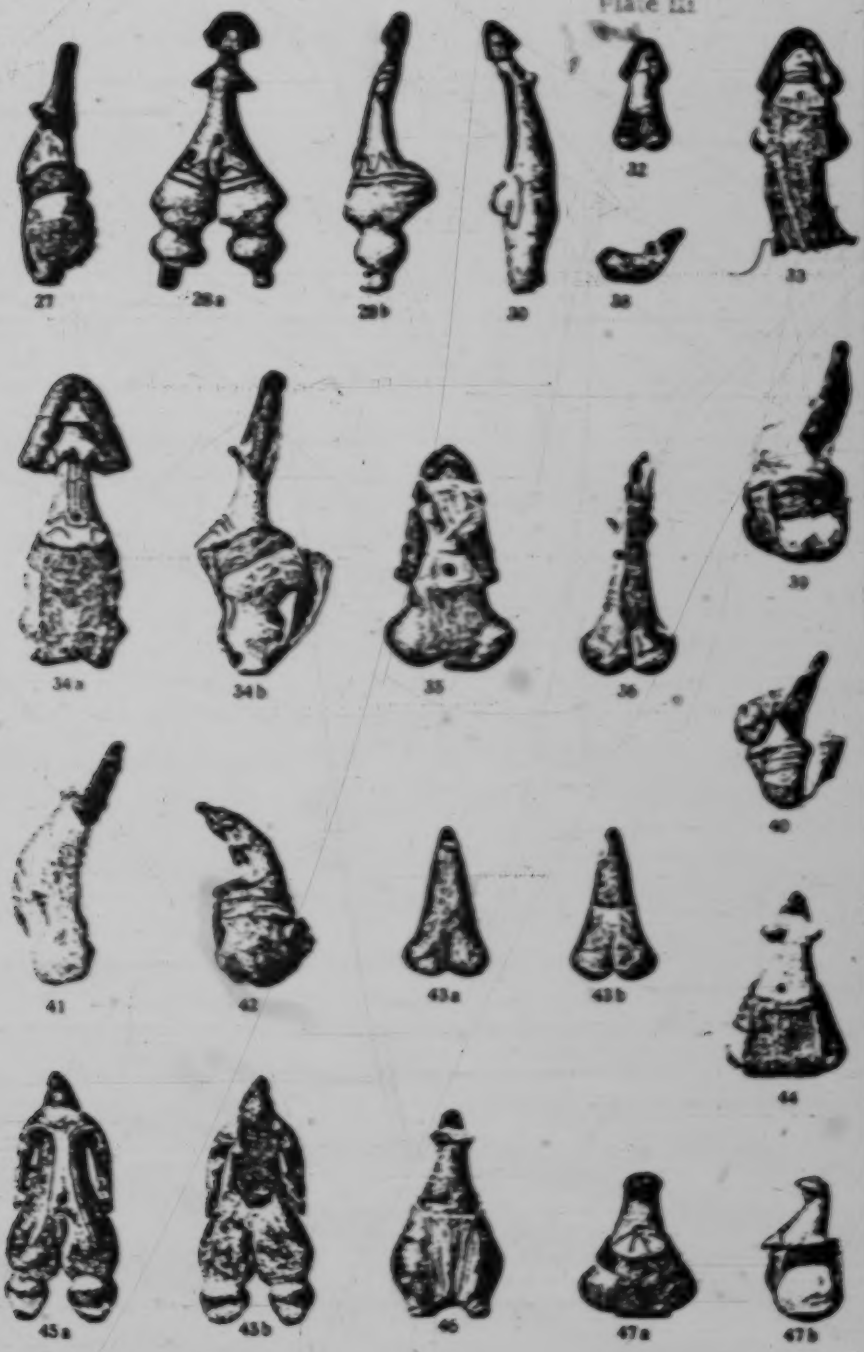
Plate XI


27
28a
28b
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34a
34b
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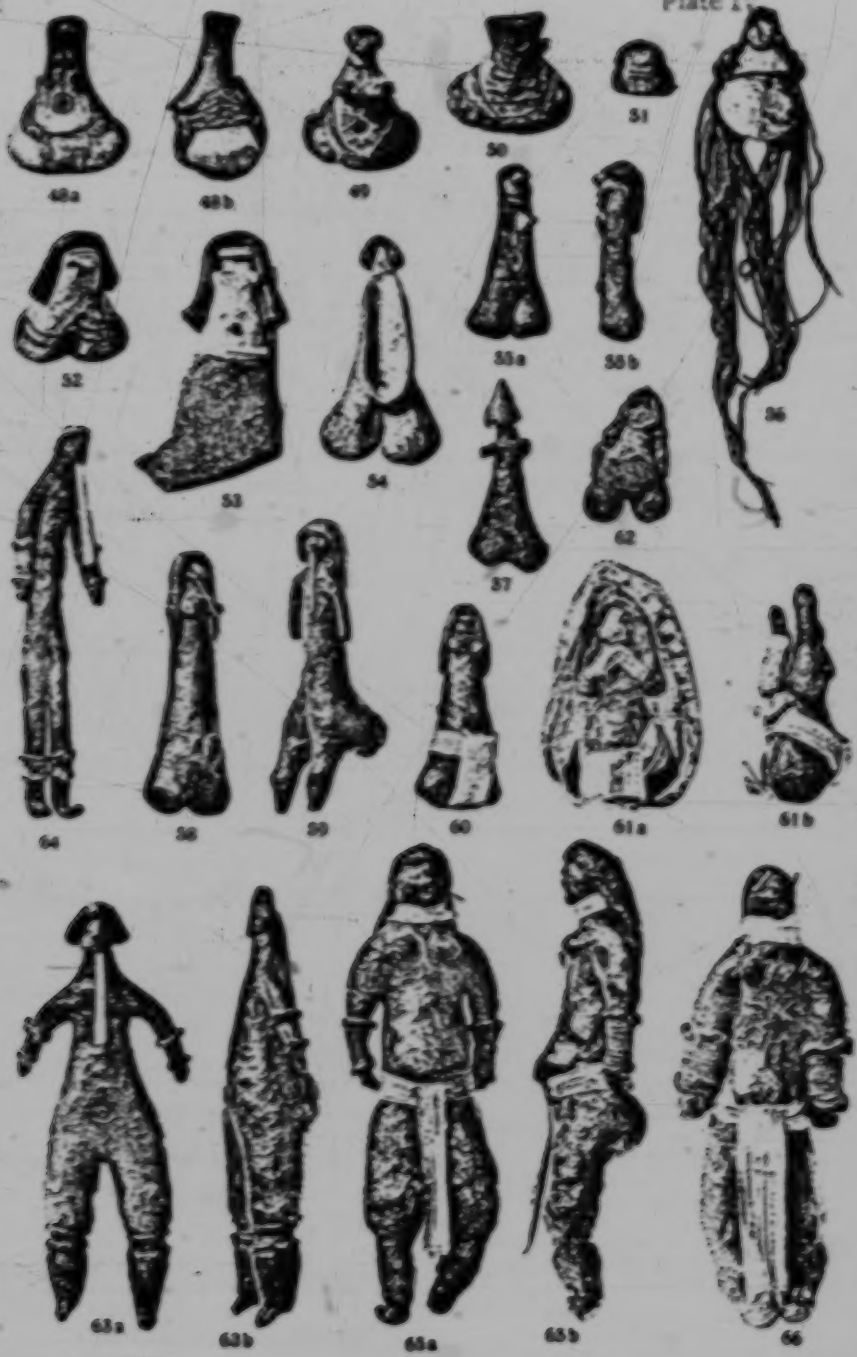
43a
43b
44
45a
45b
46
47a
47b

*532

Plate XV


48a
48b
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55a
55b
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61a
61b
63a
63b
65a
65b
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Plate V

*532

73b
73a
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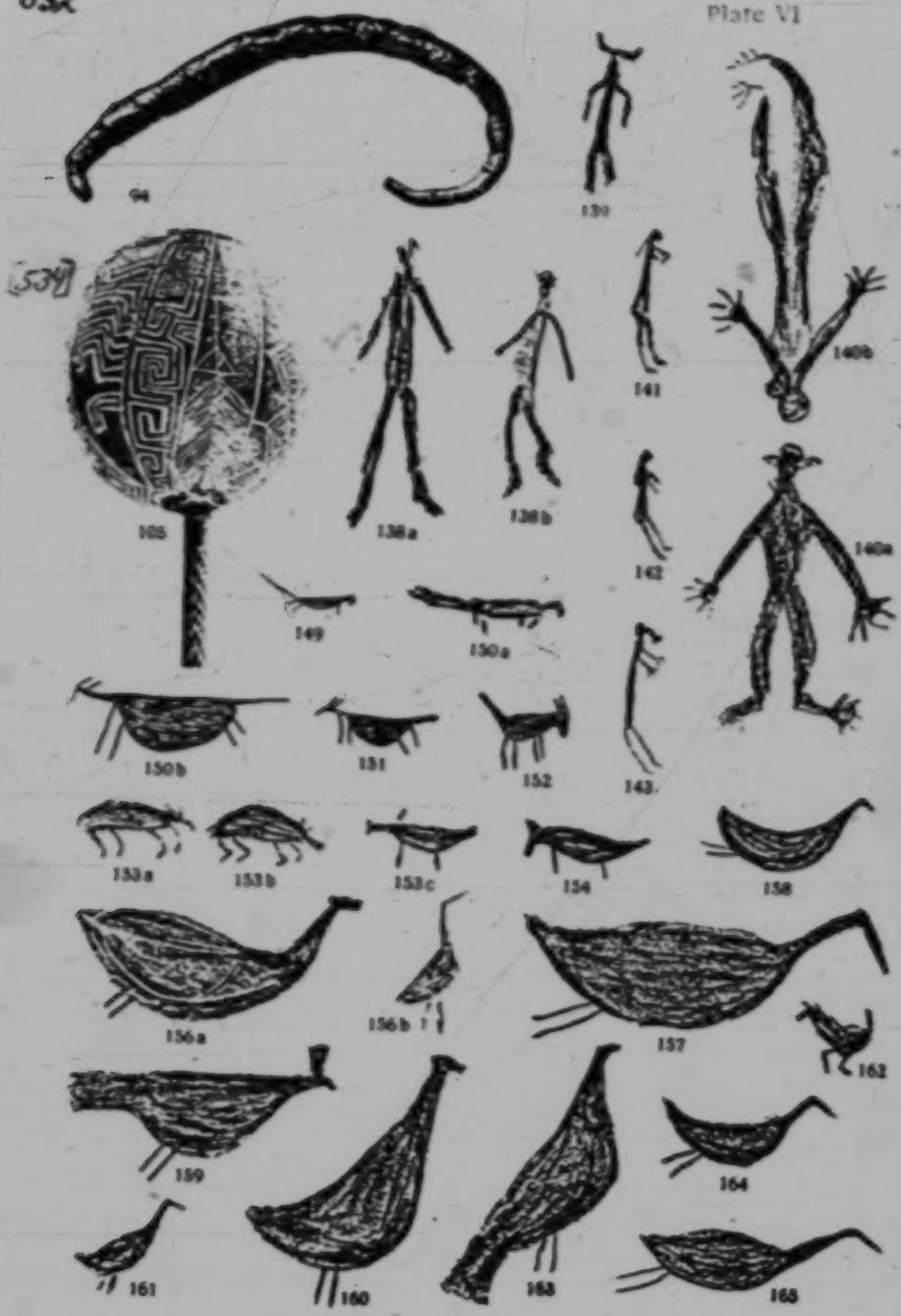
2: Krause--52 E-5 (1908) 1912 SP9 Caraja SP9

*532

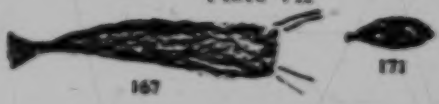
Plate VI



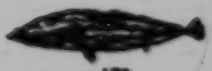
*532

Plate VII

166


167

171


170

168

169

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174a

174b

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[412]
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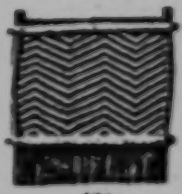
177


184a

184c2

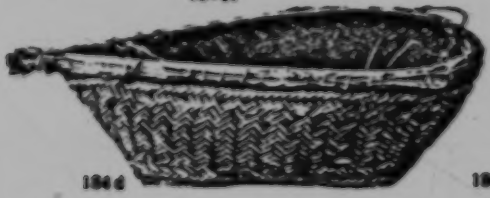
184e

184f

184b

[534]
→

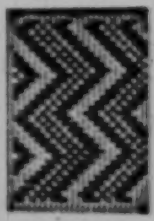
184c1


184d

531
285

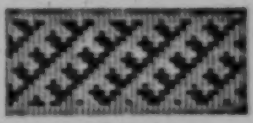
Plate VIII

185b

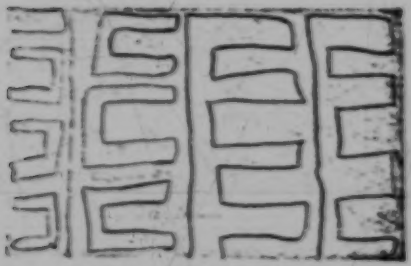

185c

185d

185a

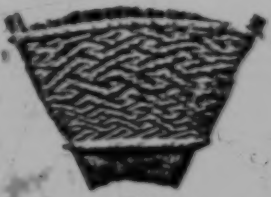

186a

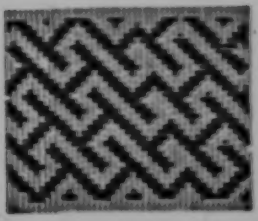
186d


186b

186c

187a1


187a2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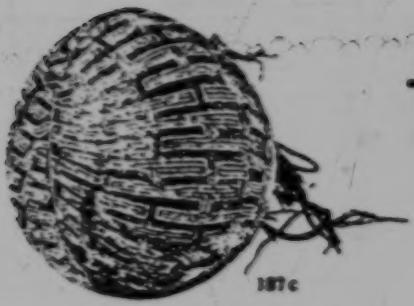
187c

186a1

186a2

Plate IX

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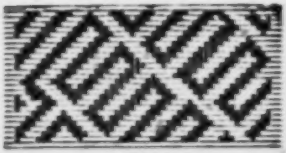
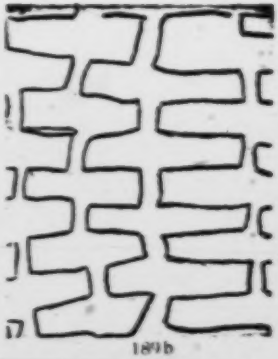
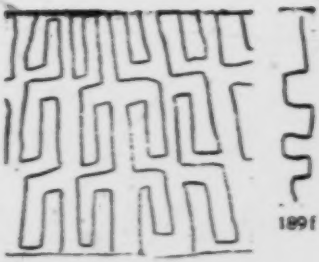
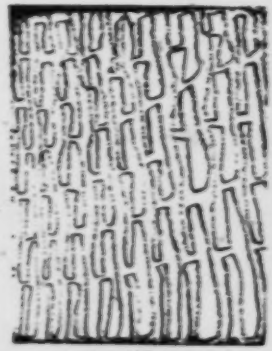

189a

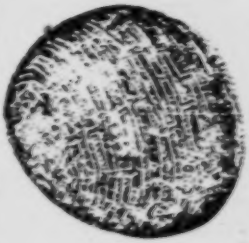

189b

189c

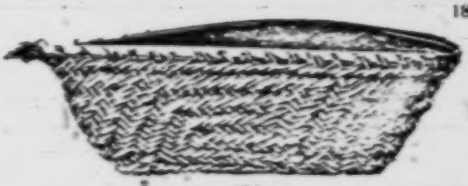

189f

190b


189c

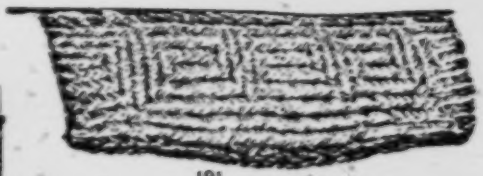

189d

190a


190c

190d

190e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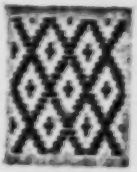
193

192


194b

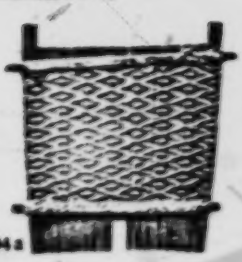

194a

Plate X

531
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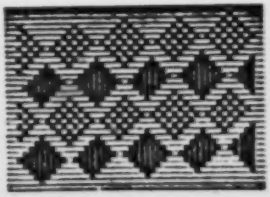
195 a1

195 a2


195 b

195 c

195 d1

195 d2

195 e1

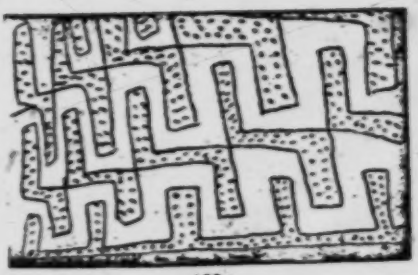
196 a1

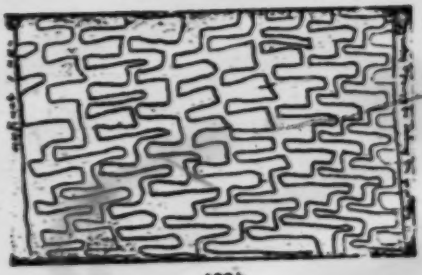
196 a2

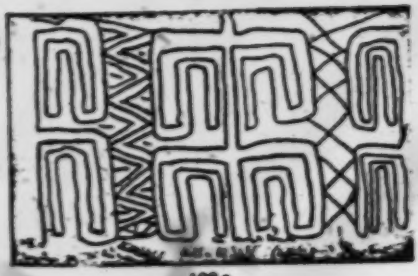
195 e2

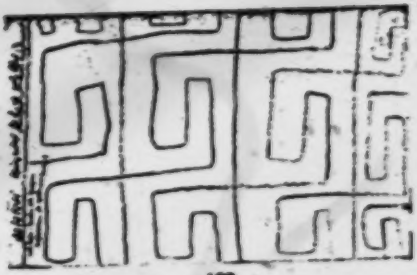
197 a1

197 a2


198 a


198 b


198 c


199

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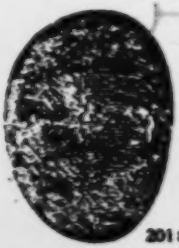
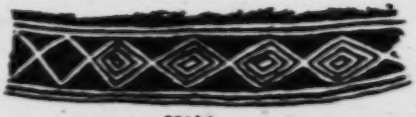
285
[534]

Plate XI

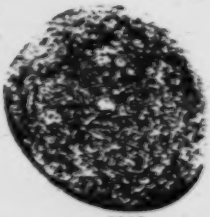
201 a1


201 a2

200 a

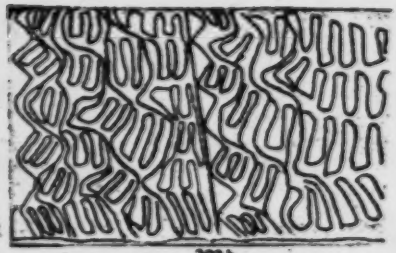

201 b1

201 b2


200 b

201 c1

201 c2


202 b

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202 a

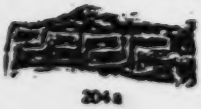
203 a

203 b

204

206

213


204 a

/25 cont./

531/ 285 with outspread wings, not unlike the Austrian double eagle. It is further developed by hooks attached vertically to the side bars; see the drawing in Fig. 189c /see p. 55/ and the carving on the half-gourd in Fig. 189d /see p. 55/. It should be noted here that I received other names for this decoration in simple line execution without the counterpart of two corresponding continuous lines; the decoration in Fig. 189e /see p. 55/ was also called kadã

[415]

Fig. 206 a-d. Oil gourds, carved.

blehẽ, hãdõ, and tõmã, the simple serrated pattern (Fig. 189f /see p. 55/) õlisõmãudi.

7. Serrated patterns õãõã = gavião. Found plaited on baskets (Fig. 190a /see p. 55/), carved on gourds (see Fig. 204a /see p. 57/). The sketch reproduction which follows singly and with counterpart (Fig. 190b /see p. 55/), was also called dũbõtẽ. The basket pattern (Fig. 190c /see p. 55/) is similar; the basket patterns in Fig. 190 d and e /see p. 55/ are further developments.

8. The meander, also called õãõã, is found plaited on baskets and fans (Fig. 191 /see p. 55/), carved on rattles (Plate VI /see p. 52/, Fig. 105). The sketch reproduction is given by the left pattern in Fig. 189c.

9. Small spirals. Basket patterns (Fig. 192 /see p. 55/).

10. Spirals standing on the tips. Comb pattern (Fig. 193 /see p. 55/).

11. Pattern of unknown meaning; found plaited on combs (Fig. 194a /see p. 55/), crotchet needles (Fig. 194b /see p. 55/), and bows.

/25 cont./

531/ 12. The pattern probably represents a snake. It is exempli-
2085 fied as a comb pattern (Fig. 195a /see p. 56/). On a crotchet needle (Fig. 195b /see p. 56/), it is present in two varieties, one of which designates the dorsal design, the other the ventral design, on the sucuriu /anaconda/ snake (leĭ). Developments of the decoration are the same pattern (Fig. 195c /see p. 56/ and the two comb /26/ patterns of the Šavajé (Fig. 195 d and e /see p. 56/). Similar decorations are illustrated by Ehrenreich in his "Beiträge," namely, in Fig. 11a as a wasp's nest, in Fig. 11c as a caninanha snake. /Fig. 207 appears here./

13. Comb pattern of unknown meaning (Fig. 196 /see p. 56 /).

14. Snake pattern (according to Ehrenreich, "Beiträge," Fig. 11d); represented as a comb decoration (Fig. 197 /see p. 56/).

15. There were delivered to me as plaiting patterns a few other sketches, the originals of which I never saw in plaiting. They all portray the tail of the coati (tšusŏn-hālālū) (Fig. 198 a, b, and c /see p. 56/).

531/ I must add here several patterns which may have arisen from the plaiting technique, but which the Indians did not designate for me as plaiting patterns. They are found as carved decorations and drawings.

16. dūlālĭdĭ (Fig. 199) /see p. 56/).

[534] 17. kŏdūnĭ = tartaruga /Chelonia/. Found on rattles (Fig. 200a /see p. 57/) and on half-gourds (Fig. 200b /see p. 57/).

18. kŏdūbōnăblōlōdĕ = river turtle. As a filled-in surface found on half-gourds (Fig. 201a /see p. 57/) and rattles, arranged in a row as rim patterns of a half-gourd (Fig. 201b$_{1,2}$ /see p. 57 /). Further developed on the gourd rattle (Plate VI /see p. 52 /, Fig. 105) and in the Šavajé comb (Fig. 201c /see p. 57 /). /Figs. 208 and 209 appear here./

19. ālĭwă = pacu /Prochilodus/ fish. Square standing on the point (Fig. 198c /see p. 56/).

20. Gourd pattern of unknown meaning (Fig. 202a /see p. 57/), with which /Figs. 210-212 and 214 appear here/, the artist in question, as a result of the difficulty of the pattern and in

2 [see p. 60 - Analyst]

[Text continues on p. 61]

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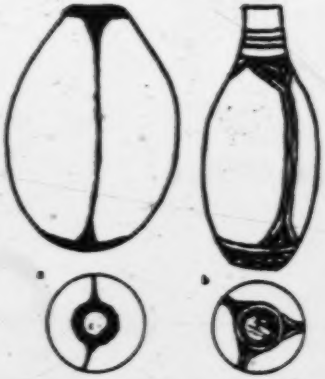

Fig. 207 a and b. Resonance gourds. (Including their bottom surfaces.)

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301

Fig. 208 a and b. Ear rods.

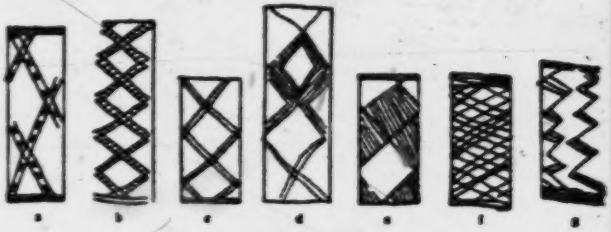

Fig. 209 a-g. Ear rods.

[415]

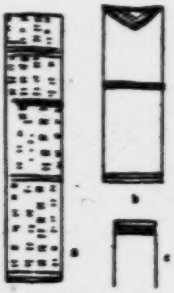

Fig. 210 a-c. Ear rods.

Fig. 211 a and b. Ear rods.

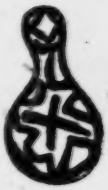

Fig. 212. Gourd ladle.

Fig. 214. Gourd ladle.

/26 cont./

531 spite of two attempts, did not quite succeed, is similar.

21. The cross, lālādjä = urubu. Found as gourd-carving

[534] on a rattle (Fig. 203a /see p. 57/) and as a sketchbook drawing (Fig. 203b /see p. 57/). According to Ehrenreich ("Beiträge," Fig. 16c) a lizard is represented in the form of a cross.

/27/ I furthermore obtained a gourd (Fig. 204 /see p. 57/) which bears no fewer than 20 different figures, five of which are patterns discussed above. The individual figures are as follows:

a) ŏāoā = gavião; b) dōlĕ = parrot; c) ăndādōlā = arara; d) lālā = urubu; e) kŭōli; f) klāŏbi = monkey; g) wāti = stag; h) tīlū = excrement; i) krādjāīqū /Fig. 215 appears here/ = sexual parts of the Karajá Indian women; k) bīū = rain; l) bĕnū = navel; m) ōmālūdi; n) djüĕtā = piranha; o) kjŏlŏzā = dog; p) ŭŏhū = arrows; q) dōnōli = lance; r) ŏdābŭjä; s) ŭōmā; t) hādŏ = house; u) kŏdūni = tartaruga.

Unfortunately it was broken on the journey, so that, apart from the plaiting patterns, only the figures a, e, k, l, o can be recognized with certainty.

2. Carved decorations

are in part different from these plaiting patterns; they show quite distinctive features. Two half-gourds have distinct edge strips (Plate XI /see p. 57/, Figs. 201a and 202a). Two gourd con-

[415] tainers for feathers are decorated with strange decorations (Plate XI, Fig. 205). The gourds for oil bear the ornamentation on the /Figs. 216 and 217 appear here/ 1 upper part around the opening, usually in four parts (Fig. 206 a to c/see p. 57/), rarely with

[534] more parts (Fig. 206d /see p. 58/). The resonance gourds for the signal trumpets are decorated over the whole expanse, in two parts in Fig. 207a /see p. 60/, in three parts in Fig. 207b /see

[30] p. 60/. Of other carvings only carved ear-rods are found. These have the following decorations; spirals (Fig. 208a /Figs. 218-220 appear here/ 2 and b /see p. 60/), intersections (Fig. 209 a to g /see p. 60/; the decoration in Fig. 209f was called ĭlĕdĭlĕgā),

1, 2 [see p. 62--Analyst]

[Text continues on p. 63]

/27 cont./

531
415

Fig. 215 a-c. Gourd ladles.

Fig. 216 a-c. Gourd ladles.

Fig. 217.
Gourd ladle.

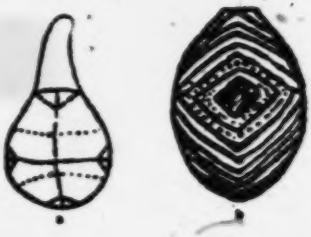

Fig. 218 a and b.
Gourd ladles.

Fig. 219.
Gourd ladle.

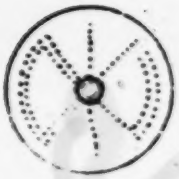

Fig. 220.
Whole gourd,
viewed from above.

/27 cont./

531 horizontal sectioning (Fig. 210a to c /see p. 60/), vertical sectioning (Fig. 211a and b /see p. 60/).

3. The half-gourds and whole gourds decorated by painting have a quite different character.

[415] Only one gourd ladle colored with paint is found (Fig. 212 /see p. 60/). It shows a black edge, simple zigzag line, and a cross in the middle.

/28/ All the others show poker work. Fig. 213 (Plate XI /see p. 57/) represents the first attempt at this by a small girl. The gourd ladles are very diversely decorated. The edge has a row of triangles (Fig. 214 /see p. 60/), or tree-like branched figures usually extend from it toward the center (Fig. 215 a to c /see p. 62/). /Fig. 221 appears here. /2 The patterns in Fig. 216 a to c /see p. 62/ are arranged in horizontal strips, in Fig. 217 /see p. 62/ in vertical strips. In Fig. 218 a and b /see p. 62/ the whole surface is filled in with one pattern, in Fig. 219 /see p. 62/ with different patterns. Plaiting patterns are represented only in Figs. 216c and 219. Whole gourds are either decorated only on the upper part (Fig. 220 /see p. 62/), or in a central zone reaching around them (Fig. 221 a to c /see p. 64/; b and c with three parts), or only on two opposite sides (Fig. [415] 222 a and b /see p. 64/). The water-carrying vessel of the Šavajé (in Fig. 223 /see p. 64/) shows very crude poker work.

531 462 [512] [172] 4. The artistic activity of the women is quite different from this of the men. It is very rare and in part has been taken over from the Brazilians. The women do not use the patterns of the men. It must be said that the women stand far behind /Figs. 222-224 appear here/2 the men artistically; for although they also plait and make pottery, they decorate their products only in the rarest cases. Homemade decorations are found on a mat, the apron of a clay doll, and on spinning whorls. The mat 531 [245] (Fig. 224 /see p. 64/) is patterned by plaiting in bundles of black-dyed fibers in the fashion illustrated. One sees immediately that on the right the upper pattern is the negative of the lower one. On the doll's apron (Plate II /see p. 48/, Fig. 26) the red and

1, 2 [see p. 64--Analyst]

[Text continues on p. 65]

/28 cont./

.531

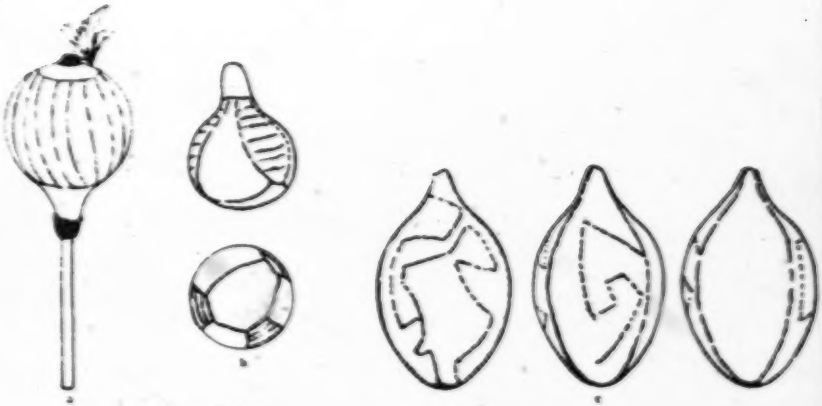

Fig. 221 a-c. Three whole gourds (b with bottom view, c unrolled).

[415]
[845]

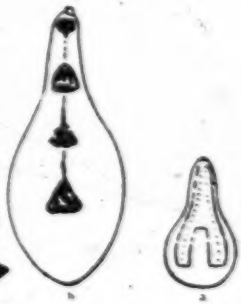

Fig. 222 a and b. Whole gourds.

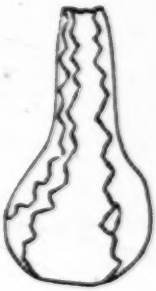

Fig. 223. Water vessel.

Fig. 224. Decorated mat.

/28 cont./

black decorations are somewhat reminiscent of the decorations of the men. The clay spinning whorl (Fig. 225a) is provided on one surface with fine incising which is arranged in two concentric circles, with

Fig. 228 a and b. Small clay utensils for play.

Fig. 225. Spinning whorl, a) of clay, b) of white earth.

Fig. 226 a-d. Tobacco pipes of clay.

Fig. 227 a-e. Decorated eating dishes, export goods.

four spokes divided up several times, in between. /29/ The spinning whorl made of white earth (Fig. 225b) has a circle cut into it on both sides, from which rays extend. These indentations are made red and black.

The decorations on the clay tobacco pipes and the clay bowls were probably taken over from the Brazilians.

I found clay tobacco pipes only in the villages near S. José. They were evidently taken over altogether, and with them the ornamentation as well, from the Brazilians. It is true that their form is now made by the Indians rather differently from the Brazilian form, with a wide base which is lacking in the Brazilian one (Fig. 226 a to d).

/29 cont./

531 415 [104] [439] Clay bowls, in export form and decorated with red paint, were also produced only in the uppermost villages and actually as export goods. The decorations are limited /Fig. 227 appears here/ mostly to the upper edge; only rarely do they extend farther down. Despite their simplicity, they have a very pleasing effect (Fig. 227 a to e /see p. 65/). Moreover, a crudely [524] decorated play-bowl of the Karajá (Fig. 228a /see p. 65/) and a small clay bowl, likewise painted on the outer surface with red patterns, which comes from the Šavajé living with the southern horde of the Karajá (Fig. 228b /see p. 65/), were found.

000 /Appendices I, "Distribution of the Objects and Drawings among the Individual Tribes," II, "Index of the Figures and Patterns Drawn by the Same Persons," and III, "Systematic Index of the Objects Represented," pp. 30-31, have not been translated; see the foreign text./

532

[For information on various forms of representational art among the Caraja, see category 116, pp. 3-42, and 47-53.]

524

[For illustrations of clay dolls see category 116, pp. 48-51.]

2: Krause SP9 Caraja

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BEITRÄGE ZUR VÖLKERKUNDE
HERAUSGEGEBEN AUS MITTELN DES BAESSLER-INSTITUTS

UNTER MITWIRKUNG DER DIREKTOREN DER ETHNOLOGISCHEN ABTEILUNGEN DES KÖNIGLICHEN MUSEUMS FÜR VÖLKERKUNDE IN BERLIN REDIGIERT VON

P. EHRENREICH

BAND II

MIT 288 ABBILDUNGEN UND 1 KARTENSKIZZE IM TEXT
SOWIE 11 TAFELN IN LICHTDRUCK

LEIPZIG UND BERLIN
DRUCK UND VERLAG VON B. G. TEUBNER
1912

[title page]

DIE KUNST DER KARAJÁ-INDIANER.
(STAAT GOYAZ, BRASILIEN.)

VON

FRITZ KRAUSE.

(Hierzu Tafel I–XI.)

INHALTS-VERZEICHNIS.

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VORWORT.

Nachfolgend veröffentliche ich das dem Gebiete der Kunst angehörige Material, das ich auf meiner innerbrasilianischen Expedition gesammelt habe. Im Jahre 1908 unternahm ich für das Leipziger Museum für Völkerkunde eine ethnographische Forschungsreise nach dem Rio Araguaya (Provinz Goyaz), in deren Verlauf ich die dort ansässigen Indianerstämme der Karajá, Šavajé und Kayapó[1]) kennen lernte. Während sich der Besuch bei den beiden letzten Stämmen nur auf wenige Tage beschränkte, war ich mit den Karajá volle fünf Monate lang in ständiger Fühlung, sodaß ich in die Kultur und Gedankenwelt gerade dieses Volkes tiefer eindringen konnte.

Neben den leicht zu erwerbenden ethnographischen Gegenständen und wichtigsten ethnologischen Tatsachen glückte es mir durch das immer inniger werdende Vertrautsein mit diesen Indianern, auch sonst schwer zu erlangende Gegenstände und Aufschlüsse aller Art zu erhalten. Auf diese Weise konnte ich vor allem reichhaltiges Material sammeln, das uns Einblick in das künstlerische Schaffen, also in ein wichtiges Gebiet des geistigen Lebens der Indianer, gewährt. Und zwar sind es nicht nur Zeichnungen, die ja schon von mehreren Indianerstämmen vorliegen, sondern vor allem eine große Menge plastischer Darstellungen (Flecht-, Wachs- und Tonfiguren), die unser Interesse um so mehr erregen, als wir gerade von diesen nur wenige aus Südamerika besitzen. Unter den Zeichnungen wiederum sind neben den figürlichen Dar-

1) Der Transkription der indianischen Namen benutze ich die von Meinhof in: Neuauflage, Anleitung zu wissenschaftlichen Beobachtungen auf Reisen, 3. Auflage, S. 454, gegebenen Lautbezeichnung.

stellungen besonders die mannigfaltigen Flechtmuster wichtig, da sie einen wertvollen Beitrag zur Frage der Ornamentik liefern werden[1]).

Bei dem Interesse, das Ethnologen, Psychologen, Kunsthistoriker und die gebildeten Kreise überhaupt heute der primitiven Kunst entgegenbringen, glaubte ich, das von mir gesammelte, so überaus reichhaltige Material gesondert veröffentlichen zu müssen, getrennt von den übrigen Ergebnissen meiner Expedition, unter denen es zu sehr in den Hintergrund geraten wäre.

Das Material gebe ich als solches wieder, nur geordnet nach gewissen Gesichtspunkten, die aus dem Inhaltsverzeichnis zu entnehmen sind, und versehen mit den wichtigsten Erläuterungen über den Verfertiger, die Art der Herstellung, Zweck und Bedeutung des Gegenstandes oder der Figur. Ich hoffe dadurch die einzelnen Sachen so genau bestimmt zu haben, daß keine Zweifel und Mißdeutungen mehr entstehen können, sodaß also jeder, mag er sich zu bestimmten Theorien über die Entwicklung der primitiven Kunst stellen wie er will, mit diesem Material auf sicherer Grundlage arbeiten kann. Gedacht ist der Aufsatz eben als reine Materialveröffentlichung. Dadurch glaube ich der Forschung mehr zu nützen, als wenn ich selbst versucht hätte, unter Zugrundelegung meiner Ergebnisse Stellung zu nehmen zu den großen Streitfragen, die gegenwärtig über die Entwicklung der primitiven Kunst erörtert werden.

Zur weiteren Nutzbarmachung des Materials gebe ich im Anhang eine Übersicht über den Anteil, den die beiden verwandten Stämme der Karajá und Šavajé daran haben, sodann eine Übersicht über die Verteilung der Skizzenbuchzeichnungen auf die einzelnen Zeichner, nach Lebensalter geordnet, und schließlich ein systematisches Verzeichnis aller dargestellten Objekte.

Die behandelten Gegenstände befinden sich sämtlich im Museum für Völkerkunde zu Leipzig. Einzelne Male wurde auf die im Berliner Museum für Völkerkunde befindlichen, von Ehrenreich 1886 am Araguaya erworbenen Gegenstände Bezug genommen[2]). Auf eine Vergleichung meines Materials mit dem vom Xingu von den Vettern von den Steinen und vom Rio-Negro-Gebiet durch Koch-Grünberg mitgebrachten bin ich im einzelnen nicht eingegangen. Ein allgemeiner Vergleich ergibt die interessante Tatsache, daß die Karajá künstlerisch auf einer bedeutend höheren Entwicklungsstufe stehen, als jene primitiven Stämme.

1) Aufgenommen habe ich im Nachtragsteile außer Zeichnungen und Darstellungen der Karajá auch einige der Šavajé, eines Stammes, der den Karajá in Sprache und Kultur sehr eng verwandt ist.

2) Veröffentlicht in: Ehrenreich, Beiträge zur Völkerkunde Brasiliens. Veröffentlichungen aus dem Kgl. Museum für Völkerkunde; II. Band, 1./2. Heft, Berlin 1891.

EINLEITUNG.

Die Kunstbetätigung der Karajá ist auf Raumkunst beschränkt. Diese gliedert sich in freie (darstellende) und in verzierende Kunst.

Die freie Kunst beschäftigt sich hier mit der Darstellung der Formen von Lebewesen und Gegenständen, die sie in voller Form (plastisch) oder flächenhaft (zeichnerisch) wiedergibt, die verzierende Kunst mit der Ausschmückung von Gegenständen mit geometrischen Mustern.

In der darstellenden Kunst verfolgen wir in der Plastik die Wiedergabe der Formen in dem verschiedenen Material, wobei wir vom sprödesten (Blattgeflecht) über härteres (Ton und Holz) zum bildsamsten (Wachs) übergehen. Bei der zeichnerischen Darstellung betrachten wir zuerst die dem Indianer vertrauten Arten: in Sand und auf Cuyen, dann erst die ihm bisher fremde Art der Wiedergabe ins Skizzenbuch. Dabei soll jedesmal die Entwickelung von der einfachsten bis zur vollendetsten Form dargelegt werden; es ist aber nicht bekannt, ob dies wirklich der Gang der Entwickelung ist, oder ob nicht einfachere Formen vielleicht auf späteren Stufen entstandene Stilisierungen darstellen, während die vollendetsten nur Ausfluß besonders hoher persönlicher Begabung sind.

Die verzierende Kunst beschränkt sich auf Anbringung geometrischer Muster. Diese Muster, die meist als Tiere gedeutet werden, sind der Flechttechnik entlehnt. Wir betrachten daher zunächst die der Flechttecknik entlehnten Ornamente an den Geflechten selbst, sodann ihre Übertragung in Schnitzerei auf Cuyen, und wollen dabei die große Menge solcher Muster, die mir die Indianer ins Skizzenbuch zeichneten, mit berücksichtigen. Darauf erst sollen die sonstigen, in Schnitzerei und Brandmalerei üblichen Verzierungen behandelt werden.

Die verzierende Kunsttätigkeit ist rein auf die Männer beschränkt; sie allein verstehen die Muster auszuführen. Ich habe nur mehrere Tabakspeifen aus Ton, zwei Spinnwirtel, einige moderne Tonschalen, einen Puppenschurz und eine Matte gesehen, die von Frauen verziert worden waren. Diese Gegenstände weisen völlig andere Muster auf; dabei ist zu bemerken, daß sie die Tontabakspeifen und Tonschalen offenbar erst ganz neuerdings von den Brasilianern übernommen haben. So steht hier die Frau völlig hinter dem Manne zurück. Ebenso ist es in der freien Kunst. Da werden nur die stilisierten Tonfiguren von den Frauen gefertigt, während die lebensvolleren Figuren in anderem Material und die Zeichnungen von den Männern hergestellt sind. So finden wir auch hier das auffällige Überwiegen des Mannes über die Frau. Es scheint also, als ob bei den Karajá der Mann künstlerischer veranlagt wäre als die Frau, während in den technischen Fertigkeiten sich beide Geschlechter wohl gleich stehen.

A. DARSTELLENDE KUNST.

1. PLASTIK.

Plastische Darstellungen sind häufig anzutreffen; sie werden nur aus Spielerei oder als Spielzeug hergestellt.

a) Flechtereien aus Oaguassublattfiedern.

(Tafel I.)

Bei Flechtereien ist die Form am stärksten vom Material abhängig, das ja beim Flechten allerlei Ecken und Knickungen abgibt, die sich nur schwer der darzustellenden Form anpassen. Der Künstler kann nicht so frei schaffen wie z. B. in Ton oder Wachs. Wird daher mit Geflechten eine den natürlichen Formen sehr nahe kommende Figur erreicht, so muß man dies als sehr hohe Kunstgeschicklichkeit anerkennen.

Die Karajá-Indianer sind nun an sich gute Flechter; alle ihre Körbe, Matten, Umflechtungen sind sauber und geschmackvoll ausgeführt. Es nimmt daher nicht wunder, daß sie auch im Figurenflechten eine hohe Stufe erreicht haben. Zu bemerken ist dabei, daß das

2:Krause SP9 Caraja

Figurenflechten nur vom männlichen Geschlecht geübt wird, wie auch nur die von Männern geflochtenen Gegenstände Musterungen aufweisen, während alle von Frauen hergestellten Flechtarbeiten ungemustert sind.

Die nachstehend beschriebenen Flechtfiguren wurden von Knaben und Jünglingen aus Zeitvertreib, zum Teil erst vor meinen Augen und aus eigenem Antriebe hergestellt. So z. B. erhielt ich die der Šavajé, als wir am Abend Plauderstunde an der Maskenhütte abhielten und ich, um die Leute anzuregen, eine Blattfieder aus meiner Sitzmatte herauszog und zu flechten begann. Kaum hatte ich angefangen, als die Jugend sofort meinem Beispiele folgte und mir eine große Menge interessanter Figuren lieferte.

Die Art des Flechtens ist z. T. die bei uns gebräuchliche. So werden in unseren Kindergärten Figuren wie der kleine Korb (Fig. 1) und die Bienenwaben (Fig. 2) ebenfalls angefertigt.

Komplizierter sind bereits die Nachbildung der Klapperschlange (Fig. 3), der Tabakspfeife (Fig. 4), sowie die sehr vollendeten Darstellungen von Vögeln (Fig. 5a und b).

Eine große Rolle spielt in der Gedankenwelt der Indianer die Zeugung und die Zeugungsorgane. So nimmt es nicht Wunder, auch Darstellungen der Geschlechtsteile zu finden. Bei Puppen, Wachsfiguren, Baum- und Sandzeichnungen, überall werden sie gewissenhaft angebracht. Vor allem ergötzt sich die männliche Jugend in solchen Darstellungen, in voller Harmlosigkeit, und bildet besonders den Penis gern in Flechtwerk nach. Fig. 6 stellt einen solchen Penis dar. Charakteristisch für die Harmlosigkeit der Leute war, daß, als ich fragte, was dies sein solle, eine eben anwesende Frau einen etwa 30 cm langen Wachszylinder einer kleinen Puppe als Penis vorhielt.

Unbekannt in ihrer Bedeutung sind die folgenden Figuren der Šavajé: Fig. 7 *(ajaajé)*, Fig. 8 *(ddjé, hôdié)*, wahrscheinlich den Aasgeier (Urubu) darstellend), Fig. 9 *(idjôjajé)*, eine sehr zierliche Arbeit; die Art der Herstellung dieser Vexierfigur ist mir nicht bekannt), Fig. 10, Fig. 11a und b *(hôdadé oder hdôini)*; a: Ruhestellung; b: gespannt). Diese letzte Figur ist ähnlich wie die vorhergehende geflochten, doch so, daß die Blattrippe den einen Rand bildet. Zieht man an dem Teile des Blattstieles, der aus dem Flechtwerk unten frei herausragt, so macht die obere Spitze nickende Bewegungen.

b) Holzschnitzereien,

(Tafel II.)

nur selten anzutreffen und ebenfalls von Männern ausgeführt, sind etwas weniger abhängig vom Material. Die Form kann also bereits besser wiedergegeben werden.

Ich erhielt nur eine Holzpuppe (Fig. 12), die eine Jungfrau darstellt. Sie ist aus einem Gabelholz so hergestellt, daß die Gabelzweige die beiden Beine, der Stamm den Körper bildet. Arme fehlen also und sind auch nicht aufgemalt. Der Kopf ist abgesetzt, Nase und Stirn sind erhaben geschnitzt, Augen und Mund als wagerechte Striche eingeschnitten. Die Ohren fehlen, die Brüste sind leicht angedeutet. Der Leib ist oberhalb des Frauenschurzes tief eingeschnitten, eine Art der Darstellung des weiblichen Körpers, die in sämtlichen Tonfiguren wiederkehrt. Die Geschlechtsorgane sind unter dem Bastschurze in natürlicher Weise wiedergegeben. An den Beinen sind Oberschenkel und Waden plastisch herausgearbeitet. Die Füße sind durch abgesetzte Klötzchen dargestellt, Waden- und Knöchelbänder durch Umwickelung mit rotem Baumwollfaden wieder-

Fig. 14 a u. b. Verziierte Tabakspfeife. Fig. 12. Holzfigur Baumschnitzerei.

gegeben. Die Figur ist bemalt; an der einen Kopfseite sind mit Wachs kleine rote Federn als Ohrrosette angebracht.

Hierher gehören wohl auch die Holzschemel (Fig. 13a und b), die mit schlittenartigen Kufen aus einem Stück Holz geschnitzt sind. Die Sitzfläche läuft beiderseits spitz zu und in je einen dreieckigen Kopf aus, der einen erhabenen Schnabel trägt. Der ganze Stuhl soll einen Arara darstellen (siehe Vorderansicht, Fig. 13b). Die Augen werden durch aufgeklebte Muschelscheiben mit zentralem Wachsknopf wiedergegeben; an den Kopfrändern sind Federbüschel als Ohrquasten befestigt. Das Ganze ist mit der Farbe der Genipapofrucht schwarz angestrichen.

Schließlich sind hier noch reliefartige Darstellungen zu erwähnen, zunächst die Tabakspfeife (Fig. 14), die an der einen Seite eine erhabene Schnitzerei trägt, deren Bedeutung ich leider nicht erfahren konnte. Sonst ist sie am oberen Rande mit einem netten, nur noch zweimal (Halbcuye Taf. XI, Fig. 201a, und 202a) wiederkehrenden Schnitzmuster verziert. Sodann sah ich an einem Baume im Walde nahe der Šavajépflanzung nebenstehendes, mit der Axt eingeschlagenes Relief der weiblichen Geschlechtsorgane (Fig. 15). Es war von einem mich begleitenden Karajá früher da eingehauen worden.

c) Tonfiguren (*Mõkõ*).

(Tafel II–IV.)

Bei weitem bildsamer ist der Ton; in ihm lassen sich die Formen schon naturgetreu nachbilden. Die Tonfiguren, die von den Frauen hergestellt werden und als Spielzeug für die Mädchen dienen, umfassen nur Darstellungen menschlicher Gestalten beiderlei Geschlechts und jeden Alters; sie stellen folgende Stämme dar: Karajá, Šavajé, Kayapó und endlich die Döbãi am Rio das Mortes. Solche Tonfiguren waren in großen Mengen in allen Dörfern vorhanden und wurden mir überall angeboten. Wo der Vorrat ausgegangen war, wurden rasch welche für mich angefertigt, die ich aber nur selten kaufte, weil sie genau dieselben typischen Formen zeigten wie die vorrätigen Figuren, also keinerlei persönlichen Einfluß aufwiesen. Nur einmal erhielt ich ein Konterfei, die Darstellung der vom Alter gekrümmten Großmutter (Taf. III, Fig. 42). Es ist nun sehr auffällig zu beobachten, daß diese Darstellungen vollkommen stilisiert sind. Zwar lassen sich mehrere Grade darin unterscheiden, aber nur bei wenigen Exemplaren wird eine einigermaßen richtige Wiedergabe der menschlichen Körperformen erreicht.

Ehe ich auf die Formen selbst eingehe, will ich kurz über die Art der Herstellung dieser Figuren berichten. Körper, Beine und Kopf werden aus einem Tonkloß hergestellt. Der Fettsteiß wird besonders angesetzt, ebenso der Penis; der Nabel wird mit einem Holzstab eingebohrt. Dann werden mit einem schmalen Bambusstäbchen die Linien der späteren Bemalung eingedrückt, indem man das Stäbchen leicht über den weichen Ton hinwegzieht und dabei in regelmäßigen Zwischenräumen einen leisen Druck ausübt. Es entstehen so Linien mit kleinen, perlenartig aneinandergereihten Löchern. Ist die Figur so weit fertig, wird sie in die Sonne zum Trocknen gelegt; gebrannt werden die Figuren nur sehr selten. Danach kann die weitere Fertigstellung beginnen. Bei weiblichen Figuren wird nun der Schurz umgebunden: ein Stück Baumbast wird in der nötigen Länge zugeschnitten, die Innenschicht abgezogen und durch mehrmaliges Ziehen durch den Mund geschmeidig gemacht. Die Befestigung als Schurz ergibt sich aus Fig. 24. Darauf wird das Haar angebracht. Schwarzes Harz wird an einem Holzkloben erwärmt, auf einem Kürbis oder auf dem Oberschenkel zu einer langen Wulst ausgerollt und diese dann auf dem Kopf festgedrückt. Am Hinterkopf wird eine dicke Harzschicht angebracht. Wird das Harz zu schnell hart, so wird es mit dem Holzkloben neu erwärmt. Nun erst folgt die Bemalung mit schwarzer Genipapo- und roter Urukufarbe. Ein feines Bambusstäbchen wird in die Farbe getaucht und in den vertieften Linien entlang gezogen. Größere rote Farbflächen werden auch mit dem Zeigefinger aufgetragen.

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Der den verschiedenen Geschlechtern und Lebensaltern charakteristische Schmuck wird meist mit angebracht. Fast alle Figuren sind bemalt; ob die Muster mit den sonst üblichen Körperbemalungsmustern übereinstimmen, weiß ich nicht; jedenfalls sah ich nie derartige Muster an den Körpern der Leute selbst, wobei zu bemerken ist, daß ich überhaupt nur selten Körpermusterung antraf.

Ohrstäbe sind hier und da durch feine Stäbchen dargestellt (Fig. 17, 23), Ohrrosetten ganz klein aus Federn nachgebildet (Fig. 16a und b). Als Lippenpflöcke der Männer dienen lange schmale Rohrstreifen (Fig. 18).

Halsketten sind entweder aufgemalt (Fig. 19b) oder durch Perlen (Fig. 16) oder in der Mehrzahl durch Baumwollschnüre wiedergegeben, die entweder fest anliegen (Fig. 18, 22) oder lang herabhängen (Fig. 21, 35).

Nackenquasten der Kinder sind in Wachs nachgebildet; sie liegen dem Rücken der Figuren fest an (Fig. 20, 21).

Armstulpen sind zuweilen an den Verlängerungen der Haarwachswulst angebracht, indem zwei feine Wachsrollen aufgelegt sind, deren Zwischenraum rot bemalt ist (Fig. 17, 18, 20, 21, 22, 35).

Schnurarmquasten weist Fig. 22 auf.

Wadenbänder werden durch zwei feine Wachswülste, deren Zwischenraum nur selten rot bemalt ist, dargestellt (Fig. 18, 22, 23).

Sonstiger Schmuck sind: Kopfring aus Bast (Fig. 18), Kinntätowierung (Fig. 24a).

Die Stammestätowierung ist meist vorhanden, sie besteht in zwei eingeschnittenen und schwarz gefärbten Kreisen auf den Wangen (Fig. 18, 19b, 24a, 26).

Augen fehlen meistens; wo sie vorkommen, sind sie durch kleine wagerechte Striche dicht unter dem Haarrand dargestellt (Fig. 24a); Tätowierung und Augen zusammen kommen sehr selten vor; beide fehlen bei einer ganzen Anzahl von Puppen.

Der Mund wird durch einen kleinen wagerechten Schnitt gebildet. Die Darstellung des Mundes als Loch, wie sie bei mehreren Figuren Ehrenreichs (Beiträge, Taf. XL, Fig. 2 und 3) zu sehen ist, findet sich in meiner Sammlung nur bei fünf Puppen (Fig. 25, 33, 50, 52, 54).

Die Nase fehlt oder ist erhaben dargestellt; die beiden Nasenlöcher sind häufig als zwei kleine Löcher wiedergegeben. Die Ohren fehlen durchgängig, sie würden auch unter dem Haar verschwinden.

Die männlichen Figuren sind bis auf wenige Ausnahmen durch einen besonders angesetzten Penis charakterisiert, die weiblichen durch die Bastbinde. Fig. 21 trägt als Mädchen einen Schnurgürtel mit Bastbinde, Fig. 56 einen langen schwarzen Schnurrock; bei Fig. 26 ist der Bastschurz bemalt. Getragen wird der Schurz meist zwischen den Schenkeln durchgezogen, nur selten lang herabhängend. Die weiblichen Geschlechtsorgane sind unter dem Schurz nicht nachgebildet. Über die Ausgestaltung der Brüste siehe unten.

Zunächst will ich nun die Wiedergabe der einzelnen Körperteile: Beine, Leib, Arme, Brüste, Haar, behandeln, um dann kurz auf die Gesamtdarstellung einzugehen.

Die Beine. Es gibt drei Typen der Ausbildung der Beine. Die allgemeinste, zugleich die wenigst naturgetreue Form zeigt zwei kurze dicke Wülste, die sich entweder glatt an den Körper ansetzen (Fig. 16, 19, 25, 32) oder weit nach beiden Seiten ausladen (Fig. 17, 20, 26, 35, 36). Sehr selten ist die zweite Form: die ausladenden Wülste laufen nach unten in eine verlängerte Spitze aus. Nur bei zwei Exemplaren dieser Gruppe ist ein Fuß angedeutet (Fig. 27, 46). Häufiger ist die dritte Form: Unterhalb der Wülste setzt sich nach einer starken Einschnürung eine zweite kugelige Wulst an, die unten in eine Spitze (Fig. 18, 21, 22, 23, 45) oder in einen angesetzten Fuß (Fig. 24, 28, 34) ausläuft. Die Füße durchlaufen hierbei alle Formen vom kurzen Stumpf bis zum ausgebildeten Fuß (Fig. 28). Bemerkenswert ist die starke Übertreibung der Waden, Oberschenkel und Hüften bei der zweiten und dritten Form,

und mit ihr geht parallel die Ausgestaltung eines oft riesige Dimensionen annehmenden Fettsteißes (Fig. 23, 24b, 28b, 30, 34b), beides Erscheinungen, die der ersten Form fehlen. Sie werden erklärlich durch einen Vergleich mit den Körperformen der Indianer (Fig. 29a und b). Diese besitzen äußerst starke Muskulatur am Oberschenkel, die Waden treten durch die tief einschneidenden Wadenbänder der jungen Leute stark hervor, und auch die Fettpolster am Gesäß sind überstark entwickelt. Das Ideal der Indianer ist eine möglichst starke Ausbildung dieser Erscheinungen, und in den Figuren wird anscheinend dieses Ideal dargestellt.

a b

Fig. 29 a u. b. Bemalte Karajábrüder.

Nur eine Figur fällt außerhalb dieser drei Typen (Fig. 30); sie ist wahrscheinlich aus einer Weiterbildung der zweiten Form entstanden. Von den oberen Ausladungen erstrecken sich zwei lange Zylinder herab, die bis unten gleich stark bleiben und wagerecht abgeschnitten sind.

Der Leib zeigt bei den männlichen Figuren nichts Auffälliges. Er trägt den tief eingebohrten Nabel, der von vertiefter Malerei umgeben ist. Hingegen ist der Leib der weiblichen Figuren dadurch sonderbar gestaltet, daß er in eine teilweise weit vorstehende Platte ausläuft, auf der sich der Nabel befindet. Unterhalb der Platte ist der Schurz angebracht. Wahrscheinlich geht diese Erscheinung auf das Hervorquellen der Bauchpartie durch festes Anziehen des Bastschurzes zurück, wie es zuweilen zu beobachten war (Fig. 31).

Ein gleich schwieriges Kapitel ist die Darstellung der Arme und Brüste; ich muß beide gemeinsam behandeln, da sich nicht ohne weiteres erkennen läßt, welche von beiden dargestellt werden.

Beide fehlen überhaupt bei einigen männlichen und weiblichen Figuren (Fig. 32). Bei einer weiblichen Figur ist nur durch eine kleine Wulst eine Erhöhung ausgeprägt (Fig. 33). Diese würden also für unsere Betrachtungen wegfallen.

Die männlichen Figuren zeigen folgende Typen:

a) Voll ausgebildete Arme und außerdem kleine Brüste hat nur eine Figur (Fig. 18).

b) Seitliche Auswüchse aus dem Oberkörper, die offenbar Arme bedeuten, sind bei einer größeren Anzahl von Puppen vorhanden (Fig. 28, 30).

Es folgen drei Typen, bei denen zunächst unklar ist, ob Arme oder Brüste dargestellt sind.

c) Dem Oberkörper ist vorn eine Querwulst aufgesetzt, die seitlich in zwei brüsteähnliche Zapfen ausläuft (Fig. 16, 17, 19).

d) Diese Wulst ist in der Mitte etwas vertieft, so daß sich die Zapfen noch mehr der Brüsteform nähern (Fig. 36).

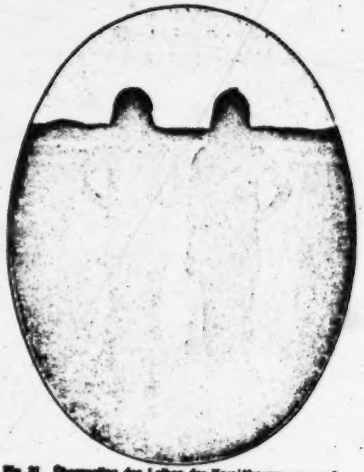

Fig. 31. Übergestülpte des Leibes der Karajábrüder von und an den Seiten durch starkes Anziehen des Bastgürtels.

e) ist dem Typus d) ähnlich, nur daß die Zapfen nach vorn gerichtet und stark gewölbt sind (Fig. 23, 38).

Die weiblichen Figuren zeigen folgende Typen:

a) Zwei Figuren haben langausgebildete Arme, dazu echte, nach vorn gerichtete Brüste in Gestalt vierseitiger Pyramiden (Fig. 34).

Typus b) der männlichen Figuren fehlt.

Die vier nächsten Typen sind denen der männlichen Figuren ähnlich, auch hier bleibt es zunächst unklar, ob Arme oder Brüste dargestellt sind.

c) entspricht dem obigen Typus c) (Fig. 26).

d) entspricht dem obigen Typus d) (Fig. 35). e) fehlt in dieser Gruppe. Dafür zeigt f) zwei brüsteähnliche Auswüchse, die schräg seitlich gerichtet sind (Fig. 27).

Bei g) sind diese Auswüchse nach vorn und abwärts gerichtet (Fig. 24, 25).

Die Typen c) bis e) der männlichen und c) bis g) der weiblichen Figuren erwecken den Anschein, als ob sie Brüste darstellten, bei e) der männlichen, f) und g) der weiblichen Puppen erscheint diese Annahme ziemlich gesichert. Ihr kommt noch ein weiterer Umstand zu Hilfe. Bei einer Anzahl von Figuren ist die Haarwulst beiderseits bis zu den Hüften verlängert, und an ihren unteren Enden sind die oben beschriebenen Armstulpen angebracht. Offenbar sollen also die Verlängerungen des Haares die Arme darstellen. Diese Ausbildung der Arme finden wir nun

bei männlichen Figuren bei Typus c) (Fig. 17),

bei weiblichen Figuren bei Typus c) und d) (Fig. 26, 35).

Es wird nicht angehen, bei so ausgestatteten Figuren die seitlichen Auswüchse als Arme zu deuten; denn dann würden diese zweimal dargestellt sein. Wir sahen ja schon, daß die Form dieser Auswüchse von der der sicher als Arme zu deutenden (Typus b der männlichen Figuren) erheblich abweicht, sich der Brüsteform nähert. Ich glaube daher diese Auswüchse als Brüste deuten zu müssen.

Vielleicht könnte man sich daran stoßen, daß auch bei männlichen Figuren dann Brüste ausgebildet sind. Dies würde allerdings ein ziemlich schwerwiegender Gegengrund sein, denn man kann nicht ohne weiteres annehmen, daß die Indianer Körperteile anfügen, die doch nicht vorhanden sind. Deutet man sie bei den männlichen Figuren aber als Arme, muß man das logischerweise auch bei den weiblichen tun; denn man kann wiederum nicht annehmen, daß die Indianer auf dieselbe Weise hier Arme, dort Brüste darstellen. Dann wäre es aber zu verwundern, warum die Indianer die weiblichen Brüste, die doch solch auffallendes Merkmal bilden, nicht angebracht hätten, dafür aber Arme an diese Stelle gesetzt und bei einer ganzen Anzahl von Figuren nochmals Arme aus Wachs angefügt hätten. Diese Annahme ist wohl zurückzuweisen. So bleibt nur die Ansicht übrig, daß es sich bei den weiblichen Figuren sicher um Brüste handelt, und daß analog die Auswüchse der männlichen Figuren auch solche darstellen. Betrachtet man die ganze schematische Anlage der Figuren und zieht den Umstand, daß bei vielen Indianermännern die Brüste leicht gewölbt waren, in Erwägung, so wird man die Übertragung eines weiblichen Organs auf männliche Figuren nicht weiter verwunderlich finden.

Das Haar wird, wie oben beschrieben, durch eine Wulst gebildet, die um das Gesicht gelegt wird. Der Hinterkopf bis zu den Schultern, zuweilen auch der Rücken bis zum Kreuz herab, wird mit einer Harzschicht belegt (Fig. 20). Seitlich geht die Haarwulst bis zum Kinn (Fig. 19, 28, 30), bis unter die Arme und Brüste (fast nur bei weiblichen Figuren [Fig. 24, 25, 27, 32, 34]), oder bis zu den Hüften herab (Fig. 17, 20, 21, 22, 26, 33, 35). In letzterem Falle ist meist oben ein kleiner Scheitelstutz angebracht, von dem sich ein vertiefter, rot gefärbter Scheitel bis zur Stirn herabzieht (Fig. 17). Die unteren Enden der Wulst stellen die Arme dar, sie tragen häufig Armstulpen. Bei den beiden anderen Arten sind Scheitel und Scheitelstutz nur selten vorhanden. Männliche Figuren mit kurzer Haarfrisur haben zuweilen hinten

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Zöpfe aus einer Wachswulst, die bis aufs Kreuz hinunterreichen. Diese Zöpfe sind schmal (Fig. 19a) oder breit (Fig. 23), tragen ein Band (Fig. 16b), oder sind völlig in Schnur eingewickelt (Fig. 36) und entsprechen den mit Bast umflochtenen oder mit rotgefärbter Baumwollschnur umwickelten Zöpfen, die die jungen Leute zu tragen pflegen (Fig. 37).

Von besonders gestalteten Puppen dieser Sorte sind folgende zu erwähnen:

1. Kinderdarstellungen (Fig. 32). Diese Puppen haben Beine vom Typus 1 und Haar vom Typus 1. Arme, Brüste, Augen, Tätowierung, Nabel und Bauchplatte fehlen. Die männlichen Figuren sind durch einen kleinen Penis, die weiblichen durch einen schwarzen Schnurgürtel charakterisiert. Einige tragen Halsketten, andere Nackenquasten und Ohrrosetten.

2. Sitzende Figuren (Fig. 21, 38). Der Oberkörper liegt weit nach hinten über.

3. Dicke Figuren (Fig. 39, 40) stellen schwangere Frauen dar. Der dicke Leib ist besonders angesetzt. Bei Fig. 40 war er beim Trocknen abgebrochen und wurde wieder mit Wachs angeklebt.

Außerdem bekam ich eine männliche Figur (Fig. 41), die in ähnlicher Weise hergestellt ist. Als ich fragte, was der dicke Leib zu bedeuten habe, sagten sie: ein Kind. Leider gelang es mir nicht, weiteren Aufschluß darüber zu erlangen, der vielleicht Licht auf den Ursprung der Sitte des Männerkindbettes hätte werfen können.

Fig. 37. Jünglinge mit langen Zöpfen.

4. Porträt der alten, gebeugt gehenden Großmutter (Fig. 42). Die Figur ist wie alle anderen weiblichen Puppen hergestellt, der Oberkörper ist stark nach vorn übergebogen. Als ich fragte, was diese Figur bedeute, zeigte die Mutter unter dem Jubel ihrer Kinder auf die altersschwache Großmutter, die nahe dem Herdfeuer unter einer Matte lag.

Es läßt sich kein Parallellaufen der einzelnen Typen erkennen. Die verschiedenen Arten der Arm-, Brust- und Haardarstellung sind mit allen drei Arten der Beindarstellung verbunden, so daß sich nichts Gesetzmäßiges finden läßt. Nimmt man möglichste Naturtreue als Maßstab, so sind die vollendetsten männlichen Darstellungen Fig. 18 und 28, die vollendetsten weiblichen Fig. 24 und 34.

Neben diesen Puppen gibt es noch andere Tonpuppen, die vor allem in der Ausgestaltung des Kopfteiles von der behandelten Form abweichen. Anscheinend werden durch diese Formen fremde Indianerstämme dargestellt, während die erste Form die Karajá selbst wiedergibt.

1. Die Puppen haben kein Gesicht; den oberen Abschluß des spitz zulaufenden Rumpfes bildet eine Wachskappe (Fig. 43–46).

2. Kʲãʲãũ, d. i. Kayapó. Statt des Kopfes bildet den Rumpfabschluß eine nach vorn überstehende Tonplatte, die auf der Oberseite bunte Riefelung aufweist, und unter der sich zwei Tonknöpfe befinden, die die Brüste darstellen. Es sind nur weibliche Figuren vertreten (Fig. 47). Sie haben Beine vom Typus 1, Bauchplatte, Hohlnabel und Schurz.

3. Döbãĩ, d. i. ein Stamm am Rio das Mortes. Der Körper läuft oben in einen runden Zylinder aus, der auf der Plattenoberfläche radial angeordnete bunte Striche trägt (Fig. 48, 49).

Die letzte Figur hat beiderseits Armansätze; ihr oberes Ende ist etwas verdickt und von oben her ausgehöhlt.

4. Döbäi, in anderer Darstellung (Fig. 50). Hier läuft der Zylinder nach oben flach und schmal aus. Unter der Oberkante befindet sich ein Loch, das von mehreren bunten Löchern kranzförmig umgeben ist.

5. Döbäi (Fig. 51 und 52). Der Zylinder trägt oben eine schmale Platte mit bunten Querstrichen, darüber eine Haarwulst. Fig. 52 stellt die männliche Figur zu Fig. 51 dar, sie trägt das obere Loch unter der Platte, das bei Fig. 51 fehlt.

Vielleicht stellt auch Fig. 53 eine derartige Puppe dar. Die Platte ist unverziert, das obere Loch fehlt, dafür sind Brüste angebracht, und die Haarwulst läuft beiderseits sehr weit herab.

6. Ganz absonderlich sind drei weitere Tonfiguren.

Fig. 54 ist eine offenbar männliche Figur mit Beinen vom Typus 1. Der Kopf läuft spitz zu und ist mit einer kleinen Wachskappe umgeben. Im Gesicht ist ein kleines Mundloch vorhanden. Arme fehlen. Der Leib zeigt eine von oben nach unten sich erstreckende Aushöhlung deren Ränder etwas über den übrigen Körper hervorragen.

Fig. 55: *inõ*, d. h. Mensch. Sie ist aus grauem Ton hergestellt, hat Beine vom Typus 1, Arme, Penis und walzenförmigen Körper, auf den ein großer Kopf mit mächtiger Nase, weit aufgerissenem Mund und geschlitzten Augen aufgesetzt ist.

Fig. 56. Diese weibliche Figur ist aus weißer Erde hergestellt; Beine fehlen, der Körper ist kugelförmig ausgestaltet und von einem langen schwarzen Schnurrock überdeckt.

Ehrenreich bringt in seinen „Beiträgen" auf Tafel XI in Figur 1 die Abbildung einer primitiven Tonfigur, die in meiner Sammlung nicht vertreten ist. Sie läuft oben und unten spitz zu und trägt ein Nabel- und ein Mundloch. Ich möchte bemerken, daß ich mich bemüht habe, alle vorhandenen Typen zu sammeln, so daß meine Sammlung die von mir bei den Karajá und Šavajé angetroffenen Typen erschöpft, daß mir aber diese Form nicht zu Gesicht gekommen ist. Das Mundloch dagegen findet sich noch zuweilen allein vor (Fig. 34, 42; Döbäi Fig. 50, 52; Fig. 54). Desgleichen waren die vollendeten Formen (Ehrenreich, Beiträge Tafel XI Fig. 7, 8, 10) mit ihren an die Brüste gezogenen Armen, die von den Šambioá stammen, bei den Karajá und Šavajé nicht zu finden. Sollte dies Fehlen kein Zufall sein, so ständen wir vor einer auffälligen Erscheinung. Das Fehlen der primitivsten Stufe erscheint darzutun, daß die Indianer in den letzten 20 Jahren über diese Stufe hinausgewachsen sind, während das Fehlen einzelner vollendeter Typen zeigt, daß die Karajá und Šavajé die Šambioá auch heute noch nicht erreicht haben. Von den Šavajé habe ich keine Puppen mitgebracht; es gab nur wenige bei ihnen und diese waren mit denen der Karajá völlig identisch.

d) Wachsfiguren.

(Tafel IV–VI.)

Wachsfiguren werden sehr gern von den Knaben und Jünglingen aus Spielerei angefertigt. Besonders Wachsschweine waren in den Händen kleiner Knaben fast überall anzutreffen. Von sonstigen Gestalten fand ich hier und da eine in den Körben; alle anderen wurden spontan vor meinen Augen hergestellt, als die Indianer mein Interesse an solchen Figuren gesehen hatten, und zwar aus freiem Ermessen, nicht auf meinen Wunsch. So zeigen gerade diese Figuren die Tätigkeit augenblicklichen freien Schaffens dieser Indianer. Es gab geschickte und ungeschickte Bildner unter ihnen; besonders zeichneten sich ein Knabe und ein Jüngling durch lebensvolle Wiedergaben aus.

Die Wachsfiguren stellen Menschen und Tiere dar. Sie stammen sämtlich von der Nordhorde der Karajá; bei der Südhorde habe ich keine vorgefunden. Die drei besten Darstellungen menschlicher Figuren stammen von den Šavajé.

Die menschlichen Gestalten zeigen noch viele Anklänge an die stilisierten Formen der Tonpuppen; nur fünf davon heben sich durch naturgetreue Darstellung darüber empor.

Männliche Figuren erhielt ich fünf Stück von den Karajá, von denen eine (Fig. 63) einen Šavajé-Jüngling darstellt. Von den neun weiblichen Exemplaren stammen sechs von den Karajá und drei von den Šavajé. Drei Exemplare der Karajá stellten Karajá-Frauen dar (Fig. 60, 61), die drei anderen, die ausnahmsweise von einer Frau hergestellt sind, Tapirapé-Frauen (Fig. 62). Diese beiden Gruppen klingen noch viel stärker an die Tonfiguren an, während die drei Figuren der Šavajé (Fig. 65 und 66) die vollendetsten Formen darstellen.

Die primitiv ausgestalteten menschlichen Figuren erscheinen als in Wachs übertragene Tonfiguren.

Fig. 57 hat Beine vom Typus 1 der Tonpuppen und seitlich angesetzte Arme. Kopf und Haar bilden ein nach oben spitz zulaufendes Dreieck.

Fig. 58 hat Beine vom gleichen Typus, einen zylinderförmigen Leib und eine Brust vom Typus f) der weiblichen Tonpuppen. Die Haarwulst reicht bis unterhalb der Brust, das Gesicht ist abgesetzt, die Nase erhaben.

Fig. 59 besitzt Fettsteiß, Beine vom Typus 3, aber keine Füße; die Arme sind besonders angesetzt; das Haar wird durch eine kleine Wachskappe gebildet; Gesicht und Nase sind wie bei der vorigen Figur ausgebildet.

Die sechs primitiven weiblichen Figuren (Fig. 60–62) haben sämtlich Beine vom Typus 1. Bei allen sind brüsteartige Erhebungen vom Typus d) und f) angebracht. Das Haar ist durch eine Wulst gebildet, die bis auf zwei Ausnahmen an die Brüste herabreicht. Bei Fig. 62 reichen die Enden bis zu den Hüften und tragen unten Stulpennachbildungen wie die Tonfiguren. Die drei Karajá-Figuren tragen den Frauenschurz, die drei Tapirapéfrauen sind nackt. Fig. 61 hat ein Kind auf dem Rücken und ist in eine Netzdecke aus bunten Baumwollstoff gehüllt.

Im Gegensatz zu diesen primitiven Figuren sind die fünf übrigen sehr lebensvoll nachgebildet. Bei den beiden männlichen Karajá-Figuren (Fig. 63, 64) sind Arme und Beine naturgetreu ausgebildet, bei Fig. 64 auch Hände und Füße dargestellt. Das Gesäß ist nur bei Fig. 63 etwas verdickt. Diese selbe Figur hat einen Nabel, der mittels eines hohlen Rohres eingebohrt ist, so daß der Kern stehen geblieben ist. Arm- und Beinbänder sind durch Wülste mit dazwischenliegender roter Bemalung gekennzeichnet. Augen und Mund sind eingeritzt, die Nase ist erhaben. Fig. 64 trägt eine Kopfbinde aus Rohrstreifen, Fig. 63 eine besonders aufgesetzte Wachshaarwulst mit einem langen, dicken Zopf daran.

Von den drei Wachsfiguren der Šavajé, die Jungfrauen darstellen, sind zwei in Fig. 65 und 66 wiedergegeben. Arme und Beine sind gut ausgebildet, Hände und Füße bei den zwei abgebildeten entwickelt. Alle drei haben Fettsteiß, sowie Ansatz zur Bauchplatte. Der Nabel ist hohl; die Brüste sind kräftig angesetzt. Der Kopf ist abgesetzt. Das Haar wird durch eine besondere Schicht gebildet; zwei Figuren haben Scheitel und Scheitelstutz. Augen und Mund sind durch Löcher (bei Fig. 66 durch längliche Vertiefungen), die Nase erhaben dargestellt; Fig. 66 hat zwei große Nasenlöcher an der wenig erhabenen Nase. Die Tätowierung ist als kleiner Kreis eingeschnitten. Der Schurz ist aus Bast nachgebildet. Die Halsketten sind bei zweien aus Bast, bei der dritten aus Baumwolle hergestellt. Alle drei tragen Armstulpen aus Baumwollfaden, der zwischen zwei erhabenen Wachswülsten um den Arm gewickelt ist. Ebenso tragen alle drei Ohrstäbe. Die Gestalten sind also ziemlich proportioniert wiedergegeben. Besonders gut ist die Ausgestaltung des Kinnes, der Arme und Beine, Hände und Füße. Leise Anklänge an die schematische Darstellung der Tonfiguren sind in der Ausbildung des Fettsteißes und der Bauchplatte vorhanden.

Sonstige menschliche Figuren sind ein Reiter und eine Kürbisfigur.

Der Reiter (Fig. 67) ist sehr naturgetreu dargestellt. Beim Pferd sind Kopf und Schwanz

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ausgebildet, die Beine durch lange Stäbchen ersetzt. Der Reiter hat lange, rollenförmige Arme und Beine; Hände und Füße fehlen; der Kopf ist abgesetzt. Unterkörper und Beine sind mit Rohbaumwolle als Hose umwickelt. Am Gürtel trägt er Säbel und Revolver, in beiden Armen das schußbereite Gewehr, alle aus Wachs nachgebildet.

Die Kürbisfigur (Fig. 68), die einen Jüngling darstellt, ist höchst sonderbar gestaltet. Der Leib besteht aus einem kleinen runden Kürbis, auf den oben ein gut ausgearbeiteter Wachskopf aufgesetzt ist. Am Kopfe sind Scheitelstutz, mit rotem Faden umwickelter Zopf, Ohrrosetten und Halsketten aus Baumwollfaden angebracht.

Fig. 69. Modell der *Idjäzö*-Maske in natürlichem Material.

Fig. 70. Nachbildung der *Idjäzö*-Maske in Wachs.

Anschließen möchte ich hier die Nachbildung von Maskentänzern. Auf animistischer Grundlage beruhende Maskentänze finden bei den Karajá besonders in der Regenzeit (vom Oktober bis April) statt. Dabei werden Tanzmasken benutzt, die meist Tiere darstellen. Diese Masken sind entweder aus Palmenblättern geflochten und verhüllen die gesamte Gestalt des Tänzers, oder sie bestehen aus einem mit bunter Federmosaik beklebten Rohrzylinder, der auf den Kopf gesetzt wird. Das Gesicht wird dabei durch einen am unteren Rande des Zylinders befestigten Schurz verhüllt; um die Schultern und Hüften ist je ein Blätterschurz gebunden, so daß vom Tänzer nur die Füße und die Hände mit der Tanzrassel sichtbar sind.[1])

Fig. 69 stellt die *Idjäzö*-Maske dar in einem Modell aus natürlichem Material. Man vergleiche damit die recht roh ausgeführte Wachsnachbildung derselben Maske (Fig. 70). Die beiden Beine sind durch zwei Zipfel angedeutet, in die die Maske unten ausläuft, die Schurze durch zwei übereinander befindliche Ausladungen. Den Zylinder stellt die spitz zulaufende Wachsrolle dar; sie trägt oben zwei kleine Zacken, offenbar die beiden Federstäbe.

Die beiden anderen Maskenfiguren sind nur in diesen Nachbildungen bekannt. Fig. 71 stellt die *Iöönî*-Maske dar, die in Natur die Gestalt einer etwa zwei Meter hohen, dreikantigen Tüte besitzt und völlig aus Palmblattgeflecht besteht. An der Vorderseite befinden sich über dem unteren Rande zwei Löcher, durch die die Arme beim Tanzen gesteckt werden. In der Nachbildung besteht der Körper aus einer Wachsrolle, an die unten zwei Rollen als Beine angesetzt sind. Die Hülle ist aus einem oben geknickten, vorn mit Wachs zusammengeklebten Stück Maisblatt nachgebildet; auf dem Rücken ragt ein anderes Maisblatt empor, das in eine lange Spitze ausläuft. Die Arme bestehen aus Wachs, sie sind auf das Maisblatt aufgesetzt; die Armlöcher sind also nicht mit nachgebildet.

Die *Inãmî*-Maske (Fig. 72) trägt keinen Maskenanzug, dafür aber auf dem Hinterkopfe einen gemusterten Aufsatz. Vom Kinn hängt ein langer, breiter, bunt bemalter und mit Wachswülsten gemusterter Blattstreifen herab; er bedeutet offenbar einen bemalten Lippenpflock.

Tiere werden vom Indianer am liebsten wiedergegeben, nicht nur plastisch, sondern auch zeichnerisch und als Ornament. Er lebt ja unter den Tieren als ihresgleichen, und gewohnt,

1) Ausführlicheres über diese Tanzmasken siehe in meinem Aufsatz: Tanzmaskennachbildungen vom mittleren Araguaya (Zentral-Brasilien), im Jahrbuch des städtischen Museums für Völkerkunde zu Leipzig. Band 3, Leipzig 1910, Seite 97–122. (R. Voigtländer, Leipzig.) Eine Anzahl Abbildungen aus diesem Aufsatz wird hiermit wiedergegeben.

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auf jeden Laut, jede Bewegung der Tiere acht zu geben, hat er sich ihre charakteristischen Rufe, Formen und Bewegungen so eingeprägt, daß er leicht imstande ist, sie aus dem Gedächtnis gut wiederzugeben. Vor allem trifft das für die Tiere zu, die er jagt oder fischt, oder die sonst sein Interesse erregen (wie Delphine und Krokodile).

Säugetiere. Der Jaguar ist in zwei Darstellungen vorhanden (Fig. 73ab, [b Kopf von vorn], 74).

Fig. 73 hat einen vorn breiten Kopf mit breitem Maul, aus dem vier spitze, aus Palmblatt geschnittene Zähne hervorragen. Die Ohren sind klein, der Schwanz kurz, die Beine aus dünnen Stäbchen nachgebildet. Der Körper ist mit runden Blattscheiben mit zentralem Wachsknopf, das Gesicht mit einem viereckigen Blattstück mit mehreren Wachstupfen darauf bedeckt; um den Nacken läuft ein Blattband. Fig. 74 hat einen spitzen Kopf, nur ein Ohr und einen langen Schwanz. Die Beine sind aus Wachs gefertigt und mit Krallen versehen. Auf den Vorderbeinen steht, auf den Hinterbeinen liegt das Tier. Die Proportionen sind gut getroffen. Gesicht und Körper sind mit vieleckigen Blattscheiben besetzt; um den Nacken läuft auch hier ein Blattband.

Fig. 71. Nachbildung der Jaguar-Maske in Wachs.

Der Hirsch ist nur in einer Darstellung (Fig. 75) vertreten. Gut nachgebildet sind der kurze, dicke, nach oben gerichtete Stummelschwanz, das Maul, die nach hinten stehenden langen Ohren und das Geweih. Die vier Wachsbeine sind zu kurz geraten. Der Hund (Fig. 76) bedarf weiter keiner Worte.

Schweine sind in Fig. 77 und 78 dargestellt. Fig. 77 ist weniger gut gelungen. Der kurze Schwanz ist schlecht ausgebildet, die Stäbchenbeine sind viel zu lang gehalten. Gut sind die kleinen stehenden Ohren. Fig. 78 ist wesentlich besser. Der dicke Körper hat keinen Schwanz, die länglichen Ohren stehen [illegible] die kurzen, dicken Beine sind vorn in Laufstellung gehalten. Der lange Kopf mit der breiten Schnauze ist nach vorn gerichtet.

Fig. 72. Nachbildung der Jaguar-Maske in Wachs.

Vögel. Der Körper ist meist rund, walzenförmig. Der Hals ist mehr oder weniger lang, der Kopf nicht immer ausgebildet. Die Schnabellänge ist proportional dem Vorbilde gehalten. Die Flügel sind durch seitliche Wachsauswüchse (Fig. 82) oder meist durch aufgeklebte, zugeschnittene Blattstreifen dargestellt; letztere werden oft noch durch eine Wachsbrücke festgehalten. Der Schwanz ist gleichfalls aus Wachs nachgebildet (Fig. 82, 83), oder er besteht aus einem Blattstreifen, der hinten in den Körper eingesteckt ist (Fig. 79, 84). Die Beine sind durch lange, dünne Holzstäbchen dargestellt.

Vertreten sind: *ŋá* (Caracara, (Fig. 79–81); *wɔŋé*, *wɔŋŋí* (Jabiru, der Riesenstorch, Fig. 82 und 83); der Arara (Fig. 84) ist auffällig durch den maulartigen Schnabel.

Wassertiere. Das Krokodil ist in drei Darstellungen vorhanden (Fig. 85–87). Fig. 85 zeigt einen ausgebildeten Rückenkamm; der Flachschwanz ist falsch dargestellt. Die flossenartigen Ruderbeinchen sind zu kurz geraten. Absonderlich ist das Maul. Fig. 86 ist die beste Darstellung. Kopf, Schwanz und Beine sind gut proportioniert. Vortrefflich ausgebildet sind die Schnauze und die kleinen Stehohren. Die Musterung wird durch aufgelegte Blattstreifen wiedergegeben. In Fig. 87 sind vor allem die dicken, klobigen Beinchen gut dargestellt. Eigentümlich sind der hohe, flache Schwanz und die aus Blatt geschnittenen Zähne im Rachen.

Der Delphin ist ebenfalls mehrfach vertreten (Fig. 88 und 89). Fig. 88 hat zwei Seitenflossen, Fig. 89 zwei dicke Beinchen. Einen Delphin stellt vielleicht die Fig. 90 dar, für die ich keine Bedeutung erhalten habe.

Die Form des Pirarucufisches (Fig. 91) ist sehr gut wiedergegeben. Beachtenswert ist die Kiemenspalte und die Art der Flossennachbildung (zwei Brust- und eine Afterflosse).

Von den Schildkröten ist die kleine Nachbildung (Fig. 92) trotz ihrer Einfachheit sehr gut. Unter dem gewölbten Schild sitzen zwei kleine Beinchen; vorn ist der Kopf angesetzt. Fig. 93 ist größer und sorgfältiger ausgeführt. Die Proportionen sind gut. Dem Rückenschild sind Muster eingeritzt.

Die Schlange (Fig. 94) besteht aus einer langen Wulst. Der Kopf schneidet senkrecht ab, der Schwanz läuft spitz aus.

2. FLÄCHENHAFTE DARSTELLUNG — ZEICHNEN.[1])

Solche Darstellungen findet man im Sande, sowie auf Cuyen; außerdem lieferten mir die Indianer ein reichhaltiges Material in mein Skizzenbuch.

Fig. 96. Iadawí-Maskentänzer.

a) Sandzeichnungen

wurden bei unseren Gesprächen häufig zur Erklärung ausgeführt, indem einfach erst der wellige Sand der Sandbänke mit der Hand geglättet wurde und dann mit dem Zeigefinger Linien gezogen wurden. Feinere Zeichnungen, wie Tierspuren, wurden auch unter Zuhilfenahme des Messers oder feiner Stäbchen angefertigt. Neben diesen vertieften Umrißzeichnungen gibt es noch Flachreliefs, die dadurch entstehen, daß man den Sand aus der geschlossenen Hand unten in feinem Strahl herauslaufen läßt. Solche erhabene Figuren sah ich einmal als Spielerei herstellen, doch wurde mir mitgeteilt, daß größere derartige Sandgemälde auch mit rot und schwarz gefärbtem Sande in oder bei der Maskenhütte ausgeführt würden. Ich habe diese Nachricht nur von einer Seite erhalten und durch andere Gewährsmänner oder eigene Beobachtungen nicht bestätigen können, letzteres vor allem deshalb nicht, weil ich außerhalb der eigentlichen Tanzzeit das Indianergebiet bereiste.

Fig. 97. Sandzeichnung der Iadawí-Maske.

Fig. 98. Sandzeichnung der Idjazó-Maske.

Diese Zeichnungen habe ich nur durch Nachskizzieren aufnehmen können, da sie meist abends oder nachts ausgeführt wurden, so daß photographische Aufnahmen ausgeschlossen waren

Von vertieften Figuren sah ich zwei Maskentänzer, *Idjazó* und *Iadawí*.

Idjazó (Fig. 95). Die Anlage geht von einer Mittellinie aus, an die die Bestandteile symmetrisch angesetzt werden. Die beiden Schurze sind durch parallele Striche, die von der Mitte aus nach beiden Seiten schräg abwärts laufen, dargestellt; der Fall der Blätterstreifen

1) Sämtliche nachstehend veröffentlichte Proben flächenhafter Darstellungen stammen nur von den Karajá.

der Schurze ist also gut wiedergegeben. Der Zylinder wird durch den Mittelstrich bezeichnet, die Federflügel durch davon ausgehende, schräg abwärts ziehende Parallelstriche, die Stäbe mit den Federbüscheln am Ende durch zwei divergierende Striche mit je einem Kreis als Abschluß.

Als Vorlage der *lädmi*-Maske diene Fig. 96. Diese Maske besteht aus einem aus Palmblatt geflochtenen Zylinder, der in einen langen Schlauch ausläuft, dessen oberen Rand ein Federkranz bildet, aus dessen Mitte sich ein Stab mit Federschmuck am Ende erhebt. Die Anlage der Zeichnung (Fig. 97) ist ebenfalls symmetrisch zu einer senkrechten Mittellinie. Zwei divergierende Linien am unteren Ende bilden die Füße. Die Schurze sind wie bei der *tdjäzö*-Maske dargestellt, nur daß hier der Unterschurz geschlossen, der Oberschurz offen ist, während es bei *tdjäzö* umgekehrt war. Der Kopfaufbau ist durch die Mittellinie wiedergegeben, die durch einen größeren und kleineren Kreis, die beiden Federkränze, hindurchgeht.

Tierspuren zeichnete mir mein indianischer Kamerad Manoel eine Anzahl in den Sand.

Fig. 98. Spur des gr. Ameisenbären.

Fig. 99. Spur der Aöte.

Fig. 100. Spur des Jabiru.

Fig. 101. Spur der Ente.

Fig. 102. Frau.

Fig. 103. Krokodil.

Fig. 98, *wämi* (großer Ameisenbär). Die Hand wird gebogen und mit der Kante in den Sand gedrückt; mit dem gekrümmten Zeigefinger werden dann an diesen Eindruck die Zehen angesetzt.

Fig. 99, *dezö* (?). Man macht eine Faust und drückt die Oberseite, die vom Daumen und Zeigefinger gebildet wird, in den Sand ab. Die sechs (!) Zehen wurden mit dem Zeigefinger gezogen.

Um die Spur des Kapivara *(hüd)* herzustellen, drückt man die Hand mit den gespreizten Fingern in den Sand ab.

Fig. 100, *wäjäti* (Jabiru). Die vier Zehenfurchen werden mit dem Finger gezogen, dann das zentrale Loch eingedrückt.

Fig. 101, *hädämjä* (Ente). Die Spur wurde mit dem Messer ausgeführt. Die Eindrücke der Schwimmhäute wurden durch Beiseiteschieben des Sandes erzeugt, die Kralleneindrücke durch Einschneiden und Herausheben des Sandes.

Erhabene Sandgemälde konnte ich zwei Stück beobachten, die ebenfalls von Manoel angefertigt wurden.

Fig. 102 stellt eine Frau dar. Die Scham wurde durch ein Steinchen gekennzeichnet.

Fig. 103 ist ein Krokodil. Es könnte ebenso gut jedes andere langschwänzige Tier sein.

b) Cuyenzeichnungen

befinden sich auf Ölcuyen. Sie werden dadurch hergestellt, daß die oberste Schicht mit dem Messer abgehoben wird. Die Figuren sind eine Art Schattenriß, da sie sich in dunklerer Farbe von dem hellen Grund abheben.

Fig. 104 stellt eine ganze Hirschjagd vor. Es ist dies die einzige Darstellung einer Szene, die ich bei den Karajá gefunden habe. Die Figuren sind nacheinander Hund, Hirsch, Reiter, Hund, Mann.

Fig. 104. Hirschjagd.

Auf der Kürbisrassel (Tafel VI, Fig. 105) befindet sich eine *lädmi*-Maske eingeschnitten, die von der Sandzeichnung derselben Maske (Fig. 97) nicht wesentlich abweicht.

c) Skizzenbuchzeichnungen.

(Tafel VI–VII.)

Während diese Arten von Darstellungen den Indianern geläufig waren, wußten sie zunächst mit dem Bleistift und Skizzenbuch nichts anzufangen. Ich mußte ihnen erst dessen Handhabung zeigen, dann versuchten sie regelmäßig erst zaghaft, ob der Stift eine Linie hinterließ, gingen dann aber mutig mit sicheren Strichen an ihre Arbeit. Es gab einige, die sich sehr unbeholfen anstellten, während andere sehr geschickt darin waren.[1]) Manche konnten nichts aus eigenem Antriebe schaffen, sondern mußten sich von mir Aufgaben stellen lassen, andere (und die waren in der Mehrzahl) füllten Seite auf Seite mit immer neuen Figuren, wie sie ihnen eben einfielen. Nachstehend sind die auf Aufforderung hin gezeichneten durch *) gekennzeichnet.

So habe ich Darstellungen erhalten von Menschen, Tieren, Vögeln, Fischen, Reptilien, Insekten, Bäumen, Gegenständen, Sternbildern u. a. m. Sie behaupteten übereinstimmend, Menschen nicht zeichnen zu können, lieferten mir aber schließlich doch Bilder, als ich um mein Porträt bat. Von Tieren zeichneten sie Vögel und Fische am liebsten. Darstellungen von Bäumen sind ganz selten. Gegenstände lieferten sie meist nur auf Aufforderung hin. Am liebsten gaben sie Muster zum Besten (siehe Ornamentik).

Gezeichnet wurde nur vom männlichen Geschlecht, meist abends im Lager bei Kerzenlicht. Die Bedeutung der einzelnen Figuren wurde sofort durch Fragen festgestellt und neben jede Figur geschrieben.

Wir unterscheiden drei Arten von Zeichnungen:

1. Einfache Linienzeichnung, 2. Umrißzeichnung, 3. ausgefüllte Figuren.

Die Stellung der einfachen Linienzeichnung zu den übrigen Arten ist mangels Vergleichmaterials noch nicht entschieden. Ich möchte sie hier an erster Stelle behandeln. Von den beiden anderen Arten ist gewiß, daß die ausgefüllten Figuren eine höhere Stufe als die Umrißzeichnungen darstellen.[2]) Fast zwei Drittel aller Zeichnungen sind ausgefüllte Figuren, während einfache Linienzeichnungen nur ein Viertel, Umrißzeichnungen nur ein Siebentel des Materials ausmachen. Die Karajá stehen demnach zeichnerisch auf einer sehr hohen Stufe.

Die Linienzeichnungen sind alle mit Bleistift, die Umrißzeichnungen mit Blei- und Buntstift, die ausgefüllten Figuren nur mit Buntstift hergestellt. Die Art der Wiedergabe scheint also zum Teil vom Material abzuhängen. Mit Bleistift läßt sich nur eine schmale Linie ziehen, Ausfüllen größerer Flächen ist beschwerlich, daher resultieren nur Linien- und Umrißzeichnungen. Der Buntstift hinterläßt eine breite Spur, die Flächenausfüllung ist leicht zu bewerkstelligen, dazu kommt der Farbenreiz, so daß damit im wesentlichen ausgefüllte Figuren gezeichnet werden.

Die Verteilung über die Lebensalter ist folgende: Linien- und Umrißzeichnungen sind von Knaben und Männern, ausgefüllte Figuren von Knaben, Jünglingen und Männern ausgeführt. Eine Entwickelung läßt sich jedenfalls nicht nachweisen; die Beteiligung der Männer an den beiden ersten Arten ist sogar ziemlich stark.

Die Ausfüllung der Figuren erstreckt sich über den ganzen Körper und ist überall gleichmäßig. Charakteristische Ausfüllung fehlt, diese höhere Stufe ist also noch nicht erreicht. Andeutungen davon finden wir bei der Umrißzeichnung des Rochens (Fig. 130). Die Figuren werden noch durch die Umrisse und angefügte charakteristische Merkmale bestimmt.

Besondere Entwicklungsstufen, die in den primitiven Zeichnungen der Naturvölker und Kinder eine so große Rolle spielen, fehlen hier fast völlig. So ist die Verwechselung von Seiten- und Vorderansicht (das gemischte Profil) in der Gesichtsdarstellung nicht vorhanden, vermutlich, weil die Gesichter stets ausgemalt sind. Gemischte Körperhaltung aber kommt bei Linienzeichnungen und ausgefüllten Figuren im ganzen dreimal vor (Fig. 108d, Tafel VI, Fig. 140a und b).

1) Über die Verteilung der Skizzen auf die einzelnen Zeichner siehe Anhang 2. 2) Vgl. Dr. S. Levinstein, Kinderzeichnungen bis zum 14. Lebensjahr. R. Voigtländers Verlag, Leipzig, 1908.

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Das Weglassen von Körperteilen ist sehr selten: Menschen in einfacher Linienzeichnung fehlt teilweise der Hals (Fig. 107). Ausgefüllte Figuren von Säugetieren haben einmal zwei Beine (Tafel VI, Fig. 154), einmal drei (Tafel VI, Fig. 153c), wobei das dritte vom Rücken aus in die Höhe geht.

Überzählige Körperteile gibt es nicht; desgleichen werden nicht sichtbare Teile nicht mit gezeichnet; nur bei den Pflanzen sind manchmal die Wurzeln dargestellt.

Der Fall, daß Körperteile getrennt vom Körper wiedergegeben werden, tritt nur einmal auf: in Fig. 169 des Rochens (auf Tafel VII) stehen die beiden Augen vor dem Kopfe.

Sogenannte Röntgenbilder fehlen. Zwar wird bei den Vögeln das Tier erst mit den Flügeln gezeichnet, dann aber wird alles ausgemalt. Die Mittellinie des Fisches (Fig. 129) stellt nicht das Rückgrat dar, sondern eine Symmetrielinie, mit deren Hilfe die Figuren angelegt werden, die aber meist durch die Übermalung wieder verschwindet. Die beiden Mittellinien des Krokodils in Fig. 131 stellen den Kamm dar.

Die Seite, von der die Figuren wiedergegeben werden, ist jedesmal die charakteristischste.

Menschen sind in einfacher Linienzeichnung von vorn dargestellt. Es ist nur ein Übergang zum Halbprofil vorhanden (Fig. 108d). Ausgefüllte Figuren sind von vorn, im Halb- und im Ganzprofil wiedergegeben.

Tiere werden wesentlich besser als die Menschen dargestellt. Die Wiedergabe von Tieren in Linien- und Umrißzeichnungen ist selten; die Mehrzahl sind als ausgefüllte Figuren dargestellt, die Vögel nur in dieser Art. Fast durchgängig sind die Tiere von der Seite gezeichnet, nur einzelne, wie Rochen, Krokodile und einige Fische sind von oben aufgefaßt.

Aus alledem ergibt sich, daß die Karajá zeichnerisch eine ziemlich hohe Stufe erreicht haben.

a) Einfache Linienzeichnungen.

Menschliche Figuren sind sämtlich von vorn gezeichnet. Der Hals fehlt teilweise, so daß der Kopf, der als Knopf dargestellt ist, dem Körperstrich direkt aufsitzt, wenn er nicht überhaupt fehlt. Die Arme und Beine sind besonders angesetzt und zwar auf folgende vier Arten: Beide stehen schräg vom Körper ab (Fig. 106, 108a); die Arme stehen rechtwinklig vom

Fig. 106. Mann.

Fig. 107. Mann.

Fig. 108 a bis d. Darstellungen von Tapirapé-Indianern.

Fig. 109. Chavánte.

Fig. 110. Karajá-Krieger

Fig. 111.* Hund.

Körper ab und sind rechtwinklig gebrochen, während die Beine schräg gezeichnet sind (Fig. 107); die Arme stehen schräg ab, die Beine sind in rechtwinkliger Darstellung wiedergegeben (Fig. 108b); Arme und Beine sind rechtwinklich dargestellt (Fig. 108c). Besonders bemerkenswert ist, daß in Fig. 108 die Gestalten in relativer Größe gezeichnet sind: Fig. 108b stellt einen Jüngling, Fig. 108c und d, die größten, Männer, Fig. 108a, die kleinste, ein Kind dar.

Etwas ausgeführter ist der Chavánte (Fig. 109), dem der von den Karajá als charakteristisch bezeichnete dicke Bauch und die Geschlechtsteile angesetzt sind, sowie der Karajákrieger (Fig. 110) mit der Keule in der einen, Bogen und zwei Pfeilen in der anderen Hand.

Ganz eigenartig ist eine Figur (Fig. 108d), die im Halbprofil dargestellt ist, derart, daß der eine Arm durch den Körper hindurch auf die Seite des anderen gezogen ist.

Tiere sind in dieser Gruppe relativ stark vertreten. Von Säugetieren sind der Hund (Fig. 111*) und der große Ameisenbär (Fig. 112) vorhanden. Sie sind von der Seite gesehen. Der Körper ist als Strich dargestellt, von dem die vier Beine als Striche ausgehen. Die Schwänze sind Verlängerungen der Körperlinie und in Haltung und Länge charakteristisch wiedergegeben. Der Kopf ist beim Hund als Punkt, bei den Ameisenbären als Strich gezeichnet.

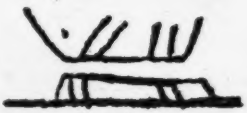


Fig. 112 a und b. Großer Ameisenbär.

Fig. 113. Mutum.

Fig. 114. Delphin.

Fig. 116. Moskitos: a) ahé, b) ldhô

Fig. 118. Mais.

Fig. 120. Puppe.

Fig. 121. Steinchen im Sand.

Fig. 115. Schlange.

Fig. 117. Bananenstaude.

Fig. 119. Mandioka.

Fig. 122. Spur eines Vogels.

Von Vögeln ist nur eine Figur, der Mutum (Fig. 113), vorhanden, dessen Körper allerdings schon leicht ausgeführt ist.

Von sonstigen Tieren sind vertreten: der primitiv dargestellte Delphin (Fig. 114), die durch eine Zickzacklinie gut wiedergegebene Schlange (Fig. 115) und die beiden kleinen Moskitos (Fig. 116a *ahé*, Fig. 116b *ldhô*), letztere mit voll Blut gesaugtem dickem Leib.

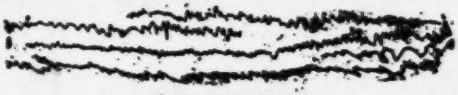


Fig. 123. Schriftnachahmung.

An Pflanzen finden sich: die Bananenstaude (Fig. 117) mit Blättern und Fruchtdolde, Mais (Fig. 118) und Mandioka (Fig. 119), letztere mit Wurzeln. Von sonstigen Darstellungen haben wir die Tonpuppe (Fig. 120); sie ist von vorn aufgefaßt und klingt an die Darstellung der Menschen an. Die Steinchen im Sand (Fig. 121) sind durch kleine Striche wiedergegeben. Sehr charakteristisch ist die Spur eines Vogels (Fig. 122). Äußerst gern ahmten die Indianer die Schrift nach; Fig. 123 gibt Proben dieser Versuche.

β) Umrißzeichnungen.

Menschliche Figuren fehlen. Vorhanden sind bloß Darstellungen einzelner Körperteile, so der weiblichen Geschlechtsorgane, die in Fig. 124 einzeln und ausführlich samt dem Anus wiedergegeben sind, in Fig. 125 in schematischer Darstellung und vielfacher Wiederholung die gesamte Seite des Skizzenbuches füllen. Die Stammestätowierung, die in je einem mit Hilfe eines Stempels eingeschnittenen

Fig. 125. Schematische Darstellung der Scham. (Ein Teil der Skizzenbuchseite.)

Fig. 126. Stammestätowierung.

Fig. 124. Weibliche Scham mit Anus.

Fig. 127. Vogel.

Fig. 128. [illegible]

blaugefärbten Kreis auf den Wangen besteht, ist in Fig. 126 wiedergegeben. Hier lag für die Indianer das Problem vor, freihändig einen Kreis zu zeichnen; mit welchem Erfolge sie dies taten, lehrt die Abbildung. (Siehe auch unten unter Gegenständen, Fig. 133.)

Tiere sind in dieser Darstellungsweise ebenfalls nur selten vertreten. Vierfüßler fehlen überhaupt. Fig. 127 stellt einen Vogel dar, wahrscheinlich einen Papagei. Das Tier ist von der Seite gezeichnet. Unbekannter Deutung ist das Tier *ãmd* in Fig. 128. Der Körper ist

unten nicht geschlossen, das einzige Beispiel dieser Art bei den Karajá. Die Arme sind besonders angebracht.

Reichlicher sind Wassertiere vertreten, so der von der Seite dargestellte Hundsfisch (Fig. 129*), der von oben gesehene Rochen (Fig. 130) mit eingezeichneter Körperzeichnung, und das ebenfalls von oben gesehene Krokodil (Fig. 131), dessen Kamm durch zwei Längslinien auf dem Rücken dargestellt ist.

An Pflanzen ist nur der auf einem in den Sand gesteckten Stock trocknende Kürbis vorhanden (Fig. 132), wie man ihn überall bei den Häusern der Indianer antrifft. Interessant sind die Skizzen zweier Gegenstände.

Fig. 129*. Hundsfisch.

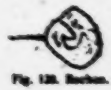


Fig. 130. Rochen.

Fig. 131. Krokodil.

Fig. 132. Kürbis auf Stock.

Fig. 133*. Topf.

Fig. 134*. Surrscheibe.

Fig. 133*) gibt einen Topf wieder. Er ist von oben gesehen, die Kreislinie des oberen Randes ist nicht übel gezeichnet.

Fig. 134*) stellt eine Surrscheibe dar. Eine runde Kürbisscheibe ist im Zentrum zweifach durchlöchert, und durch diese Löcher ist eine in sich zurücklaufende Schnur geführt. Erfaßt man beide Enden der Schnur, schleudert die Scheibe um sich selbst, so daß sich die Schnur zusammendreht, zieht die Schnur an und läßt sie wieder locker, so gerät die Scheibe in Rotation und gibt ein surrendes Geräusch von sich. Gezeichnet ist sie von den Indianern als ein Kreis, durch den die Schnur als Querstrich hindurchgeht.

Fig. 135. Mond mit Gebirge.

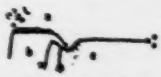


Fig. 136. Sternbilder. a) Plejaden; b) Jaguar, der den Strauß c) anspringt.

Fig. 137. Eiablage der Schildkröte.

Es folgen Darstellungen von Gestirnen und Sternbildern.

Fig. 135 stellt den Mond dar mit den als Kröte gedachten Mondgebirgen. Die kleinen Kreise in Fig. 136a bedeuten die Plejaden, die als Periquittos aufgefaßt sind. Anschließen möchte ich hier, obwohl nicht ganz hierher gehörig, die weitere Darstellung zweier Sternbilder: den Jaguar, der den Strauß von hinten anspringt (Fig. 136b und c). Die Hauptsterne sind durch Punkte wiedergegeben, die beiden vordersten Sterne des Straußes entsprechen α und β Centauri.

Schließlich ist hier noch die Darstellung eines Vorgangs anzufügen, eine Skizze, die mit der Darstellung der Hirschjagd auf der Cuye (Fig. 104) ganz vereinzelt unter den Karajázeichnungen dasteht. Von der Lagune führt die Spur der Schildkröte über den Sand zu der Stelle, wo die Eier abgelegt sind. Ein Ei ist in das Nest eingezeichnet (Fig. 137).

γ) Ausgemalte Figuren

stellen bei weitem die Mehrzahl aller vorhandenen Zeichnungen dar. Wie schon oben bemerkt, sind sie nur in Buntstift ausgeführt, woraus zu schließen ist, daß der dadurch ermöglichte breite Strich und die Flächendeckung, sowie die Möglichkeit farbiger Wirkung den Übergang von Strich- und Umrißzeichnung zur Flächenfigur bewirkt hat. Wie wir später bei den Ornamenten sehen werden, ist den Karajá-Indianern ja überhaupt flächenhaftes Sehen und ebensolche Darstellung eigen. Ausgeführt wurden die Zeichnungen derart, daß zunächst eine Mittellinie gezogen wurde, in Anlehnung an diese die Umrisse, und daß dann erst die ganze Fläche ausgemalt wurde. Die Ausmalung ist einfach und nimmt keine Rücksicht auf charakteristische Färbung und Zeichnung der darzustellenden Körper.

Stark vertreten sind menschliche Figuren.

Gut sind die en face-Darstellungen, von denen Fig. 138a*) ich bin, Fig. 138b*) mein Begleiter Adam ist. Vor allem ist die Wiedergabe der nach vorn und schräg abwärts gerichteten Füße bemerkenswert. Fig. 139 ist das Selbstporträt eines Indianers mit zweizipfliger brasilianischer Soldatenmütze.

In gemischtem Profil sind Fig. 140a und b wiedergegeben [Fig. 140a*) ich, Fig. 140b*) Adam], beide von demselben Zeichner gezeichnet. Die Körper sind en face, Bärte und Füße im Profil dargestellt und zwar sind bei b) die Füße nach einer, bei a) auswärts nach zwei Seiten gerichtet. Die Bärte sind seitwärts angesetzt, „weil sonst kein Platz da sei"; a) trägt einen Strohhut. Bemerkenswert ist die Ausgestaltung der Hände und Füße. Die Hände sind als Scheiben mit angesetzten Fingern in richtiger Anzahl gezeichnet. Die Füße sind bei b) als Striche mit angesetzten krallenartigen Zehen (je vier) wiedergegeben, bei a) entsprechend

Fig. 141. Idöyé-Maske.

Fig. 142. Iudoné-Maske.

Fig. 143. Iudoné-Maskenträger.

den Händen als Scheiben mit je fünf angesetzten Strichen. Interessant ist die Anlage beider Zeichnungen. Der Zeichner zeichnete a) von den Füßen beginnend bis zum Kopf, b) dagegen darüber vom Kopf beginnend bis zu den Füßen.

Profilzeichnungen sind in Fig. 141–143 vorhanden. Die Arme sind beide an einer Körperseite angesetzt. Bemerkenswert ist bei Fig. 141 und 142 die Wiedergabe der Knie durch Verdickungen. Die Füße sind bei allen dreien durch seitwärts angefügte Striche angedeutet. Fig. 142 und 143 haben je zweimal drei Finger, Fig. 141 vier und drei Finger. Fig. 141*) stellt einen Jüngling mit Zopf dar, Fig. 142*) eine Frau mit langem Haar. Fig. 143 soll ich sein; auffällig ist die rüsselartige Nase. Bemerkenswert ist, daß Kopf, Nase und Arme rot, der übrige Körper blau gezeichnet ist, daß also die von der Sonne rotgebrannten Körperteile die natürliche Farbe aufweisen. Allgemein ist zu bemerken, daß infolge der Ausmalung der Gesichter Augen, Mund und Nase nicht wiedergegeben sind. Einzelheiten sind stets in richtiger Anzahl oder zu niedriger, wie bei den Fingern und Zehen, aber nie in zu großer gezeichnet. Unsichtbare Körperteile sind nie dargestellt.

Maskenfiguren sind nur in vier Skizzen (Fig. 144–146, 148) vertreten, und zwar stellen die drei ersten Nachbildungen solcher Masken in natürlichem Material dar (siehe Fig. 69 und 147), die letzte aber einen richtigen *Iudoné*-Tänzer.

Die Beine sind durch zwei Striche am unteren Rande des Unterschurzes, die beiden Schurze durch zwei übereinander stehende Dreiecke dargestellt. Die Zylinder mit ihrem Federschmuck sind sehr charakteristisch wiedergegeben. Fig. 144 stellt die *bjájó*-Maske dar, Fig. 145 die *ládní*-Maske. Zu Fig. 146, *dáhóhí*-Maske, vgl. die Nachbildung der ganz ähnlichen *djájhání*-Maske in natürlichem Material (Fig. 147).

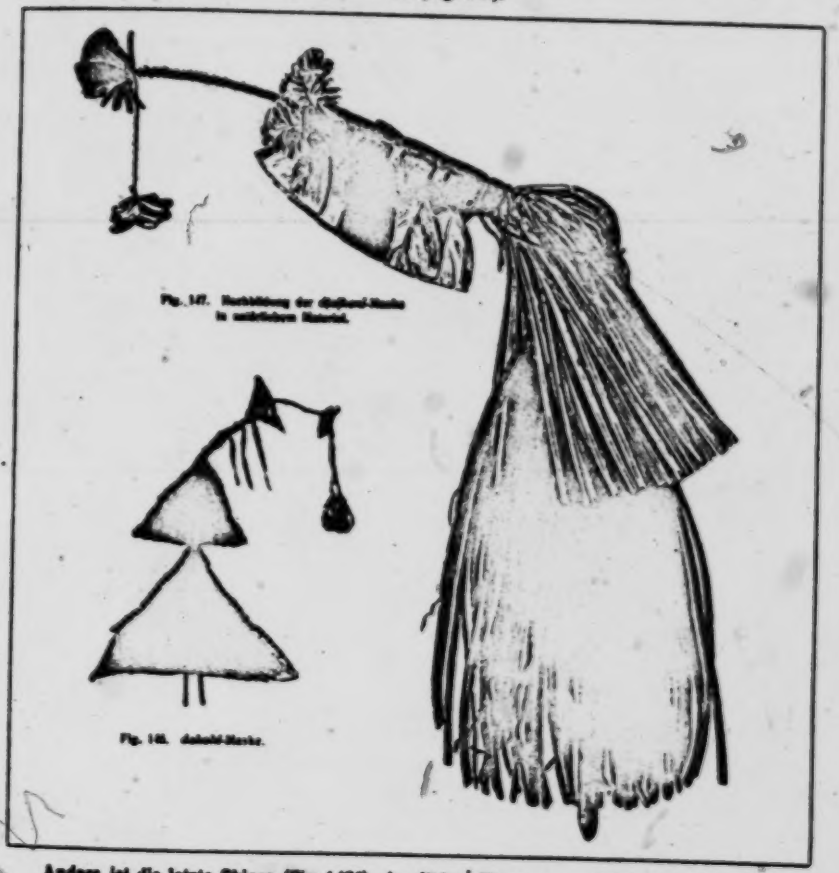


Fig. 147. Nachbildung der djájhání-Maske in natürlichem Material.

Fig. 146. dahohí-Maske.

Anders ist die letzte Skizze (Fig. 148*), der *ládní*-Tänzer, ausgeführt. Sie ist auf meinen Wunsch gezeichnet worden. Der Zeichner zog zunächst zwei parallele, senkrechte Striche, an die er unten zwei wagerechte Striche als Füße ansetzte. Weiter oben verband er sie mit einem Querstriche und füllte von da an aufwärts alles mit Farbe aus. Dann setzte er beiderseits unten je zwei Dreiecke in Umrissen an, verbesserte diese Umrisse mehrmals und füllte dann die Dreiecke aus. Oben zog er eine Mittellinie empor, zu der symmetrisch er den Maskenaufbau in Umrissen zeichnete und dann ausfüllte.

Tierzeichnungen bilden die Mehrzahl aller Figuren. Säugetiere sind durchgängig von der Seite dargestellt. Der Körper ist als Hängebauch (Fig. 149, 150b, 151, 153c) aufgefaßt. Der

Aufbau des Körpers nach oben ist sehr selten (Fig. 153a und b, 154). Die Beine werden als einfache senkrechte oder schräg abstehende Striche wiedergegeben. Die Zahl vier stimmt überall bis auf die Tiere eines Zeichners, der einmal nur zwei (Fig. 154), ein andermal nur drei (Fig. 153c) Beine zeichnet, wobei das dritte Bein vom Rücken emporgeht. Die trefflich gelungenen Schweine (Fig. 153a und b) haben geknickte Beine. Zehen sind nur beim Affen (Fig. 149[1]), je drei an jedem Fuß, vorhanden. Schwänze werden als Körperverlängerungen gezeichnet, ihre Länge und Richtung entspricht den Verhältnissen des Tieres. Der Kopf ist als Strich (Fig. 150b, 151) oder vollständig wiedergegeben (Fig. 149, 150a, 152–154). Seine Haltung, sowie die Ausbildung des Maules sind äußerst charakteristisch gehalten (z. B. bei den Schweinen, Fig. 153a und b). Ohren fehlen oder sind als abstehende Striche dem Kopfe oben angefügt (Fig. 150a und b, 152, 153a und b). Im allgemeinen sind diese Darstellungen sehr charakteristisch gehalten, so daß Körper und Gliedmaßen den Verhältnissen der einzelnen Tiere wohl entsprechen. Nur ein Zeichner hat ein Schema, nach dem er alle Tiere zeichnet: sein Hund (Fig. 150b) ist nur eine vergrößerte Ausgabe des Cuatí (Fig. 151). Die besten Darstellungen sind die der Schweine (Fig. 153a und b) und des Maulliers (Fig. 152).

Auch die Vögel sind durchgängig von der Seite wiedergegeben. Ihre Anlage ist folgendermaßen (Fig. 155): zuerst wird die Rückenlinie (1) als wagerechter Strich gezeichnet, dann vom Schwanz angefangen die stets gewölbte Bauchlinie (2); als drittes wird der Kopf (3) angesetzt, dann wird der Flügel (4) eingezeichnet; darauf wird ausgefüllt, wobei der Flügel wieder verloren geht. Beim Ausfüllen wird die Rückenlinie (5) noch gewölbt und überhaupt den Umrissen nachgeholfen. Zum Schluß werden die Beine (6) als Striche angefügt. Kein Vogel ist fliegend dargestellt, die Flügel liegen stets am Körper an. Die Tiere befinden sich vielmehr alle in einer eigentümlichen liegenden Stellung: die Beine stehen schräg nach hinten ab. Ausnahmen sind: der laufende Hahn (Fig. 162), der stehende Gavião (Fig. 156b) und der herrliche stehende Jacu (Fig. 163). Beine, Schwanz, Kopf und Schnabel sind in Haltung und Form für die einzelnen Vögel charakteristisch wiedergegeben; die Leiber sind bis auf wenige Ausnahmen nach demselben Schema gezeichnet (siehe Fig. 156–165)[2]. Ein Zeichner zeichnet die Vögel gern gleichmäßig (siehe Fig. 156b, 157, 164); an diese Formen klingt die Fig. 165 an. Alle vier stellen verschiedene Vögel dar; aber Leib, Hals, Kopf, Beine sind fast gleichartig gezeichnet.

Fig. 155. Schema der Vogeldarstellung.

Fische werden von oben und von der Seite dargestellt. Von oben sind gezeichnet: Pirarara (Fig. 166), Chicote (Fig. 167), Pintado (Fig. 168). Beim Rochen (Fig. 169) ist der Stachel von der Seite gezeichnet; die Augen sind vor den Kopf gesetzt. Alle übrigen (Fig. 170–173)[3] sind in Seitenansicht dargestellt. Die Umrisse, Flossen und Schwanzstellung charakterisieren treffend die einzelnen Fische.

Von sonstigen Tieren ist noch das Krokodil vorhanden. In Fig. 174a ist es von oben wiedergegeben. Ganz eigentümlich ist die Auffassung in Fig. 174b[1]; das hintere Viereck ist nicht erklärlich; merkwürdig ist auch der die Vorderbeine bezeichnende durchgehende Querstrich am Halse.

Pflanzendarstellungen sind als ausgeführte Zeichnungen sehr selten. Vorhanden ist ein Jatoba-Baum (Fig. 175) mit weitverzweigten Ästen, sodann *Bijá*-Früchte (Fig. 176), die kettenartig in Reihen übereinander angeordnet sind.

Gegenstände wurden meist nur auf Aufforderung hin gezeichnet; aus eigenem Antriebe

1) Die Abbildungen stellen dar: 149[1]) Affe, 150ab Hunde, 151 Cuatí, 152 Maulthier, 153a–c Schweine, 154 Wuatí.
2) Die Abbildungen stellen dar: 156ab Gavião, 158 Jabiru, 159 Garlota, 160 Mutum, 161 Ema, 161 Taucher, 162 Hahn, 163 Jacú, 164 Colóba, 165 Mandagusi.
3) Diese Abbildungen stellen dar: 170 Hundefisch, 171 Pirauba, 172 Tobusará, 173 Curuba.

laten es die Indianer nur selten; sie werden teils von der Seite, teils von oben dargestellt. Von vorn ist gezeichnet die Puppe (Fig. 177), die den Puppentypus sehr gut wiedergibt. Von oben sind das Boot (Fig. 178*) und das Ruder (Fig. 179*) aufgefaßt. Von der Seite sind der Bogen (Fig. 180*) und das Gewehr (Fig. 181) gezeichnet. Bei der Keule (Fig. 182) würden beide Ansichten gleich sein. Das Wurfholz (Fig. 183*) ist im Griff von oben, im Zapfen von der Seite wiedergegeben.

B. VERZIERENDE KUNST.

Die Männer lieben es, ihre Geräte und Gegenstände mit Mustern zu verzieren. Diese Muster sind geometrisch und sämtlich der Flechttechnik entlehnt. Wenn ich die Indianer fragte, was die von ihnen ins Skizzenbuch gezeichneten Muster bedeuteten, so sagten sie immer „*hödjtidjö*", was etwa Flechterei bedeutet; erst auf weiteres Befragen erhielt ich den eigentlichen Namen des Musters. Sie stellen sämtlich Tiere dar, allerdings so stilisiert aufgefaßt, daß ein Fremder sie unmöglich erkennen kann. Ich will hier auf die Streitfrage, was älter sei, das Muster oder die tierische Vorlage, nicht eingehen. Bemerken will ich nur, daß diese Muster allen Karajá-Indianern unter dem gleichen Namen bekannt waren, während sie die aus freier Phantasie geschaffenen Figuren und Zeichnungen im allgemeinen nicht erkannten, sondern mich erst fragten, was diese bedeuten sollten. Demnach sind es feststehende, anscheinend sehr alte Ornamente.

Wir finden diese Ornamente geflochten auf Fächern und Körben, den Stielen von Häkelnadeln, auf Lanzen, Keulen, Bogen, Pfeilen, Rasseln, Kämmen; geschnitzt auf Voll- und Halbcuyes, Kürbisrasseln, Ohrstäben; gemalt mit Brandmalerei auf Cuyenlöffeln und kleinen Kürbissen, mit Farbe auf Cuyenlöffeln.

Alle diese Gegenstände werden von den Männern hergestellt; sie sind die Träger dieser Kunst. Die Frauen verzieren auch zuweilen von ihnen gefertigte Gegenstände, wie Matten, Spinnwirtel, Bastschurze. Die Muster weichen aber von denen der Männer im allgemeinen ab. Neuerdings gehen die Frauen unter brasilianischem Einfluß zur Verzierung von Tabakspfeifen und Tonschüsseln über; die dabei benutzten Ornamente sind aber ganz fremd, wahrscheinlich von den Brasilianern übernommen.

Die Muster, mit denen sich die Indianer den Körper bemalen, haben nichts mit den Flechtmustern gemein. Zuweilen werden auf die Schenkel Muster gemalt, die Flechtmustern ähnlich scheinen; wahrscheinlich hängen sie mit den Maskentänzen zusammen, bei denen wir ähnliche, meist Tiere darstellende Ornamente an den Zylindermasken und den Bastschurzen antreffen.

Die Tiermuster sind nicht Linien- sondern Flächenmuster; es stellen also bei Geflechten die in einer Richtung geflochtenen Streifen das Muster dar; ebenso gelten bei den Skizzen nicht die Linien als Muster, sondern die davon eingeschlossenen Flächen. Es geht dies daraus hervor, daß bei geschnitzten Mustern diese Flächen erhaben oder versenkt dargestellt, jedenfalls als Fläche vom Grund abgehoben sind; ebenso sind zuweilen in den Skizzen die Flächen durch Punkte oder Striche hervorgehoben. Schwierig ist dabei nur zu entscheiden, welche der Flächen den Untergrund und welche das Muster darstellt; da hilft nur Nachfrage bei den Indianern. Denn uns, die wir gewöhnt sind, solche Muster nach der Linienführung, nicht aber flächenhaft zu sehen, kommen die charakteristischen Züge gar nicht zum Bewußtsein. Bei einigen Mustern ist es mir gelungen, Muster und Untergrund voneinander zu scheiden; andere harren noch befriedigender Untersuchung.

Hergestellt werden diese Muster folgendermaßen. Auf Körben, Fächern usw. ergeben sie sich rein durch verschiedenartiges schräges Verflechten der Blattfieder. Bei Umflechtungen mit gelbem Rohr und schwarzer Embira wird durch die längs herabhängenden Rohrstreifen die schwarze Embira spiralig wagerecht hindurchgeflochten. Eingeschnitzte Ornamente werden mit dem Messer hergestellt; dieses wird dabei fast senkrecht zur Schnitzfläche gehalten, und

auf diese Weise werden mit der Spitze kleine Teilchen der oberen Schicht breitseits abgesprengt. Feinere und tiefere Linien sind natürlich eingeschnitten. Bei Brandmalereien dient als Brennstift ein Rohrspahn, der an einem nebenliegenden Holzkloben glühend gemacht und dann rasch auf die betreffende Stelle gedrückt wird. Es ist das natürlich eine sehr langsam vor sich gehende Arbeit, die fast nur vom männlichen Geschlecht ausgeübt wird, anscheinend nur aus Spielerei.

Die Muster im Skizzenbuch zeichneten die Indianer stets aus freiem Antrieb. Kaum hatten sie einige Figuren gemalt, gingen sie auch schon zu den Mustern über. Viele weigerten sich überhaupt, Figuren zu zeichnen, sondern gaben bloß Muster zum besten. Es war nun äußerst interessant zu beobachten, wie die Leute die Muster anlegten. Als Beispiel nehme ich das in Fig. 199 (Tafel X). Zunächst wurde durch vier senkrechte Striche der Raum nach genauer Abschätzung eingeteilt. Schon jetzt wußten die nebensitzenden Indianer, welches Ornament der Zeichner zeichnen wollte, ohne daß dieser etwas sagte. Jede neu zu ziehende Linie wurde dann vorher genau besprochen, hinterher kritisiert. So kam in gemeinsamer Arbeit die Skizze zusammen. Dabei wurden die Linien, wenn die Leute sich einmal genau über Richtung und Länge klar waren, mit raschem, sicherem Striche gezogen. Bemerkt sei auch noch, daß die Indianer beobachtet hatten, wie ich an den Rand der Seite meine Bemerkungen über Zeichner und Muster schrieb, und nun aus freiem Antriebe an der einen Querkante einen schmalen Rand frei ließen, wie ich durch Fragen feststellte: damit ich dahin schreiben könnte. Diesen grenzten sie zuerst ab, dann teilten sie sich den übrig gebliebenen Raum ein. Natürlich rechneten nicht alle so geschickt; es gab einige darunter, die eine sehr schwere Hand hatten, keine gerade Linie zustande brachten und mit komplizierten Mustern nie glatt fertig wurden. (Tafel XI, Fig. 202b).

Über die Anordnung der Muster ist zu bemerken, daß sie sich bei Körben und Fächern auf die Mittelzone beschränken, bei Umflechtungen über das ganze Geflecht erstrecken. Halbcuyen sind fast durchgängig völlig beschnitzt, wobei meist vier Längszonen abgeteilt sind, die teilweise verschiedene Muster aufweisen. Der Rand ist nur bei ganz wenigen Exemplaren durch besondere Muster hervorgehoben. Vollcuyen tragen geschnitzte Muster je nach ihrer Bestimmung: Ölcuyen sind nur im Oberteil rings um die Öffnung verziert, Federcuyen über die ganze Oberfläche hinweg. Rasseln ebenfalls, aber in Längszonenanordnung oder in einzelnen Längsstreifen. Ohrstäbe sind nur im vorderen Teil verziert. Brandmalereien umfassen bei Halbcuyen den Rand, Längs- oder Querzonen, oder die ganze gewölbte Oberfläche, bei Vollcuyen den oberen Teil, die ganze Fläche oder zwei symmetrisch gelegene Zonen.

1. Der Flechttechnik entlehnte Muster

(Tafel VII–XI)

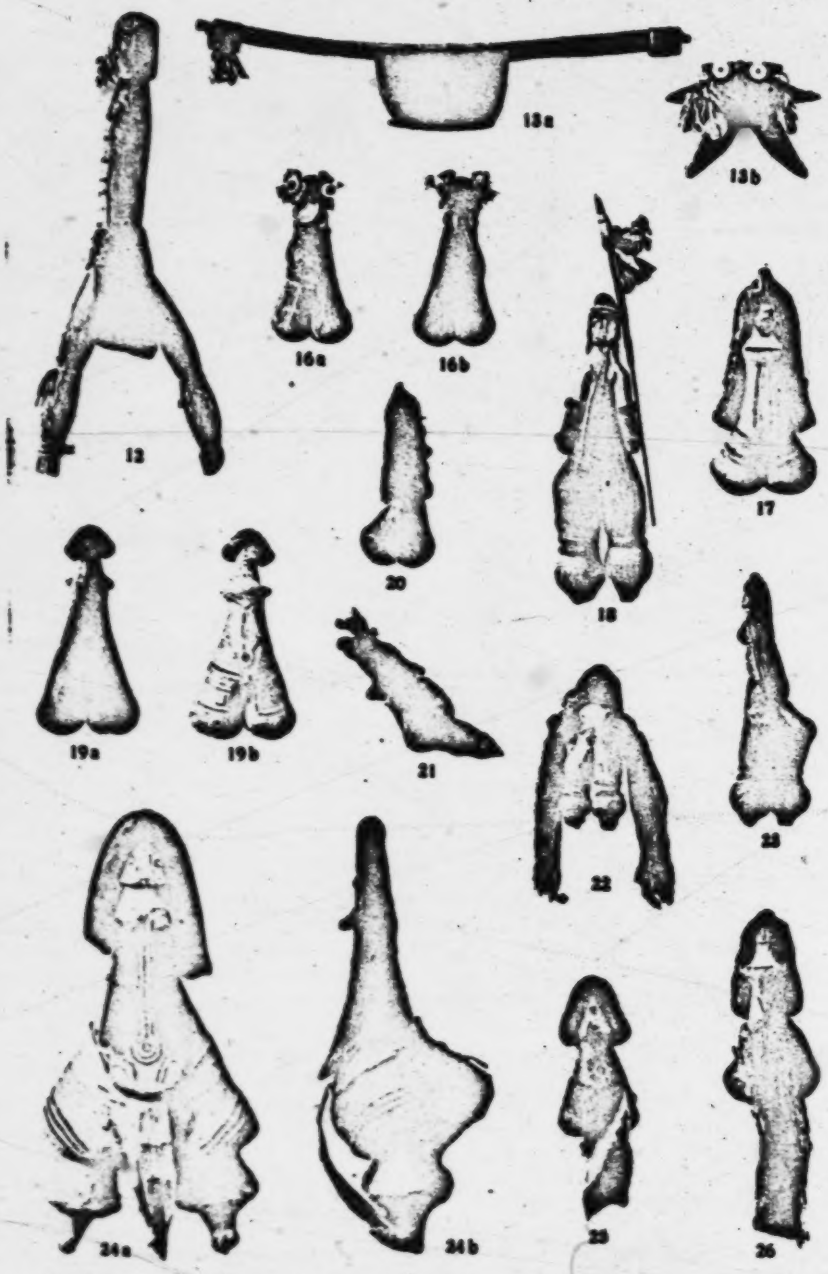
kennen wir von sämtlichen geflochtenen und umflochtenen Gegenständen, sodann in Schnitzerei übertragen auf Cuyen und Rasselkürbissen, schließlich als Skizzenbuchzeichnungen. Die Bedeutung der Muster war nur schwer zu erlangen. Entweder nannten die Indianer sie *hôdjôdjô*-Flechterei oder sie gaben Namen, deren Übersetzung nicht zu erhalten war. Nur bei einigen konnten sie die brasilianische Bezeichnung geben.

1. Wagerechte Zickzacklinien; *dujahôjôkô*, die Fledermaus. Als Cuyenschnitzmuster wurde es auch *ôdôbôjô* genannt (vgl. Ehrenreich, Beiträge, Fig. 11b). Vorhanden in Geflecht, auf Kämmen (Fig. 184a), Häkelnadeln, Pfeil (Fig. 184b), Bogen, geschnitzt auf dem Signalhorn (Fig. 184c_{12}; c_1 stellt eine Abreibung des beschnitzten Endes dar). Es ist wohl aus dem einfachen Korbflechtmuster abgeleitet, wie es das Mittelstück des Korbes in Fig. 184d zeigt. Die zeichnerische Wiedergabe stellt Fig. 184e dar. Vielleicht ist das Lanzenmuster in Fig. 184f eine Weiterbildung davon.

Tafel I.

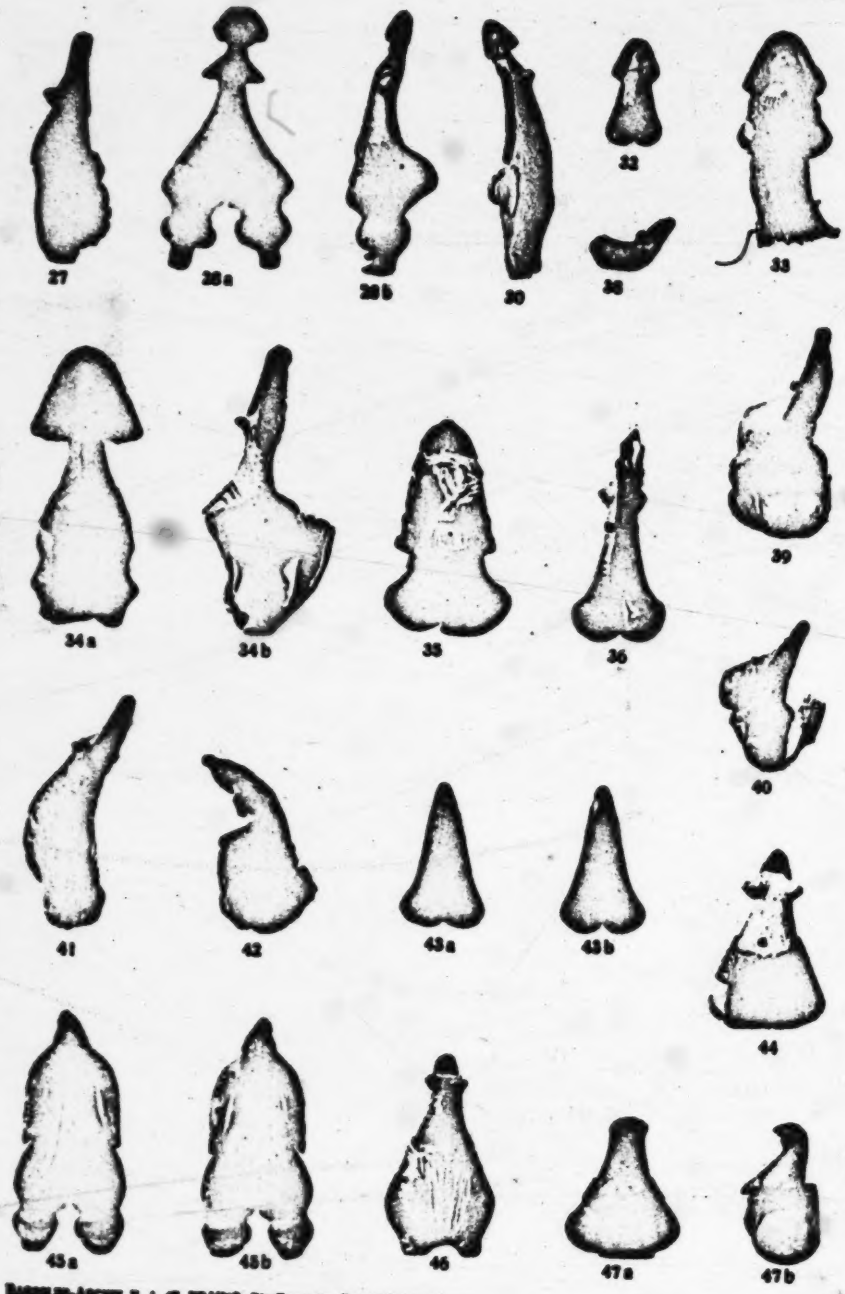
BAUMGARTEN-ARCHIV B. I. (F. KRAUSE: Die Reise der Bororó-Indianer)

Tafel II.



[p.24-B]

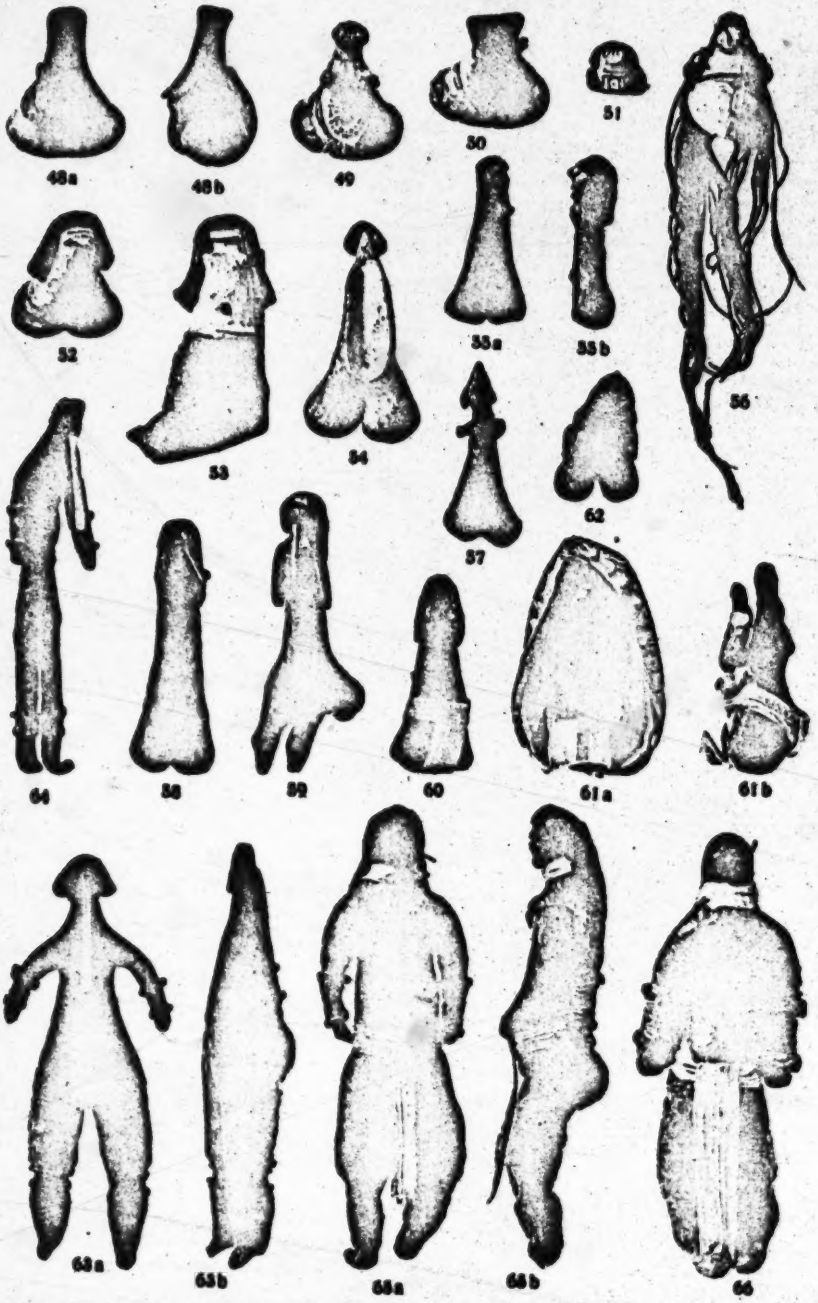
Tafel II.



BASSLER-ARCHIV B. I. (P. KRAUSE: Die Kunst der Karajá-Indianer)

[p.24-C]

Tafel IV.



BASSLER-ARCHIV II. 1. (P. STRAUSS: Die Hand der Eskimo-Indianer.)

[p.24-D]

Tafel V.

BASSLER-ARCHIV II. 1. (P. KRAUSE: Die Kunst der Karajá-Indianer.)

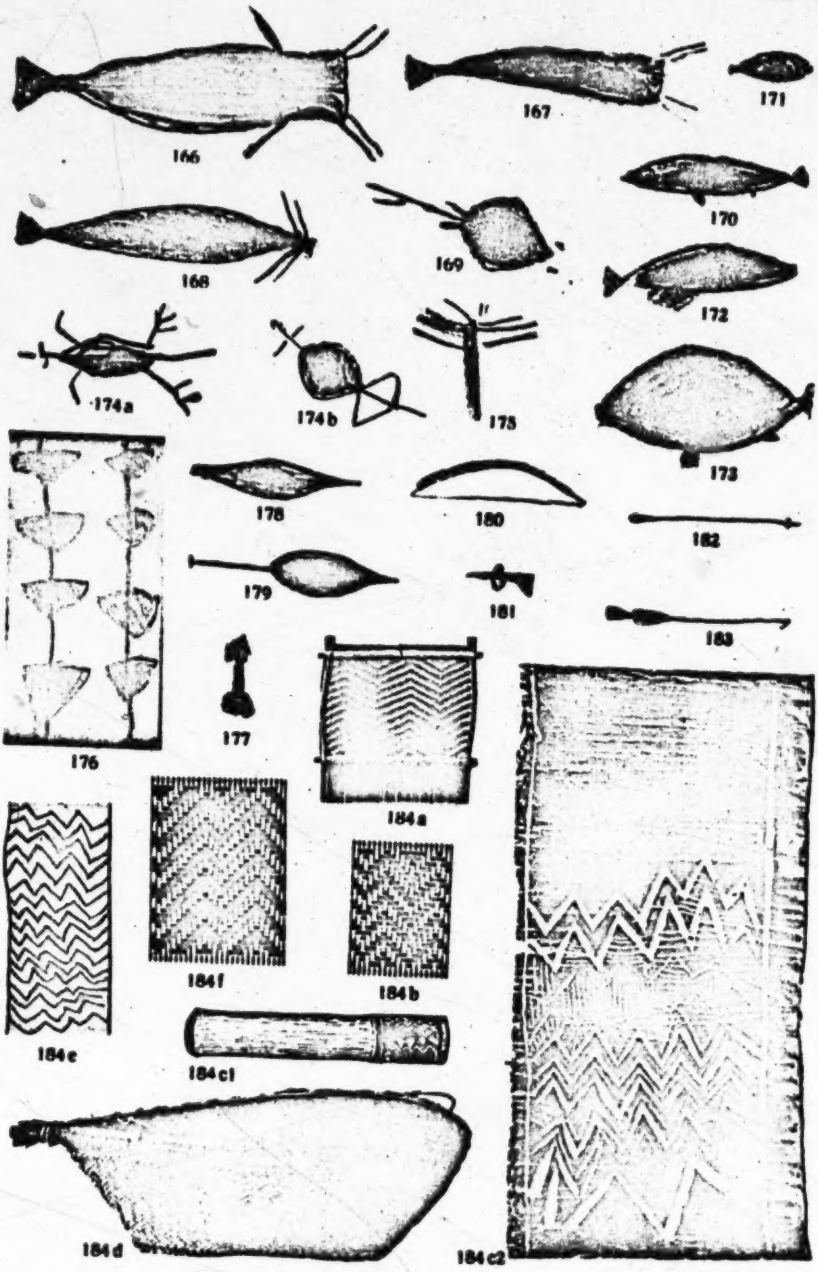
[p.24-E]

Tafel VI

BASSLER-ARCHIV II. 1. (F. KRAUSE: Die Kunst der Xavante-Indianer.)

[p. 24-F]

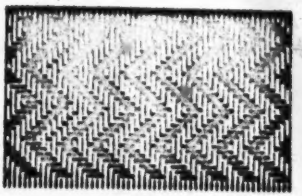
Tafel VII.



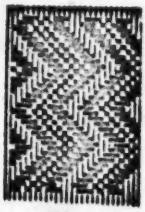
BASSLER-ARCHIV II. 1. (F. KRAUSE: Die Kunst der Xavante-Indianer.)

[9·24-6]

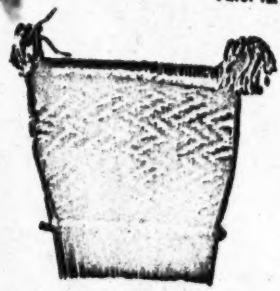
Tafel VII



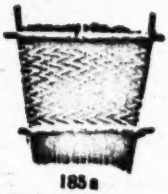
185 b



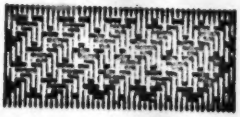
185 c



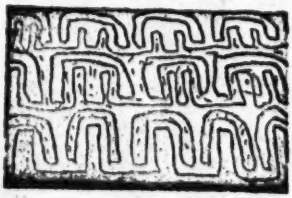
185 d



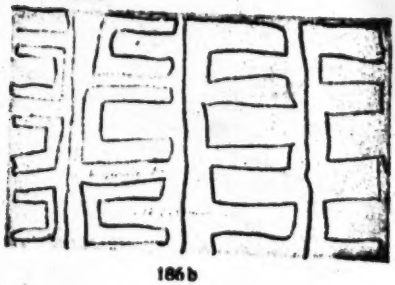
185 a



186 a



186 d

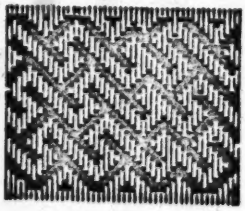


186 b

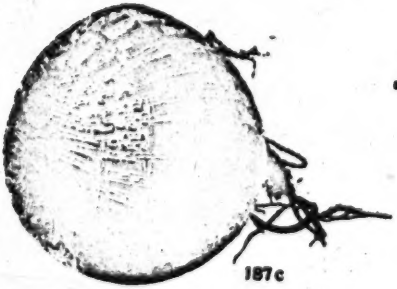
186 c

187 a1

187 a2

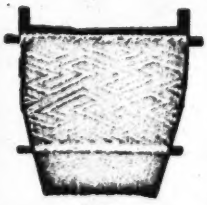


187 b



187 c

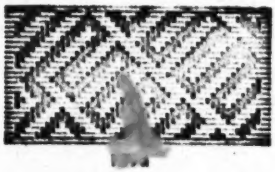
188 a1

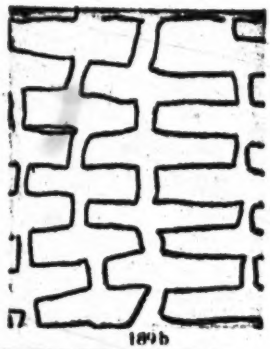


188 a2

[p.24-H]

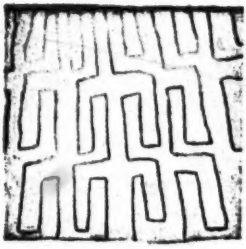
Tafel IX.





189b

189c

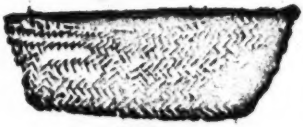


190b

189f

189e

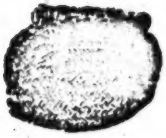
189d



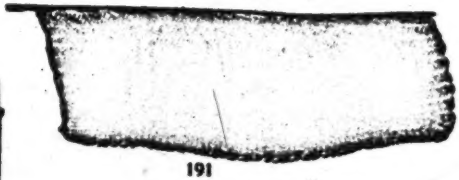
190a

190c

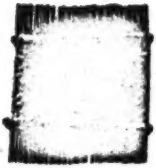
190d



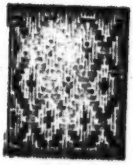
190e



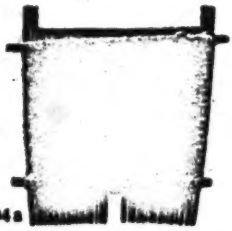
191



193



194b



194a

192

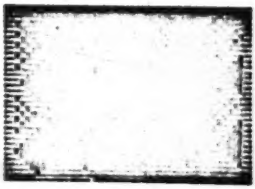
BASSELER-ARCHIV Bd. 1. (F. KRAUSE: Die Bauer der Karajá-Indianer.)

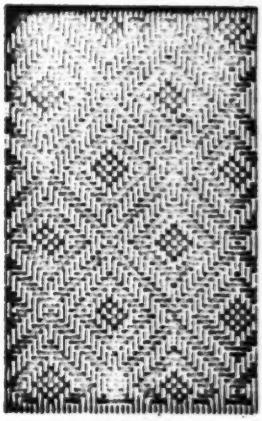
[p.24-I]

Tafel X.

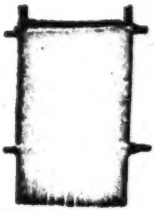
195 a1

195 a2


195 b


195 c

195 d1


195 d2

195 e1

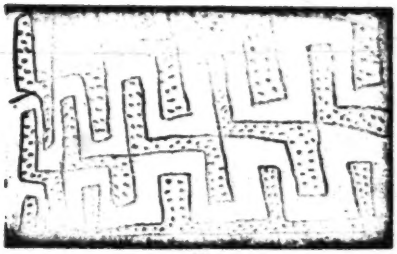
196 a1

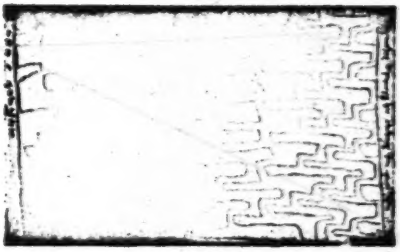
196 a2

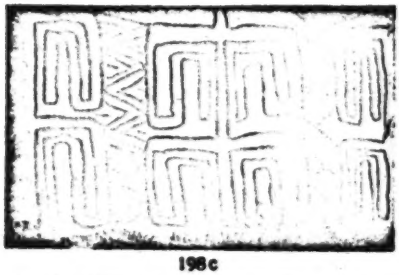
195 e2

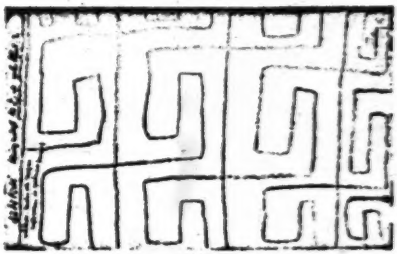
197 a1

197 a2


198 a


198 b


198 c


199

BASSELER-ARCHIV B. 1. (P. KRAUSE: Die Kunst der Karajá-Indianer.)

[p-24-J]

Tafel XI.

201 a1

201 a2

200 a

201 b1

201 b2

200 b

201 c1

201 c2

202 b

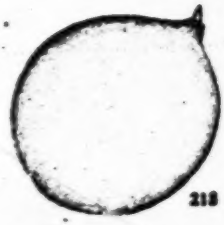
202 a

203 a

203 b

204

208


218

204 a

[p.24-K]

2. Senkrechte Zickzacklinie (nach Ehrenreich, Beiträge, Fig. 11c, die Klapperschlange). Vorhanden nur geflochten auf Kämmen, Lanzen, Keulen und Rasselstielen (Fig. 185a und b). Weiterbildungen sind zu finden im Lanzengeflecht (Fig. 185c) und Kammgeflecht (Fig. 185d). Es ist wohl entstanden aus dem Korbgeflechtmuster, wie es die Randleisten des Korbes in Fig. 184d aufweisen.

3. Ein Muster unbekannter Deutung, vorhanden auf einem Lanzengeflecht (Fig. 186a). Das Negativ davon ist ähnlich dem Skizzenbuchmuster (Fig. 186b), das Hundsfisch *(lädä)* genannt wurde, und dessen Weiterbildungen in Fig. 186c und d wiedergegeben sind.

4. Muster unbekannter Deutung, vorhanden als Flechtmuster auf Kämmen (Fig. 187a,[1]), Lanzen, Keulenstöcken (Fig. 187b), Häkelnadelstielen; als Schnitzmuster auf Kürbisrasseln und Vollcuyen (Fig. 187c).

5. Dieses Muster ist vielleicht eine Weiterbildung des vorigen, entstanden durch seitliche Ansetzung von Haken an die Enden der Balken (Fig. 188).

6. Das Urubu-Muster *(ĩãĩãdjã)*. Es ist geflochten auf einem Keulenstock (Fig. 189a) und in zeichnerischer Darstellung (Fig. 189b) vorhanden. Diese Darstellung geht auf die Art zu-

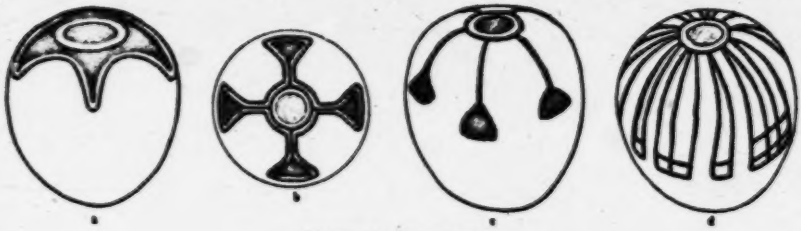


Fig. 208 a–d. Ötcuyen, beschnitzt.

rück, wie der Urubu mit ausgespreizten Flügeln auf dem Sand zu sitzen pflegt, dem österreichischen Doppeladler nicht unähnlich. Weitergebildet ist es durch an die Seitenbalken senkrecht angesetzte Haken, siehe die zeichnerische Darstellung in Fig. 189c und die Schnitzerei auf der Halbcuye in Fig. 189d. Zu bemerken ist hierzu, daß ich für dieses Ornament in einfacher Linienführung, ohne Gegenüberstellung zweier korrespondierender Linienzüge, andere Namen erhielt: das Ornament in Fig. 189e wurde auch *(kädä)blĩhã*, *hädõ* und *ãõmã*, das einfache Zackenmuster (Fig. 189f) *õtĩsõmãdĩ* genannt.

7. Zackenmuster *õdõdã* = gavião. Vorhanden geflochten auf Körben (Fig. 190a), geschnitzt auf Cuyen (siehe Fig. 204a). Die zeichnerische Wiedergabe, die einzeln und in Gegenüberstellung erfolgt (Fig. 190b), wurde auch *dãbõtã* genannt. Ähnlich ist das Korbmuster (Fig. 190c); Weiterbildungen sind die Korbmuster in Fig. 190d und e.

8. Der Mäander, ebenfalls *õdõdã* genannt, ist geflochten vorhanden auf Körben und Fächern (Fig. 191), geschnitzt auf Rasseln (Tafel VI, Fig. 105). Die zeichnerische Wiedergabe gibt das linke Muster in Fig. 189c.

9. Kleine Spirale. Korbmuster (Fig. 192.)

10. Auf der Spitze stehende Spiralen. Kammuster (Fig. 193).

11. Muster unbekannter Deutung; geflochten vorhanden auf Kämmen (Fig. 194a), Häkelnadeln (Fig. 194b) und Bogen.

12. Das Muster stellt wahrscheinlich eine Schlange dar. Es ist als Kammuster vertreten (Fig. 195a). Auf einer Häkelnadel (Fig. 195b) ist es in zwei Variationen vorhanden, davon bezeichnet die eine die Rücken-, die andere die Bauchzeichnung der Sucuriuschlange *(ĩ-ĩ)*. Weiterbildungen des Ornamentes sind das Lanzenmuster (Fig. 195c) und die beiden Kamm-

1) Bei Kämmen sind fast durchgängig beide Seiten wiedergegeben (bezeichnet mit 1 und 2).

muster der Šavajé (Fig. 195d und e). Ähnliche Ornamente bildet Ehrenreich in seinen „Beiträgen" ab und zwar in Fig. 11a als Wespennest, in Fig. 11c als Caninanha-Schlange.

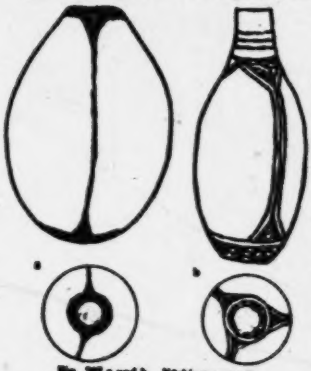


Fig. 197 a und b. Kürbisrasseln. (Darunter deren Bodenflächen.)

13. Kammuster unbekannter Deutung (Fig. 196).

14. Schlangenmuster (nach Ehrenreich, Beiträge, Fig. 11d); als Kammornament vertreten (Fig. 197).

15. Als Flechtmuster wurden mir noch einige Skizzen geliefert, deren Originale in Geflechten ich nie gesehen habe. Sie stellen alle den Schwanz des Nasenbären (*tsüšön-hälälä*) dar (Fig. 198a, b und c).

Anschliesen muß ich hier mehrere Muster, die vielleicht aus der Flechttechnik entstanden sind, die mir aber die Indianer nicht als Flechtmuster bezeichneten. Sie finden sich als Schnitzornamente und Zeichnungen.

16. *düjähdi* (Fig. 199).

17. *hödüni* = Tartaruga. Vorhanden auf Rasseln (Fig. 200a) und Halbcuyen (Fig. 200b).

18. *hödübönäblöjödä* = Flußschildkröte. Als Flächenausfüllung vorhanden auf Halbcuyen (Fig. 201a) und Rasseln, in einer Reihe angeordnet als Randmuster einer Halbcuye (Fig. 201b$_{1,2}$). Weitergebildet auf der Kürbisrassel (Tafel VI, Fig. 106) und im Šavajékamm (Fig. 201c).

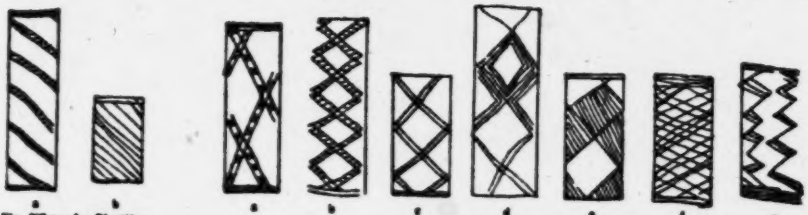


Fig. 200 a u. b. Obrstäbe.

Fig. 200 a–g. Obrstäbe.

19. *ähnä* = Pacufisch. Auf der Spitze stehende Vierecke. (Fig. 198c).

20. Cuyenmuster unbekannter Deutung (Fig. 202a). Ähnlich ist die Skizze (Fig. 202b), mit der der betreffende Zeichner infolge der Schwierigkeit des Musters trotz zweifachen Versuches nicht ordentlich zurecht gekommen ist.

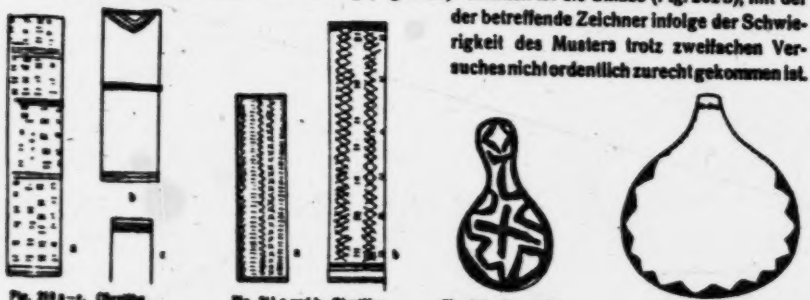


Fig. 210 a–c. Obrstäbe.

Fig. 211 a und b. Obrstäbe.

Fig. 212. Cuyenstäbel.

Fig. 214. Cuyenstäbel.

21. Das Kreuz, *läjädjä* = Urubu. Vorhanden als Kürbisschnitzerei auf einer Rassel (Fig. 203a) und als Skizzenbuchzeichnung (Fig. 203b). Nach Ehrenreich (Beiträge, Fig. 16c) wird in Kreuzform eine Eidechse dargestellt.

Außerdem erhielt ich noch eine Cuye (Fig. 204), die nicht weniger als zwanzig verschiedene Figuren trägt, darunter fünf oben mitbehandelte Muster. Die einzelnen Figuren sind folgende:

a) *ŏŏŏd̊* = Gavião; b) *dŏɟ̊* = Papagei; c) *ändädŏɟ̊* = Arara; d) *läɟ̊* = Urubu; e) *küŏɟ̊*; f) *kɟäŏdi* = Affe; g) *wäti* = Hirsch; h) *tɟ̊ä* = Exkremente; i) *krädɟäiɟ̊ä* = Geschlechtsteile der Karaja-Indianerinnnen; k) *bïä* = Regen; l) *bänä* = Nabel; m) *ömälüdi*; n) *djüätä* = Piranha; o) *kɟöɟögä* = Hund; p) *üöhä* = Pfeile; q) *dönötä* = Lanze; r) *ödäbüɟ̊ä*; s) *üömä*; t) *häätö* = Haus; u) *ködünä* = Tartaruga.

Leider ist sie auf dem Transport zerbrochen, so daß sich außer den Flechtmustern nur die Figuren: a, e, k, l, o mit Sicherheit erkennen lassen.

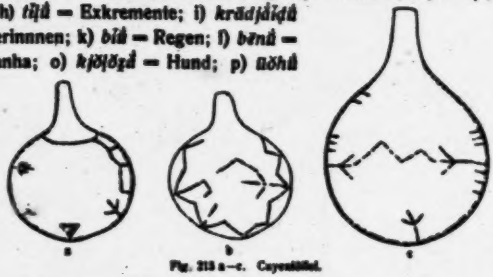


Fig. 213 a–c. Cayenelöffel.

2. Schnitzverzierungen

sind zum Teil verschieden von diesen Flechtmustern, sie weisen ganz eigene Züge auf. Zwei Halbcuyen tragen nette Randleisten (Tafel XI, Fig. 201 a und 202 a). Zwei Federcuyen sind mit seltsamen Ornamenten verziert (Tafel XI, Fig. 205). Die Ölcuyen tragen die Ornamentierung am

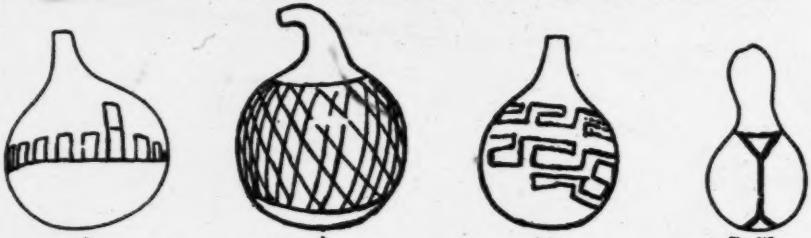


Fig. 216 a–c. Cayenelöffel.

Fig. 217. Cayenelöffel.

oberen Teil rings um die Öffnung herum, meist vierteilig (Fig. 206 a bis c), selten mehrteilig (Fig. 206 d). Die Kürbisresonanzen der Signaltrompeten sind über die ganze Ausdehnung hin verziert, in Fig. 207 a zweiteilig, in Fig. 207 b dreiteilig. Von sonstigen Schnitzereien sind nur noch geschnitzte Ohrstäbe vorhanden. An Verzierungen sind da vertreten: Spiralen (Fig. 208 a

208 a und b. Cayenelöffel.

Fig. 219. Cayenelöffel.

Fig. 220. Vollcuye, von oben gesehen.

und b), Kreuzungen (Fig. 209 a bis g; das Ornament in Fig. 209 f wurde *ïädïïäpä* genannt), Quergliederung (Fig. 210 a bis c), Längsgliederung (Fig. 211 a und b)

3. Ganz anderen Charakter tragen die durch Malerei verzierten Halb- und Vollcuyen.

Mit Farbe bemalt ist nur ein Cayenelöffel (Fig. 212) vorhanden. Er zeigt schwarzen Rand, einfache Zickzacklinie und ein Kreuz in der Mitte.

Alle übrigen weisen Brandmalerei auf. Den ersten Versuch eines kleinen Mädchens darin stellt Fig. 213 (Tafel XI) dar. Mannigfaltig verziert sind die Cuyenlöffel. Der Rand trägt eine Reihe von Dreiecken (Fig. 214), oder es ragen von ihm nach der Mitte meist baumartig verzweigte Figuren hinein (Fig. 215a bis c). In Querstreifen angeordnet sind die Muster in Fig. 216a bis c, in Längsstreifen in Fig. 217. Die ganze Fläche ist ausgefüllt bei Fig. 218a und b durch ein Muster, bei Fig. 219 durch verschiedene Muster. Flechtmuster sind nur in Fig. 216c und 219 vertreten. Vollcuyen sind entweder nur auf dem Oberteil verziert (Fig. 220), oder in einer ringsum reichenden Mittelzone

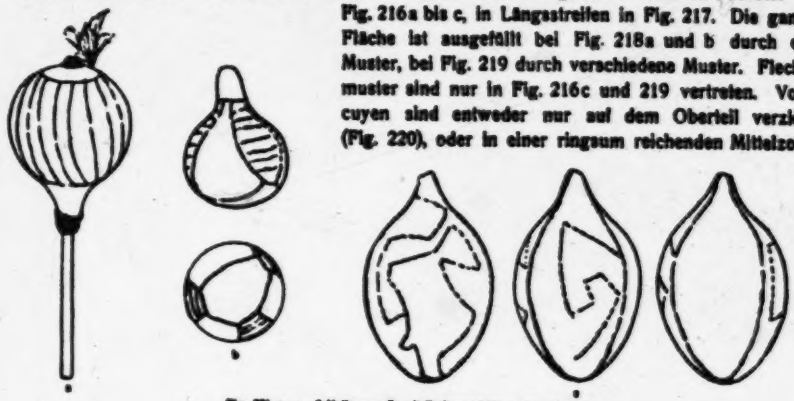


Fig. 221 a–c. 3 Vollcuyen (b mit Bodenmuster, c ungewöhnlich).

(Fig. 221a bis c; b und c dreiteilig), oder nur auf zwei gegenüber liegenden Seiten (Fig. 222a und b). Ganz rohe Brandmalerei weist das Wassertraggefäß der Šavajé auf (Fig. 223).

4. Von dieser Kunstbetätigung der Männer ist die der Frauen völlig verschieden. Sie ist äußerst selten und teilweise von den Brasilianern übernommen. Die Frauen wenden die Muster der Männer nicht an. Man muß sagen, daß die Frauen künstlerisch bei weitem hinter

Fig. 222 a und b. Vollcuyen. Fig. 223. Wassergefäß. Fig. 224. Verzierte Matte.

den Männern zurückstehen; denn obwohl auch sie flechten und töpfern, verzieren sie ihre Erzeugnisse doch nur in den seltensten Fällen. Einheimische Verzierungen finden sich auf einer Matte, dem Schurz einer Tonpuppe und auf Spinnwirteln. Die Matte (Fig. 224) ist durch Einflechten schwarzgefärbter Faserbündel in der abgebildeten Weise gemustert. Man sieht sofort, daß rechts das obere Muster das Negativ des unteren ist. Beim Puppenschurz (Tafel II, Fig. 26) klingen die roten und schwarzen Verzierungen etwas an die Ornamente der Männer an. Der Spinnwirtel aus Ton (Fig. 225a) ist auf der einen Fläche mit feinen Einschnitten versehen, die in zwei konzentrischen Kreisen mit vier mehrfach geteilten Speichen dazwischen angeordnet

sind. Der Spinnwirtel aus weißer Erde (Fig. 225b) trägt auf beiden Seiten einen Kreis eingeschnitten, von dem Strahlen ausgehen. Diese Vertiefungen sind rot und schwarz ausgezogen.

a b

Fig. 223 a und b. Kleines Spielnapfgeschirr.

a b

Fig. 225. Spinnwirtel, a) aus Ton, b) aus weißer Erde.

Von den Brasilianern sind wahrscheinlich die Verzierungen auf den tönernen Tabakspfeifen und den Tonschalen übernommen.

Tabakspfeifen aus Ton traf ich nur in den Dörfern bei S. José an. Offenbar waren sie überhaupt und damit auch die Ornamentierung von den Brasilianern übernommen worden.

a b c d

Fig. 226 a—d. Tabakspfeifen aus Ton.

Jetzt wird allerdings ihre Form von den Indianern etwas abweichend von der brasilianischen Form hergestellt, mit breiter Grundfläche, die den brasilianischen fehlt (Fig. 226 a bis d).

Tonschalen, in Exportform und mit roter Farbe verziert, wurden gleichfalls nur in den obersten Dörfern hergestellt und zwar als Exportware. Die Verzierungen beschränken sich

a b c d e

Fig. 227 a—e. Verzierte Tonschalen, Exportware.

meist auf den oberen Rand, nur selten reichen sie weiter herab. Trotz ihrer Einfachheit wirken sie sehr angenehm (Fig. 227a bis e). Außerdem wurde noch ein roh verziertes Spielnäpfchen der Karajá (Fig. 228a) und eine kleine, ebenfalls auf der Außenfläche mit roten Mustern bemalte Tonschale, die von den bei der Südhorde der Karajá sich aufhaltenden Šavajé stammt, angetroffen (Fig. 228b).

ANHANG I.

VERTEILUNG DER GEGENSTÄNDE UND ZEICHNUNGEN AUF DIE EINZELNEN STÄMME.

I. KARAJÁ.

a) NORDHORDE.

Flechtfiguren, Fig. 2, 5 a, 6
Holzschnitzereien, Fig. 12, 13 a u. b, 15
Tonfiguren, Fig. 16 a u. b, 17, 18, 20, 21, 22, 23, 26, 27, 32, 33, 35, 36, 40, 43 a u. b, 44, 45 a u. b, 46, 55 a u. b, 56
Wachsfiguren, Fig. 57, 58, 59, 60, 62, 64, 67, 68 a u. b, 70, 71, 73 a u. b, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94
Sandzeichnungen, Fig. 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103
Cuyanzeichnungen, Fig. 104
Skizzenbuchzeichnungen, Fig. 106, 107, 108 a–d, 109, 110, 111, 112 a u. b, 113, 114, 115, 116 a u. b, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136 a–c, 137, 138 a u. b, 139, 140 a u. b, 141, 142, 143, 149, 150 a u. b, 151, 152, 153 a–c, 154, 162, 169, 174 a u. b, 175, 176, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183
Modelle und Photographien, Fig. 29 a u. b, 31, 37, 69, 96.
Muster, Fig. 184 e u. f, 185 a, c, d, 186 a–d, 187 a u. c, 189 a–f, 190 b, c, e, 191, 193, 198 a–c, 199, 200 a u. b, 201 a u. b, 202 a u. b, 203, a u. b, 204.
Schnitzverzierungen, Fig. 205, 206 a–d, 207 a u. b, 208 a, 209 a–d, f, g, 210 a u. b, 211 a u. b.
Malereien, Fig. 212, 214, 215 a–c, 216 a, c, 217, 218 a, b, 219, 221 b, c, 222 a u. b
Frauenkunst, Fig. 224, 225 b, 228 a.

b) SÜDHORDE.

Flechtfiguren, Fig. 1
Holzschnitzereien, Fig. 14
Tonfiguren, Fig. 19 a u. b, 24 a u. b, 25, 28 a u. b, 30, 34 a u. b, 38, 39, 41, 42, 47 a u. b, 48 a u. b, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54
Wachsfiguren, Fig. 61 a u. b, 63 a u. b,
Sandzeichnungen, Fig. 95, 97 [72
Cuyanzeichnungen, Fig. 105
Skizzenbuchzeichnungen, Fig. 144, 145, 146, 148, 156 a u. b, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 170, 171, 172, 173, 177
Modelle und Photographien, Fig. 147
Muster, Fig. 184 a–d, 185 b, 187 b, 188, 190 a, d, 192, 194 a u. b, 195 a bis c, 196, 197
Schnitzverzierungen, Fig. 208 b, 209 e
Malereien, Fig. 213, 216 b, 220, 221 a
Frauenkunst, Fig. 225 a, 226 a–d, 227 a–e.

II. ŠAVAJÉ.

Flechtfiguren, Fig. 3, 4, 5 b, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11
Wachsfiguren, Fig. 65 a u. b, 66.
Muster, Fig. 195 d, e, 201 c
Schnitzverzierungen, Fig. 210 c
Malereien, Fig. 223
Frauenkunst, Fig. 228 b.

ANHANG II.

NACHWEIS DER VON DENSELBEN PERSONEN GEZEICHNETEN FIGUREN UND MUSTER.

(Nur Karajá: Südhorde, Dorf 1–8; Nordhorde, Dorf 9–28.)

a) KNABEN (ca. 12–14 Jahre).

Dorf 1. *Máižl*, Fig. 145, 146, 156 a, 159, 160, 165, 170, 171, 172, 173
Dorf 7. Knabe 1, Fig. 177
Dorf 13. Knabe 1, Fig. 120
Knabe 2, Fig. 130 [184 e
Knabe 3, Fig. 111, 174 b,
Knabe 4, Fig. 106, 122, 125, 150 b, 151
Dorf 20. Knabe 1, Fig. 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103

b) JÜNGLINGE.

Dorf 1. *Máüdhl*, Fig. 146, 156 b, 157, 158, 161, 163, 164, 166, 167, 168
Dorf 13. Jüngling 1, Fig. 123
Dorf 17. Jüngling 1, Fig. 153 c
Jüngling 2, Fig. 152, 154, 181, 189 c
Dorf 20. Jüngling 1, Fig. 186 d, 198 b

c) MÄNNER.

Dorf 2. *Pedro*, Fig. 95, 97, 148
Dorf 13. *Ilk*, Fig. 140 a u. b
Dorf 14. Mann 1, Fig. 129, 131, 141, 142, 149, 183
Mann 2, Fig. 133, 134, 143, 178, 179, 180, 182
Dorf 18. Mann 1, Fig. 138 a u. b, 150 a
Dorf 20. Mann 1, Fig. 127, 153 a u. b, 162, 174 a u. b, 186 b, 189 d.
Mann 2, Fig. 107, 108 a–d, 112 a u. b, 125, 175, 190 b, 198 a, 199
Mann 3, Fig. 139, 176, 186 c, 189 a
Lager 23. Mann 1, Fig. 169, 189 f, 198 c, 203 b
Lager 28. Mann 1, Fig. 109, 110, 113, 114, 115, 116 a u. b, 117, 118, 119, 121, 124, 128, 132, 136, 136 a–c, 137

ANHANG III.

SYSTEMATISCHES VERZEICHNIS DER DARGESTELLTEN OBJEKTE.

(Cz = Cuyanzeichnung, F = Flechtfigur, H = Holzschnitzerei, M = Muster, Ph = Photographie, Sk = Skizzenbuchzeichnung, Sz = Sandzeichnung, T = Tonfigur, W = Wachsfigur.)

MENSCHEN.

Männer, Fig. 28 a u. b (T), 30 (T), 41 (T), 43 a u. b (T), 45 a u. b (T), 52 (T), 54 (T), 55 a u. b (T), 57 (W), 58 (W), 59 (W), 63 a u. b (W), 64 (W), 106 (Sk), 107 (Sk), 108 c u. d (Sk), 109 (Sk), 110 (Sk), 139 (Sk)
Dr. Krause, 138 a (Sk), 140 a (Sk), 143 (Sk)
Adam, 138 b (Sk), 140 b (Sk)
Jünglinge, 16 a u. b (T), 17 (T), 18 (T), 19 a u. b (T), 23 (T), 36 (T), 37 (Ph), 68 (W), 108 b (Sk), 141 (Sk)
Knaben, 20 (T), 22 (T), 32 (T) 108 a [(Sk)
Reiter, 67 (W)

Frauen, 24a u. b (T), 25 (T), 27 (T), 31 (Ph), 33 (T), 34a u. b (T), 39 (T), 40 (T), 42 (T), 44 (T), 46 (T), 47 a u. b (T), 48 a u. b (T), 49 (T), 50 (T), 53 (T), 60 (W), 61 a u. b (W), 62 (W), 102 (Sz), 142 (Sk)
Jungfrauen, 12 (H), 26 (T), 29a u. b (Ph), 65 a u. b (W), 66 (W)
Mädchen, 21 (T), 38 (T), 39 (T), 51 (T), 56 (T)
Geschlechtsteile: männliche, 6 (P)
" weibliche, 18 (H), 124 (Sk), 125 (Sk)
Nabel, 204l (Cz)
Stammesstilisierung, 126 (Sk)

MASKEN.

dzèhèl, 146 (Sk)
djàjhèl, 147 (Modell)
Idiètè, 69 (Modell), 70 (W), 98 (Sk), 144 (Sk)
Inèuinè, 72 (W)
Iòòwè, 71 (W)
Iòòwè, 96 (Ph), 97 (Sk), 106 (Cz), 145 (Sk), 148 (Sk)

SÄUGETIERE.

Affe, 149 (Sk)
Gr. Ameisenbär, 112a u. b (Sk); seine Spur 98 (Sz)
Cutti, 151 (Sk)
Hirsch, 75 (W)
Hirschjagd, 104 (Cz)
Hund 76 (W), 111 (Sk), 180a u. b (Sk), 204e (Cz)
Jaguar 73a u. b (W), 74 (W)
Maultier, 152 (Sk)
Nasenbär, sein Schwanz, 198a–c (M)
Schwein, 77 (W), 78 (W), 183a–c (Sk)
Wuti, 154 (Sk)

VÖGEL.

Arara, 84 (W)
Carracara, 79 (W), 80 (W), 81 (W)
Cuidac, 164 (Sk)
Ente, 160 (Sk); ihre Spur 101 (Sz)
Gavião, 146 a u. b (Sk), 190a–e (M), 191 (M), 204a (M)
Gaviota, 158 (Sk)
Hahn, 162 (Sk)
Jabiru, 82 (W), 83 (W), 157 (Sk); seine Spur, 100 (Sz)
Jacu, 163 (Sk)
Mandaguaji, 165 (Sk)
Mutum, 113 (Sk), 189 (Sk)
Papagei, 127 (Sk)
Taucher, 161 (Sk)
Urubu, 189a–f (M), 203 a u. b (M)
? 8a u. b (P)
Schema der Vogeldarstellung, 156 (Sk)

WASSERTIERE.

Cachorro (Hundefisch), 129 (Sk), 179 (Sk), 186a–d (M)
Chicote, 167 (Sk)
Delphin, 88 (W), 89 (W), 90 (W), 114 (Sk)
Garasha, 173 (Sk)
Krokodil, 85 (W), 86 (W), 87 (W), 103 (Sz), 131 (Sk), 174a u. b (Sk)
Pacu, 198c
Pintado, 168 (Sk)
Piranha, 171 (Sk)
Pirarara, 166 (Sk)
Pirarucu, 91 (W)
Rochen, 130 (Sk), 169 (Sk)
Tokunara, 172 (Sk)
Schildkröte, 92 (W), 93 (W); ihre Blablaga, 137 (Sk)
–, Koduni, 200a u. b (M)
–, Tartaruga, 201 a–c (M)

SONSTIGE TIERE etc.

Bienenstock, 2 (P)
Fledermaus, 184a–f (M)
Moskito, 116a–b (Sk)
Schlange, 94 (W), 115 (Sk), 195a–e (M), 197 (M)
–, Klapperschlange, 3 (P), 188a–d (M)

UNBESTIMMBARE TIERE.

aiijé (Urubu?), 8 (P)
aiiiè (Spur von), 99 (Sz)
djèjèé, 7 (P)
èèjèjèè, 199 (M)
Iòjòjòè, 9 (P)
kòòrè, 11 a u. b (P)
èèrè (kòrè), 200a u. b (M)
èòrè, 128 (Sk)
? , 10 (P), 122 (Sk), 187a–c (M), 188 (M), 192 (M), 193 (M), 194a–b (M), 196 (M), 202a u. b (M)

PFLANZEN.

Bananenstaude, 117 (Sk)
Jutebaum, 175 (Sk)
Kürbis auf Stock, 132 (Sk)
jujafrüchte, 176 (Sk)
Mais, 118 (Sk)
Mandioka, 119 (Sk)

GESTIRNE UND STERNBILDER.

Jaguar und Strauß, 136 b, c (Sk)
Mond, 136 (Sk)
Plejaden, 136a (Sk)

SONSTIGE NATURERSCHEINUNGEN

Regen, 204k (Cz)
Steinchen im Sand, 121 (Sk)

SONSTIGES.

Schriftnachahmung, 133 (Sk)

GEGENSTÄNDE.

a) Darstellung von Gegenständen.
Bogen, 180 (Sk)
Boot, 178 (Sk)
Gewehr, 181 (Sk)
Keule, 182 (Sk)
Korb, 1 (P)
Puppe, 120 (Sk), 177 (Sk)
Ruder, 179 (Sk)
Surrechalbe, 134 (Sk)
Tabakspfeife aus Frucht, 4 (P)
Tonkopf, 133 (Sk)
Wurfholz, 183 (Sk)

b) Gegenstände als Träger von Mustern.

Cuyua, Voll-, 187c, 220, 221a–c, 222a u. b
" Feder-, 208
" Öl-, 206a–d
" Resonanz-, 207a u. b
" Wasser-, 223
" Halb-, 189d, 200b, 201a u. b, 202a, 204
" Löffel-, 212, 213, 214, 218a bis c, 216a–c, 217, 218a und b, 219
Fächer, 191
Häkelnadel, 194b, 195b
Kamm, 184a, 186a, d, 187a, 188a, 193, 194a, 195a, d, e, 196a, 197a, [201c
Keule, 185b
Keulenstock, 187b, 189a
Korb, 184d, 190a, c, d, e, 192
Lanza, 184f, 186c, 186a, 195c
Matte, 224
Ohrstäbe, 208a u. b, 209a–g, 210 a–c, 211a u. b
Pfeil, 184b
Rassel, 200a, 203a
Schemel, 13a u. b
Signalhorn, 184c,
Spinnwirtel, 225a u. b
Tabakspfeife aus Frucht, 14
" " Ton, 226a–d
Tonschale, 227a–e, 228a u. b

MUSTER.

Geflochten, Korbgeflecht, 184d, 190 a, c, d, e, 191, 192
–, Schwarzgelbes Geflecht, 184b, f, 186b, c, 186a, 187b, 189a, 194b, 195b, c, 224
–, Baumwollgeflecht, 184a, 185 a, d, 187a, 188, 193, 194a, 195a, d, e, 196, 197, 201
Geschnitzt, 184c, 187c, 189d, 200a u. b, 201 a u. b, 202a, 203a, 204, 208, 209a–d, 207a u. b, 208a u. b, 209a–g, 210a–c, 211a u. b
Gebrannt, 212, 214, 218a–c, 216a–c, 217, 218a u. b, 219, 220, 221a–c, 222a u. b, 223
Gemalt, 212, 220b, 227a–e, 228a u. b
Gezeichnet, 184a, 186b, c, d, 189b, c, e, f, 190b, 190a–c, 195, 202b, 203b
Eingeritzt in Ton, 228a u. b, 226a–d

3:Dietschy E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 SP9 Caraja SP9

The Kinship System and Social Structure of the Caraja Indians
/Le Système de Parenté et la Structure Sociale des Indiens Carajá/

Hans Dietschy

Paris, 1963

VIe Congrès International des Sciences Anthropologiques et Ethnologiques, Musée de l'Homme
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Translated from the French
by Richard Fort

Human Relations Area Files
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/Title page/

121 /43/ Three years ago G. P. Murdock published his "World Ethnographic Sample." It goes without saying that an endeavor of this scope can only be incomplete. Now, as far as the Carajá, one of the nine tribes classified under the heading "Eastern Brazil," are concerned, the set of 30 characteristic features of this society in Murdock's attempt displays significant gaps and serious inaccuracies. It is my intention, here and now, to remedy this state of affairs as well as possible, in order to contribute from my side, while concerning myself with only one case among 565, to a fairer calculation of the human probabilities.

114 To accomplish this task I shall use as a base the data that
[122] I was able to collect personally, in the company of my wife
[101] and aided by the National Swiss Foundation for Scientific Re-
[127] search, during the rainy season of 1954 to 1955 among the Carajá of the south, as well as, naturally, on the information from our predecessors in the field, Ehrenreich, Krause, Baldus, and Lipkind above all. I am using this opportunity to express the great regret that I feel every time I think of the fact that the rich materials collected by Lipkind have never been published in a satisfactory fashion. The Carajá, although they have been known for a long time, are basically misunderstood. To be fair, it must be added that they themselves do not make the task of investigators easy, and it goes without saying that under these circumstances my own contribution must remain fairly fragmentary in view of the too short period of our stay among them.

121 On the other hand I am convinced that the presentation of facts alone — allegedly pure facts — does not help us to become better acquainted with the human condition, and the second aim of my article is to present to you a first attempt at interpretation of the data concerning the Carajá kinship system, which, not without reason, was left blank in Murdock's attempt.

128 To facilitate the comparison I shall follow the framework of the columns of the "World Ethnographic Sample." The
433 Carajá cultivate primarily tropical tubercles, although maize
462 is not lacking; true domesticated animals are absent.
[231]

/43 cont./

241 is not lacking; true domesticated animals are absent. Planting
433 is important as a source of subsistence, but fishing and turtle
462 hunting stand higher in masculine preference as well as being a basis of life. Not only are the men charged with fishing and hunting — less important owing to the scarcity of game — but activity in the gardens is also primarily the business of the men, since the women are satisfied to help as they please, which is undeniably rare among the Amazonian Indians.

433 Up to here we are in perfect agreement with the cate-
462 gories chosen by Murdock (Ro, Im, Oo, Dm; columns 1-4). However, in column 5 we find the /44/ first gap. The division of labor assigns gathering to the female sex, except for the harvesting of wild honey, which is considered more as hunting and belongs among the men's tasks. So the Carajá could, after all, be put in the category of "standard division of labor by sex" (thus Ia; column 5).

114 Real difficulties arise when we take into consideration what is properly called social organization. Categorial decisions
361 are not so easy to make there. It is true that our Indians live
[221] in compact villages, especially during the rainy seasons. During the rest of the year the Carajá proper like to disperse on the beaches, forming smaller local units, which, nevertheless, are always lined up along the river, the houses of the men (if there are any in the encampments) remaining at the rear, as if the periphery of a circle had been opened and rolled back in a straight line, leaving the center — the houses of the men — at
361 the side of the line. Since the large villages of the rainy season,
62 which are all like this and bear a name, are in reality agamous
[114] and without clans, but display a certain tendency toward endogamy, the category assigned by Murdock — compact village observing agamy — (Va; column 6), if it is not definitely wrong, is nevertheless to be taken cum grano salis (tendency toward Sd).

59 As for the family structure, it is normally of the extended type, at least during the rainy season, but the extension is not

/44 cont./

59 so great, and there are, besides the linear families or nonnamed minimal lineages, some independent families (i.e., rather Ll, often Ss and In, instead of Ee; column 7), which agrees with the fact that, besides the customary matrilocal marriage, "neolocal" residence is found (Mn, instead of Mm; column 8) in the dry season on the one hand, and, on the other hand, as a possible
595 nucleus of a new extended family. Polygyny is neither frequent
583 nor favored, whereas it is true that material considerations are absent on the occasion of marriage (thus Mo or To rather than Lo; column 9).

611 We shall now take up the most confused aspect of Carajá
[121] ethnography. The Handbook of South American Indians speaks
615 correctly of double descent. I have shown elsewhere that be-
[114] cause of some inattention in the editing of the famous manual, an incorrect idea of the real nature of this coexistence of patrilineal and matrilineal groupings has arisen. It is a matter, not of moieties, but of three large, named, patrilineal groups, which are primarily the men's affair, in their ceremonial and political life, but nevertheless are concerned with women in the sense of an endogamous tendency. Thus it is not a matter of true parallel descent, and, on the other hand, it is by no
[621] means a question of exogamy, and still less of moieties. At the most one may speak of nonexogamy or agamy as in the case of the villages, which are themselves matrilineal groupings on account of the matrilocal rule of the domestic group just men-
613 tioned. In a strict sense only the small extended family,
596 which can be described as a non-named, minimal, matrilineal
582 lineage, seems to be exogamous. Marriage is permitted with any cousin, parallel or cross, and the matrilateral preference reported by Lipkind (incidentally without any indication of whether it is a matter of parallel or cross cousins!) seems to be only the normative expression of matrilocal marriage, whereas the slight patrilateral preference ascertained by myself is equally in agreement with the rule of endogamy of the patrilineal groups.
[601] In reality, since the relatives are usually "brother" and "sister" with regard to each other, being male and female cousin, as we

/44 cont./

587 shall presently see, the difference does not have much explicative value. In the light of what has been said, it is therefore
[616] necessary to correct the categories set up by Murdock, taking
[615] into account the fact that his category "agamous (nonexogamous)
[114] moieties" should be completed by "agamous phratries" (thus: Pa or Na, La, Da; columns 10-12).

601 The kinship system of the Carajá must now be set forth for the first time, albeit briefly. Murdock left the pertinent
[114] column completely blank. /45/ With regard to male and female cousins, the terminology is of the "Hawaii" type, that is to say, my own generation contains only brothers and sisters.
128 Before continuing, permit me to remind you that we have been able to speak of principles which govern kinship systems. In order not to fall into the trap of "verbalism" decried by Murdock, I hasten to add that it is not a question of causes, but rather of logical principles likely to operate in view of a given situation, whether these be circumstances pertaining to the environment, demography, or the fundamental type of social communication which is involved in each case. Now we could pair up these principles by forming contrasts in the manner of the linguists, contrasts whose terms exclude each other when it is a question of particular relations, but which can alternatively be combined into a whole system of kinship relations. Perhaps it would be preferable to formulate only opposite contrasts, but for the moment I will be satisfied, except in the first case, with contrasts which are clearly contradictory, and thus easier to handle, for that will suffice to attain our immediate goal of elucidating
601 the kinship system of the Carajá. There is contradiction between the classified unity of the generation and the unity of the line of filiation, there is contradiction between differentiation and nondifferentiation of the sexes, as well as of respective ages, between reciprocity and nonreciprocity of terms, finally between classificatory unity and nonunity of brothers and sisters — classificatory unity which, by the way, is not to be confused with the unity of the group of brothers and sisters classified together, nor with a denominative unity.

/45 cont./

601 With regard to the terminology of cousins, we are concerned here with the principle of the unity of the generation and that of the differentiation of the sexes, which remains true for the generation of the grandparents. Between brothers and sisters, to be more precise (and this is naturally valid for male and female cousins), there is only a partial differentiation of the sexes and of the respective ages, just as there is only a partial classificatory unity of the brothers and sisters (and, consequently, of male and female cousins). The terms used for the "parallel" uncles and aunts, on the other hand, are of mixed type according to the relative ages (relative to the parents), the designations for the eldest ones being derived from the terms "father" and "mother," those for the younger ones being from the same root as the words used for designating the grandparents, which, for that matter, is the case for the "cross" uncle and aunt, who, for their part, are not differentiated according to their respective ages. It is evident that there is a tendency to [587] reunite the generation of the parents and to bring it closer to the generation of the grandparents, with an exception being made for the parents themselves, as well as for the oldest brother of the father and for the oldest sister of the mother, for whom the terms are derived from those for the parents — here the levirate and the sororate certainly play their part, and the nuclear family is taken separately. In Murdock's classification it is thus a matter, so far as the uncles (and the aunts) are concerned, of a linear terminology and "bifurcate merging," respectively, and in both cases, derived (Hn and 1; column 13). It must be added that the classificatory unity of brothers and sisters comes into play.

The most striking example of this classificatory unity is shown in an exceptional type of designation for nephews and nieces. A brother and a sister use, it is true, without distinguishing the sex, two different words which we shall translate "nephew-niece," but what is more essential is that both of them conjointly call the children of their brother "son" and "daughter,"

/45 cont./

601 the children of their sister "nephew-niece" (without distinction as to sex). This only makes sense if one wishes to emphasize, along with the unity of the brothers and sisters, the unity of a patrilineal minimal lineage, the children of a sister then belong-
[613] ing to another small exogamic patrilineal group. Now, at present, there is no patrilineal lineage. This would allow us to
[611] suppose an historic change from a patrilineal preponderance to a matrilineal preponderance, a change which would be expressed today in double descent. The kinship system which most emphasizes the unity of patrilineal lineage /46/ (of the mother) is the "Omaha" system, which, moreover, one could imagine as structured according to the principle of the classificatory unity of brothers and sisters, which is never the case so far as I know, but which would push the logic of this system to the extreme (the same statement would be valid for the "Crow" system, which marks the unity of the matrilineal lineage, this time of the father).

551 Now, brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law (as well as
601 parents-in-law) are classified by "teknonymy," and since in the designation the reference "...of my child" seems to be customarily omitted, this is the same, for the husbands, as the way in which, in the "Omaha" system, the men designate their matrilateral male and female cross-cousins, and for the wives, as the manner of designation used by the women in the "Crow" system, when it is a matter of their patrilateral male and female cousins. I wonder whether there is not a connection between teknonymy in the broad sense and the types produced by linear or consecutive classification.

Teknonymy in the restricted sense, i.e., the terms "lord of so-and-so" and "source of so-and-so" used by a third person, is voluntarily chosen by the parents themselves. "Source of the grandchild" is the daughter-in-law, whereas the son-in-law is called "black-nephew" (the speech of the man being borrowed, this time, by his wife!). This would again be in accord with a historic state of patrilineal preponderance, if one does not

/46 cont./

551 wish to infer at the outset a marriage, formerly prescribed,
601 with the matrilateral female cross-cousin. One must remember,
[183] however, that the present state characterized by a great degree of freedom, in other words, by a degree of "information" or of greater entropy, is also found in the performance of ceremonies, such as in the narration of myths and legends, these expressions of the spiritual life of the Carajá which allow great freedom of variation around a principal theme stubbornly preserved. — Finally teknonymy guides the reciprocal terms of grandparents and grandchildren, so that the grandparents, designated according to their sex, reply by the same word, even if the grandchild is of the opposite sex.

561 Before finishing my article, I must quickly touch on the
554 last two columns of Murdock's attempt. The Carajá distinguish,
615 by speech and by ornaments, age grades. At the same time, an idea of stratification is outlined in the fact that political and religious roles are the heritage of only one of the three patrilineal groups with an endogamous tendency. It is tempting to think
[567] of the classes or castes of the Guaycurú /Guaicuru/, for example, and since there are reports which speak of temporary slaves, Murdock's information in this direction must be corrected (Ai, with a tendency towards Ci, instead of O; column 14). The
628 villages are politically autonomous, but the Carajá themselves
621 unite some villages in amphictyonies for the performance of
622 certain ceremonies. The hereditary succession of the chiefs
621 goes in the patrilineal line, a grandson being chosen as the candidate, or, if one is lacking, a granddaughter. Consequent-
[178] ly, there is a temporary matrilineal succession in the heart of the patrilineal group, for which there is reserved the role of the chief, who, incidentally, is on the way to complete disappearance (thus: Pp and m, for the Carajá themselves, Ap and m for the Javahé and Chambioá /Shambioa/; column 15).

121 You would not wish me to end on this melancholy note.
[178] I repeat: a people small in number and too little known, despite appearances, is in the process of losing at least its traditional aspect, which would have been fascinating for comparative sociology as well as for the history of the South American Indians.

/46 cont./

121 sociology as well as for the history of the South American Indians. I hope, however, that my material can be useful in the discussion on the social structures of central Brazil recently started by Lévi-Strauss and Maybury-Lewis, even if it is not yet the right moment for me to enter into it from my side.

113 /47/ Bibliography

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Discussion

184 Professor H. Baldus emphasizes the necessity of considering geographical differences in the study of the social organization of the Carajá of the north and of the south.

[For information concerning the clay figurines or "dolls" see category 532.]

[Information concerning the huts where masked dance costumes are made and stored, and which are prohibited to women, will be found in category 346.]

[For information concerning the masked dance ceremonies see category 535.]

3:Dietschy SP9 Caraja

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[Title Page]

p. 43]

Le système de parenté et la structure sociale des indiens Carajá

par Hans DIETSCHY (Bâle).

Il y a trois ans, G. P. Murdock a publié son « World Ethnographic Sample ». Il va sans dire qu'un essai de cette envergure ne peut être qu'incomplet. Or, en ce qui concerne les Carajá, une des neuf tribus classées sous la rubrique du « Brésil oriental », la suite des trente traits caractéristiques de cette société dans l'épreuve de Murdock montre des lacunes significatives et de graves inexactitudes. C'est mon propos, ici et maintenant, de remédier à cet état de choses aussi bien que possible, afin de contribuer de mon côté, tout en ne m'occupant que d'un seul cas parmi 565, à un plus juste calcul des probabilités humaines.

Je me base, pour accomplir cette tâche, sur des données que j'ai pu ramasser moi-même, en compagnie de ma femme et aidé par le Fonds National Suisse de la Recherche Scientifique, pendant la saison des pluies de 1954 à 1955, chez les Carajá du Sud, ainsi que naturellement sur les indications de nos prédécesseurs sur place, les Ehrenreich, Krause, Baldus, Lipkind avant tout. Je profite de l'occasion pour exprimer le grand regret que j'éprouve toutes les fois que je pense au fait que les riches matériaux collectionnés par Lipkind n'ont jamais été publiés d'une manière satisfaisante. Les Carajá, bien qu'ils soient connus depuis longtemps, sont au fond méconnus. Pour être juste, il faut ajouter qu'eux-mêmes ne facilitent pas la tâche des chercheurs, et il va sans dire qu'en ces circonstances, ma propre contribution doit rester assez fragmentaire, vu la durée trop courte de notre séjour parmi eux.

D'autre part, je suis convaincu que la présentation des seuls faits — prétendument purs — ne nous aide pas à mieux connaître la condition humaine, et le second but de ma communication est de vous présenter un premier essai d'interprétation des données se référant au système de parenté des Carajá qui, non sans raison, a été laissé blanc dans l'épreuve de Murdock.

Pour faciliter la comparaison, je suivrai la trame des colonnes du « World Ethnographic Sample ». Les Carajá cultivent surtout des tubercules tropicaux, sans que le maïs fasse défaut ; des animaux vraiment domestiqués sont absents. Les plantations sont importantes comme source de subsistance, mais la pêche et la chasse aux tortues se rangent plus haut dans les prédilections masculines ainsi que comme base de vie. Ce sont les hommes qui sont chargés non seulement de la pêche et de la chasse — moins importante à cause de la rareté du gibier — mais l'activité dans les jardins est de même une affaire d'hommes surtout, puisque les femmes se contentent d'y aider plutôt à volonté ce qui est incontestablement rare parmi les Indiens de l'Amazonie.

Jusqu'ici, nous sommes dans un accord parfait avec les catégories choisies par Murdock (Ro, Im, Oo, Dm ; colonnes 1-4). Dans la colonne 5 toutefois, nous trouvons

la première lacune. La division du travail assigne la cueillette au sexe féminin sauf la récolte du miel sauvage qui est considérée plutôt comme une chasse et appartient aux tâches de l'homme. On pourrait donc faire entrer quand même les Carajá dans la catégorie de la « standard division of labor by sex » (donc Ia ; colonne 5).

De véritables difficultés surgissent lorsque nous prenons en considération l'organisation sociale proprement dite. Là, les décisions catégoriales ne sont pas si faciles à faire. Il est vrai que nos Indiens vivent dans des villages compacts, durant la saison des pluies surtout. Pendant le reste de l'année, les Carajá propres aiment à se disperser sur les plages, formant de plus petites unités locales qui toutefois sont toujours alignées le long du fleuve, la maison des hommes (s'il y en a dans les campements) restant en arrière, comme si la périphérie d'un cercle avait été ouverte et déroulée en ligne droite, laissant le centre — la maison des hommes — à côté de la ligne. Puisque les grands villages de la saison des pluies qui se présentent tous de cette façon et portent un nom, sont en réalité agames et sans clans, mais montrent une certaine tendance vers l'endogamie, la catégorie assignée par Murdock — village compact observant l'agamie — (Va ; colonne 6), si elle n'est certainement pas fausse, doit quand même être prise *cum grano salis* (tendance vers Sd).

Quant à la structure de la famille, elle est normalement du type élargi, au moins pendant la saison des pluies, mais l'extension n'est pas si grande, et il y a, à côté des familles linéaires ou lignages minimaux non nommés, des familles indépendantes (c'est-à-dire plutôt Ll, souvent Ss et In, au lieu de Ee ; colonne 7) ce qui s'accorde au fait qu'à côté du mariage matrilocal habituel, on trouve la résidence « néolocale » (Mn, au lieu de Mm ; colonne 8), dans la saison sèche d'une part et, d'autre part, comme noyau possible d'une nouvelle famille élargie. La polygynie n'est pas fréquente ni favorisée, tandis qu'il est vrai que les considérations matérielles sont absentes à l'occasion du mariage (donc plutôt Mo ou To que Lo ; colonne 9).

Nous abordons maintenant l'aspect le plus brouillé de l'ethnographie carajá. Le « Handbook of South American Indians » parle, à juste titre, de descendance double (double descent). J'ai démontré ailleurs qu'à cause d'une inattention de la part de la rédaction du fameux manuel, on s'est fait une fausse idée de la vraie nature de cette coexistence de groupements patrilinéaires et matrilinéaires. Il s'agit, non de moitiés, mais de *trois* grands groupes patrilinéaires nommés qui sont d'abord une affaire d'hommes, de leur vie cérémonielle et politique, mais s'occupent quand même des femmes dans le sens d'une tendance endogame. Il ne s'agit donc pas d'une vraie descendance parallèle et, d'autre part, il n'est pas du tout question d'exogamie, et moins encore de moitiés. Tout au plus, on peut parler de non-exogamie ou agamie comme dans le cas des villages qui, eux, sont des groupements matrilinéaires à cause de la règle matrilocale du groupe domestique dont on a fait mention tout à l'heure. A la rigueur, seule la petite famille élargie qui peut être décrite comme lignage matrilinéaire minimal non nommé, semble être exogame. Le mariage est permis avec chaque cousine, parallèle et croisée, et la préférence matrilatérale rapportée par Lipkind (sans indication d'ailleurs s'il s'agit de cousines parallèles ou croisées !) ne semble être que l'expression normative du mariage matrilocal, tandis que la légère préférence patrilatérale constatée par moi-même s'accorde pareillement avec la règle d'endogamie des groupes patrilinéaires. En réalité, parce que les parents sont d'habitude « frère » et « sœur » entre eux, étant cousin et cousine, comme on va le voir à présent, la différence n'a pas beaucoup de valeur explicative. A la lumière de ce qui a été dit, il faut dès lors corriger les catégories établies par Murdock, en tenant compte du fait qu'il faudrait compléter sa catégorie « moitiés agames (non exogames) » par « phratries agames » (donc : Pa ou Na, La, Da ; colonne 10-12).

Pour la première fois, le système de parenté des Carajá doit maintenant être exposé, bien qu'assez brièvement. Murdock a laissé tout à fait ouverte la colonne

pertinente. En ce qui concerne les cousins et cousines, la terminologie est du type « Hawaii », c'est-à-dire, ma propre génération ne comprend que des frères et des sœurs. Avant de continuer, permettez-moi de vous rappeler qu'on a pu parler de principes qui régissent les sytèmes de parenté. Pour ne pas tomber dans le piège du « verbalisme » décrié par Murdock, je m'empresse d'ajouter qu'il ne s'agit pas de causes, mais bien de principes logiques aptes à opérer en vue d'une situation donnée, que ce soient les circonstances du milieu, de la démographie, du type fondamental de la communication sociale dont il s'agit chaque fois. Or, on pourrait même apparier ces principes en formant des oppositions à la manière des linguistes, oppositions dont les termes s'excluent lorsqu'il s'agit de relations particulières, mais qui peuvent être combinées alternativement dans un système entier de relations de parenté. Il serait peut-être préférable de ne formuler que des oppositions contraires, mais pour le moment, je me contente, sauf dans le premier cas, d'oppositions nettement contradictoires, donc plus faciles à manier, car cela suffira pour atteindre notre but immédiat d'élucider le système de parenté des Carajá. Il y a contrariété entre l'unité classifiée de la génération et l'unité de la ligne de filiation, il y a contradiction entre différenciation et non-différenciation des sexes ainsi que de l'âge respectif, entre réciprocité et non-réciprocité des termes, enfin entre unité et non-unité classifiante des frères et sœurs — unité *classifiante*, ceci dit par parenthèse, qui n'est pas à confondre avec l'unité du groupe des frères et sœurs *classifiés* ensemble, ni avec une unité dénominante.

Quant à la terminologie des cousins, nous avons donc affaire au principe de l'unité de la génération et à celui de la différenciation des sexes ce qui reste vrai pour la génération des grands-parents. Entre frères et sœurs, pour être plus précis (et ceci vaut naturellement pour les cousins et cousines), il n'y a qu'en partie différenciation des sexes et de l'âge respectif, de même qu'il n'y a que partiellement unité classifiante des frères et sœurs (et, partant, des cousins et cousines). Les termes employés pour les oncles et les tantes « parallèles », d'autre part, sont de type mixte selon l'âge relatif (relativement aux parents), les désignations pour les aînés étant dérivées des appellations « père » et « mère », celles des cadets étant de même racine que les mots utilisés pour appeler les grands-parents ce qui est le cas, d'ailleurs, de l'oncle et de la tante « croisés » qui, eux, ne sont pas différenciés selon l'âge respectif. Il y a tendance, on le voit, de réunir la génération des parents et de l'approcher de la génération des grands-parents, exception faite des parents mêmes ainsi que du frère aîné du père et de la sœur aînée de la mère dont les termes sont dérivés de ceux des parents — ici, le lévirat et le sororat jouent certainement leur rôle, et la famille nucléaire est prise à part. Dans la classification de Murdock, il s'agit donc, en ce qui concerne les oncles (et les tantes), d'une terminologie linéaire et « bifurcate merging », respectivement, et dans les deux cas, dérivée (Hn et I ; colonne 13). Il faut ajouter que l'unité classifiante des frères et sœurs entre en jeu.

L'exemple le plus frappant de cette unité classifiante se révèle dans un type exceptionnel d'appellation des neveux et nièces. Un frère et une sœur utilisent, il est vrai, tout en ne distinguant pas le sexe, deux *mots* différents que nous traduirions par « neveu-nièce », mais ce qui est plus essentiel, c'est que tous les deux appellent *conjointement* les enfants de leur *frère* « fils » et « fille », les enfants de leur *sœur* « neveu-nièce » (sans distinction de sexe). Cela n'a de sens que si on veut souligner, en même temps que l'unité des frères et sœurs, l'unité d'un lignage minimal patrilinéaire, les enfants d'une sœur appartenant alors à un autre petit groupe exogamique patrilinéaire. Or, il n'y a pas, à présent, de lignage patrilinéaire. Ceci laisserait supposer un changement historique d'une prépondérance patrilinéaire à une prépondérance matrilinéaire, changement qui se traduirait aujourd'hui dans la descendance double. Le système de parenté qui souligne le plus l'unité du lignage patri-

linéaire (de la mère), c'est le système « Omaha » qu'on pourrait d'ailleurs s'imaginer structuré selon le principe de l'unité classifiante des frères et sœurs, ce qui n'est jamais le cas, à ce que je sache, mais ce qui pousserait à l'extrême la logique de ce système (la même constatation serait valable pour le système « Crow » qui marque l'unité du lignage matrilinéaire, du père cette fois).

Or, les beaux-frères et les belles-sœurs (ainsi que les beaux-parents) sont classifiés par la « teknonymie », et puisque dans l'appellation, la référence « ...de mon enfant » semble être habituellement omise, cela équivaut, pour les maris, à la manière dont, dans le système « Omaha », les hommes nomment leurs cousins et cousines croisés matrilatéraux, et pour les épouses, au mode d'appellation utilisé par les femmes dans le système « Crow » lorsqu'il s'agit de leurs cousins et cousines patrilatéraux. Je me demande s'il n'y a pas une connection entre la teknonymie dans le sens large et les types poussés de classification linéaire ou consécutive.

La teknonymie dans le sens restreint, c'est-à-dire les termes « seigneur de tel et tel » et « origine de tel et tel » employés par une tierce personne, est choisie volontiers par les parents eux-mêmes. « Origine du petit-enfant » est la belle-fille, tandis que le beau-fils est appelé « neveu-noir » (le parler de l'homme étant emprunté, cette fois, par sa femme !). Cela s'accorderait de nouveau avec un état historique de prépondérance patrilinéaire, si l'on ne veut pas conclure d'emblée à un mariage, autrefois prescrit, avec la cousine croisée matrilatérale. Il faut se rappeler toutefois que l'état présent caractérisé par un grand degré de liberté, autrement dit par un degré d'« information » ou d'entropie élevée, se retrouve dans l'exécution des cérémonies comme dans la narration des mythes et légendes, ces expressions de la vie spirituelle des Carajá qui permettent une grande liberté de variation autour d'un thème principal, opiniâtrement gardé. — Enfin, la teknonymie oriente les appellations réciproques des grands-parents et petits-enfants, en tant que les grands-parents, appelés selon leur sexe, répondent par le même mot, même si le petit-enfant est du sexe opposé.

Avant de finir ma communication, il me faut vite passer en revue les deux dernières colonnes de l'épreuve de Murdock. Les Carajá distinguent, par la parole et par les ornements, des grades d'âge. En même temps, une idée de stratification se dessine dans le fait que les rôles politiques et religieux sont l'héritage d'un seul des trois groupes patrilinéaires à tendance endogame. On est tenté de penser aux classes ou castes des Guaycurú, par exemple, et puisqu'on a des rapports qui parlent d'esclaves temporaires, il faut corriger les indications de Murdock en ce sens (Al, avec tendance vers Cl, au lieu de O. ; colonne 14). Les villages sont politiquement autonomes, mais les Carajá propres unissent en amphictyonies quelques villages pour l'exécution de certaines cérémonies. La succession héréditaire des chefs va dans la ligne patrilinéaire, un petit-fils étant choisi comme candidat, en cas de carence une petite-fille. En conséquence, il y a succession matrilinéaire temporaire au sein du groupe patrilinéaire auquel est réservé le rôle du chef qui, d'ailleurs, est en voie de disparition complète (donc : Pp et m, pour les Carajá propres, Ap et m pour les Javahé et Chambioá ; colonne 15).

Vous ne m'en voudrez pas que je finisse sur cette note mélancolique. Je répète : un petit peuple trop peu connu, malgré l'apparence, est en train de perdre au moins son visage traditionnel qui aurait été fascinant pour la sociologie comparée ainsi que pour l'histoire des Indiens de l'Amérique du Sud. J'espère toutefois que mon matériel pourra être utile dans la discussion sur les structures sociales du Brésil central entamée récemment par Lévi-Strauss et Maybury-Lewis ; même si ce n'est pas encore le moment d'y entrer de mon côté.

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DISCUSSION

Le Prof. H. PALLOIS souligne la nécessité de considérer les différences géographiques dans l'étude de l'organisation sociale des Caraïbe du nord et du sud.

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[Title page]

4: Ehrenreich--1 E-5 (1888) 1891 SP9 Caraja SP9
Cariban Indians SR7

/1/

000 I. The Karaya /Caraja/ Tribes on the Araguaia River (Goyaz) /pp. 4-97 /.

II. Concerning several Peoples on the Purus River (Amazonas) /untranslated/.

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C 114 121

Foreword

The ethnological material communicated in the following is the result of a journey through little-known regions of the interior of Brazil, undertaken in connection with the second Xingu expedition of Dr. Carl von der Steinen, which set out at the beginning of the year 1887 in order to subject to closer study the wild tribes still living on a pre-Columbian level of culture in the source area of this river.

CI 121 174

One of the most important results of this expedition was the final solution of the Karaib /Carib/ question. That the original home of the Karaib tribes, whose ethnographic position had been so unclear up to now, was not to be sought in northeastern South America, but in the central regions of the continent was made sufficiently certain by the discovery of two large Karaib peoples in the Xingu source region, the Bakairi /Bacairi/ and Nahuqua, the more detailed investigation of their languages, and the fortunate discovery of the traditions concerning their migrations. It was then a matter of following the traces of those ancient displacements of peoples, of finding Karaib tribes which formed the connecting link between the two widely separated groups of this large family of peoples. Certain observations permitted the assumption that the Karaya (1) of the lower Xingu and the middle Araguaia

C 104

1. The spelling Karaya, instead of Caraja or Karaža, was chosen because the sound j in the mouths of the people themselves sounds like a German j (phonetic y). The soft sibilant ž occurs in their language only in the combination dž.

Cariban Indians SR7
Cayapo SP11
Amanaye SQ2
Arara SQ4

CI 121 174 /3 cont./ were such a "missing link"; from even a short word-list this could be assumed with complete certainty in the case of a tribe on the left bank of the lower Tocantins, the Apiaka /Apiaca (Arara)/, which has only recently become well-known. When our expedition disbanded in May, 1888, after finishing its work, I decided to contribute to the solution of this question by a trip down the Araguaia and Tocantins to Pará.

C 119 101 After an overland journey of two months, I arrived in Goyaz in July, 1888, boarded ship on August 21 at Leopoldina on the Araguaia, and reached Pará on November 2 of the same year.

C 101 Of the large Indian population of the region traversed, only the Karaya could be investigated in detail. They proved to be a nation sui generis, which is related to no other, in particular not with the Karaib, still defies any classification, and is unique in language, customs, and physical form, isolated in the midst of the large well-characterized Gês /Ge/ nations surrounding them.

C 126 The collection of ethnological specimens acquired here by me can, despite a number of gaps, be designated as the first which gives a fairly true picture of the culture and living conditions of this important people, almost unknown up to now.

CO 126 Also the most important Gês tribe, that of the Kayapo /Cayapo/, is represented in it by certain objects, which as the first to reach Europe from the free, northern hordes of this great people, command special interest.

Am 101 126 The unpretentious objects of the Anambê, a pure Tupi people on the lower Tocantins, among whom the Brazilian Couto Magelhães wrote down the Tupi legends printed in the work O selvagem /The savage/, are important only because they are the Am [173] [161] the first and at the same time the last objects that have come to us from a people that is now reduced to four individuals as the result of a devastating smallpox epidemic.

Ar 101 /4/ As neighbors of the Anambê, the Apiaka (1), of whom

1. Whether this is their national name or was given to them by the Brazilians is uncertain. In any case, they should not be confused, as often happens, with

/4 cont./

Ar 101

1. (cont.)
the Apiaka /Apiaca/ of the upper and middle Tapajós, a true Tupi tribe. Externally they are distinguished from the latter by their tribal tattooing. Among the Apiaka of the Tapajós the mouth region is tattooed black; those of the Tocantins are characterized by a blue line drawn from the outer corner of the eye to the corner of the mouth.

Ar [302]

Ar 167 [101] [97]

I met only civilized individuals, live farther in the interior. They actually proved to be the connecting link sought. They are a true Karaib tribe, closely related linguistically and somatically to the Bakairi, but only ~~a relatively~~ short time ago, about the middle of this century migrated from the upper Xingu or Tapajós region to the lower Tocantins. If migrations of such dimensions have taken place in recent times, their possibility at least cannot be ruled out for earlier periods.

C 114

From Manáos I undertook in the middle of December, 1888, a three-month trip to the primeval forest regions of the middle Purus, during which I became acquainted with three of the most important tribes of these regions. Because of unfavorable conditions, the yield in collection specimens was relatively small here. The exhaustion of my means, but in particular the poor health of my two companions, prevented extending the trip to the upper Purus regions and necessitated our return as early as the end of February. Nevertheless, this journey did contribute something toward the clarification of the distribution of peoples in these regions. Almost all the tribes there belong to the large Maipure or Nu-Aruak group (v.d. Steinen) and form the connecting link between the Nu tribes of Guiana and Colombia and those of Bolivia and Mato Grosso. Ascertaining this fact has substantially simplified the confused ethnographic picture of central South America.

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C [101]

C 128

The following presentation is therefore devoted to the Karaya and the Purus tribes of the Yamamadi, Ipurina, and Paumari /Paumary/. All the other ethnological observations and inquiries, as well as all of the linguistic and anthropological material, will be reserved for special publications.

/4 cont./

I. The Karaya Tribes on the Araguaia River (Goyaz).

Historical.

175 The Karaya are mentioned for the first time on the occasion of that well-known raid which the Paulista gang-leader Antonio Pires Campos (2) undertook around the year 1684 from Cuyaba down

2. According to others, Manuel Pires Campos.

the Rio das Mortes to the Araguaia. It was at that time that the gold mines of the "Martirios," which play so important a role in modern Brazilian folk-tales, were discovered; they were later lost again and are still most eagerly sought to the present day. [131] On his return Pires Campos visited the "Ilha dos Carajas," the large island now called Bananal or Ilha da Santa Anna, which the [177] Araguaia forms between 13 1/2° and 10 1/2° south latitude. Numerous captives were dragged off from here to São Paulo as slaves.

In the forties of the previous century the son of the above, who had been called on by the Goyans for assistance against the hostile Kayapo, organized a second slave hunt along the Araguaia from Goyaz.

There is detailed information about this expedition in the report of the alferes José Pinto da Fonseca (3), who visited the river

[113] 3. Rev. trim., Vol. 8, pp. 376 ff.

in 1775, on the orders of the then commander-in chief of Goyaz, José Almeida de Vasconcellos, in order to establish friendly relations with the wild tribes there, since the need to open the principal rivers of the province to navigation was making itself felt more and more. In June of the year concerned he and his troop reached the southern tip of Bananal Island and were soon able to win over the Karaya living there.

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175 At first he was met with distrust, since everyone was still
177 under the influence of the horrible deeds which Pires Campos had committed there 25 years earlier. Soon, however, by means of his intelligent, kind behavior, Pinto succeeded in getting the savages to put themselves under the protection of the governor of
[648] Goyaz. Their chief, Abeonona, swore an oath of fealty to the king of Portugal, the exact words of which are communicated in the above-mentioned letter.

175 The description of the Karaya which Pinto presents corresponds completely to present-day conditions. Through him we receive
[131] the first information about the large lake in the northern part of Bananal Island, not yet visited by any traveler, on the shores of
[161] which live the Yavahẽ /Javahe/. Pinto estimates the number of
[361] the Karaya at 9,000 souls in nine large villages, three of which belong to the Yavahẽ.

A second expedition left in the following year to lay out near the largest of the Indian villages on the island a military post which was given the name of Colonia da nova beira.

Later other such posts were established on the Araguaia, and some in the region of the Šambioa /Shambioa/. Under the prevailing mismanagement, however, these cultural centers very
[167] soon fell to ruin (1). Already in 1782 it was necessary to transport
[164]

[113] 1. Cazal, Corogr. bras. /Chorography of Brazil/, I, p. 340. -- Cunha Mattos, Corogr. de Goyaz." Rev. trim., Vol. 37, I, p. 393.

800 Karaya to S. José de Mossamedes in Goyaz, and in 1786 other bands were settled at Carretão, which, however, after a short time fell victim to an epidemic of measles. The colony of Mossamedes, too, did not prosper. Pohl found the place in the most wretched condition in the twenties of our century. Every trace of the earlier colonizing activities soon disappeared on the Araguaia. The island of Bananal in particular is as unknown today as at the time of its discovery.

/5 cont./

175 Nevertheless, the relationship of the Karaya to the immigrant
177 population remained rather good. On various occasions individuals of this people reached Pará on trading ships. In 1791 the chief, Aribedu, gave the then governor of this province information about the currents of the Araguaia. The trading expedition which traveled along the Tocantins and Araguaia in 1792 also brought many Karaya from the interior.

On the other hand, in the beginning of this century serious
[721] hostilities broke out. The newly established post of Santa Maria
[648] was completely destroyed in 1813 by the Karaya and the Akuã (Chavante) allied with them (2).

[113] 2. Rev. trim., Vol. 25, II, p. 91.

175 Then for a long time the reports are silent; the Karaya are mentioned by Martius, Pohl, and Aug. St. Hilaire only in passing.

We do not get more detailed information again until the great expedition of Castelnau in 1844. Since the French traveler did not travel on the left arm of the river, now navigated exclusively, but rather on the right one, east of Bananal Island, he did not become acquainted with the Karayahi. He also saw no Yavahẽ. He erroneously designates the island as uninhabited. On the other hand, he spent several days in the large Šambioa villages. He
[635] wrote down the first word-list and above all, described the strange dance masks, whose true significance, however, remained hidden from him. Unfortunately his whole collection was lost in the cataracts of the lower Tocantins.

Three years later the Brazilian official, Dr. Rufino Theotonio
[31] Segurado, came upstream from Pará. His excellent travel report contains notes on the Šambioa whom he encountered just above the rapids Carreira comprida. He also visited the Karayahi (3).

[113] 3. Rev. trim, Vol. 5, pp. 178 ff.

Of other Brazilian travelers, General Couto Magelhães, who did so much for Araguaia shipping and who, as president of Goyaz,

/5 cont./

175 came in contact with the Karaya (4) as early as 1863 on a short

4. In the no longer extant Aldeamento da Estiva near Salinas, where Chavante and Karaya were settled in the care of an Italian missionary. Cf. Peterm. Mitth., 1876, p. 222.

[113]

trip to S. José, but later traveled the whole river on repeated occasions, had the most opportunity to become acquainted with this remarkable people. He did not publish anything in connection with this, however. Some scattered notes are to be found in his first travel report of 1863 and in the work O Selvagem (Rio de Janeiro, 1874).

[113]

/6/ In 1879 the engineer Moraes Jardim investigated the navigable stretch of the Araguaia from Leopoldina to Santa Maria. Appended to his report (1) is a description of the Karayahi villages

[113]

1. O rio Araguaya, relatorio de sua exploração /The Araguaia River, an Account of Its Exploration/. Rio de Janeiro, 1880.

written by his companion, Dr. Spinola, which is, on the whole, correct.

Also the travel account of the former president of Goyaz, Dr. Joaquim Leite Moraes (1882), contains some interesting material about the Karaya. The first fairly complete collection of ethnological objects was made by this traveler on his way to São Paulo. It is now scattered, but I succeeded in acquiring for the Royal Museum two of the best pieces from the owner, the war clubs of the well-known Sambioa chiefs, Roco and Ambura.

[126]

Territorial Distribution

131 101 Whereas until a few years ago only the Karaya on the Araguaia were known, the existence of other hordes of the same nation on the right bank of the middle and lower Xingu was proved by the first Xingu expedition.

/6 cont./

000 648 Xingu expedition. Their relationship to the neighboring tribes and to the Brazilian settlers of the rubber districts is, however, completely hostile here, so that up to now any approach was impossible. The Yuruna suffer most from their attacks. Traces of battles, devastated dwelling places, and the like were found everywhere by the first expedition of v. d. Steinen.

101 Some ethnographic objects from these tribes, acquired among the Yuruna, leave no doubt but that we are dealing with true Karaya here.

The likelihood that there is a still further extension of these Karaya into the upper region of the river was discovered by the 171 second Xingu expedition. Objects acquired among the Kamayura /Camayura/ (below 12° south latitude) allegedly came from a tribe known there under the name of Aruma: a broken club, various arrows, feather headdresses, which are completely identical with those of the Karaya. Also, the tribe neighboring the Kamayura, the Trumai, had much in common with the Karaya, for example, the men's custom of tying the foreskin over the glans with a cotton thread, the bast aprons of the women, which are, however, much narrower and shorter than those of the Karaya women, the feather headdresses, and the form of the arrow-thrower. The languages of the two tribes, however, show no relationship.

101 The Karaya of the Araguaia are no longer connected with those of the Xingu. The two are separated from each other by the great warlike Gês nations of the Kayapo and Akuã (Chavante), who pushed in between them a long time ago.

131 Their dwelling sites lie along the middle course of the Araguaia 133 between the mouth of the Rio Crixas and the first great rapids, S. 361 Miguel, where the river breaks through or flows around the mountain ranges which border the northern slope of the great plateau of interior Brazil.

133 Already below 15° south latitude it enters a broad plain filled with alluvial materials, which in general has the same character [139] about as far as S. Maria (9° 30'). Flat, densely overgrown islands in the river, the banks bordered by sand dunes, behind which rises on higher ground a luxuriant strip of forest which, however, as

/6 cont./

133 everywhere in the zone of the "campos," is narrow in width and
137 soon gives way to dry campland covered with stunted trees or to the broad, swampy plains of the so-called pantanaes /marshy places/, flooded during periods of high water. Innumerable lagoons, communicating with the river by way of narrow furos /natural communication between rivers or river and lake/ and likewise bordered by forest and swamps, accompany it.

133 The most remarkable hydrographic formation which characterizes the Araguaia is its division below 13° 25' south latitude, where its two arms enclose the great, flat Bananal Island extending across three degrees of latitude. From Itacaiu, 50 kilometers above the mouth of Rio Vermelho, to S. Maria, about 140 kilometers below the reuniting of the two arms, the river is navigable for small steamers at any season. The first of them, which at present is the only one still in use was brought in 1869 by Couto Magelhães overland from the upper São Lourenço to the Araguaia.

Mountain ranges come close to the river on the left bank only below 11° 15' south latitude at the mouth of the Tapirapé. /7/ A twin-peaked conical mountain important in the mythology of the surrounding tribes rises here. Downstream from the presidio of S. Maria both banks become higher. A rocky substratum appears. Stone barriers break into the river at various points, but without making its bed considerably deeper. Across from S. Maria on the left bank at a distance of about 20 kilometers lies the extended Serra dos Cayapos. Finally, the river enters the mountain region near the Cachoeira de S. Miguel with a definite dip. Besides the above-mentioned rapids it forms here the Carreira comprida and Cachoeira grande, through which it is again led to flatter terrain until finally, after receiving the Tocantins from the right, it winds over the last and greatest plateau-scarp through the violent chain of cataracts Tauiri grande and Itaboca.

137 Up to the mouth of the Tocantins the whole landscape around
134 the river has the character of campos throughout. Cultivable land is found only on the watercourses, most extensively, of course, on the main stream itself, whose luxuriant gallery forest presents a wealth of valuable useful plants and fertile soil for various kinds of cultivation. The higher bank regions below S. Maria are especially well suited for maize and the manioc root.

/7 cont./

132 The life of the inhabitants is determined by the sharp division of the seasons. The rainless period lasts from May to the end of September, and farther north even until far into October. Then broad sandbanks (praias) are exposed everywhere, with the sun [221] beating down on them day after day. For the Indians this is the real period of river life. Fishing then governs all interests. With the beginning of November the rainy season has usually already set [133] in with strength; in December and January the river is highest, ten to twelve meters above the low level. From bank to bank, without interruption, a tremendous mass of water fills the bed, flooding the neighboring low plains for some distance.

136 Swarms of annoying insects, mosquitoes and pium /a very 221 small mosquito/, which are completely absent in the dry season, now fill the air. The Indian is forced to retreat to higher ground, where he then attends to cultivating the fields and, if need be, [226] hunts. Fishing can be carried on only in the lagoons at this time.

133 When the water lowers, bad fevers are not uncommon on the 164 middle Araguaia, where extensive swamps accompany the river.

Hordes. The Karaya of the Araguaia are divided into the 101 three large tribes of the Yavahē, Karayahi, and Šambioa, which [161] together may number about 4,000 persons. The first inhabit the [131] interior of the still completely unknown Bananal Island. We know [361] only this much about it, that in its northern part there is a large lake near which the three villages of the Yavahē are located. It has an outlet into the eastern arm (furo) of the Araguaia, at the mouth of which some of these savages were spoken to for the last 177 time in April, 1888. In the meantime no one has sought them out here, although they have indicated several times their desire to trade with the colonists. They badly need iron tools, which now come to them only rarely through the agency of the Karayahi. In the villages of the latter one sometimes meets some Yavahē. They do not like to leave their hiding place in large numbers, since they justifiably fear importing epidemic diseases.

361 The Karayahi live in 12-15 villages of various size on the west arm of the Araguaia in the region of the navigable stretch from S. José below the mouth of the Crixas to the region of S. Maria.

/7 cont./

36 Their northernmost settlement near S. Maria was attacked and
[648] completely destroyed in 1881 by the Kayapo of the left bank.
Since then they have not ventured far beyond the northernmost tip
of Bananal Island with their settlements. Their farthest excursions
go below S. Maria to the rapids of Joncon (i.e., it is at an end).

439 They perform important services for the traffic on the river by
felling wood for the steamers. As payment they receive axes and
knives, which they on their part trade to other tribes, such as the
[177] Yavahē and Tapirapé. Understandably, when steamboat transportation was established, care was taken from the first to stay on good
terms with the savages. The merit for introducing this excellent
relationship and maintaining it for 20 years belongs to the courageous
commander of the steamer, Sebastião de Freitas, who served so
well in exploring the Araguaia. It is thanks to his unselfish, kind
work that perhaps /8/ nowhere else in Brazil are the relations between the native population and the settlers so good as here.

To be sure, for the Karayahi the contact with "civilization"
[184] has not been without consequences. In comparison with the independent Šambioa, a certain lack of order and cleanliness in
their villages and less care and taste in their artifacts are noticeable.
On the other hand, a wealth of most interesting ethnological ob-
[126] jects are still present among them. The most important pieces in
the collection were acquired from them.

311 Their material position cannot be described as especially favorable. The lower riverbanks of their region are so exposed to floods
that they can practice agriculture only to a limited extent. They
[648] venture onto the higher left bank only temporarily, out of fear of
their worst enemies, the Akuã and Kayapo.

13 The third large Karaya horde is that of the Šambioa, about
[101] whom Castelnau brought back the first more detailed reports.
[361] They possess four rather large villages between the Pau d'arco rapids
[224] and the great Cachoeira de S. Miguel. Their hunting expeditions,
however, extend beyond the Cachoeira grande, in former times up
to the region of the Apinagēs, near the present São Vincente, from
[172] where increasing settlement has scared them away. The rock
sculptures of the so-called Martirios Island between the Carreira

/8 cont./

131 comprida and Cachoeira grande are in any case the work of their
172 ancestors. Since the first Araguaia travelers already mention these "inscriptions" as documents of great age, the Karaya must have lived in these regions at least since the sixteenth century (see pp. 91 ff.).

439 Within the Šambioa region, where the river is no longer
[162] navigable for ships, there are no Brazilian settlements at present. The savages are therefore completely dependent on the barter trade with the few larger rowboats passing by four to six times annually or the small vessels which maintain communication with São Vincente. They deliver mainly hammocks, field produce,
[648] and chickens to the travelers, but have otherwise kept their full
433 independence. Living under far better conditions of existence than the Karayahi, they stand, as far as agriculture is concerned, on a higher level than even the civilized river-dwellers.

648 They live in most bitter enmity with the Kayapo tribes of the left bank, the Kradahõ /Cradaho/, Ušikrin, and others. Many
[727] abducted women and children of the latter are found in their villages. On the whole, however, they are well treated, the children even adopted into the tribe without further ado.

The relationship of the Šambioa to the settlers has not always been peaceful. Nevertheless, Castelnau was already able to substantiate that these Indians did not deserve the bad reputation which they had among the Goyans at the time. The main guilt for the misdeeds which occurred is in any case to be sought on the side of the foreigners.

609 Their behavior was decidedly hostile in the seventies when the notorious Chief Roco attacked travelers on several occasions and massacred them.

Today it is only the inhabitants of the second village who receive strangers with hostility. Women and children are taken to
[911] safety, the warriors stand threateningly on the shore, armed with bows, spears, and clubs, and hardly condescend to barter. In the other villages our reception left little to be desired, once the fleeing women were successfully persuaded to return.

/8 cont./

609 Nevertheless, caution must be used in dealing with the Sambioa. To be sure, they will hardly dare to attack well-manned and armed boats, but, in view of the great distance from the landing place to the villages, the traveler who unarmed -- only in this way is he admitted -- visits their huts can get into a very dangerous situation in case of a sudden quarrel.

The reception at the landing places usually makes a most picturesque scene. The naked brown forms stream by in groups, [301] many adventurously painted black and red, the face often daubed [302] with a thick layer of soot, some with a decorative feather diadem on their heads, others with hair hanging down in a long braid and decorated with bunches of arara feathers fluttering in the wind. All [411] are armed with long spears decorated with feathers, clubs, bows, and arrows. The discussion is held in dignified quiet, without wild shouting, the new arrivals first showing the savages their firearms, and expressly any breechloaders /9/ or revolvers, which never fail to make a deep impression. The chief asserts time after time: Karaya amigo tori, ahi mentira não tem! The Karaya is a friend of the White (tori), here there are no lies! And the bartering begins immediately (Pl. IV /see p. 106/, 2).

Once one has won their confidence, the dealings become quite unconstrained, especially with the men and boys. The small children, and especially the young girls, are very shy and usually crawl into a corner of their hut, nervously covering their faces with their hands. A stranger is never troubled by beggars. Thefts, too, are exceedingly rare.

Language.

126 A rather extensive vocabulary, as well as a number of short sentences, was written down, from which, however, little of the grammatical structure of this idiom is evident. The extremely 194 unclear diction of the people, who hardly make any perceptible 126 movement of their lips, their inability to repeat exactly what was said, and finally the swallowing of the final syllables, favored by the abundance of vowels and lingual sounds, make linguistic reception uncommonly difficult.

/9 cont./

000 reception uncommonly difficult. It is certain that this language
197 is related to no other Brazilian language known up to now, although odd word-similarities with Gēs dialects do occur.

198 Its noteworthy peculiarity is the existence of separate men's and women's languages, as is found in like manner among the Guaicuru and Chiquitanos. Only a few words, however, are completely different; for most of them the form is merely modified unimportantly. For instance, where two vowels come one after the other in the men's dialect, a k comes between the two in the women's dialect. Thus:

rain ♂ biū, ♀ bikū, maize ♂ mahī, ♀ makī.

At times the women's word merely has one more syllable at the end, etc. Probably the women have merely retained an older
104 form of the language. The native words printed in italics in the text are accented on the final syllable where something different is not expressly noted.

External Appearance, Clothing, Adornment.

142 According to their physical appearance, the Karaya represent one of the handsomer types among the tribes of Brazil. They are not particularly robust in stature, but rather are medium-sized and gracile; however, the slender body, the regularity of their limbs, the proud mien make them seem bigger than they really are. Their
[526] impressive muscular power, the elasticity and agility of their movements come to the fore especially in boxing matches, their
[482] most popular sport. The neck musculature is very strongly developed, as among all Indians, which makes them capable of carrying enormous loads with a forehead-tumpline.

[141] The form of the skull is consistently hypsidolichocephalic, without especially prominent prognathism. The absence of eyebrow ridges make the face somewhat open. The eyelid, horizontal or slightly slanted, is remarkably small, but nevertheless does not lend the face a really Mongoloid appearance, because of the always very prominently projecting nose. The nose itself starts very far down.

/9 cont./

142 The bridge is narrow, markedly convex with a somewhat pendulous tip. The alae are usually somewhat drawn up, so that the round nostrils seem to be directed toward the front.

In size the women stand significantly behind the men, but are just as well proportioned. Their figures tend to be somewhat full in their youth. Almost all the younger individuals have uncommonly delicate hands and feet and a perfect form of the bust, but, like [853] all Indian women, they lose their charms very early; in particular the long breast-feeding causes excessive lengthening of the [481] breasts. In the case of older women, the weak development of the lower extremities and the waddling gait of the inwardly turned feet make an unpleasant impression.

The real skin-color of the Karaya is difficult to determine at first glance. Staying on the sun-scorched praias changes the bright yellow-brown of their complexions, which one can still confirm only under their large cotton cuffs and knee-bands, into a dark copper-
302 brown. Even this is not easy to see in the case of many individuals because of the /10/ body painting used to the broadest extent (Fig. 1 /see p. 17 /). People painted black or red from head to foot are not rare. Others combine the black or red color into patterns which almost give the impression of European clothing. Black line-drawings on the face and extremities are the most popular.

302 Used for body painting are:
386 1. Urucú (uareriõ). Paste made from the red berries of Bixa
[824] orellana.

[824] 2. The blue-black dye (beõẽna) obtained from the seeds of the genipa (Genipa brasiliensis).

3. Soot. This is either simply scraped from the cooking pots and rubbed into the face or, mixed with genipa, it serves for diffuse painting of the whole body.

302 The line-decoration is put on with the fingers or little wooden
413 sticks, the diffuse coloring with a rag.

/10 cont./

302 The bristly or wavy black hair of both sexes is cut off straight above the eyebrows and hangs down in back over the neck. Dandies
[301] wear a part about three centimeters wide up to the crown /Fig. 1 appears here/, let the short crown-hair stick up like a brush, and with cotton strings tie the part hanging down in back into a braid, at the roots of which the men sometimes tie a decoration of blue arara or black mutum /curassow/ feathers (ušiktamaru).

301 In the pierced ear-lobes both sexes wear sticks of cane 15-20
[304] centimeters long for everyday.

The plug in the lower lip (anʒōō) is used only by the men. It
[814] consists of the light, flaky wood of the piuva tree and is either cut obliquely with a short point or runs out into a long, thin lamina hanging down on the chest (Fig. 2, b /see p. 18 /).

Boys primarily wear, instead of this, small T-shaped pieces of shell (idžä) (Fig. 2, d /see p. 18 /).

The most precious lip ornament, which is worn only on festive occasions, but otherwise is kept carefully wrapped in cotton, is a long, heavy, stone plug (manuterě) of hyaline or rose-colored quartz, the T-shaped end of which is stuck through the lower lip while the conical button hangs down (Fig. 2, a /see p. 18 /). Of the four specimens in the collection the largest is 17.5 centimeters long.

301 /11/ These lip stones, of which only a few have reached
439 European collections, are not made by the Karaya themselves, but are bartered from the Tapirapé, the Tupi people on the like-
[135] named left tributary of the Araguaia. The mountain chains of the left riverbank, such as the Serra dos Cayapos, are rich in this material. A Kayapo stone plug acquired in S. Maria is shorter and runs out to a tapered, blunt end (Fig. 2, c /see p. 18 /).

304 Tattooing is limited to the tribal badge which both sexes
619 wear on their cheeks: a blue ring 10-15 millimeters in diameter (auʒamanurě) just under the lower edge of the orbit.

515 On the whole the Karaya are distinguished by scrupulous care of the body. They bathe several times a day. Their hair is
302 always carefully combed. All the hair on the face and body is
[412] plucked out. Shears are now commonly used for hair cutting,
[237] whereas formerly piranha teeth were used for this.

/11 cont./

291 Clothing. The men go about completely naked, but tie the foreskin over the penis glans with a black cotton thread, like the end of a sausage (Pl. I /see p. 103/, 1). The women wear the nantŏ, [824] a kind of sash made of the bast of the jangada tree (Apeiba jangada). [289] /Fig. 2 appears here./ Softened in water and beaten and dried with flat stones, it acquires a high degree of pliability and a gleaming white, almost cloth-like appearance, very similar to the Polynesian tapa cloth made in the same way. A piece one span wide and 1 1/2 meters long is placed around the hips, both ends drawn be-

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Fig. 1. Body painting.

291 tween the legs from back to front and knotted below the navel, so that the ends hang down to the feet. When sitting down, the ends are thrown back under the seat (Pl. I /see p. 103/, 2).

This primitive costume is supplemented by various arm and leg bands which represent a special tribal peculiarity.

854 Soon after birth the lower arm and lower leg of the child are
291 wrapped with heavy black cotton cords (aʒonrubĕ), while a band five centimeters wide and likewise black is put around the body (uaitakaui) (Pl. VII /see p. 109/, 3 and 4).

/11 cont./

854 291 Some months later the broad, knitted cotton cuffs (deši) are put around the wrists and ankles, while narrower bands provided with tassels hanging down in front are tied under the knee. The former are cylindrical, five to six centimeters wide, with thicker edges projecting out like a hat brim, the latter smooth and only one to two centimeters wide. With increasing growth these bands are gradually replaced by larger ones (Pl. VII /see p. 109/, 6 and 8).

291 The boys wear the ankle bands until after the lips have been pierced, the girls until they marry. The cuffs, which cover almost the whole forearm among the adults, are, like the knee bands, not taken off by either sex until after marriage, and by the women usually [301] not before the birth of the first child. Upon the death of one of the two spouses, the surviving one puts them on again.

571 The sharp external division of single persons from married ones by such distinguishing marks is deeply rooted in the whole social life of this people, as we shall see later. Other ornamental objects will be discussed below.

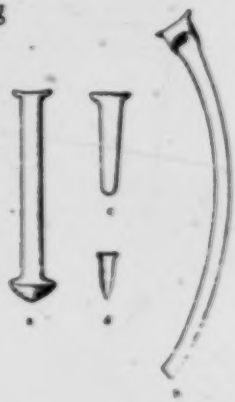

Fig. 2. Lip ornaments (1/4).

291 Also to be included among the articles of clothing is an object quite peculiar to the Karaya, the "riiõ," incorrectly called "rede" (hammock) by the Brazilians and also designated as such by Castelnau and Martius (Pl. VII /see p. 109/, 1).

[854] This cotton plaiting looks very similar to an actual hammock, to be sure, but it is not used as such and is not hung up at all, not [513] even having any cords for this purpose. It serves, rather, as a cloak by day and as an underlayer at night when sleeping on the ground.

/11 cont./

291 ground. One end is drawn hoodlike over the head, while the other covers the seat. Thus the riiõ is really part of the national costume.

[524] One sees, not only the adults, but also small children /12/ parading about with it, and even the little clay dolls of the latter are not

854 without it. Mats hung up by strings are used only for cradles for the newborn.

171 The question as to how the Karaya came to have this original

352 article of clothing is of great ethnographic interest. It is well-known that a large part of the Brazilian tribes does not use the hammock. These are chiefly the Gẽs nations occupying the entire eastern part of the country, such as the Kayapo, Akuã, Kaingan /Caingang/, Botocudo, etc., as well as the Bororo corresponding to them throughout, not in language, to be sure, but in their way of life, usage, and customs. They all sleep on the ground or on wooden frames.

Of the other tribes using hammocks, the Karaib /Carib/ make them out of cotton, the Nu-Aruak out of palm fiber.

This situation is so characteristic that the presence or absence of the hammock for a people, as well as the method of making it, is decisive for their ethnographic classification.

[513] Only the Karaya cannot be fitted into this scheme, because they make cotton hammocks, to be sure, but sleep in them on the ground.

[177] This permits one to conjecture that they only recently adopted the "rede" from another people and did not want to give up their old custom of sleeping on the ground (1).

1. Therefore the anonymous author of an old travel report in Revista trim., Vol. 25, p. 251, states correctly: "These Indians sleep on their redes and the same rede serves as a blanket. This idea is neither innate nor did it arise out of necessity. They learned it from someone." /Translated from the Portuguese./

/12 cont./

286 They most probably owe their mat to the civilized Brazilians.
177 Insofar as the latter use hammocks at all, they make them out of
[283] cotton. Now Pinto da Fonseca says (op. cit., p. 387) that the Karaya used cotton only for making fish nets and bow strings, but were unacquainted with the art of weaving. He himself made them a weaving apparatus and instructed the women in this skill.

[184] This would agree with the fact that still today the Yavahẽ of Bananal Island, among whom Pinto undertook his first civilizing attempts, are designated as the most skillful weavers. The uncommonly firm, taffeta-like, woven "rede" in the collection is supposed to be Yavahẽ work. A visit among them would definitively settle this interesting question.

293 Also to be mentioned here as a noteworthy elaborate piece
[285] belonging to the Karaya are the eyeshades (ãodi) plaited out of
[824] uaguassú palm leaves, with which they protect themselves from the blinding reflected sunlight while walking over the sandbanks (Pl. VIII /see p. 110/, 10). They have not arrived at the construction of protective apparatus of the type of the Eskimo snow-goggles, but they prize European dark glasses.

[197] The adding on to the eyeshade to make a complete top-hat (taã) is probably to be traced back to European influence. There were two specimens of it in all.

Settlements, Houses, and Domestic Animals.

621
361 The Karaya do not live in small troops of two or three families, as the forest Indians of Amazonas and the rude hunting nomads of the coastal region do, but always in larger communities. Only the southernmost Karayahi are forced by the lack of means of subsistence to divide up somewhat more. In the vicinity of S. José during the dry season one continually meets small bands of eight to ten persons. The farther one comes downstream, the more populous their camps become. Some of them may number at least 150-200 inhabitants.
342 The Karayahi huts erected on the sandbanks usually consist of large
[824] buriti-fiber mats stretched over pole frames, standing about without any order, like gypsy tents (Pl. III /see p.105 /, 2).

/12 cont./

342 184 Only rarely does one see among them the characteristic solid house-construction of the Šambioa and then only in smaller 351 364 dimensions, without any particular care in the construction. Since all the scraps are simply strewn on the ground, the refuse gradually [136] becomes unbearable. The vermin multiplying in large numbers, especially the sand fleas, finally force them to abandon the place. 342 In the rainy season the Karayahi move into stronger, buriti-leaf [361] covered, open ranchos on the high bank, which do not in other respects differ in form from those customary among the Brazilian population.

/13/ The "summer huts" of the Šambioa are very much more [184] carefully and neatly built. Here the greater diligence, industriousness, and the comfortable well-being of the free son of the wilderness are manifest, in contrast to his "tame" tribal brother vegetating in oppressive conditions and dependent on civilization. [361] Not in disorder, but in long rows, forming real streets, these houses with their impeccable cleanliness make an uncommonly friendly and comfortable impression (Pl. IV /see p. 106/, 1, and Pl. V /see p. 107/).

621 In the first Šambioa village we counted 60 huts, in the second 30, in the third 45, and in the fourth 90, each of which is inhabited by one or two families.

The individual villages are distinguished by special names. 342 The basic form of the house is rectangular, the narrow side with the door faces the street. The frame consists of three or four [335] flexible poles on each side carried over forked supports and held together with those on the opposite side by means of cipos, thus /Fig. 3 appears here/ forming a boat-like, arched roof, which is further supported by some vertical poles set in the ground in the long direction (Fig. 3 /see p. 22 /). These, as well as the forked supports, are connected with one another by as many strong horizontal poles as are necessary. Thin laths are placed lengthwise [824] and parallel to one another on the outside over the ribs of the roof and serve as supports for the strong pinnate leaves of the uaguassú palm (Attalea spectabilis), which, in several layers, form a fairly waterproof roof. Their leaf pinnae are also entwined with one another into a very solid plaited work. These plaitings serve

/13 cont./

342 principally to close off the narrow sides. To the right and left of the door are planted two high poles which give the palm-leaf layers of the front side more solid support.

352 The interior furnishing of the houses is rather simple. Part of the floor is covered with buriti mats which also serve as an [513] underlayer for sleeping. A smooth wooden cylinder pushed underneath represents the pillow. The various storage baskets, the 353 [415] containers for ornamental feathers, the finished feather orna- [237] ments, bottle gourds, and other things hang from the horizontal beams. Bows and arrows are stuck in the rafters. [342] Lances and clubs stand in the corner, always at hand. Some sledge-like 352 stools, as well as pots and 415 gourd /cuia/ bowls of varying sizes complete the household equipment.

Fig. 3. Hut construction.

346 At some distance from the village is found the somewhat dif- [532] ferently constructed "medicine hut," where the mysterious dance masks are stored. It has the form of an ordinary rancho, with a steeply sloping roof, and is tightly closed on three sides, whereas [184] the side facing the village is wide open. Female creatures may not venture near it.

[114] Castelnau already makes mention of it. Couto Magelhães in his first report speaks of a hut which serves as an arsenal for storing weapons. Nothing of this sort is known to me. Evidently he means by it this mysterious sacred place whose true purpose no one wanted to reveal to him. We shall return to it in the following.

825 It is also noteworthy that in front of two Šambioa villages dead king-vultures (Sarcoramphus papa) with outspread wings were fastened on a high frame of poles. They are probably supposed to scare away demons in the manner of the bird figures carved out of wood in front of Malay villages.

/13 cont./

231 Domestic animals. In a description of the Indian house
825 its animal fellow-lodgers must not be passed over. A genuine Indian still-life is inconceivable without them. The naïve joy of primitive man in animals and their behavior is expressed in his care for them. He considers the animal as
[181] his equal. The feeling of solidarity, indeed, of relation-
[538] ship with the animal world, which expresses itself in tribal tales and a rich treasury of animal fables, is a principal characteristic trait of the Indian national-spirit. This at the same time explains the often stressed contradiction that the savage Indian, in spite of his astonishing ability to tame the wild, timid animals of his country, has never brought this to the actual breeding of domestic animals in our sense. The animals are captured young and reared, but only to please themselves, for entertainment, out of joy in associating with them, not in order to make them useful. Therefore they
235 are not mated. Even the domestic chicken, which the
171 Araguaia tribes have had for a long time in a domesticated
[262] state and which multiplies in great numbers, is not, as a member of the household, /14/ used for food, nor are its
[439] eggs (1). In recent times, however, it serves as a trade item

[113] 1. Im Thurn, Among the Indians of Guyana /Guiana/, p. 265, reports the same thing.

in the trade with the commercial travelers, who sell the poultry in the first settlements of the province of Pará at a great profit.

231 Of the imported domestic animals, dogs and cats are already widespread. On the other hand, the pig is absent, but, in contrast, it is raised and traded by preference by the Kayapo tribes.

235 A large Šambioa village is always at the same time a kind
825 of menagerie. The bird kingdom is most noticeable. The largest and most colorful birds are made use of, at least insofar as they must give up their feathers for feather ornaments.

/14 cont./

235 The proud araras perch on the roofs everywhere as constantly
825 alert watchmen, greeting the stranger from afar with their deafening shrieks. The large, dark hyacinth-blue Macrocercus hyacinthinus is characteristic of the ornis of the Araguaia and always represented, furthermore the blue-yellow M. macao, as well as, although rarer, the scarlet M. militaris. Of course, the smaller green species of parrots at all possible age levels are also present.

Ornamental feathers are also provided for them by the herons and storks, as well as by the gleaming white Ardea egretta, the majestic, black-headed giant stork Mycteria jabiru, and the roseate spoonbill (A. cochlearis).

In addition one sees in the most colorful confusion the various species of ducks, grebes, boatbills, ostriches, curassows, etc.

Many of these birds are artificially adorned. Those with white feathers parade about in red paint; small feather tassels are tied to the wings of others (2).

[232]

2. The Karaya also know how to change the color of the birds artificially, in particular making the feathers become yellow-colored. No details concerning the method used for this, however, could be learned.

231 The mammals captured young become extremely tame. They are either suckled by dogs, or the women themselves take them to their breasts. The commonest types of monkeys are Ateles, Cebus, and Hapale species, of rodents capybaras and agoutis. The peccary takes the place of the domestic swine. In the fourth Šambioa village we even saw a full-grown tapir wandering about.

Finally, of the reptiles there are tortoises, lizards, and young alligators. The latter, tied with a cord around the body, lie in the warm pools of the praias.

/14 cont./

Way of Life. Food and Its Preparation

433 Like most South American tribes, the Karaya are first of all fishermen, but, in addition, carry on a not insignificant agriculture. 226 The principal season for fishing is the dry months from May to [221] October, when the larger fish strive toward the deeper parts of the river, the so-called poços, which are formed in particular above the small rapids and the masses of rock projecting out here and there.

The fish kingdom of the Araguaia, in all of the middle course, already bears throughout the character of the fauna of Amazonas. The giant three-meter long pirarucú/arapaima/ (Sudis gigas) is common everywhere, as is the electric eel (Gymnotus electricus) and the thick-bodied pirarara (Phractocephalus discolor) armored with its strong shield of bone. The poços abound with cannibalistic piranhas; in the shallow places along the bank the no less feared thornback, buried in the sand, lies in wait for its prey.

[262] Prized as the tastiest fish are the blue-grey spotted pintado (Pimelodus sorubim), reaching up to two meters in length, the matrincham /Caracinidae/, the tucunaré (Cichla temensis), the trahira (Macrodon), and various species of the pacu (Myletes). Certain fish, particularly scaleless ones, are not pursued because of superstitious fear, and likewise the fresh-water dolphins, [225] present everywhere in great numbers. Tortoises and their delicious eggs, however, are hunted all the more zealously.

At high water, when the fish are no longer easy to get in the clay-yellow flood, the many lagoons along the river provide the most productive fishing places. They form large natural traps for the larger species, in which they can easily be isolated.

[439] /15/ Whereas formerly the fish were killed almost exclusively with an arrow, angling is now used more and more, since hooks are imported in large quantities. In many places, however, angling and net fishing cannot be done because of the countless piranhas whose teeth cannot be withstood by any line or net.

/15 cont./

226 Smaller fish are caught in weir baskets (adžuriă), larger ones in stockades or peculiar traps made out of vines (deaurärŏ) which do not know from personal observation.

433 Hunting, in contrast to fishing, plays a much lesser role than those who view all Indians as purely hunting peoples without further ado are inclined to believe. Larger, huntable game is 224 262 quite sparingly represented in tropical South America and, in view of the lack of firearms, difficult to obtain. In addition, superstition often forbids eating the meat of precisely the largest and most common species. Thus, the Karaya scorn the tapir. Their principal booty is the monkeys common in all the forest along the shore, wild pigs, small rodents such as agoutis and pacas, and furthermore the small camprehe. In the lagoons and marshes of the patanaes the musk duck (Anas moschas) present in large numbers provides excellent food for them.

241 Agriculture. The great distance of the plantings from the villages prevented a visit to them. Judging by the wealth of [262] vegetable foods among the Šambioa, their agriculture seems to be on a relatively high level. The "savages" have in this respect outdone their civilized neighbors by far. In general, [177] iron agricultural implements have already supplanted the original ones.

The most important cultivated plant is manioc, of which both the more nourishing poisonous species (M. brava) and the less productive, but immediately edible aipim (M. mansa) are grown. The freshly cleared, dry forest soil of the higher banks is especially suitable for this kind of cultivation.

[273] Next, maize comes into consideration as a grain product, which is used less in substance than for the production of fermented beverages.

Sugar cane flourishes on the lower shore-land. During the dry season one sees the seedlings planted on the sandbanks [249] everywhere for the next season. Special devices for pressing out the juice are not in use.

Of the legumes there is found among the Šambioa small brown beans (Dolichos chinensis), as well as peas (komonara) imported from Pará.

/15 cont./

241 Cara tubers /Dioscorea/ are grown in large quantity, excellent quality, and in various species. Most commonly one sees the huge egg-shaped pé d'anta (Cara brasiliensis) with a white cut-surface, as well as a smaller one with an almost violet cut-surface.

222 [242] The wild food plants and fruits which the river forests and camp-woods supply constitute a desirable change. These are primarily palm fruits, such as the nuts of the uaguassú, the pineapple-like fruits of the buriti (Mauritia vinifera), and various small species of coconut; furthermore, the wild acaju tree, the jaboticaba, the pitanga /Surinam cherry/ the oily piquia (Caryocar brasiliense), various Bromeliaceae, and, finally, the finest fruit of the campos, the mangaba (Hancornia speciosa). One sees the latter, however, much more rarely than in the Xingu villages. The tree does not seem to be planted as it is there.

[262] It is noteworthy that the orange, which flourishes extremely well here, is not cultivated, although the Indians esteem it most [439] highly. Only rarely do they undertake week-long journeys to the Brazilian settlements to trade for these fruits. A principal goal of such excursions is the site of the old, now abandoned mission and military post Chambioas, just above the rapids of S. Miguel, where rather large stands of this noble tree have maintained themselves. Cacao, too, was formerly obtained from there.

Still to be mentioned is the honey of the countless species of wild bees, the collecting of which presents no difficulties since the animals are entirely stingless. The black wax, which [237] is stored in large, round, inch-thick disks, is used in Indian industry as a glue.

249 The only luxury item of the Karaya is tobacco (koti). It is a Nicotiniana, but not N. tabacum, of a mild quality. The dried leaves are stored (see p. 40) in large rectangular packages plaited out of palm-leaf strips and are pulverized between the 276 hands for use. /16/ The fruit capsule of the jequitiba tree 824 (Hymenaea sp.), filed smooth on the outside, serves as a pipe

/16 cont./

276 824 (arikoko). One specimen in the collection is carved out of wood in its natural form (Fig. 4 and Pl. I /see p. 103 /, 1).

252 Preparation of food. Directly in front of the house door is found the cooking place, surrounded by low pole frames on which the squeezed manioc is dried. Large earthen pots stand on stones [364] or clay supports over the fire. The ground around is littered with [136] scraps. These heaps are the breeding places of annoying gray flies (the so-called mosca da aldeia), which sting badly and, when they get out of hand, necessitate abandoning the place.

[462] Untiringly the women are busy throughout the day with dragging in the field produce and firewood, the preparation of manioc, pounding maize, opening palm nuts, and the careful supervision of all the culinary processes, in which the Indian housewife, despite the simplicity of the materials, knows how to achieve a relatively great diversity.

[876]

Fig. 4. Tobacco pipe (1/4).

372 824 Fire is still made wholly in the original way by means of the drill (hädä). It consists of two sticks. The thicker one, wood of the urucú plant, is fixed on the ground after a shallow cavity provided with a deep cut at the side is made near one end. Then the point of the second, thinner stick of taquara /Chusquea sp./ is set in this and is twirled between the palms with strong pressure until a hollow is formed at this point, out of which the glowing dust flows through the notch at the side and can be collected. Thus the procedure is precisely the one illustrated and described by Im Thurn (op. cit., p. 258). As in the method used by the Warrau /Warao/, no special tinder is needed. The pulverized wood itself supplies it. To kindle a livelier flame, dry strips of palm leaf are mixed with the easily flammable red resin (tamararu), which is like sealing wax, and then lighted.

/16 cont./

372 Naturally the Karaya try to maintain the fire as long as possible and make a new one only when necessary. On longer boat trips glowing pieces of wood are always taken along on a bed of sand.

252 Meat and fish are roasted on a spit over a hot fire or laid directly on glowing coals until the uppermost layer, or the skin, is completely charred. The ashy parts of the latter, in combination with the reserved juice, make the use of salt unnecessary to a certain degree. Only the Karayahi have begun to become accustomed to European salt. Salty soils, such as are found [243] [317] in the campos at the so-called barreiros /clay pits/, as well as the ash of various woods, must serve as substitutes. Fish are probably also boiled.

Corn on the cob, aipim roots, sweet potatoes, and some palm fruits are likewise roasted over the fire.

The preparation of manioc is much more primitive than among the Xingu and Amazon tribes. The roots, provided with [412] deep cuts, are put in water for several days for maceration, then freed of the skins with knives or sharp shells, and pulverized on the grating board (ãranã), a biconvex board about three centimeters thick, with several rows of short buriti thorns in the middle (Pl. VIII /see p. 110/, 4).

The pulverized mass is pressed with the hands, probably [415] also with the aid of stones, to remove completely the poisonous juice, the largest part of which has already been taken out by the maceration, and then, washed and drained in peculiar little baskets (uäriri, see p. 41) plaited out of flexible cipos, dried in the air. By drying it in shallow pots one thus obtains the "water flour" (farinha d'agua) also generally widespread on the Amazon. Because of fermentation during the maceration, it has a slightly sour flavor, but can be kept much longer than the "farinha secca" /dry flour/ of trade, made out of the fresh root. This type of preparation, however, does not seem to be the original one practiced by them. More often, in accordance with an old national custom, the dried mass (puva, beerõ) is baked in large loaf-like lumps after several washings. Finally, small flat

/16 cont./

252 cakes (beijus, ibrã̆ʒeko), likewise roasted in pots, are made from the freshly treated root.

273 In combination with maize, manioc flour is also used to make their most popular beverage, uierõ̆. Pounded maize is poured into the boiling manioc and stirred well. /17/ When it is sufficiently soft, the mixture is allowed to cool. Then the settlings are chewed by the women in true Indian fashion, whereby the whole thing turns sour and ferments after standing for several days. A sourish beverage something like water gruel is produced, to which honey or sugar-cane juice is sometimes added. The effect is slightly intoxicating.

415 The kitchen utensils are simple, but nevertheless somewhat
412 more complete than, say, among the Xingu tribes. Besides earthen
[239] pots and gourd containers, as well as mussel shells of the Anodonta and Hyria avicularis serving as spoons, there are already real spoons made of wood or clay (cf. Fig. 5 /see p. 38 / and Fig. 14 /see p. 51 /).

264 Etiquette demands that everyone eat by himself, turned away from the others. Anyone who transgresses must endure the ridicule of the others.

Tools and Implements. Industry and Skill.

177 The industrial activity of the Karaya no longer presents a wholly unclouded picture inasmuch as the original tools have been supplanted more and more by imported ones.

412 No details are known about the form and material of their
172 old stone axes. Among the petroglyphs of Martirios Island, however, which undoubtedly are to be ascribed to the ancient Karaya, one sees human figures depicted with stone axes in their hands (see p. 94). The same form is exhibited by a stone ax of unknown origin in the Trocadero Museum in Paris, the handle of which is wrapped with the plaiting in zigzag and cross patterns characteristic of Karaya work. Possibly the piece came from the Castelnau expedition.

/17 cont./

412 Today the primitive tools are limited to those which Nature
237 provides for specific purposes, such as scraping knives of mussel shells, chisel-shaped implements made of rodent teeth, flat stones for pounding bast cloth, the coarse bony tongue of the pirarucú as a rasp, etc.

178 Despite widespread use of foreign tools, the industry of this people has completely retained its national character. Fortunately, among the Karaya, there is still no question of any decline in it such as almost always sets in as a consequence of the introduction of European products, as is well known. Fitness, beauty of form, and care in execution are still characteristic of their work.

501 Canoe construction is on a rather high level, although the method of production is relatively simple. The boats (auñõ) are long narrow dugouts with the front and back parts extending equally far and somewhat sloping at the tips. Given the many shallows of the river this form is the most efficient, since it facilitates the landing and launching of the vessel (Pl. IV /see p. 106 /, 2).

396 The material is the straightest possible trunk of the ipiuba
824 (Tecoma sp.) or jatoba (Hymenaea sp.). Since the forward part is from the lower, the back part from the upper section of the trunk, the canoes are usually somewhat broader in the front than in the back. The hollowing is done with an ax and aided by fire. Since the cavity of the boat is not artificially widened by special manipulations such as Im Thurn describes (op. cit., p. 293), but rather the original diameter of the trunk also determines that of the boat, the canoes are usually disproportionately narrow in proportion to their length and tip over easily. They
501 are smoothed over inside and outside with great care. Arrangements for sitting are not present. There are set in on the other hand, rows of short crossbars, which, fixed a few inches above the bottom, protect any cargo from getting wet.

The oars (nahere, Pl. VIII /see p. 110/, 1-3) are of excellent workmanship. They are 1 1/3 to 1 1/2 meters long, half of which is taken up by the handle provided with a cross-grip. The blade is straight, leaf-shaped, 15-20 centimeters wide, and runs out at the bottom into a lancet-shaped, offset tip. Elegant

/17 cont./ Elegant

501 oars are painted black. The middle third of the blade is covered
[531] by a decoration made up of black zigzag lines and dots on a white background (see p. 49).

411 The weapons of the Karaya are still the original ones throughout.

The bows (suahětě) are of various sizes according to the age and strength of the owner. The longest of the collection measures 220 centimeters, the shortest child's bow 70 centimeters. They
[824] consist in part of the wood of the brejauba palm (Astrocaryum sp.) or the so-called pau d'arco (Tecoma sp.). The front side is usually somewhat smoothed down, the ends tapered with thornlike, offset tips (Pl. VI /see p.108 /, 1).

/18/ The string (mahūga) and the way it is fastened show
411 certain peculiarities similar to those found among the Guiana
284 tribes. The material is embira bast (Malvaceae sp.), the leaf
[824] fiber of a Bromelia (caraguatá) or that of the pati palm (Syagrus botryophora). The length of the string twisted from it exceeds that of the bow by six to eight times. Of a appropriate thickness at one end, it tapers more and more toward the other, finally ending in a thin thread. The strong end is wound around the upper tip of the bow. From there the string goes directly to the lower end and along the front side of the bow upward to about the middle. Then it runs back again and is wound fast around the lower part of the bow with its thinner end. The last, thread-like part hangs down, decorated with a feather tassel.

In order that the wound end does not slip up, it is wound at the place of the curve with a layer of maize leaves which are tied fast with black cotton cords. Sometimes the ends of the bow are also wrapped with thin white threads below the tip. A similar, but looser cotton binding ties the part of the string running on the outside of the bow to the bow wood. This prevents too great a strain on the string. If the upper end of the string breaks, a replacement can easily be brought up by unwinding from below. A break at the lower end is not easily possible because of the counter pressure present there.

/18 cont./

411 The form of the arrows (uehẽ) is very manifold.

The shaft of the arrow consists of two pieces, a lower one of cane and the one inserted in it of wood. The latter bears either a special tip or, sharpened and correspondingly shaped, serves in some way as one itself.

In general the length of the cane shaft amounts to two-thirds of the length of the whole arrow, and that of the wooden shaft one-third.

411 The feathers of the lower cane-end are always placed so
339 that their uppermost tip, wound around itself, lies at the level of the notch. The quill describes a 1/8 to 1/4 turn around the shaft. The heavy arrows, especially those provided with a broad cane tip, usually have a heavier winding of feathers.

Through the twisting of the feather tip, the outer feathers of the quill are sharply bent outward. The inner feathers are cut off short in order to lie closer to the shaft.

In the case of many arrows the lowest piece, which bears the notches and feathering, is separately inserted into the cane shaft. Probably the original arrow end was split here during the cutting or bending the bow and was supplemented by an insert.

411 The feathers are tied with black cotton strings, between
339 which are usually placed small red and yellow decorative feathers.
384 The attached pieces are held together by waimbẽ (Philodendron
[531 sp.) bast bands. The feathered part of the cane end often has
834] crossbands touched up with red lacquer (tamararu).

The following arrow types are represented in the collection:

411 1. War arrows, with point made from the tail-spine of a
[126] thornback, 150-180 centimeters long, two-thirds of which makes up the cane shaft. The spine, six to eight centimeters long and supplied on both sides with countless small barbs, is tied to the wooden shaft with thread and wax in such a way that the lower part projects as a long barb. The wooden shaft itself is painted with red lines, wavy lines, and dots (Pl.VI/see p.108 /, 8).

2. War arrows with cane tip cut in the shape of a knife, related to the Bororo arrows in their form. Total length 140-160 centimeters, of which the cane shaft takes up only one-third. On the upper end of the 3/4 centimeter thick wooden shaft made

/18 cont./

411 of smoothly planed jeriva palm wood, the knife-shaped taquara splint, 30-40 centimeters long and 10-30 centimeters wide, is tied with waimbẽ bindings (Pl. VI /see p. 108/, 9).

On one specimen the short cane shaft is decorated with plaiting in simple rectangular patterns.

3. Hunting arrows with bone points (from the tapir and deer), otherwise of the same length and execution as No. 1. They also have red painting on the wooden shaft.

4. Hunting arrows with point of bird bone. Cane shaft two-thirds, palm-wood shaft one-third of the total length of 160-170 centimeters (Pl. VI, 4).

5. Fishing arrows, whose ends of palm wood serve at the same time as points, 150-160 centimeters long.

6. Hunting arrows with knife-shaped palm-wood tip which makes up one-third of the total length of 160 centimeters (Pl. VI, 2 and 3).

7. Arrows with simple cane shaft, which bears a wooden cylinder instead of the point, to catch smaller mammals alive. Length 123-137 centimeters. Around the feathered shaft part a black band-decoration runs spirally (Pl. VI, 5).

8. Children's arrows occur in three types. The simplest are split leaf-stalks of the uaguassú palm, 90-95 centimeters long and weighted with wax. Others 140 centimeters in length are sharpened cane sticks. Finally those that are 150 centimeters long with a pointed wooden end are more finished.

Weapons for hand-to-hand fighting are clubs (hãte) and spears (tonãri).

Of the former there are two forms:

1. Flat, shovel-like clubs. A quite crudely worked specimen with slightly curved hand-grip and oval blade was obtained among the Karayahi.

I am grateful to Dr. Leite Moraes of São Paulo for two excellent pieces of this type.

The war club of Chief Ambura (Village IV of the Šambioa) is a showpiece of the Indian weapon industry. It is 165 centimeters long, of hard Tecoma wood. The grip, from the knob [531] of which two black tassels decorated with snail shells hang, is

/18 cont./

[41] wrapped with decorative plaiting in a lozenge pattern. The
[53] four-sided, prismatic blade, which broadens towards the bottom and has sharp edges, runs out into a lancet-shaped point (Pl. VI /see p. 108/, 11, 12).

/19/ The palm-wood club of the Šambiao chief Roco (Village I) is of similar form but much smaller (121.5 centimeters long). Its blade has an elliptical cross-section. The plaiting pattern is simpler.

On both the plaiting is tied on the lower part by a broad red cotton binding ending in tassels.

2. Round clubs of various lengths (95-137 centimeters).

They are stick-shaped with a knobby, broadened end-part which runs out into a flat knob. The handle end also has a knob like projecting part.

They are either smooth or, more often, provided with longitudinal grooving, which sometimes extends over the whole length of the weapon, sometimes only over the lower part. On the most beautiful specimen the grooving is interrupted on both sides by a smooth strip one centimeter wide, in which small hoes are sunk at finger-width intervals (Pl. VI /see p. 108/, 13).

Finally, the 2-2 1/2 meters long, feather-decorated thrusting lances (Pl. VI /see p. 108/, 10) are part of the war armor.
[237] The shaft is of palm wood, the 15-20 centimeter long tip from the thigh bone of the jaguar or deer; below the beginning of the latter, two long dangling feather-tassels are tied on with cotton
[53] bindings. On the larger spears the whole upper third of the shaft is surrounded with plaiting in zigzag patterns (snake decoration) Small red feather wreaths encircle it at the top and bottom.

[171] Arrow thrower (throwing board) (kaobi). After we had found this instrument, almost forgotten in South America, still in use among the Xingu tribes of the Kamayura, Auetö, and Trumai, I was surprised to find it again in exactly the same form on the Araguaia. Only its execution is somewhat cruder. The stick-shaped part with the bone hooks set in it is round in the upper third, the rest worked into a hexagon.

/19 cont./

411 Of the three specimens the largest has a total length of 72.5 centimeters, of which 14.5 make up the handle (Pl. VI /see p. 108/, 6). Moreover, there is a children's throwing board 38.5 centimeters long.

[824] The arrows thrown (kâura) are 150-180 centimeters long, unfeathered cane pieces made of uba (Gynerium saccharoides) with inserted, 12-20 centimeter long end-knobs of palm wood, which are covered with a thick layer of wax. Thus they should be considered only as sporting equipment. That tradition still knows them as weapons, however, is shown by the legend given on p. 85 (Pl. VI /see p. 108/, 7).

323 Ceramics. The art of making pots, practiced exclusively by the women, is not especially developed. Although the technique leaves little to be desired, the forms are rather simple. [517] An artistic desire to reproduce natural objects, animal shapes, etc., as among the Xingu tribes, is not expressed in them. Everything is reckoned more in terms of the practical.

As almost everywhere in South America, the vessels are made without a wheel by putting rolls of clay over one other circularly or spirally. By patting with the dampened hand and continuous smoothing with pieces of bone and mussel shell, the pot finally reaches the desired shape and strength.

[113] According to Couto Magelhães (Archiv. do museu nac. Rio, p. 77) the ash of certain vines is mixed with the clay; their silica content makes it more resistant.

According to further information from the above observer, the firing of the pots is done, after superficial drying, in a peculiar manner. A hole is made in the side of an earth termite nest, and it is heated. The vessel is put in, and under it there is made a second opening communicating with the first one, with a fire maintained in it. A third opening at the top serves as a chimney.

415 The collection shows the most important, but not the largest 106 types of vessels that occur (Fig. 5 /see p. 38/).

/19 cont./

415 1. The most common form can be described as two truncated cones with their bases touching. A tall model with a narrow opening and a shorter one with a wide opening are in use.

2. Wide open, deep bowls of similar basic form serve as cooking pots.

3. Flat, round plates, perhaps imitated from European forms.

4. Low elliptical double bowls with a partition running lengthwise.

5. Cylindrical pots with bent or projecting rim.

[191] 6. Small bowls (uatiui) with three feet, used especially by children; an analogous form is found in Ecuador.

7. Clay spoons.

The vessels do not have handles; instead bast cords are wound around the neck of the pot or drawn through the edge.

[824] The gourd bowls (ũĩa) (fruit of Crescentia cuyete) also belong among the vessels. They are not found here in the size and diversity of form as among the Xingu /20/ tribes by far. On the other hand, they are much more carefully prepared and dried, and possess incomparably greater durability. They are usually [531] blackened inside and out and provided with engraved decorations (Fig. 6 /see p. 38/ and Fig. 10 /see p. 47 /). Painted gourds, like those of the Xingu tribes, do not occur.

415 534 In their natural shape, i.e., not cut through and provided with a round opening only at one pole, and also with hanging cords (Pl. VIII /see p. 110 /, 7), they serve as bottles or containers for smaller /Fig. 5 appears here/ objects, such as seeds, decorative feathers, and such things; with a wooden handle and the seeds left inside, or pebbles, they serve as a dance rattle (uãrõ). [531] As such, they are often decorated with bands of feathers hanging down (Pl. X /see p. 112/, 1 and 2). /Fig. 6 appears here./

285 Plaited work, in view of the inexhaustible wealth of plant material which the bounteous nature of South America puts at the disposal of the savage primitive inhabitants, occupies the most prominent place in Indian home industry. Actually it forms the yardstick of the culture of these tribes. The Karaya are second to no other nation in this art, but their works are distinguished

/20 cont./

285 less by decorativeness than by practicality, care in execution, and diversity of form.

[824] The leaves of the uaguassú and buriti palms serve them for making mats. The diagonally plaited leaf pinnae of the former provide, as was mentioned above, an important material for

415

Fig. 5. Types of clay vessels (1/6).

[531]

Fig. 6. Gourd bowl with decorations.

285 house construction. These simple mats are also used for floor covering; because they are so easy to make, they are usually put together at the moment of need.

The true mats (esteiras), which are used as an underlayer while sleeping and as tent roofs, are made from the finely divided fan-leaves of the buriti palm. The tender fibers, split lengthwise, are always stored for use in braidlike plaited skeins.

/21/

285 Long parallel bundles of them are held together by twisted threads running through them in pairs. A single, continuous weft string is drawn through the whole. Where the string bends at the edge of the mat for the next woof, there are alternating loops, by which the plaiting is hung up. The woofs are placed at intervals of about three centimeters. The dimensions of these uncommonly durable, soft, and flexible mats are often very considerable. The two specimens in the collection are fan-shaped, almost twice as wide on one end as on the other. The length of the plaited part of the larger one amounts to 196 centimeters, and an unplaited width of 58 centimeters is left over. The width measures 135 centimeters on top, 234 centimeters on the bottom.

If a Karaya must remain standing for some time on the scorching hot sand of the praias, he protects the soles of his feet with a small mat of similar execution placed under them. The corresponding piece in the collection is plaited with black embira bast in a complementary pattern (Pl. VIII /see p. 110 /, 13).

[824] For basket plaiting, besides the palms named, the smaller Mauritia species, carandasinha, split taquara cane, flexible cipos, as well as the so-called arimbamba, various species of vines, split maranta stalks, etc. are also used.

[482] 1. For transporting larger loads huge carrying-baskets (behâra) are made by simply plaiting two uaguassú leaves together. They are laid parallel to each other so that there is an interval of 30-40 centimeters between the ribs. The leaf pinnae, turned toward one another make up the back wall of the basket in diagonal crossing; those lying toward the outside, knotted one under the other on each side, make up the side parts. The bottom is formed by tying together their lower ends. The length of such a basket, supplied with strong carrying cords, can amount to three meters (1).

1. Concerning a quite similar utensil on the Congo, cf. Smithson. Reports, 1877, p. 287, with illustration.

[482] 2. The same palm provides the material for the round carrying-baskets (rorã). The edge consists of the middle rib split

/21 cont./

285 lengthwise. The sides and the double bottom are formed by the leaf pinnae crossing twill-like (Pl. VIII /see p. 110/, 17).

3. Rucksack-like bags with cords to hang them up (mansi) are made out of buriti leaf-fibers. Black waimbē strips are plaited in longitudinally (Pl. VIII, 15).

4. The elastic, bottle-like baskets of buriti leaf-strips in twill plaiting (moti) present a peculiar shape. In the smaller specimen the expansibility is increased by tying a row of new leaf-strips below the neck, which are knotted to each other above the base strips (Pl. VIII, 9 and 11).

[415] 5. For the storing of feather ornaments and the like, there are the double baskets of uaguassū pinnae in an elliptical shape. They consist of two completely equal halves, one of which is pushed over the other as a cover (uarabehā). The leaf strips, each covering half of the other, are sewed together over an elliptically curved palm-wood edging as a rim. A longitudinal stick gives the bottom solidity and is connected with the other half by a string (Pl. VIII, 6).

6. Boat-shaped hanging baskets (lala) of carandasinha leaves. In the more complete specimens the edge formed by a split leaf-stalk is covered with black jangada bast and provided with a similar hanging-cord. The plaiting shows a rectangular [531] mirror-pattern, in which a cross decoration is drawn with red lacquer (Pl. VIII, 6).

[415] 7. A large, rectangular bag with carrying band serves for storing tobacco. Two pieces of palm leaf are fastened together with a middle rib to make one long side of the bag. Their pinnae are interwoven and with their knotted ends form the opposite long side (Pl. VIII, 12).

8. The small tobacco pouches of the men, made out of carandasinha, are very nice. A continuous piece provides the front and back sides, bottom, and cover-flap. The side parts are sewed in separately with a strip running over the bottom. The entire plaiting is horizontally running twill.

9. Small baskets of split cane with a rectangular bottom, but round opening, in three-splint twill plaiting. The sides show

/21 cont./

285 vertical striping. By turning the diagonal splints toward the outside, there arises on each side a diagonal cross-pattern in dark color. All the splints come together at right angles at the bottom.

10. Round shallow baskets (uäriri) made of pliable vines,
[415] whose vertical splints join at the bottom in four groups intersecting at right angles (Pl. VIII /see p. 110 /, 14), serve as sieves.

11. A spherical basket for storing raw cotton has a quite similar plaiting. The vertical strips are of less pliable material (Pl. VIII /see p. 110/, 16).

283 The textile industry of the Karaya is essentially still plaited
[824] work. Primarily natural vegetable materials, the fiber of the buriti and certain Bromeliaceae, as well as the varieties of bast of the Malvaceae (embira and jangada) known for extraordinary cohesion, provide material for threads. Finer threads are made by rubbing the fibers between moistened hands or between hand and thigh. Stronger ones are then twisted out of these in the manner described by Im Thurn, op. cit., p. 284, a method which, moreover, is also practiced by every Brazilian sertanejo /inlander/. The thread and strands thus obtained are, however, used almost
[286] exclusively for twine, cords, and bow strings. To be sure, mesh goods is knitted out of them with long wooden needles, for example, fishing and carrying nets, as well as peculiar, collapsible caps of cotton thread, which are decorated in various ways with feathers (see p.44).

The true weaving material is cotton. The hand spindle (ä-θondää) in the usual form, a round disk of bone or fired clay, serves for making thread. It bears in its pierced center a palmwood stick about a foot long, provided on the lower end with a sharply /22/ offset knob. The stick is set in motion by stroking
[532] it on the hip in a turning motion. One of the clay whorls here is spherically decorated with four human faces carved around it (Fig. 7 /see p. 42/).

286 The loom, or rather plaiting apparatus, on which the sleeping nets are made, is as simple as possible. Two strong wooden poles are rammed into the ground at a distance of 2-2 1/2 meters. The central roof-supports of the hut can serve as such. The warp

/22 cont./

286 is wound around these without crossing and thus consists of two parallel rows of thread. The woof threads are now led in pairs from top to bottom with a long needle and knotted to a pair of warp threads one after another. Two woof threads always encircle two warp threads. Their distance from each other is always twice as great as that of the pair of warp threads. The woof threads are knotted at both edges.

Since various colors are chosen for different warp strands, one gets "redes" with red and black stripes. The background color is usually white.

On the same apparatus, however, real weaving of a taffeta-like texture can also be made. For example, the above-mentioned "rede" of the Yavahē consists of such material. Also the strong

[283] [532]

Fig. 7. Spindles (1/4).

Also the strong

[482] [531] [237] carrying-bands of certain baskets, the black forehead-bands decorated with mother-of-pearl disks (Pl. VII /see p. 109/, 7), the black body-bands for children (Pl. VII, 3, 4), and the dance belts decorated with feather strips hanging down are made in this manner.

In this smaller weaving a single continuous woof thread runs through the whole warp. It was not learned whether special, handier tools were used for this.

The arm cuffs and leg bands are knitted over a heavy, cone-shaped wooden block (kauarū) with a crochet needle (deti-tan), now usually of iron, insofar as this is not done on the body itself (Pl. VII, 9).

283 [301] The long fringe hangings falling over the chest and neck (Pl. VII, 2), as well as the shorter ones which are tied under the knee, a popular adornment for young people, are simple knotted work. Two strong parallel strands are entwined with a number of

/22 cont./

283 equally long pairs of threads in eight-twists /Achtertouren/ in such a way that the beginning and end pieces of the latter hand down.

301 Children wear around their necks black cotton tassels (nohoñã) hanging on long strong cords, the size and thickness of which are determined by the age of the child. On some the [237] colored shells of Castalia dolabella are placed above the tassels (Pl. VII /see p. 109/, 5).

237 301 Of the ornamental objects the feather ornaments primarily, represented in the richest assortment, deserve detailed treatment.

Delight in color which, as is well known, is being lost more and more by civilized people, lets these children of nature work the feathers of the very colorful birds of their native land into a wealth of the most colorful ornamental objects, such as are achieved in the same diversity of form and taste of composition by only a few other tribes of South America.

To be sure, their execution is not very durable. With the rich source of suitable feathers at the disposal of the Karaya, they are always able to replace pieces that may have become damaged.

1. Feathers for the head. A bundle of arara or black mutum feathers surrounds the root of the braid, at the ends of which small white feathers are tied. Standing up in the wind, they surround the head of the wearer like a halo (cf. Pl. I /see p. 103/, 1).

2. Small diadems (uarakureõã) are worn when greeting foreigners, at meetings, etc. Small red and yellow arara feathers are put in a row around a wooden ring, forming a rosette in front from the middle of which black cotton cords hang down to the forehead (Pl. IX /see p. 111/, 6).

/23/ 3. In the same category there is a peculiar headdress in the form of a truncated cone made out of thin sticks of cane covered with small red feathers and set on a wooden ring (Pl. IX /see p. 111/, 3).

4. One specimen was a small headdress worn on the crown of the head (Fig. 8 /see p. 44/).

/23 cont./

237 A small rhomboidal base-plate bears two strong feather-
301 covered quills, into which two pairs of Cacicus feathers, standing out fork like, are inserted.

237 5. Feather caps in three shapes are used:
297

a) The simplest (ǫori-ǫori) consist of a wide-meshed plaiting of bast, with feathers tied in the knots. They
[171] appear again in the same execution among the Xingu tribes of the Kamayura, Trumai, and Suya, who may have borrowed them from the local Karaya or Aruma.

[301]

Fig. 8. Feather ornament to be worn on the crown of the head.

b) The second type has greater durability and decorativeness. A narrow-meshed cap plaited out of strong palm fibers forms the base for the tying (hatukö). Small yellow and red feathers, fastened rosette-like around a little piece of cane, are tied into the meshes (Pl. IX /see p. 111/, 4).

c) Tightly knitted, narrow-meshed caps, which are covered on the outside with a layer of down feathers. In the examples here the latter are no longer present.

535 6. The true dance ornament (lurinä) is worn on the back of the
237 head on a string running around the forehead (Pl. IX, 2; cf. Pl.
301 II /see p. 104/, 2). The base is a horseshoe-shaped support. It consists of two layers of palm leaf-ribs bent together and held together by patterned cotton plaiting daubed with white clay. Between these two plates lie short canes arranged next to one

/23 cont./

535 another radially, the upper opening of which holds the shaft of
237 the ornamental feathers. /Figure 8 appears here./ The part
301 of the little canes protruding over the supporting plates is covered by a band of feathers placed over it.

This ornament also appears in a less solid form, in which a thick layer of wax holds the ornamental feathers instead of the canes. In order to penetrate the wax better, each of them is sewed to a pointed wooden splint.

7. A second dance ornament in diadem form (ahetŏ) is simpler, but no less stately. Here the support consists of a row of long cane sticks wound with white thread and arranged in a row on a horizontal wooden stick. When the lower corners of the support are drawn together, the upper ones move away from one another to the sides so that the long ornamental feathers are spread far apart (Pl. IX /see p. 111/, 5).

[191] The first Xingu expedition acquired such a headdress of the Xingu Karaya among the Yuruna.

301 8 and 9. The use made of two ornamental pieces is still
239 unclear. There were acquired among the Karayahi two helmet-like headdresses plaited out of buriti leaf-strips and provided with tufts of feathers at the top(tatenerã), which the Indians themselves designated as incomplete. Allegedly more feathers should have been placed around the lower part of these helmets. One of them, moreover, is covered with a layer of down feathers (Pl. IX /see p. 111/, 1).

In another locality two feather ornaments were found, one of which perhaps represents the above-mentioned missing piece. It consists of a layer of long arara and short yellow Cacicus feathers in a fan-shaped row on a strong cotton strand. On the lower part of the outside there is yet another covering layer made up of blue and green parrot feathers. In order to make the cacicus feathers equally as long as the arara feathers, each of them is sewed to a wooden stick of corresponding length, whose protruding end piece, wound with cotton, bears a small tuft of feathers at its tip. The little stick is missing on the arara feathers, which are sufficiently long. In their case only a part

/23 cont./

301 of the feathers are removed, and the quill at this point is like-
237 wise wound with cotton. A cord runs through the middle of the whole thing. If one ties its ends and those of the thick strand on which all the feathers stand in a row, the fan can be folded up mantle-like and fits exactly around the above-mentioned helmets (Pl. IX /see p. 111 /, 7).

The second specimen, otherwise quite similarly constructed, cannot be closed completely. It has, outside and inside, a double layer of cover feathers, which proves that both sides were meant to be exposed and thus could hardly have served as a helmet covering. Either it is tied crosswise over the head, or it is the completion of the braid feather-tuft mentioned under No. 1. A third possibility is that both feather fans were worn hanging down over the neck, similar to the feather cloaks customary in Guiana. But the extreme narrowness of the neck opening would argue against this. A definite decision must await further information.

The common ear-ornaments, the cane sticks, are replaced by delicate feather rosettes (ʒohoruã) for festive adornment (Pl. IX, 10). They are round disks made of concentrically arranged small red and yellow feathers on cane stalks, which in the center bear a small mother-of-pearl disk with a black cross or a rodent's tooth (cf. Pl. III /see p. 105 /, 1).

Festive arm-bands for the upper arm (deoʒanã) are made out of ounce or wildcat skin decorated with tufts of parrot or heron feathers (Pl. IX, 9), or they are simple feather tassels tied to cotton cords.

Arm-bands made out of bird bones in parallel rows are not represented in the collection and were not seen in use by me. They seem to have been used more commonly in former times. The private collections of Dr. Leite Moraes and Sertorio in São Paulo, as well as the Museo nacional in Rio have a whole number of them.

535 /24/ Also belonging among the dance ornaments are the belts (uatakanã) worked out of strong black and white striped cotton plaiting and with feather hangings, which on the ends

/24 cont./

535 often bear rattles of Thevetia pods. Other belts are entirely made up of the latter (Pl. X /see p. 112/, 8-10).

Around the knee or ankle joints the dancer places bands from which strands ending in rattles and tufts of feathers hang down. They are held apart by a horizontal wooden stick and are sometimes covered with a thick layer of white down feathers (Pl. X, 4).

412 531

Fig. 9. Comb (1/4).

301 237 439

Necklaces in their original form are no longer seen. Pierced animal teeth and stones, shell disks, etc. have long been supplanted by glass beads imported in great quantities. The white and black beads of the cheap "rosaries" widespread everywhere

415 531

Fig. 10. Decorations on the gourd vessel of Pl. VIII /see p. /, 7 (1/4).

301 in Goyaz are the most prized, but they are strung in a manner corresponding to the national taste. A whole series of short strings goes around the neck as tightly as possible (cf. Pl. II /see p. 104/, 2; III /see p. 105/, 1). From the lowermost hangs a number of small chains which have small fruit shells or tufts of feathers at the ends.

/24 cont./

412 Combs (ʒ̃ehõ), the only toilet articles, but much used, are made in the most varied sizes. The largest specimen in the collection is 18 centimeters wide and 17 centimeters long. There are pieces twice as large, however. A converging row of sharp palm wood or /Fig. 10 appears here/ taquara splints are held together by two pairs of parallel cross-sticks. A plaiting of black or white cotton threads in various patterns drawn through the space between the latter serves for stability. Sometimes small feather tassels hang from the two upper corners (Fig. 9 /see p. 47/).

534 Musical instruments are represented in the collection only by a trumpet (adžuranẽ) (Plate X /see p. 112/, 7). It is a large gourd bowl with openings at both ends. A taquara reed with a slit at the side is stuck in one as a mouthpiece.

Furthermore, simple Pan flutes of taquara are in use.

531 Artistic activity. The ornamentation of the Karaya consists
532 of patterns in zigzag lines, crosses, dots, lozenges, and peculiar interrupted meanders, while rectangles and triangles appear only accidentally (e.g., through filling in other figures), and circles are completely lacking (Fig. 10 / see p. 47/).

/25/ As in the ornamentation of the Xingu tribes, here, too, the basis for these apparently completely arbitrarily chosen geometric combinations are quite definite, concrete models whose most typical characteristics are reproduced in them in a stylized manner.

/25 cont./

531 Unfortunately it is not always possible to ascertain with certainty
530 the pertinent natural object. The following patterns, whose meaning was determined, suffice, however, for an explanation.

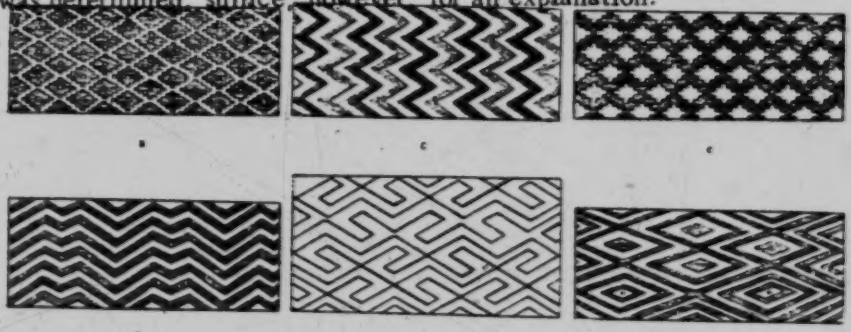

Fig. 11. Comb patterns

The oar patterns (Pl. VIII /see p. 110/, 1-3) all represent fish; likewise the feather mosaic designs of some of the dance helmets (cf. p. 72).

[823] The frequently appearing cross (cf. Fig. 16c /see p.63 / and Pl. VIII, 6), which has given rise to airy hypotheses so often in America, is nothing here but a species of lizard (uatä-ǵä).

Anyone who has seen the large wasp nests of the camp-forests with the blunt knobs will immediately recognize this mark in the comb ornamentation (Fig. 11a).

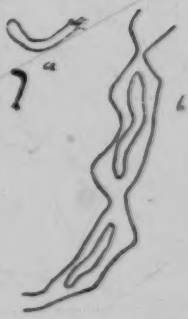

Fig. 12.

As especially characteristic there are still to be mentioned the bat (tureherekŏ, Fig. 11b), recognizable by the outstretched wings, as well as the snake patterns, which occur the most frequently. Thus Fig. 11c is the rattlesnake (Crotalus horridus); Fig. 11e the caninanha (Spilotes).

Other snakes are represented by Figures 11d and f.

532 Real drawings of human beings and animals, like the ones known to us in such excellent execution by the Bushmen and Eskimo, do not seem to occur among the Karaya. Nowhere did we see striikingly reproduced representations painted in the sand or carved in trees with a few strokes, like the ones which so often aroused our attention among the Bakairi and Mehinaku /Mehinacu/ of the upper Xingu.

/25 cont./

532 The Karaya also proved themselves rather helpless in drawing with a pencil. In the foot depicted in Fig. 12a /see p. 49/ everyone will see instead an arm with outstretched hand.

[823] The topographical sketch of the Araguaia with its bends and islands shows greater talent and true understanding (Fig. 12b /see p. 49/).

532 352 Unfortunately the collection possesses only a few specimens of wood carvings. The handsomest of the sledge-like stools (koriša) in stylized animal shape could not be obtained. The specimen from the Šambioa, however, is of excellent workmanship (Fig. 13 /see p. 51/).

The two heads into which the elegantly curved seat runs were originally supplied with mother-of-pearl eyes.

532 [412] The wooden spoons (katarǎ), too, otherwise appearing only very sporadically in South America, are noteworthy. The handle end of the larger specimen ends in an easily recognizable toucan head (Fig. 14 /see p. 51/).

/26/ The most outstanding artistic achievement of the Karaya is the plastic reproduction of human forms in wax and unfired clay. Small figures (likokŏ, children's dolls?) are offered to travelers in large quantities. Their execution shows, despite the somewhat stereotyped manner of production, a high degree of ingenuous sense of form and excellent observation of nature. /Fig. 13 appears here./

The most successful pieces, in their proper depiction of body forms, are equal to the best works of the peoples of the ancient American civilizations and surpass anything which other savage tribes, with the exception of the Northwest Americans and the Eskimo, have achieved in this respect. Although there is an inclination to give the lower extremities an unnatural thickness, there is nothing really grotesque.

The collection numbers 52 specimens which in their different types demonstrate extremely well the gradual perfecting of this primitive artistic activity.

The simplest figures make rather large demands on the imagination. The Indian imitates in them only what seems most

/26 cont./

532 essential to him, namely, mouth opening and navel. They are simply spindle-shaped clay forms widened only in the lower section and having holes, the upper one representing the mouth and the lower one the navel (Pl. XI /see p. 113/, 1). Parallel cuts go out longitudinally from each hole. A somewhat more

[352]

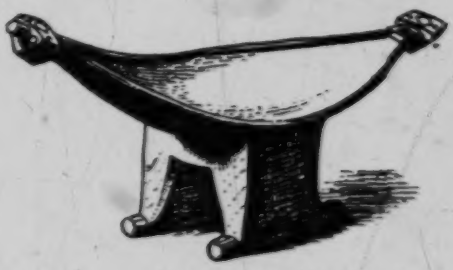

Fig. 13. Stool in animal form (ca. 1/8).

complete form already shows the thorax clearly. In male figures the arms are indicated as stumps, as are the genitals, and in female figures, the breasts. The lower extremities are only nodular swellings. On the face only the mouth is indicated.

[412]

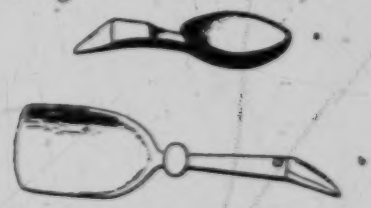

Fig. 14. Carved wooden spoons (a 1/4, b 1/8).

The female figures, however, wear the national apron (Pl. XI /see p. 113/, 2 and 3).

A further advance consists of putting on black wax to represent the hair. The face is already clearly recognizable. Tribal tattooing and body painting are imitated (Pl. XI, 4 and 5). The legs still appear as stumps. Probably the kneeling position is supposed to be expressed in them. The largest of the figures

/26 cont./

532 collected, 24 centimeters high, without an apron, belongs here. The face is clearly modeled, the hair reproduced by a thin layer of wax with cotton fringes hanging down in front, a chain of Ricinus kernels and pierced snail-shells with black tassels decorates the neck (Pl. XI /see p. 113/, 6).

Finally we have completely finished forms (obtained only from the Šambioa). Face and body are imitated completely true to nature, the arms folded over the stomach. The wax hair hangs far down in back. Line painting covers the chest and limbs. Some are supplied with ear sticks and necklaces, others with small "redes." Unfortunately the legs and the seat of almost all of them are of unnatural thickness (Pl. XI, 7). A black wax figure, the best one of the collection, nevertheless shows proportional form throughout (Pl. XI, 9). Whereas all figures of this type wear an apron, others of gray clay are without it. They also lack hair; on the other hand, they have on their backs a carrying basket likewise made of clay. The arms are drawn up against the chest (Pl. XI, 8). The male figures of this category are disproportionately long and narrow in the upper trunk, with almost spherical lower legs. Hair and genitals are of wax. There are sticks in the ears, chains of glass beads around the neck (Pl. XI, 10).

[177] The caricatures of Brazilian soldiers made out of lumps of wax, with the uniform indicated by bits of blue and red cloth pasted on, are very crude, but not without a certain humor in the execution.

Social Life, Law and Custom.

114 The social arrangements of the Karaya can for the present be treated only fragmentarily. Nevertheless, the little that I [115] observed myself or that was learned through the agency of my companion and most important informant, the old chief Pedro Manco, may at least provide points of reference for further research.

/27/

577 The observation with which Im Thurn introduces his discussion of the social life of the Guiana tribes, "The Indian in his natural state, before he feels the influence of white man is of decidedly admirable morality" /cited in English/, is also true in its full extent for the Karaya. This natural morality, completely independent of religious beliefs, makes the existence of a primitive community such as theirs possible. It expresses itself in the [576] scrupulous observation of the commandments of external propriety (1), which does not escape even the casual visitor, but,

[514]

1. Of culture-historical interest and typical of the feeling of propriety of these savages is the manner of their defecation. It occurs as far as possible from the village. A hole is made in the sand. The individual sits on it with outstretched legs, hiding the upper body behind a small mat. The excrement is always carefully buried.

above all, in the exemplary conduct of family life. The 593 solidarity of the family group, which even Martius, rashly 602 generalizing from his observations among demoralized tribes, denied that the Americans possessed at all, has quite truly given this people the moral support which has prevented its decline up to now, despite a century of contact with civilization and, hopefully, will hold it off for a long time to come.

The Karaya family seems, according to its form to be a "mother family." The following facts speak in favor of this:

1. The married man does not eat with his family, but with that of his married sister. Accordingly, he is considered a member of his sister's family.

2. Likewise in the division of the hunting spoils he receives his share, not in his own house, but in that of his sister.

768 3. The children of a widower are cared for by his parents-589 in-law, while he himself re-enters the ranks of the bachelors.
606

/27 cont./

582 4. The marriage of Karaya women to foreigners is permitted only when the latter allow themselves to be adopted into the tribe and take up permanent residence in the village concerned, a case which in Castelnau's time was not at all rare, but could hardly occur today.

593 Although the husband is naturally in charge as head of the
562 family, the position of the wife is a completely honorable one. There is no trace of the degradation of women into beasts of burden, as has been falsely imputed for all Indians by analogy with the North American tribes. Certain tasks, to be sure, are performed exclusively by the women and they are tireless in fulfilling their manifold duties. The man, too, however, has his share to perform. His wife is his complete equal; he does nothing of importance without her advice. Even the chief shares his honors with his wife. Mistreatment of women is unheard of.

595 Monogamy is the usual thing. The husband, however, not uncommonly finds it necessary to take a second wife when the
[582] first one becomes too old. This is conditioned by the peculiar
[171] custom, widespread, it seems, among all South American tribes (2), that the young men court older women and the old

[113] 2. Cf. Im Thurn, op. cit., p. 223.

men younger ones. Perhaps the relatively small number of children can be traced to this.

847 Artificial abortion occurs, but only on the demand of the husband. It is brought about by pressing the uterus together with the hands and is said to cause death not uncommonly.

586 If married people do not get along, the husband is allowed
587 to trade off his wife for that of another. Anyone who repudiates his wife cannot marry again, but is allowed to have a housekeeper.

684 The husband himself punishes an adulterous wife by a beating or burning her with glowing wood. Sometimes (3) the guilty one

[113] 3. Couto Magelhães, Selvagem, p. 116.

is said to be even burned to death.

/27 cont./

684 Adultery on the part of the husband is avenged by the closest relatives of the wife.

Everywhere in the social order of the Karaya the endeavor to preserve the peace of family life from any disturbance is prominent. The young people are for that reason kept under strict
836 discipline. Virginity is highly prized and protected (4);
837
[113]

4. Couto Magelhães, Peterm. Mitth., 1876, p. 222.

extramarital intercourse between the sexes is punished with strict
848 penalties and under certain conditions with death. Children originating from such relationships are not, as among other primitive peoples, likewise killed, however, but rather are turned over to the chief's care, like other orphans.

589 /28/ Single persons, distinguished externally from the married
[291] ones by the above-mentioned cotton bands, are not obliged to
[736] support themselves, but rather are supported by the community.
[591] Bachelors and widowers live together in a special hut and take part in hunting expeditions only when they please. Likewise, unmarried and widowed women are excused from supporting themselves. They live in the house of one of their nearest relatives.

589 According to a communication from Couto Magelhães, the
736 latter seem to have some freedom in intercourse with unmarried
[836] men: "There are in the Karaya villages men destined to be viri viduarum /men deprived of a wife/. These people have no other occupation; they are supported by the tribe and do not, like the others, undergo the hardships of long travels and raids. To my remark that it did not seem right to me that the community take on the support of these people, Chief Koinama replied that the peace which the families enjoyed because of this far outweighed the effort spent on their support." (Selvagem, p. 116.)

836 For the rest, the unmarried men who wish to turn to the
[925] female sex are dependent on intercourse with the captured Kayapo
[539] women kept in half-slavery, of which among the Šambioa every village shelters at least a few. They are considered common

/28 cont./

836 property and are offered to ships' crews, despite their usually
729 most horrible appearance. Unfortunately, one also sees children
used for the same purpose. Here is clearly shown the dualism in
836 the ethics of the savages, whose moral laws apply only to mem-
729 bers of their own tribe. This view, common to all primitive
571 peoples, cannot therefore change our judgment of the morality
[186] of the Karaya in general. When Castelnau doubts this, saying,
[114] "Ce fait (the stern punishment of a transgression against morals)
est peu d'accord avec les offres qui étaient fait continuellement
a nos gens /this fact is hardly in accord with the offers that
were continually made to our men/" (Hist. du voyage, I, p. 446),
he overlooks the fact that these "offres" concerned not their own,
but foreign women.

855 In spite of the lack of external signs of tenderness, which
are absent among all Indians, the treatment of the children is
very loving throughout.

854 The smaller ones are continually carried about by the
mothers and tended with tireless care, hung with ornaments and
853 painted, etc. They are suckled for an extraordinarily long time.

857 Older children are left entirely to themselves, but in spite of
this demonstrate a natural decency and a modesty of behavior
that the highly educated offspring of civilized men only all too
858 often lack. It would be unthinkable among the Karaya that chil-
dren be traded to the settlers, as unfortunately still frequently
occurs in other regions of Brazil, especially on the Amazon.
Upon the founding of the Collegio Izabel at Leopoldina, whose
purpose was to train young Indians and settle them later as
colonists, efforts to obtain Karaya children for it were in vain.
Since they once allowed themselves to be misled years ago, and
some were lured away and abducted by force, all the young
people as a rule take flight at the approach of a boat and only with
great difficulty are persuaded to return.

764 The fact that the animal decorations put on the grave poles
532 (cf. p. 63) are marks of the family concerned or of a wider kin
602 grouping indicates the existence of totemism, or clan formation.
To be sure, nothing more precise is known about this, but the
family system discovered among the Arawak by Im Thurn (1) may
also hold for the relationship prevailing among the Karaya.

1. Im Thurn, op. cit., p. 175.

/28 cont./

also hold for the relationships prevailing among the Karaya.

621 The village communities composed of such family units, each of which has a particular name, seem to be like gau
476 communities (2). The agricultural land belongs to the whole
[423]

[113] 2. Post, Stud. z. Entw. d. Familienrechts /Essay on the Development of Family Law/, p. 83.

[224] and is tilled in common. Hunting and fishing expeditions are
[226] also undertaken in common, and the yield in booty, field
622 produce, etc. divided among the families. The chief supervises all of these communal activities and achievements. He is
[421] supported by the community; the property of all tribal members
[597] belongs to him (3). On the other hand, it is his duty to adopt

[113] 3. Couto Magelhães, Peterm. Mitth., 1876, p. 121.

orphaned children, particularly the sons of those slain in war.
[178] The personal qualities to which he owes his office today are less
[648] prowess in war /29/ than the skill, experience, and linguistic knowledge required to deal with the Whites. Thus, even prisoners
[727] of war adopted into the tribe who distinguish themselves at this can achieve the position.

The chief organizes the war and hunting expeditions; he determines the camp sites and the locations of plantings and, after the burning over of the strip of forest (roça) concerned, divides the agricultural land, which is marked off by posts, among the individual families.

622 His effectiveness in the administration of justice is important.
627 In case of quarrels between men he acts as referee, while his wife decides those of the women. It is his duty to bring offenders to account, but he does not inflict the punishment, which, according to the Indian law of retaliation, is a matter for the injured party. Murder or bodily injury are therefore avenged by the relatives of the victim without further ado.

/29 cont./

622 If a theft is reported to the chief, he calls upon the perpe-
627 trator, by loud proclamations in the middle of the village, to
685 return the stolen goods. A response usually follows, and the object is simply put back in its place secretly, whereby the matter is settled.

Otherwise the chief has the right to have the huts searched. An object is taken away from a suspect as security until the corpus delicti is delivered. If the thief is found out, it is left to the victim to have himself indemnified.

622 If the chief does not fulfill his position or if the community cannot tolerate him for other reasons, he is simply deserted and another is chosen.

584 Marriage. The young man states his purpose to the parents of the chosen one; the latter ask their daughter for her consent. According to Couto Magelhães, a formal announcement is made
585 before the assembled community. Then the bridegroom hands over his weapons to the bride to keep and takes her to the house of one of his closest relatives, since, as a bachelor, he does not yet have one of his own. For four nights the two sleep on one mat, but separated by a wide intervening space, with no advances allowed. On the fifth day the bride is brought back to her father's house, where she hands the weapons back to the bridegroom. As a sign that he is capable of taking care of a family, the young man goes hunting for a few days and returns only with slain booty (1).

1. It is doubtful whether the test of strength by dragging a heavy block of palm wood, as is required among certain Gês tribes, also occurs among the Karaya.

A drinking bout, which the parents of the bride arrange, concludes the whole thing. Only then is the more intimate intercourse of the two spouses allowed (2). Then the erection of their own home follows.

833 2. Karayae cum mulieribus more indigenarum Australiae concumbent. Vir pedibus extensis humi sedet et mulierum supinam ante se jacentem

/29 cont./

833 2. (cont.)
sursum attrahit, manus natibus ejus supponens. /The Karaya have intercourse with women in the fashion of the native Australians. The man sits on the ground, feet extended, and takes the woman, lying arched backwards above him, his hands supporting her buttocks./ (Cf. Miclucho Maclay, Verhandl. d. berl. Ges. f. Anthr., 1880, p. 87.)

844 Birth. For this the woman kneels on her heels, clasping a post with her hands, while the husband grasps her from behind with strong pressure around her body. Once the child is born, the afterbirth is awaited patiently; then the navel cord is compressed and cut off about three inches from the body with a sharp taquara splint. The blood contained in it is carefully pressed [950] out, "in order to prevent tetanus /Starrkrampf/," and hot ashes and powder from pulverized piranha teeth are sprinkled on the surface of the wound as a styptic. Since no ligature is applied, it is not rare that the child bleeds to death. The newborn is daubed with urucú red, wrapped tightly in a broad strip of jangada 846 bast, and laid in a "rede" tied by strings (see p. 19). For three days both spouses stay on a strict diet. In order to make the uterus contract, the wife lies down on her back and has her abdomen pressed together for a couple of hours by her husband, who sits next to her, or other persons who relieve him. Some 854 months after birth the child receives the above-mentioned cotton bands.

852 At the age of six to seven years the girls' ear-lobes are 304 pierced; for boys, the lower lip as well. The whole community gathers for this. The child sits on a stool decorated with arara feathers in the middle of a large circle. One of the relatives pierces his ears with spines from the tucuma palm, the lower lip with a sharpened monkey-bone. During this the men stand around [533] and sing a song with the closing verse: idžohã hã haṅ, hã haṅ idžiohã, i.e., "now it has happened!"

/30/

852 The wound holes are kept open with cotton threads passed
304 through them and changed often. The patient must fast for one day and is permitted to take only liquid nourishment for some time. The whole post-operative treatment is handled by an older woman experienced at it.

852 From now on the boys wear the T-shaped lip ornaments
301 of mother-of-pearl, not until later the piuva wood plugs. On
291 this occasion the bast apron of the women is put on the girls.

With the onset of puberty the young people of both sexes
881 receive the tribal tattooing amid similar ceremonies. The out-
304 line of a circle is marked on both cheeks with a stamp made
[824] out of a piece of gourd (tešiã). Then the place is cut out with
[950] a small sharp stone, and cotton lint is put in the wound. After stopping the bleeding, genipa juice rubbed in causes the blue color of the scar.

881 The first appearance of the period is not celebrated with special ceremonies. The menstruating woman is considered unclean and must live apart from the others during this time. She is not permitted to bathe, but is washed by other women from a gourd bowl especially intended for this purpose.

857 Games and dancing. At an early age the children imitate the activities of adults. The boys practice archery and fishing; the girls give their mothers a hand in the household as soon as
524 possible. The clay figures have already been mentioned as children's toys. There are also small tops (kotauã, Fig. 15 /see p. 61/), canoes and oars, cooking dishes, etc. represented in the collection.

Games popular with the adults as well are the feather ball made of corncobs with ring-shaped inset, and furthermore the "game of cats cradle" /cited in English/ common in North America, as is well known, and recently described by Boas for the Eskimo. Strings drawn from hand to hand through the fingers represent certain animal figures by changing their arrangement. /Fig. 15 appears here./

/30 cont./

526 On beautiful moonlit nights the young people practice wrestling on the praias. The hold is the same as the one customary among us. It is principally a matter of bringing down the opponent by tripping him, at which even apparently weak individuals develop an astounding agility.

535 Some of the dances have already been described by Castelnau.
[114] I myself had the opportunity in the third Šambioa village to attend a war dance. Eight feather-adorned men armed with spears, clubs, and bows took part under the leadership of a head-dancer, whom they surrounded in a semicircle. The dancers moved only a little from their places, at most a few steps forward and back. Rapid hopping on one leg and artistically correct, rhythmic swinging of the weapons provided the main action. Everything was carried out with the greatest precision.
[199] This dance is said to have been borrowed from the Kayapo.

764
[168]

[524] Fig. 15. Top (1/4).

Obsequies and burial. At the death of a Karaya all the objects that he used daily, weapons, ornaments, etc., are burned amidst loud lamentations of the relatives; the rest is divided among those who bury him. The mourners wound themselves with cuts and shear their hair.

764
535

Next follows the dance of the dead around the corpse (1), which is colored

[763] 1. Not infrequently the ceremonies begin before death has actually occurred.

with urucú and, wrapped in mats, is hung up on a horizontal pole.

Under the direction of two leading singers, who are relieved from time to time, the row goes around in a circle, whereby the participants hold their fingers pushed over one another. The
[533] song is a kind of dialogue. The chorus asks the deceased where he is and how he is; one of the leading singers answers for him.

/30 cont./

764 One such verse might be reproduced in translation, at least
535 the sense of it.
539 Chorus: džoiri koniko -- hidžohoho (repeated 4-5 times) otohoniko -- kudžã beboniko, i.e.: He lives no more, it is over for him, do not think of him any more, he hangs on the pole (kudžã).

The deceased: roniro nira -- koti uaidžã uaniro bioko nero -- aidžodžã biowa, i.e.: I am in a beautiful country, bring me tobacco (koti), have you put the lip plug on me? Further: I lack nothing, but bring water to the grave, etc.

Between times the chorus repeats over and over the muted: haidžã hã hã hãṅ -- hã hãṅ -- hã hãṅ, i.e.: It is all over.

764 /31/ The burial takes place the next day, or, when death has occurred in the morning, in the evening of the same day.
[765] The ceremonies, songs, and dances are then continued for three or four more days, during which time no one works.

The burial places are always close to the river on higher
[126] ground. Two of them, one near S. José, the other somewhat above the mouth of the Rio das Mortes on the right bank, were more closely investigated by me and some skeletons exhumed.

The grave (Fig. 16 a-d /see p. 63/) is a rectangular pit two meters long, one meter wide, and 50-70 centimeters deep, over which some poles are placed in the long direction. The corpse, wrapped in buriti mats, hangs in a horizontal position, swinging free, on the centermost pole (1) (a). A container filled with food

[114]

1. Castelnau's statement, op. cit., I, p. 446, that the deceased stands vertically in the grave (la tête fait une saillie au dessus du sol /the head projects above the ground/) is probably based on confusion with the method of burial in a squatting position customary among the Kayapo.

/Fig. 16 appears here/ stands under it on the ground. The pit is covered with a mat, over which lies a foot-high layer of earth (b).

/31 cont./

764 The external equipment of the grave is evidently sup-
[976] posed to represent a house. Two poles (itsõ) 1 1/3 meters high and decorated on the short, forked tip with bundles of feathers hanging down, are planted at the head and foot ends of the grave in order to keep away the "animals," that is, in any case the demons (the kenaima of Guiana). The drum-like thickness in the middle part of the pole bears the family mark of the deceased, engraved or indicated by feather

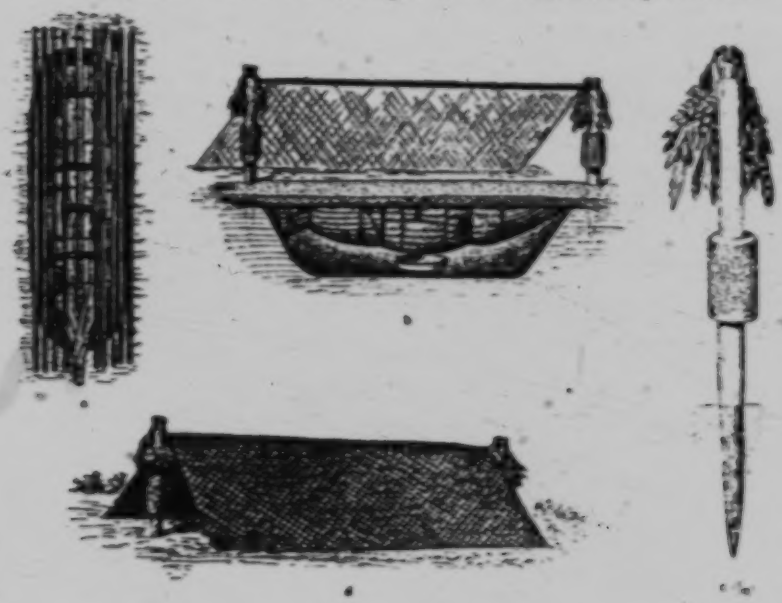

Fig. 16. Grave equipment.

[532] mosaic. One of the specimens available (c) shows the cross-decoration of the lizard (hãdauã). The feather pattern of both the others is unfortunately unrecognizable.

Both poles are connected with a cord, over which two
[975] buriti mats are spread like a roof (d). /32/ Under this tent is put a gourd with food and drink for the soul, which after the burial stays for a while in the vicinity of the grave.

/32 cont./

765 If the survivors so desire, the bones are later dug up again and deposited in separate shallow clay containers near the grave.

Memories of the dead do not fade quickly. Long after the death of a family member, the devotion of his relatives is expressed in violent outbreaks of pain when a reminder of the deceased is evoked by some event. If, while examining storage baskets in the houses, we came across objects from the estate of departed spouses or children, the women broke out in loud lamentation, which stopped only when the object concerned was hidden again.

765 [464] In the last Šambioa village I witnessed a scene of mourning as unique as it was touching, when the news arrived that a Karaya had died in Pará, where he had gone on a boat as a hired rower. His mother and wife paced up and down on the bank for two days, while solemnly mourning loudly in song, holding ornamental objects of the lamented in their hands and continually waving them downstream where he had disappeared.

[533] The mourning songs were continued, accompanied by other women, far into the night.

Sicknesses and Witch Doctors

164 On the whole the Karaya have been spared from the worst scourges of primitive peoples, smallpox and syphilis, just as little are they subject to the leprosy and goiter so widespread in the population of Goyaz. On the other hand tuberculosis, the infectiousness of which is well known to the Indians, is steadily increasing among the Karayahi. Ahi catarrho naõ tem? Is there no catarrh, too? is always the first question which they ask the foreign visitor before they allow him to enter their huts. Malaria fevers occur in their more intensive form also only in the Karayahi region, particularly in the lowlands between São José and the mouth of the Rio das Mortes.

757 Medicines are apparently used by the savage tribes of South America to a much lesser degree than one generally assumes.

/32 cont./

754 Since every sickness is considered the work of hostile sorcerers
755 or demons, they rely more on the counter magic of their own "medicine man" who removes the poison by sucking on the ailing part of the body or scares off the evil spirits by means of the magic rattle.

757 One of the most popular medicines of the Karaya is the resin of the almecega (Hedwigia balsamifera), which, stirred in with coconut oil, is used as a smelling essence for headaches and externally for abdominal pain (andžiura).

752 The savages have more knowledge of surgery. They know how to let blood out of the forehead vein, to stop bleeding by applying a tourniquet to the wounded limb, quite rationally sprinkle powdered charcoal on wounds, put splints on broken limbs, and develop great skill in removing thorns with sharp fish-teeth.

757 The custom of emptying the stomach in the morning by artificially induced vomiting, known in North America and Ecuador, is also found here. It is done with charred pieces of taquara (idžiua), which are introduced into the throat until the effect is achieved.

304 The most important medical instrument is the scarification
824 apparatus (i-šaura). It consists of a little triangular or rectangular
237 piece of gourd, one surface of which is weighted with a layer of wax or resin one centimeter thick, while the other bears a row of small sharp fish-teeth (Fig. 17).
757

Fig. 17. Scarification instrument (1/2).

304 These scarifiers are stored in pairs, the convex scratching
757 surface of the one resting on the concave one of the other. The small teeth are protected by stuffing cotton between them.

/33/

304 While the patient convulsively clasps a pole, the points are
757 pressed deep into the skin of the ailing part of his body, and it is scratched open in various directions with quick movements. The blood is scraped off with strips of palm leaves, the wounds rubbed with sand in the bath. It is said to be not uncommon that pulverized pepper is applied to increase drainage.

Even when there is no special suffering, such blood-lettings are done from time to time on legs and arms, "in order to strengthen muscle power."

753 The belief common to all primitive peoples that sickness,
171 as well as death, is something highly unnatural and comes about only through the influence of hostile powers, which the witch doctor alone knows how to ban, prevails among the tribes of South America in such a completely similar manner that everything known about it from one people also holds without additions
[114] for the others. One need only refer to the lucid, exhaustive presentation by Im Thurn (1), to which there is hardly anything to add.

1. Im Thurn, op. cit., p. 328 ff.

756 Among the Karaya the rank of witch doctor (kahctebädö, according to Spinola hori), of which every village possesses several, does not belong to a closed caste any more than it does among the Xingu tribes.

Anyone who is willing to undergo the required mortifications can become a sorcerer. Nervous individuals, epileptics, etc. are, of course, especially suited for it. Even women can attain this office.

789 We had no opportunity to observe the medicine man treating
791 the sick, but did observe him in his no less important activity
[276] as rain conjurer. He stepped ceremoniously in front of the hut, holding a tobacco pipe in one hand, in the other a long switch with thornback spines stuck on the tip. His face turned toward the heavens, he uttered inarticulate sounds in a loud voice, again and again blew smoke towards the clouds, then mumbled, swinging his staff around his head, incomprehensible words

/33 cont./

789 with incredible volubility, and finally made thrusts with grim
791 gestures in the four directions, shouting: bobuto! disperse! It is therefore exactly the same procedure that Boas observed among the Central Eskimos (2). If the rain comes down in spite of this,

2. Petermann's Mitth., 1887, p. 309.

the conjurer chews up a root and spits the pieces into the air, naturally only when the storm is nearing its end.

754 If the sorcerer wishes to harm an absent person, he uses a small bow (šibate) to shoot an arrow with two snake teeth at the tip in the direction where he suspects that his victim is. The latter is then overcome by an incurable sickness.

Animism. Masked Dances.

791 Although so few details about the religious beliefs of the Karaya are known, it can already be determined that the animistic world-view, as the lowest form of religious life, manifests itself among them in exactly the same way as among other better studied South American tribes.

For them, too, the phenomena of half-life in sleep, the extinguishing of all vital activity in death, and dreams and visions are proof of the presence of a spirit world separate from the material substratum, in which every individual, human as well as animal, who, according to Indian belief, differ from each other only in their physical form, has its immaterial phantom.

754 They know from experience that in dreams the spirit leaves
828 the body of the sleeper to wander about and to meet other persons or
[794] spirits; they know further, even if it is only through suggestive influencing, that the witch doctors, gifted with higher powers, can at will put themselves in a sleeping state, in which their souls fathom secret matters, enter into animals in order to frighten and to injure enemies as "werewolves," and, in short, do all those things by means of which shamanism everywhere knows how to secure its influence in uniformly recurring fashion.

/34/

775 The souls of the dead, which, as mentioned above, are thought of as remaining for a while in the vicinity of the grave, later like to return to their former home. They appear to their relatives especially on stormy nights. When the rain streams [767] down and lightning brightens the darkness, the old people remember their dead relatives and attempt by loud lamentations and singing to put themselves in a state of artificial ecstasy, which finally conjures up in their aroused imaginations any desired phantom.

771 The animistic "religion," if one wishes to call it this, still lacks any ethical basis. It has not elevated itself to the acceptance of a higher, omnipotent spirit upon which man feels dependent in the expectation of punishment and reward for his actions. Thus there is also lacking anything which would indicate the external relationships of man to the godhead, idols, cult performances, prayers, etc. There are among them, however, those ceremonies from which apparently the higher cult forms have come everywhere in the world, the mysterious

535 121 Masked dances. The important role which such masked dances play among the North American tribes is known everywhere. Until now remarkably little was known about the analogous customs on the southern continent. Only the dances of the Tekuna, Juri, and Uaupé tribes are mentioned in passing in the literature. The "temples" and "idols" which the oldest missionary reports mention are obviously nothing other than the "medicine huts" or "flute houses" with the fantastic mask costumes stored in them.

Only recently has the wealth of mask material brought back by the two Xingu expeditions again directed attention to these festive dances which are so important for an understanding of Indian life. Observations made later among the Karaya supplied a desirable supplement to this.

Their masked dances are of quite special interest ethnologically on account of the remarkable analogies which they exhibit in the form of the masks, as well as in other festive customs, with those of Melanesia. This correspondence goes into such

/34 cont./

535 detail that Kleinschmidt's description of the duck-duck festival
121 of New Britain would also fit mutatis mutandis the animal dances of the Karaya.

535 Castelnau, who first mentions them, obtained one of these
114 masks with great difficulty (1), but it was later lost, along with

1. Castelnau, op. cit., p. 441.

all the other collections, in the cataracts of the Tocantins. The depiction of a dance given by him on Plate IX of his Vues et scenes /Views and Scenes/ (Paris, 1852) is incorrect inasmuch as the lower trunk and legs of the dancers are not uncovered, as the illustration shows, but are hidden under long buriti hangings. Also the height of the headdresses seems exaggerated.

Later Spinola (2) published something about them and also

2. Op. cit., p. 45.

obtained some mask costumes for the anthropological exhibition in Rio (1882), which, however, never reached their destination, but were lost in Goyaz.

126 That I was successful in luckily bringing home some of the
535 most interesting masks I owe to the intervention of the chief Pedro
532 Manco, without whose intercession the superstitious mistrust of
[123] his fellow tribesmen could hardly have been overcome. These
[1078] sacred objects had already been unwisely profaned several times by travelers, in particular by Spinola himself. Contrary to expecta-
532 tion, the most beautiful specimens were found among the
535 Karayahi, whose villages alone exhibit the above-described
184 "medicine huts." Smaller camps had, instead of them, simple semicircular compartments, open at the top and back, as Castelnau depicts them, whereas the huts are completely absent among the Šambioa. Probably in this case they had already been torn down again after the conclusion of the festivities. The palm-straw costumes collected there lay thrown in a heap in the nearby forest and are for that reason somewhat defective.

/34 cont./

535 All of the dance masks represent animals. The imitation of
532 the animal form, however, does not go so far as among the masks
825 of the North Americans and the Tekuna, since the creature concerned /35/ is merely indicated by some of its most striking

Fig. 18. Mask of the dolphin (1/20).

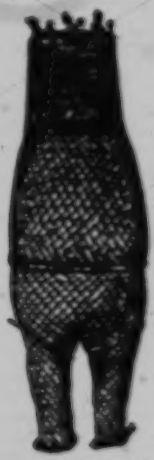

Fig. 19. Mask of the fish doori (probably the pirarara) (1/20).

Fig. 20. Mask of the scarabacus (dung beetle) (1/20).

Fig. 21. Large anteater (headdress) (1/24).

characteristics or even only by the decorations placed on it.

The masks, which are either used individually or belong in pairs, fall into three classes according to their shape.

/35 cont./

535 1. Costumes and headdresses of simple palm-straw plaiting
532 (inaudã). Of these there were collected:
825 a) The dolphin. Male figure with genitals made extremely large: plaited out of uaguassú leaves. A sleeved jacket reaching to the belt covers the upper body of the dancer; the lower trunk and the legs down to the knee are in a type of trousers, while the head is covered with a cap completely hiding the face and on top running out into two wound braids (Fig. 18 /see p. 70/).

b) A similar figure without genitals, representing the doori fish (pirarara?). The covering of the thorax is sleeveless. The hood has six short braids provided with end knots (Fig. 19 /see p. 70/).

c) The scarabaeus (korehaõõ, dung beetle, one of the most common insects of the campos), is a mask plaited out of buriti leaves for the upper body. Hiding the head is a rhomboidal cap of fine plaiting, through the upper part of which runs a cross-stick provided with palm-straw tassels at the ends, reproducing quite typically the antennae of the beetle. The lower part, made out of coarser plaiting, consists only of a layer covering the chest and stomach. On both sides there are slit-shaped armholes. The legs of the dancer are probably covered with buriti hangings (Fig. 20 /see p. 70/).

/36/ d) The large anteater (uariri), for which there is likewise only a headpiece for the head and upper trunk, is plaited in a funnel shape out of a single buriti leaf whose stem, projecting upward and split several times, is lengthened artificially by a wooden stick set into it. The extreme tip bears a huge tassel of leaves. The whole is three meters and eighty-two centimeters high (Fig. 21 /see p. 70/).

The preceding masks are those obtained among the Šambioa. In addition, the sketch of a fifth costume of the same type was drawn in a Karayahi village. This is

e) the caracara hawk (iira), likewise funnel-shaped, but not as tall as the "anteater" and provided with armholes (Fig. 22 c /see p. 72 /).

/36 cont./

535 2. Masks of the duck-duck type (yaõ). These are cylin-
532 drical dance hats, covered with ornamental feather mosaic, the
825 pattern of which reproduces the animal concerned.

a) The piabussu fish (abuzeura) consists of a strong buriti plaiting 82 centimeters high and 45 centimeters in circumference in the middle, running out at the top, into a braidlike continuation wound with black bast, which bears a tuft of feathers at the end. The lower end of the cylinder broadens like a funnel in order to receive the head of the wearer. This lower part is about 25 centimeters high and so densely covered with buriti strips that the face of the dancer remains completely hidden (Pl. XII /see p.114 /, 1 a and b).

The cylindrical middle-piece is covered lengthwise with thin sticks of cane, on which the feather mosaic is applied with wax. Running vertically on the front side there is a yellow strip ten centimeters wide and bordered by black and white cotton threads twisted together, which is accompanied on either side by a red one half

Fig. 22. Masks and masked dancer.

as wide with the same border. From each of the latter a broad red continuation branches off at right angles toward the back, which divides each side of the cylinder into two rectangular fields. These are filled with blue rectangles on a yellow background, which are divided off by black cords.

/36 cont./

535 At both ends the cylinder is wound with strips of blue army
534 cloth. In any case the original binding was a tightly woven
825 black or black-white cotton band, as on the masks illustrated in Fig. 22 a and b /see p. 72/.

A small green feather border surrounds the upper edge, which is also adorned with a row of upright red arara feathers.

On the back side, with white down pasted on it, two rows of blue arara feathers hand down over each other.

A cross-stick decorated at the ends with long feather tassels is stuck through the upper third of the cylinder.

b) The pacu fish (ariua) is of similar form. The cylindrical part is shorter, but of larger diameter (height 50 centimeters, circumference 55 centimeters). In this case, too, a braid runs out from the upper surface (60 centimeters) (Pl. XII /see p. 114/, 2 a and b).

A broad red stripe with a black and white border likewise runs down the front. The side parts show a complementary pattern of oblique, blunt zigzag stripes running somewhat irregularly, red on a yellow background within a black border. Two rows of feathers likewise hang down in back.

Long buriti hangings to be placed around the shoulders and hips belong to both masks. The neck is wound with an ornament of black bast strips. The dancer carries gourd rattles in his hands and wears bands with rattling Thevetia pods around his ankles (Fig. 22 a /see p. 72/).

Two other such masks could be sketched.

c) One allegedly represents the kabroro (alligator). The cylindrical part is red with horizontally placed double-crosses in yellow (Fig. 22 a /see p. 72/) and bears two short diverging braids.

d) The meaning of the other, the animal yarenĕ, is uncertain. The basic color of the cylinder is blue. A chain of yellow rectangles on a red background runs down each side. According to the ornamentation, it may represent a snake (Fig. 22 b /see p. 72/).

/36 cont./

535 On both, the back side is decorated with a double row of
532 short green and blue parrot feathers placed in the long direction.
825 3. The mask of a black bird (tirehãñ) has no animal emblem. It is a human face made of a large gourd, the lower third painted black, the rest red. The mouth is equipped with wax lips and wooden teeth. The nose of black wax is located between the narrow eye slits at an unnatural height. A hanging of black and /37/ brown feathers falls from the back, while at the front and on the sides long strips of buriti bast cover the body of the wearer (Pl. X /see p. 112/, 3).

The number of masks is in no way exhausted with these.
[184] Each village has its special ones and many a "medicine hut" was actually crammed full of the different types.

Besides those mentioned the following were noted as particularly common among the Karayahi:

The fish: pintado (Pimelodus sorubim), trem-trem (Gymnotus electricus), chicote, piau, and pirarucú (Sudis gigas); the birds: tuyuyu (Mycteria jabiru), japuira (Cacicus sp.) mutum (Crax), jacu (Penelope); finally deer and crabs.

521 Masked festivals. If there is much food on hand after pro-
535 ductive hunting and fishing expeditions, the chief decides to hold a dance festival, which continues as long as the provisions last. The preparations begin several days before the date set. The women attend to the food and drink, the men set to work at making the dance costumes, unless they are still occupied with hunting. Each dance is known only to certain persons. The songs sung in
[538] connection with them, which are handed down from father to son,
[198] are allegedly performed in an ancient language incomprehensible to the masses.

[825] Each animal represented has its characteristic sound, which
[533] is repeated again and again in the songs. Thus, the pacu cries: heiyoñ he, heiyoñ he, the alligator hu — hu — hu.

[562] The women and children watch the dance, to be sure, but
532 may not look at the masks by themselves, without their wearers,
[176] since they are made to believe that the "animal spirits" concerned are really present before them. Only the oldest women are sometimes told the secret.

/37 cont./

537 The festival begins with a procession of the masks through
535 the village. The participants dress in the nearby forest and approach with a loud han̓ hm han̓. Then everybody cries: nakunerare! There they come!

During the procession the masked men throw sticks of wood in all directions. After they have withdrawn, everything is readied for the feast and drinking bout, until after a few hours the dancers approach again and the dance begins. Like that of the duck-duck, it consists of an odd hopping. The dancer is not permitted to let himself be recognized in any way; he
[688] may neither speak nor cough or sneeze, and particularly not fall. Otherwise, as in the case of the duck-duck and the Northwest American hametz, he is killed immediately.

If he finds it necessary to cough, which in view of the stifling heat in his masquerade is not uncommon, of course, he jumps into the circle of men standing about, who cover up his voice by likewise coughing.

The dances take place in a certain sequence; it is the chief who decides which one is to be at the beginning.

532 If a woman enters the secret hut out of curiosity or other-
535 wise takes advantage of an opportunity to see the mask costumes,
562 she is punished by death.
688 Usually the other women then bring a petition to the chief. The latter lets mercy prevail if the guilty one promises silence and is willing to undertake a task of atonement, which usually consists of weaving a riio or making a large buriti mat. If she refuses or if the work is not satisfactory, a place in the forest is pointed out to her, and she must appear there at a certain
[839] time. She is forced to yield to the men assembled there. If she does not appear, the latter have the right to kill her wherever
[766] they find her. The corpse of the guilty one is sunk in the river.
[778] No one may enter the hut of the victim, however, since this is considered a sanctuary.

In the same way a man who betrays the secret to a woman is declared an outlaw.

/37 cont./

535 That such barbaric customs prevailed, at least formerly,
532 is all the less to be doubted, since analogies can be shown in
562 other regions of the world. Today, however, the matter does
688 not seem to be handled as strictly. It is said that among the
178 neighboring Tapirapé all the women once saw the masks by chance, so there was nothing else to do but to pardon them all and give up the secret.

According to a statement of Pedro Manco, the custom has fallen into disuse among the Šambioa, too. Nevertheless, they did not permit us simply to take the masks found in the forest along with us, because women /38/ were presumed to be in the area. Rather our men had to put on special clothing for the purpose of bringing them to our camp.

Whether these customs have now become milder or not, in any case the respect the women have for the masks and their mysterious storage place is quite great.

535 After the end of the festival the masks are thrown away or
532 burned. In any case the feathers used for them are saved.

It is unlikely that we shall ever fully understand the real meaning of these dances. It is even doubtful whether the Indians themselves are fully aware of it. On the basis of analogies among better known peoples, a few conjectures about it can at least be made.

535 It is certain that the mask represents the spirit of the ani-
532 mal portrayed. The animals themselves are either game animals
776 or those that play a certain role in the national legend, such as
825 the stork, the alligator, and the Gymnotus. In North America
[191] there are bear dances, buffalo dances, etc., in order to persuade the bear and buffalo spirit to make these animals appear in larger numbers, whereas other dances refer to animals which are regarded as original ancestors or have other mythological significance. Similar notions may also be the basis for the masked dances of the Karaya. This would already be a step beyond the lowest form of animism, since the acceptance of a spirit representing all animals of a certain class presumes a certain amount

/38 cont./

535 of abstraction (1). Insofar as these animal spirits are supposed to
532
776
825

1. Im Thurn, op. cit., p. 370.

be influenced in a way favorable to human beings, the first trace of a cult appears in these dances.

535 If one asks the Indians themselves why they keep the secret
532 from the women, they answer without exception that the women
567 are not permitted to see everything, they talk too much.

The need to maintain the authority of the men over the women appears wherever such mysterious festivals are current. The same thing is known from Greek and Oriental antiquity. It is possible that in this effort, which may often appear to the civilized man as a brutal tyranny over the weaker sex, one of the most ancient "folk ideas" belonging to all mankind finds its expression.

The whizzing stick does not seem to be in use among the Karaya; at least nothing could be learned about it.

Legends and Folklore

126 In the last days of our stay in S. Maria old Pedro Manco
115 dictated a number of legends, which, given the paucity of
773 such materials from South America and despite their simplicity and poverty of ideas, as well as the in part garbled form, nevertheless command some interest. Unfortunately because of the lack of time, they could not be written down in the original language, and in particular working out an interlinear translation met insuperable difficulties.

773 Whether these traditions have remained completely free of
199 foreign influence can be decided with certainty only when someone is successful in drawing on other informants as a check. The chances, to be sure, are very slight. For the present nothing opposes the presumption that we are actually dealing here with genuine products of the Indian folk-spirit.

773 These myths differ neither in form nor in content from those otherwise from America. The very saga which is most

/38 cont./

173 easily suggested to the Indians by missionaries, that of the great flood, shows no connection to the Christian story in the version given here.

[171] Analogies, moreover, are found with myths from Guiana, North America, and especially Polynesia.

Legends I-VI seem to be fragments of an old tribal saga.

Not all are complete. In the case of some the conclusion is missing, or perhaps, for our understanding at least, the point.

[172] /39/ Everywhere the genuinely Indian idea of the equality of the human and the animal worlds stands out clearly. The animal here seems to differ from man only in external appearance; for this reason both change their form continually. As a rule the narrator in the course of his presentation, whenever a new animal was introduced in the action, expressly added the remark that it was actually also a Karaya.

I.

Kaboi.

539 Kaboi, the ancestor of the Karaya, lived with his people in the underworld. The sun shone there when it was night on earth and vice versa. The cry of the camp bird seriema (Dicholophus cristatus) once penetrated that far, and Kaboi decided to follow the sound, accompanied by several people. Thus he reached a hole which led to the surface of the earth. But only his people could get through, whereas he himself, on account of his overly large size, remained stuck in it and could only look out of the opening with his head. The Karaya roamed through the area and found many fruits, bacury /Platonia insignis/, piqui, fruta do veado, and furthermore bees and wild honey, but also saw many a dead tree and dry wood. All this they brought to the place where Kaboi waited for them and showed what they had found. To be sure, the land is beautiful and fruitful, said the latter, but this rotten wood proves that whatever lives here must soon die. Therefore it is better that we remain where we are.

/39 cont./

539 In Kaboĩ's land people became very old; they died only when they could no longer move on account of their age.

When Kaboĩ returned to his people and showed the fruits, most of them wanted to go to the upper world; in vain he warned: You will find everything that you need, but you will soon die off. In spite of this part of the people moved away and populated the earth. The rest remained with Kaboĩ in the underworld. They are still living today in full strength, whereas the people on the earth are steadily approaching their downfall.

[171] A quite similar tale from the Warrau /Warao/ is communicated by Im Thurn (op. cit., p. 360), but it tells of a descent of the people from heaven to earth. From North America we know of an analogous one among the Mandan (cf. Catlin, Indianer Nordamerikas, Brussels, 1851, p. 131). Considering [194] that in the language of the Karaya "b" and "m" often change into each other, particularly in loan words, the name Kaboĩ reminds one of the name of the sun and the sun hero of the Aruak /Arawak/ tribes, Kamu, Kamui, Kamoti, or Kamutši (see the remarks about the celebration of the Ipurina below /untranslated/), frequently recurring in South American mythology. Also Tamoi, the ancestor of the Tupi, may be identical with this.

II.

Sun Myth.

Kahererõ, a Karaya girl, married the rich Šokrãã. She was sent into the forest to fetch wood. The sun ran so fast, however, that night fell before she was finished. Then the girl complained to her mother Idžokarerõ: Why did I marry such a rich and mighty man if I am to be forced to work so fast. I cannot stand that. Make the sun go slower."

The mother then sent out her son (1) Beðauã (2). He

1. Also named were Komahera and Kuarodžã.

2. "The dove."

/39 cont. /
539 succeeded in breaking the sun's leg; since then it goes slower.

[171] The correspondence to the Polynesian Maui myth is very striking here.

III.

The Two Powerful Ones.

A festival had been celebrated in a village. The dancers had taken off their masks. Everybody went out to hunt and to fish. Each one promised to be the first to return with rich booty. In three canoes the people moved upstream, only one youth alone downstream. His old mother, who, blind and lame, could not leave the fire, had remained behind. She asked him when he returned: Who danced there, were they really dead people who danced? The son answered: No, it /40/ was the Karaya, but they placed their fingers over one another in the manner of the deceased (cf. p. 61). Then the others returned; among them were two powerful ones, Teuira and Šokroã. One cut off the old woman's head with his knife of piranha teeth, showed it about, and had a deep pit dug. Then he commanded that bark and pieces of wood be brought, filled the pit with them, and set the whole thing on fire. Into the blazing fire the two "powerful ones" then threw one Karaya after the other. Thereupon they danced around the fire with wild shouting and sang:

Teuira idžeura
kabo kabo
aehe aehe aehe hehehaṅ
deara Teuita deara Šokroã.

Then the two took up positions opposite each other for the battle game. Each of them boasted that he could shoot the other's eye out. So both sent off their shots at the same time and one fell by the other's hand.

/40 cont./

539 Thus of the whole village only two parakeets (dwarf parrots) remained. Two young Karaya who stayed late to hunt now returned and found the village empty. Terrified, one wanted to flee, but the other held him back. When they went away to hunt the next day, they heard pounding in the mortar from the village, as if the women were working. On their return they found the food prepared by an unknown hand. In vain they called for the women who had done it. Nobody answered. On the next day the same thing happened. Finally on the third day they were driven by curiosity to turn back when they heard the pounding. In the house they found two girls who hung their heads dumbly when they entered. Finally they revealed themselves as the two transformed parakeets. The two youths took them as wives, and the present Karaya are descended from them.

[191] In the Peruvian tale of the flood communicated by Bancroft (Native Races, V, 15) the survivors are served in the same manner by two parrots, whom they later take as wives. (Cf. Andree, Flutsagen /Flood Legends/, p. 117.)

IV.

Karaya and Tori.

Kudžã had a Karaya run a race with a tori (white man). At the end, as prizes, there were a bow and arrow and a gun. The Karaya came to the end first and took the gun; the tori received the bow and arrow. Soon, however, the gun became too heavy for the Karaya, and he had the tori exchange with him; since then the latter carries a gun and the Karaya the bow and arrow.

[191] The Tširoki myth communicated by Müller, Urreligionen /Primitive Religions/, p. 114, is quite similar.

/40 cont./

V.

The Flood.

539 The Karaya were hunting pigs and drove the animals into their hole. They began to dig them out, brought out one pig after the other, and killed them. They they suddenly came across a deer, then a tapir, and finally a white deer. When they dug further, the feet of a man appeared. Then the Karaya became afraid and fetched a powerful sorcerer who knew all the animals of the forest. He succeeded in getting the man out of the ground. He was called Anatiuã and had a thin body, but a fat belly. (Accordingly, perhaps identical with Kabõi.) The latter began to sing (in his, that is, ancient, language): Anatiuã, anatiuã, biuwa noiri ɲa aritokrẽ -- "I am Anatiuã, bring me tobacco to smoke!" The Karaya did not understand him. They ran about in the forest, brought back all sorts of flowers and fruits. He refused everything and pointed to someone who was smoking at the time. Then they brought him tobacco. He smoked until he fell down unconscious.

They loaded him in a canoe and took him to the village. There he awoke and began to dance and sing. His behavior and his incomprehensible language frightened the Karaya and they moved away with wives and children. Then Anatiuã became angry. He turned himself into a large piranha and pursued them. He carried along many calabashes with water. When the Karaya did not want to stop at his call, he shattered one of the containers, whereupon the water began to rise. When /41/ this remained unsuccessful, he also broke the second one, and the water rose still higher, and so on until finally all the land was flooded and only the mountains along the Tapirapé (cf. p. 9) still towered out of the flood. The Karaya had fled to these two tops. Then Anatiuã called all the fish together in order to drag the people down into the water. The jahu, the pintado and the pacu tried, but none could do it. Finally the bicudo (fish with long, beak-like mouth) succeeded in climbing the mountain from behind and pulling the Karaya down. Today a large lagoon still shows the

/41 cont./

539 place where they fell down. Only some few people were left and climbed down here when the water subsided.

Although, in general, regularly appearing floods as on the Araguaia do not give rise to flood legends, as Andree correctly points out (op. cit., p. 146), nevertheless here the local conditions are favorable for one. The traveler who, after a long trip through endless low bank-landscapes, suddenly sees the mighty conical mountains on the Tapirapé rising directly from the plain can easily understand how the Karayahi, who, as mentioned above, suffer greatly from floods, arrived at their flood story. In the case of abnormally high water these mountains may have once really presented themselves as a last refuge.

As in most South American flood tales, the flood here, too, does not come from rain, but by the shattering of containers filled with water.

VI.

The Jacare and the Quarreling Women.

The women of a village customarily went at certain times to a lagoon where a big jacare (kabrorõ, alligator) lived. Here they had erected huts with cooking utensils, pots, etc. They took along feather ornaments and beautiful body-belts, also musk to rub into the body. One of the women, decked out with all these ornaments, her skin rubbed with musk, remained sitting on the bank, while the others gathered fruits in the forest. Others fished or prepared food.

The woman in festive ornaments said, as soon as all were gone: kabroro -- kabroro -- u-u-uh a-ʒamah mriākotã beʒiuã menaka menaka -- Jacare come, bring fish, matrincham /Caracinidae/, curimata /Prochilodus/, papa terra /Prochilodus/, avoadeira /piaba/!

/41 cont./

539 The jacare answered: bubububu -- anakre -- I am coming.

Then it came forth, carrying a bundle of fish. Then it put its head on the woman's thigh, let her pick the parasites off, and went to sleep. In the meantime the other women prepared the meal and went home after the end of the feast, bringing the men only the empty fruit shells. The adorned woman remained behind with the jacare and followed later.

Finally the men wondered why the women always returned with only empty shells and decided to get to the heart of the matter. One ordered his son to accompany the mother. After a lengthy refusal by the latter he was allowed to go and then told the men what he had seen.

Two days later the latter themselves went together to the lake, while the women had to remain behind. They, too, rubbed themselves with musk and called the jacare. It came as usual, brought fish, and lay down to sleep, but it was killed with a club by the men and thrown into the forest.

Thereupon the men went hunting, killed still other jacares, herons, and ducks, as well as urubus (vultures), and returned with the booty. Caustically they called to the women: You have deceived us, now you can eat urubu meat.

The next day the women went out again. But the jacare did not appear. Its corpse was finally found in the woods. Full of anger, they hurried home, made themselves arrows and bows, and challenged the men to a battle.

The men did not take the matter seriously and put the arrows in the bow backwards in order not to do any harm, but the women shot with the point and killed the men, except for a few who escaped. The women then moved down the river. Nothing more has been heard of them.

As long as the jacare lived, all jacares spoke. Since then none speaks any more.

Evidently this is a story about the Amazons in the simplest form without the additions borrowed from Old World tales with which the first travelers embroidered and distorted the legend of

/41 cont./

539 the warrior women so widespread in South America. That the former existence of a nation of Amazons in America is as little demonstrable as it is in Europe or /42/ Asia does not give us the right to declare that any New World myth concerning the Amazons was imported, as has often happened (cf. Martius, Ethnogr., I, p. 730). America can possess its own Amazon myths as well as its own flood myths, but the one here may be the only one which has been preserved for us in its primitive version.

VII.

The Magic Arrows.

In a forest lived two large howling monkeys who ate any people they could get hold of. Two brothers went out to kill them. On the way they saw a toad sitting on the path. Where are you going? it asked. -- We are going to kill the monkeys. -- If you will take me as a wife, I will tell you what you must do; if not, you will meet certain death. -- Laughing, the brothers refused the offer and went on. Soon they reached the tree on which the monkeys sat, armed with throwing arrows. All around bleached the bones of the human beings who had fallen victim to them. The two youths also carried some and immediately opened the battle. But the monkeys ducked cleverly, and the arrows flew over them harmlessly.

Then they, too, went over to the attack. Soon one of the brothers fell, hit in the right eye, and soon afterward the other fell, hit in the left eye, and the monkeys seized their booty.

A third brother had remained at home. He was sick, his body full of wounds and sores; only his grandmother was able to force herself to take care of him. Once he went to hunt birds. One of his arrows fell in front of a snake hole. The snake came out and asked: What are you doing here? How can you hunt, since you are so sick? Yes, he answered sighing, I am indeed sick and unhappy, everyone has deserted me, my brothers are dead, only my grandmother takes pity on me and takes care of me. Then the snake spoke: I will give you medicine, but do not tell

/42 cont./

539 anyone who helped you. Then it smeared his whole body with black salve. When he came home, the old woman asked how he had become so black. I went under the charred trees was his excuse. On the following day he had himself smeared a second time by the snake and told his grandmother the same thing.

On the third day he felt healthy and then decided to go off to avenge his brothers.

The snake gave him an arrow and spoke: With this weapon you will kill the monkeys who devoured your brothers. On the way you will meet a toad who will demand that you do as she wishes. Pretend that you agree and stroke her with your member between foot and toes.

When he came to the toad, he did as he was ordered. The toad allowed itself to be fooled and as a reward advised him to let the monkeys shoot first and then to aim at their eyes.

Then he came to the tree of the monsters and saw the bones of his brothers lying beneath it. The monkeys called to him to shoot first. He waited patiently, however, until the opponents shot, then hit first the one and then the other in the eye. The monkeys fell, but remained hanging in the branches by their tails. On the advice of the toad he then sent a lizard to fetch them down, which was also successful.

The youth then returned to the snake to announce the fortunate result of his adventure.

The latter now gave him a whole bundle of arrows which had the power to hit and bring back any game that they were directed at. Also, the arrows could deliver forest fruits, honey, etc. A special arrow was designed for each type of hunting; also, each one had a special charm associated with it, enclosed in a gourd, with which one could weaken the effect of arrows flying back all so violently and bring them to rest.

Thus the young man obtained for himself all sorts of game and fish with little effort. Soon thereafter he took a wife, built himself a hut, and set out plantings. He had admonished his wife that no one was to use the arrows in his absence; otherwise all

/42 cont./

539 people would die. In spite of this his brother-in-law was once able to persuade his wife to let the arrows go. In the beginning all went well. The pig and fish arrows did their work and were brought to rest by the charm. When the honey arrow came back, however, a large /43/ ghostly head with a wide maw armed with teeth suddenly appeared. Terrified, the brother-in-law ran away without thinking of the counter charm. Then the ghost attacked the people and killed whomever it found. Brought back by the noise, the man returned from the roça; he finally succeeded in exorcising the monster. Half of the village, however, was already dead. Again he went to the snake to complain of his sorrow. It serves you right, it answered, but what is to be changed. Let us go hunting together tomorrow to kill the pirarucú. If one of my daughters touches you, however, you must tell me. The next day the snake came with its whole family and met the Karaya, who were supplied with nets (1), at the

1. The nets mentioned here and in the following legend are probably the catching apparatus made of cipos mentioned on p. 25.

lagoon. The latter fished while the man roamed in the forest with the snake. In the meantime, one of the daughters had touched him, but he said nothing.

Then the snake changed itself into a pirarucú and persuaded the man to do the same. Both got into the nets of the fishermen. The snake escaped through a hole, the man was pulled on land by the other Karaya. One man tried to kill him by clubbing him, but he grabbed him and dragged him under the water, so that he let go of the club. When the snake saw that he would eventually have to die if it did not help him, it helped him out of the net and disenchanted him. That was the punishment, it cried, for your not saying anything when my daughter touched you!

Two different legends have been loosely connected here. Only the first seems to be complete; it shows many features in

/43 cont./

539 common with our own fairy tales. Of particular interest is the mention of the arrow thrower as a real weapon.

VIII.

The Pirarucús.

In a lagoon on the Maňriuãbero (Rio Cristallino, left tributary of the Araguaia) there were rich fishing grounds, where many fish were always speared at the water time. It often happened, however, that the fish pulled the canoes after them and made them tip over on a big tree in the middle of the lake. One day Ašurã went fishing there with some comrades. Then suddenly the feather mask of a pirarucú appeared before them. At first the people retreated in terror, but soon they pulled themselves together again, called other companions to come, and began to drive and to surround with nets the pirarucú. After a number had been killed already, an old man said, that is enough now, but the others killed more. Then when suddenly a pintado (sorubím) jumped over the net, the old man repeated his command to desist from further catching. But in vain Finally he saw a piaba jump, too. This portends nothing good, cried the old man, usually the piaba does not jump, but this one jumped; stop! Instead of this, the others tried to kill the captured fish with club blows. Then suddenly the lake and everything in it disappeared. Only a boy who was sitting on a tree on the bank was saved. He cried, his tears fell into the water, and a small fish caught them (he drew them out of his eyes into the water).

Then the pirarucús reappeared in Karaya form. One after another they asked the boy: Do I look like your father, do I look like your uncle, your brother, etc.? until the boy had finally identified all his relatives. Then they went together to the village to the women whose husbands they now represented. One of the pirarucú put his head in his wife's lap, in order to have it searched, but ordered her not to look in his neck under any circumstances, and soon afterwards he went to sleep. But the woman

/43 cont./

539 could not control her curiosity, investigated the neck of her husband, and found a row of short spines there. Then she was frightened and awakened her husband by a loud cry. What is the matter with you? he asked. Oh, it is nothing, only a louse fell out. The husband accepted the apology and went to the festival hut to dance.

The woman decided to flee with her child. Before her departure she spoke to her parrot: If the father comes and asks for me, say I am fetching water, if he comes again, say that I am looking for fruit and wood. This is what happened, and the man was delayed by the parrot until the woman was far away. Finally, however, he noticed the deceit and angrily tore out the feathers from the bird, who cried mockingly: Now I know that you are not a man, but /44/ a pirarucú and hastened after his wife. The latter seeks protection with a heron, in whose crop she hides. The husband comes along and asks the bird why it is so fat?

I have eaten so many small fish, answered the latter. -- So let me see your droppings. The heron did as he was bid, whereupon the woman almost appeared. The man hurried on. The woman later continued her flight with her child, but far and wide there was no water, and almost dying of thirst she finally reached a swamp in which an electric eel lay. She asked it for water, but it would grant it only on the condition that she do his will.

Later the woman met a second eel who made the same demand in order to provide water, but is deceived by the woman, and finally a third, which, however, will not provide any water. Out of thirst the child changes itself into a bird and flies away. The mother calls after it: The whole world will call you kabidži from now on! - - - Here the continuity seems to be disrupted, since in the following not only is the child named again, but also a sister of the woman, who was not mentioned before.

/44 cont./

539 Further on the woman meets an ounce /jaguar/. The latter asks: With what have you painted your child so beautifully? - I made it out of boiled wax. The ounce then asks the woman to make it likewise so beautifully spotted and lies down quietly before her. The woman cooks a large amount of wax and pours it on the ounce so that it dies. The sister takes the fat from the ounce and stuffs it in a hollow tree, whereupon both women continue their flight. After a while the sister says: Let me go back, I forgot my pipe. Go, says the woman, but do not eat any of the fat from the ounce, or you will turn into an ounce yourself. The sister did not obey, however, and, driven by hunger, she ate a great deal of it. Later she returned a second time with the excuse that she had forgotten her apron, ate again of the fat, and was then turned into an ounce. So in animal form she followed her sister, the latter tried to get rid of her, persuaded her to close her eyes, and in the meantime climbed a tree, from which she cried scornfully to the ounce: That is the punishment for your curiosity, now see how you shall get on. Finally she comes to a river at which a jacare sits, whom she asks to ferry her across. The latter makes the same demand that the electric eel made earlier, but likewise finds itself deceived. Full of anger he puts the husband on her track. In the meantime the woman has reached a deserted hut and lighted a fire, when she suddenly sees a cloud of steam rise. It was her husband (that is, the pirarucú), who came along smoking his pipe. She throws ashes in his face so that the husband does not see her and his pipe goes out. While he is lighting it again, she gains an advantage and when he approaches her a second time she throws coals at him. He is still unsuccessful the third time, since she throws salt. A large river forms between them, so that the woman is saved. Angry and ashamed that he was not successful in getting the woman into his power, the pirarucú returns to his people, who, when they realized that they were recognized, went back to their lake and have not been seen since.

/44 cont./

539 This rather disconnected legend, which lacks an ending, is evidently aimed at giving the imagination of the narrator some latitude so that he can add further adventures and encounters of the woman as he pleases. For comparative mythology the passage about the woman being swallowed by the heron is of special importance (cf. Im Thurn's remarks, op. cit., p. 386). The episode of the ounce is found in quite similar form and with almost the same words in the North American legend of the Kootenay /Kutenai/ on the Columbia River published by F. Boas (Verh. d. Berl. Ges. f. Anth., 1891, p. 171), except that there a giant who wishes to be painted white meets the woman.

821 Finally, as a contribution to the folklore of the Karaya some of their names for constellations and other celestial phenomena might be mentioned, from which their concept of nature can be recognized to some extent. In general they are more appropriate than our own. I shall offer no opinion as to whether the constellations are really viewed as what their names signify. According to our experiences with other tribes this is highly probable, however.

821 192 The Milky Way is the "ash road" (bribi), a very common conception among the South Americans.

The brightly shining stars α and β Centauri are the feet of the "ostrich" (naukiä, Rhea americana), whose body is represented by the neighboring large coalsack.

/45/ In the Southern Cross they see the lozenge-shaped form of the "river ray" (barahoä).

The Pleiades (ϑeraboto̎) are a flock of small "dwarf parrots" analogous to the "doves" of the Hellenes and the "chicks" of Germanic peoples.

Orion (hatedäotä) is the burning roça (among the Slavs and Lithuanians, too, as is well known, this constellation is associated with agriculture and harvests).

The tail of Scorpio is the "ounce" (anϑauä).

The moon spots are "toads" (krāu).

/45 cont./

87 192 Shooting stars are very aptly compared to a hook cast out and the bait on it.

The rainbow is the "electric eel" (koadžī, the trem-trem of the Brazilians).

During eclipses of the moon it is said: ahañdō roro, the moon wishes to die. Pedro Manco denied that noise is made to avert this disaster.

The Petroglyphs of Martirios Island

133 [131] About midway between the two great river rapids, the Carreira comprida and the Cachoeira grande, a narrow rock island about one kilometer long lies close to the right river bank, the Ilha dos Martirios (6° 22' south latitude), which rises gradually from south to north. Flooded to a large extent during high water, it is connected to the neighboring bank at low water. Its western edge then falls in steep walls from 8-10 meters high down to the surface of the river. Heavily eroded, they are riddled by countless potholes and broken up into groups of columns, pyramids, and arches. The predominant stone is a coarse-grained, horizontally-layered quartz schist which splits into huge blocks. The opposite bank has the same formation. The river runs here as though in a natural channel 150 meters wide with a very slight drop.

192 On the north end of the island, in part at its highest elevation (about 15 meters above low water), in part somewhat lower in the region of the high water line, there are visible on the stone blocks on the ground a large number of rock sculptures which are among the most remarkable on the continent and have become the center of a whole series of tales.

Only a few travelers have seen them; no one has investigated them in detail or copied them. Quite early they attracted the attention and stirred the imagination of the first Paulista bands of Pires Campos and the notorious Anhanguera (Bartholomeo Bueno the Elder), who visited the island at the end of the seventeenth century on their expedition to the Araes and their rich goldmines,

/45 cont./

172 in order to see here "the cock, the cross, the crown of thorns, and the hammer, the signs of the martyrs of Christ dug into the rock."

The more detailed reports were lost for a long time and were not brought to light again until the end of the previous century. In the meantime legend had taken over and up to the present adventurers went out to seek the marvelous landmarks for the road to Eldorado in Mato Grosso, on the Xingu, on the Paranatinga, or elsewhere; as always it was thought that the Jesuits were their makers. The fact that, in spite of the clear description handed down by the younger Pires Campos, who accompanied his father (1), nobody thought of the real martyrs

1. Cunha Mattos, "Corogr. de Goyaz," Rev. trim., Vol. 38, I, pp 143 ff.

on the Araguaia was because most travelers did not find the marks and therefore denied their existence. They were not sought in the interior of the island, but on the steep walls falling to the river. Thus, Castelnau and after him Rufino Segurado were unable to discover anything of them.

We ourselves found the proper spot, which lies at least a hundred paces inland, only after a rather long search.

The figures, of which only the most important were sketched, lie in groups strewn rather irregularly over a broad area. They are either clear contour drawings of animals, human beings, and stylized figures in lines 1-2 centimeters wide and a few millimeters deep, or /46/ simple scratchings of intersecting strokes and curved lines without any explicable form (Fig. 23, Nos. 1-38 /see p. 96 /).

Among the former some very well executed animal pictures strike one first of all. The largest and most successful of them is an alligator (No. 1) 130 centimeters long; furthermore an insect (ant?), whose oval abdominal segments are reproduced by shallow cavities (No. 4), as well as lizards in various types of execution (Nos. 6 and 8). The figures of a bird (No. 2), several

/46 cont./

172 monkeys (Nos. 15, 19, 27, 28), and finally human figures are already somewhat schematic. The simplest of them (No. 34) is like the dolls twisted out of straw which one sees so often on the gables of Indian houses. More complete is a figure with outstretched extremities (No. 26) which show only three fingers Of special interest is a squatting figure (No. 7), which has an ax in its hand, and indeed evidently a stone ax. Such are also represented by themselves in Nos. 9, 5, 11, and 29. Their shape agrees completely with the Karaya stone ax decorated with plaiting in the Trocadero Museum (cf. p. 30).

Finally we have some stylized drawings which, although easily recognizable, cannot be interpreted with complete certainty.

Above all we again encounter the characteristic cross-ornament, as on the above-mentioned grave pole, surrounded by a border line. It may represent the same animal emblem here as there (Nos. 31 and 33). Nos. 2 and 14 are cross figures of another type.

A circle speckled with numerous dots indicated by small pits (No. 23) and a rhomboidal figure with 16 such pits in four rows (No. 3) remind one very much of the quite analogous forms among one of the upper Xingu tribes visited by us, where this was designated as "spotted rays." This explanation is appropriate for another symbol which occurs most frequently and is interpreted by Christian visitors as the "crown of thorns." It is a circle from whose periphery short rays run. The row is interrupted in one place by two lines extending out farther (Nos. 10, 12, and 18). The largest of these figures shows a T-shaped drawing in the center.

No. 17 is a very noteworthy mark which one could almost view as a symbolic representation: an outstretched arm with the hand and five outspread fingers, crossed in the middle by a horizontal crossband, from which 24 to 25 continuations project downward.

/46 cont./

172 Among the simple scratchings, which for the most part remain very unclear, there are two which agree completely with the representations of the sun as well as the compass directions (Nos. 25 and 35). The first is a kind of swastika. Whether the circle segment with teeth at the bottom right of No. 35 belongs to it or drawings like Nos. 10 and 12, the rest of which is effaced, remained uncertain.

These petroglyphs are most like those of Guiana, and indeed especially those which Im Thurn called "deep rock engravings" in contrast to the "shallow engravings," which have a quite different character (op. cit., p. 400).

Here, too, we have no reason to think of two essentially different types of drawings stemming from different peoples just because they occur mixed with each other in the same place, which is never the case in Guiana. They have nothing in common with the rock pictures known up to now from East Brazil, but they do indeed remind one strongly of the drawings carved in trees or painted in the sand by the Xingu tribes.

The occurrence of the cross in the form characteristic for the Karaya makes it more than probable that these works are to be ascribed to their ancestors.

The question of their meaning is more difficult. Whereas people have often claimed that such field sculptures are inscriptions or the marks of a long gone era of higher culture, other reporters consider them simple, meaningless trifles to fill up idle hours. The first opinion is not discussable, the second would indeed be applicable to those figures engraved in tree bark or sand, but not to works which, considering the primitive tools, must have required a quite extraordinary expenditure of time and effort. /47/ Fig. 23 appears here./

/48/ Im Thurn's opinion (op. cit., p. 407) that the ancient Indians engraved these marks as a remembrance of important events at the spot is the most credible. Such must have happened most often precisely at river rapids, where marked rocks are found almost exclusively in Guiana, in part through accidents to boats, in part by hostile clashes with other tribes during fishing expeditions and similar undertakings. This would not exactly fit for the

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 97]

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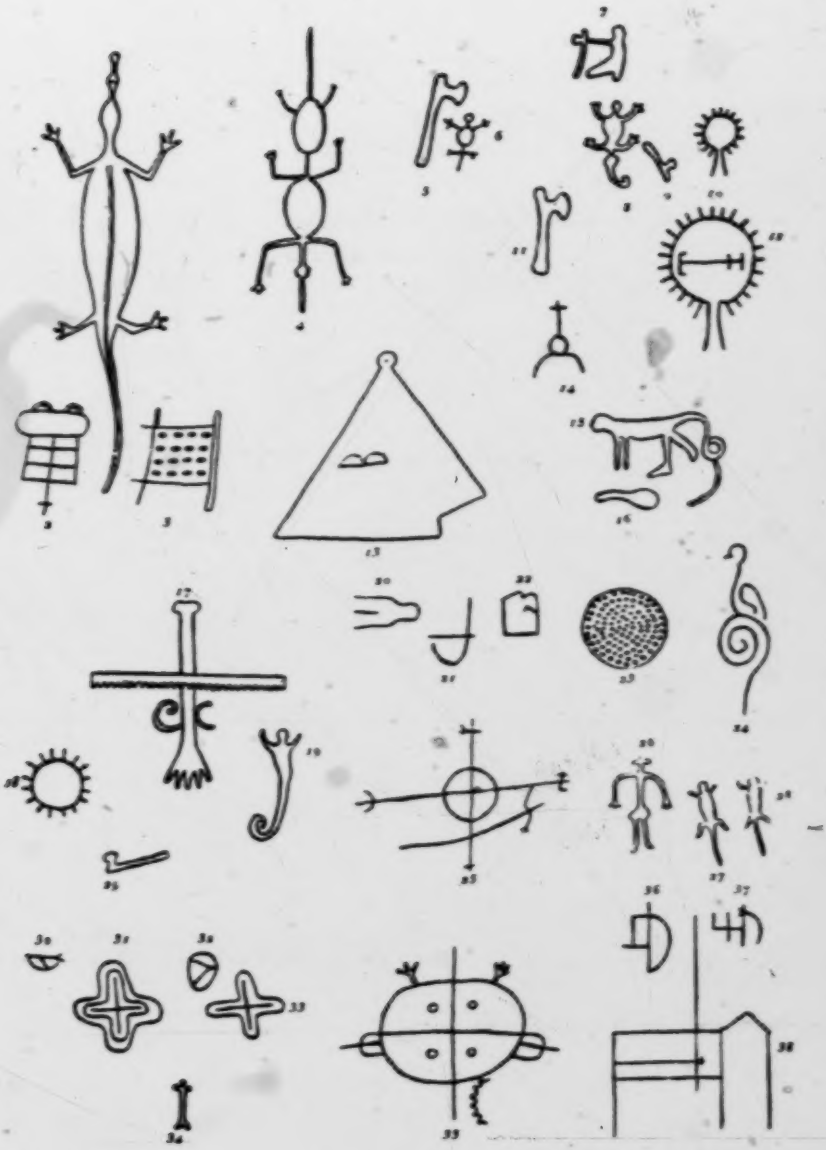

Fig. 23. Groups of the petroglyphs of Martirios Island (ca. 1/15).

/48 cont./

172 present petroglyphs inasmuch as the rock drawings are completely lacking precisely at the cataracts of the Araguaia; rather, Martirios Island lies in an absolutely clear and quiet stretch. Nevertheless, it is a most important place for the Karaya. It [131] forms the northern boundary of their territory and it is here that [648] the hordes of the Kayapo hostile to them frequently come to the river. Many a battle may have taken place in this region between the two nations.

The interpretation of the rock sculptures as memorials or border markers, to which perhaps family insignia of prominent leaders have been added, seems to be the most acceptable according to the prevailing conditions. /The remainder of p. 48 and pp. 49-77 are not translated./

/78/

Explanation of the Plates *

142 Pl. I. Karaya. Men and Women (of the fourth village of the Šambioa).
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[276] 1. Warriors. The man on the left /sic/ with parted hair, the tobacco pipe (Fig. 4 /see p. 28/) in his mouth, holding his [411] weapons in his hand. The one on the right /sic/ shows the hair [301] put in a braid with the feather decoration u'aktamaru (see p. 16) and the national wrapping of the foreskin (see p. 17).

2. Woman and girl with the bast aprons, whose front end is drawn to the rear since both individuals have just got up from [285] the ground (see p. 17). One of the large buriti-fiber mats mentioned on pp. 38 and 39 forms the background for both groups.

Pl. II. Karaya. Men (of the fourth of the village of the Šambioa).

[301] 1 a and b. Portrait of a young Šambioa man with ear [304] sticks and wooden lip-plug, widely parted hair, and clearly recognizable tribal tattooing on the cheeks.

* [Plates appear on pp. 103-115--Analyst]

/78 cont./ [Plate II. Karaya. (cont'd)]

142 2. Two Sambioa warriors en face. The man on the left with
291 the feather diadem lurina on the back of the head (see p. 44),
301 bow, arrows, and club in his hand, the one on the right with the
302 small wreath-diadem (Pl. IX /see p. /, 6) and strings of glass
411 beads wound tightly around the neck. The large lower-arm cuffs identify him as unmarried.

Pl. III. Karaya. Karayahi Groups (taken in the last "summer camp" on a river island above the northern tip of Bananal Island).

1. Men, two of which wear arm-cuffs and knee-bands. One has the small feather rosettes with a central disk of mother-of-pearl in his ears (see. p. 46). Face painting with soot is recognizable. The straw hat of the older man sitting in front is not the one mentioned on p. 20, but a model directly borrowed
[501] from the settlers. In the background two long canoes and farther to the left in the distance the small Araguaia steamer.

342 2. Women, children, and young people sitting on the
361 ground in front of the tent-roofs of the summer camp, which are
516 made of mats. Two araras on the pole to the right, at the left on the bank a jabiru (black-headed stork).

Pl. IV. Karaya. Villages.

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342 1. Full view of the first village of the Sambioa.
361 2. Reception scene in the third village of the Sambioa.
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Pl. V. Karaya. Chief's hut (fourth village of the Sambioa).

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354 Group at the cooking place in front of the entrance.
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Pl. VI. Karaya. Weapons.

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1. Bow with wound bowstring and feather tassel (1/8).

[Plate VI. Karaya. (Cont'd.)]

/78 cont./

411 2, 3. Arrows with palm-wood knives (1/6).

4. Arrow with bird-bone tip (1/6).

5. Bird-arrow with blunt, knob-shaped tip (1/6).

6. Throwing board (1/6).

7. Arrow thrown by it, with blunt wooden tip (1/6).

8. War arrow with ray-spine tip (1/6).

9. War arrow with taquara-cane knife(1/6).

[531] 10. Lance with shaft-plaiting (1/9).

11. Flat club of the Šambioa chief Ambura (from the collection of Leite Moraes (1/9).

12. Plaiting pattern of the latter (2/3).

13. Grooved, round club of Ambura (1/9).

/79/

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Pl. VII. Karaya. Cotton Work.

1. Large black and white striped sleeping-mat or cape (1/8).

2. Fringed hangings of twisted cotton thread to be worn hanging down from the neck over the chest and back. Dyed with urucú red (1/8).

3, 4. Black, closely woven body-belts for small children (1/8).

5. Black tassels with pierced snail shells tied on in pairs with plaited cords taken doubled. Worn by small children around the neck (1/6).

6. Knee band of unmarried persons (1/8).

7. Black, closely woven forehead-band with rectangular mother-of-pearl disks sewed on (1/8).

8. A pair of tightly knitted, red, lower-arm cuffs, mark of the unmarried state (1/6).

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Pl. VIII. Karaya. Oars, Gourds, Plaited Work.

412 1-3. Oars with fish patterns (1/9).

415 4. Cassava grater (1/9).

5. Small tobacco pouch (1/8).

/79 cont./ [Plate VIII. Karaya. (Cont'd.)]

415 285 6. Large, boat-shaped hanging basket with red cross-decorations put on it (1/9).

7. Round gourd container with hanging cord (1/13). Pattern for it, see Fig. 10 /see p. 47/.

8. Double basket for storing feather decorations (1/9).

9. Large, bottle-shaped basket (1/8).

[293] 10. Eyeshade (1/8).

11. Small, expansible bottle-basket (1/8).

[286] 12. Large tobacco pouch with cotton, black-patterned carrying band (1/8).

13. Buriti foot-mat with black bast woof (1/8).

14. Flexible sieve-basket (1/8).

15. Rucksack-like bag,(1/8).

16. Round basket for raw cotton (1/8).

17. Large, round carrying-basket with strong carrying-cord of bast (1/8).

Pl. IX. Karaya. Feather Decorations

237 292 301 1. Helmet-like headdress, probably belonging to 7 (1/6).

2. Horseshoe-shaped headdress to be worn on the back of the head. Edge feathers white. Red arara feathers in the center and on the ends. Cover feathers blue, red, and green mixed (1/6).

3. Cylindrical headdress of thin sticks covered with small yellow and red feathers (1/6).

4. Plaited cap with yellow-red feather rosettes (1/6).

5. Large diadem of white-red feathers (1/6).

6. Everyday diadem of the warrior. A ring covered with red-yellow feathers (1/6).

7. Large, fan-shaped feather decoration, three-quarters closed, probably to be put around the lower part of 1 (1/6).

8 and 9. Festive arm-bands made of ounce skin with tufts of feathers (1/8).

10. Ear decorations. Feather rosettes with central shell plates (1/8).

/79 cont./

535 Pl. X. Karaya. Ornaments and Equipment for Dancing.

1. Dance rattle with feather hangings and incised ornamentation (1/7).

2. Dance rattle without feather hangings (1/8).

[532] 3. Mask of the bird tirehäñ (see p. 74) with long buriti-fiber hangings in front and black feather decoration in back (1/9).

4. Dance rattles of Thevetia pods to be tied around the knee, with cross-sticks and down covering (partly removed) (1/8).

5. Simple dance-rattles to be tied on the arms or legs (1/8).

6. Dance belts made of strung Thevetia fruit capsules (1/7).

[534] 7. Trumpet made of gourd shell with an inserted taquara mouthpiece (1/9).

[286] [239] 8-10. Dance belts made of strong black or black-white cotton weave with feather hangings (9 and 10 also with Thevetia pods) (1/7).

532 Plate XI. Karaya. Clay and Wax Figures.

1. Simplest form without indication of the sex (1/2).

2. Simple female figure (1/2).

3. Female figure with wax hair, without facial modeling, but with the lower extremities. Probably gravidity is indicated (3/4).

4. Female figure with wax hair, face and upper body modeled. Legs as stumps (3/4).

5. Male figure in similar execution with zigzag painting indicated (3/4).

6. Large female figure with stump feet, but clearly modeled face. The apron is lacking. The neck is adorned with a chain of strung Ricinus kernels and snail shells (1/2).

[Plate XI. Karaya. (Cont'd)]

/80/
532 7. Completely fashioned female figure clothed in an apron (1/2).

8. Completely fashioned female figure with carrying basket, without apron and painting (1/2).

9. Female figure made of black wax, with ear sticks. Best specimen of the collection (1/2).

10. Large male figure with wax hair, ear and neck ornaments. Cuffs indicated (1/2).

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Plate XII. Karaya. Fish-dance Masks (Headdresses).

1a. Piabussu fish, front view.
1b. Piabussu fish, side view (left)
} of the same specimen (1/8).

2a. Pacu fish, front view
2b. Pacu fish, side view (left)
} of specimens of different sizes (1/8).

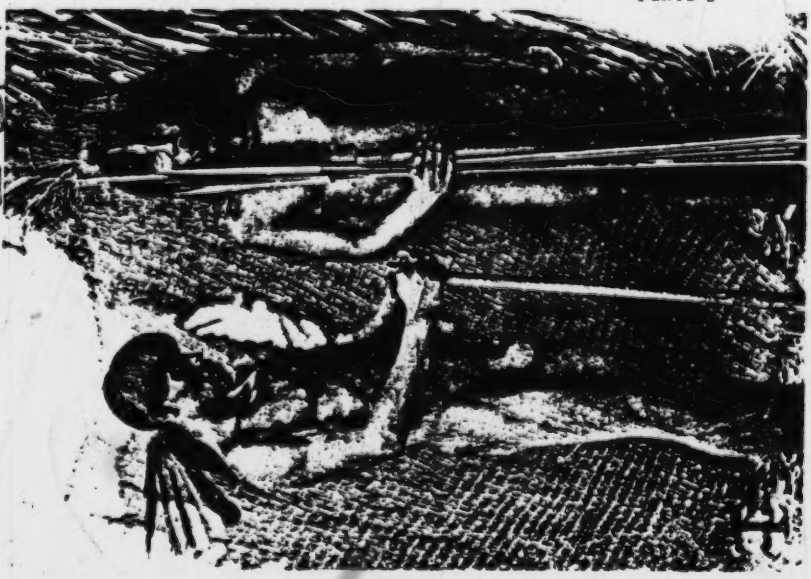
Pl. XII a (Supplement). Color Sketch of Pl. XII.

The broad crossbands of blue European military cloth, which the originals have, are reproduced here in black crosshatching, since the original bands probably consisted of black cotton weaving, as in Fig. 22b /see p. 72/.

/The explanations for Plates XIII-XV, which refer to the untranslated portion of the source and are therefore not reproduced here, are omitted. The errata listed at the bottom of p. 80 have been corrected in the text./

4: Ehrenreich--103 E-5 (1888) 1891 SP9 Caraja SP9

Plate I



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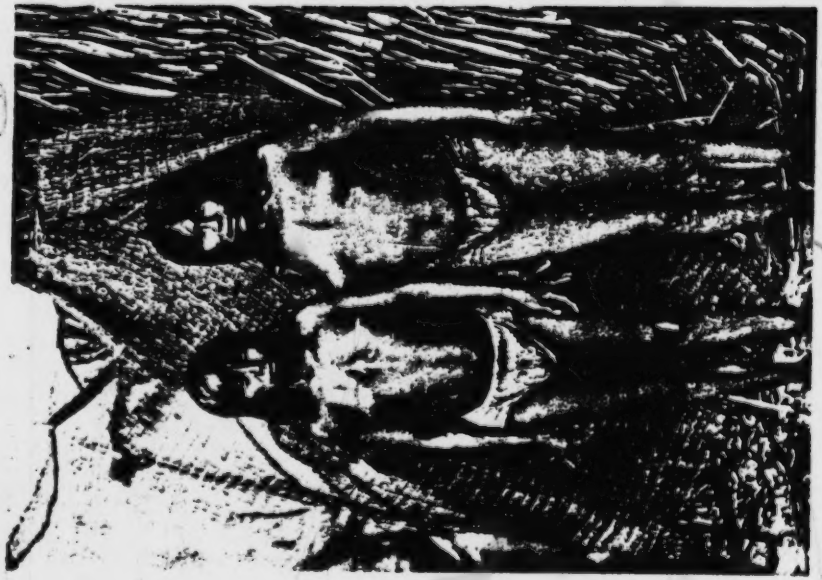

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Plate II

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4: Ehrenreich--105 E-5 (1888) 1891 SP9 Caraja SP9

Plate III

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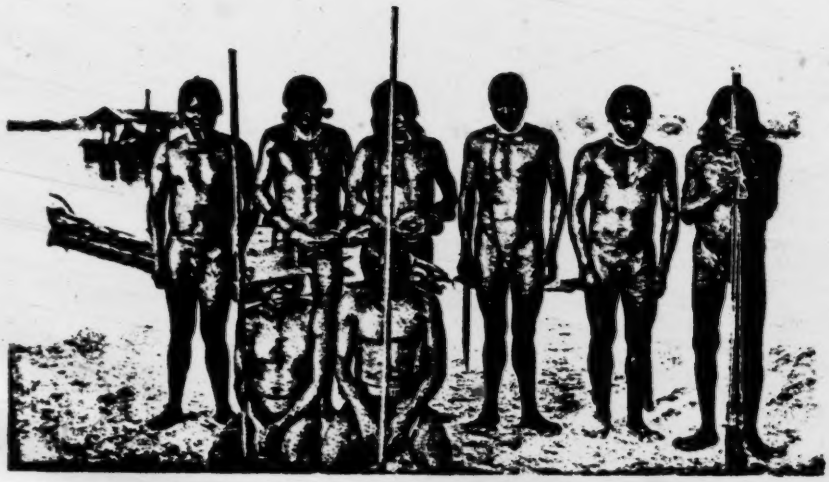

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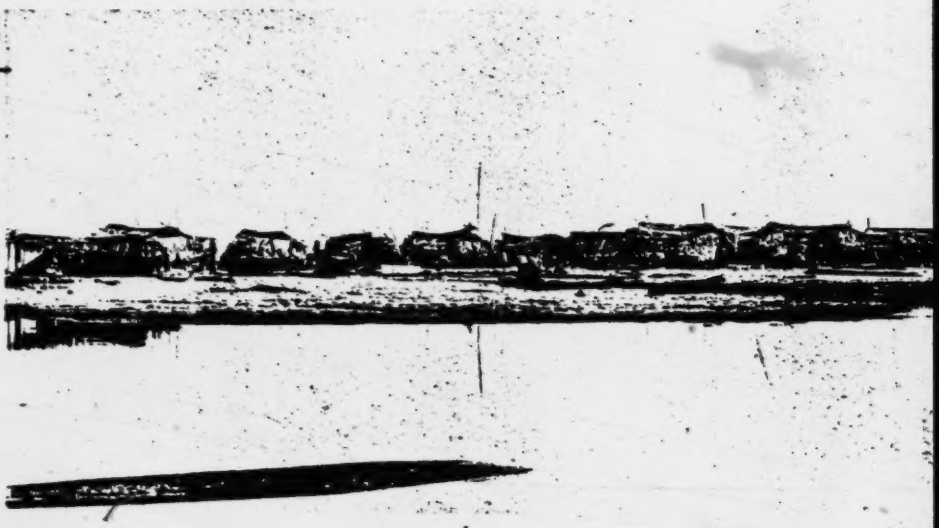
4: Ehrenreich--106 E-5 (1888) 1891 SP9 Caraja SP9

Plate IV

133
342
361



1

[574]
[609]
[501]

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4: Ehrenreich--107 E-5 (1888) 1891 SP9 Caraja SP9

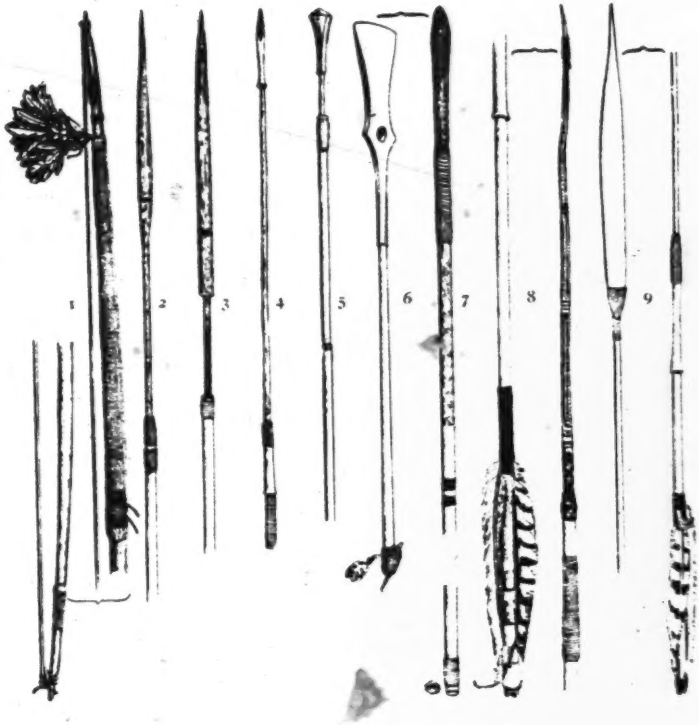
Plate V

291
342
351
354
415
516

Plate VI

411

[531]



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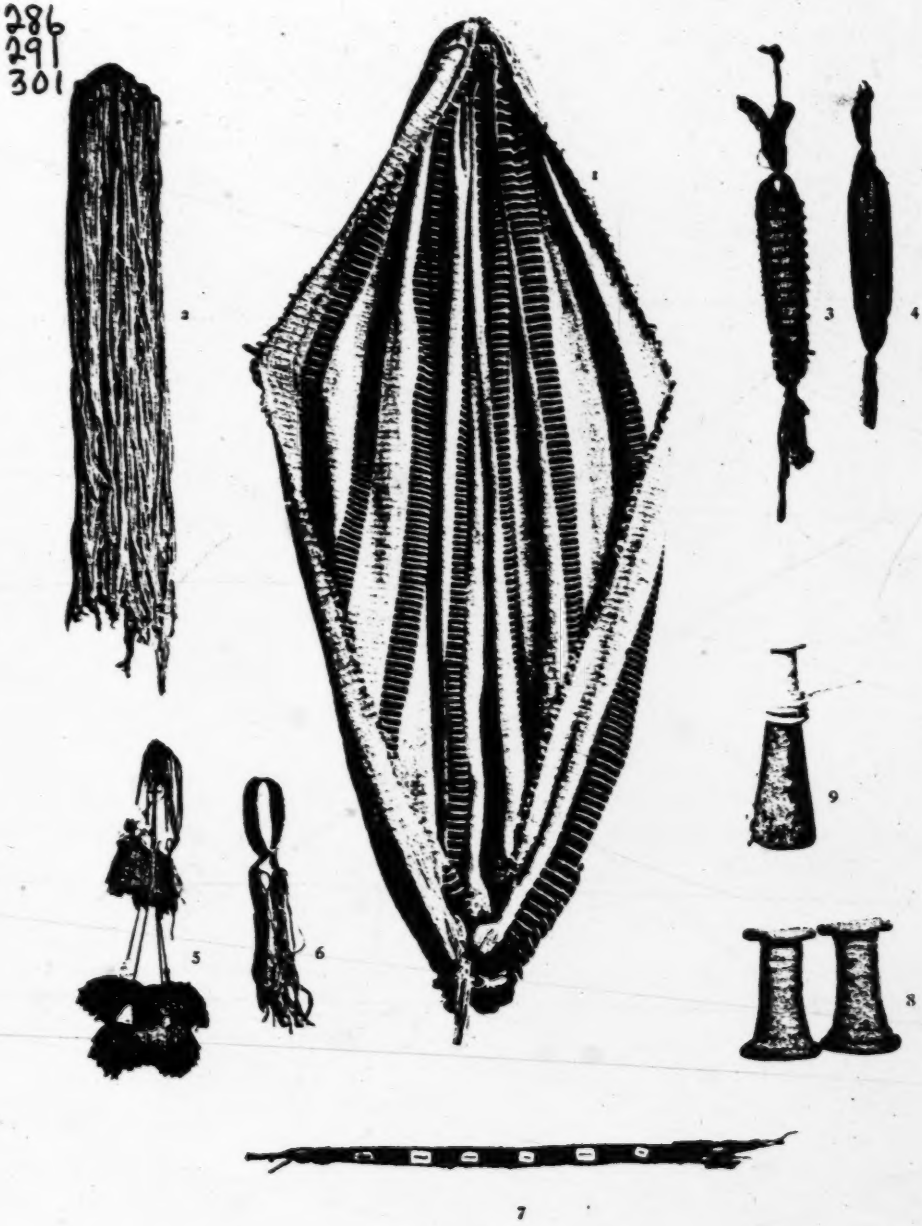
4: Ehrenreich--109 E-5 (1888) 1891 SP9 Caraja SP9

Plate VII

286
291
301



4: Ehrenreich--110 E-5 (1888) 1891 SP9 Caraja SP9

Plate VIII

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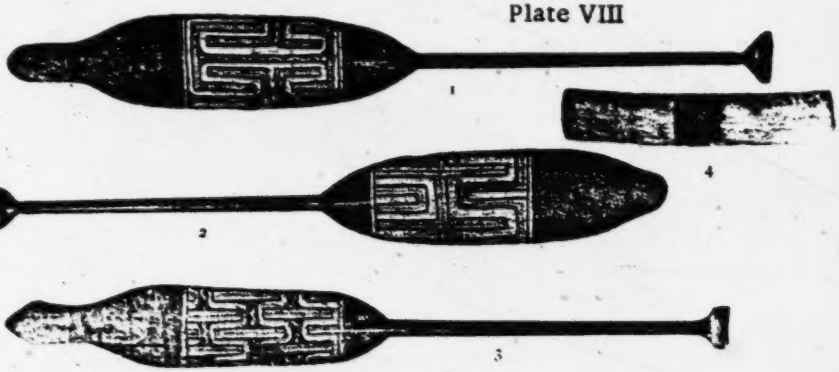
531
[412]



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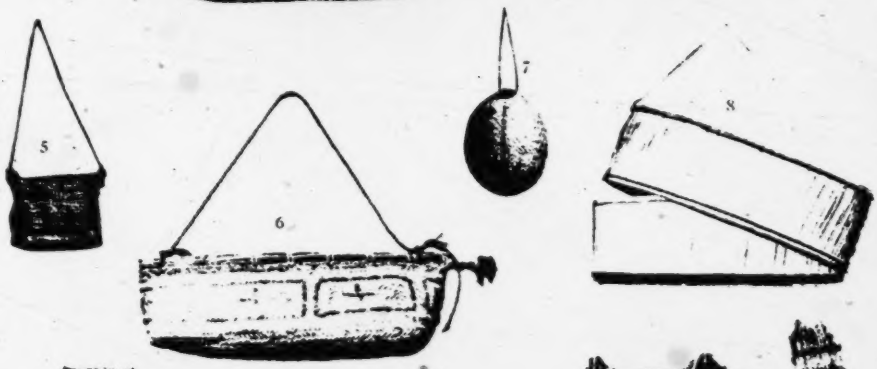

[293]
[286]

4: Ehrenreich--111 E-5 (1888) 1891 SP9 Caraja SP9

Plate IX

237
292
301

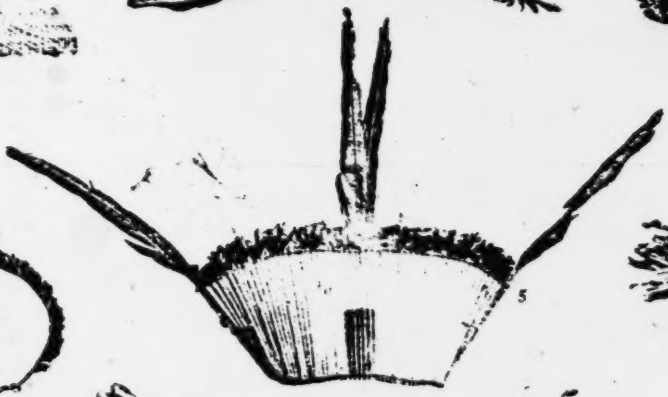

Plate X

535

[532]

[534]

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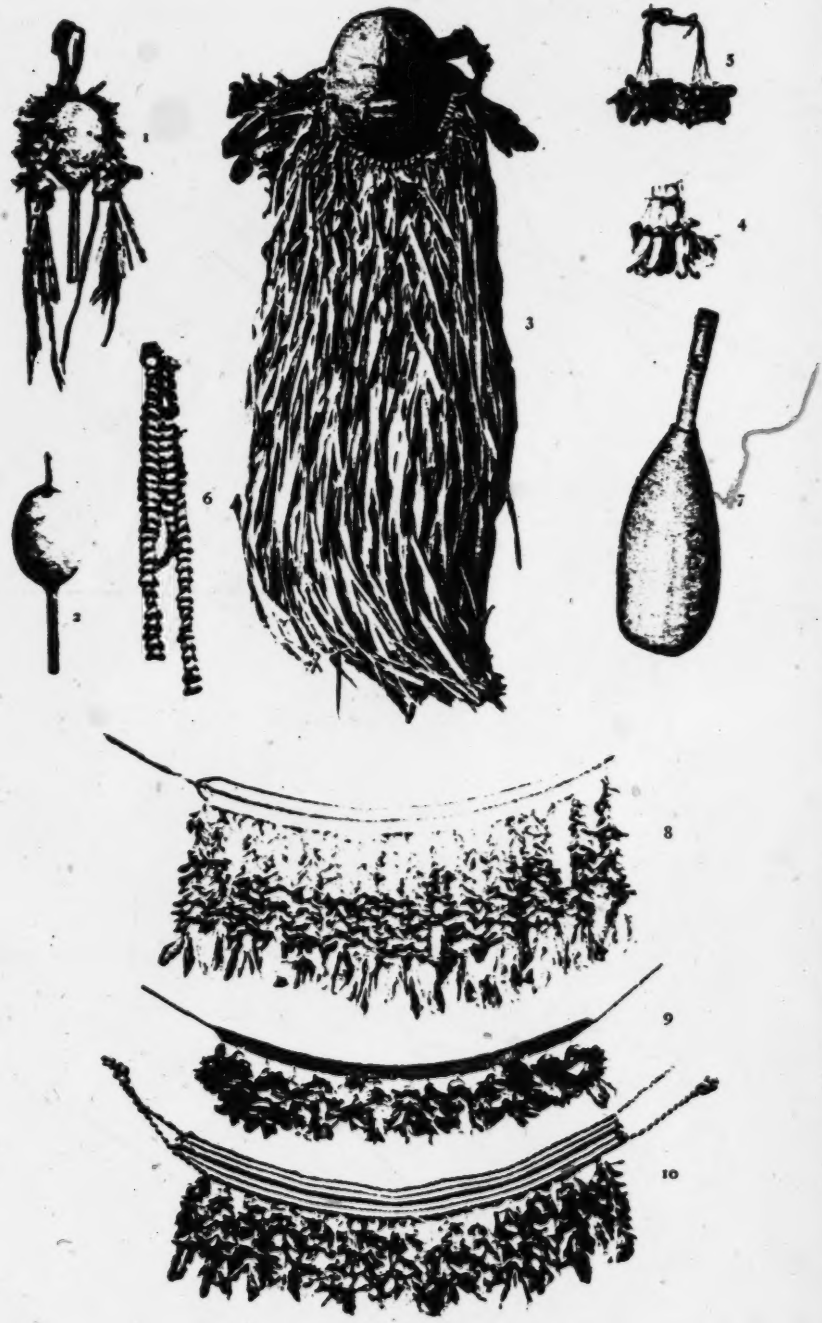
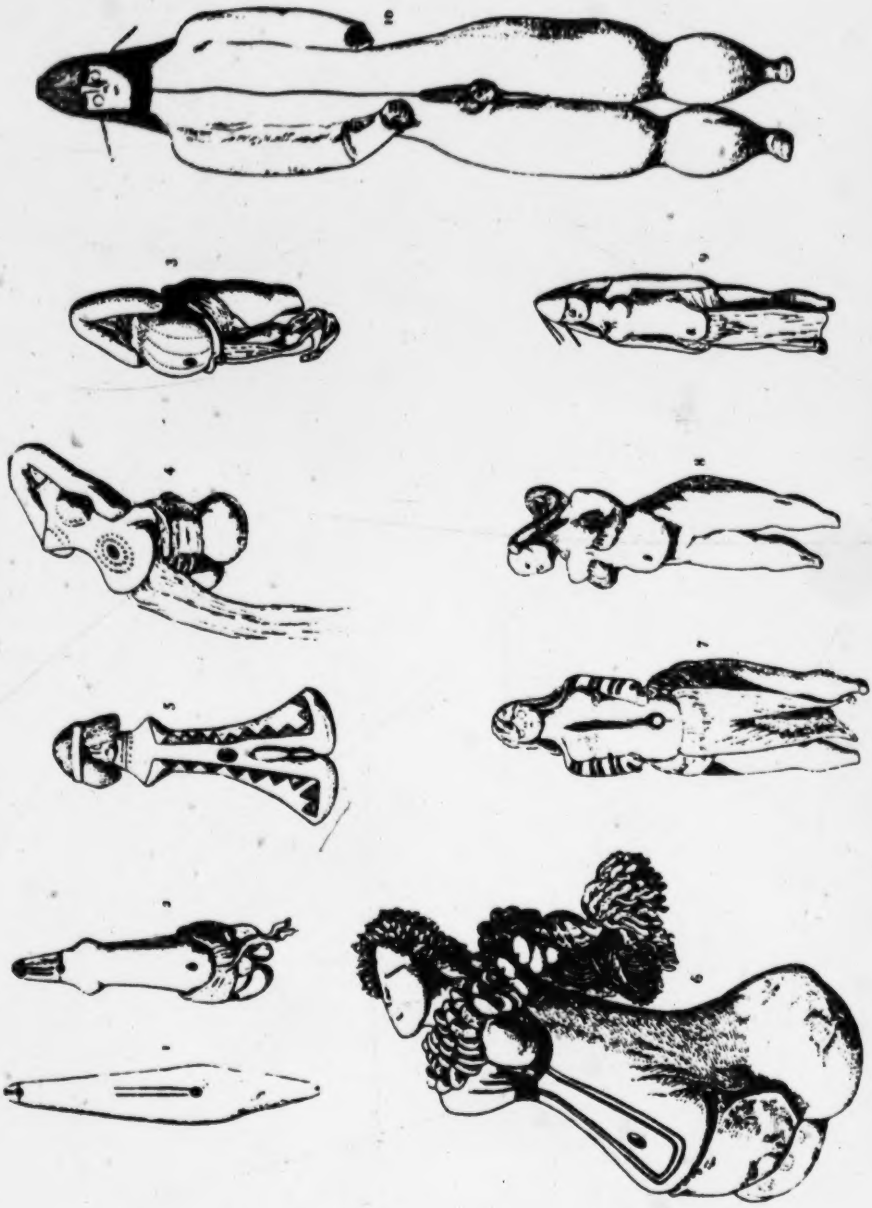
239



4: Ehrenreich--113 E-5 (1888) 1891 SP9 Caraja SP9

Plate XI

532



4: Ehrenreich--114 E-5 (1888) 1891 SP9 Caraja SP9

535
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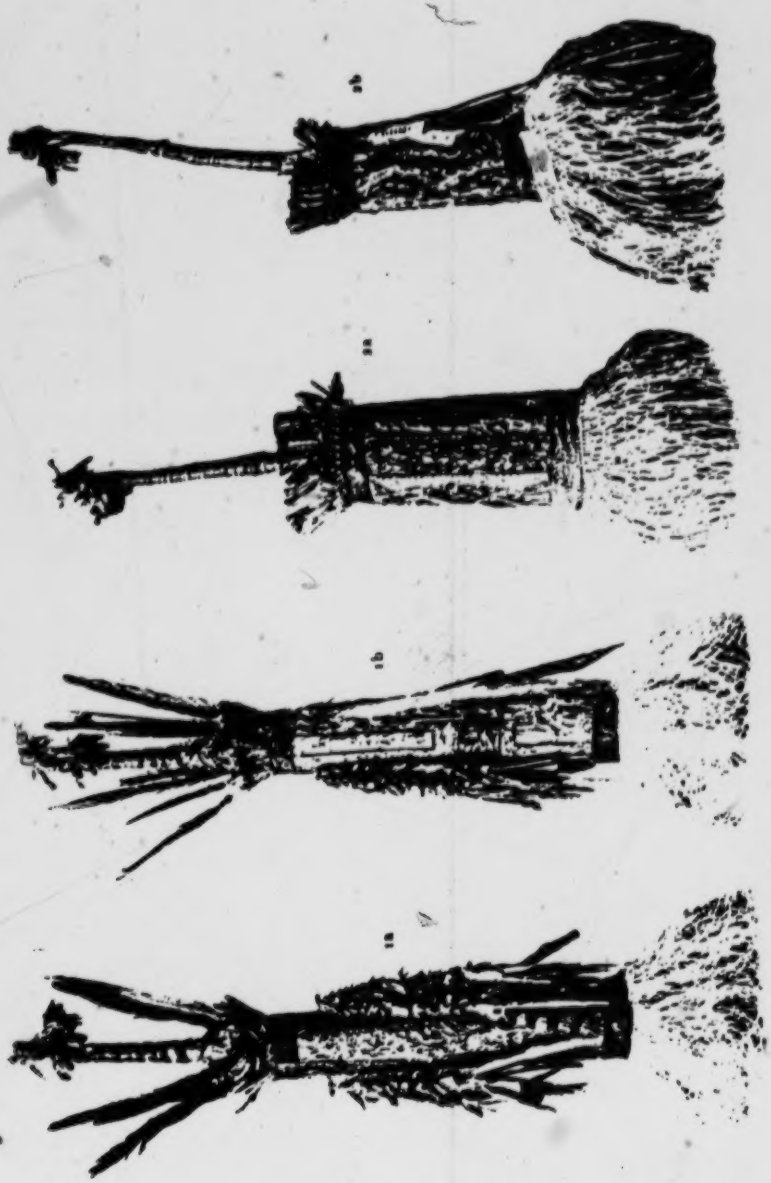
825

Plate XII



4: Ehrenreich--115 E-5 (1888) 1891 SP9 Caraja SP9

Plate XII (Supplement)

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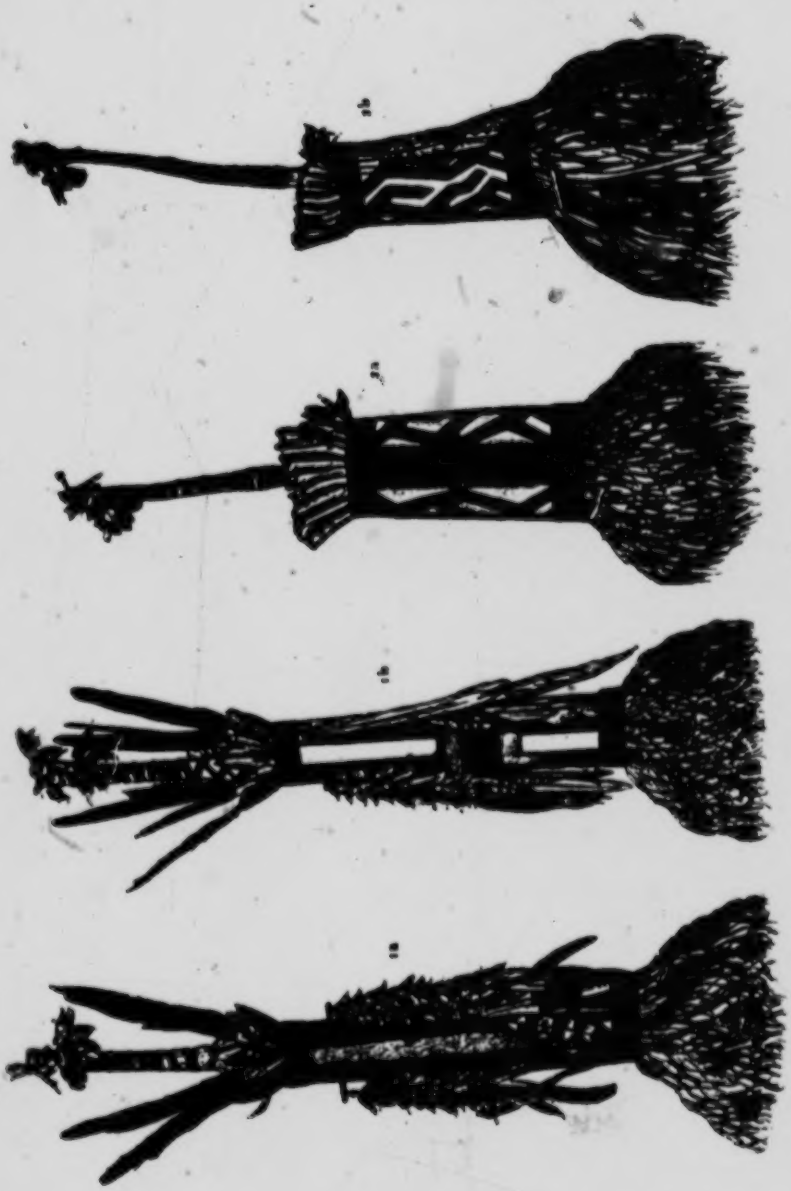
537
825



4: Ehrenreich

SP9 Caraja

KÖNIGLICHE MUSEEN ZU BERLIN

VERÖFFENTLICHUNGEN

AUS DEM

KÖNIGLICHEN

Berlin Staatliche Museen

MUSEUM FÜR VÖLKERKUNDE

I. BAND — I. HEFT

BERLIN
VERLAG VON W. SPEMANN
1886

[title page]

4: Ehrenreich

SP9 Caraja

BEITRÄGE ZUR VÖLKERKUNDE BRASILIENS

VON

DR. P. EHRENREICH

I. DIE KARAYASTÄMME AM RIO ARAGUAYA (GOYAZ)

II. ÜBER EINIGE VÖLKER AM RIO PURUS (AMAZONAS)

[p. 1]

VORBEMERKUNG.

Das im Folgenden mitgetheilte ethnologische Material ist das Ergebniss einer Reise durch wenig bekannte Gegenden des Inneren Brasiliens, unternommen im Anschluss an die zweite Xinguexpedition Dr. Carl von der Steinens, welche Anfang des Jahres 1887 ausgezogen war, um die noch auf präcolumbischer Kulturstufe lebenden wilden Stämme im Quellgebiete dieses Stromes einem eingehenden Studium zu unterwerfen.

Eins der wichtigsten Resultate dieser Expedition war die endgiltige Lösung der Karaibenfrage. Dass die Urheimat der in ihrer ethnographischen Stellung bisher noch so unklaren karaibischen Stämme nicht im Nordosten Südamerikas, sondern in den centralen Gegenden des Kontinents zu suchen sei, wurde durch die Entdeckung zweier grosser karaibischer Völkerschaften im Xinguquellgebiet, der Bakairi und Nahuqua, die genauere Untersuchung ihrer Sprachen und die glückliche Auffindung der auf ihre Wanderungen bezüglichen Traditionen ausreichend sicher gestellt. Es galt nunmehr den Spuren jener alten Völkerverschiebungen zu folgen, karaibische Stämme zu finden, welche das verbindende Glied zwischen den beiden weit entlegenen Gruppen dieser grossen Völkerfamilie bildeten. Einige Beobachtungen liessen in den Karaya[1]) des unteren Xingu und des mittleren Araguaya ein solches „missing link" vermuthen, von einem erst neuerdings bekannt gewordenen Stamme am linken Ufer des unteren Tocantins den Apiaka konnte dies sogar einem kleinen Wörterverzeichnisse nach mit voller Bestimmtheit angenommen werden. Als im Mai 1888 unsere Expedition sich nach Beendigung ihrer Arbeiten auflöste, entschloss ich mich, durch eine Fahrt den Araguaya und Tocantins abwärts bis Para zur Lösung dieser Frage beizutragen.

Nach zweimonatlicher Landreise langte ich im Juli 1888 in Goyaz an, schiffte mich am 21. August zu Leopoldina auf dem Araguaya ein und erreichte Para am 2. November desselben Jahres.

Von der zahlreichen indianischen Bevölkerung des durchreisten Gebietes konnten nur die Karaya eingehend untersucht werden. Sie erwiesen sich als eine Nation sui generis, die mit keiner anderen, namentlich nicht mit den Karaiben verwandt, sich noch jeder Classification entzieht und eigenartig in Sprache, Sitte und körperlicher Bildung isolirt inmitten der umwohnenden grossen wohlcharakterisirten Gesnationen dasteht.

Die von mir hier erworbene Sammlung ethnologischer Belegstücke, darf trotz mancher Lücken als die erste bezeichnet werden, welche ein einigermassen zutreffendes Bild der Lebens- und Kulturverhältnisse dieses wichtigen bisher fast unbekannten Volkes giebt.

Auch der bedeutendste Gesstamm, der der Kayapo, ist darin durch einige Gegenstände vertreten, die als die ersten, welche von den freien nördlichen Horden dieses grossen Volkes nach Europa gelangt sind, besonderes Interesse beanspruchen.

Die unscheinbaren Stücke der Anambé, eines reinen Tupivolks am unteren Tocantins, bei denen der Brasilianer Couto Magelhães seine in dem Werke „O selvagem" mitgetheilten Tupilegenden aufzeichnete, sind nur dadurch von Wichtigkeit, dass sie die ersten und zugleich die letzten uns überkommenen Gegenstände eines Volkes darstellen, welches in Folge einer verheerenden Pockenepidemie nunmehr auf vier Individuen zusammengeschmolzen ist.

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[1]) Die Schreibart Karaya statt Caraja oder Karaxa wurde gewählt, weil der Laut j im Munde der Leute selbst wie ein deutsches j (phonet. y) klingt. Der weiche Zischlaut ž kommt in ihrer Sprache nur in der Verbindung dž vor.

[p. 3]

[p. 2 is blank]

4: Ehrenreich 5P9 Caraja

Als Nachbarn der Anambé hausen weiter im Inland die Apiaka [1]), von denen mir nur civilisirte Individuen zu Gesicht kamen. Sie erwiesen sich wirklich als das gesuchte Zwischenglied. Sie sind ein echter den Bakairi sprachlich und somatisch nah verwandter Karaibenstamm, der aber erst seit relativ kurzer Zeit, etwa seit Mitte dieses Jahrhunderts, aus dem oberen Xingu- oder Tapajozgebiet bis an den unteren Tocantins gewandert ist. Wenn Wanderungen in solcher Ausdehnung bis in die Gegenwart hinein stattgefunden haben, so lässt sich für frühere Zeiten wenigstens ihre Möglichkeit nicht in Abrede stellen.

Von Manaos aus unternahm ich Mitte Dezember 1888 einen dreimonatlichen Ausflug in die Urwaldgebiete des mittleren Purus, auf dem ich drei der wichtigsten Stämme dieser Gegenden kennen lernte. In Folge der Ungunst der Verhältnisse war die Ausbeute an Sammlungsstücken hier relativ gering. Die Erschöpfung meiner Mittel, namentlich aber der schlechte Gesundheitszustand meiner beiden Begleiter verhinderte die Ausdehnung der Reise bis in die oberen Purusgegenden und nöthigte schon Ende Februar 1889 zur Rückkehr. Immerhin hat auch diese Reise etwas zur Klärung der Völkervertheilung dieser Gebiete beigetragen. Fast alle dortigen Stämme gehören der grossen Maipure- oder Nu-Aruak-Gruppe (v. d. Steinens) an und bilden das Verbindungsglied zwischen den Nu-Stämmen Guayanas und Columbias und denen von Bolivien und Matto grosso. Die Feststellung dieser Thatsache hat das bunte ethnographische Bild des centralen Südamerika wesentlich vereinfacht.

Den Karaya und den Purustämmen der Yamamadi, Ipurina und Paumari ist also die nachfolgende Darstellung gewidmet. Alle sonstigen ethnologischen Beobachtungen und Erkundigungen, sowie das gesammte linguistische und anthropologische Material sind besonderen Publicationen vorbehalten.

I. DIE KARAYASTÄMME AM RIO ARAGUAYA (GOYAZ).

Historisches.

Die Karaya werden zum ersten Male erwähnt bei Gelegenheit jenes bekannten Raubzuges, den der paulistische Bandenführer Antonio Pires Campos [2]) um das Jahr 1684 von Cuyaba aus den Rio das Mortes zum Araguaya hinab unternahm. Es wurden damals die später wieder verschollenen und bis auf den heutigen Tag noch eifrigst gesuchten Goldminen der „Martirios" entdeckt, die in der modernen brasilianischen Volkssage eine so wichtige Rolle spielen. Auf dem Rückwege besuchte Pires Campos die „Ilha dos Carajas", die jetzt Bananal oder Ilha da Santa Anna genannte grosse Insel, welche der Araguaya zwischen 13½ und 10½° s. Br. bildet. Zahlreiche Gefangene wurden von hier als Sklaven nach São Paulo geschleppt.

In den vierziger Jahren des vorigen Jahrhunderts veranstaltete der Sohn des Genannten, der von den Goyanern gegen die feindlichen Kayapo zu Hilfe gerufen war, von Goyaz aus eine zweite Sklavenjagd an den Araguaya.

Ueber diese Expedition finden sich nähere Angaben in dem Berichte des Alferes José Pinto da Fonseca [3]), welcher im Jahre 1775 auf Befehl des damaligen Capitão mór von Goyaz José Almeida de Vasconcellos den Fluss besuchte, um friedliche Beziehungen mit den dortigen wilden Stämmen anzuknüpfen, da das Bedürfniss, die Hauptströme der Provinz der Schifffahrt zu eröffnen, sich immer mehr fühlbar machte. Im Juni des betreffenden Jahres erreichte er mit seiner Truppe die Südspitze der Insel Bananal und wusste bald die dort hausenden Karaya für sich zu gewinnen.

[1]) Ob dieser Name ihr nationaler ist oder ihnen von den Brasilianern gegeben wurde, ist unsicher. Jedenfalls dürfen sie nicht, wie dies vielfach geschehen ist, mit den Apiaka des oberen und mittleren Tapajos, einem echten Tupistamme, verwechselt werden. Aeusserlich unterscheiden sie sich von letzteren durch ihre Stammestätowirung. Bei den Apiaka des Tapajos ist die Mundgegend schwarz tätowirt, die des Tocantins sind durch eine blaue Linie, vom äusseren Augenwinkel bis zum Mundwinkel ziehend, charakterisirt.

[2]) Nach Anderen Manuel Pires Campos.

[3]) Rev. trim. Bd. 8, p. 356 ff.

Anfangs begegnete man ihm mit Misstrauen, denn Alles stand noch unter dem Eindruck der Gräuelthaten, die Pires Campos hier 25 Jahre früher verübt hatte. Bald aber brachte es Pinto durch sein kluges menschenfreundliches Auftreten dazu, dass die Wilden sich unter den Schutz des Gouverneurs von Goyaz stellten. Ihr Häuptling Abeonona leistete dem Könige von Portugal den Treueid, dessen Wortlaut in jenem Briefe mitgetheilt wird.

Die Schilderung, welche Pinto von den Karaya entwirft, entspricht noch vollkommen den heutigen Verhältnissen. Durch ihn erhalten wir die erste Kunde von dem grossen, bis heute noch von keinem Reisenden besuchten See im nördlichen Theil der Insel Bananal, an dessen Ufern die Yavahé hausen. Die Zahl der Karaya schätzt Pinto auf neuntausend Seelen in neun grossen Dörfern, von denen drei den Yavahé angehörten.

Im folgenden Jahre ging eine zweite Expedition ab, um auf der Insel bei dem grössten der Indianerdörfer einen Militärposten anzulegen, der den Namen der Colonia da nova beira erhielt.

In der Folge wurden noch weitere derartige Stationen am Araguaya etablirt, einige auch im Gebiete der Šambioa. Aber bei der herrschenden Misswirthschaft vertielen diese Culturcentren sehr bald wieder.[1]) Schon im Jahre 1782 sah man sich genöthigt, 800 Karaya nach S. José de Mossamedes bei Goyaz überzuführen, 1786 wurden andere Schaaren bei Carretão angesiedelt, welche aber nach kurzer Zeit einer Masernepidemie zum Opfer fielen. Auch die Kolonie Mossamedes hatte kein Gedeihen. Pohl fand in den zwanziger Jahren unseres Jahrhunderts den Ort im traurigsten Zustande. Am Araguaya war bald jede Spur früherer Kolonisationsthätigkeit verschwunden. Namentlich ist die Insel Bananal noch heut so unbekannt wie zur Zeit ihrer Entdeckung.

Immerhin blieb das Verhältniss der Karaya zu der eingewanderten Bevölkerung ein ziemlich gutes. Verschiedentlich gelangten Individuen dieses Volkes auf den Handelsschiffen bis Para. Im Jahre 1791 gab daselbst der Häuptling Aribedu dem damaligen Gouverneur dieser Capitanie Auskunft über die Stromverhältnisse des Araguaya. Die kaufmännische Expedition, welche 1792 den Tocantins und Araguaya befuhr, brachte gleichfalls zahlreiche Karaya aus dem Innern mit.

Im Beginn dieses Jahrhunderts brachen dagegen ernste Feindseligkeiten aus. Das neu gegründete Destacament Santa Maria wurde 1813 von den Karaya und den mit ihnen verbündeten Akuã (Chavantes) völlig zerstört.[2])

Längere Zeit hindurch schweigen dann die Berichte, nur ganz beiläufig werden die Karaya von Martius, Pohl und Aug. St. Hilaire erwähnt.

Ausführlichere Mittheilungen erhalten wir erst wieder durch die grosse Expedition Castelnau's 1844. Da der französische Reisende nicht den jetzt ausschliesslich befahrenen linken, sondern den rechten Flussarm östlich von der Insel Bananal befuhr, so lernte er die Karayahi nicht kennen. Auch Yavahé kamen nicht zu Gesicht. Er bezeichnet die Insel irrthümlicherweise als unbewohnt. Dagegen verweilte er einige Tage in den grossen Šambioadörfern. Er fertigte das erste Wörterverzeichniss an, beschreibt auch zuerst die merkwürdigen Tanzmasken, deren eigentliche Bedeutung ihm aber verborgen blieb. Leider gingen seine sämmtlichen Sammlungen in den Katarakten des unteren Tocantins verloren.

Drei Jahre später kam der brasilianische Beamte Dr. Rufino Theotonio Segurado von Para aus den Strom herauf. Sein vortrefflicher Reisebericht enthält Notizen über die Šambioa, mit denen er gleich oberhalb der Schnelle Carreira comprida zusammentraf. Auch stattete er den Karayahi einen Besuch ab.[3])

Von sonstigen brasilianischen Reisenden hat der um die Araguayaschifffahrt hoch verdiente General Couto Magalhães, der als Präsident von Goyaz bereits im Jahre 1863 auf einer kleineren Reise bis S. José mit den Karaya in Berührung kam[4]), später aber den ganzen Strom zu wiederholten Malen befuhr, am meisten Gelegenheit gehabt, das merkwürdige Volk kennen zu lernen. Er hat jedoch nichts Zusammenhängendes darüber publicirt. Einige zerstreute Notizen finden sich in seinem ersten Reisebericht von 1863 und in dem Werke „O Selvagem". (Rio de Janeiro 1874.)

[1]) Casal, Corogr. bras. I. p. 340. — Cunha Mattos, Corogr. de Goyaz. Rev. trim. Bd 37 I. p. 343.

[2]) Rev. trim. Bd. 25. II. p. 91.

[3]) Rev. trim. Bd. 5. p. 178 ff.

[4]) In dem jetzt nicht mehr bestehenden Aldeamento da Estiva bei Salinas, wo unter Aufsicht eines italienischen Missionars Chavantes und Karaya angesiedelt waren. vgl. Peterm. Mitth. 1876. p. 222.

Im Jahre 1879 untersuchte der Ingenieur Moraes Jardim die schiffbare Strecke des Araguaya von Leopoldina bis Santa Maria. Seinem Berichte [1]) ist eine, von seinem Begleiter Dr. Spinola verfasste, im ganzen zutreffende Schilderung der Karayahidörfer beigegeben.

Auch die Reisebeschreibung des früheren Präsidenten von Goyaz Dr. Joaquim Leite Moraes (1882) enthält über die Karaya manches Interessante. Die erste ziemlich vollständige Sammlung ethnologischer Objecte wurde von diesem Reisenden nach São Paulo geschafft. Dieselbe ist jetzt zerstreut, doch gelang es mir von dem Eigenthümer zwei der schönsten Stücke, die Kriegskeulen der bekannten Sambioahäuptlinge Roco und Ambura für das königliche Museum zu erwerben.

Verbreitungsgebiet.

Während man bis vor wenigen Jahren nur die Karaya am Araguaya kannte, wurde durch die erste Xinguexpedition die Existenz anderer Horden derselben Nation am rechten Ufer des mittleren und unteren Xingu nachgewiesen. Ihr Verhältniss zu den Nachbarstämmen und den brasilianischen Ansiedlern der Kautschukdistrikte ist hier jedoch ein durchaus feindliches, so dass bisher jede Annäherung unmöglich war. Am meisten haben die Yuruna von ihren Angriffen zu leiden. Spuren von Kämpfen, verwüstete Wohnplätze und dergleichen traf die erste Expedition v. d. Steinens auf Schrin und Tritt.

Einige von diesen Stämmen herrührende bei den Yuruna erworbene ethnographische Gegenstände lassen keinen Zweifel darüber, dass wir es hier mit echten Karaya zu thun haben.

Durch die zweite Xinguexpedition ist nun ein noch weiteres Hinaufreichen dieser Karaya bis in das obere Gebiet des Stromes wahrscheinlich gemacht worden. Bei den Kamayura (unter 12° s. Br.) wurden Gegenstände erworben, welche angeblich von einem dort unter dem Namen der Aruma bekannten Stamme herrührten; eine zerbrochene Keule, diverse Pfeile, Federhauben, die durchaus mit denen der Karaya identisch sind. Auch der den Kamayura benachbarte Stamm der Trumai zeigte vielerlei mit den Karaya Gemeinsames, z. B. die Sitte der Männer, das Präputium mittelst eines Baumwollfadens über der Glans zusammen zu schnüren, die Bastschürzen der Frauen, welche nur viel schmäler und kürzer sind als die der Karayaweiber, die Federhauben und die Form der Pfeilschleuder. Doch lassen die Sprachen beider Stämme keinerlei Verwandtschaft erkennen.

Die Karava des Araguaya stehen mit denen des Xingu in keiner Verbindung mehr. Beide sind von einander getrennt durch die grossen kriegerischen Gebietsnationen der Kayapo und Akuã (Chavantes), die sich schon seit langer Zeit da zwischen sie geschoben haben.

Ihre **Wohnsitze** liegen am mittleren Stromlaufe des Araguaya zwischen der Mündung des Rio Crixas und der ersten grossen Schnelle S. Miguel, wo der Fluss die Bergzüge durchbricht oder umfliesst, welche die nördliche Abdachung des grossen innerbrasilianischen Plateaus einfassen.

Schon unter 15° s. Br. tritt er in eine weite, von alluvialen Bildungen erfüllte Ebene ein, welche bis gegen S. Maria (9° 30') hin im Ganzen immer denselben Charakter darbietet. Flache dichtbewachsene Inseln im Strome, die Ufer eingefasst von Sanddünen, hinter denen auf höherem Terrain ein üppiger Waldstreif sich erhebt, der aber wie überall in der Zone der „Campos" nur eine geringe Breite hat und bald trockenem mit krüppligen Bäumen bestandenen Campland oder weiten bei hohem Wasserstande überschwemmten sumpfigen Ebenen der sogenannten Pantanaes Platz macht. Unzählige durch schmale Furos mit dem Strom communicirende, ebenfalls von Wald und Sümpfen eingefasste Lagunen begleiten ihn.

Die merkwürdigste hydrographische Bildung, die den Araguaya auszeichnet, ist seine Theilung unter 13° 25' s. Br., wo seine beiden Arme die grosse flache über drei Breitengrade sich erstreckende Insel Bananal einschliessen. Von Itacaiu, 50 km oberhalb der Mündung des Rio vermelho, bis S. Maria, ca. 140 km unterhalb der Wiedervereinigung der beiden Arme, ist der Strom zu jeder Jahreszeit für kleinere Dampfer schiffbar. Der erste derselben, welcher augenblicklich allein noch in Thätigkeit ist, wurde im Jahre 1869 durch Couto Magelhães über Land vom oberen São Lourenço nach dem Araguaya geschafft.

Bergzüge treten auf dem linken Ufer erst unter 11° 15' s. Br. an der Mündung des Tapirapé

[1]) O rio Araguaya, relatorio de sua exploração. Rio de Janeiro 1880.

näher an den Fluss heran. Es erhebt sich hier ein in der Mythologie der umwohnenden Stämme bedeutsamer zweispitziger Kegelberg. Vom Presidio S. Maria ab werden beide Ufer höher. Der felsige Untergrund tritt zu Tage. Steinbarrieren durchsetzen den Fluss an verschiedenen Stellen, ohne indess sein Bett erheblich tiefer zu legen. Gegenüber von S. Maria auf dem linken Ufer liegt in ca. 20 km Entfernung die langgestreckte Serra dos Cayapos. Endlich tritt der Strom bei der Cachoeira de S. Miguel mit entschiedener Senkung in das Bergland ein. Er bildet hier ausser der genannten Schnelle noch die Carreira comprida und Cachoeira grande, durch welche er wieder in ebneres Terrain übergeführt wird, bis er endlich nach Aufnahme des Tocantins von rechts her den letzten und grössten Plateauabfall durch die gewaltigen Kataraktenketten Tauiri grande und Itaboca überwindet.

Bis zur Einmündung des Tocantins trägt die ganze Stromlandschaft durchaus den Charakter der Campos. Kulturfähiges Land findet sich nur an den Wasserläufen, am ausgedehntesten natürlich am Hauptstrome selbst, dessen üppiger Galeriewald hier eine Fülle werthvoller Nutzpflanzen und für mancherlei Kulturen ergiebigen Boden darbietet. Für den Mais und die Maniokwurzel sind die höheren Ufergegenden unterhalb S. Maria besonders gut geeignet.

Das Leben der Anwohner ist bestimmt durch die scharfe Sonderung des Jahreszeiten. Die regenlose Periode dauert von Mai bis Ende September, weiter nördlich noch bis weit in den October hinein. Allenthalben liegen dann weite Sandbänke (Praias) frei, auf welche die Sonne Tag für Tag glühend herniederstrahlt. Es ist für die Indianer die eigentliche Zeit des Stromlebens. Der Fischfang beherrscht dann alle Interessen. Mit dem Beginn des November hat die Regenzeit meist schon mit Macht eingesetzt, im Dezember und Januar hat der Fluss seinen höchsten Stand, 10—12 m über dem niederen Niveau. Von Ufer zu Ufer erfüllt dann ohne Unterbrechung eine gewaltige Wassermasse das Bett, die angrenzenden niederen Ebenen weithin überschwemmend.

Schwärme lästiger Insecten, Moskitos und Pium, die in der Trockenzeit gänzlich fehlen, erfüllen nun die Luft. Der Indianer ist genöthigt, sich auf das höhere Terrain zurückzuziehen, wo er dann der Feldbestellung, allenfalls der Jagd obliegt. Fischfang kann in dieser Zeit nur in den Lagunen betrieben werden.

Nimmt das Wasser ab, so sind am mittleren Araguaya, wo ausgedehnte Sümpfe den Strom begleiten, bösartige Fieber nicht selten.

Horden. Die Karaya des Araguaya theilen sich in die drei grossen Tribus der Yavahé, Karayahi und Šambioa, die zusammen etwa 4000 Köpfe zählen dürften. Die Ersteren bewohnen das Innere der noch gänzlich unbekannten Insel Bananal. Wir wissen von derselben nur soviel, dass sich in ihrem nördlichen Theile der grosse See befindet, an welchem die drei Dörfer der Yavahé liegen. Derselbe hat einen Abfluss in den östlichen Arm (Furo) des Araguaya, an dessen Mündung das letzte Mal im April 1888 einige dieser Wilden angesprochen wurden. Aufgesucht hat sie hier indessen noch Niemand, obwohl sie mehrfach ihr Verlangen bekundet haben, mit den Kolonisten in Verkehr zu treten. Sie bedürfen eben dringend eiserner Werkzeuge, die ihnen jetzt nur spärlich durch Vermittelung der Karayahi zugehen. Auf den Dörfern der letzteren trifft man gelegentlich einige Yavahé an. In grösserer Anzahl verlassen sie ihre Schlupfwinkel nicht gern, da sie mit Recht die Einschleppung epidemischer Krankheiten fürchten.

Am Westarm des Araguaya im Bereich der schiffbaren Strecke von S. José unterhalb der Crixasmündung bis in die Gegend von S. Maria leben die Karayahi in 12—15 Dörfern von verschiedenem Umfange. Ihre nördlichste Niederlassung bei S. Maria wurde im Jahre 1881 von den Kayapo des linken Ufers überfallen und gänzlich zerstört. Sie haben sich seitdem mit ihren Ansiedlungen nicht weit über die nördlichste Spitze der Insel Bananal hinaus gewagt. Ihre weitesten Excursionen gehen unterhalb S. Maria bis zur kleinen Schnelle Joncon (d. h. es ist zu Ende).

Dem Verkehr auf dem Strome leisten sie wichtige Dienste durch Holzfällen für den Dampfer. Als Bezahlung erhalten sie Messer und Aexte, welche sie ihrerseits an andere Stämme, wie die Yavahe und Tapirapé, weiter verhandeln. Verständigerweise hat man bei Einrichtung der Dampfschifffahrt von vorn herein Sorge getragen, mit den Wilden auf gutem Fuss zu bleiben. Das Verdienst, dieses vortreffliche Verhältniss eingeleitet und seit 20 Jahren aufrecht erhalten zu haben, gebührt dem wackren Kommandanten des Dampfers, dem für die Erforschung des Araguaya so hoch verdienten Sebastião de Freitas. Seinem uneigennützigen, menschenfreundlichen Wirken ist es zu danken, dass vielleicht

nirgendwo in Brasilien so gute Beziehungen zwischen der Urbevölkerung und den Ansiedlern bestehen wie hier.

Freilich ist auch für die Karayahi der Contact mit der „Civilisation" nicht ganz ohne Folgen geblieben. Im Vergleich mit den unabhängigen Sambioa machen sich in ihren Dörfern ein gewisser Mangel an Ordnung und Sauberkeit, geringere Sorgfalt und Geschmack in ihren Artefacten bemerkbar. Gleichwohl ist bei ihnen noch eine Fülle der interessantesten ethnologischen Objecte vorhanden. Wurden doch gerade die wichtigsten Stücke der Sammlung bei ihnen erworben.

Ihre materielle Lage kann nicht als besonders günstig bezeichnet werden. Die niederen Stromufer ihres Gebietes sind den Ueberschwemmungen so sehr ausgesetzt, dass sie nur in beschränktem Masse Ackerbau treiben können. Auf das höhere linke Ufer wagen sie sich nur vorübergehend aus Furcht vor ihren schlimmsten Feinden, den Akuã und Kayapo.

Die dritte grosse Karayahorde ist die der Sambioa, über welche Castelnau die ersten genaueren Nachrichten brachte. Sie besitzen vier grössere Dörfer zwischen der Schnelle Pau d'arco und der grossen Cachoeira de S. Miguel. Ihre Jagdzüge erstrecken sich jedoch bis jenseits der Cachoeira grande, in früheren Zeiten bis an das Gebiet der Apinages bei dem heutigen São Vincente, von wo die zunehmende Besiedelung sie verscheucht hat. Die Felsculpturen der sogenannten Martiriosinsel zwischen der Carreira comprida und Cachoeira grande sind jedenfalls das Werk ihrer Vorfahren. Da bereits die ersten Araguayafahrer dieser „Inschriften" als Documenten hohen Alters Erwähnung thun, so müssen die Karaya mindestens seit dem 16. Jahrhundert in diesen Gegenden sitzen (s. S. 45 ff.).

Innerhalb des Sambioagebiets, wo der Strom nicht mehr für Dampfer schiffbar ist, finden sich zur Zeit keine brasilianischen Ansiedlungen. Die Wilden sind somit ganz auf den Tauschhandel mit den wenigen alljährlich vier- bis sechsmal passirenden grösseren Ruderbooten oder den kleinen Fahrzeugen, welche die Communication mit São Vincente unterhalten, angewiesen. Sie liefern den Reisenden hauptsächlich Hangematten, Feldfrüchte und Hühner, haben im übrigen aber ihre vollkommene Unabhängigkeit bewahrt. Unter weit besseren Existenzbedingungen als die Karayahi lebend, stehen sie hinsichtlich ihrer Agricultur auf einer höheren Stufe als selbst die civilisirten Anwohner des Stroms.

Mit den Kayapostämmen des linken Ufers der Kradaho, Ulikrin u. a. leben sie in erbittertster Fehde. Zahlreiche geraubte Weiber und Kinder der letzteren finden sich in ihren Dörfern. Doch werden dieselben im Ganzen gut behandelt, die Kinder sogar ohne Weiteres in den Stamm aufgenommen.

Das Verhältniss der Sambioa zu den Ansiedlern ist nicht immer sehr friedlich gewesen. Indessen konnte schon Castelnau constatiren, dass diese Indianer nicht den schlimmen Ruf verdienten, in dem sie damals bei den Goyanern standen. Die Hauptschuld an den vorgekommenen Missethaten ist jedenfalls auf Seiten der Fremden zu suchen.

Entschieden feindselig war ihre Haltung in den siebziger Jahren, wo der berüchtigte Häuptling Roco mehrfach Reisende überfallen und niedergemetzelt hat.

Heute sind es nur noch die Bewohner des zweiten Dorfes, die den Fremden unfreundlich empfangen. Weiber und Kinder werden in Sicherheit gebracht, die Krieger stehen drohend, mit Bogen, Speeren und Keulen bewaffnet, am Ufer und lassen sich kaum zum Tauschhandel herab. Auf den übrigen Dörfern liess unsere Aufnahme wenig zu wünschen übrig, wenn es erst einmal gelungen war, die fliehenden Weiber zur Umkehr zu bewegen.

Immerhin ist im Verkehr mit den Sambioa Vorsicht geboten. Sie werden zwar schwerlich gut bemannte und bewaffnete Boote anzugreifen wagen, aber bei der grossen Entfernung der Dörfer vom Landeplatz kann der Reisende, der unbewaffnet — nur so wird er zugelassen — ihre Hütten besucht, bei plötzlich sich erhebenden Streitigkeiten in eine recht misliche Lage kommen.

Der Empfang auf den Landeplätzen gestaltet sich in der Regel zu einer höchst malerischen Scene. In Schaaren strömen die nackten braunen Gestalten herbei, viele abenteuerlich schwarz und roth bemalt, das Gesicht oft mit einer dicken Lage Russ bestrichen, die einen zierliche Federdiademe auf dem Haupt, die andern das in langem Zopf herabhängende Haar mit Büscheln im Winde flatternder Araratedern verziert. Alle sind bewaffnet mit langen federgeschmückten Speeren, Keulen, Bogen und Pfeilen. Ohne wildes Geschrei, in würdevoller Ruhe wird parlamentirt, wobei die Ankömmlinge den Wilden zunächst ihre Feuerwaffen zeigen und nachdrücklich auf etwaige Hinterlader

und Revolver verw[illegible]n, die niemals verfehlen, einen tiefen Eindruck zu machen. Der Häuptling versichert einmal üb[illegible]s andere: Karaya amigo tciri, ahi mentira não tem! Der Karaya ist Freund des Weissen (*Awi*), hier giebts keine Lüge! und es beginnt sofort der Tauschhandel (Taf. IV. 2).

Hat man erst ihr Vertrauen erworben, so gestaltet sich der Verkehr ganz ungezwungen, namentlich den Männern und Knaben gegenüber. Die kleinen Kinder und besonders die jungen Mädchen sind sehr scheu und verkriechen sich gewöhnlich in eine Ecke ihrer Hütte, das Gesicht krampfhaft mit den Händen bedeckend. Niemals wird der Fremde durch Betteln belästigt. Auch Diebstähle sind äusserst selten.

Sprache.

Es wurde ein ziemlich ausführliches Vocabular, sowie eine Anzahl kurzer Sätze aufgezeichnet, aus denen sich jedoch vorläufig nur wenig über den grammatischen Bau dieses Idioms ergiebt. Die äusserst undeutliche Sprechweise der Leute, die kaum eine Bewegung der Lippen wahrnehmen lassen, ihre Unfähigkeit, das einmal gesagte exact zu wiederholen und endlich das durch Häufung von Vocalen und Zungenlauten begünstigte Verschlucken der Endsilben erschweren die linguistische Aufnahme ungemein. Sicher ist, dass diese Sprache keiner der bis jetzt bekannten Brasiliens verwandt ist, obwohl einzelne Wortähnlichkeiten mit Gesdialecten vorkommen.

Ihre bemerkenswertheste Eigenthümlichkeit ist das Bestehen einer besonderen Männer- und Weibersprache, wie sich dies in ähnlicher Weise bei den Guaicurus und Chiquitanos findet. Indessen sind nur wenige Wörter gänzlich verschieden, bei den meisten ist die Form nur unwesentlich modificirt. Wo z. B. im Männerdialect zwei Vokale auf einander folgen, steht zwischen beiden im Weiberdialect ein k. So heisst

Regen ♂ *hii*, ♀ *hiki*, Mais ♂ *mahi*, ♀ *mahki*.

Bisweilen hat das weibliche Wort nur eine Endsilbe mehr u. s. w. Wahrscheinlich haben die Weiber nur eine alterthümlichere Form der Sprache beibehalten. Die im Text vorkommenden cursiv gedruckten einheimischen Worte sind, wo nicht ausdrücklich etwas anderes bemerkt ist, auf der Endsilbe zu betonen.

Aeusseres. Kleidung. Zierrath.

Ihrer körperlichen Erscheinung nach repräsentiren die Karaya einen der schöneren Typen unter den Stämmen Brasiliens. Von Statur sind sie nicht besonders kräftig, eher mittelgross und gracil, aber der schlanke Wuchs, das Ebenmaass ihrer Glieder, die stolze Haltung lässt sie grösser erscheinen als sie wirklich sind. Ihre bedeutende Muskelkraft, die Elastizität und Gewandtheit ihrer Bewegungen kommen ganz besonders bei den Ringkämpfen, ihrem beliebtesten Sport, zur Geltung. Sehr stark ist wie bei allen Indianern die Nackenmuskulatur entwickelt, welche sie befähigt, mittelst eines Stirnbandes enorme Lasten zu tragen.

Die Schädelbildung ist constant hypsidolichocephal, ohne besonders hervortretende Prognathie. Das Fehlen von Augenbrauenwülsten giebt dem Gesicht etwas Offenes. Auffallend klein ist die horizontal oder leicht schräg gestellte Lidspalte, die indess dem Gesichte wegen der stets sehr kräftig vorspringenden Nase kein eigentlich mongoloides Gepräge verleiht. Die Nase selbst setzt sehr weit unten an. Der Rücken ist schmal, stark convex mit etwas hängender Spitze. Die Flügel sind meist etwas heraufgezogen, so dass die runden Nasenlöcher nach vorn gerichtet erscheinen.

Die Weiber stehen den Männern an Grösse bedeutend nach, sind aber gleichfalls wohlproportionirt. Ihre Formen neigen in der Jugend etwas zur Fülle. Ungemein zierliche Hände und Füsse, tadellose Form der Büste kommen fast allen jüngeren Individuen zu; doch verlieren sie wie alle Indianerinnen ihre Reize sehr frühzeitig, zumal das lange Säugen übermässige Verlängerung der Brüste bewirkt. Bei älteren Weibern fällt besonders die schwache Entwickelung der unteren Extremitäten und der watschelnde Gang der einwärts gekehrten Füsse unangenehm auf.

Die eigentliche Hautfarbe der Karaya ist auf den ersten Blick schwer zu bestimmen. Der Aufenthalt auf den sonnendurchglühten Praias hat das helle Gelbbraun ihres Teints, welches man nur noch unter ihren grossen Baumwollmanschetten und Kniebinden constatiren kann, in ein dunkles Kupferbraun verwandelt. Selbst dieses ist bei vielen Individuen nicht leicht zu sehen wegen der im

weitesten Umfang angewendeten Körperbemalung (Fig. 1). Von Kopf zu Fuss roth oder schwarz angestrichne Leute sind nicht selten. Andere combiniren die schwarze und rothe Färbung zu Mustern, welche fast den Eindruck europäischer Kleidung erwecken. Am beliebtesten sind schwarze Strichverzierungen im Gesicht und an den Extremitäten.

Zur Körperbemalung werden verwendet:

1. Urucu (*mawrrã*). Paste aus den rothen Beeren der bixa Orellana.

2. Der aus den Samen des Genipapo (Genipa brasiliensis) gewonnene blauschwarze Farbstoff (*brãwa*).

3. Russ. Derselbe wird entweder einfach von den Kochtöpfen abgekratzt und in das Gesicht gerieben oder er dient, mit Genipapo vermischt, zur diffusen Bemalung des ganzen Körpers.

Die Strichornamente werden mit den Fingern oder Holzstäbchen aufgetragen, die diffuse Färbung mittelst eines Lappens.

Das straffe oder wellige schwarze Haar wird von beiden Geschlechtern über den Augenbrauen grade abgeschnitten, während es hinten über den Nacken herabhängt. Stutzer legen bis zum Wirbel

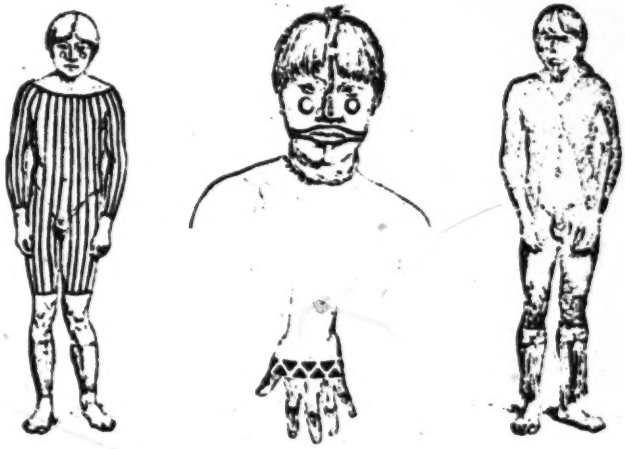


Fig. 1. Körperbemalung

einen ca. 3 cm breiten Scheitel an, lassen die verkürzten Wirbelhaare borstenartig abstehen und binden den hinten herabfallenden Theil mittelst Baumwollschnüren zu einem Zopf zusammen, an dessen Wurzeln die Männer bisweilen noch eine Garnitur von blauen Arara- oder schwarzen Mutumfedern befestigen (*uikhemaru*).

In den durchbohrten Ohrläppchen tragen beide Geschlechter für gewöhnlich 15—20 cm lange Rohrstäbchen.

Der Pflock in der Unterlippe (*anõ'ã*) kommt nur den Männern zu. Er besteht aus dem leichten, blättrigen Holz des Piuvabaumes und ist entweder mit kurzer Spitze schräg abgeschnitten oder läuft in eine lange bis auf die Brust herabhängende dünne Lamelle aus (Fig. 2, b).

Knaben tragen statt dessen vorwiegend kleine T förmige Muschelstückchen (*ãlã*) (Fig. 2, d).

Der kostbarste Lippenzierrath, der nur bei festlichen Gelegenheiten getragen, sonst aber sorgfältig in Baumwolle gewickelt aufbewahrt wird, ist ein langer schwerer Steinpflock (*mamkrõ*) aus hyalinem oder rosenfarbenem Quarz, dessen T förmiges Ende durch die Unterlippe gesteckt wird, während der konische Knopf nach unten herabhängt (Fig. 2, a). Von den vier Exemplaren der Sammlung besitzt das grösste eine Länge von 17,5 cm.

Diese Lippensteine, von denen bisher nur wenige in europäische Sammlungen gelangt sind, verfertigen die Karaya nicht selbst, sondern tauschen sie von dem Tapirolhe der Tapirapé am gleichnamigen linken Nebenfluss des Araguaya ein. Die Bergketten des linken Stromufers, wie die Serra dos Cayapos sind reich an diesem Material. Ein in S. Maria erworbener Beispiel der Kayapo ist kürzer und mit stumpf auslaufendem verlängertem Ende (Fig. 2, c).

Die **Tätowirung** beschränkt sich auf das Stammesabzeichen, welches beide Geschlechter auf den Wangen tragen: ein blauer Ring von 10—15 mm Durchmesser (*aθamamuré*) dicht unter dem unteren Orbitalrand.

Im Ganzen zeichnen sich die Karaya durch sorgfältige Körperpflege aus. Sie baden täglich mehrere Male. Das Haar ist stets sorgfältig gekämmt. Im Gesicht und am Körper werden alle Härchen ausgerupft. Zum Haarschneiden dient schon allgemein die Scheere, während man früher Piranhazähne dazu verwendete.

Kleidung. Die Männer gehen völlig nackt, schnüren aber die Vorhaut über der Glans penis mittelst eines schwarzen Baumwollfadens wurstzipfelartig zusammen (Taf. I. 1). Die Weiber tragen das *nanti*, eine Art Schärpe aus dem Baste des Jangadabaumes (Apeiba Jangada). In Wasser eingeweicht und mit flachen Steinen geklopft und getrocknet, erreicht er einen hohen Grad von Geschmeidigkeit und ein weissglänzendes fast stoffartiges Aussehen, sehr ähnlich den in gleicher Weise hergestellten polynesischen Tapazeugen. Ein spannenbreites, 1½ m langes Stück wird um die Hüfte gelegt, beide Zipfel von hinten nach vorn zwischen den Beinen durchgezogen und unterhalb des Nabels zusammengeknotet, so dass die Enden bis auf die Füsse herabfallen. Beim Niedersetzen werden dieselben nach hinten unter das Gesäss zurückgeschlagen (Taf. I. 2).

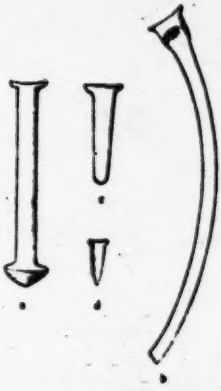


Fig. 2. Lippenornamente (⅓).

Ergänzt wird dieses primitive Kostüm durch verschiedene **Arm- und Beinbinden**, welche eine besondere Stammeseigenthümlichkeit darstellen.

Bald nach der Geburt werden dem Kinde Unterarm und Unterschenkel mit dicken schwarzen Baumwollschnüren (*aθairuhi*) umwickelt, während eine ebenfalls schwarze 5 cm breite Binde den Leib umhüllt (*naitekoui*) (Taf. VII. 3 u. 4).

Einige Monate später legt man ihm um Hand- und Fussgelenke die breiten gestrickten Baumwollmanschetten (*dibi*), während schmälere mit nach vorn herabhängenden Quasten versehene Binden unter dem Knie befestigt werden. Erstere sind cylindrisch, 5 bis 6 cm breit, mit krempenartig vortretenden verdickten Rändern, letztere glatt und nur 1—2 cm breit. Mit zunehmendem Wachsthum werden diese Bänder allmählich durch grössere ersetzt (Taf. VII. 6 u. 8).

Die Knöchelbinden tragen die Knaben bis nach erfolgter Lippendurchbohrung, die Mädchen dagegen bis zu ihrer Verheirathung. Die Manschetten, die bei den Erwachsenen fast den ganzen Vorderarm bedecken, werden ebenso wie die Kniebänder von beiden Geschlechtern erst nach der Hochzeit, von den Frauen meist nicht vor dem ersten Kindbett abgelegt. Beim Tode eines der beiden Ehegatten zieht der überlebende dieselben wieder an.

Die scharfe äusserliche Sonderung der ledigen Personen von den verheiratheten durch derartige Abzeichen liegt, wie wir weiterhin sehen werden, auch tief in dem ganzen socialen Leben dieses Volkes begründet. Von sonstigen Schmuckgegenständen wird weiter unten die Rede sein.

Zu den Kleidungsstücken ist noch ein den Karaya ganz eigenthümlicher Gegenstand zu rechnen, das „*riri*", von den Brasilianern falschlich „rede" (Hängematte) genannt, auch von Castelnau und Martius so bezeichnet (Taf. VII. 1).

Dieses Baumwollgeflecht sieht zwar einer wirklichen Hängematte sehr ähnlich, wird aber nicht als solche verwendet und überhaupt nicht aufgehängt, besitzt dazu auch keinerlei Schnüre. Es dient vielmehr bei Tage als Umhang, Nachts als Unterlage beim Schlafen auf dem Boden. Das eine Ende wird kapuzenartig über den Kopf gezogen, während das andere das Gesäss bedeckt. So gehört das *riri* gradezu zur Nationaltracht. Nicht nur die Erwachsenen, sondern auch die kleinen Kinder sieht man

4: Ehrenreich SP9 Caraja

damit herumstolziren, selbst den kleinen Thonpuppen der letzteren fehlt es nicht. An Schnüren aufgehängte Matten sind nur als Wiegen für Neugeborene in Gebrauch.

Die Frage, wie die Karaya zu diesem originellen Kleidungsstück gekommen sind, ist von hohem ethnographischen Interesse. Bekanntlich bedient sich ein grosser Theil der brasilischen Stämme der Hängematte nicht. Es sind dies hauptsächlich die den ganzen Osten des Landes erfüllenden Gêsnationen, wie die Kayapo, Akuã, Kaingaã, Botocudos u. s. w., sowie die zwar nicht in Sprache, aber durchaus in Lebensweise, Brauch und Sitte mit ihnen übereinstimmenden Bororo. Sie alle schlafen auf dem Boden oder hölzernen Gestellen.

Von den übrigen Hängematten verwendenden Stämmen verfertigen die Karaiben solche aus Baumwolle, die Nu-Aruak aus Palmfaser.

Dieses Verhältniss ist so charakteristisch, dass die An- oder Abwesenheit der Hängematte bei einem Volke, sowie die Art ihrer Anfertigung Hauptmomente für dessen ethnographische Classification abgeben.

Nur die Karaya lassen sich in diesem Schema nicht unterbringen, da sie zwar Baumwoll-Hängematten verfertigen, aber in diesen auf dem Boden schlafen.

Dies lässt vermuthen, dass sie die „rede" erst neuerdings von einem andern Volke übernahmen, während sie ihre alte Gewohnheit des Schlafens auf der Erde nicht aufgeben mochten.[1])

Höchst wahrscheinlich verdanken sie ihre Matte den civilisirten Brasilianern. So weit diese sich überhaupt der Hängematten bedienen, verfertigen sie dieselben aus Baumwolle. Nun sagt Pinto da Fonseca a. a. O. S. 387, die Karaya benützten die Baumwolle nur zur Herstellung von Fischnetzen und Bogensehnen, seien aber der Webekunst unkundig. Er selbst habe ihnen einen Webapparat construirt und die Weiber in dieser Fertigkeit unterwiesen.

Damit würde im Einklange stehen, dass noch heute die Yavahe der Insel Bananal, bei denen Pinto seine ersten Civilisationsversuche anstellte, als die geschicktesten Weber bezeichnet werden. Die ungemein feste taffartig gewebte „rede" der Sammlung soll Yavahearbeit sein. Ein Besuch bei ihnen würde diese interessante Frage definitiv entscheiden.

Als bemerkenswerthes Ausstattungsstück der Karaya mögen hier noch die aus Oaguassu-Palmblättern geflochtenen Augenschirme (*gadi*) erwähnt sein, mit welchen sie sich vor dem blendenden reflectirten Sonnenlicht beim Marsch über die Sandbänke schützen (Taf. VIII. 10). Auf die Construction von Schutzapparaten nach Art der Eskimo-Schneebrillen sind sie nicht gekommen, wohl aber wissen sie europäische dunkle Augengläser zu schätzen.

Die Ergänzung des Augenschirms zum vollständigen Cylinderhut (*kaa*) ist wohl auf europäische Einwirkung zurückzuführen. Es kamen davon im Ganzen zwei Exemplare vor.

Ansiedlungen, Häuser und Hausthiere.

Die Karaya leben nicht wie die Waldindianer des Amazonas und die rohen Jagdnomaden des Küstengebiets in kleinen Trupps von zwei oder drei Familien beisammen, sondern stets in grösseren Gemeinschaften. Nur die südlichsten Karayahi sind aus Mangel an Subsistenzmitteln genöthigt, sich etwas mehr zu vertheilen. In der Umgegend von S. José stösst man zur Trockenzeit fortwährend auf kleine Banden von 8—10 Köpfen. Je weiter man stromabwärts kommt, desto volkreicher werden auch ihre Lager. Einige davon dürften mindestens 150—200 Insassen zählen. Die auf den Sandbänken errichteten Hütten der Karayahi bestehen meistens in grossen über Stangengerüsten ausgespannten Buritifasermatten, ohne Ordnung wie Zigeunerzelte durcheinander stehend (Taf. III. 2).

Nur selten sieht man bei ihnen den charakteristischen soliden Hausbau der Sambioa und dann nur in kleineren Dimensionen, ohne besondere Sorgfalt der Construction. Da alle Abfälle einfach auf dem Boden herumgestreut werden, so wird der Unrath allmählich unleidlich. Das massenhaft sich vermehrende Ungeziefer, insbesondere die Sandflöhe, zwingen schliesslich zum Verlassen des Platzes. In der Regenzeit beziehen die Karayahi festere, mit Buritiblättern gedeckte offene Ranchos am hohen Ufer, die sich in ihrer Form sonst nicht von den bei der brasilianischen Bevölkerung üblichen unterscheiden.

[1]) Mit Recht sagt daher der anonyme Verf. eines alten Reiseberichts der Revista trim. Bd. 25. p. 511. Estes indios dormem em suas redes e da mesma rede fazem cobertor. Esta idea não é innata nem despertada pela necessidade. Elles aprenderão de alguem.

Sehr viel sorgfältiger und zierlicher sind die „Sommerhütten" der Sambioa. Hier bekundet sich der grössere Fleiss, die Betriebsamkeit und der behäbige Wohlstand des freien Sohnes der Wildniss im Vergleich zu seinem in gedrückten Verhältnissen vegetirenden von der Kultur abhängigen „zahmen" Stammesbruder. Nicht ungeordnet, sondern in langen Reihen, förmliche Strassen bildend, machen diese Häuser bei ihrer tadellosen Sauberkeit einen ungemein wohnlichen und freundlichen Eindruck (Taf. IV. 1 u. V).

Wir zählten im ersten Sambioadorf 60, im zweiten 30, im dritten 45 und im vierten 90 Hütten, deren jede von einer oder zwei Familien bewohnt wird.

Die einzelnen Dörfer werden durch besondere Namen unterschieden.

Die Grundform des Hauses ist rechteckig, die schmale Seite mit der Thür der Strasse zugekehrt. Das Gerippe besteht beiderseits aus drei oder vier über gabelige Stützen getragenen biegsamen Stangen, welche mit denen der gegenüberliegenden Seite mittelst Sipos zusammengehalten werden und so ein kuppelförmig gewölbtes Dach bilden, welches noch durch einige in der Längsrichtung eingepflanzte Verticalstangen gestützt wird (Fig. 3). Diese sowohl wie die gabelförmigen Träger werden je nach Bedarf durch starke Horizontalstangen mit einander verbunden. Dünne Längslatten sind aussen über den Dachrippen parallel zu einander gebracht und dienen als Träger der mächtigen Fiederblätter der Ouguassupalme (Attalea spectabilis), welche in mehrfacher Lage eine ziemlich wasserdichte Decke bilden. Ihre Blattfedern werden auch wohl mit einander zu einem sehr soliden Flechtwerk verschlungen. Diese Geflechte dienen hauptsächlich zur Schliessung der Schmalseiten. Rechts und links von der Thür sind zwei hohe Stangen aufgepflanzt, welche den Palmblattschichten der Vorderseite einen festeren Halt geben.

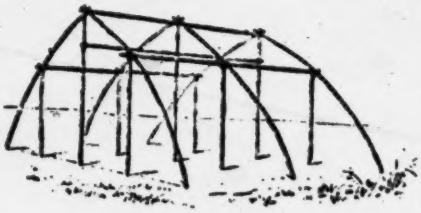


Fig. 3. Hüttenconstruction.

Die innere Ausstattung der Häuser ist ziemlich einfach. Ein Theil des Bodens ist mit Buritimatten belegt, die auch als Schlafunterlage dienen. Ein darunter geschobener glatter Holzcylinder vertritt das Kopfkissen. An den horizontalen Balken hängen die verschiedenen Vorrathskörbe, die Behälter für Schmuckfedern, die fertigen Federzierrathe, Flaschenkürbisse u. a. Bogen und Pfeile stecken in den Dachsparren. Lanzen und Keulen stehen in der Ecke stets zur Hand. Einige schlittenartige Schemel, sowie Töpfe und Cuyenschalen verschiedener Grösse vervollständigen den Hausrath.

In einiger Entfernung vom Dorfe befindet sich die etwas abweichend construirte „Medizinhütte", wo die mysteriösen Tanzmasken aufbewahrt werden. Sie hat die Form eines gewöhnlichen Rancho mit steil ansteigendem Schrägdach und ist auf drei Seiten dicht geschlossen, während die dem Dorf abgewandte Seite weit offen steht. Weibliche Wesen dürfen nicht wagen ihr zu nahen.

Castelnau thut ihrer schon Erwähnung. Couto Magelhães spricht in seinem ersten Bericht von einer Hütte, welche als Arsenal zur Aufbewahrung der Waffen dient. Von einer solchen ist mir nichts bekannt. Offenbar meint er damit dieses geheimnissvolle Heiligthum, dessen wahre Bestimmung man ihm nicht verrathen wollte. Wir werden im Folgenden darauf zurückzukommen haben.

Bemerkenswerth ist noch, dass vor zwei Sambioadörfern auf einem hohen Stangengerüst todte Königsgeier (Sarcoramphus papa) mit ausgebreiteten Flügeln befestigt waren. Wahrscheinlich sollen diese nach Art der holzgeschnitzten Vogelfiguren vor malaiischen Dörfern die Dämonen verscheuchen.

Hausthiere. Bei einer Schilderung des indianischen Hauses dürfen seine thierischen Mitbewohner nicht übergangen werden. Ein echt indianisches Stillleben ist ohne sie nicht denkbar. In ihrer Pflege äussert sich die naive Freude des Naturmenschen am Thier und seinem Treiben. Er betrachtet das Thier als seinesgleichen. Das Gefühl der Zusammengehörigkeit, ja der Verwandtschaft mit der Thierwelt, das sich in den Stammessagen und einem reichen Schatze von Thierfabeln ausspricht, ist ein Hauptcharakterzug des indianischen Volksgeistes. Hierdurch erklärt sich zugleich der oft hervorgehobene Widerspruch, dass der wilde Indianer trotz seiner staunenswerthen Befähigung im Zähmen der wilden scheuen Thiere seines Landes, es niemals zu einer wirklichen Hausthierzucht in unserem Sinne gebracht hat. Die Thiere werden jung eingefangen und aufgezogen, aber nur um ihrer selbst willen, zur Unterhaltung, aus Freude am Umgang mit ihnen, nicht um sie nutzbar zu machen. Sie werden deshalb auch nicht zur Paarung gebracht. Selbst das Haushuhn, welches schon seit langem im domesticirten Zustande zu den Araguayastämmen gelangt ist und sich massenhaft vermehrt, wird als Hausgenosse

4: Ehrenreich SP9 Caraja

nicht zur Nahrung verwendet, ebensowenig wie seine Eier.[1]) Neuerdings dient es jedoch als Tauschartikel im Verkehr mit den Reisenden, die auf den ersten Ansiedlungen der Provinz Para das Geflügel mit hohem Profit absetzen.

Von importirten Hausthieren sind Hunde und Katzen bereits weit verbreitet. Dagegen fehlt das Schwein, welches wiederum von den Kayapostämmen mit Vorliebe gezüchtet und verhandelt wird.

Ein grosses Sambioadorf ist immer zugleich eine Art Menagerie. Am meisten macht die Vogelwelt sich bemerkbar. Die grössten und farbenprächtigsten Vögel werden wenigstens insofern ausgenützt, als sie ihr Gefieder für die Federzierrathe hergeben müssen. Die stolzen Araras sitzen als stets alerte Wächter allenthalben auf den Dächern, mit ihrem betäubenden Gekreisch den Fremden schon von weitem begrüssend. Der grosse dunkelhyacinthblaue Macrocercus hyacinthinus ist für die Ornis der Araguaya charakteristisch und stets vertreten, ferner der blaugelbe M. Macao, sowie, wenn auch seltner, der scharlachrothe M. militaris. Natürlich sind auch die kleineren grünen Papageienarten in allen möglichen Altersstufen vorhanden.

Schmuckfedern liefern ausser ihnen noch die Reiher und Störche, wie die glänzend weisse Ardea egretta, der majestätische schwarzköpfige Riesenstorch (Mycteria Jabiru) und der rosenrothe Löffelreiher (A. cochlearis).

Daneben sieht man im buntesten Durcheinander die verschiedensten Entenarten, Steinsäusser, Kahnschnabel, Strausse, Hokkohühner u. s. w.

Viele dieser Vögel sind noch künstlich verschönert. Solche mit weissem Gefieder prangen in rother Bemalung, anderen sind kleine Federquasten an die Flügel gebunden.[2])

Ausserordentlich zahm werden die jung eingefangenen Säugethiere. Man lässt sie entweder von Hündinnen säugen, oder die Weiber nehmen sie auch wohl selbst an die Brust. Von Affen sind Ateles, Cebus und Hapalearten die häufigsten, von Nagern Capivaras und Agutis. Die Stelle des Hausschweins vertreten die Peccaris. In dem vierten Sambioadorfe sahen wir sogar einen völlig ausgewachsenen Tapir umherwandern.

An Reptilien finden sich endlich Schildkröten, Eidechsen und junge Alligatoren. Letztere liegen, in einer Schnur um den Leib gefesselt, in den warmen Wasserlachen der Praias.

Lebensweise. Nahrung und deren Zubereitung.

Die Karaya sind wie die meisten südamerikanischen Stämme in erster Linie **Fischer**, betreiben aber daneben einen nicht unbedeutenden Ackerbau. Die Hauptzeit für den Fischfang sind die trocknen Monate von Mai bis Oktober, wo die grösseren Fische den tieferen Stellen des Flusses, den sogenannten Poços zustreben, die sich besonders oberhalb der kleinen Schnellen und den hier und da hervortretenden Steinmassen bilden.

Die Fischwelt des Araguaya trägt im ganzen Mittellaufe durchaus schon den Charakter der Amazonasfauna. Der riesige drei Meter lange Pirarucu (Sudis gigas) ist allenthalben häufig, ebenso der Zitteraal (Gymnotus electricus) und der dickleibige mit starkem Knochenschild gepanzerte Pirarara (Phractocephalus discolor). Die Poços wimmeln von gefrässigen Piranhas, in den seichten Stellen am Ufer lauert der nicht minder gefürchtete Stachelrochen, im Sande vergraben, auf seine Beute.

Als die schmackhaftesten Fische werden geschätzt der blaugraue gefleckte Pintado (Pimelodus Sorubim), bis zwei Meter Länge erreichend, der Matrincham, der Tucunaré (Cichla temensis), der Curbina (Macrodon) und die verschiedenen Arten des Pacu (Myletes). Gewisse Fische, namentlich Muppenlose, werden aus abergläubischer Scheu nicht gejagt. Ebensowenig die überall massenhaft vorkommenden Süsswasser-Delphine. Desto eifriger stellt man den Schildkröten und deren wohlschmeckenden Eiern nach.

Zur Hochwasserzeit, wo die Fische in der lehmgelben Fluth nicht mehr leicht zu bekommen sind, bieten die vielen, den Strom begleitenden Lagunen die ergiebigsten Fangplätze. Sie bilden für die grösseren Arten geradezu grosse natürliche Fallen, in denen sie sich leicht absperren lassen.

[1]) Gleiches berichtet Im Thurn, Among the Indians of Guyana p. 269.

[2]) Auch die Karaya versuchen die Farbe der Vögel artificiell zu verändern, namentlich Gelbfärbung des Gefieders hervorzubringen, doch konnte über die dabei angewendete Methode nichts näheres ermittelt werden.

Während früher die Fische fast ausschliesslich mit dem Pfeil erlegt wurden, findet jetzt auch die Angel immer mehr Verwendung, da Haken massenhaft eingeführt werden. Indessen ist an vielen Punkten die Angel- und Netzfischerei wegen der zahllosen Piranhas, deren Zähnen keine Schnur und kein Netz widersteht, unausführbar.

Kleinere Fische werden auch in Reusen (*adturiá*), grössere in Stacketen oder eigenthümlichen aus Schlingpflanzen verfertigten Fallen (*dramrirá*) gefangen, die ich jedoch aus eigener Anschauung nicht kenne.

Der Fischerei gegenüber spielt die Jagd eine viel geringere Rolle, als Diejenigen zu glauben geneigt sind, welche alle Indianer ohne Weiteres als reine Jägervölker ansehen. Grösseres jagdbares Wild ist im tropischen Amerika überhaupt spärlich vertreten und beim Mangel an Feuerwaffen schwer zu beschaffen. Dazu kommt, dass oft der Aberglaube den Genuss des Fleisches gerade der grössten und häufigsten Arten verbietet. So verschmähen die Karaya den Tapir. Ihre hauptsächlichste Beute sind die in allen Uferwäldern häufigen Affen, Wildschweine und kleinen Nager, wie Agutis und Pacas, ferner die kleinen Camprehe. In den Lagunen und Sumpfgebieten der Pantanaes liefert ihnen die in Menge vorkommende Bisamente (Anas moschata) eine treffliche Speise.

Agricultur. Die weite Entfernung der Pflanzungen von den Dörfern stand einer Besuche derselben entgegen. Nach der Fülle vegetabilischer Nahrungsmittel bei den Šambioa zu urtheilen, scheint der Ackerbau auf einer relativ hohen Stufe zu stehen. Die „Wilden" haben in dieser Beziehung ihre civilisirten Nachbarn weit überflügelt. Eiserne Ackergeräthe haben schon allgemein die ursprünglichen verdrängt.

Die wichtigste Kulturpflanze ist die Manioca, von der sowohl die nährstoffreichere giftige (M. brava) als die weniger ergiebige, aber direkt geniessbare Aipim (M. mansa) angebaut wird. Der frisch gerodete trockene Waldboden der höheren Ufer ist besonders für diese Kultur geeignet.

Nächstdem kommt als Körnerfrucht der Mais in Betracht, der weniger in Substanz als zur Herstellung gegohrener Getränke verwendet wird.

Auf niederem Uferland gedeiht das Zuckerrohr. Zur Trockenzeit sieht man allenthalben auf den Sandbänken die Stecklinge für die nächste Saison eingepflanzt. Besondere Vorrichtungen zum Auspressen des Saftes sind nicht im Gebrauch.

An Hülsenfrüchten fanden sich bei den Šambioa kleine braune Bohnen (Dolichos chinensis), sowie von Para importirte Erbsen (*hamanara*).

In grosser Menge, vortrefflicher Qualität und in verschiedenen Arten werden Caraknollen gezogen. Am häufigsten sieht man die gewaltige eiförmige Pé d'anta (Cara brasiliensis) mit weisser, sowie eine kleinere mit fast violetter Durchschnittsfläche.

Die wilden Nahrungspflanzen und Obstsorten, welche die Flusswälder und Campgehölze liefern, bilden eine erwünschte Abwechselung. Es sind zunächst Palmfrüchte, wie die Nüsse der Oaguassu, die pinienapfelartigen Früchte der Buriti (Mauritia vinifera) und verschiedene kleine Cocosarten, ferner der wilde Cajubaum, die Jabuticaba, die Pitanga, der ölhaltige Piquia (Caryocar brasiliense), diverse Bromeliaceen und endlich die schönste Frucht der Campos, die Mangaba (Hancornia speciosa). Letztere sieht man indess weit seltner als bei den Xingudörfern. Der Baum scheint nicht wie dort angepflanzt zu werden.

Auffallend ist, dass die hier vortrefflich gedeihende Orange nicht cultivirt wird, obwohl die Indianer sie aufs höchste schätzen. Nicht selten unternehmen sie wochenlange Reisen zu den brasilianischen Ansiedlungen, um diese Früchte einzuhandeln. Ein Hauptziel solcher Excursionen ist die Stelle des alten jetzt aufgegebenen Missions- und Militärpostens Chambioas kurz oberhalb der Schnelle von S. Miguel, wo grössere Bestände dieses edlen Baumes sich erhalten haben. Auch Cacao wurde früher von dort geholt.

Erwähnt sei noch der Honig der unzähligen Arten wilder Bienen, dessen Einsammlung, da die Thiere sämmtlich stachellos sind, keinerlei Schwierigkeit bereitet. Das schwarze Wachs, welches in grossen runden zolldicken Scheiben aufbewahrt wird, findet in der indianischen Industrie als Klebstoff Verwendung.

Das einzige Genussmittel der Karaya ist der Tabak (*bodi*). Es ist eine Nicotiana, aber nicht N. tabacum, von leichter Qualität. Die getrockneten Blätter werden in grossen aus Palmblattstreifen geflochtenen rechteckigen Packeten aufbewahrt (s. S. 21) und werden zum Gebrauch zwischen den

Händen zerrieben. Als Pfeife (*arikobo*) dient die aussen glatt geraspelte Fruchtkapsel des Jequitibabaumes (Hymenaea sp.). Ein Exemplar der Sammlung ist in der natürlichen Form aus Holz geschnitzt (Fig. 4 und Taf. I. 1).

Zubereitung der Nahrung. Unmittelbar vor der Hausthür befindet sich der Küchenplatz, umgeben von niederen Stangengerüsten, auf denen die ausgepresste Maniokmasse getrocknet wird. Grosse irdene Töpfe stehen auf Steinen oder thönernen Untersätzen über dem Feuer. Der Boden ringsum ist mit Abfällen bestreut. Diese Haufen sind die Brutstätte lästiger, heftig stechender grauer Fliegen (sog. Mosca da aldeia), die, wenn sie überhandnehmen, zum Verlassen des Platzes nöthigen.

Unermüdlich sind die Frauen den ganzen Tag über beschäftigt mit dem Herbeischleppen von Feldfrüchten, von Brennholz und der Zubereitung der Manioca, Zerstampfen des Mais, Aufschlagen der Palmnüsse und dem sorgsamen Ueberwachen aller der kulinarischen Prozesse, in denen die indianische Hausfrau trotz der Einfachheit der Materialien eine relativ grosse Mannigfaltigkeit zu erzielen weiss.

Das Feuer wird noch ganz in der ursprünglichen Weise mittelst des Bohrers (*kuda*) erzeugt. Derselbe besteht aus zwei Stäbchen. Das dickere aus dem Holz der Urucupflanze wird am Boden fixirt, nachdem in der Nähe des einen Endes ein flaches mit einem tiefen seitlichen Einschnitt versehenes Grübchen angelegt ist. In dieses wird nun die Spitze des zweiten dünneren Stäbchens aus Taquararohr eingesetzt und unter starkem Drucke so lange quirlend zwischen den Handflächen herumgedreht, bis sich an dieser Stelle eine Aushöhlung bildet, aus der der glimmende Staub durch die Einkerbung seitlich abfliesst und aufgefangen werden kann. Das Verfahren ist also ganz das bei Im Thurn (a. a. O. p. 258) abgebildete und beschriebene. Wie bei der von den Warrau ausgeübten Methode ist auch hier kein besonderer Zunder nöthig. Das geriebene Holz liefert ihn selbst. Zur Entfachung einer lebhafteren Flamme werden trockene Palmblattstreifen mit dem leicht brennbaren, siegellackartigen rothen Harz (*tamarara*) bestrichen und angezündet.

Fig. 4. Tabakspfeife (½).

Natürlich suchen auch die Karaya das Feuer so lange als möglich zu erhalten und erzeugen neues nur im Nothfall. Bei längern Bootfahrten werden stets glimmende Holzstücke auf Sandunterlage mitgeführt.

Fleisch und Fische werden am Spiess scharf gebraten oder direkt auf glühende Kohlen gelegt, bis die oberste Schicht resp. die Haut völlig verkohlt ist. Die Aschentheile derselben machen im Verein mit dem zurückgehaltenen Fleischsaft den Gebrauch des Salzes einigermassen entbehrlich. An europäisches Salz haben nur die Karayahi sich zu gewöhnen angefangen. Salzhaltige Erden, wie sie sich in den Campos an den sogenannten Barreiros finden, so wie die Asche verschiedener Hölzer müssen sonst als Ersatz dienen. Fische werden auch wohl gekocht.

Maiskolben, Aipimwurzeln, Bataten und einige Palmfrüchte rösten man gleichfalls am Feuer.

Die Zubereitung der Manioca ist viel primitiver als bei den Xingu- und Amazonasstämmen. Die Wurzeln werden, mit tiefen Einschnitten versehen, einige Tage zur Maceration ins Wasser gelegt, sodann mit Messern oder scharfen Muscheln von der Rinde befreit und auf dem Reibholz (*drawö*), einem ca. 3 cm dicken biconvexen Brettchen mit einigen Reihen kurzer Buritistacheln in der Mitte, zerrieben (Taf. VIII. 4).

Die zerkleinerte Masse wird zur gänzlichen Entfernung des giftigen Saftes, der grösstentheils schon beim Maceriren entwichen ist, mit den Händen, wohl auch unter Zuhilfenahme von Steinen, ausgepresst und mittelst eigenthümlicher aus elastischen Sipos geflochtener Körbchen (*nöriri* s. S. 21) gesiebt und ausgewaschen an der Luft getrocknet. Durch Dörren in flachen Töpfen gewinnt man so das auch am Amazonas allgemein verbreitete „Wassermehl" (Farinha d'agua). In Folge der beim Maceriren eingetretenen Gährung hat dasselbe einen leicht säuerlichen Beigeschmack, ist aber viel haltbarer als die aus der frischen Wurzel bereitete „Farinha secca" des Handels. Diese Art der Zubereitung scheint aber nicht die ursprünglich bei ihnen geübte zu sein. Häufiger wird nach altnationalem Brauch die getrocknete Masse (Puva, *beerö*) nach mehrfacher Auslaugung zu dicken laibartigen Klumpen verbacken. Endlich werden auch aus der frisch behandelten Wurzel kleine gleichfalls in Töpfen geröstete Fladen (Beijus, *ibräöcho*) hergestellt.

Im Verein mit Mais wird das Maniokmehl auch zur Bereitung ihres beliebtesten Getränkes, des *mierö*, verwendet. In die kochende Maniokbrühe wird gestossener Mais geschüttet und fleissig um-

geführt. Ist derselbe genügend weich, so lässt man die Mischung erkalten. Sodann wird der Bodensatz nach echt indianischer Manier von Weibern gekaut, wodurch das Ganze nach mehrtägigem Stehen in saure Gährung übergeht. Es entsteht so ein säuerliches haferschleimartiges Getränk, dem bisweilen noch Honig- oder Zuckerrohrsaft zugesetzt wird. Die Wirkung wird alsdann leicht berauschend.

Die Küchengeräthe sind einfach, immerhin aber schon etwas vollkommener, als z. B. bei den Xingustämmen. Ausser irdnen Töpfen und Cuyen, sowie den als Löffel dienenden Muschelschalen von Anodonta und Hyria avicularis finden sich schon wirkliche Löffel aus Holz oder Thon (vgl. Fig. 5 u. 14).

Die Etikette verlangt, dass Jeder, von dem Andern abgewendet, für sich isst. Wer dagegen verstösst, muss sich den Spott der übrigen gefallen lassen.

Werkzeuge und Geräthe. Industrie und Kunstfertigkeit.

Die industrielle Thätigkeit der Karaya bietet insofern kein ganz ungetrübtes Bild mehr, als die ursprünglichen **Werkzeuge** mehr und mehr durch die importirten verdrängt worden sind.

Ueber die Form und das Material ihrer alten **Steinäxte** ist nichts Näheres bekannt. Doch sieht man unter den Petroglyphen der Martiriosinsel, welche unzweifelhaft den alten Karaya zuzuschreiben sind, menschliche Figuren mit Steinäxten in den Händen dargestellt (s. S. 46). Dieselbe Form zeigt ein Steinbeil des Pariser Trocaderomuseums von unbekannter Herkunft, dessen Stiel mit dem für die Karayaarbeit charakteristischen Flechtwerk in Zickzack- und Kreuzmustern umsponnen ist. Möglicherweise stammt das Stück von der Castelnau'schen Expedition.

Heutzutage beschränken sich die primitiven Werkzeuge auf solche, die schon die Natur zweckentsprechend liefert, wie Schabemesser aus Muschelschalen, meisselförmige Instrumente aus Nagetierzähnen, flache Steine zum Klopfen des Bastzeuges, die rauhe Knochenzunge des Pirarucu als Raspel u. s. w.

Trotz der ausgedehnten Anwendung fremder Hilfsmittel hat die Industrie dieses Volkes durchaus den nationalen Charakter bewahrt. Von einem Verfall derselben, wie er sich bekanntlich fast stets in Folge der Einfuhr europäischer Produkte einstellt, kann bei den Karaya glücklicherweise noch nicht die Rede sein. Zweckmässigkeit, Formenschönheit und Sorgfalt der Ausführung ist ihren Arbeiten noch immer eigen.

Der **Kanubau** steht auf einer ziemlich hohen Stufe, wenn auch die Art der Anfertigung verhältnissmässig einfach ist. Die Boote (*awéo*) sind lange schmale Einbäume mit gleichmässig weit ausgezogenem an der Spitze etwas abgeschrägtem Vorder- und Hintertheil. Bei den vielen Untiefen des Stromes ist diese Form die zweckmässigste, da sie das Landen und Wiederflottmachen des Fahrzeugs erleichtert (Taf. IV. 2).

Das Material ist ein möglichst gerader Stamm der Ipiuba (Tecoma sp.) oder Jatoba (Hymenaea sp.). Da das Vordertheil von dem unteren, das Hintertheil von dem oberen Abschnitt des Stammes geliefert wird, so sind die Kanus vorn meist etwas breiter als hinten. Die Aushöhlung geschieht mittelst der Axt unter Zuhilfenahme des Feuers. Da das Lumen des Boots nicht durch besondere Manipulationen künstlich erweitert wird, wie Im Thurn dies (a. a. O. S. 293) schildert, sondern der ursprüngliche Durchmesser des Stammes auch den des Bootes bestimmt, so sind die Kanus meist im Vergleich zu ihrer Länge unverhältnissmässig schmal und schlagen leicht um. Sie sind innen und aussen mit grosser Sorgfalt geglättet. Vorrichtungen zum Sitzen sind nicht vorhanden. Dagegen werden Reihen kurzer Querhölzer hineingelegt, die einige Zoll über dem Boden festliegend, etwaige Ladung vor Durchnässung schützen.

Von vorzüglicher Arbeit sind die **Ruder** (*nakerr*, Taf. VIII. 1—3). Sie sind 1,2—1,5 m lang, wovon die Hälfte auf den mit Quergriff versehenen Stiel kommt. Die Schaufel ist gerade, blattförmig, 15—20 cm breit und läuft unten in eine lanzenförmig abgesetzte Spitze aus. Elegante Ruder haben schwarzen Anstrich. Das mittlere Drittel der Schaufel bedeckt ein aus schwarzen Zickzacklinien und Punkten zusammengesetztes Ornament auf weissem Grunde (s. S. 23).

Die **Waffen** der Karaya sind durchaus noch die ursprünglichen.

Die Bogen (*karáhi*) sind je nach dem Alter und der Kraft des Inhabers von verschiedener Grösse. Der längste der Sammlung misst 220 cm, der kleinste Kinderbogen 70 cm. Sie bestehen theils aus dem Holz der Brejaubapalme (Astrocaryum sp.) oder dem sog. Pau d'arco (Tecoma sp.). Die Vorderseite meist etwas abgeflacht, die Enden verjüngt mit dornartig abgesetzter Spitze (Taf. VI. 1).

Die Sehne *(mukiyu)* und die Art ihrer Befestigung zeigt manches Eigenthümliche, was sich ähnlich bei den Guayanastämmen wiederfindet. Ihr Material ist Faserbast (Mabacter sp.), die Blattfaser einer Bromelie (Caraguata) oder die der Palmpalme (Bysgras botryophora). Die Länge der dünnen gedrehten Sehne übersteigt die des Bogens um das sechs- bis achtfache. An dem einen Ende von ruckenspreichender Dicke, verjüngt sie sich gegen das andere immer mehr, um schliesslich in einem dünnen Faden zu endigen. Ihr starkes Ende ist um die obere Spitze des Bogens geschlungen. Von dort zieht die Sehne direkt zur unteren Spitze und an der Vorderseite des Bogens wieder nach aufwärts bis gegen die Mitte. Nunmehr läuft sie wieder zurück und wird mit ihrem dünneren Ende um den unteren Theil des Bogens festgewickelt. Das letzte, fadenförmige Stück hängt, mit einer Federquasta geschmückt, nach unten herab.

Damit dieses aufgewickelte Ende sich nicht nach oben verschiebt, wird es an der Biegungspunkte mit einer Lage Baumwollfäden, welche durch schwarze Baumwollschnüre festgehalten sind, umwunden. Bisweilen sind auch die Enden des Bogens unterhalb der Spitze mit dünnen weissen Fäden bewickelt. Eine Zierliche, aber heute Baumwollbinde befestigt das an der Aussenseite des Bogens verlaufende Sehnenstück am Bogenholz. Auf diese Weise wird einer allzustarken Ausspannung der Sehne entgegengewirkt. Reicht das obere Ende der Sehne aus, so kann durch Abwickeln von unten leicht die Elasticität hergestellt werden. Am unteren Ende ist wegen des hier vorhandenen Gegenzuges ein Blos nicht leicht möglich.

Sehr mannigfaltig ist die Form der Pfeile *(wde)*.

Der Pfeilschaft besteht aus zwei Stücken, einem untern aus Rohr und dem darin eingesetzten aus Holz. Letzterer trägt entweder eine besondere Spitze oder dient in irgend einer Weise zugeschärft und entsprechend geformt selbst als solche.

In der Regel beträgt die Länge des Rohrschafts $^1/_{10}$, die des Holzschafts $^1/_3$ der ganzen Pfeillänge.

Die Federn des unteren Rohrendes sind stets so angebracht, dass ihre oberste Spitze um sich selbst gedreht in der Ebene der Einkerbung liegt. Der Federkiel beschreibt um den Pfeilschaft $^1/_2$ bis $^3/_4$ Drehung. Die schweren Pfeile, namentlich die mit breiter Rohrspitze versehenen, weisen meist eine stärkere Windung der Federn auf.

Durch die Umdrehung der Federspitze wird die Aussenfahne stark nach aussen gebogen. Die Innenfahne ist, um besser dem Schafte anzuliegen, kurz beschnitten.

Bei vielen Pfeilen ist das unterste Stück, welches die Kerbe und den Federansatz trägt, besonders in den Rohrschaft eingesetzt. Wahrscheinlich ist hier das ursprüngliche Pfeilende beim Zuschneiden oder dem Spannen des Bogens zersplittert und durch einen Einsatz ergänzt werden.

Die Federn sind mit schwarzen Baumwollschnüren befestigt, zwischen denen meist kleine rothe und gelbe Zierfederchen angebracht sind. Die Ansatzstücke werden durch Waimbe-Bastbinden (Philodendron sp.) zusammengehalten. Der gegliederte Theil des Rohrendes zeigt häufig mit rothem Lack *(Annatto)* aufgetragene Querbänder.

Folgende Pfeiltypen sind in der Sammlung vertreten:

1. Kriegspfeile, mit Spitze aus dem Schenkelknochen des Rehes, 90—96 cm lang, wovon $^1/_3$ auf den Rohrschaft kommt. Die 6—8 cm lange Holzspitze mit zahlreichen kleinen Widerhäkchen versehen. Stielbst bei mittelst Bindfaden und Wachs an dem Holzschaft befestigt, dass der untere Theil als langer Widerhaken hervorragt. Der Holzschaft selbst ist mit rothen Stäbchen, Wellenlinien und Punkten bemalt (Taf. VI. 8).

2. Kriegspfeile mit messerförmig zugeschnittener Rohrspitze, in ihrer Form an die Bamenpfeile sich anschliessend. Gesammtlänge 90—96 cm, wovon nur $^1/_3$ auf den Rohrschaft kommt. Am oberen Ende des $^1/_3$ cm dicken Holzschafts aus dem glattgehobelten Jerikapalmenholz ist der 30—35 cm lange und 2—3 cm breite messerförmige Tapuirapuhn mittelst Waimbe-Binden befestigt (Taf. VI. 9).

Bei einem Exemplar ist der kurze Rohrschaft mit Flechtwerk in einfach quadratischem Muster verziert.

3. Jagdpfeile mit Knochenspitzen vom Tapir und Reh, sonst von derselben Länge und Ausführung wie No. 1. Auch bei ihnen zeigt der Holzschaft rothe Bemalung.

4. Jagdpfeile mit Vogelbauchenspitze. Rohrschaft $^2/_3$, Palmholzschaft $^1/_3$ der Gesammtlänge von 90—95 cm (Taf. VI. 4).

5. Fischpfeile, deren Palmholzende zugleich als Spitze dient, 90—95 cm lang.

6. Jagdpfeile mit messerförmig geschnittener Palmholzspitze, die $^1/_3$ der ganzen Länge von 80 cm beträgt (Taf. VI. 2 u. 3).

7. Pfeile mit einfachem Rohrschaft, die statt der Spitze einen hölzernen Kolben tragen, um kleinere Jagdthiere betäubend zu erlegen. Länge 100—107 cm. Bei den gefiederten Schaftheil läuft spiralig ein schwarzer Bindenzement (Taf. VI. 5).

8. Kinderpfeile kommen in derselben Serien vor. Die einfachsten sind 50—60 cm lange mit Wachs besteckte gespitzte Blattstiele der Ungemaspalme. Andere von 120 cm Länge sind eingespitzte Rohrstäbchen. Vollkommener sind endlich die mit spitzigem Holzende versehenen von 90 cm Länge.

Waffen für den Nahkampf sind Keulen *(Ahtr)* und Speere *(Kwere)*.

Von Ersteren finden sich zwei Formen:

1. Flache, schaufelartige Keulen. Ein ganz roh gearbeitetes Exemplar mit leicht gekrümmtem Handgriff und ovalem Blatt wurde bei den Karayahi erworben.

Zwei hervorragende Stücke dieser Art verdanke ich Herrn Dr. Leite Moraes aus São Paulo.

Die Kriegskeule des Häuptlings Ambaua (IV Aldea der Bambuya) ist ein Prachtstück indianischer Waffenindustrie. Sie ist, 185 cm lang, aus hartem Tecomaholz. Die Handhabe, von dem Knauf zum schwarzen mit Schneckenschalen verziert Quasten herabhängen, ist mit zierlichem Flechtwerk in Bindenmuster umhüllt. Das nach unten sich verbreiternde viereckig-prismatische Blatt mit scharfen Kanten läuft in eine lanzettförmige Spitze aus (Taf. VI. 11, 12).

Von ähnlicher Form, aber bedeutend kleiner (Länge 17,5 cm) ist die Pulsbahnkeule des Bundeshauptmanns Buru d'Aldeia. Der Stab ist von elliptischem Querschnitt. Das Flechtmuster ist eingeritzt.

Bei beiden wird das Gelenk im unteren Theil durch eine breite rothe in Quadrate eingeteilte Baumwollbinde festgehalten.

2. **Rundkeulen von verschiedener Länge (65—137 cm).**

Sie sind stabförmig mit kolbig verdicktem Endtheil, welcher in einen flachen Buckel auslaufen. Das Griffende hat auch bei ihnen einen knauferig vorspringenden Ansatz.

Sie sind entweder glatt oder noch häufiger mit Längskanelirung versehen, die sich bald über die ganze Länge der Waffe, bald nur über den unteren Theil erstreckt. Bei dem schönsten Exemplar ist die Kanelirung beiderseits durch einen 1 cm breiten glatten Streifen unterbrochen, in welchem in fingerbreiten Abständen kleine Grübchen eingeschlagen sind (Taf. VI. 13).

Zur Kriegsformatur gehören endlich die 2—2½ m langen federverzierten Stosslanzen (Taf. VI. 10). Der Schaft ist von Palmholz, die 15—20 cm lange Spitze aus dem Schenkelknochen des Jaguars oder des Hirsches, unterhalb der Ansatzstelle derselben sind mittelst Baumwollbänder zwei lang herabhängende Federgarnituren angebracht. Bei den grösseren Speeren ist das ganze obere Drittel des Schaftes mit Flechtwerk in Zickzackmustern umgeben (Schlangenornament). Kleine rothe Federkränze umen dieselbe oben und unten ein.

Pfeilschleuder (Wurfbrett) (*Jáwá*). Nachdem wir bei den Xingustämmen der Kamayura, Auetö und Trumai dieses in Südamerika fast schon verschollene Instrument noch im Gebrauch angetroffen, war ich überrascht, es in ganz derselben Form am Araguaya wiederzufinden. Nur ist seine Ausführung etwas roher. Der stabförmige Theil mit dem knöchernen Flintstuhlen ist im oberen Drittel rund, im übrigen sechskantig gearbeitet.

Von den drei Exemplaren hat das grösste eine Gesammtlänge von 72,5 cm, wovon 14,5 auf die Handhabe kommen (Taf. VI. 6). Ausserdem findet sich ein Kinderwurfbrett von 38,5 cm Länge.

Die Schleuderpfeile (*Itáwe*) sind 150—180 cm lange ungegliederte Rohrstäbe aus Uba (Gynerium saccharoides) mit eingesetzten 12—20 cm langen Endkolben aus Palmholz, die mit einer dicken Wachslage überzogen sind. Dieselben sind somit nur noch als Sportgeräthe zu betrachten. Dass die Ueberlieferung sie jedoch noch als Waffen kennt, beweist die S. 42 mitgetheilte Legende (Taf. VI. 7).

Keramik. Die ausschliesslich von den Weibern ausgeübte Kunst der Topfbereitung ist nicht besonders entwickelt. (Obwohl die Technik wenig zu wünschen übrig lässt, sind die Formen doch ziemlich einfach. Künstlerischer Trieb in Wiedergabe von Naturgegenständen, Thierfiguren etc. wie bei den Xingustämmen spricht sich nicht darin aus. Alles ist mehr auf das Zweckmässige berechnet.

Wie fast überall in Südamerika werden die Gefässe ohne Scheibe durch kreisförmig oder spiralig übereinander gelegte Thonrollen hergestellt, die auf einer flachen runden Lage als Grundfläche sich aufbauen. Durch Streichen mit der befeuchteten Hand und fortwährendes Glätten mittelst Knochenstücken und Muschelschalen erreicht der Topf schliesslich die gewünschte Form und Stärke.

Nach Couto Magalhães (Archiv. do museu nac. Rio VI, p. 77) wird dem Thon die Asche grosser Schlingpflanzen beigemischt, deren Kieselgehalt denselben widerstandsfähiger macht.

Das Brennen der Töpfe geschieht nach oberflächlichem Trocknen in der Sonne; einer weiteren Mittheilung jenes Beobachters zufolge in eigenthümlicher Weise. In einem Erdermiedhaufen wird seitlich ein Loch ausgehöhlt und dasselbe erhitzt. Man stellt das Gefäss hinein und legt darunter eine zweite mit der ersten communicirende Oeffnung an, in welcher ein Feuer unterhalten wird. Eine dritte Oeffnung nach oben dient als Schlot.

Die Sammlung zeigt die wichtigsten, aber nicht die grössten vorkommenden Gefässtypen (Fig. 5).

1. Die gewöhnlichste Form ist gegeben durch rund oder den Boden zusammenziehende eingedrückte Kugel. Kleine Modell mit einer, grössere mit weiter Oeffnung sind im Gebrauch.

2. Weit offene vertiefte Schüsseln in flacher Grundform dienen als Kochtöpfe.

3. Flache runde Teller, vielleicht europäischen Formen nachgebildet.

4. Hochige elliptische Doppelnäpfe mit längsverlaufender Scheidewand.

5. Cylindrische Töpfe mit eingebogenem oder abstehendem oberem Rand.

6. Dreifüssige Schüsseln (*tacitá*), besonders von Kindern benützt, eine Form, die sich analog in Kinder wiederfindet.

7. Fehlerhafte Gefässe.

Hierauf besitzen die Gefässe nicht, nicht dieses werden Bandhenkel an den Hals des Topfes gebunden oder durch den Rand hindurchgezogen.

Zu den Gefässen gehören ausserdem die Cayenschalen (*ete*) (Frucht der Crescentia cayenensis). Man findet sie hier bei weitem nicht in der Grösse und Mannigfaltigkeit der Form wie bei den Xingu-

stämmen. Dagegen sind sie viel sorgfältiger zubereitet und getrocknet, besitzen auch eine ungleich grössere Haltbarkeit. Sie sind meist aussen und innen geschwärzt und mit eingravirten Ornamenten versehen (Fig. 6 u. 10). Bemalte Cuyen, wie bei den Xingustämmen, kommen nicht vor.

In ihrer natürlichen Form, d. h. nicht durchschnitten und nur an einem Pol mit runder Oeffnung, auch mit Hangeschnüren versehen (Taf. VIII, 7), dienen sie als Flaschen oder Behälter für kleinere

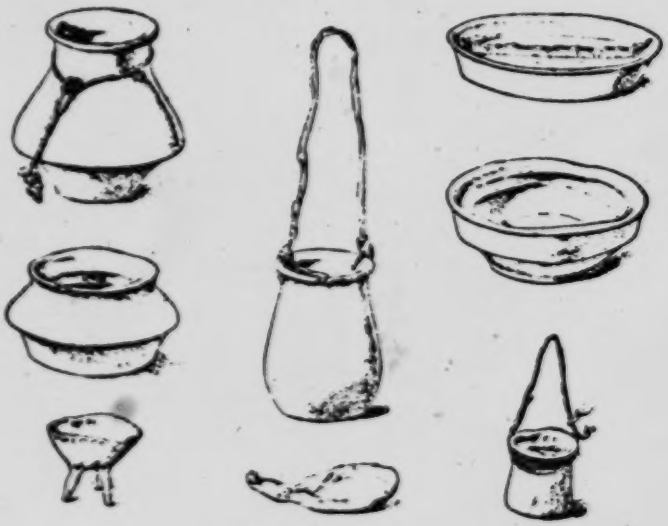


Fig. 5. Thongefässtypen (1/3).

Gegenstände, wie Sämereien, Zierfederchen u. dgl., mit einem Holzstiel und den im Innern zurückbleibenden Kernen oder Steinchen als Tanzrassel (*ialra*). Solche sind dann oft mit langherabhängenden Federbündern geschmückt (Taf. X, 1, u. 2).

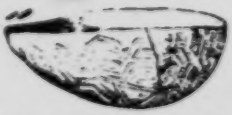


Fig. 6. Cuyenschale mit Ornamenten (1/3).

Die **Flechtarbeiten** nehmen bei der unerschöpflichen Fülle des pflanzlichen Materials, welche die reiche Natur des tropischen Südamerika dessen wilden Urbewohnern an die Hand giebt, die hervorragendste Stelle in der indianischen Hausindustrie ein. Sie bilden geradezu den Gradmesser der Cultur dieser Stämme. Die Karaya stehen in dieser Kunst hinter keiner anderen Nation zurück, doch zeichnen sich ihre Arbeiten weniger durch Zierlichkeit als durch Zweckmässigkeit, Sorgfalt der Ausführung und Mannigfaltigkeit der Form aus.

Zur Herstellung von Matten dienen ihnen die Blätter der Oaguassu- und Buritipalme. Die diagonal zusammengeflochtenen Blattfiedern der ersteren geben, wie oben gezeigt wurde, ein wichtiges Material für den Hausbau ab. Auch als Bodenbelag werden solche einfachen Matten verwandt, die bei der Leichtigkeit ihrer Anfertigung meist erst im Augenblicke des Bedarfs zugerichtet werden.

Die eigentlichen Matten (Esteiras), die man als Unterlage beim Schlafen und zu Zeltdächern benutzt, liefern die fein zertheilten Fächerblätter der Buritipalme. Die zarten der Länge nach abgespaltenen Fasern sind stets in zopfartig geflochtenen Gebinden zum Gebrauch vorräthig.

Lange parallele Bündel derselben werden durch paarweise kinderarmbindenähnliche gebildete Fäden zusammengehalten. Eine einzige zusammenhängende Einschlingschnur durchzieht der Quere. Wo dieselbe am Rande der Matte zum nächsten Durchschlupf unbrauchbar, entstehen abstehende Schleifen, an denen das Gefecht aufgetrennt wird. Die Durchschlüpfe sind in Abständen von etwa 5 cm angebracht. Die Diamantenmuster scheint ungefähr halbweiss, weichen und schmiegsamen Matten sind oft sehr beträchtlich. Die beiden Semmelgewebe sind flächenförmig, an dem einen Ende fast doppelt so breit wie am andern. Bei dem grösseren beträgt die Länge der gebrochenen Theile 156 cm, während eine Breite von 56 cm angebrachten Stammes. Die Breite misst oben 179 cm, unten 163 cm.

Ist der Karaya genöthigt, auf dem glühend heissen Sande der Prairie längere Zeit stehen zu bleiben, so schützt er seine Fusssohlen durch eine unregelmässige kleine Matte von ähnlicher Ausführung. Das betreffende Stück der Sammlung ist mit schwarzem Embirabast in complementärem Muster durchflochten (Taf. VIII. 13).

Zur Korbflechterei verwendet man ausser der genannten Palme noch die kleinere Mauritiaart Carandainha, gespaltenes Taquararohr, elastische Sipes, wie die sogenannte Aristolochia, Schlingpflanzen verschiedener Arten, gespaltene Marantastengel u. s. w.

1. Zur Bereitung [illegible] Tragkorbes (*pacú*) durch einander [illegible] Zusammenflechten zweier Ouguassublätter hergestellt. Dieselben werden parallel neben einander gelegt, so dass die Rippen [illegible] ein Abstand haben. Die einander zugekehrten Blattränder geben in diagonaler Kreuzung die Rückwand des Korbes, die nach neuem Biegenden stehen, an jeder Seite untereinander verknotet, die Seitentheile dar. Durch Zusammenschnürung ihrer unteren Enden wird der Boden gebildet. Die Länge eines solchen mit starken Tragbändern versehenen Korbes kann bis zu 3 m betragen. [1])

2. Dieselbe Palme liefert das Material der runden Tragkörbe (*pacú*). Der Rand besteht aus der längsgespaltenen Mittelrippe. Die Seiten und der doppelte Boden sind durch die köperartig sich kreuzenden Blattränder gebildet (Taf. VIII. 17).

3. Aus Buritiblattfasern werden rechteckige Taschen mit Gehänge hergestellt (*mamú*). Schwarze Waimbéstreifen sind in der Längsrichtung eingeflochten (Taf. VIII. 13).

4. Eine cipríhnliche Form bieten die elastischen dreieckigen Körbe aus Buritiblattstreifen in Köpergeflecht (*bacú*). Bei dem kleineren Exemplar ist die Ausdehnungsfähigkeit dadurch gesteigert, dass unterhalb des Halses eine Reihe neuer Blattstreifen eingebunden ist, welche über den Grundstreifen mit einander verknotet sind (Taf. VIII. 9 u. 11).

5. Zur Aufbewahrung von Federschmuck u. dgl. dienen die Doppelkörbe aus Ouguassublättern von elliptischer Grundform. Sie bestehen aus zwei ganz gleichen Hälften, von denen die eine als Deckel über die andere geschoben wird (*tarcubdá*). Die Blattstreifen sind, sich gegenseitig zur Hälfte deckend, über eine elliptisch gekrümmte Palmholzleiste als Rand zusammengenäht. Ein Längsstäbchen giebt dem Boden Halt und ist mit dem der andern Hälfte durch eine Schnur verbunden (Taf. VIII. 6).

6. Kahnförmige Hängekörbe (*iúla*) aus Carandainhablättern. Der durch den gespaltenen Blattstiel gebildete Rand ist bei vollkommenen Exemplaren mit schwarzem Jangadabast umhüllt und mit einer ebensolchen Hängeschnur versehen. Das Gefecht zeigt ein rechteckiges Spreizmuster, in welchem mit rothem Lack ein Kreuzornament eingezeichnet ist (Taf. VIII. 6).

7. Zur Aufbewahrung des Tabaks dient eine grosse rechteckige Tasche mit Tragband. Zwei Palmblattstücke sind mit der Mittelrippe, als der einen Längsseite der Tasche, an einander befestigt. Ihre Fiedern durchkreuzen sich und bilden mit ihren verknoteten Enden die gegenüberliegende Längsseite (Taf. VIII. 10).

8. Sehr zierlich sind die kleinen Tabakstaschen der Männer aus Carandainha. Ein zusammenhängendes Stück bildet Vorder- und Hinterseite, Boden und Deckelklappe. Die Seitentheile sind mit einem über den Boden laufenden Streif besonders eingefüllt. Das ganze Gefecht ist horizontal laufender Köper (Taf. VIII. 5).

9. Kleinejkörbe aus gespaltenem Rohr mit quadratischem Boden, aber runder Oeffnung, in dreisplittigem Köpergeflecht. Die Seiten zeigen vertikale Streifung. Durch Umkehrung der Diagonalsplitter nach innen entsteht an jeder Seite ein schräges Kreuzmuster in dunkler Färbung. Am Boden laufen alle Splitter rechtwinklig zusammen.

10. Als Siebapparate dienen runde flache Körbe (*mirú*) aus elastischen Schlingpflanzen, deren Verflechtpfeiler sich am Boden in vier rechtwinklig sich kreuzenden Gruppen vereinigen (Taf. VIII. 14).

11. Ein ganz ähnliches Gefecht zeigt ein kegliger Korb zur Aufbewahrung roher Baumwolle. Die Verflechtstreifen sind von weniger biegsamem Material (Taf. VIII. 16).

Die Textilindustrie der Karaya ist im Wesentlichen noch Flechtarbeit. Material zu Fäden liefern zunächst die natürlichen Pflanzenstoffe, die Faser der Buriti und gewisser Bromeliaceen, sowie der durch ausserordentliche Cohäsion bekannten Bastsorten der Malvaceen (Embira und Jangada). Feinere Fäden werden durch Streichen solcher Fasern zwischen den befeuchteten Händen oder zwischen Hand und Schenkel hergestellt. Aus diesen werden dann stärkere gedreht in der Weise wie im Thurn a. a. O. 284 dies beschreibt, eine Methode, die übrigens auch von jedem brasilianischen Sertanejo ausgeübt wird. Die so erhaltenen Fäden und Stränge werden aber fast ausschliesslich zu Bindfaden, Stricken und Bogensehnen verwendet. Allenfalls strickt man mit langen Holznadeln Maschengeflechte daraus, wie Fisch- und Tragnetze, sowie eigenthümliche nimbi Baumwollschnüren zusammenziehbare Mützen, die in verschiedener Weise mit Federn verziert werden (s. S. 23).

Das eigentliche Gewebsmaterial ist die Baumwolle. Zur Herstellung der Fäden dient die Handspindel (*aiówdá*) in der gewöhnlichen Form, eine runde Scheibe aus Knochen oder gebranntem Thon, die in ihrem durchbohrten Centrum einen etwa fingerlangen am unteren Ende mit einem scharf

[1]) Ueber ein ganz gleiches Gefäß am Congo vergl. Smithsonian report 1897 S. 195, m. Abb.

4: Ehrenreich SP9 Caraja

abgesetzten Knöpfchen versehenen Palmholzstab trägt. Derselbe wird durch Streichen am Schenkel in drehende Bewegung gesetzt. Einer der vorliegenden Thonwirtel ist kugelförmig mit vier ringsum eingeschnittenen menschlichen Gesichtern verziert (Fig. 7).

Der Webstuhl oder vielmehr Flechtapparat, auf dem die Schlafnetze verfertigt werden, ist so einfach als möglich. Zwei starke Holzpfähle sind in 2—2½ m Abstand in den Boden festgerammt. Die mittleren Dachstützen der Hütte können als solche dienen. Um diese wird ohne Kreuzung die Kette geschlungen, welche also aus zwei einander parallelen Fadenreihen besteht. Die Einschlagsfaden werden nun paarweis mittelst einer langen Nadel von oben nach unten hindurch geführt und mit einem Kettenfadenpaar nach dem andern verknotet. Zwei Einschlagsfäden umschlingen immer zwei Kettenfäden. Ihr Abstand von einander ist doppelt so gross als der der Kettenfadenpaare. An beiden Rändern sind die Einschläge festgeknotet.

Indem für verschiedene Kettenstränge verschiedene Farben gewählt werden, erhält man „reder" in schwarzer und rother Streifung. Die Grundfarbe ist meist weiss.

Es können aber auf demselben Apparat auch wirkliche Gewebe von taffetartiger Textur angefertigt werden. So besteht die oben erwähnte „rede" der Yavahe aus solchem Stoff. Auch die starken Tragbänder gewisser Körbe, die schwarzen mit Perlmutterscheiben verzierten Stirnbänder (Taf. VII. 7), die schwarzen Leibbinden für Kinder (Taf. VII. 3, 4), die mit lang herabhängenden Federstreifen geschmückten Tanzgürtel sind in dieser Weise gefertigt.

Bei diesen kleineren Geweben durchläuft ein einziger zusammenhängender Einschlagsfaden die ganze Kette. Ob besondere handlichere Apparate hierzu verwendet werden, wurde nicht erminelt.

Fig. 7. Spindeln ½.

Die Armmanschetten und Beinbinden werden, soweit dies nicht am Körper selbst geschieht, über einem schweren kegelförmigen Holzblock (*kouara*) mittelst einer jetzt meist eisernen Hackelnadel (*ikitan*) angestrickt (Taf. VII. 9).

Die langen über Brust und Nacken herabfallenden Fransengehänge (Taf. VII. 2), sowie die kürzeren, welche unter dem Knie befestigt werden; ein beliebter Schmuck junger Leute sind einfache Knüpfarbeiten. Zwei starke parallele Stränge werden mit einer Anzahl gleich langer Fädenpaare in Achtertouren so durchschlungen, dass die Anfangs- und Endstücke der letzteren nach unten herabhängen.

Kinder tragen um den Nacken die schwarzen an langen starken Schnüren hängenden Baumwolltroddeln (*wokóju*), deren Grösse und Dicke sich nach dem Alter des Kindes richtet. Bei einigen sind oberhalb der Quasten die bunten Gehäuse der Cassalia dubabella angebracht (Taf. VII. 5).

Von den **Schmuckgegenständen** verdienen in erster Linie die in reichster Auswahl vertretenen Federzierrathe eine eingehende Behandlung.

Die Freude an Farben, welche dem Culturmenschen bekanntlich mehr und mehr abhanden kommt, lässt diese Naturkinder das Gefieder der farbenprächtigen Vögel ihrer Heimath zu einer Fülle der bunntesten Schmuckgegenstände verarbeiten, wie sie an Mannigfaltigkeit der Form und Geschmack der Zusammenstellung nur bei wenigen Stämmen Südamerikas wieder erreicht werden.

Ihre Ausführung ist freilich keine sehr solide. Bei dem reichen Material an geeigneten Federn, über das die Karaya verfügen, sind sie jeden Augenblick in der Lage, etwa schadhaft gewordene Stücke zu erneuern.

1. Schopfhelm. Ein Bündel Aras- oder schwarzer Mutumfedern umgiebt die Wurzel des Zopfes, an deren Enden noch kleine weisse Federchen angebracht sind. Im Winde sich aufrichtend, umgeben sie den Kopf des Trägers heiligenscheinartig (vgl. Taf. I, 2).

2. Kleine Bindchen (*paranawrdi*) werden bei Begrüssung von Fremden, Versammlungen u. s. w. getragen. Um einen Halbreif sind kleine rothe und gelbe Arassfedern aufgereiht, vorn eine Rosette bildend, aus deren Mitte schwarze Rosenvogelschwanzfedern auf der Stirn herabfallen (Taf. IX, 9).

3. In dieselbe Kategorie gehört ein eigenthümlicher Aufsatz in Gestalt eines abgestumpften Kegels aus dünnem, einem Holzreif aufgereihten, mit rothen Federchen überzogenen Rohrstäbchen (Taf. IX. 3).

4. In einem Exemplar kam ein kleiner auf dem Scheitelwirbel getragener Aufsatz vor (Fig. 8).

Ein rhombisches Fensterchen trägt zwei mit Federn überzogene starke Kiele, in welche zwei Paar gabelig abstehende Cassicusfedern eingesetzt sind.

5. Federkronen sind in dreierlei Form in Gebrauch:

a) Die einfachsten (*kari-kori*) bestehen aus einem weitmaschigen Flechtwerk aus Bast, in dessen Knotenpunkten Federn eingebunden sind. Sie führen in gleicher Ausführung bei den Xingustämmen der Kamayurá, Trumai und Suya wieder, die sie möglicherweise den dortigen Karaya bezw. Aruaua entlehnt haben.

b) Grössere Beständigkeit und Zierlichkeit besitzt die zweite Art. Die Grundlage bildet eine aus starken Palmfasern geflochtene engmaschige Haube zum *Zurschnüren (kutuk)*. Kleine, gelbe und rothe Federn sind, rosettenartig um ein Rohrstäbchen befestigt, in das Maschenwerk eingebunden (Taf. IX. 4).

c) Fast gestrickte engmaschige Mützen, die ganzen mit einer Schicht Flaumfedern überzogen sind. Bei den vorliegenden Exemplaren sind letztere nicht mehr vorhanden.

6. Der eigentliche Tanzschmuck (*karikoi*) wird mittels einer um die Stirn laufenden Schnur am Hinterkopf getragen (Taf. IX. 2 vgl. Taf. II. 2). Die Grundlage ist ein bahnenförmiger Träger. Er besteht aus zwei Lagen zusammengebogener Palmblattrippchen, die durch ein in Mustern angeordnetes Baumwollgeflecht mit weissem Thonanstrich zusammengehalten werden. Zwischen diesen beiden Platten liegen radienförmig aneinander gereiht kurze Röhrchen, deren obere Oeffnung den Schaft der Schmuckfedern aufnimmt. Die über die Trägerplatten hinausragenden Theile der Röhrchen sind durch ein darüber gelegtes Federband gedeckt.

Dieser Schmuck kommt auch in einer weniger soliden Form vor, bei der statt der Rohrstäbchen eine dicke Wachsunterlage die Schmuckfedern aufnimmt. Um besser in das Wachs eindringen zu können, ist eine jede derselben an einem spitzigen Holzspahn festgenäht.

7. Einfacher aber nicht minder stattlich ist ein zweiter Tanzschmuck in Diademform (*ichi*). Der Träger besteht hier aus einer Reihe langer mit weissen Fäden umwickelter Rohrstäbchen, die an einem horizontalen Holzstab aufgereiht sind, indem die unteren Ecken des Trägers zusammengezogen werden, welchen die oberen seitlich auseinandertreten, so dass die langen Schmuckfedern sich weit ausspreiten (Taf. IX. 5).

Die erste Xingu-Expedition erwarb einen derartigen Kopfputz der Xingu-Karaya bei den Yuruna.

8. u. 9. Zwei Schmuckstücke sind hinsichtlich ihrer Anwendung noch unklar. Es werden bei den Karayahi zwei hohmartige aus Buritiblattstreifen geflochtene an der Spitze mit Federbüschen versehene Kopfputzblätter (*detuerd*) erworben, die die Indianer selbst als unvollständig bezeichneten. Es sollen angeblich um den unteren Theil dieser Helme noch Federn angebracht werden. Eine derselben ist übrigens mit einer Schicht Flaumfedern überzogen (Taf. IX. 6).

Fig. 8. Federschmuck auf dem Kopfwirbel zu tragen (8).

Nun werden an einem andern Orte zwei Federgarnituren angetroffen, von denen vielleicht die eine das genannte fehlende Stück darstellt. Es besteht aus einer Lage fächerförmig auf einem starken Baumwollstrange aufgereihter langer Arara- und kurzer gelber Cassicusfedern. Auf dem unteren Theil der Aussenseite liegt noch eine aus blauen und grünen Papageifedern zusammengesetzte Deckschicht. Um den Cassicusfedern gleiche Länge wie den Arafedern zu geben, ist eine jede derselben auf ein entsprechend langes Holzstäbchen festgenäht, dessen überragendes Endstück, mit Baumwolle umwickelt, an seiner Spitze einen kleinen Federbüschel trägt. Den Arafedern, die geringere Länge haben, fehlt das Stäbchen. Bei ihnen ist nur ein Theil der Fahne entfernt und der Kiel an dieser Stelle gleichfalls mit Baumwolle umwickelt. Durch die Mitte des ganzen Haft eine Schnur. Verknüpft man ihre Enden und die des dicken Strangs, an den einzelne Federn aufgereiht sind, so lässt sich der Fächer mantelförmig zusammenlegen und passt genau um die genannten Helme herum (Taf. IX. 7).

Das zweite Exemplar, sonst ganz ähnlich construirt, lässt sich nicht vollständig schliessen. Es besitzt unten und innen eine doppelte Deckfederlage, was beweist, dass beide Seiten zur Geltung kommen sollen, kann somit schwerlich als Helmumkleidung gedient haben. Entweder wird es quer über den Kopf gebunden, oder es ist eine Vervollkommnung der unter 5. genannten Zopffederbüschel. Eine dritte Möglichkeit ist, dass beide Federfächer über den Nacken herabhängend getragen werden, ähnlich den in Guayana üblichen Federmantels. Es wurde dagegen nur die grosse Enge des Halsausschnittes sprechen. Eine definitive Entscheidung muss weiteren Untersuchungen überlassen bleiben.

Die gewöhnlichen Ohrzierrathe, die Rohrstäbchen, werden bei festlichem Schmuck durch zierliche Federrosetten (*Sokorae*) ersetzt (Taf. IX. 10). Es sind runde aus concentrisch angeordneten rothen und gelben Federchen gebildete Scheiben an Rohrstielen, die in der Mitte ein Perlmutterplättchen mit schwarzem Kreuz oder einem Nagethierzahn tragen (vgl. Taf. III. 1).

Festarmbänder für den Oberarm (*dosiana*) sind aus Unzen- oder Wildkatzenfell mit Büscheln aus Papagei- oder Reiherfedern gezieret (Taf. IX. 9) oder es sind einfache an Baumwollschnüren befestigte Federquasten.

Nicht in der Sammlung vertreten und von mir auch nicht im Gebrauch gesehen sind Armbänder aus parallel aneinander gereihten Vogelknochen. Dieselben scheinen früher gebräuchlicher gewesen zu sein. Die Privatsammlungen von Dr. Leite Moraes und Serrario in São Paulo, sowie das Museo nacional zu Rio besitzen deren eine ganze Anzahl.

Zum Tanzschmuck gehören noch die aus schwarzweiss gestreiftem starken Baumwollgeflecht gewirkten Gürtel (*[illegible]*) mit Federgehängen, die vielfach an den Enden noch Rasseln aus Thevetia schalen tragen. Andere Gürtel sind ganz aus solchen zusammengesetzt (Taf. X. 8–10).

Fig. 9. Kamm ¹/₃.

Um die Knie- oder Fussgelenke legt der Tänzer Binden, von denen einige in Rasseln und Federbüscheln auslaufende Strähnen herabhängen. Sie werden durch ein horizontales Holzstäbchen auseinandergehalten und sind bisweilen mit einer dichten Lage weisser Flaumfedern überzogen (Taf. X. 4).

Halsbänder sind in ihrer ursprünglichen Form nicht mehr zu sehen. Durchbohrte Thierzähne und Steine, Muschelscheiben etc. sind längst durch die massenhaft eingeführten Glasperlen verdrängt. Am meisten werden die weissen und schwarzen Perlen der in Goyaz überall verbreiteten billigen „Rosenkränze" geschätzt, die man aber in einer dem nationalen Geschmack entsprechenden Weise aufreiht. Eine ganze Reihe kurzer Schnüre umschliesst so eng als möglich den Hals (vgl. Taf. II. 2, III. 1). Von der untersten hängt eine Anzahl kleiner Kettchen herab, die an den Enden kleine Fruchtschalen oder Federbüschel tragen.

Kämme (*[illegible]*), die einzigen aber viel gebrauchten Toilettengeräthe, werden in den verschiedensten Grössen angefertigt. Das grösste Exemplar der Sammlung ist 18 cm breit und 17 cm lang. Doch kommen auch doppelt so grosse Stücke vor. Eine convergirende Reihe scharfer Palmholz- oder

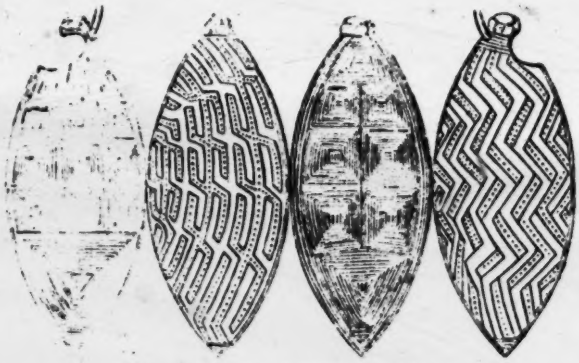


Fig. 10. Ornamente des Cuyengefässes Taf. VIII. 7 (¹/₄).

Taquaraspähne werden mittelst zweier Paare paralleler Querhölzer zusammengehalten. Zur Fixirung dient ein den Raum zwischen den letzteren durchziehendes Geflecht schwarzer oder weisser Baumwollfäden in verschiedenen Mustern. Bisweilen hängen von den beiden oberen Ecken kleine Federquasten herab (Fig. 9).

Musikalische Instrumente sind in der Sammlung nur durch eine Trompete (*[illegible]*) vertreten (Taf. X. 7). Es ist eine grosse Cuyenschaale mit Oeffnungen an den beiden Enden. Als Mundstück steckt in einer derselben ein Taquararohr mit seitlichem Spalt.

Ausserdem sind einfache Panflöten aus Taquara in Gebrauch.

Kunstthätigkeit. Die Ornamente der Karaya bestehen in Mustern aus Zickzacklinien, Kreuzen, Punkten, Rauten und eigenthümlichen unterbrochenen Mäandern, während Quadrate und Dreiecke nur zufällig (z. B. durch Ausfüllung anderer Figuren) vorkommen und Kreise gänzlich fehlen (Fig. 10).

Wie in der Ornamentik der Xingustämme liegen auch hier diesen anscheinend völlig willkürlich gewählten geometrischen Kombinationen ganz bestimmte concrete Vorlagen zu Grunde, deren am meisten charakteristische Merkmale darin stilisirt wiedergegeben sind.

Leider ist es nicht immer möglich, das betreffende Naturobjekt sicher zu ermitteln. Folgende Muster, deren Bedeutung festzustellen war, genügen indess zur Erläuterung.

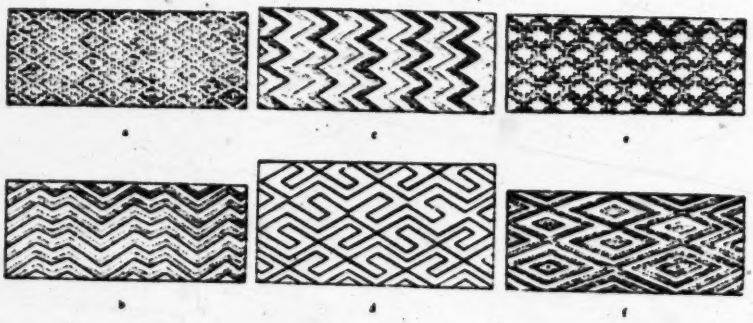


Fig. 11. Kammmuster.

Die Rudermuster (Taf. VIII. 1—3) stellen sämmtlich Fische dar; ebenso die Federmosaik-Abzeichen einiger Tanzhelme (vergl. S. 36).

Das häufig vorkommende Kreuz (vgl. Fig. 16c u. Taf. VIII. 6), welches in Amerika so oft zu luftigen Hypothesen Veranlassung gab, ist hier nichts als eine Art Eidechse (*mahöö*).

Wer die grossen mit stumpfen Buckeln versehenen Wespennester der Campwaldungen gesehen, wird an dem Kammornament (Fig. 11a) dieses Merkmal sofort wieder erkennen.

Als besonders charakteristisch sind noch zu erwähnen die an den ausgebreiteten Flügeln kenntliche Fledermaus (*turcherebö*, Fig. 11b), sowie die am häufigsten vorkommenden Schlangenmuster. So ist Fig. 11c die Klapperschlange (Crotalus horridus), Fig. 11e die Caninanha (Spilotes).

Andere Schlangen sind durch die Figg. 11d u. f repräsentirt.

Wirkliche Zeichnungen von Menschen und Thieren, wie wir sie von Buschmännern und Eskimos in so vortrefflicher Ausführung kennen, scheinen bei den Karaya nicht vorzukommen. Nirgends sahen wir die in den Sand gemalten oder in die Bäume eingeschnittenen mit wenigen Strichen treffend wiedergegebenen Darstellungen, wie sie bei den Bakairi und Mehinaku des oberen Xingu unsere Aufmerksamkeit so oft erregten.

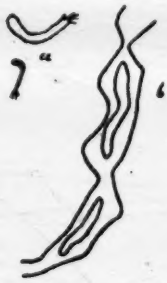


Fig. 12.

Auch im Zeichnen mit dem Bleistift zeigten die Karaya sich ziemlich unbeholfen. In dem Fig. 12a dargestellten Fuss wird Jeder eher einen Arm mit ausgestreckter Hand erblicken.

Von grösserem Geschick und richtiger Auffassung zeugt die topographische Skizze des Araguaya mit seinen Krümmungen und Inseln (Fig. 12b).

Von Holzschnitzereien besitzt die Sammlung leider nur wenige Stücke. Gerade die schönsten der schlittenartigen Schemel (*hwiö*) in stilisirter Thierform konnten nicht erworben werden. Doch ist auch das eine von den Sambioa herrührende Exemplar von vorzüglicher Arbeit (Fig. 13).

Die beiden Köpfe, in welche die elegant geschwungene Sitzfläche ausläuft, waren ursprünglich mit Perlmutterauge versehen.

Auch die in Südamerika sonst nur sehr vereinzelt vorkommenden Holzlöffel (*hatorö*) sind bemerkenswerth. Das Stielende des grösseren Exemplars endigt in einen wohl erkennbaren Tukankopf (Fig. 14).

Die hervorragendste künstlerische Leistung der Karaya ist die plastische Wiedergabe menschlicher Gestalten in Wachs und ungebranntem Thon. Kleine Figuren (*Ibobó*, Kinderpuppen?) werden den Reisenden in grossen Mengen angeboten. Ihre Ausführung zeugt trotz der etwas schablonenmässigen Art der Anfertigung von einem hohen Grad naiven Formensinns und treffliche Naturbeobachtung.

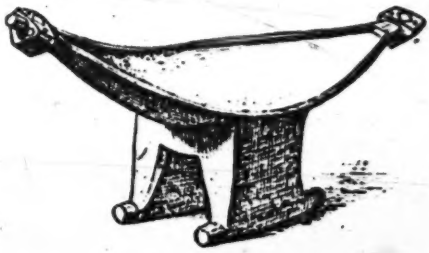


Fig. 13. Schemel in Thierform (ca. $\frac{1}{5}$).

Die gelungensten Stücke sind in der richtigen Darstellung der Körperformen den besten Arbeiten der altamerikanischen Kulturvölker an die Seite zu setzen und übertreffen Alles, was sonst wilde Stämme, die Eskimo und Nordwestamerikaner ausgenommen, in dieser Beziehung leisten. Obwohl die Neigung vorherrscht, den unteren Extremitäten eine unnatürliche Dicke zu geben, so fehlt doch alles eigentlich Fratzenhafte.

Die Sammlung zählt 52 Exemplare, welche in ihrem verschiedenen Typen die allmähliche Vervollkommnung dieser primitiven Kunstthätigkeit trefflich veranschaulichen.

Die einfachsten Figuren stellen an die Phantasie noch ziemliche Anforderungen. Der Indianer bildet an ihnen nur das nach, was ihm am wesentlichsten scheint, nämlich Mundöffnung und Nabel. Es sind einfach spindelförmige nur im unteren Abschnitt stärker verdickte Thongebilde mit Löchern, von denen das obere den Mund, das untere den Nabel vorstellt (Taf. XI. 1). Von jedem Loch gehen in Langsrichtung parallel Einschnitte aus. Eine etwas vollkommenere Form lässt schon den Thorax deutlich hervortreten. Bei männlichen Figuren sind die Arme als Stumpfe, meist die Genitalien angedeutet, bei weiblichen die Brüste. Die unteren Extremitäten sind nur kolbige Anschwellungen. Am Gesicht ist nur der Mund angegeben. Doch tragen die weiblichen Figuren schon die nationale Schurze (Taf. XI. 2 u. 3).

Fig. 14. Geschnitzte Holzbilder a $\frac{1}{3}$, b $\frac{1}{3}$.

Die weitere Vervollkommnung besteht in einem Aufsatz aus schwarzem Wachs, das Haar darstellend. Das Gesicht ist schon deutlich erkennbar. Stammes-Glossirung und Körperbemalung sind nachgebildet (Taf. XI. 4 u. 5). Die Beine erscheinen immer noch als Stummel. Wahrscheinlich soll die knieende Stellung damit ausgedrückt werden. Hierher gehört die grösste der gesammten Figuren von 24 cm Höhe, ohne Schurze. Das Gesicht ist schon deutlich modellirt, das Haar durch eine dünne Wachslage mit nach vorn herabhängenden Baumwollfransen wiedergegeben, den Hals ziert eine Kette aus Ricinuskörnern und durchbohrten Schneckenschalen mit schwarzer Quaste (Taf. XI. 6).

Endlich haben wir vollständig ausgearbeitete Figuren (nur bei den Bambisa erhalten). Gesicht und Körper sind völlig naturwahr nachgebildet, die Arme über den Bauch zusammengelegt. Das Wachshaar fällt hinten lang herab. Strichbemalung bedeckt Brust und Glieder. Einige sind mit Ohrstäbchen und Halsketten versehen, andere mit kleinen „Jedes“. Leider sind Beine und Gesäss bei fast allen von unnatürlicher Dicke (Taf. XI. 7). Eine schwarze Wachsfigur, das vollkommenste Stück der Sammlung, zeigt indess durchaus proportionirte Bildung (Taf. XI. 9). Während alle Figuren dieser Art die Schurze tragen, sind andere aus grauem Thon ohne dieselbe. Ihnen fehlt auch das Haar, dagegen tragen sie auf dem Rücken einen gleichfalls aus Thon gebildeten Tragkorb. Die Arme sind gegen die Brust adducirt (Taf. XI. 8). Die männlichen Figuren dieser Kategorie sind unverhältnissmässig lang und schmal im Oberkörper, mit fast kugligen Unterschenkeln. Haar und Genitalien sind aus Wachs. In den Ohren stecken Stäbchen, Glasperlenketten umgeben den Hals (Taf. XI. 10).

Sehr roh, aber in der Ausführung nicht ohne einen gewissen Humor sind die aus Wachsklumpchen gebildeten Carricaturen brasilianischer Soldaten, deren Uniform durch aufgeklebte blaue und rothe Zeugfleppen angedeutet ist.

Sociales Leben, Recht und Sitte.

Die gesellschaftlichen Einrichtungen der Karaya können vorläufig nur erst fragmentarisch behandelt werden. Doch vermag das Wenige, was von mir selbst beobachtet oder unter Vermittelung meines Begleiters und wichtigsten Gewährsmannes, des alten Häuptlings Pedro Manco erkundet wurde, wenigstens für weitere Forschungen Anhaltspunkte zu geben.

Die Bemerkung, mit der Im Thurn seine Besprechung des socialen Lebens der Guayanastämme einleitet: „The Indian in his natural state, before he feels the influence of white man is of decidedly admirable morality", trifft im vollen Umfange auch für die Karaya zu. Diese natürliche von Religionsanschauungen völlig unabhängige Moralität macht die Existenz eines primitiven Gemeinwesens wie des ihren erst möglich. Sie äussert sich in der peinlichen Beobachtung der Gebote des äusseren Anstandes [1]), die selbst dem flüchtigen Besucher nicht entgeht, vor Allem aber in der musterhaften Führung des Familienlebens. Die Festigkeit der Familienbande, die selbst Martius, seine Beobachtungen bei demoralisirten Stämmen vorschnell verallgemeinernd, den Amerikanern überhaupt absprach, hat diesem Volke recht eigentlich den sittlichen Halt gegeben, der bis heute trotz hundertjähriger Berührung mit der Kultur, seinen Verfall verhindert hat und hoffentlich noch lange hintenanhalten wird.

Die Familie der Karaya scheint ihrer Form nach „Mutterfamilie" zu sein. Hierfür sprechen folgende Thatsachen:

1. Der verheirathete Mann lebt nicht mit seiner Familie zusammen, sondern mit der seiner verheiratheten Schwester. Er wird also danach als Mitglied der schwesterlichen Familie betrachtet.

2. Ebenso erhält er bei Vertheilung der Jagdbeute seinen Antheil nicht im eignen Hause, sondern in dem seiner Schwester.

3. Für die Kinder eines Wittwers sorgen dessen Schwiegereltern, während er selbst wieder in die Reihe der Junggesellen tritt.

4. Die Verbindung von Karayaweibern mit Fremden ist nur gestattet, wenn letztere sich in den Stamm aufnehmen lassen und in dem betreffenden Dorfe dauernden Wohnsitz nehmen, ein Fall, der noch zu Castelnaus Zeit nicht gar selten war, heute jedoch kaum mehr vorkommen dürfte.

Obwohl naturgemäss der Mann als Oberhaupt der Familie vorsteht, ist die Stellung der Frau doch eine durchaus würdige. Von einer Degradation des Weibes zum Lastthier, wie man sie nach Analogie der nordamerikanischen Stämme allen Indianern schlechthin andichtete, findet sich keine Spur. Gewisse Arbeiten freilich sind ausschliesslich Sache der Weiber und unermüdlich sind sie in Erfüllung ihrer mannigfachen Pflichten. Aber auch der Mann hat sein Theil zu leisten. Seine Frau steht durchaus ebenbürtig neben ihm, er vollführt nichts Wichtiges ohne ihren Rath. Auch der Häuptling theilt seine Würde mit seiner Gemahlin. Misshandlungen der Frauen sind unerhört.

Monogamie ist das gewöhnliche. Indessen ist der Mann nicht selten genöthigt, eine zweite Frau zu nehmen, wenn die erste zu alt wird. Es ist dies bedingt durch die eigenthümliche, wie es scheint, bei allen südamerikanischen Stämmen [2]) verbreitete Sitte, dass die jungen Männer die älteren, die alten Männer die jüngeren Weiber freien. Der verhältnissmässig geringe Kindersegen mag hierauf zurückzuführen sein.

Künstlicher Abortus kommt vor, jedoch nur auf Verlangen des Mannes. Er wird durch Zusammenpressen des Uterus mit den Händen herbeigeführt und soll nicht selten Todesfälle verursachen.

Vertragen sich die Eheleute nicht, so ist es dem Manne gestattet, sein Weib gegen das eines anderen auszutauschen. Wer seine Frau verstösst, darf nicht wieder heirathen, kann jedoch eine Haushälterin annehmen.

Ein ehebrecherisches Weib straft der Mann selbst durch Schläge oder Brennen mit glimmenden Holzscheiten. Bisweilen [3]) soll die Schuldige selbst dem Feuertode verfallen.

Ehebruch seitens des Mannes wird von den nächsten Verwandten der Frau gerächt.

Ueberall tritt in der gesellschaftlichen Ordnung der Karaya das Bestreben hervor, den Frieden des Familienlebens vor jeder Störung zu bewahren. Die jungen Leute stehen deshalb unter strenger Zucht. Jungfräulichkeit wird hoch geachtet und geschützt [4]), ausserehelicher Verkehr der Geschlechter mit strengen Strafen, unter Umständen mit dem Tode geahndet. Doch werden solchen Verhältnissen entsprungene Kinder, nicht wie sonst bei Naturvölkern gleichfalls getödtet, vielmehr wie andere Waisen dem Häuptling zur Fürsorge überwiesen.

[1]) Von culturhistorischem Interesse und bezeichnend für das Anstandsgefühl dieser Wilden ist die Art ihrer Defäcation. Dieselbe geschieht möglichst weit abseits vom Dorfe. Es wird ein Loch in den Sand gemacht. Das Individuum setzt sich mit ausgestreckten Beinen darauf, den Oberkörper hinter einer kleinen Matte verbergend. Die Excremente werden stets sorgfältig vergraben.

[2]) vgl. Im Thurn a. a. O. p. 213.

[3]) Couto Magalhães, Selvagem p. 116.

[4]) Couto Magalhães, Peterm. Mitth. 1876, p. 223.

Die ledigen Personen, schon äusserlich durch die oben erwähnten Baumwollbinden von den Verheiratheten unterschieden, sind nicht verpflichtet, selbst ihren Unterhalt zu beschaffen, werden vielmehr von der Gemeinde unterhalten. Junggesellen und Wittwer leben dabei in einer besonderen Hütte beisammen und betheiligen sich selbst an Jagdzügen nur, wenn es ihnen beliebt. Ebenso sind unverheirathete und verwittwete Frauen der Sorge für sich überhoben. Sie wohnen im Hause eines ihrer nächsten Verwandten.

Einer Mittheilung Couto Magelhães' zufolge scheinen die letzteren einige Freiheit im Verkehr mit ledigen Männern zu haben: „Es giebt in den Karayadörfern Männer, dazu bestimmt, viri viduarum zu sein. Diese Leute haben sonst keine Beschäftigung, sie werden vom Stamm unterhalten und unterziehen sich nicht wie die andern den Mühseligkeiten langer Wanderungen und Streifzüge. Auf meine Bemerkung, es scheine mir nicht recht, dass die Gemeinde sich mit dem Unterhalt dieser Leute befasse, erwiderte der Häuptling Koinama: der Frieden, den die Familien dadurch genössen, wiege bei weitem die Mühe auf, welche man auf ihren Unterhalt verwende." (Selvagem p. 116.)

Im Uebrigen sind ledige Männer, welche sich dem weiblichen Geschlecht zuwenden wollen, auf den Verkehr mit den gefangenen in Halbsclaverei gehaltenen Kayapofrauen angewiesen, deren bei den Šambioa wenigstens jedes Dorf einige beherbergt. Dieselben gelten als Allgemeingut, werden auch den Schiffsmannschaften trotz ihres meist höchst abschreckenden Aeusseren zugeführt. Leider sieht man aber auch Kinder zu ähnlichem Zweck verwandt. Hier zeigt sich deutlich der Dualismus in der Ethik der Wilden, deren Moralgesetze nur den eigenen Stammesgenossen gegenüber gelten. Diese allen Naturvölkern gemeinsame Anschauung vermag deshalb nicht unser Urtheil über die Moralität der Karaya im Allgemeinen zu ändern. Wenn Castelnau dieselbe bezweifelt, indem er sagt: „Ce fait (die strenge Bestrafung eines sittlichen Vergehens) est peu d'accord avec les offres qui étaient fait continuellement à nos gens" (Hist. du voyage I. p. 446), so übersieht er, dass diese „offres" sich nicht auf die eigenen, sondern auf fremde Weiber bezogen.

Auch die Behandlung der Kinder ist bei allem Mangel an äusseren Zeichen der Zärtlichkeit, die bei Indianern überhaupt vermisst werden, eine durchaus liebevolle.

Die kleineren werden von den Müttern fortwährend herumgetragen und mit unermüdlicher Sorgfalt gepflegt, mit Zierrathen behängt und bemalt u. s. w. Sie werden ausserordentlich lange gesäugt.

Aeltere Kinder sind ganz sich selbst überlassen, zeigen aber trotzdem einen natürlichen Anstand und eine Bescheidenheit im Benehmen, wie es die viel erzogenen Sprösslinge der Kulturmenschheit nur allzuoft vermissen lassen. Dass Kinder an die Ansiedler verhandelt werden, wie es leider in anderen Gegenden Brasiliens, namentlich am Amazonas noch vielfach geschieht, wäre bei den Karaya unerhört. Vergeblich bemühte man sich bei der Gründung des Collegio Izabel bei Leopoldina, welches den Zweck hatte, junge Indianer zu erziehen und später als Kolonisten anzusiedeln, Karayakinder für dasselbe zu gewinnen. Seitdem man vor Jahren sich einmal hatte verleiten lassen, solche anzulocken und gewaltsam zu entführen, ergreift beim Nahen eines Bootes in der Regel das ganze junge Volk die Flucht und ist nur mit vielen Schwierigkeiten zur Rückkehr zu bewegen.

Die Thatsache, dass die an den Grabpfählen (s. S. 31) angebrachten Thierornamente, Abzeichen der betreffenden Familie oder eines weiteren Geschlechtsgenossenverbandes sind, deutet auf das Bestehen von Totemismus bezw. Klanbildung. Genaueres ist zwar hierüber nicht bekannt, doch dürfte das von Im Thurn[1] für die Arawak ermittelte Familiensystem auch für die bei den Karaya herrschenden Verhältnisse Geltung haben.

Die aus solchen Familienverbänden zusammengesetzten **Dorfgemeinden**, deren jede einen besonderen Namen führt, erscheinen schon ganz als Gaugenossenschaften.[2] Das Ackerland gehört der Gesammtheit und wird gemeinsam bestellt. Jagd und Fischzüge werden ebenfalls gemeinsam unternommen und die Erträge an Beute, Feldfrüchten u. s. w. unter die Familien vertheilt. Alle diese communalen Thätigkeiten und Leistungen überwacht der **Häuptling**. Er wird von der Gemeinde unterhalten, das Eigenthum aller Stammesgenossen gehört auch ihm.[3] Dagegen hat er die Pflicht, Waisenkinder, namentlich die Söhne im Kriege gefallener an Kindesstatt anzunehmen. Die persönlichen Eigenschaften, denen er heutzutage seine Würde verdankt, sind weniger kriegerische Tüchtigkeit,

[1] Im Thurn a. a. O. p. 175.
[2] Post, Grundr. z. Entw. d. Familienrechts p. 53.
[3] Couto Magelhães. Petrm. Mitth. 1879. p. 121.

4: Ehrenreich SP9 Caraja

als die im Verkehr mit den Weissen nöthige Gewandtheit, Erfahrung und Sprachkenntniss. So können selbst in den Stamm aufgenommene Kriegsgefangene, die sich hierin auszeichnen, zu dieser Stellung gelangen.

Der Häuptling organisirt die Kriegs- und Jagdzüge, er bestimmt die Lagerplätze und Pflanzungsstellen und theilt nach Niederbrennen des betreffenden Waldstreifens (Roça) den einzelnen Familien ihre Ackerantheile zu, die durch Pfähle abgegrenzt werden.

Bedeutend ist seine Wirksamkeit in der Rechtspflege. Bei Streitigkeiten zwischen Männern fungirt er als Schiedsrichter, während seine Gattin die der Frauen entscheidet. Sein Amt ist es, Verbrecher zur Rechenschaft zu ziehen, doch kommt ihm die Strafvollstreckung nicht zu, welche nach indianischem Vergeltungsrecht Sache der geschädigten Partei ist. Mord oder Körperverletzung wird deshalb ohne Weiteres von den Verwandten des Opfers gerächt.

Wird dem Häuptling ein Diebstahl angezeigt, so fordert er durch lautes Ausrufen mitten im Dorf den Thäter zur Rückgabe des Gestohlenen auf. Meist wird dem Folge geleistet und das Objekt einfach heimlich wieder an seinen Ort gelegt, womit die Sache erledigt ist.

Andernfalls hat der Häuptling das Recht, die Hütten durchsuchen zu lassen. Dem Verdächtigen wird irgend ein Gegenstand als Pfand abgenommen, bis das Corpus delicti ausgeliefert ist. Wird der Dieb ermittelt, so überlässt man es dem Bestohlenen, sich an ihm schadlos zu halten.

Fühlt der Häuptling seine Stellung nicht aus oder kann sich sonst die Gemeinde nicht mit ihm vertragen, so verlässt man ihn einfach und wählt einen neuen.

Eheschliessung. Der junge Mann theilt den Eltern der Erwählten seine Absicht mit, diese betragen ihre Tochter um ihre Zustimmung. Nach Couto Magelhães findet ein förmliches Aufgebot vor versammelter Gemeinde statt. Nunmehr übergiebt der Bräutigam der Braut seine Waffen zur Aufbewahrung, führt dieselbe dann in das Haus eines seiner nächsten Verwandten, da er als Junggeselle noch kein eignes besitzt. Vier Nächte hindurch schlafen die beiden auf einer Matte, aber durch einen weiten Zwischenraum getrennt, ohne dass eine Annäherung gestattet ist. Am fünften Tage wird die Braut ins Vaterhaus zurückgebracht, woselbst sie dem Bräutigam seine Waffen wieder aushändigt. Zum Zeichen, dass er fähig ist, eine Familie zu versorgen, geht der junge Ehemann einige Tage jagen und kehrt erst mit erlegter Beute zurück.[1]) Ein Trinkgelage, welches die Eltern der Braut ausrichten, beschliesst das Ganze. Nun erst ist der intimere Verkehr beider Gatten erlaubt.[2]) Zunächst folgt die Errichtung eines eigenen Heims.

Geburt. Das Weib kniet dabei auf den Hacken, mit den Händen einen Pfosten umfassend, während der Mann sie von hinten mit starkem Druck um den Leib packt. Ist das Kind zur Welt, so wird die Nachgeburt ruhig abgewartet, sodann der Nabelstrang comprimirt und etwa drei Zoll vom Körper mit einem scharfen Taquaraspahn durchschnitten. Das darin enthaltene Blut wird sorgfältig ausgepresst, „um den Starrkrampf zu verhindern", und als Styptícum heisse Asche und Pulver aus gestossenen Piranhazähnen auf die Wundfläche gestreut. Da keine Unterbindung angewendet wird, so ist es nicht selten, dass das Kind sich verblutet. Das Neugeborene wird, mit Urucuroth bestrichen, in einen breiten Jangadabaststreifen fest eingewickelt und in eine an Schnüren befestigte „rede" gelegt (s. S. 12). Drei Tage lang halten dann beide Ehegatten strenge Diät. Um den Uterus zur Contraction zu bringen, legt sich die Frau auf den Rücken und lässt sich durch den neben ihr sitzenden Mann oder andere ihn ablösende Personen den Leib ein paar Stunden zusammenpressen. Einige Monate nach der Geburt erhält das Kind die oben genannten Baumwollbinden.

Im Alter von sechs bis sieben Jahren durchbohrt man den Mädchen die Ohrläppchen, den Knaben auch die Unterlippe. Es versammelt sich dazu die ganze Gemeinde. In der Mitte eines grossen Kreises sitzt das Kind auf einem mit Ararafedern gezierten Schemel. Einer der Verwandten pertorirt ihm die Ohren mit Stacheln der Tucumpalme, die Unterlippe mittelst eines angespitzten Affenknochens. Die Männer stehen dabei herum und singen ein Lied mit der Schlussstrophe: *Ibéchi ka kaá, ka kaá ibéchi* d. h. jetzt ist es geschehen!

[1]) Ob die Kraftprobe durch Schleppen eines schweren Palmholzblockes, wie sie bei einigen Göstämmen verlangt wird, auch bei den Karaja vorkommt, ist zweifelhaft.

[2]) Karayes eum molleribus more indigenarum Australiae concubunt. Vir pedibus extensis humi sedet et mulierem supinam sinu se foventem suavem attrahit, manus natibus eius supponens. (cf. Michache Maclay, Verhandl. d. berl. Ges. f. Anthr. etc. p. 19.)

Die Wundlöcher werden durch eingeführte oft gewechselte Baumwollfäden offen gehalten. Der Patient muss einen Tag lang fasten und darf einige Zeit nur flüssige Nahrung zu sich nehmen. Die ganze Nachbehandlung leitet ein darin erfahrenes älteres Weib.

Die Knaben tragen von jetzt ab die Tförmigen Lippenzierrathe aus Perlmutter, später erst die Piuvaholzpflöcke. Den Mädchen wird bei dieser Gelegenheit die Bastschürze der Weiber angelegt.

Beim **Eintritt in die Pubertät** erhalten unter ähnlichen Ceremonien die jungen Leute beiderlei Geschlechts die Stammestätowirung. Man markirt mittelst eines Stempels aus einem Cuyenstück (*kriu*) auf beiden Wangen den Umriss des Kreises. Die Stelle wird dann mit einem scharfen Steinchen ausgeschnitten und Baumwollcharpie in die Wunde gelegt. Nach Stillung der Blutung bewirkt eingeriebener Genipapoasaft die Blaufärbung der Narbe.

Das erste Erscheinen der Periode wird nicht durch besondere Ceremonien gefeiert. Das menstruirende Weib gilt für unrein und muss während dieser Zeit von den Übrigen gesondert wohnen. Sie darf nicht baden, sondern wird von anderen Weibern aus einer eigens dazu bestimmten Cuyenschale gewaschen.

Spiel und Tanz. Schon frühzeitig ahmen die Kinder die Thätigkeiten der Erwachsenen nach. Die Knaben üben sich im Bogenschiessen und Fischen, die Mädchen gehen den Müttern baldmöglichst im Haushalt zur Hand. Als Kinderspielzeug sind die Thonfiguren bereits erwähnt. Auch kleine Kreisel (*kotuu*, Fig. 15), Kanus und Ruder, Kochgeschirre u. s. w. sind in der Sammlung vertreten.

Beliebte Spiele auch der Erwachsenen sind der Federball aus Maiskolben mit ringförmiger Einlage, ferner das bekanntlich auch in Nordamerika häufige, neuerdings von Boas bei den Eskimo beschriebene „game of cats cradle", von Hand zu Hand durch die Finger gezogene Schnüre, deren wechselnde Anordnung bestimmte Thierfiguren darstellt.

Fig. 15. Kreisel (⅓)

In schönen Mondnächten üben sich auf den Praias die jungen Leute im Ringkampf. Der Griff dabei ist ganz der bei uns übliche. Es kommt hauptsächlich darauf an, den Gegner durch Beinstellen zu Falle bringen, wobei selbst anscheinend schwächliche Individuen eine erstaunliche Gewandtheit entwickeln.

Einige Tänze sind bereits von Castelnau beschrieben worden. Ich selbst hatte auf dem dritten Sambioadorte Gelegenheit, einem Kriegstanze beizuwohnen. Es nahmen acht federgeschmückte, mit Speeren, Keulen und Bogen bewaffnete Männer unter Leitung eines Vortänzers, den sie im Halbkreis umgaben, daran Theil. Die Tänzer bewegten sich dabei nur wenig von der Stelle, höchstens ein paar Schritte vor- und rückwärts. Schnelles Hüpfen auf einem Bein, kunstgerechtes, taktmässiges Schwenken der Waffen bildeten die Hauptaction. Alles wurde mit grösster Präcision ausgeführt. Dieser Tanz soll den Kayapo entlehnt sein.

Leichenfeier und Begräbniss. Beim Tode eines Karaya werden unter lautem Klagegeheul der Verwandten alle Gegenstände seines täglichen Gebrauchs, Waffen, Schmucksachen u. s. w. verbrannt, das übrige unter die, welche ihn beerdigen, vertheilt. Die Leidtragenden bringen sich Schnittwunden bei und scheeren sich das Haar.

Demnächst folgt der Todtentanz um die Leiche[1], welche mit Urucu gefärbt und in Matten eingehüllt an einer horizontalen Stange aufgehängt ist.

Unter Leitung zweier Vorsänger, die von Zeit zu Zeit abgelöst werden, geht der Reigen im Kreise herum, wobei die Theilnehmer die Finger übereinander geschoben halten. Der Gesang dabei ist eine Art Wechselrede. Der Chor fragt den Todten, wo er sei und wie es ihm gehe, einer der Vorsänger antwortet für ihn.

Eine solche Strophe konnte wenigstens dem Sinne nach in Uebersetzung wiedergegeben werden.

Chor: *dzori kwiko — kidirkoko* (4—5mal wiederholt) *otokwiko — kudza kkwiko*, d. h.: Er lebt nicht mehr, es ist aus mit ihm, denkt nicht mehr an ihn, er hängt an der Stange (*kudza*).

Der Todte: *rouro wira — koti uaidza uauiro kiako uro — aidzodza kiuro*, d. h.: Ich bin in einem schönen Lande, bringt mir Tabak (*koti*), habt Ihr mir den Lippenpflock angelegt: Ferner: Es fehlt mir nichts, aber bringt Wasser zum Grabe u. s. w.

Der Chor wiederholt dazwischen immer wieder das dumpfe: *haidza ki ki kiá — ki kiá — ko kiá*, d. h.: Es ist alles vorbei.

[1]) Nicht selten beginnen die Feierlichkeiten ehe der Tod wirklich eingetreten ist.

Die Beerdigung findet am nächsten oder, wenn der Tod in der Frühe eintrat, am Abend desselben Tages statt. Die Feierlichkeiten, Gesänge und Tänze werden dann noch drei bis vier Tage lang fortgesetzt, während welcher Zeit jede Arbeit ruht.

Die Begräbnissplätze liegen stets dicht am Fluss auf erhöhtem Terrain. Zwei derselben, der eine bei S. José, der andere etwas oberhalb der Mündung des Rio das Mortes auf dem rechten Ufer, wurden von mir genauer untersucht und einige Skelette exhumirt.

Das Grab (Fig. 16a—d) ist eine rechteckige 2 m lange, 1 m breite und 50—70 cm tiefe Grube, über welche in der Längsrichtung einige Stangen gelegt sind. An der mittelsten ist die von Buritimatten umhüllte Leiche in horizontaler Lage freischwebend aufgehängt [1]) (a). Ein mit Speisen gefülltes

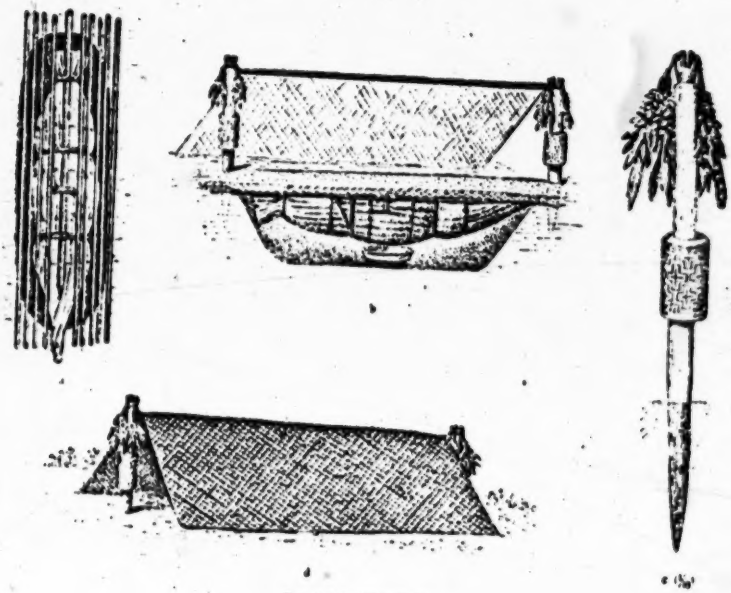


Fig. 16. Grabausstattung.

Gefäss steht unter ihr auf dem Boden. Die Grube ist mit einer Matte bedeckt, über der noch eine fusshohe Erdschicht liegt (b).

Die äussere Ausstattung des Grabes soll offenbar ein Haus darstellen. Zwei 1½ m hohe an der kurzen gegabelten Spitze mit lang herabhängenden Federbändern verzierte Pfähle *(ibiri)* werden am Kopf- und Fussende des Grabes aufgepflanzt, um die „Thiere", d. h. jedenfalls die Dämonen (die *kemaima* Guayanas) fernzuhalten. Die trommelartige Verdickung im Mittelstücke des Pfahles trägt das eingravirte oder durch Federmosaik angedeutete Familienabzeichen des Verstorbenen. Eins der vorliegenden Exemplare (c) zeigt das Kreuzornament der Eidechse *(kádmá)*. Das Federmuster der beiden andern ist leider unkenntlich.

Beide Pfähle sind durch eine Schnur verbunden, über die zwei Buritimatten dachartig aus-

[1]) Castelnaus Angabe a. a. O. I. p. 405, wonach der Todte vertikal im Grabe steht (la tête fait une saillie au dessus du sol) beruht wohl auf einer Verwechselung mit der bei den Kayapó gebräuchlichen Beerdigungsweise in hockender Stellung.

gebreitet sind (d). Unter dieses Zelt stellt man eine Cuye mit Speise und Trank für die Seele, welche die erste Zeit nach der Beerdigung in der Nähe des Grabes verweilt.

Auf Wunsch der Hinterbliebenen werden die Gebeine später wieder ausgegraben und in freistehenden flachen Thongefässen neben dem Grabe beigesetzt.

Das Andenken Verstorbener schwindet nicht so bald. Noch lange nach dem Tode eines Familienmitglieds giebt die Anhänglichkeit der Verwandten in stürmischen Ausbrüchen des Schmerzes sich kund, wenn die Erinnerung an den Todten durch irgend ein Ereigniss wachgerufen wird. Stiessen wir beim Durchmustern der Vorrathskörbe in den Häusern auf Gegenstände aus dem Nachlass dahingeschiedener Gatten oder Kinder, so brachen die Weiber sofort in ein lautes Klagegeschrei aus, das sich erst legte, wenn man das betreffende Object wieder verbarg.

Auf dem letzten Dorfe der Sambioa war ich Zeuge einer ebenso eigenartigen als ergreifenden Trauerscene, als die Nachricht eintraf, dass ein Karaya in Para, wohin er ein Boot als angeworbener Ruderer begleitet hatte, gestorben sei. Die Mutter und die Frau desselben schrien zwei Tage lang unter lautem feierlichem Trauergesang am Ufer auf und nieder, in den Händen Schmuckgeräthe des Beweinten haltend und unablässig damit stromabwärts winkend, wohin er entschwunden war.

Die Klagelieder wurden unter Begleitung anderer Weiber bis tief in die Nacht hinein fortgesetzt.

Krankheiten und Zauberärzte.

Von den schlimmsten Geisseln der Naturvölker, den Pocken und der Lues, sind die Karaya bis jetzt so ziemlich verschont geblieben, ebensowenig sind sie der bei der Bevölkerung von Goyaz so verbreiteten Lepra und Kropfkrankheit unterworfen. Hingegen ist bei den Karayahi die Tuberculose, deren Ansteckungsfähigkeit den Indianern wohl bekannt ist, in steter Zunahme begriffen. Ahi catarrho naõ tem: Giebt es auch keinen Catarrh: ist stets die erste Frage, die sie an den fremden Besucher richten, ehe sie das Betreten ihrer Hütten gestatten. Malariafieber kommen in intensiverer Form ebenfalls nur im Gebiete der Karayahi vor, namentlich in den Niederungen zwischen São José und der Mündung des Rio das Mortes.

Arzneistoffe werden, wie es scheint, von den wilden Stämmen Südamerikas in weit geringerem Maasse angewendet, als man gemeinhin annimmt. Da jede Krankheit als ein Werk feindlicher Zauberer oder Dämonen betrachtet wird, so verlässt man sich mehr auf den Gegenzauber des eigenen „Medizinmannes", der durch Saugen an dem leidenden Körpertheil den Gifstoff entfernt oder mittelst der Zauberrassel die bösen Geister verscheucht.

Eins der beliebtesten Medikamente der Karaya ist das Harz der Almecegeira (Hedwigia balsamifera), welches mit Cocosöl angerührt als Riechessenz gegen Kopfschmerz und äusserlich gegen Leibweh verwendet wird (*mulíaura*).

Fig. 17. Scarifications-Instrument (½).

In der Chirurgie wissen die Wilden schon besser Bescheid. Sie kennen den Aderlass aus der Stirnvene, die Blutstillung durch Abbinden des verletzten Gliedes, streuen auf Wunden ganz rationell Kohlenpulver auf, legen an gebrochene Glieder Schienenverbände an und entwickeln eine grosse Geschicklichkeit im Ausziehen von Dornen mittelst scharfer Fischzähnchen.

Die aus Nordamerika und Ecuador bekannte Sitte, durch künstlich erregtes Erbrechen des Morgens den Magen zu entleeren, findet sich auch hier. Es geschieht dies mittelst angekohlter Taquarastücke (*ikíno*), welche in den Schlund eingeführt werden bis die Wirkung erfolgt.

Das wichtigste medizinische Instrument ist der Scarificationsapparat (*i-laura*). Er besteht aus einem drei- oder viereckigen Stückchen Cuyenschale, dessen eine Fläche mit einer centimeterdicken Wachs- oder Harzschicht beschwert ist, während der andere eine Reihe scharfer Fischzähnchen trägt (Fig. 17).

Solche Schröpfer werden paarweise aufbewahrt, indem die convexe Kratzfläche des einen auf der concaven des anderen liegt. Die Zähnchen schützt man durch dazwischen gestopfte Baumwolle.

Während der Patient sich krampfhaft an einen Pfahl festklammert, drückt man ihm die Spitzchen tief in die Haut des leidenden Körpertheils ein und ritzt dieselbe mit raschen Zügen nach verschiedenen Richtungen hin auf. Das Blut wird mit Palmblattstreifen abgekratzt, die Wunden im Bade mit Sand abgerieben. Nicht selten soll zur Erhöhung der ableitenden Wirkung gestossener Pfeffer aufgelegt werden.

Auch ohne dass ein besonderes Leiden vorliegt, macht man derartige Blutentziehungen von Zeit zu Zeit an Armen und Beinen, „um die Muskelkraft zu stärken".

Die allen Naturvölkern gemeinsame Anschauung, dass Krankheit wie Tod etwas höchst Unnatürliches ist und nur durch Einwirkung feindlicher Mächte zu Stande kommt, welche allein der Zauberarzt zu bannen versteht, ist bei den Stämmen Südamerikas in so durchaus gleichartiger Weise herrschend, dass Alles, was von einem Volke darüber bekannt ist, auch ohne Weiteres für die übrigen gilt. Es sei hierüber nur auf die lichtvolle, erschöpfende Darstellung Im Thurns [1]) verwiesen, der kaum etwas hinzuzufügen ist.

Bei den Karaya bildet der Stand der Zauberärzte (*kakakidi*, nach Spinola *kori*), deren jedes Dorf mehrere besitzt, ebensowenig eine festgeschlossene Kaste als bei den Xingustämmen.

Zauberer kann Jeder werden, der sich den dazu nothwendigen Kasteiungen unterzieht. Nervös angelegte Individuen, Epileptiker u. s. w. sind natürlich besonders dazu geeignet. Selbst Frauen können zu dieser Würde gelangen.

Wir hatten keine Gelegenheit, den Medizinmann bei der Krankenbehandlung zu beobachten, wohl aber in seiner nicht minder wichtigen Thätigkeit als Regenbeschwörer. Er trat feierlichen Schritts vor die Hütte, in der einen Hand die Tabakspfeife, in der andern eine lange, an der Spitze mit Rochenstacheln besteckte Ruthe haltend. Das Gesicht zum Himmel gewandt, stiess er mit lauter Stimme unarticulirte Töne aus, blies einmal über das andere Rauch gegen die Wolken, murmelte dann, seinen Stab um den Kopf schwingend, mit unglaublicher Zungenfertigkeit unverständliche Worte und führte endlich mit grimmiger Geberde unter dem Rufe: *Ashuto!* zerstreut euch! Stösse nach den vier Himmelsgegenden. Es ist also ganz dasselbe Verfahren, das Boas bei den Central-Eskimo beobachtete. [2]) Kommt der Regen trotzdem hernieder, so zerkaut der Beschwörer eine Wurzel und speit die Stücke in die Luft, natürlich erst wenn das Unwetter seinem Ende sich nähert.

Will der Zauberer einem Abwesenden Schaden zufügen, so schiesst er mittelst eines kleinen Bogens *ibuto* einen Pfeil, der an der Spitze zwei Schlangenzähne trägt, in der Richtung ab, in der er sein Opfer vermuthet. Letzteres wird dann von unheilbarem Siechthum befallen.

Animismus. Maskentänze.

So wenig im Einzelnen über die Religionsanschauungen der Karaya bekannt ist, so lässt sich doch bereits soviel feststellen, dass die animistische Weltanschauung als niedrigste Form religiösen Lebens sich bei ihnen in ganz derselben Weise äussert, wie bei andern besser studierten südamerikanischen Stämmen.

Auch ihnen sind die Erscheinungen des Halblebens im Schlafe, das Erlöschen aller vitalen Thätigkeit im Tode, ferner Träume und Visionen ein Beweis für das Vorhandensein einer vom materiellen Substrat getrennten Geisterwelt, in der jedes menschliche wie thierische Individuum, die sich nach indianischer Auffassung ja nur in ihrer körperlichen Form unterscheiden, sein immaterielles Scheinbild hat.

Aus Erfahrung wissen sie, dass im Traume der Geist den Körper des Schlafenden verlässt, um umherzuschweifen, mit andern Personen oder andern Geistern in Verkehr zu treten, sie wissen ferner, sei es auch nur durch suggestive Beeinflussung, dass ihre Zauberärzte, mit höheren Kräften begabt, sich willkürlich in einen Schlafzustand versetzen können, in welchem ihre Seele Verborgenes ergründet, in Thiere einfährt, um als „Wehrwolf" Feinde zu schrecken und zu schädigen, kurz alle jene Dinge ausführt, durch die sich der Schamanismus allenthalben in gleichmässig wiederkehrender Weise seinen Einfluss zu sichern weiss.

[1]) Im Thurn a. a. O. p. 328 ff.
[2]) Petermann's Mitth. 1897, p. 249.

Die Seelen der Verstorbenen, welche, wie oben erwähnt, in der ersten Zeit in der Nähe des Grabes verweilend gedacht werden, kehren später gern zu ihrer früheren Behausung zurück. Ihren Verwandten erscheinen sie vorzüglich in Gewitternächten. Wenn der Regen prasselnd herabströmt, Blitze das Dunkel erhellen, gedenken die Alten ihrer verstorbenen Angehörigen und suchen durch lautes Klagegeheul und Gesang sich in einen Zustand künstlicher Exstase zu versetzen, der ihrer erregten Phantasie schliesslich jedes erwünschte Phantom vorzaubert.

Diese animistische „Religion", wenn man sie so nennen will, entbehrt noch jeder ethischen Grundlage. Noch hat sie sich nicht zur Annahme eines höheren alles beherrschenden Geistes aufgeschwungen, von dem der Mensch sich in Erwartung von Lohn und Strafe für seine Handlungen abhängig fühlt. So fehlt denn auch alles, was die äusseren Beziehungen des Menschen zur Gottheit andeutet, Idole, Kultushandlungen, Gebete u. s. w. Wohl aber finden sich bei ihnen diejenigen Ceremonien, aus denen, wie es scheint, überall auf der Welt die höheren Kultusformen hervorgegangen sind, die mysteriösen

Maskentänze. Allbekannt ist die wichtige Rolle, welche solche Maskereien bei den nordamerikanischen Stämmen spielen. Von den analogen Gebräuchen auf dem südlichen Continente wusste man bis jetzt auffallend wenig. Nur die Tänze der Tekuna, Juri, Uaupestämme werden beiläufig in der Literatur erwähnt. Die „Tempel" und „Idole", von denen die ältesten Missionsberichte sprechen, sind offenbar nichts anderes, wie die „Medizinhütten" oder „Flötenhäuser" mit den darin aufbewahrten abenteuerlichen Maskenkostümen.

Erst das durch die beiden Xingu-Expeditionen heimgebrachte reiche Maskenmaterial hat neuerdings wieder die Aufmerksamkeit auf diese für das Verständniss des indianischen Lebens so wichtigen Festtänze gelenkt. Die später bei den Karaya angestellten Beobachtungen boten dazu eine erwünschte Ergänzung.

Ihre Maskentänze sind ethnologisch von ganz besonderem Interesse wegen der auffallenden Analogieen, die sie in der Form der Masken sowohl wie auch in den sonstigen Festgebräuchen mit denen Melanesiens zeigen. Diese Uebereinstimmung geht so ins Einzelne, dass Kleinschmidts Beschreibung der neubritannischen Duck-Duckfeste mutatis mutandis auch auf die Thiertänze der Karaya passen würde.

Castelnau, der ihrer zuerst Erwähnung thut, erwarb eine dieser Masken unter vielen Schwierigkeiten [1]), doch ging dieselbe später mit den gesammten übrigen Sammlungen in den Katarakten des Tocantins verloren. Die von ihm auf Taf. IX seiner „Vues et scenes" (Paris 1852) gegebene Darstellung eines Tanzes ist insofern nicht correct, als Unterleib und Beine der Tänzer nicht, wie die Abbildung zeigt, unbedeckt, sondern unter langen Buritigehängen verborgen sind. Auch erscheint die Höhe der Kopfaufsätze übertrieben.

Später hat Spinola [2]) darüber etwas mitgetheilt, auch einige Tanzanzüge für die anthropologische Ausstellung in Rio (1882) erworben, die jedoch niemals ihren Bestimmungsort erreichten, sondern schon in Goyaz zu Grunde gingen.

Dass es mir gelang, einige der interessantesten Masken glücklich heimzubringen, verdanke ich der Vermittelung des Häuptlings Pedro Manco, ohne dessen Fürsprache das abergläubische Misstrauen seiner Stammesgenossen sich schwerlich hätte überwinden lassen. Waren doch bereits mehrfach diese geheiligten Objekte von Reisenden, namentlich auch von Spinola selbst, unklugerweise profanirt worden. Wider Erwarten fanden sich die schönsten Exemplare bei den Karayahi, deren Dörfer allein die oben beschriebenen „Medizinhütten" aufwiesen. Kleinere Lager hatten statt derselben einfache halbkreisförmige oben und hinten offene Verschläge, wie Castelnau sie abbildet, während bei den Sambioa die Hütten vollständig fehlten. Wahrscheinlich waren sie hier nach Beendigung der Festlichkeiten bereits wieder abgebrochen. Die daselbst gesammelten Palmstrohanzüge lagen auf einem Haufen zusammengeworfen im nahen Walde und sind deshalb schon etwas defekt.

Die **Tanzmasken** stellen sämmtlich Thiere dar. Doch geht die Nachbildung der Thiergestalt nicht so weit, wie bei den Masken der Nordamerikaner und der Tekuna, da das betreffende Wesen

[1]) Castelnau a. a. O. p. 441.
[2]) a. a. O. p. 45.

4: Ehrenreich SP9 Caraja

nur durch einige seiner auffallendsten Merkmale oder auch nur durch die angebrachten Ornamente angedeutet wird.

Die Masken, welche entweder einzeln gebraucht werden oder paarweis zusammengehören, zerfallen ihrer Form nach in drei Klassen.

Fig. 18. Maske des Delphins ($\frac{1}{20}$).

Fig. 19. Maske des Fisches *doori* (wahrscheinlich Pirarara) ($\frac{1}{20}$).

Fig. 20. Maske des Scarabaeus (Mistkäfer) ($\frac{1}{20}$).

Fig. 21. Grosser Amulett-bär (Kopfaufsatz) ($\frac{1}{20}$).

1. Anzüge und Kopfaufsätze aus einfachem Palmstrohgeflecht (*imuda*). Gesammelt wurden davon:

a) Der Delphin. Männliche Figur mit übertrieben gross gebildeten Genitalien; aus Cuguasumblättern geflochten. Den Oberkörper des Tänzers deckt ein bis zum Gürtel reichendes Wamms mit Aermeln, Unterleib und Beine bis zum Knie stecken in einer Art Hose, während der Kopf mit einer das Gesicht vollständig verhüllenden Kappe überzogen ist, die oben in zwei gewundene Zipfel ausläuft (Fig. 18).

b) Eine ähnliche Figur ohne Genitalien, den Fisch *doori* (Pirarara) darstellend. Die Verhüllung des Thorax ist ärmellos. Die Kapuze besitzt sechs kurze mit Endknoten versehene Zipfel (Fig. 19).

c) Der Scarabaeus (*kerekböll*, Pillendreher, eine der häufigsten Insekten der Campos) ist eine aus Buritiblättern geflochtene Maske für den Oberkörper. Den Kopf birgt eine aus feinem Geflecht bestehende rhombische Kappe, durch deren oberen Theil eine an den Enden mit Palmstrohquasten versehene Querstange läuft, welche die Fühler des Käfers sehr charakteristisch wiedergiebt. Der untere Theil aus gröberem Geflecht besteht nur aus einer Brust und Bauch bedeckenden Lage. Beiderseits sind schlitzförmige Armlöcher angebracht. Die Beine des Tänzers sind wahrscheinlich durch Buritigehänge verhüllt (Fig. 20).

d) Der grosse Ameisenbär (*uerirí*), von dem gleichfalls nur ein Aufsatz für Kopf und Oberkörper vorhanden ist, ist trichterförmig aus einem einzigen Buritiblatt geflochten, dessen nach oben ragender Stiel mehrfach gespalten durch einen angesetzten Holzstab künstlich verlängert ist. Die äusserste Spitze trägt eine mächtige Blätterquaste. Das Ganze ist 3 m 80 cm hoch (Fig. 20).

Vorstehende Masken sind die bei den Bambios erhaltenen. Ausserdem wurde auf einem Karayahdorf die Skizze eines Maskenanzugs derselben Gattung entworfen. Es ist dies

e) der Geier Carancara (*iíra*), ebenfalls trichterförmig, doch weniger hoch als der „Ameisenbär" und mit Armlöchern versehen (Fig. 22c).

2. Masken nach Art der Duck-Duck (*ρυδω*). Es sind cylindrische Tanzhüte, bedeckt mit zierlichem Federmosaik, dessen Muster das betreffende Thier wiedergiebt.

a) Der Fisch Piabanan (*ibáwara*) besteht aus einem starken cylindrischen Buritigeflecht von 80 cm Höhe, 45 cm Umfang i. M., nach oben in einen zopfartigen mit schwarzem Bast umwickelten Fortsatz auslaufend, der am Ende einen Federbüschel trägt. Das untere Ende des Cylinders erweitert sich trichterförmig, um den Kopf des Trägers aufzunehmen. Dieser Untersatz ist etwa 25 cm hoch und von Buritistreifen so dicht umhüllt, dass das Gesicht des Tänzers vollständig verborgen bleibt (Taf. XII. 1 a u. b).

Das cylindrische Mittelstück ist der Länge nach mit dünnen Rohrstäbchen belegt, auf welche die Federmosaik mit Wachs aufgetragen ist. An der Vorderseite verläuft vertikal ein 10 cm breiter gelber Streifen von zusammengedrehten schwarzweissen Baumwollschnüren eingefasst, den jederseits ein halb so breiter rother mit gleicher Einfassung begleitet. Rechtwinklig zweigt sich von jedem derselben ein breiter rother Fortsatz nach hinten ab, welcher jede Seite des Cylinders in zwei rechteckige Felder theilt. Dieselben sind ausgefüllt durch blaue Rechtecke auf gelbem Grunde, welche durch schwarze Schnüre sich abgrenzen.

An beiden Enden ist der Cylinder mit Streifen von blauem Militärtuch umwunden. Die ursprüngliche Umwickelung war jedenfalls ein enggewebtes schwarzes oder schwarzweisses Baumwollband, wie bei den in Fig. 20a und b abgebildeten Masken.

Den oberen Rand, der ausserdem mit einer Reihe aufrecht stehender rother Ararafedern besteckt ist, umgiebt ein kleiner grüner Federsaum.

An der mit weissem Flaum beklebten Hinterseite hängen zwei Reihen blauer Ararafedern übereinander herab.

Durch das obere Drittel des Cylinders ist ein an den Enden mit langen Federquasten geschmücktes Querstäbchen gesteckt.

b) Der Fisch Pacu (*ariná*) ist von ähnlicher Form. Der cylindrische Theil ist niedriger, aber von grösserem Durchmesser (Höhe 50 cm, Umfang 55 cm). Auch hier geht von der oberen Fläche ein Zopf aus (60 cm) (Taf. XII. 2a u. b).

Vorn verläuft gleichfalls ein breiter rother Streif in schwarzweisser Einfassung. Die Seitentheile zeigen ein Complementärmuster von schrägen etwas unregelmässig verlaufenden stumpfen Zickzackstreifen, roth auf gelbem Grund in schwarzer Einfassung. Hinten hängen ebenfalls zwei Federreihen herab.

Zu beiden Masken gehören lange um Schultern und Hüften zu legende Buritigehänge. Der Hals ist mit einer Garnitur schwarzer Bastnetzen umwickelt. Der Tänzer trägt in den Händen Rasselcuyen und um die Knöchel die Binden mit den klappernden Thevetiaschalen (Fig. 22b).

Zwei andere derartige Masken konnten skizzirt werden.

Fig. 20. Masken und maskirter Tänzer.

c) Die eine stellt angeblich den *Iabrono* (Alligator) dar. Der cylindrische Theil ist roth, mit horizontal liegenden Doppelkreuzen in Gelb (Fig. 22a) und trägt zwei divergirende kurze Zöpfe.

d) Die Bedeutung der anderen, des Thier *yurrení*, ist unsicher. Die Grundfarbe des Cylinders ist blau. An jeder Seite läuft eine Kette von gelben Rechtecken auf rothem Grund herab. Dem Ornamente nach dürfte es eine Schlange vorstellen. (Fig. 22b).

Bei beiden ist die Hinterseite durch eine in der Längsrichtung angebrachte Doppelreihe kurzer grüner und blauer Papageifedern geziert.

3. Ohne Thieremblem ist die Maske eines schwarzen Vogels (*tirchaá*). Es ist ein menschliches Gesicht, aus einer grossen Cuyenschale, das untere Drittel schwarz, das übrige roth bemalt. Der Mund ist mit Wachslippen und Holzzähnchen ausgestattet. Zwischen den schmalen Augenspalten befindet sich in unnatürlicher Höhe die Nase aus schwarzem Wachs. Ein Gehänge von schwarzen und

braunen Federn fällt nach hinten herab, während vorn und an den Seiten lange Buritibaststreifen den Körper des Trägers decken (Taf. X. 3).

Damit ist die Zahl der Masken keineswegs erschöpft. Jedes Dorf hat seine besonderen und manche „Medizinhütte" war von den verschiedensten Typen förmlich vollgepfropft.

Ausser den genannten wurden noch folgende als bei den Karayahi vorzugsweise gebräuchlich aufgeführt:

Die Fische: Pintado (Pimelodus Sorubim), Trem Trem (Gymnotus electricus), Chicote, Piau und Pirarucu (Sudis gigas); die Vögel: Tuyuyu (Mycteria Jabiru), Japuira (Cassicus sp.), Mutum (Crax), Jacu (Penelope); endlich Hirsch und Krebs.

Maskenfeste. Sind nach ergiebigen Jagd- und Fischzügen viele Lebensmittel vorhanden, so bestimmt der Häuptling die Abhaltung eines Tanzfestes, das so lange fortgesetzt wird, als die Vorräthe reichen. Schon mehrere Tage vor dem festgesetzten Termin beginnen die Vorbereitungen. Die Weiber sorgen für Speisen und Getränke, die Männer machen sich, soweit sie nicht noch auf der Jagd beschäftigt sind, an die Anfertigung der Tanzkostüme. Jeder Tanz ist nur bestimmten Personen bekannt. Die dabei gesungenen Lieder, deren Ueberlieferung vom Vater auf den Sohn vererbt, sind angeblich in alterthümlicher, der Menge unverständlicher Sprache gehalten.

Jedes dargestellte Thier hat einen für dasselbe charakteristischen Laut, der sich in den Gesängen immer wiederholt. So schreit der Pacu: *heipuà he, heipuà he*, der Alligator *hu — hu — hu*.

Die Weiber und Kinder sehen zwar dem Tanze zu, dürfen aber nicht die Masken allein, ohne ihren Träger erblicken, da man sie in dem Glauben erhält, die betreffenden „Thiergeister" wirklich vor sich zu haben. Nur die ältesten Weiber werden hier und da mit in das Geheimniss gezogen.

Das Fest beginnt mit einem Umzug der Masken durch das Dorf. Die Theilnehmer kleiden sich im nahen Walde an und kommen mit lautem *hoà hu hoà* hervor. Alles ruft alsdann: *mahuerare!* Da kommen sie!

Während des Umzugs werfen die Maskirten Holzscheite nach allen Richtungen herum. Nachdem sie sich wieder zurückgezogen, wird alles für das Festmahl und Trinkgelage zugerichtet, bis nach einigen Stunden die Tänzer von neuem hervorkommen und der Tanz beginnt. Er besteht wie der des Duck-Duck in einem eigenthümlichen Hüpfen. Der Tänzer darf sich dabei auf keine Weise zu erkennen geben, weder sprechen, noch husten oder niesen, namentlich aber nicht fallen. Er wird sonst, wie der Duck-Duck und der nordwestamerikanische Hametz sofort todt geschlagen.

Ist er genöthigt, zu husten, was bei der erstickenden Hitze in seiner Vermummung natürlich nicht selten ist, so springt er in den Kreis der umstehenden Männer, die dann gleichfalls hustend seine Stimme übertönen.

Die Tänze finden in einer bestimmten Reihenfolge statt, wobei jedoch dem Häuptling die Entscheidung darüber zusteht, mit welchem der Anfang gemacht werden soll.

Dringt ein Weib aus Neugierde in die geheime Hütte ein oder nimmt sie sonst eine Gelegenheit wahr, die Maskenanzüge zu sehen, so trifft sie die Todesstrafe.

Gewöhnlich legen dann die übrigen Weiber beim Häuptling Fürbitte ein. Dieser lässt Gnade walten, wenn die Schuldige Stillschweigen verspricht und sich irgend einer Bussarbeit unterzieht, welche meist im Weben eines *riio* oder der Anfertigung einer grossen Buritimatte besteht. Weigert sie sich dessen, oder fällt die Arbeit nicht nach Wunsch aus, so wird ihr ein Ort im Walde bezeichnet, an dem sie sich zu einer bestimmten Zeit einzufinden hat. Dort wird sie genöthigt, sich den versammelten Männern hinzugeben. Erscheint sie nicht, so erhalten letztere das Recht, sie zu tödten, wo sie sie antreffen. Die Leiche der Schuldigen wird in den Strom versenkt. Doch darf Niemand in die Hütte des Opfers eindringen, da dieselbe als Asyl gilt.

In gleicher Weise wird ein Mann, der einer Frau das Geheimniss verräth, für vogelfrei erklärt.

Dass solche barbarischen Gebräuche wenigstens früher geherrscht haben, ist um so weniger zu bezweifeln, als sich Analoges in anderen Gegenden der Erde nachweisen lässt. Doch scheint heute die Sache nicht mehr so streng gehandhabt zu werden. Man erzählt, dass bei den benachbarten Tapirapé durch einen Zufall einst sämmtliche Weiber der Masken ansichtig wurden, so dass nichts anderes übrig blieb, als sie alle zu begnadigen und das Geheimniss preiszugeben.

Auch bei den Šambioa soll nach Aussage Pedro Manco's der Brauch abgekommen sein. Indessen gestatteten dieselben uns nicht, die im Walde gefundenen Masken einfach mitzunehmen, da Weiber in

der Nähe vermuthet wurden. Um sie nach unserem Lager zu schaffen, mussten vielmehr unsere Leute eigens zu diesem Zweck damit bekleidet werden.

Mögen diese Sitten sich jetzt gemildert haben oder nicht, jedenfalls ist der Respect der Weiber vor den Masken und ihrem geheimnissvollen Aufbewahrungsort ein ganz gewaltiger.

Nach Beendigung des Festes werden die Masken weggeworfen oder verbrannt. Allenfalls werden die dazu verwendeten Federn aufgehoben.

Ueber die eigentliche Bedeutung dieser Tänze werden wir schwerlich jemals ganz ins Klare kommen. Es ist sogar zweifelhaft, ob die Indianer selbst sich ihrer noch vollständig bewusst sind. Auf Grund der Analogieen bei besser bekannten Völkern lassen sich wenigstens Vermuthungen darüber aufstellen.

Sicher ist, dass die Maske den Geist des dargestellten Thiers repräsentirt. Die Thiere selbst sind entweder Jagdthiere oder solche, die in der nationalen Legende eine gewisse Rolle spielen, wie der Storch, der Alligator, der Gymnotus. In Nordamerika giebt es Bärentänze, Büffeltänze u. s. w., um den Bären- und Büffelgeist zu bewegen, diese Thiere in grösserer Menge erscheinen zu lassen, während andere Tänze sich auf Thiere beziehen, die als Urahnen betrachtet werden, oder denen sonst eine mythologische Bedeutung zukommt. Aehnliche Vorstellungen mögen auch den Maskereien der Karaya zu Grunde liegen. Es wäre damit bereits ein Schritt über die niedrigste Form des Animismus hinaus gethan, da die Annahme eines alle Thiere der betreffenden Klasse repräsentirenden Geistes schon eine gewisse Abstraction voraussetzt.[1] Insofern dann diese Thiergeister in einer dem Menschen günstigen Weise beeinflusst werden sollen, zeigt sich in diesen Tänzen die erste Spur eines Kultus.

Fragt man die Indianer selbst, warum sie vor den Frauen das Geheimniss wahren, so erklären sie ausnahmslos, dieselben dürften nicht alles sehen, sie sprächen zu viel.

Das Bedürfniss, die Autorität der Männer den Weibern gegenüber aufrecht zu erhalten, tritt überall hervor, wo derartige mysteriöse Feste im Schwange sind. Auch aus dem griechischen und orientalischen Alterthum ist ähnliches bekannt. Es dürfte in diesem Bestreben, das dem Culturmenschen oft als eine brutale Vergewaltigung des schwächeren Geschlechts erscheinen mag, einer der ursprünglichsten der ganzen Menschheit angehörigen „Völkergedanken" zum Ausdruck kommen.

Das Schwirrholz scheint bei den Karaya nicht im Gebrauch zu sein, wenigstens konnte nichts darüber ermittelt werden.

Legenden und Folklore.

Noch in den letzten Tagen unseres Aufenthalts in S. Maria wurde aus dem Munde des alten Pedro Manco eine Anzahl von Legenden aufgezeichnet, die bei der Spärlichkeit derartiger Mittheilungen aus Südamerika, trotz ihrer Einfachheit und Gedankenarmuth sowie theilweis verstümmelten Form immerhin einiges Interesse beanspruchen. Leider musste bei der Kürze der Zeit davon Abstand genommen werden, sie im Urtext nieder zu schreiben, zumal die Herstellung einer Interlinearübersetzung auf unüberwindliche Schwierigkeiten stiess.

Ob diese Traditionen von fremder Beeinflussung völlig frei geblieben sind, wird erst dann mit Sicherheit zu entscheiden sein, wenn es einmal gelingen sollte, weitere Gewährsmänner zur Controlle heranzuziehen. Diese Aussicht ist freilich sehr gering. Vorläufig steht der Annahme, dass wir es hier wirklich mit echten Produkten indianischen Volksgeistes zu thun haben, nichts entgegen.

Weder der Form noch den Inhalten nach unterscheiden sich diese Mythen von den sonst aus Amerika bekannten. Gerade diejenige Sage, welche den Indianern am leichtesten durch Missionare suggerirt wird, die von der grossen Fluth, lässt in der hier mitgetheilten Fassung gar keinen Zusammenhang mit der christlichen erkennen.

Analogieen finden sich im Uebrigen mit Mythen aus Guayana, Nordamerika und namentlich Polynesien.

Die Legenden I—VI scheinen Bruchstücke einer alten Stammessage zu sein.

Nicht alle sind vollständig. Bei einigen fehlt der Schluss oder doch, für unser Verständniss wenigstens, die Pointe.

[1] Im Thurn a. a. O. p. 370

Ueberall tritt die echt indianische Anschauung von der Gleichartigkeit des Menschen und der Thierwelt deutlich hervor. Das Thier erscheint hier nur in seiner äusseren Erscheinung vom Menschen verschieden, daher beide ihre Gestalt fortwährend verwandeln. In der Regel fügte der Erzähler in den Verlauf seiner Darstellung bei der Einführung eines neuen Thieres in die Handlung ausdrücklich die Bemerkung hinzu, dasselbe sei eigentlich auch ein Karaya gewesen.

I.
Kaböl.

Kaböl, der Ahnherr der Karaya, lebte mit seinem Volke in der Unterwelt. Es schien dort die Sonne, wenn auf Erden Nacht war und umgekehrt. Einst drang der Schrei des Campvogels Seriema (Dicholophus cristatus) bis dahin und Kaböl beschloss, von einigen Leuten begleitet, dem Ton zu folgen. So gelangte er an ein Loch, welches auf die Oberfläche der Erde führte. Aber nur seine Leute konnten hindurch, während er selbst wegen seines zu grossen Körperumfangs darin stecken blieb und nur mit dem Kopf aus der Oeffnung hervorschaute. Die Karaya durchstreiften die Gegend und fanden viele Früchte, Bacury, Piqui, Fruta do veado, ferner Bienen und wilden Honig, sahen aber auch manchen abgestorbenen Baum und dürres Holz. Alles dieses brachten sie zur Stelle, wo Kaböl ihrer harrte, und zeigten, was sie gefunden. Wohl ist das Land schön und fruchtbar, sagte dieser, aber das morsche Holz beweist, dass das, was hier lebt, bald dem Tode verfallen muss. Drum ist es besser, wir bleiben, wo wir sind.

Im Reiche Kaböl's wurden die Menschen nämlich sehr alt, sie starben erst, wenn sie vor Alter keine Bewegung mehr machen konnten.

Als Kaböl zu seinem Volke zurückkehrte und die Früchte zeigte, wollten die meisten hinaus auf die Oberwelt; vergeblich warnte er: Ihr findet alles, dessen ihr bedürft, aber ihr werdet schnell dahinsterben. Dennoch zog ein Theil des Volkes fort und bevölkerte die Erde. Die übrigen blieben mit Kaböl in der Unterwelt zurück. Sie leben noch heute in voller Kraft, während das Volk auf der Erde mehr und mehr dem Untergange entgegengeht.

Eine ganz ähnliche Sage der Warrau theilt Im Thurn (a. a. O. p. 394) mit, nur spricht diese von einem Herabsteigen des Volks vom Himmel auf die Erde. Aus Nordamerika kennen wir ein Analogon bei den Mandans (vergl. Catlin, Indianer Nordamerikas. Brussel 1851. p. 17). In Anbetracht, dass in der Sprache der Karaya b und m vielfach in einander übergehen, namentlich in Lehnwörtern, scheint in dem Namen Kaböl der in der südamerikanischen Mythologie häufig wiederkehrende Name der Sonne und des Sonnenheros der Arawakstämme Kama, Kamoi, Kamoti oder Kamotöi (s. u. der von dem Feste der Ipurina Bemerkte) einzubüssen. Auch Tamoi, der Ahnherr der Tupi, mag damit identisch sein.

II.
Sonnenmythus.

Kaherorö, ein Karayamädchen, heirathete den reichen Šokrä. Sie wurde in den Wald geschickt, um Holz zu holen. Die Sonne lief aber so schnell, dass die Nacht hereinbrach, ehe sie fertig wurde. Da beklagte sich das Mädchen bei ihrer Mutter Idšokarerö: „Warum habe ich einen so reichen und mächtigen Mann geheirathet, wenn ich gezwungen sein soll, so schnell zu arbeiten. Das halte ich nicht aus. Mache doch, dass die Sonne langsamer geht".

Die Mutter sandte darauf ihren Sohn [1]) Beßaua [2]) aus. Diesem gelang es, der Sonne ein Bein zu brechen, sie geht seitdem langsamer.

Sehr zufällig ist hier die Uebereinstimmung mit dem polynesischen Maimythus.

III.
Die beiden Gewaltigen.

In einem Dorfe war ein Fest gefeiert worden. Die Tänzer hatten ihre Masken abgelegt. Alles ging aus zu jagen und zu fischen. Jeder versprach der Erste zu sein, der mit reicher Beute heimkäme. In drei Kanus zogen die Leute stromaufwärts, nur ein Jüngling allein stromabwärts. Seine alte Mutter, die blind und lahm, nicht vom Feuer fort konnte, war zurückgeblieben. Sie fragte ihn, als er zurückkehrte: Wer hat da getanzt, waren es wirklich Todte, die tanzten? Der Sohn erwiderte: Nein, es

[1]) Ausserdem werden genannt Komakera und Kuafoßö.
[2]) „Die Taube".

waren die Karaya, doch lugen sie die Finger über einander nach Art der Verstorbenen (vergl. S. 30). Nun kehren auch die anderen zurück, darunter befanden sich zwei Gewaltige Tenira und Šokrõ. Der eine schnitt mit seinem Messer aus Piranhazähnen der Alten den Kopf ab, neigte ihn herum und liess eine tiefe Grube graben. Nun befahl er Binden und Holzstücke herbeizuholen, füllte damit die Grube an und weckte das Gasse in Brand. In das lodernde Feuer warfen die beiden „Gewaltigen" nun einen Karaya nach dem andern. Darauf tanzten sie mit wildem Geschrei um das Feuer und sangen:

Tenira sõrõrõ
Šokrõ šokrõ
ašõ ašõ ašõ šokrõkõ
dawa Tenira dawa Šokrõ.

Nun stellen sich beide einander zum Kampfspiel gegenüber. Jeder von ihnen rühmte sich, dem andern ein Auge ausschlagen zu können. So entwenden beide gleichzeitig ihre Geschosse und eilen mit von des andern Hand.

Vom ganzen Dorf blieben so nur noch zwei Periquitos (Zwergpapageien) übrig. Zwei junge Karaya, die sich auf der Jagd verspätet, kamen nun zurück und fanden das Dorf leer. Schreckerfüllt wollte der eine fliehen, doch hielt ihn der andere zurück. Als sie sich am nächsten Tage entfernten, um zu jagen, hörten sie aus dem Dorfe das Gestampf im Mörser, als wenn die Weiber arbeiteten. Bei ihrer Rückkehr fanden sie das Feuer von unbekannter Hand bereitet. Vergebens riefen sie nach den Weibern, die es gethan. Niemand antwortete. Am nächsten Tage geschah dasselbe. Am dritten endlich trieb sie die Neugier, umzukehren, als sie das Stampfen hörten. Sie fanden im Hause zwei Mädchen, die bei deren Eintritt stumm den Kopf hängen liessen. Endlich gaben sich diese zu erkennen als die beiden verwandelten Periquitos. Die beiden Jünglinge nahmen sie zu Weibern und von diesen stammen die jetzigen Karaya.

In der von Barbosa Rodrigues (Indios, Band V, p. [illegible]) mitgetheilten portugiesischen Sagenfassung werden die Unbekannten in gleicher Weise von zwei Papageien bedient, die sie später zu Weibern nehmen. (vgl. Andree, Flussgebiete p. 107)

IV.
Karaya und Tori.

Kudiã liess einen Karaya mit einem Tori (Weissen) um die Wette laufen. Am Ziel befand sich als Preis Bogen und Pfeil und ein Gewehr. Der Karaya kam zuerst am Ziele an und ergriff das Gewehr, der Tori erhielt Bogen und Pfeil. Bald aber wurde dem Karaya das Gewehr zu schwer, er veranlasste den Tori, mit ihm zu tauschen, seitdem führt dieser das Feuergewehr und die Karaya Bogen und Pfeile.

Ganz ähnlich ist die von Baldus „Urchristentum" p. [illegible] mitgetheilte Dreiamsche.

V.
Die Sintfluth.

Die Karaya waren auf der Schweinsjagd und trieben die Thiere bis in ihr Loch. Man fing an sie auszugraben, holte ein Schwein nach dem andern heraus und tödtete sie. Da stiess man plötzlich auf ein Reh, dann auf einen Tapir und endlich auf ein weisses Reh. Als man noch weiter grub, kamen die Füsse eines Menschen zum Vorschein. Da erschraken die Karaya und holten einen mächtigen Zauberer, der alle Thiere des Waldes kannte, herbei. Diesem gelang es, den Mann aus der Erde herauszuholen. Er hiess Anatiuã und hatte einen dünnen Körper, aber einen dicken Bauch, (Durch [illegible] verlieren [illegible] mit Kohle.) Dieser begann zu singen (in seiner, d.h. [illegible] Sprache): *Inatiuã, anatiuã, Kaiwa nari Ze ariabo* – „Ich bin Anatiuã, bringt mir Tabak zum Rauchen!" Die Karaya verstanden ihn nicht. Sie liefen im Walde herum, brachten allerlei Blumen und Früchte herbei. Er wies alle zurück und deutete auf einen, der gerade rauchte. So brachte man ihm Tabak. Er rauchte bis er betrunken niedersank.

Man hob ihn in ein Kanu und brachte ihn zum Dorfe. Hier erwachte er, und fing an zu tanzen und zu singen. Sein Benehmen und seine unverständliche Sprache erschreckte die Karaya und sie zogen ab mit Weib und Kind. Da wurde Anatiuã zornig. Er verwandelte sich in einen grossen Piranha und verfolgte sie. Mit sich führte er viele Kalebassen mit Wasser. Als die Karaya nicht auf seinen Zuruf hören wollten, zerschlug er eine der Gefässe, worauf das Wasser zu steigen anfing. Als

dies erfolglos blieb, zerbrach er auch das zweite und das Wasser stieg noch höher u. s. f. bis endlich alles Land überschwemmt war und nur noch die Berge am Tapirapé (vgl. S. 7) aus der Fluth hervorragten. Auf seine beiden Spitzen hatten die Karaya sich geflüchtet. Nun rief Anaiuá alle Fische zusammen, um die Leute ins Wasser herab zu ziehen. Der Jahu, der Pintado und der Pacu machten sich daran, aber keiner vermochte es. Endlich gelang es dem Bicudo (Fisch mit langer schnabelförmiger Schnauze) von hinten den Berg zu ersteigen und die Karaya herabzureissen. Noch jetzt zeigt daselbst eine grosse Lagune die Stelle an, wo sie hinabstürzten. Nur einige wenige der Leute blieben übrig und stiegen hier ab, als das Wasser sich verlaufen hatte.

Obwohl im Allgemeinen regelmässig auftretende Überschwemmungen wie am Araguaya nicht zu Flutheugen Veranlassung geben, wie Andree dies mit Recht hervorhebt (a. a. O. p. 146), so sind hier dennoch die lokalen Verhältnisse der Bildung einer solchen günstig. Ihr Bolcudo, welcher auch langer Faden durch endlose niedere Uferlandschaften plötzlich der mächtigen, ununterbrochen von der Ebene aufragenden Kegelberge am Tapirapé ansichtig wird, vermag ohne Weiteres zu begreifen, wie die Karyahi, die, wie oben bemerkt, von Überschwemmungen sehr zu leiden haben, zu ihrer Flutheuge gekommen sind. Bei obwaltenden Umständen bietet sich jener Berge den Umwohnenden vielleicht einmal wirklich als letzte Zufluchtsstätte dar.

Wie in den meisten südamerikanischen Flutheugen, kommt auch hier die Fluth nicht durch Regen, sondern durch das Zerbrechen mit Wasser gefüllter Gefässe zu Stande.

VI.

Das Jacaré und die streitbaren Weiber.

Die Weiber eines Dorfes pflegten zu gewissen Zeiten nach einer Lagune zu gehen, wo ein grosses Jacaré (*kahrorí*, Alligator) hauste. Hier hatten sie sich Hütten errichtet mit Kochgeräthen, Töpfen u. s. w. Federschmuck und schöne Leibgürtel nahmen sie dorthin mit, auch Moschus, den Körper einzureiben. Eins der Weiber wurde mit all diesen Zierrathen ausstaffirt, ihre Haut mit Moschus bestrichen und blieb am Ufer sitzen, während die übrigen im Walde Früchte sammelten. Andere fischten oder bereiteten Speisen zu.

Das Weib im Festschmuck rief, sobald sich alle entfernt: *kahrorí — kahrorí — a-a-ná ãõmaã ariãdu kõãnã menaku menaku* — Jacaré komm, bringe Fische, Matrincham, Curimata, Papa terra, Avuadeira!

Das Jacaré antwortete: *kahrõ'ãu — anahrõ* — ich komme.

Es kam dann hervor, ein Bündel Fische tragend. Dann legte es den Kopf der Frau auf den Schenkel, liess sich von ihr die Parasiten absuchen und schlief ein. Die andern Weiber bereiteten unterdessen das Mahl und gingen nach Beendigung des Festes nach Hause, den Männern nur die leeren Fruchtschalen bringend. Das geschmückte Weib blieb mit dem Jacaré zurück und folgte erst später.

Schliesslich wunderten sich die Männer, dass die Frauen immer nur mit leeren Schalen zurückkamen und beschlossen, der Sache auf den Grund zu gehen. Einer befahl seinem Sohn, die Mutter zu begleiten. Nach langer Weigerung derselben ward er zugelassen und erzählte den Männern dann, was er gesehen.

Zwei Tage später gingen diese selbst zusammen an den See, während die Frauen zurückbleiben mussten. Auch sie rieben sich mit Moschus ein und riefen das Jacaré. Dasselbe kam wie sonst, brachte Fische und legte sich zum Schlaf nieder, wurde nun aber von den Männern mit einer Keule getödtet und in den Wald geworfen.

Darauf gingen die Männer jagen, tödteten noch andere Jacarés, Reiher, Enten, sowie Urubus Aasgeier! und kehrten mit der Beute zurück. Spöttisch riefen sie den Weibern zu: Ihr habt uns betrogen, jetzt könnt ihr das Urubufleisch essen.

Andern Tags zogen die Weiber wieder aus. Aber das Jacaré erschien nicht. Seine Leiche wurde endlich im Walde gefunden. Voll Zorn eilen sie nach Haus, machen sich Pfeile und Bogen und fordern die Männer zum Kampf heraus.

Die Männer nahmen die Sache nicht ernst und legten die Pfeile umgekehrt auf den Bogen, um keinen Schaden zu thun, die Weiber aber schossen mit der Spitze und tödteten die Männer bis auf wenige, welche entkamen. Die Weiber zogen nun den Fluss hinab. Man hat nichts mehr von ihnen gehört.

So lange das Jacaré gelebt hat, sprachen alle Jacarés. Seitdem spricht keines mehr.

Es liegt hier offenbar eine Amazonensage in einfachster Form vor ohne das altmeisterliche Fabula entlehnte Beiwerk, mit welchem die ersten Reisenden die in Südamerika so weit verbreitete Sage von den kriegerischen Weibern umgeben und entstellt haben. Dass die einzige Fabulerei einer Amazonenerzählung in Amerika so wenig nachweisbar ist wie in Europa oder

Asien, berechtigt uns nicht, jedwedes Amazonenmythus in der Neuen Welt für importirt zu erklären, wie es vielfach geschehen ist, vgl. Martius, Ethnogr. I. p. 756. Amerika kann eigene Abkömmlingen so gut wie alle Sterbeliebungen bieten, doch dürfte die vorliegende die einzige sein, welche uns in ihrer primitiven Fassung erhalten ist.

VII.
Die Zauberpfeile.

In einem Walde hausten zwei grosse Brüllaffen, welche die Menschen frassen, deren sie habhaft wurden. Zwei Brüder machten sich auf, sie zu tödten. Unterwegs sahen sie am Wege eine Kröte sitzen. Wohin des Wegs? fragte diese. — Wir gehen die Affen zu erlegen. — Wollt ihr mich zum Weibe nehmen, so sage ich euch, wie ihr euch zu verhalten habt, wenn nicht, so geht ihr dem sicheren Tode entgegen. — Lachend schlugen die Brüder das Anerbieten aus und zogen weiter. Bald erreichten sie den Baum, auf dem, mit Schleuderpfeilen bewaffnet, die Affen sassen. Ringsum bleichten die Gebeine der Menschen, die ihnen zum Opfer gefallen waren. Auch die beiden Jünglinge führten solche und eröffneten sofort den Kampf. Aber geschickt bückten sich die Affen und unschädlich flogen die Pfeile über sie hin.

Nun gingen auch sie zum Angriff über. Bald fiel einer der Brüder ins rechte, bald darauf der andere ins linke Auge getroffen und die Affen bemächtigten sich ihrer Beute.

Zu Hause war ein dritter Bruder zurückgeblieben, er war krank, sein Körper voller Wunden und Geschwüre; nur seine Grossmutter gewann es über sich, ihn zu pflegen. Einst ging auch er auf die Vogeljagd. Einer seiner Pfeile fiel vor einem Schlangenloch nieder. Die Schlange kam heraus und fragte: Was machst du hier? wie kannst du jagen, da du doch so krank bist? Ja, erwiderte er seufzend, wohl bin ich krank und unglücklich, Alles hat mich verlassen, meine Brüder sind todt, nur meine Grossmutter erbarmt sich meiner und pflegt mich. Da sprach die Schlange: Ich will dir ein Heilmittel geben, aber sage Niemand, wer dir geholfen. So bestrich er denn seinen ganzen Körper mit schwarzer Salbe. Als er nach Hause kam, fragte die Alte, wovon er so schwarz geworden sei. Ich bin unter die verkohlten Bäume gerathen, war seine Ausrede. Am folgenden Tage liess er sich zum zweiten Male von der Schlange bestreichen und erzählte seiner Grossmutter das Gleiche.

Am dritten Tage fühlte er sich gesund und beschloss nun, seinerseits auszuziehen, um seine Brüder zu rächen.

Die Schlange gab ihm einen Pfeil und sprach: Mit dieser Waffe wirst du die Affen erlegen, die deine Brüder getroffen. Unterwegs wirst du einer Kröte begegnen, die dich auffordern wird, ihr zu Willen zu sein. Thue als wenn du darauf eingehst und streiche sie mit deinem Gliede zwischen Fuss und Zehen.

Als er zur Kröte kam, that er, wie ihm geheissen. Die Kröte liess sich von ihm bethören und rieth ihm zum Lohn, die Affen zuerst schiessen zu lassen und dann auf ihre Augen zu zielen.

So kam er an den Baum der Ungeheuer und sah die Gebeine seiner Brüder darunter liegen. Die Affen riefen ihm zu, zuerst zu schiessen. Er aber wartete ruhig bis die Gegner schossen, traf dann erst den einen, dann den anderen ins Auge. Die Affen stürzten, blieben aber mit ihren Schwänzen in den Aesten hängen. Auf den Rath der Kröte schickte er nun eine Eidechse, sie herabzuholen, was auch gelang.

Der Jüngling kehrte nun zur Schlange zurück, den glücklichen Ausgang seines Abenteuers zu melden.

Diese aber gab ihm nun ein ganzes Bündel von Pfeilen, die die Kraft besassen, jedes Wild, nach dem man sie ausschickte, zu treffen und herbei zu holen. Auch Waldfrüchte, Honig u. s. w. konnten die Pfeile liefern. Für jede Art Jagd war ein besonderer Pfeil bestimmt; zu jedem gehörte noch ein besonderes Zauberminel, in einer Caye eingeschlossen, mit welchem man die Wirkung fälschlich zurückfliegender Pfeile abschwächen und dieselben wieder zum Stillstand bringen konnte.

So verschaffte sich der junge Mann alle Arten Wild und Fische mit leichter Mühe. Bald darauf nahm er ein Weib, baute sich eine Hütte und legte eine Pflanzung an. Seiner Frau hatte er eingeschärft, dass Niemand die Pfeile in seiner Abwesenheit benützen dürfe, sonst würden alle Leute sterben. Dennoch wusste einst sein Schwager seine Frau zu überreden, die Pfeile ihm zu lassen. Anfangs ging alles gut. Der Schwein- und Fischpfeil thaten das Werk und wurden durch das Zauberminel zum Stillstand gebracht. Als aber der Honigpfeil zurückkam, erschien plötzlich ein grosser

4: Ehrenreich SP9 Caraja

gespenstischer Kopf mit weissem zahnbewehrtem Rachen. Voller Angst lief der Schwager fort, ohne an das Gegenmittel zu denken. Das Gespenst fiel nun über die Menschen her und tödtete, wen es fand. Durch den Lärm herbeigeholt, kam der Mann aus der Roça zurück; es gelang ihm endlich, das Ungeheuer zu bannen. Aber das halbe Dorf war bereits todt. Nochmals ging er zur Schlange, ihr sein Leid zu klagen. Dir ist recht geschehen, erwiderte sie, aber was ist zu ändern. Lass uns morgen zusammen auf die Jagd gehen, den Pirarucu zu erlegen. Wenn dich aber eine von meinen Töchtern anredet, so sollst du es mir sagen. Des andern Tags kam die Schlange mit deren ganzen Familie und mit die mit Netzen [1] versehenen Karaya an der Lagune. Diese fischten, während der Mann mit der Schlange den Wald durchstreifte. Eine der Töchter hatte ihn unterdess angeführt, aber er sagte nichts.

Nun verwandelte sich die Schlange in einen Pirarucu und überredete den Mann, dasselbe zu thun. Beide geriethen in das Netz der Fischer. Die Schlange entkam durch ein Loch, der Mann wurde von den übrigen Karaya ans Land gezogen. Ein Mann versuchte, ihn mit Keulenschlägen zu tödten, er aber ergriff ihn, zog ihn unter Wasser, so dass jener die Keule fahren liess. Als die Schlange sah, dass er ohne ihren Beistand schliesslich zu Grunde gehen musste, half sie ihm aus dem Netz heraus und entzauberte ihn. Das war die Strafe, rief sie, dass du nichts gesagt hast, wie meine Tochter dich anführte.

[1] Zwei verschiedene Legenden sind hier in eine ziemlich lockere Verflechtung gebracht. Vollständig scheint nur die erste, die sich unsern eigenen Märchen gewissermassen Zuge anschliesst. Von besonderem Interesse ist die Erwähnung der Pfeilschleuder [illegible] Wurfs.

VIII.

Die Pirarucus.

In einer Lagune am Maõriuzbero (Rio Cristallino, l. Nebenfluss des Araguaya) waren reiche Fischgründe, wo zur Wasserzeit immer viele Fische gesperrt wurden. Oft aber ereignete es sich dabei, dass die Fische die Kanus nach sich zogen und sie an einem grossen Baumstamm in der Mitte des Sees zum Umschlagen brachten. Eines Tages ging Aiurú mit einigen Kameraden dort fischen. Da tauchte vor ihnen plötzlich die Federmaske eines Pirarucu auf. Die Leute wichen anfangs erschreckt zurück, bald aber ermannten sie sich wieder, rufen noch andere Genossen herbei und beginnen die Pirarucu zu treiben und mit Netzen zu umstellen. Nachdem bereits eine Anzahl gefangen war, sagt ein Greis, nun sei es genug, die übrigen aber tödteten mehr. Als nun plötzlich ein Pintado (Surubim) über das Netz sprang, wiederholte der Alte seine Aufforderung, vom weiteren Fang abzulassen. Doch vergebens. Endlich sah er auch einen Piabu springen. Das bedeutet nichts Gutes, ruft der Alte, der Piabu springt sonst nicht, dieser hier ist gesprungen, hört auf! Statt denen versuchten die Übrigen, die gefangenen Fische mit Keulenschlägen zu tödten. Da verschwand plötzlich der See und Alles, was darin war. Nur ein Knabe, der am Ufer auf einem Baume sass, wurde gerettet. Er weinte und seine Thränen fielen ins Wasser, ein kleiner Fisch fing sie auf (er zog sie aus seinen Augen ins Wasser).

Jetzt erschienen die Pirarucus in Karajagestalt wieder. Sie fragten den Knaben einer nach dem andern: Sehe ich aus wie dein Vater, sehe ich aus wie dein Onkel, dein Bruder u. s. w.? bis dieser endlich alle seine Verwandten bestimmt hatte. Nun gingen sie zusammen ins Dorf zu den Weibern, deren Männer sie jetzt vorstellten. Einer der Pirarucu legte seinen Kopf der Frau auf den Schoss, um ihn absuchen zu lassen, befahl ihr aber, ja nicht in seinem Genick nachzusuchen und schlief bald darauf ein. Die Frau aber vermochte ihre Neugierde nicht zu bezwingen, untersuchte das Genick des Mannes und fand dort eine Reihe kurzer Stacheln. Da erschrak sie und erweckte durch einen lauten Schrei den Mann. Was hast du? fragte dieser. Ach es ist nichts, es ist nur eine Laus heruntergefallen. Der Mann nahm die Entschuldigung an und ging in die Festhütte zum Tanz.

Die Frau beschloss, mit ihrem Kinde zu fliehen. Vor ihrem Weggange sprach sie zu ihrem Papagei: Wenn der Vater kommt und nach mir fragt, so sage, ich sei beim Wasserholen, kommt er wieder, so sage, ich sei beim Holz- oder Früchtesuchen. So geschah es, der Mann wurde von dem Papagei so lange hingehalten bis die Frau weit entfernt war. Endlich aber merkt er den Betrug, reisst wütend dem Vogel die Federn aus, der höhnisch ausruft: Jetzt weiss ich, dass du kein Mensch, sondern

[1] Das hier und in der folgenden Legende erwähnte Netz [illegible] wahrscheinlich eine aus Sipo verfertigte Fangvorrichtung, von denen auf S. 15 die Rede war.

ein Pirarucu bist und eilt seinem Weibe nach. Dieses sucht Schutz bei einem Reiher, in dessen Kropf sie sich verbirgt. Der Mann kommt nach und fragt den Vogel, warum er so dick sei:

Ich habe soviel kleine Fische gegessen, erwiderte dieser. — So lass deinen Koth sehen! Der Reiher that wie ihm geheissen, wobei das Weib beinahe zum Vorschein gekommen wäre. Der Mann eilt weiter. Das Weib mit ihrem Kinde setzte später ihre Flucht fort, aber weit und breit war kein Wasser, fast verschmachtend erreichte sie endlich einen Sumpf, in dem ein Zitteraal lag. Sie bittet ihn um Wasser, er gewährt es aber nur unter der Bedingung, ihm zu Willen zu sein.

Später trifft das Weib einen zweiten Aal, der die gleiche Forderung stellt, um Wasser zu schaffen, aber von der Frau betrogen wird, endlich einen dritten, der aber kein Wasser mehr liefert. Das Kind verwandelt sich vor Durst in einen Vogel und fliegt fort. Die Mutter ruft ihm nach: Die ganze Welt wird dich von jetzt an *hahiâ!* nennen! — — — Hier scheint der Zusammenhang gestört, da im Folgenden nicht nur das Kind wieder genannt wird, sondern auch eine Schwester der Frau, von der vorher nicht die Rede war.

Die Frau begegnet weiter einer Unze. Diese fragt: Womit hast du dein Kind so schön bemalt? — Das habe ich aus gekochtem Wachs gemacht. Die Unze bittet darauf das Weib, sie ebenfalls so schön fleckig zu machen und legt sich ruhig vor ihr hin. Die Frau kocht eine grosse Menge Wachs und begiesst die Unze damit, so dass sie stirbt. Die Schwester nimmt der Unze das Fett heraus und stopft es in einen hohlen Baum, worauf beide Weiber ihre Flucht fortsetzen. Nach einer Weile sagt die Schwester: Lass mich zurückgehen, ich vergass meine Pfeile. Geh, sagt das Weib, aber iss nichts vom Fett der Unze, sonst wirst du selbst zur Unze. Die Schwester jedoch folgte nicht, verzehrte vielmehr, vom Hunger getrieben, davon eine grosse Menge. Sie kehrt später ein zweites Mal um unter dem Vorwande, ihre Schürze vergessen zu haben, ist nochmals vom Fett und wird nun selbst in eine Unze verwandelt. So folgt sie in Thiergestalt ihrer Schwester nach, diese sucht sie nun bis zu werden, überredet sie, die Augen zu schliessen und steigt während dessen auf einen Baum, von dem aus sie der Unze höhnisch zuruft: Das ist die Strafe für deinen Vorwitz, jetzt sieh, wie du weiter kommst. Endlich kommt sie an einen Fluss, an welchem ein Jacare sitzt, den sie bittet, sie überzusetzen. Dieser stellt dasselbe Verlangen wie früher der Zitteraal, sieht sich aber ebenfalls betrogen. Voll Aerger bringt er den Mann auf ihre Fährte. Die Frau hatte mittlerweile ein verlassenes Haus erreicht und sich Feuer angezündet, als sie plötzlich eine Dampfwolke aufsteigen sieht. Es war ihr Mann (d. h. der Pirarucu), der seine Pfeile rauchend des Weges kam. Sie wirft ihm Asche ins Gesicht, so dass der Mann sie nicht erblickt und seine Pfeile ausgeht. Während er dieselbe wieder anzündet, gewinnt sie einen Vorsprung und wirft, als er ihr zum zweiten Male nahe kommt, mit Kohlen nach ihm. Das dritte Mal bleibt dies jedoch erfolglos, da wirft sie mit Salz. Ein grosser Fluss bildet sich zwischen beiden, so dass die Frau gerettet ist. Voll Zorn und Scham darüber, dass es ihm nicht gelang, das Weib in seine Gewalt zu bekommen, kehrt der Pirarucu zu den Seinigen zurück, die, als sie sich erkannt sahen, ihren Sex wieder aufsuchten und sich seitdem nicht wieder haben sehen lassen.

Diese ziemlich zusammenhanglose und des Abschlusses entbehrende Legende ist ungewöhnlich darauf berechnet, der Phantasie, wie Erzählern einigen Spielraum zu gewähren, um nach Belieben weitere Abenteuer und Begegnungen der Frau hinzuzufügen. Für die vergleichende Mythologie ist besonders der Passus vom Verschlucktwerden des Weibes durch den Reiher [illegible] Die Episode von der Unze findet sich in ganz ähnlicher Form fast mit denselben Worten in der von I. Roas mitgetheilten nordamerikanischen Sage der Indianer am Columbiastrom (Verh. d. Berl. Ges. f. Volk. Ethn. p. 176), und dass dort ein Hirsch der Frau begegnet, der weiter gelaufen sein will.

Als Beitrag zum Folklore der Karaya mögen endlich noch einige ihrer **Namen für Sternbilder** und andere Himmelserscheinungen genannt sein, aus denen sich ihre Naturauffassung einigermassen erkennen lässt. Sie sind im Allgemeinen zutreffender als die unserigen. Ob die Constellationen wirklich als das angesehen werden, was ihr Name besagt, lasse ich dahingestellt. Nach unsern Erfahrungen bei andern Stämmen ist das jedoch in hohem Masse wahrscheinlich.

Die Milchstrasse ist der „Aschenweg" (*Arabi*), eine bei den Südamerikanern sehr gewöhnliche Vorstellung.

Die hellglänzenden Sterne α und β Centauri sind die Füsse des „Strauses" (*ambu*, Rhea americana), dessen Körper durch den benachbarten grossen Kohlensack gegeben ist.

Im südlichen Kreuz sehen sie die rautenförmige Gestalt des „Flussrochens" (*karuhui*).

Die Plejaden (*ɔerahoti*) sind eine Schaar kleiner „Zwergpapageien" analog den „Tauben" der Hellenen und den „Küchlein" germanischer Völker.

Der Orion (*hotodaoto*) ist die brennende Roça (auch bei den Slaven und Litthauern wird bekanntlich dieses Sternbild zu Landbau und Ernte in Beziehung gebracht).

Der Schweif des Scorpions ist die „Unze" (*ɔuɔaui*).

Die Mondflecke sind „Kröten" (*ɔrão*).

Sternschnuppen werden sehr treffend mit der ausgeworfenen Angel und dem Köder daran verglichen.

Der Regenbogen ist der „Zitersal" (*hoodlõ*, Trem-trem der Brasilianer).

Bei Mondfinsternissen heisst es: *ahahõ ruru*, Der Mond will sterben. Dass zur Abwendung dieses Unheils Lärm vollführt wird, wurde von Pedro Manco in Abrede gestellt.

Die Petroglyphen der Martiriosinsel.

Ungefähr in der Mitte zwischen den beiden grossen Stromschnellen der Carreira comprida und der Cachoeira grande liegt dicht am rechten Flussufer eine etwa 1 km lange schmale Felseninsel, die Ilha dos Martirios (6° 22' s. Br.), welche von S. nach N. allmählich ansteigt. Bei Hochwasser zum grossen Theil überschwemmt, bleibt sie bei niederem Wasserstande mit dem benachbarten Ufer in Verbindung. Ihr Westrand fällt abdann in steilen Wänden von 8—10 m Höhe zum Spiegel des Flusses ab. Dieselben sind, stark ausgewaschen, von zahllosen Strudellöchern durchsetzt und in Gruppen von Säulen, Pyramiden und Bogen zerklüftet. Das vorherrschende Gestein ist ein grobkörniger horizontal geschichteter, in mächtigen Quadern sich spaltender Quarzschiefer. Das gegenüberliegende Ufer zeigt gleiche Bildung. Der Fluss strömt hier gleichsam in einem natürlichen Canal von 150 m Breite mit sehr geringem Gefälle.

Am Nordende der Insel, theils an ihrer höchsten Erhebung (ca. 15 m über dem niedrigsten Wasser), theils etwas tiefer noch im Bereich der Hochwasserlinie sind auf den Felsquadern des Bodens eine grosse Anzahl von Felsculpturen sichtbar, die zu den merkwürdigsten des Continents gehören und zum Mittelpunkt eines ganzen Sagenkreises geworden sind.

Nur wenige Reisende haben sie gesehen, keiner hat sie genauer untersucht oder copirt. Sie erregten schon früh die Aufmerksamkeit und die Phantasie der ersten Paulistenschaaren des Pires Campos und des berüchtigten Anhanguera (Bartholomeo Bueno der Aehere), die Ende des XVII. Jahrhunderts auf ihrem Zuge zu den Araes und deren reichen Goldminen die Insel besuchten, um hier „den Haha, das Kreuz, die Dornenkrone und Hammer, die in den Fels gegrabenen Zeichen der Martirios Christi", zu sehen.

Die genaueren Berichte darüber waren lange Zeit verloren und wurden erst Ende des vorigen Jahrhunderts wieder ans Licht gebracht. Mittlerweile hatte sich die Sage der Sache bemächtigt und bis auf den heutigen Tag zogen Abenteurer aus, die in Matto Grosso, am Xingu, am Paranatinga oder sonstwo nach den wunderbaren Merkzeichen für den Weg zum Eldorado suchten, als deren Verfertiger man, wie stets, die Jesuiten vermuthete. Dass trotz der überlieferten klaren Beschreibung des jüngeren Pires Campos, der seinen Vater begleitete[1]), Niemand mehr an die wirklichen Martirios am Araguaya dachte, lag daran, dass die meisten Reisenden die Zeichen nicht fanden und deswegen ihre Existenz leugneten. Man suchte sie nicht im Innern der Insel, sondern an den zum Fluss abfallenden Steilwänden. So hat auch Castelnau und nach ihm Rufino Segurado nichts davon entdecken können.

Wir selbst fanden die richtige Stelle, die mindestens 100 Schritt inlands liegt, erst nach längerem Suchen.

Die Figuren, von denen nur die wichtigsten skizzirt wurden, liegen gruppenweis ziemlich regellos über einen weiten Flächenraum verstreut. Es sind entweder deutliche Konturzeichnungen von Thieren, Menschen und stilisirten Figuren in Linien von 1—3 cm Breite und einigen Millimeter Tiefe, oder

[1]) Cunha Mattos, Corogr. de Goyaz, Rev. trim. Bd. 30, I. p. 1512.

einfache Einritzungen von sich kreuzenden Strichen und Bogenlinien ohne erklärbare Form. (Fig. 23 No. *1—38*.)

Unter den ersteren fallen zunächst einige sehr gut ausgeführte Thierbilder auf. Das grösste und gelungenste derselben ist ein Alligator (No. *1*) von 130 cm Länge; ferner ein Insekt (Ameise?), dessen ovale Leibsegmente durch flache Gruben wiedergegeben sind (No. *8*), sowie Eidechsen in verschiedener Ausführung (No. *6* u. *8*). Schon etwas schematisirt sind die Gestalten eines Vogels (No. *2*), mehrerer Affen (No. *15. 19. 27. 28*) und endlich menschliche Figuren. Die einfachste derselben (No. *34*) gleicht den aus Stroh zusammengedrehten Puppen, die man so häufig auf den Giebeln indianischer Häuser sieht. Vollständiger ist eine Figur mit ausgestreckten Extremitäten (No. *26*), welche nur drei Finger zeigen. Von besonderem Interesse ist eine hockende Gestalt (No. *7*), die in der Hand eine Axt und zwar offenbar eine Steinaxt trägt. Solche finden sich isolirt in No. *9. 5. 11* u. *29* dargestellt. Ihre Form stimmt ganz zu der mit Karaya-Flechtwerk gezierten Steinaxt des Trocadero-Museums (vgl. S. 17).

Wir haben endlich einige stilisirte Zeichnungen, die, obwohl gut erkennbar, nicht mit voller Sicherheit zu deuten sind.

Vor allem begegnet uns wiederum das charakteristische Kreuzornament, wie auf dem erwähnten Grabpfahle von einer Randlinie umzogen. Es mag auch hier dasselbe Thiersymbol darstellen wie dort (No. *31* u. *33*). Kreuzfiguren anderer Art sind No. *2* u. *11*.

Ein Kreis mit zahlreichen durch kleine Grübchen angedeuteten Punkten getüpfelt (No. *23*) und eine rhombische Figur mit 10 solcher Grübchen in vier Reihen (No. *3*) erinnern sehr an die ganz analogen Formen bei einem der von uns besuchten obern Xingustämme, wo dieselben als „gefleckte Rochen" angegeben wurden. Diese Erklärung passt auch auf ein anderes Zeichen, das mit am häufigsten vorkommt und von den christlichen Besuchern als die „Dornenkrone" gedeutet wurde. Es ist ein Kreis, von dessen Peripherie kurze Strahlen ausgehen. Ihre Reihe ist an einer Stelle durch zwei länger ausgezogene Striche unterbrochen (No. *10. 12* u. *18*). Die grösste dieser Figuren zeigt in der Mitte eine T förmige Zeichnung.

Eine sehr merkwürdiges Zeichen ist No *17*, bei dem man fast an eine symbolische Darstellung denken könnte. Ein ausgestreckter Arm mit der Hand und den fünf ausgespreizten Fingern, in der Mitte durch ein horizontales Querband gekreuzt, von dem 24 bis 25 kurze Fortsätze nach unten ausgehen.

Unter den einfachen Einritzungen, die meist sehr unbestimmt gehalten sind, finden sich zwei, welche durchaus mit den aus Nordamerika bekannten Darstellungen der Sonne wie der Himmelsrichtungen übereinstimmen. No. *25* u. *35*). Das erstere ist eine Art Svastika. Ob das Kreissegment mit Zacken rechts unten bei No. *35* dazu gehört oder eine im übrigen Theil verwischte Zeichnung wie No. *10* u. *12* ist, bleibt ungewiss.

Am meisten gleichen diese Petroglyphen denen von Guayana, und zwar besonders denjenigen, welche Im Thurn als „deep rock engravings" den „shallow engravings", die einen ganz andern Charakter tragen, gegenüber gestellt hat (a. a. O. 400).

Wir haben keine Ursache, auch hier an zwei wesentlich verschiedene und von verschiedenen Völkern herrührende Arten von Zeichnungen zu denken, schon weil sie sich, was in Guayana niemals der Fall ist, an demselben Orte mit einander gemischt vorfinden. Mit den bisher aus Ostbrasilien bekannten Felsbildern haben sie nichts gemein, wohl aber erinnern sie lebhaft an die in die Bäume geschnittenen oder in den Sand gemalten Zeichnungen der Xingustämme.

Das Vorkommen des Kreuzornaments in der für die Karaya charakteristischen Form macht es mehr als wahrscheinlich, dass ihren Ahnen jene Werke zuzuschreiben sind.

Schwieriger ist schon die Frage nach ihrer Bedeutung. Während man vielfach solche Feldsculpturen als Inschriften oder doch Zeichen einer längstvergangenen Epoche höherer Cultur hat ansprechen wollen, haben andere Berichterstatter sie als einfache bedeutungslose Spielereien zur Ausfüllung müssiger Stunden betrachtet. Die erste Ansicht ist nicht discutirbar, die letztere würde zwar auf jene in Baumrinden und Sand eingegrabenen Figuren anwendbar sein, nicht aber auf Werke, die in Anbetracht der primitiven Werkzeuge einen ganz ausserordentlichen Aufwand von Zeit und Mühe erfordert haben mussten.

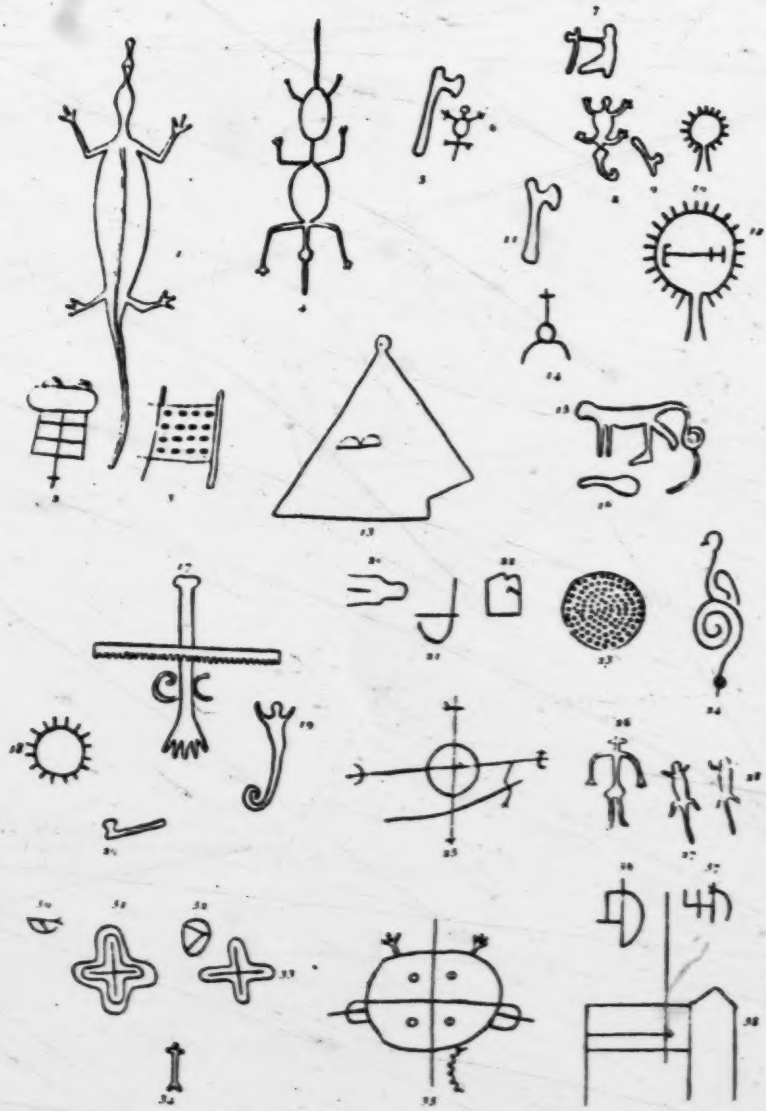


Fig. 21. Gruppen von Petroglyphen der Martinsinsel (ca. 1/6)

Am meisten hat Im Thurns Ansicht (a. a. O. 407) für sich, wonach die alten Indianer diese Zeichen zur Erinnerung an wichtige Ereignisse an Ort und Stelle eingegraben haben. Solche müssen gerade an Stromschnellen, wo sich in Guayana Zeichenfelsen fast ausschliesslich finden, am häufigsten vorgekommen sein, theils durch Unfälle der Schifffahrt, theils durch feindliche Zusammenstösse mit anderen Stämmen bei Fischzügen und ähnlichen Unternehmungen. Das würde für die vorliegenden Petroglyphen insofern nicht ganz passen, als gerade an den Katarakten des Araguaya die Felszeichnungen vollkommen fehlen, die Martiriosinsel vielmehr innerhalb einer absolut freien und ruhigen Flussstrecke liegt. Dennoch ist sie für die Karaya ein höchst wichtiger Punkt. Sie bildet nämlich genau die Nordgrenze ihres Gebiets und gerade hier kommen häufig auch die ihnen feindlichen Horden der Kayapo an den Strom heran. Mancherlei Kämpfe mögen in dieser Gegend zwischen beiden Nationen stattgefunden haben.

Die Deutung der Felsculpturen als Denksteine oder Grenzmarken, denen vielleicht noch Familienabzeichen hervorragender Führer beigefügt sind, scheint den obwaltenden Verhältnissen nach die annehmbarste zu sein.

II. ÜBER EINIGE VÖLKER AM RIO PURUS (AMAZONAS).

Seit seiner ersten vollständigen Befahrung durch Chandless 1864/65[1]) gehört der Purus nunmehr zu den bestbekannten grösseren Amazonastributären. Bei den ausserordentlich günstigen hydrographischen Verhältnissen des Stroms und dem Kautschukreichthums seiner Uferwälder entwickeln sich Handel und Verkehr auf ihm von Jahr zu Jahr in ungeahnter Weise. Mehr und mehr weichen die zahlreichen Horden wilder Ureinwohner vor den Einwanderern zurück oder gehen, in den Bereich der Civilisation gezogen, ihrer Eigenart verlustig, so dass auch hier für die ethnologische Forschung bereits die letzte Stunde herannaht.

Der Purus liegt ganz innerhalb des grossen Amazonas-Tieflandes. Aus der Vereinigung des Alto Purus und des Aquiry (Rio Acre) entsprungen, zieht er sich in zahllosen Windungen, von einem Gewirr natürlicher Canäle (Igarapés) und Lagunen begleitet, durch die von dichten Wäldern erfüllte Ebene. Die in hohen steilen Thonwänden absteigende Terra firma bildet im oberen Laufe das Ufer. Weiter abwärts wiegt niederes Schwemmland vor, das in den Regenmonaten November bis April weithin überfluthet wird.

Die Verbindungskanäle, welche sich zur Hochwasserzeit zu den Zuflüssen der Nachbarströme eröffnen, sind für die Völkervertheilung in diesen Gegenden von bestimmendem Einfluss gewesen. So treffen wir an dem westlichen Nachbarflusse, dem Yurua, unter gleicher Breite dieselben Stämme wie am Purus. Ebenso findet zwischen dem Alto Purus und dem Ucayale, zwischen dem Aquiry und dem Madre de Dios ein fortdauerndes Hin- und Herwechseln indianischer Horden statt.

Im Ganzen bietet uns das Stromgebiet des Purus ein ziemlich einfaches ethnographisches Bild dar. Mit Ausnahme der jetzt bedeutungslosen Mura an seiner Mündung, sowie einiger Panohorden am Alto Purus (wie die Kanamari am Rixala) gehören sämmtliche hier vertretenen Nationen der Maipure- oder Nu-Aruakfamilie an. Genaueres über ihre Verwandtschaft zu einander und zu andern Gliedern dieser grossen Völkergruppe lässt sich vorläufig noch nicht feststellen. Hervorzuheben ist indess, dass hier sprachlich nahe verwandte Stämme in Charakter und Lebensweise erheblich von einander abweichen, dass ferner mit weit entlegenen nördlichen Gliedern der Maipuregruppe grössere Aehnlichkeiten bestehen als mit den benachbarten.

Namentlich ist bei den Ipurina die Uebereinstimmung in Gebräuchen, Sitten und Geräthen mit den Aruakstämmen Venezuelas und Guayanas sehr auffällig.

Alle diese Purusvölker stehen noch auf einer ziemlich niedrigen Stufe der Gesinnung. Nur die Maneteneri des Alto Purus, bei denen Chandless bereits selbstgefertigte Kleidungsstücke aus

[1]) Ueber Chandless Reisen vgl. d. Bericht im Journ. of the Royal Geogr. Society, Bd. 36 und Sp. a. a. Petern. Mitth. 1867 p. 2[illegible] u. Karte Taf. 2[illegible].

[pp. 49-77 Not processed]

[p. 78]

TAFELERKLÄRUNG.

Taf. I. Karaya. Männer und Weiber (des vierten Dorfes der Sambioa).

1. **Krieger.** Der Mann links mit gescheiteltem Haar, im Munde die Tabakspfeife (Fig. 4), in der Hand seine Waffen haltend. Der zur Rechten zeigt das zum Zopf zusammengenommene Haar mit dem Federzierrath *ahitamu* (s. S. 10) und die nationale Umwicklung des Präputiums (s. S. 11).

2. **Frau und junges Mädchen** mit der Bastschürze, deren vorderer Zipfel nach hinten durchgezogen ist, da beide Individuen sich eben vom Boden erhoben haben (s. S. 11). Der Hintergrund beider Gruppen bildet eine der grossen, S. 20 und 21 erwähnten Buritifasermatten.

Taf. II. Karaya. Männer (des vierten Dorfes der Sambioa).

1a und b. Porträt eines jungen Sambioa mit Ohrläbchen und hölzernem Lippenpflock, dem breitgescheiteltem Haar und der deutlich erkennbaren Stammestätowirung auf den Wangen.

2. Zwei Sambioakrieger en face. Der Mann links mit dem Federdiadem *tarina* auf dem Hinterhaupt (s. S. 23), Bogen, Pfeile und Keule in der Hand, der rechte mit dem kleinen einfachen Kranzdiadem (Taf. IX. 6) und den eng um den Hals gewundenen Glasperlsträngen. Die grossen Unterarmmanschetten kennzeichnen ihn als Unverheirateten.

Taf. III. Karaya. Karayahigruppen (aufgenommen im letzten „Sommerlager" auf einer Flussinsel oberhalb der Nordspitze der Insel Bananal).

1. **Männer,** von denen zwei die Armmanschetten und Kniebinden tragen. Einer hat in den Ohren die kleinen Federrosetten mit centraler Perlmutterscheibe (s. S. 24). Gesichtsbemalung mit Russ ist erkennbar. Der Strohhut des im Vordergrunde sitzenden älteren Mannes ist nicht der auf S. 12 erwähnte, sondern ein direkt den Ansiedlern entlehntes Modell. Im Hintergrunde zwei lange Kanus und weiter links in der Ferne der kleine Araguayadampfer.

2. Weiber, Kinder und junge Leute, vor den aus Matten gebildeten Zeltdächern des „Sommerlagers" am Boden sitzend. Auf der Stange rechts zwei Araras, links am Ufer ein Jaburu (schwarzköpfiger Storch).

Taf. IV. Karaya. Dörfer.

1. Totalansicht des ersten Dorfes der Sambioa.
2. Empfangsscene auf dem dritten Dorfe der Sambioa.

Taf. V. Karaya. Häuptlingshütte (des vierten Dorfes der Sambioa).

Gruppe auf dem [illegible]platz vor dem Eingang.

Taf. VI. Karaya. Waffen.

1. Bogen mit aufgewickelter Sehne und Federquaste ($^1/_5$).
2. 3. Pfeile mit Palmholzmesser ($^1/_3$).
4. Pfeil mit Vogelknochenspitze ($^1/_3$).
5. Vogelpfeil mit stumpfer, kolbenförmiger Spitze ($^1/_3$).
6. Wurfbrett ($^1/_5$).
7. Schleuderpfeil dazu mit stumpfer Holzspitze ($^1/_3$).
8. Kriegspfeil mit Rochenstachel Spitze ($^1/_3$).
9. Kriegspfeil mit Taquararohrmesser ($^1/_3$).
10. Lanze mit Schafgeflecht ($^1/_5$).
11. Flachkeule des Sambioa Häuptlings Ambura (aus der Sammlung Leite Moraes) ($^1/_3$).
12. Flechtmuster derselben ($^2/_3$).
13. Kanelirte Rundkeule des Ambura ($^1/_3$).

Taf. VII. Karaya. Baumwollarbeiten.

1. Grosse schwarz-weissgestreifte Schlafmatte oder Umhang (1/8).
2. Fransengehänge aus gedrehten Baumwollfäden vom Halse über Brust und Rücken herabhängend zu tragen. Mit Urucuroth gefärbt (1/8).
3. 4. Schwarze, eng gewebte Leibgürtel für kleine Kinder (1/8).
5. Schwarze Quasten mit durchbohrten Schneckengehäusen paarweis an doppelt genommenen geflochtenen Schnüren befestigt. Werden von kleinen Kindern um den Hals getragen (1/4).
6. Knieband lediger Personen (1/2).
7. Schwarzes enggewebtes Stirnband mit aufgenähten rechteckigen Perlmutterscheiben (1/1).
8. Ein Paar festgestrickter rother Unterarmmanschetten, Abzeichen ledigen Standes (1/1).

Taf. VIII. Karaya. Ruder, Cuyen, Flechtarbeiten.

1—3. Ruder mit Fischmustern (1/8).
4. Maniokreiber (1/2).
5. Kleines Tabakstischchen (1/2).
6. Grosser kahnförmiger Hängekorb mit roth aufgetragenen Kreuzornamenten (1/8).
7. Runde Gefässcuye mit Hängeschnur (1/8). Muster dazu s. Fig. 10.
8. Doppelkorb zur Aufbewahrung von Federschmuck (1/8).
9. Grosser flaschenförmiger Korb (1/8).
10. Augenschirm (1/2).
11. Kleiner ausdehnbarer Flaschenkorb (1/2).
12. Grosse Tabakstasche mit baumwollenem, schwarz gemustertem Tragband (1/8).
13. Buriti-Fussmatte mit schwarzem Bastdurchschuss (1/2).
14. Elastischer Siebkorb (1/2).
15. Rucksackartige Tasche (1/8).
16. Runder Korb für rohe Baumwolle (1/2).
17. Grosser runder Tragkorb mit starkem Tragband aus Bast (1/2).

Taf. IX. Karaya. Federschmuck.

1. Helmartiger Kopfputz, wahrscheinlich zu 7 gehörig (1/8).
2. Hufeisenförmiger Kopfputz auf dem Hinterhaupte zu tragen. Randfedern weiss. Rothe Araruefeder in der Mitte und an den Enden. Deckfedern blau, roth und grün gemischt (1/8).
3. Cylindrischer Kopfputz aus dünnen, mit gelben und rothen Federchen überzogenen Stäbchen (1/8).
4. Geflochtene Mütze mit gelbrothen Federrosetten (1/8).
5. Grosses Diadem von weissrothen Federn (1/8).
6. Alltagsdiadem der Krieger. Reif mit rothgelben Federn überzogen (1/8).
7. Grosse fächerförmige Federgarnitur, dreiviertel geschlossen, wahrscheinlich um den unteren Teil von 1 herumzulegen (1/8).
8. und 9. Festarmbänder aus Unzenfell mit Federbüscheln (1/8).
10. Ohrzierrathe. Federrosetten mit centralem Muschelplättchen (1/2).

Taf. X. Karaya. Schmuck und Geräthe zum Tanz.

1. Tanzrassel mit Federgehängen und eingeritzten Ornamenten (1/8).
2. Tanzrassel ohne Federgehänge (1/8).
3. Maske des Vogels *tarhá* (s. S. 36), vorn mit langem Buritifasergehänge, hinten mit schwarzer Federgarnitur (1/8).
4. Tanzrasseln aus Thevetiaschalen um die Knie zu binden, mit Querhölzchen und Flaumbedeckung (zum Theil entfernt) (1/2).
5. Einfache Tanzrasseln an Armen oder Beinen zu befestigen (1/8).
6. Tanzgürtel aus aufgereihten Thevetiafruchtkapseln (1/8).
7. Trompete aus Cuyenschale mit eingesetztem Taquaramundstück (1/8).
8—10 Tanzgürtel aus festem, schwarzem oder schwarzweissem Baumwollgewebe mit Federgehängen (9 und 10 auch mit Thevetiaschälchen) (1/8).

Taf. XI. Karaya. Thon- und Wachsfiguren.

1. Einfachste Form ohne Andeutung des Geschlechts (2/3).
2. Einfache weibliche Figur (1/2).
3. Weibliche Figur mit Wachshaar, ohne Gesichtsmodellirung aber mit unteren Extremitäten. Wahrscheinlich ist Gravidität angedeutet (2/3).
4. Weibliche Figur mit Wachshaar, Gesicht und Oberkörper modellirt. Beine als Stummel (1/8).
5. Männliche Figur in ähnlicher Ausführung mit angedeuteter Zickzackbemalung (1/8).
6. Grosse weibliche Figur mit Stummelfüssen, aber deutlich modellirtem Gesicht. Der Schurz fehlt. Der Hals ist mit einer Kette von aufgereihten Ricinuskörnern und Schneckenschalen geschmückt (1/8).

7. Vollständig ausgearbeitete, mit Schurz bekleidete weibliche Figur (⅙).
8. Vollständig ausgearbeitete weibliche Figur mit Tragkorb, ohne Schurz und Bemalung (⅙).
9. Weibliche Figur aus schwarzem Wachs, mit Ohrstäbchen. Bestes Exemplar der Sammlung (⅙).
10. Grosse männliche Figur mit Wachshaar, Ohr- und Halsschmuck. Manschetten angedeutet (⅙).

Taf. XII. Karaya. Fischtanzmasken (Kopfaufsätze).

1 a. Fisch Piabussu, Vorderansicht } desselben Exemplars (⅓).
1 b. Fisch Piabussu, Seitenansicht (links) }
2 a. Fisch Pacu, Vorderansicht } von Exemplaren verschiedener Grösse (⅓).
2 b. Fisch Pacu, Seitenansicht (links) }

Taf. XII a (Beilage). Farbenskizze zu Taf. XII.

Die breiten Querbinden aus blauem, europäischem Militärtuch, welche die Originale tragen, sind hier in schwarzer Schraffirung wiedergegeben, da die ursprünglichen Binden wahrscheinlich aus schwarzem Baumwollgewebe bestanden, wie in Fig. 22 b.

Taf. XIII. Paumari und Yamamadi. Männer.

1 a und b. Porträt eines jungen Paumari.
2. Yamamadi Männergruppe. L. Jüngling mit Federschmuck (Taf. XV, 1) und Speer. R. Älterer Mann mit Bogen und Giftpfeilen, deren Spitzen in der Palmblattkappe stecken. In der Mitte ein Blasrohrschütze mit Rindengürtel (s. S. 50).

Taf. XIV. Ipurina. Gruppen und grosse Hütte.

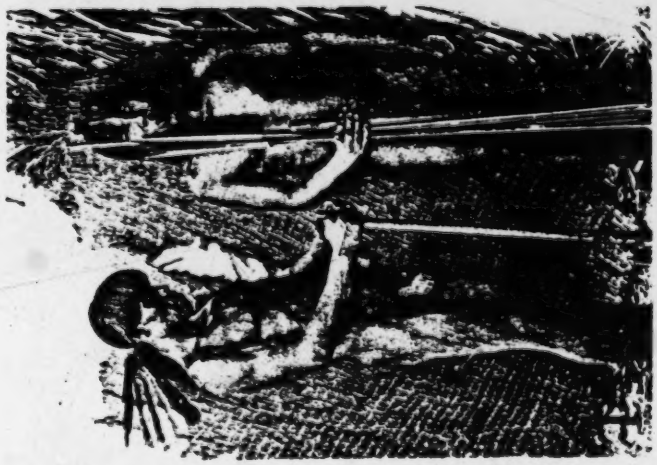
1. Männer.
2. Frauen und Kinder. Von ersteren trägt eine die vollständigen Ohr- und Lippenzierrathe aus Schneckenschalen (s. S. 50), sowie den kurzen Vogelknochen im Nasenseptum, zwei tragen die charakteristische baumwollene Fransenschürze, das Weib rechts dagegen das einfache grüne Blatt. Die Fussschenkelmanschetten sind bei allen dreien deutlich erkennbar.
3. Grosse Hütte der Maloca am Rio Aciman. Familiengruppe vor der Thür.

Taf. XV. Purustämme. Hausrath und dergleichen.

1. Federhadem der Yamamadi (⅓).
2. Ein Bündel Blasrohr Giftpfeile der Yamamadi im Palmblatt-Futteral (⅓).
3. Manioktreiber der Yamamadi (⅓).
4. Manioktreiber der Ipurina, mit Haargriff (⅓).
5. Feuerfächer der Ipurina (⅓).
6. Feuerfächer der Yamamadi (⅓).
7. Topf der Ipurina (⅓).
8. Ipurinakorb, aus Palmblattstreifen dicht geflochten, von viereckiger Grundform. Mäandrisches Muster (⅓).
9. Topf der Ipurina (⅓).
10. Ruder der Ipurina (⅓).
11. Ruder der Paumari (⅓).
12. Tragkorb der Yamamadi (⅓).
13. Tragkorb der Ipurina, mit dreieckiger Bodenfläche nebst Tragband (s. S. 63) (⅓).

Druckfehler-Berichtigung.

Seite	36	Zeile	13	von unten	lies	Fig. 22a	statt	Fig. 22b.
„	38	„	24	„ „	„	diesem	„	dirsem.
„	40	„	21	„ oben	„	ihrem	„	deren.
„	44	„	10	„ unten	„	nur	„	und.



[p.- 80-A]

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[P. 80-B]

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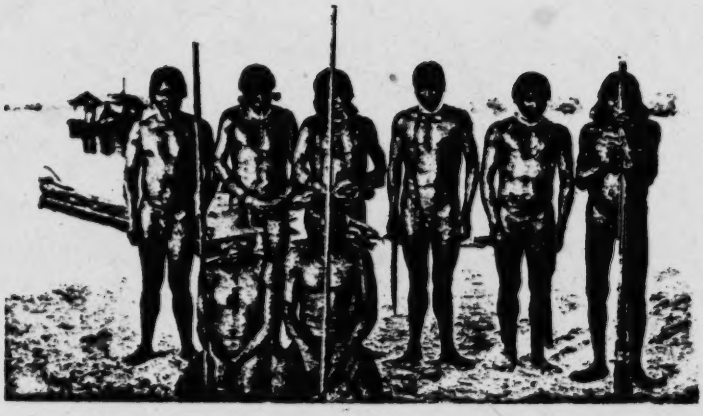

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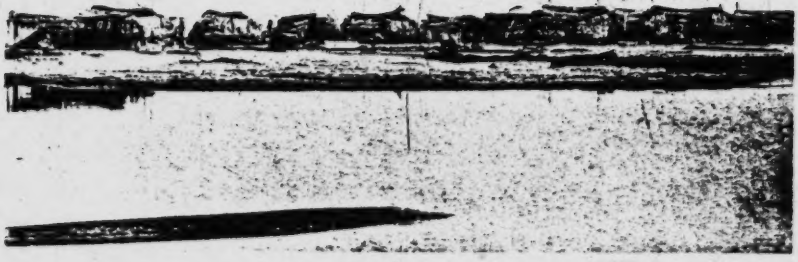

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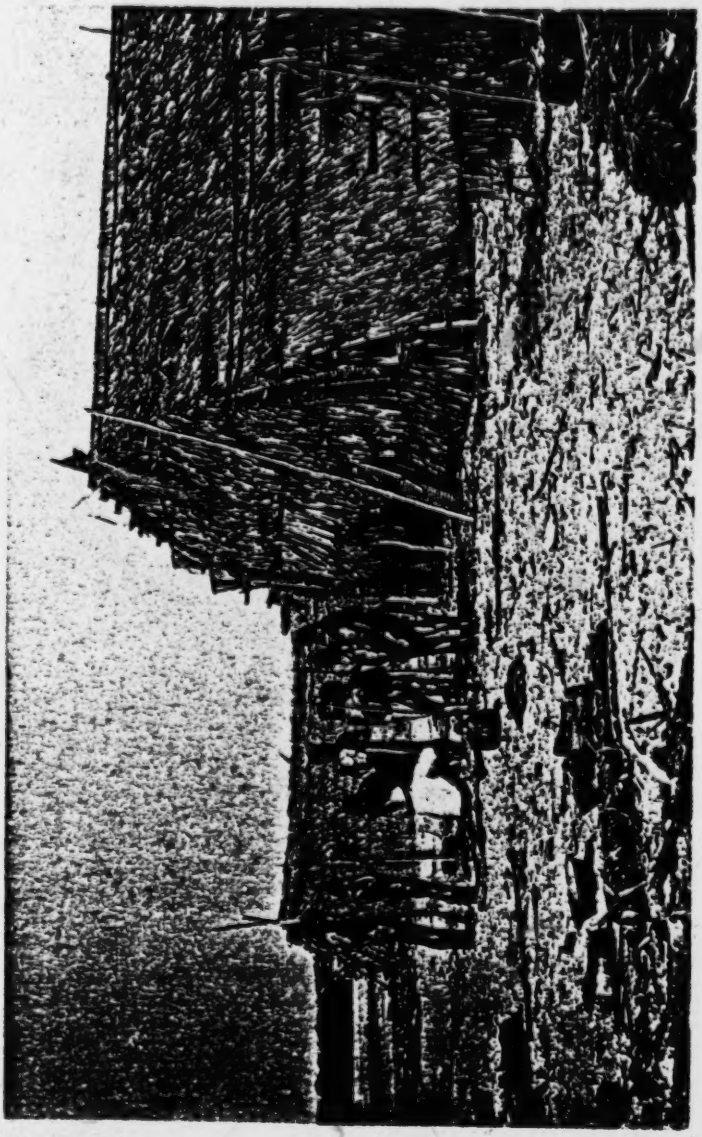

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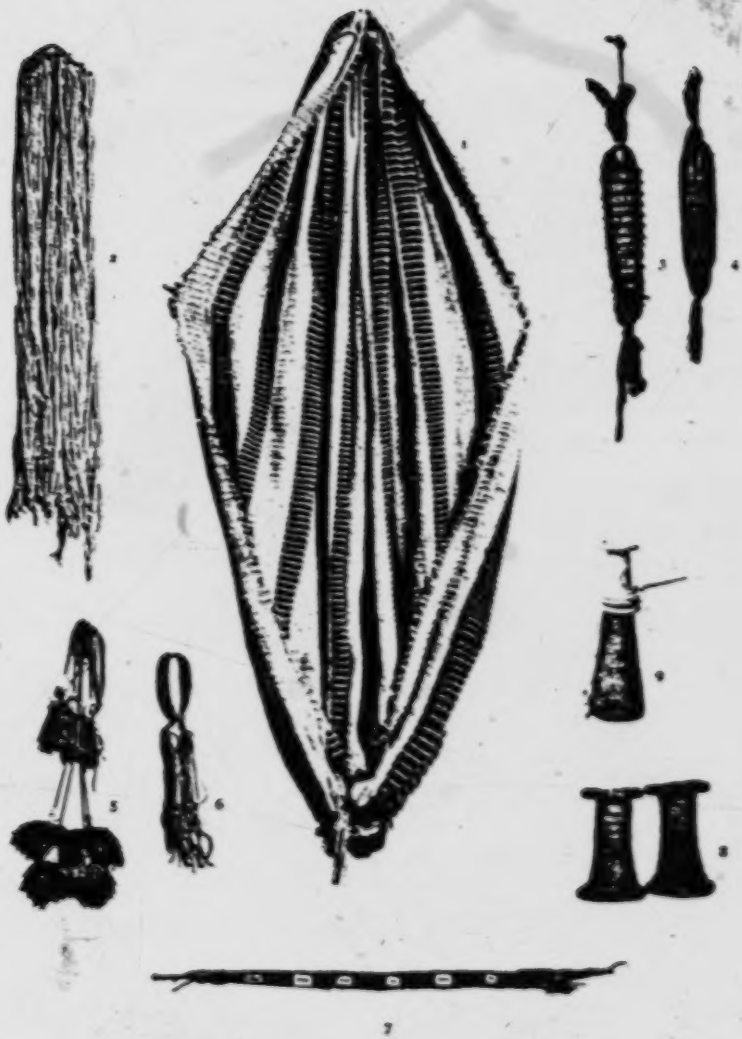

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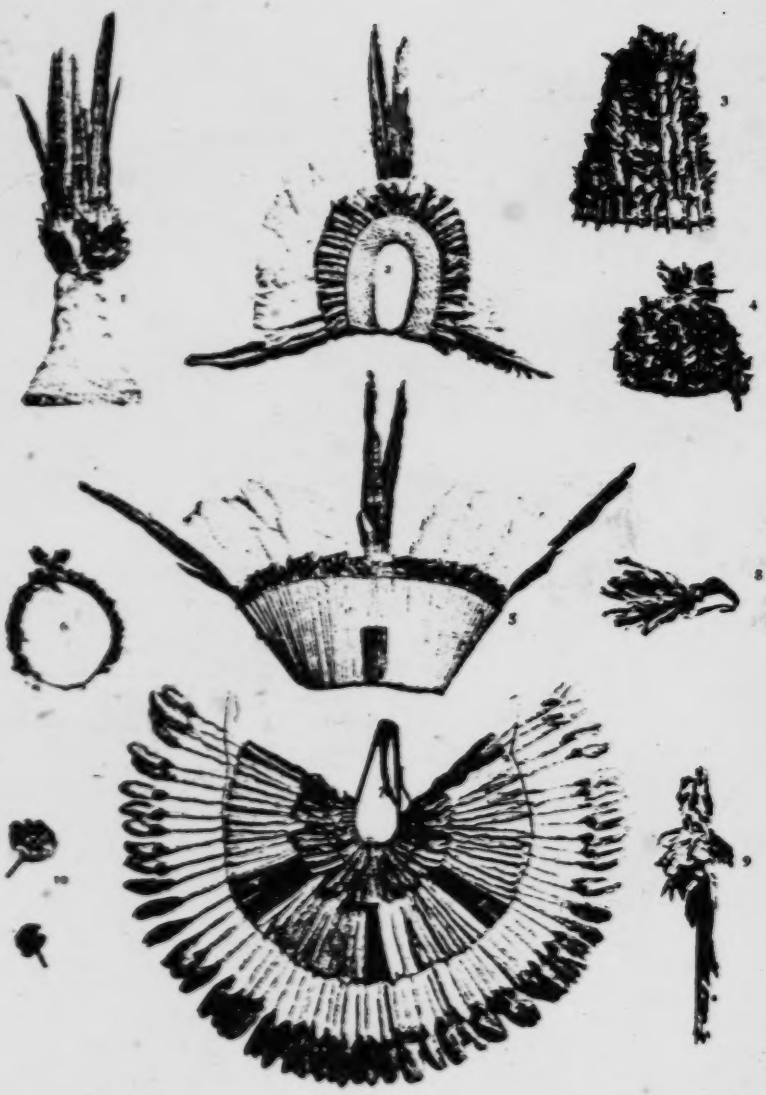

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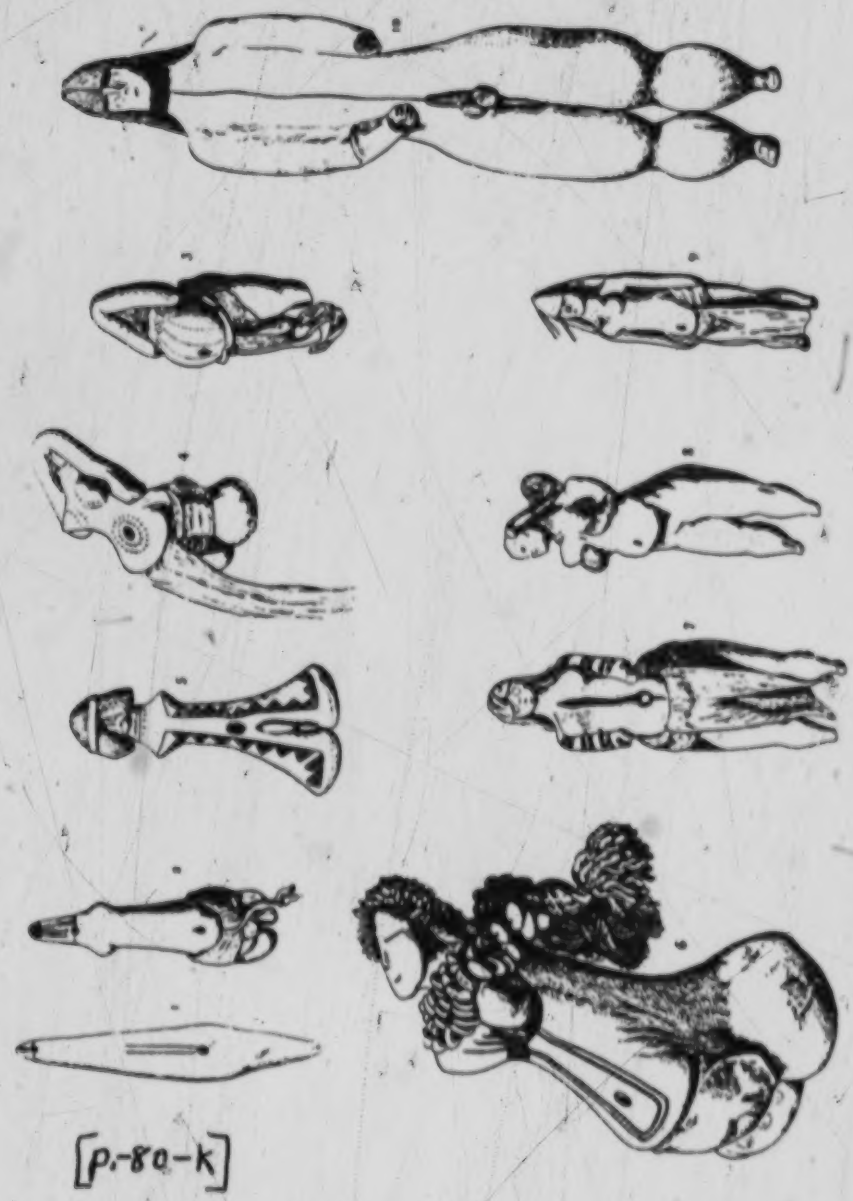

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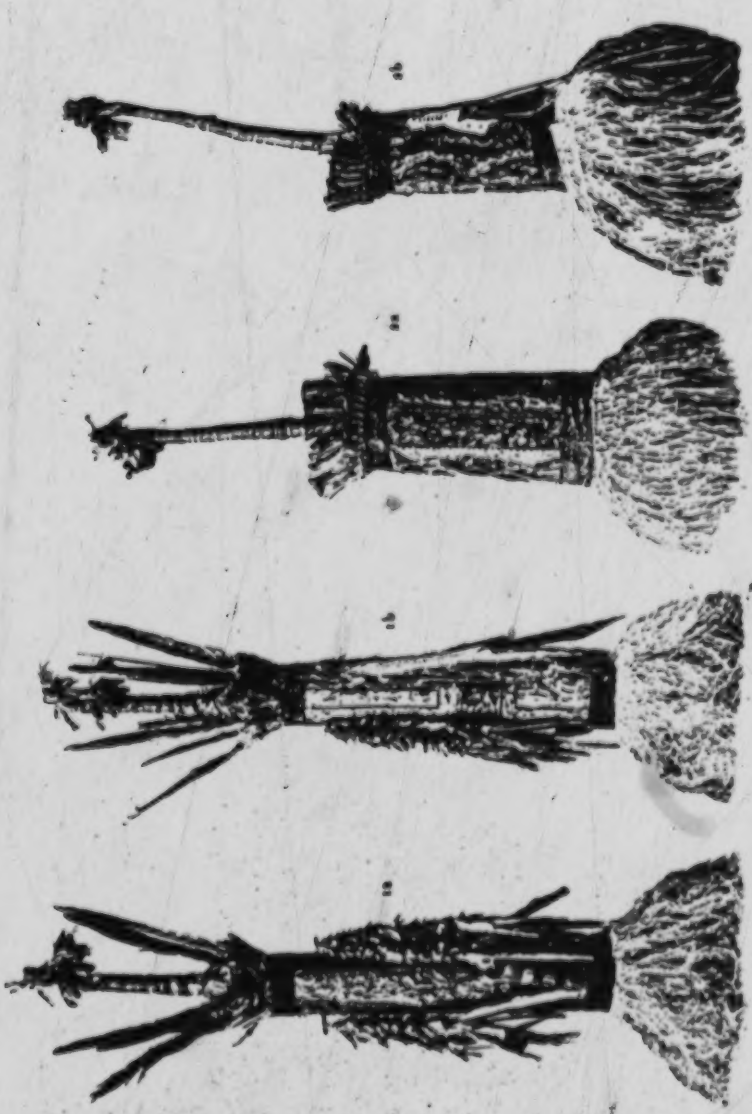

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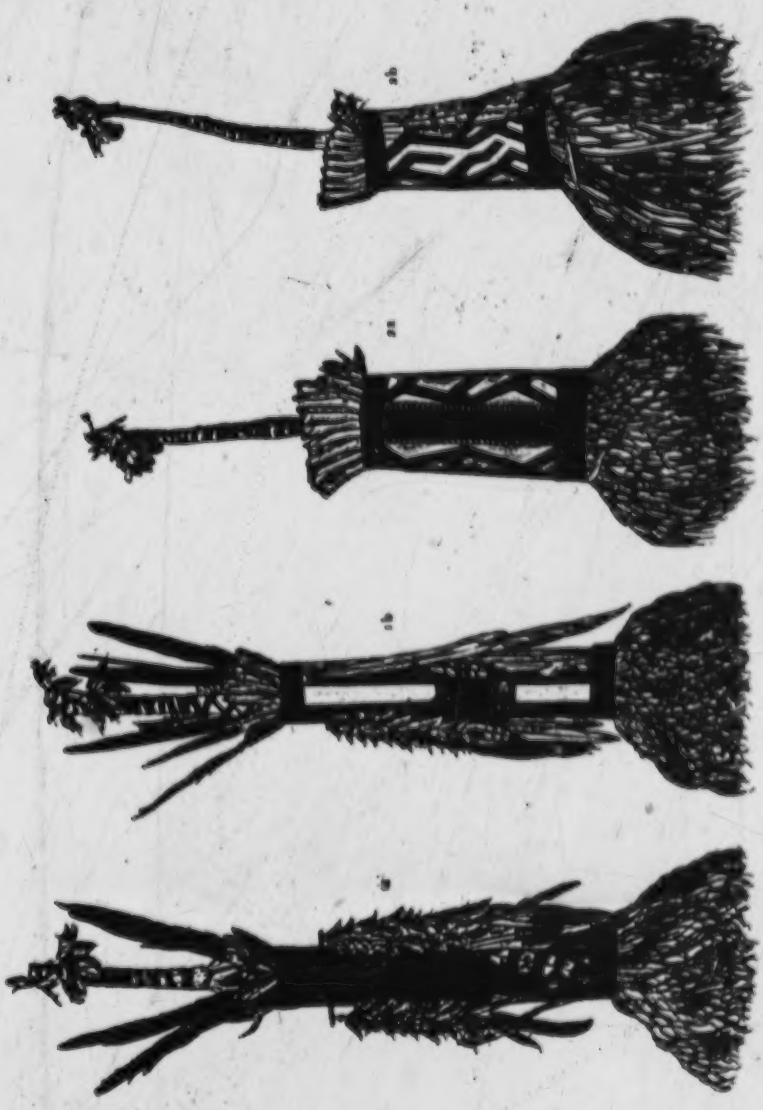

[P.-80-M]

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116

116 TEXTS--a full set of pages from each processed source, arranged in page order, as a means of establishing the context for any particular slip. Sets are arranged in the numerical order of the sources. See also:

Literary texts 539

5: Krause E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9

In the Wilderness of Brazil; Report and Results of the Leipzig Araguaia Expedition of 1908
[In den Wildnissen Brasiliens; Bericht und Ergebnisse der Leipziger Araguaya-Expedition 1908]

Fritz Krause

Leipzig: 1911
R. Voigtländers Verlag

Translated from the German by Frieda Schütze

Human Relations Area Files
1966

[Title page]

5: Krause--i E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9

Plate I

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Karajá boatman.

/Frontispiece facing the title page./

/iii/ Foreword

121 In the year 1908, under the auspices of the city of Leipzig,
[122] I undertook an ethnographic research expedition into central Brazil, the purpose of which was the scientific investigation, with the most modern methods and instruments, of the Indian tribes visited, as well as the salvaging of visible examples of their cultural life for the Leipzig Museum für Völkerkunde. Its
[101] goal was the region of the middle Araguaya /Araguaia/, between the 15th and 9th degrees, southern latitude, with the Indian tribes of the Karajá /Caraja/, Šavajé /Javahe/, Tapirapé, and Kayapó /Cayapo/.

114 The expedition set out on 29 January 1908 and returned to Leipzig on 7 February 1909. The program was, by and large, carried out; only the proposed advance to the west had to be cut short because of insurmountable geographical difficulties.

126 Abundant material in the form of observations of all kinds, photographs and phonographic recordings, sketchbook drawings, etc. was brought back. The ethnographic collection, containing more than 1,100 specimens, has been handed over to the Museum
113 für Völkerkunde zu Leipzig. Of my findings I have published up
126 to now only reproductions of the dance masks of the Karajá Indians, in connection with a description of the use of masks by this tribe (in the Jahrbuch des Museums für Völkerkunde zu Leipzig, Volume 3, Leipzig, 1910), as well as a study of the art of the Karajá Indians (in the Bässler-Archiv, Vol. 2, No. 1, Berlin, 1911), in which the material collected by me on the artistic activities of the Indians in the plastic arts and drawing was reproduced.

128 All the rest of the material is now to be presented to the public here.

As a first part, and before the actual results, I am giving a report on the expedition /the first part is omitted in the translation/. I regard this as very important; for the findings of the expedition can be properly evaluated only if one knows how they were obtained, in other words, the conditions under which the studies were made. Thus, the travel report gives the external course

128 /iv/ of the journey and, above all, deals in detail with life with the Indians, for it is only from this description that the research possibilities may be noted, especially the manifold restrictions to which one is subject, much against one's will. A brief cultural survey of the individual Indian tribes will be given, as well as all kinds of psychological and other material of general interest, which could not have been handled in this detailed and directly effective manner in the second part. I trust that I have thereby succeeded in delineating as faithful a picture of the life and ideas of these Indians as is possible. The report then, in brief outline, will include a survey of the geographical conditions of the areas traveled through, the method of travel, the cultural condition of the country, and will thus probably be able to offer all kinds of new things and give future travelers important pointers.

The second part, which deals with the findings, is thought of more as a reference work. I regard as most important the presentation of the material by means of illustrations and the addition of the necessary notes, examined and worked on from the scientific point of view and compared with the material from this region hitherto available. This has resulted in a strict division into those points that were personally observed, several times or only once, and those based merely on information. In my opinion, this division cannot be applied strictly enough if errors are not to creep in, which will then continue to be passed on. I have dealt with some data, which seemed very uncertain to me, in footnotes, in order to give subsequent researchers hints for further investigation. I believe that I am serving scholarship best by publishing the material by itself and only as such. For, in this way, it remains permanently utilizable. To be sure, this method, which makes no effort to solve problems and to prove far-reaching relationships, is regarded by some people as "antiquated," but I regard it as the only proper one, in order to determine the scientific value of every statement and thus provide sound material, which alone makes it possible for us to
121 further our knowledge. For this reason I am merely skirting the
128 question of the position of the Karajá with regard to the rest of the Indian tribes; in order to solve this major problem,

/iv cont./

121 comprehensive preliminary studies are required, since almost
128 all comparative studies in South American ethnography are as yet lacking. It will therefore be reserved for a later publication. I know that with this kind of self-limitation I am certain to have the approval of many of my colleagues.

122 Wherever I was, here at home or over in Brazil, the expedition found extensive help and support among people willing to assist us, /v/ and I do not wish to fail to express my warmest thanks to all of them. This thanks is owed first of all to the Council of the City of Leipzig and to the Leipzig City Council Board for the willingness with which they put at my disposal the means for the expedition, as well as to Herr Consul Dr. Herrmann Meyer, who was kind enough to make available a large sum for the enterprise to insure its subsequent successful completion and to assist me in an advisory and an active capacity with regard to the equipment. I owe equal thanks to Herr Prof. Dr. Weule and Herr W. v. d. Steinen for assistance and advice in working out the plan and assembling the scientific and personal equipment, and also to Herr Privy Councilor Prof. Dr. Hans Meyer for the use of instruments and rifles. No less effective was the assistance which my expedition found in Brazil itself. First of all, thanks are owed to the Imperial German authorities, especially to the Ambassador, Baron v. Reichenau, then to the gentlemen of the Consulate in Rio de Janeiro and to the Councilor of the Embassy Flügel in S. Paulo. They all gave me their assistance and procured for me extensive privileges from the Brazilian central government as well as the governments of the individual states, for which I should also like to express here my profound gratitude to these governments. Equal thanks are owed to our German countrymen, Herr Marxsen of Rio, Herr Naschold of S. Paulo, and Herr Ockinghaus of Goyaz /Goiás/, who, in an unselfish and devoted manner, supported me in every way and gave me the most valuable pointers which alone made it possible for me to carry out my entire journey according to schedule. And finally, but no less cordially, I must thank my camaradas who so willingly took upon themselves all the strain and effort, the German Adam, the

/v cont./

122 Brazilian Antonio, the Indians Pedro the Faithful, Benedicto the Merry, and the many other Indians who gladly and willingly helped me after the initial mistrust had vanished, and who, since I regarded myself as one of them, rewarded my confidence in them with equal confidence.

The printing costs were in part defrayed by the budget of the Museum für Völkerkunde with the participation of the Vereins für Völkerkunde zu Leipzig. To both bodies I should also like to express here my gratitude for this assistance.

Leipzig, May 1911 The Author.

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/The "First Part" of the foreign text, pp. 1-170, is omitted in the translation, except for Plates 7-22 and 28-35 and text illustrations 1-2 and 4-16, which pertain to the Caraja and Tapirape and which are given here on the following pages./

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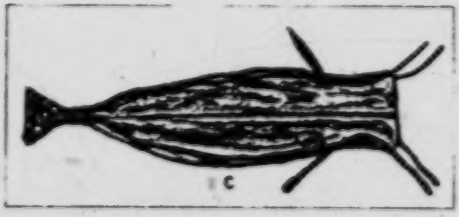
Plate 7



Karajá sketchbook drawings:

a. jacu, b. mutum, c. pirarara /Phractocephalus/,

d. dogfish, e. tokunaré, f. Adam, g. Dr. Krause.

/Pl. 7 faces p. 40./

Plate 8

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a. Woman from the front.

b. Woman from the side.

c. Man.

d. Boy with ear-rosette.

e. Youth with lance.

f. Boy with feather ornament.

g. Girl with cord skirt.

Clay dolls of the Karajá.

/Pl. 8 precedes p. 41./

Plate 9

1. Mauzi and Maudihi, with net coverings.

2. Camarada Antonio.

/Pl. 9 faces p. 44./

Plate 10

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1. Karajá family under mat shelter. Near Leopoldina.

2. Steep bank with scrub woods. Araguaya River.

3. Swampy wooded bank.

4. Cluster of palms on the bank.

/Plate 10 faces p. 48./

Plate 11

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1. Dry-season hut of the Karajá.

2. Karajá village.

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3. Karajá women smoking.

4. Karajá siblings.

/Pl. 11 faces p. 52./

Plate 12

1. Cooking place of the Karajá Indians.

3. Mask hut in Village 7 (South Horde).

2. Karajá boys.

4. Karajá women and girls.

/Plate 12 faces p. 56. /

Plate 13

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1. Mat camp of migrant Karayá Indians.

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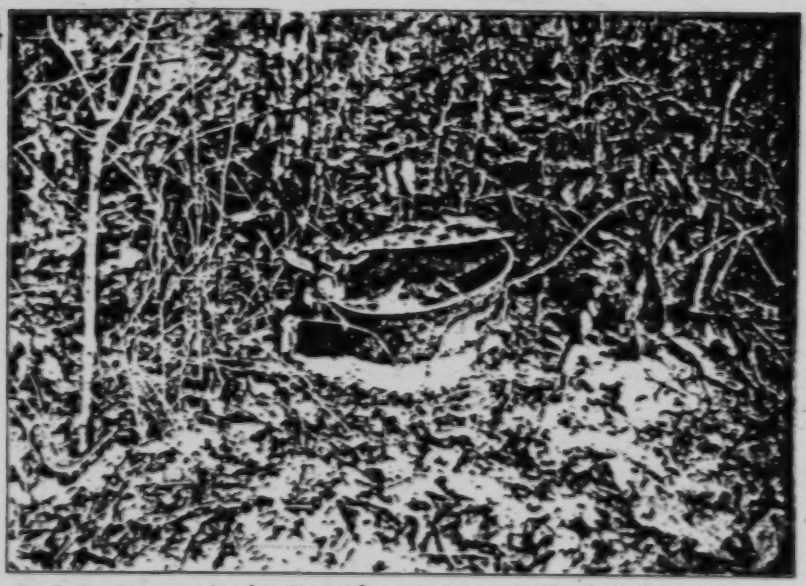

Funerary urn in the Karajá cemetery, S. Izabel do Morro.

/Pl. 13 faces p. 60. /

5: Krause--8 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9

Plate 14

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Facial expressions of Chief Ilk.

/Pl. 14 faces p. 64. /

Plate 15

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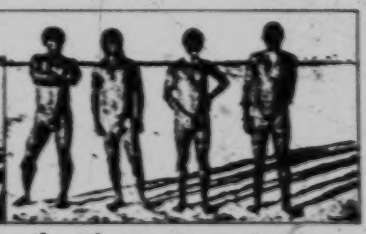
[482]

1. Youth in full ornamentation. Karajá.

3. Back-basket carrier. Karajá.

2. A Karajá youth's braid wrapped in bast.

4a. Youths with braids wrapped in red cotton cord.



4b. The same youths from the front.

/Pl. 15 faces p. 68./

Plate 16

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Painted Karajá maiden.

/Pl. 16 faces p. 72./

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Plate 17

Karajá Indians.

/Pl. 17 faces p. 76./

5: Krause--11 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9

5: Krause--12 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9

Plate 18

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Karajá girl in full ornamentation.

/Pl. 18 precedes p. 77./

Plate 19

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1a. Karajá chief's stool.

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1b. Front view of the stool.

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2. Wooden reproduction of the bird mask.

3. Wooden doll of the Karajá.

/Pl. 19

5: Krause--14 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9

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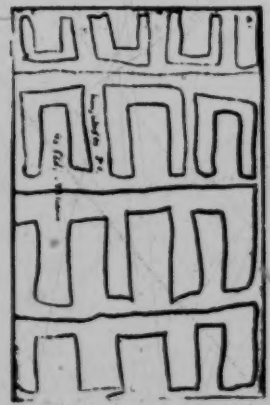
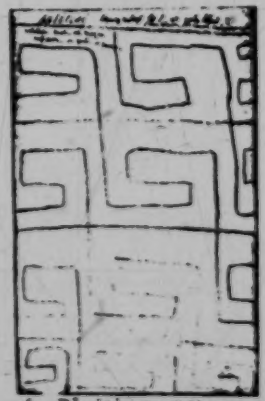
Plate 20

1. Koduni masked dancers.

2. Ladeni masked dancers.



3. Plaiting pattern; dogfish.



4. Plaiting pattern.

/Pl. 20 precedes p. 81. /

Plate 21

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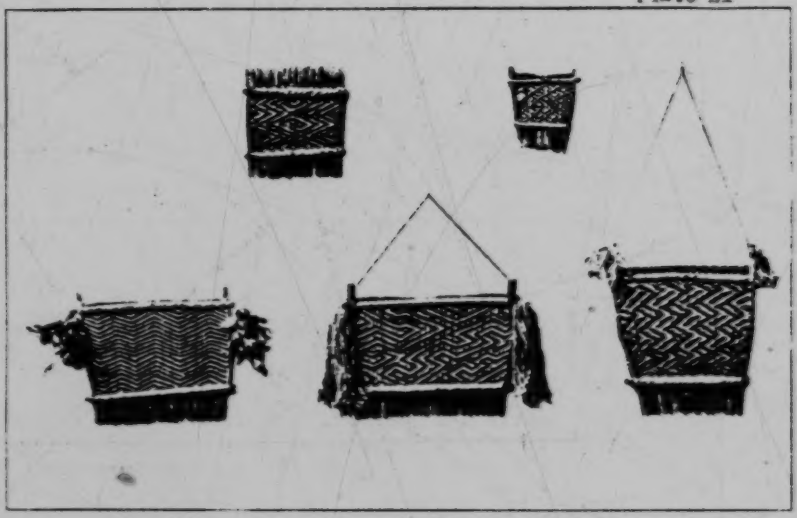

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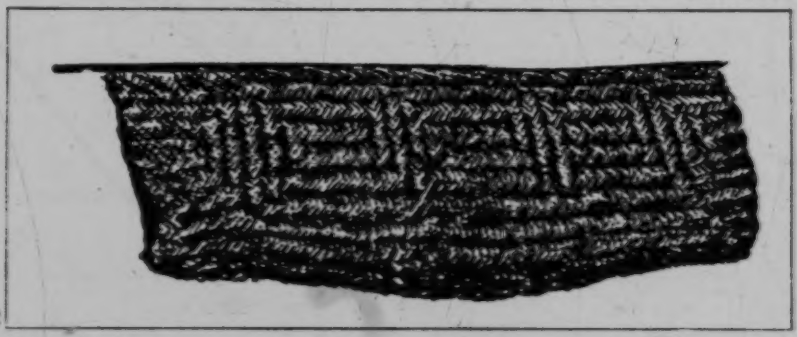
a e b d c



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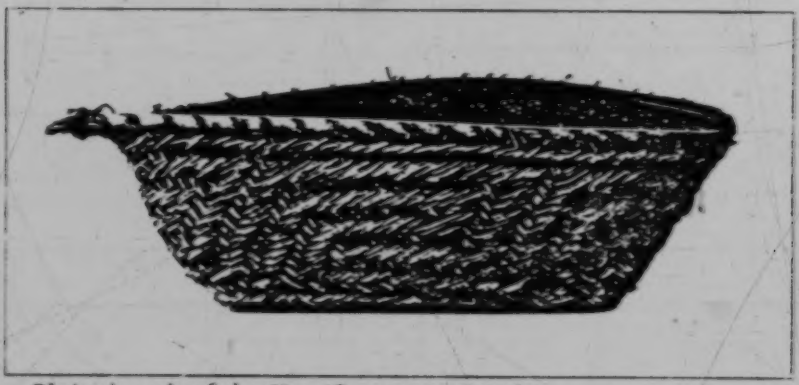


3

Plaited work of the Karajá: 1 a-e. Combs. 2. Fish-trap.
3. Oblong basket.
/Pl. 21 facing p. 84./

Plate 22

532

a. Rider with gun.

b. Youth.

c. Maiden.

d. Jabiru.

e. Caracara.

f. Caracara.

g. Pig.

h. Tortoise.

i. Jaguar.

Wax figures: all except c (Šavajé) from the Karajá.

/Pl. 22 precedes p. 85./

S. Krause--47 E-5 (1908) 1911 SPB Cart
Tapirapé SP22
114
133
129

Plate 28

1. First use [illegible] in the Tapirapé River.

2. Conquering the waterfall in the Tapirapé River.

/Plate 28 faces p. 120./

3. "Singel" [illegible] in the upper course of the Tapirapé River.

4. My men on the march to the villages of the Tapirapé.

5: Krause—18 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja
Tapirape 1908

133
137

1. Lake blocked off by a fence on the Tapirapé River. View from the end of the lake.

137
252

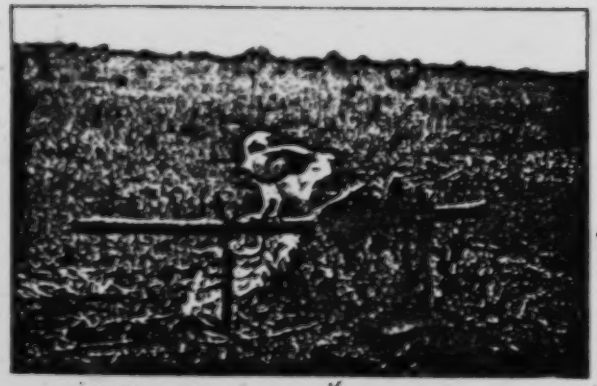
2. Tapirapé grill in the forest.

/Pl. 29 faces p. 124./

231
149
891
301
516
340
149
891
516
854

Plate 30

1. Houses of the Šavajé on Bananal.



2. Village bird of the Šavajé.

/Pl. 30 faces p. 136./

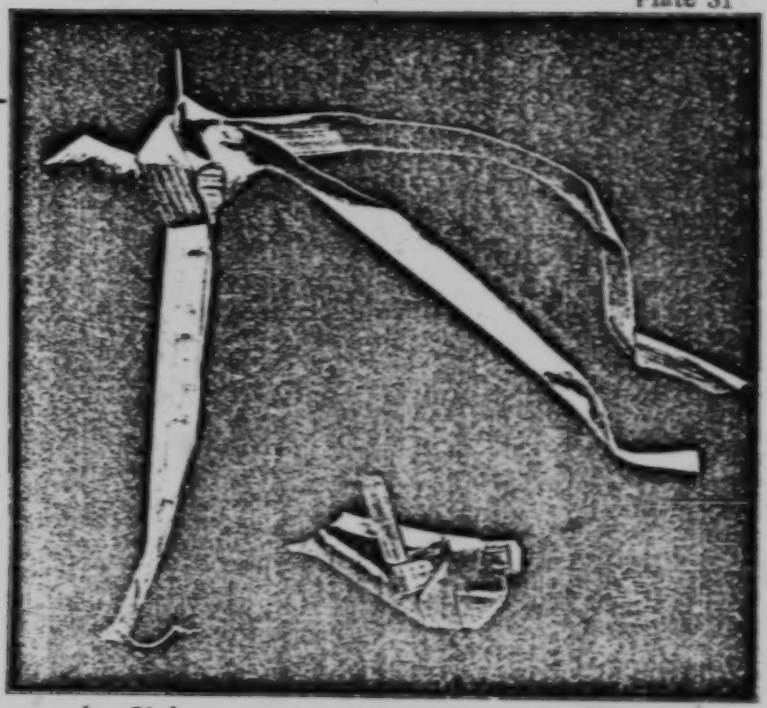
3. Šavajé women and children.

4. Šavajé men and youths.

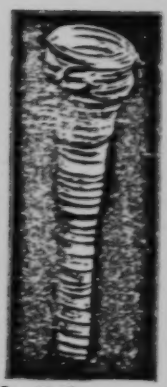
5. Krause--20 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9

Plate 31

824
532



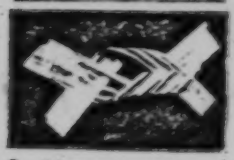
1a. Bird. 1b. Bird.



2. Tobacco pipe.

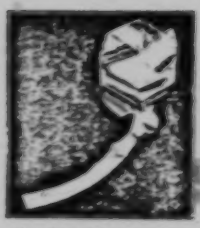
3

3. Honeycomb.



4

4. Puzzle figure.



5. Honeycomb.

6. Lip plug.

Leaf plaiting.

/Pl. 31 faces p. 140./

Plate 32

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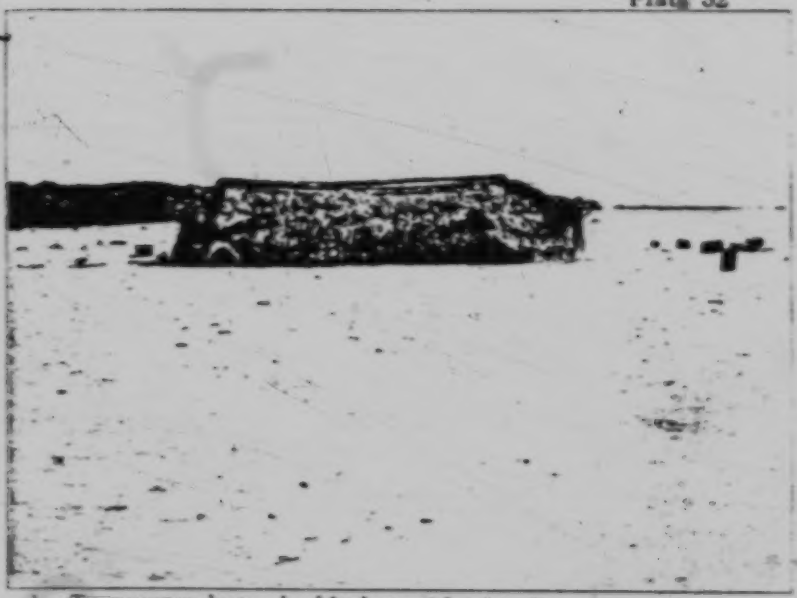

1. Temporary hut: double hut with circular structures. Karajá.

2. Entrance into the circular structure.

/Pl. 32 faces p. 148./

Plate 33

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Karajá boys' adornment:
Top, feather helmet; right and left, ear tulips with bead pendants; in the center, neck ornament with nape-tassels.

/Pl. 33 faces p. 152./

5: Krause--23 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9

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Plate 34

Dance-mask reproductions: a) idjazõ mask; b) ladeni mask.

/Pl. 34 faces p. 160./

5: Krause--24 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9

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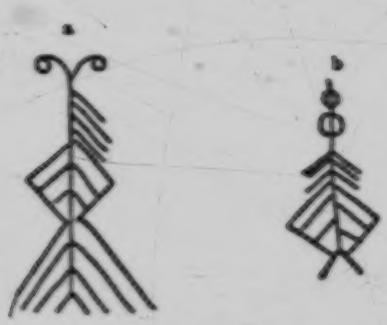
Plate 35

Dance-mask reproductions.
a) djalheni mask,
b) idjazó mask,
c) ladeni mask.
b and c are made entirely of feathers.

[237]

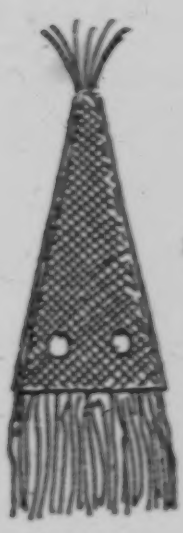
/Pl. 35 faces p. 161./

532



Ill. 1. Sand drawings of dance masks.
a) idjazõ mask. b) ladenĩ mask.

/Ill. 1 appears on p. 57./



Ill. 2. ioonĩ mask. From a sketch.

/Ill. 2 appears on p. 79./

5: Krause--25a E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja
Tapirapé SP22

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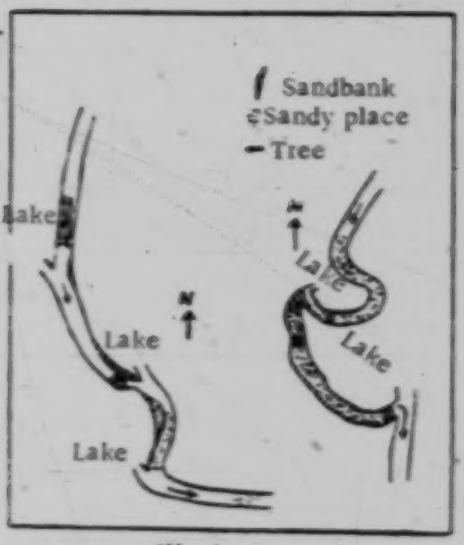

Ill. 4.
Dry stretches of river beside and below the lakes. Tapirapé River.
/Ill. 4 appears on p. 117./

Ill. 5.
Sketch map of the lost corner. Tapirapé River.
/Ill. 5 appears on p. 118./

5: Krause--26 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9
Tapirape SP22

C
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Ill. 6. Tortoise cages of the Karajá. Tapirapé River.
(Drawn from a photograph.)
/Ill. 6 appears on p. 119./

T
102
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a: Fish fence
b: Sandbank
c: Path to the place where trees are felled.
d: Roasting place.
e: Path to the roasting place and to the villages.

Ill. 7.
Sketch map of the fish-lakes in the Tapirapé River.
/Ill. 7 appears on p. 122./

5: Krause--26a E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9

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Ill. 8. Tree figure. Represents the female sex organs. Karajá.

/Ill. 8 appears on p. 135. /

5: Krause--27 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9

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Ill. 9. A place to which the Karajá push their canoes. Interior of Bananal. (Drawn from a photograph.)

/Ill. 9 appears on p. 136./

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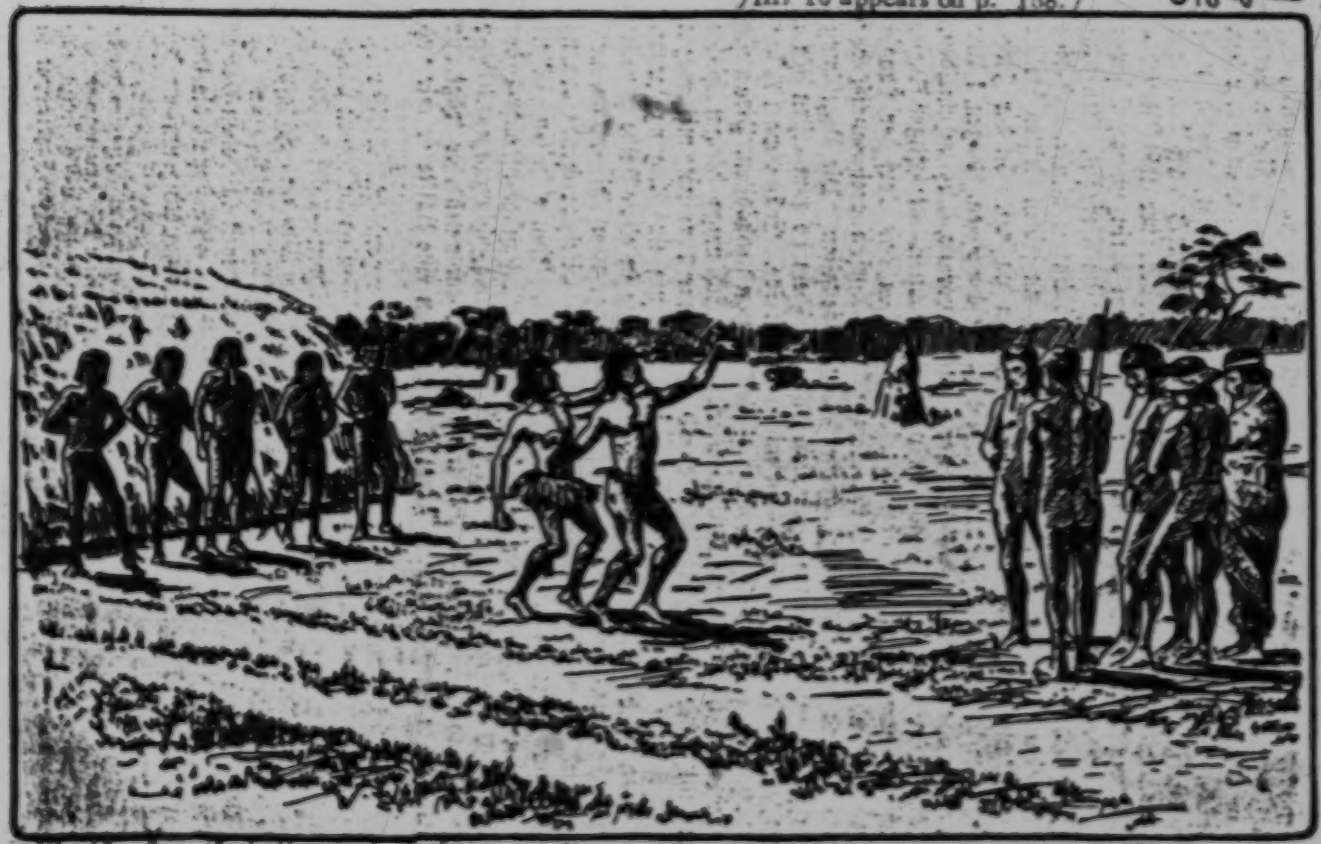
5. Krause--28 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9

/Ill. 10 appears on p. 188./



Ill. 10. Savajé challenge-dance for a wrestling match. On the right, the Karajá. In front, the two paths on which the masked dances take place. Drawn from a photograph.

5. Krause--29 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Carajá SP9

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/Ill. 11 appears on p. 139./

Ill. 11. W[illegible] p. [illegible] p.

5. Krause - 30 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Carajá SP9

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/Ill. 12 appears on p. 145./

Ill. 12. Planting of the Karajá on Bananal. Drawn from a photograph.

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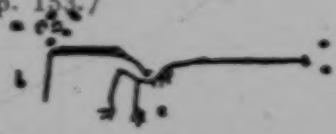
[821]

/Ills. 13 and 14 appear on p. 153./

Ill. 13. Sketchbook drawing: moon with mountains (toad).



Ill. 14. Sketchbook drawing:
a) Pleiades (parakeets);
b) the jaguar leaps
c). on the ostrich (α and β Centauri).

Ill. 15. Clay doll: caricature of the old grandmother. Karajá. /Ill. 15 appears on p. 155./

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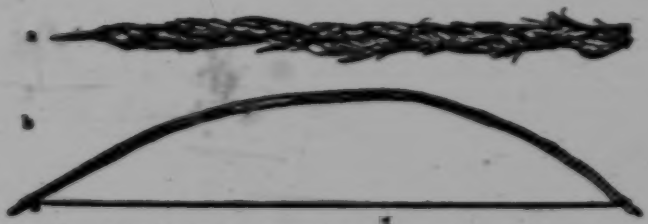

Ill. 16. Magic arrow with bow.[1] Karajá.
/Ill. 16 appears on p. 156./

[1] [See description of use on p. 283--Analyst]

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Second Part

Scientific Findings

/Page 172 is blank./

/173/ Historical Review

175 The first one about whom we have reports that he visited the Araguaya /Araguaia/ region is Capitão Diogo Pinto de Gaia, who traveled up the river from Pará to the southern tip of Bananal in the year 1720. He is supposed to have seen all of Bananal Island on this occasion (1).

[113] 1. Moraes Jardim, o Rio Araguaya /The Araguaia River/, foreword: Ehrenreich, "Beiträge zur Geographie /Contributions to Geography/," II, p. 149.

We find the first mention of the Karajá in the report about the journey of the Paulista Antonio Pires de Campos, which must have taken place between the years 1718 and 1746. Pires Campos traveled with his father from Cuyaba down the Rio das Mortes in a boat, then traveled northward on the Araguaya as far as the cachoeira /cataract/ of Itaboca, from the litoral mountains of which they saw in the west the mountains of the Araes, where gold was said to be found in beech leaves. On the return journey, above the confluence of the Paraupebas (2), they met many

2. The Tocantins, according to Rev. trim. 37, p. 263, note 19.

Indians (Apinages? /Apinaye/), visited the Martirios, and from there had a rough trip to the Ilha dos Carajás (3). Across the

[104] 3. The tribal names are given here in the form used by the respective authors.

/173 cont./

C 175 Rio das Mortes they returned by land to Cuyaba. By the Carajás, mentioned here for the first time, it appears that the Šambioá /Shambioa/ were meant (4). Fonseca, in his report dated 1775,

C [113]

4. Roteiro, que deu o capitão-Mor Antonio Pires de Campos ao capitão-Mor Luiz Rodriguez Villares, procurador do povo da Villa Real do Senhor Bom Jesus de Cuyabá, para o descobrimento de grandes haveres para as aldêas dos gentios Araés. /Logbook that Capitão-Mor Antonio Pires de Campos gave to Capitão-Mor Luiz Rodriguez Villares, procurator of the people of the royal town of Senhor Bom Jesus de Cuyabá, for the discovery of large amounts of goods in the villages of the pagan Araés./ Rev. trim. 38, pp. 140-144.

mentions a journey of Antonio Pires de Campos, which is perhaps identical with the one spoken of here. It took place some 20

C [177] years before 1775. Pires reached the Carajás; the relations seemed amicable to begin with, until Pires carried out an attack on the main village. In the blood bath many Indians, even children, were murdered, and many were led away as slaves to serve as workers on the fazendas (5).

5. Rev. trim. 8 (1846, 2nd edition, 1867), pp. 377-378.

Even before 1748, João de Godoy Pinto da Silveira undertook a slave hunt into the territories of the southern Kayapó

T [177] /Cayapo/, but he had no success. He brought back only a hundred Tapirapé (first mention of this tribe?), who, however, all died (6).

6. Rev. trim. 12, p. 448; 37, p. 262, note 8.

/174/

175 In 1772 José Machado undertook a military expedition by
177 land from Trahiras to the Araguaya; he succeeded in establishing amicable relations with the Carajás, but otherwise his expedition was without success (7).

7. Rev. trim. 12, p. 457; 37, p. 362, note 84.

In 1773 José Pinto da Fonseca succeeded, as the first, in remaining in peaceable contact with the Karajá for a longer time. His large military expedition seems to have come to the Araguaya by land. At a place that he called Corôa, he met
[131] the Carajás Indians (the Karajá proper). The place seems to have been located on the eastern arm of the Araguaya, approximately in the center of the lengthwise extension of Bananal Island. He succeeded in establishing amicable relations with the Karajá. Later, the Javaês /Javahe/ (first mention of this tribe) from Bananal Island, which he called Ilha de Santa Anna,
[648] came on a visit. After an initial military expedition against the hostile Chavantes, a protective alliance was concluded with the Carajás. The report ends with a reference to undertaking a second expedition against the Chavantes. More did not become known. He had heard of the Tapirapés with whom the Carajá
[114] live in peace. In this report, Fonseca gives the first cultural description of the Karajá; in the following I have often referred to his good observations, still pertinent today (8).

[113] 8. Copia da carta, que o alferes José Pinto da Fonseca escreveu ao Exm. General de Goyazes, dando-lhe conta do descobrimento de duas nações de indios, dirigida do sitio onde portou. 2. Agosto 1775. /Copy of the letter that the alferes José Pinto da Fonseca wrote to the Exm. General de Goyazes, giving him an account of the discovery of the two parties of Indians, addressed from the place at which he arrived. 2 August 1775./ Rev. trim. 8 (1846, 2nd edition, 1867), pp. 376-390.

/174 cont./

175 648 In the next few years the government endeavored to pacify the Indians, to educate them, in order to make the boat traffic on the Araguaya secure. To this end Antonio José Cabral de Almeida e Vasconcellos and José Pinto da Fonseca again traveled to Santa Anna Island between 1774-78, established a military station here, settled a few colonists, and founded the aldeamento Nova Beira for the Carajás and Javaés. Both establishments were soon given up, however, as a result of sickness and death (9).

9. Rev. trim. 12, pp. 457-458; 37, pp. 262-263, note 84.

175 648 167 [165] After these attempts had failed, another principle was tried. The Indians were transplanted into other areas, in order to safeguard shipping through this depopulation of the river shores. Thus, up to 1782 about 700 Karajá and Šavajé /Javahe/ were brought from the aldeamento Nova Beira to São José de Mossamedes near Goyaz /Goiás/, which had been founded in 1775, where they gradually perished (10). In 1786 Miguel de Arrudo e Sá was

10. Rev. trim. 12, p. 461; p. 393.

ordered to undertake a military expedition against the Chavantes and Javaés and to build a village for those subjugated. In the [165] Aldea de Pedro III (Carretão), 24 leagues north of Goyaz, he settled 3,500 Indians of both tribes, almost all of whom, however, /175/ succumbed to measles (11). The survivors were

11. Rev. trim. 37, p. 245; Rev. trim. 12, p. 462, speaks only of the Chavante.

brought to the Aldea de Salines (Boa Vista) in 1788, five leagues southeast of Piedade; in 1823, 76 Indians were still living there (12).

12. Rev. trim. 37, p. 246.

/175 cont./

175 There now followed a series of expeditions, the purpose of which was to make navigation on the Araguaya possible, above all, therefore, to establish communication between Goyaz and Pará.

In 1792-93 Thomaz de Souza Villa Real undertook the first journey down the Araguaya, from Goyaz to Pará by way of the eastern arm of Bananal, at the expense of a number of traders interested in shipping. He gives information about the [131] Carajás (the Šambioá are meant) and the Pinagés; he also met a few Carajás (probably Karajá proper, just below the north end of Bananal Island (13).

[113] 13. Viagem de Thomaz de Souza Villa Real pelos rios Tocantins, Araguaya e Vermelho: accompanhada de importantes documentos officiaes relativos á mesma navegação. /Voyage of Thomaz de Souza Villa Real by way of the Tocantins, Araguaia, and Vermelho rivers; accompanied by important official documents concerning the same navigation./

[361] In 1793 he traveled up the Tocantins and Araguaya as far as the lowest village of the Šambiaó (called Carajás by him). He also mentions the Carajahi (first mention of this name) and Tapirasse (13) /see footnote 13 above/.

These expeditions resulted in a little boat traffic on the Araguaya; a place on the Rio Vermelho or on the Rio de Peixe served as harbor for Goyaz. Difficulty was caused by the fact that only few boatmen were available for such journeys, and there was a lack of points where fresh provisions could be obtained along the way.

Further expeditions followed. In 1800, the new governor of Goyaz, João Manoel de Menezes, traveled from Pará up the

/175 cont./

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Araguaya to his new residence (14). From 1804-1809 there were

14. Rev. trim. 12, p. 465.

two or three further expeditions to increase shipping on the Araguaya. They were not very successful; Indian tribes not to be subdued by military might and the river rapids made navigation on the river seem too dangerous (15). In order to alleviate

15. Rev. trim. 12, p. 468.

at least one of these dangers, the Presidio de Santa Maria was founded between 1809 and 1812 at the upper beginning of the stretch of rapids. By 1813, however, it was already destroyed by the united Carajás, Carajahís, Chavantes, and Cherentes, not to be built up again until 1862 and farther upstream (16).

16. Rev. trim. 12, p. 470; 25, II, p. 91; 37, p. 362; 38, p. 18.

Another attempt to live in peace with the Indians also failed. The Carajahís came to Salinas in order to surrender peaceably to the Brazilians; however, as a result of disagreements that broke out in this connection, they returned to their villages on the river (17).

17. Rev. trim. 12, p. 471.

From now on all reports about this area cease. The Brazilians hesitated to seek out the hostile Indians, and thus /176/ in time the rumors about the hostile nature of the Karajá and Sambioá took on ever greater dimensions. Only a few good retrospective views of this first period of discovery came out during these years.

/176 cont./

175 In 1812 Padre Luiz Antonio da Silva e Souza wrote his
[113] work: Memoria sobre o descobrimento, governo, população, e cousas mais notaveis da capitania de Goyaz /Memoir on the discovery, government, population, and other notable things about the province of Goiás/, in which he gives good historical data about all the journeys of exploration since the discovery of the province (18).

18. Rev. trim. 12 (2nd series, 5), 1849, pp. 429-510.

[113] In the second large work: Chorographia historica da Provincia de Goyaz /Historical Chorography of the Province of Goiás/, 1842, Raymundo José da Cunha Mattos studied old documents and brought out a great deal of information about the Indians; however, he occasionally combines and thus confuses
175 the ethnic picture. According to him, the Carajás live in a vil-
101 lage on the Furo do Bananal and in three villages in the cataract
131 region of the river (identical with our present-day Sambioá vil-
[361] lages); they prevent passage through the Furo. The Carajahís live on the left bank of the Araguaya and occasionally appear on Bananal. The Javaés on Bananal are almost extinct; the Xambiuás live on Bananal and then again on the river shore, and they prevent passage through the west arm of the Araguaya. He also mentions that the Tapirapés occasionally visited Bananal Island (19).

19. Rev. trim. 37 and 38.

175 It is only Castelnau, in the year 1844, who again brings more clarity. This French explorer traveled from Goyaz to the Rio de Peixe, embarked here, traveled down this river to where it empties into the Araguaya, traveled down the Araguaya through the eastern arm of Bananal, reached the entrance into the Tocantins, and, traveling up this river, returned to Goyaz. Along

/176 cont./

175 the Araguaya he met only the Chambioá, of whose cultural Along
[131] possessions he made a collection, which, however, was lost in a shipwreck on the Tocantins. He was the first to describe the use of masks by these Indians. He, too, reports only hearsay about the Carajás, Carajahís, Javahais, and Tapirapés (20).

[113] 20. F. de Castelnau, Expedition dans les parties centrales de l'Amerique du Sud /Expedition into the Central Parts of South America/, 1843-47. Paris, 1850, Vols. 1 and 2. The same, Vue et scenes /Survey and scenes/. Paris, 1853.

We owe complete clarity, however, to the expedition of Dr. Rufino Theotonio Segurado, who traveled upstream from Pará
[101] in 1846/47. He first visited the Chambioás, who, he said, were a tribe of the Carajás, then tried to travel up the eastern arm of Bananal, but was obliged to give up the plan because the river was too shallow, then traveled up the western arm of the Araguaya, as the first explorer, and visited the Carajás Indians living here. He extended his trip as far as the Rio Vermelho on which he traveled upstream for eleven days, in order to reach Goyaz then by land. To him we therefore owe the first more exact information about the dwelling sites of the Karajá (21).

[113] 21. Viagem de Goyaz ao Pará em 1846 e 1847, Roteiro do Dr. Rufino Theotonio Segurado /Voyage from Goiás to Pará in 1846 and 1847, Logbook of Dr. Rufino Theotonio Segurado./ Rev. trim. 10 (2nd series, Vol. 3), pp. 178-212.

/177/ I unfortunately have not been able to find the report of Dr. Eduardo Olympio Machado from the year 1850, which Moraes Jardim mentions in the introduction of his work, O Rio Araguaya.

/177 cont./

175 At the same time the Presidio de Santa Izabel (now Capoeira de Santa Izabel Velha) existed on Bananal Island: it was later transferred to near the mouth of the Rio das Mortes (Santa Izabel do Morro, now Karajá cemetery), but then given up (22).

22. Moraes Jardim, O Rio Araguaya, foreword.

We owe the first brief, more recent ethnographic description of the Karajá to Dr. Couto de Magalhães, who in 1863 traveled down the Rio Vermelho, founded the town of São José, and visited the subsequently abandoned Aldea da Estiva, one league north of Salinas, in which Chavantés and Carajás lived (23).

[113] 23. Viagem ao Araguaya /Voyage to the Araguaia/. Goyaz, 1863, pp. 124 ff.

[101] [16] [36] [131] In another work (24) he reports that the Chambioás, Carajás,

[113] 24. Dr. C. Magalhães, Região e raças selvagens do Brasil /The Country and Savage Races of Brazil/. Rio de Janeiro, 1874.

Carajahís, and Javaés form a nation and live, 7-8000 souls strong, in 70-80 villages along the Rio Araguaya from Furo to Intaipabas.

[648] The same, in 1871, founded the settlement of Dumbasinho with the Collegio Izabel, two leagues below Leopoldina on the west bank (Leopoldina was founded in 1852), for the purpose of training and educating young Indians (Karajá, Kayapó, and Tapirapé) as colonists. The Collegio was given up at the beginning of the nineties.

175 114 The next detailed report about the Carajás was furnished by Dr. Spinola, who in 1879 accompanied Moraes Jardim on his Araguaya journey from Leopoldina to Santa Maria, which was undertaken for the purpose of making a map of the river. His

/177 cont./
175 remarks prove to be correct for the most part, except for those
[114] on religion (25).

[113] 25. O Rio Araguaya. Relatorio da sua exploração pelo Major d'Engenheiros Joaquim R. de Moraes Jardim, precedido de um resumo historico sobre sua navegação pelo Tenente-Coronel d'Engenheiros Jeronimo R. de Moraes Jardim e seguido de um estudo sobre os Indios, que habitam suos margens pelo Dr. Aristides de Souza Spinola, presidente de Goyaz. /The Araguaia River. An account of its exploration by Major d'Engenheiros Joaquim R. de Moraes Jardim, preceded by a historical summary on its navigation by Tenente-Coronel d'Engenheiros Jeronimo R. de Moraes Jardim and followed by a study of the Indians who live on its banks by Dr. Aristides de Souza Spinola, president of Goiás. / Rio de Janeiro, 1880.

The report about the journey of Dr. Joaquim Leite Moraes, which appeared in 1892 in Goyaz, was unfortunately not available to me.

175 The most detailed information was brought back by Dr. Paul
114 Ehrenreich, who in 1888, in connection with the second German Xingu-Expedition, traveled from Goyaz down the Araguaya to Pará. He navigated the upper part of the river, free of cataracts, in a steamer, so that of the Karajá, for whom he uses the name Carayahi, he was able to obtain only a fleeting impression, which, however, was fundamentally deepened through the statements, worthy of thanks, of the old Karajá chief accompanying him, Pedro Manco. He was able to study in greater detail the Šambioá, whose territory he traveled through in a rowboat. Of the Yavahe and Tapirapé he reports only hearsay. His /178/ ethnographic collection, which is often referred to in the following, is in the Berlin Museum für Völkerkunde (26).

[113] 26. He published the following works about his

/178 cont./

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[113]

26. (cont.)
journey: 1. "Beiträge zur Geographie Zentralbrasiliens /Contributions to the Geography of Central Brazil/," in: Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin, Vol. 26, pp. 167 to 190; Vol. 27, pp. 121-152. 2. "Südamerikanische Stromfahrten /South American River Journeys/," in Globus, Vol. 62 (1892). 3. Beiträge zur Völkerkunde Brasiliens /Contributions to the Ethnology of Brazil/. Veröffentlichungen aus dem königlichen Museum für Völkerkunde /Publications of the Royal Museum of Ethnology/, Vol. 2, Nos. 1 and 2. Berlin, Spemann, 1891. 4. Anthropologische Studien über die Urbewohner Brasiliens /Anthropological Studies of the Brazilian Aborigines/. Brunswick, 1897.

We owe the next brief report to Dr. A. Cavalcanti, who, in connection with the explorations for the establishment of a new capital city for Brazil, navigated the Araguaya from Leopoldina to Santa Maria and visited the Carajahí on this occasion (27).

[113]

27. Commissão de Estudos da Nova Capital da União /Commission for Studies on the New Capital of the Union/. Rio, 1896. Relatorio do Dr. A. Cavalcanti /Account by Dr. A. Cavalcanti/.

During the rainy season of 1896/97, the French explorer Coudreau traveled on the Araguaya from Pará to the mouth of the Rio Tapirapé. He visited the Chambioá and Carajás; he also traveled a short stretch on the Rio Tapirapé. His statements, however, are not very accurate and tend to confuse completely the entire picture, especially on the Tapirapé (28).

[114]

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28. Voyage au Tocantins-Araguaya. Paris, 1897.

/178 cont./

175 Since then we have remained without any information on this area; no explorer again reports on the tribes along the Araguaya. Meanwhile steamer traffic expanded further, and new Brazilian settlements arose, especially the mission station Conceição among the Kayapó in the north. At the beginning of the twentieth century, the Bishop of Goyaz, accompanied by the steamer contractor Adolofo Guedes, undertook a journey on the Araguaya. According to the personal account of the [361] latter, they traveled, at high water, up the eastern arm of [177] Bananal from the north, came across a huge village of Šavajé, landed, but were quickly obliged to turn back in the face of resistance by the many Indians who were frightened by the 70 armed Brazilians. After that the wildest rumors swept through the land about the hostility and the great number of the Šavajé.

114 Such were the circumstances when I traveled on the [101] Araguaya in 1908. I navigated it from Leopoldina to Conceição, visited the Karajá, undertook side trips on foot to the Kayapó at Conceição and to the Šavajé on Bananal, and traveled up the Rio Tapirapé to the source region, where I came across the deserted villages of the Tapirapé Indians.

101 By way of supplement, a few statements about how the designations of the tribes have changed in the course of time might follow.

[131] I distinguish the following three hordes of the Karajá: the Šambioá in the stretch of the rapids, the Šavajé on Bananal Island, the Karajá proper on the Araguaya, west and south of Bananal.

101 The Šambioá are called Carajás by the first discoverers 175 (Antonio Pires de Campos in 1746, Souza Villa Real in 1792/93; Cunha Mattos also calls them this in his Chorographia de Goyaz, 1824). The name /179/ Šambioá appears for the first time in Cunha Mattos for a tribe which, roving about, sometimes visits Bananal Island, sometimes dwells on the Rio Cuyaba, and blocks passage through the western arm of the Araguaya (29). It is not

29. Rev. trim. 37, p. 393; 38, p. 20.

/179 cont./

101 175 known how Cunha Mattos arrived at this strange localization. The present Šambioá are called by this name for the first time by Castelnau in 1844, then Rufino in 1846, and Ehrenreich in 1888. This name is now the one commonly used; only Coudreau again calls them Carajá. This name, given to them by the Karajá, should be retained to distinguish them from the other hordes.

The Šavajé are mentioned for the first time as Javaes and Javahes in 1773 by Fonseca, who met them as visitors among the Karajá. (I do not know whether Pinto de Gaia mentions them.) Since then they have continued to be known under this name. They are mentioned again by Vasconcellos-Fonseca in 1774, Cunha Mattos in 1824, Castelnau in 1844, Spinola in 1879, Ehrenreich in 1888, and Coudreau in 1896/97, though none of them, except the first, again came into close contact with them.

The horde of the Karajá proper is mentioned for the first time by José Machado in 1772, and, to be sure, under the name of Carajás. They continued to be known under this name and were described by Fonseca and Vasconcellos in 1773 and 1774. They were not visited again after that; reports about them become confused, especially through the occurrence of the name Carajahí for a horde whose sites cannot be precisely located. Souza Villa Real, in 1793, is the first to mention the Carajahí: they had four chiefs. The authors of the two large historical 101 114 175 works from the beginning of the nineteenth century confuse the picture completely. Silva e Souza reports (1812) that the Carajá [36] and Carajahí occupy seven villages on the Araguaya, and that the Carajahí came to Salinas in order to make peace, but, since they were badly treated, they set out for their villages [131] again. Cunha Mattos reports in 1824 that the Carajás live on the Furo and in the rapids region (see under Šambioá), and that the Carajahís occupy the left bank of the Araguaya and only occasionally come to Bananal Island. In Rev. trim. 37, page 363, he reports further that the Carajás come to Salinas to beg for iron implements. From these reports no clear picture is to be gained about the relationships between Carajá, Carajahí, and Šambioá. The picture remains just as confused after

/179 cont./

101 Castelnau's report (1844). He says that the Carajás often stay in
175 Salinas on visits, whereas the Carajahís live on the western arm
[114] in three or four villages. Rufino in 1846/47 finally brings clarity
as the first to navigate the western arm again. He calls the
[361] Indians living here in nine villages Carajás, in other words,
restores the old name, while he does not mention the name
Carajahí. From then on they are again called Carajás generally,
as by Magalhães in 1863, Spinola in 1879; in 1874, however,
Magalhães also mentions Carajahís, besides Carajás and
Chambioás, without /180/ making clear their mutual relation-
ship. In 1888 Ehrenreich uses the name Carayahí for all Karajá
Indians on the Araguaya, west and south of Bananal Island, and
Cavalcanti (1895) joins him in this; this name, however, has not
101 become customary in Brazil. Coudreau (1896) again calls them
Carajás, and I, too, find it necessary to retain this name, and,
to be sure, with the spelling Karajá. I repeatedly asked the
Indians about the name Carayahí, and they always declared that
they did not know it. They call themselves only Karajá, and
among the Brazilian population, too, they are only called by
this name.

I admit that the name Carayahí is very practical for distinguishing this horde from the entire tribe of the Karajá, and that detailed explanations are sometimes required in order to make clear whether by Karajá one means the whole tribe or only the southern group; in my opinion, however, one does better to go to the slight trouble of making this explanation with a few additional words rather than to use a nonexistent name.

I. The Karajá.

1. Anthropological Data.

126 Direct anthropological measurements were taken by me only with respect to height and color of skin. All other data are based on observations or were taken from the examination of photographs
000 taken by me. For comparison I used Ehrenreich, Anthropologische

127 /180 cont./ For comparison I used Ehrenreich, Anthropologische
113 Studien über die Urbewohner Brasiliens /Anthropological Studies of the Brazilian Aborigines/, Brunswick, 1897.

141 Height. Ehrenreich gives (p. 108) the average body height of the men of the Carayahí as 168.2, of the women as 152.8 centimeters; thus, according to his measurements, the women are significantly (15.4 centimeters) smaller than the men. In gen-
[114] eral this proportion is correct, but there are considerable individual deviations.

141 The southern horde on the whole seems to be taller than the
142 northern horde; this is probably attributable to the admixture of Savajé blood, for the Savajé are distinguished from the Karajá by their greater height. In the southern horde there were many men who were as tall as I and a few who were taller (I measured 167 centimeters barefoot), but the tallest probably did not exceed 170 centimeters. For the southern horde one may probably assume 166 centimeters to be the average. The women of the southern horde were also in part quite tall, but in general they remained behind the men in the same proportion as in the northern horde.

Among the latter there was no one who exceeded me in height, and only a few who equaled me, and such tall figures were very rare (Pl. 37, Ill. 1). The great majority of the men were considerably shorter than I; they might be 160-162 centimeters tall on the average. Their height varies by half a head. The women are considerably smaller; /Pl. 36 appears here/ /181/ they remain about half a head behind the men; thus Ehrenreich's average could be assumed for them (Pl. 17).

Besides this, however, there are elements of the population which one must definitely call short. One should compare the two small youths in Illustration 1, Plate 37, who are a full head shorter than the tallest ones (these are about 165 centimeters tall), so that they approach Pygmy measurements (140-145 centimeters). The same is true for two other youths on Plate 44, Illustration 1. Most striking is the appearance of the dwarf woman on Plate 17, who reaches just to the shoulders of the man standing next to her, who is about 164 centimeters tall. I often encountered such small, but fully grown persons in the north horde (compare also the Šavajé), whereas it was not

[Text continues on p. 48]

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Plate 36

5: Krause--47 F-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9

1. Three Karajá men.

2. Youth, boy, man. Karajá.

/181 cont./

142 observed by me in the south horde. Perhaps there is an influence
[141] of alien tribes (Tapirapé, Kayapó, Canoeiros, etc.) here.

The figures of the Indians, men as well as women, are well proportioned, and they probably belong among the best built Indian tribes in general. They may be described as medium-sized, robust figures. We are troubled by the occasional athletic development of their musculature, which is probably to be traced back to the rowing, the pounding of maize in the mortars, and other causes.

The head is high and long in shape; the face is oval, especially among youthful persons (Pl. 17;Pl38, Ill. 1; Pl. 2, Ill. 2; Pl. 44, Ill. 2). The forehead rises straight up and is sufficiently high; except that it generally appears to be low because of the hair combed down to the eyes. The orbital ridges are only slightly developed, the eye opening is slit-shaped (Pl. 14); almond-shaped eyes, such as Ehrenreich notes, are relatively rare. The iris is dark brown. The root of the nose is usually very much sunken; the bridge is prominent and straight; the alae are very wide and usually curved, so that the nostrils are somewhat visible from the front. The drooping, bent tip of the nose is characteristic. The mouth is wide, the lips are full and bowed, the teeth on the whole good; only old people show many gaps in their teeth as a result of teeth falling out. Children show prognathism, but this peculiarity seems to disappear in later years (Pl. 12, Ill. 2; Pl. 42, Ill. 3). The chin is wide and not very prominent. The ears could not be observed on account of the long hair. Ehrenreich (pp. 82, 94, 95) believes that a uniform facial type is to be found among the Karajá, and, to be sure, a more refined form, whereas the rest, such as Šambioá, etc., present a crude type by comparison. I found that even among the Karajá there are several facial types, and, to be sure, besides the more refined one and a cruder one, there is a third, seeming completely alien, which was to be found only in the large villages from the Tapirapé mouth on northward,
[126] especially among the women, but even here only rarely. Unfortunately, I was unable to photograph any of these women.

/181 cont./

142 The shoulders among the men and women seem to me to be generally /182/ normal in their development, but there are quite a number of persons, mostly of the male sex, among whom they are markedly developed, and not only among the men (Pl. 36; Pl. 38, Ill. 1), but also among youths and boys (Pl. 44, Ill. 1; Pl. 49, Ill. 1). Probably this tremendous breadth-development of the bones of the shoulder girdle and the muscles attached to it, especially the Latissimus dorsi (Pl. 15, Ill. 4a), [114] is a result of rowing. I saw only a few actually narrow-shouldered people, in contrast to Ehrenreich, who (p. 118) describes the Karajá as of slight shoulder-breadth and gracile body build. I must, however, agree with his statement that generally the women are inferior to the men in shoulder breadth, and quite significantly.

The thorax is well-rounded among men and women. One must call the Indians broad-chested, as Ehrenreich (p. 119) does (Pl. 16; Pl. 36; Pl. 43, Ill. 3). In addition, among the men there is the tremendous development of the chest musculature, especially the Pectoralis major (Pl. 15, Ill. 3; Pl. 43, Ill. 2), which in combination with the powerful shoulder musculature, makes the upper half of the body completely outweigh the lower. This powerful development causes first of all a prominence of the breasts, which among some men take on a female shape (Pl. 36), and the formation of a trough-like depression between the points of attachment of the chest muscles to the breast bone (Pl. 14, Ill. 3). [145] The breasts of the women apparently develop slowly; thus, the maiden (Pl. 16) does not yet have fully developed breasts. In youth they show taut forms (Pl. 16; Pl. 17), whereas after births they soon become pendulous (Pl. 37, Ill. 2; Pl. 42, Ill. 1), and in old age they hang down limply Pl. 11, Ill. 4). In shape they are hemispherical and conical, seldom plate-shaped. The nipple areola is usually prominent (Pl. 17, Pl. 42, Ill. 1).

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[42 [062] Very distended abdomens, probably a result of the predominantly vegetable diet, are not a rarity, especially among the male sex; almost throughout the children of both sexes have a drumlike distended abdomen (Pl. 11, Ill. 4; Pl. 12, Ill. 2; Pl. 43, Ill. 2; Pl. 51, Ill. 2). The musculature of the abdomen among the men is usually so well developed that its individual parts are visible under the skin (Pl. 36; 38, Ill. 1). The pelvis is narrow; girls and maidens in particular have pelves that are no broader than those of the male sex, and even those of the women are not essentially broader than those of the men. The strikingly broad pelvis of one woman observed by me is an exception, contrary to Ehrenreich, who describes them as figures tending toward broadness (1). Hand in hand with this slight development in the breadth of the pelvis goes the almost total absence of a waist (Pl. 16; 17; 42, Ill. 1), which is occasionally clearly present only among women /183/ (Pl. 42, Ill. 3). Peculiar to the male sex is the often strongly prominent inguinal line (Pl. 36; 44, Ill. 1).

1. Page 119. On page 101, however, he describes the hips of the women as relatively narrow.

The paddings of fat over the glutei are generally normal. Where they are more strongly developed (Pl. 16), the accumulation of fat appears more in the lower parts. A well-developed [826 [832] padding of fat is part of the Indians' ideal of beauty.

The Arms. As far as the length of the upper and lower arms is concerned, the upper arm seems to be proportioned like ours; the lower arm, on the other hand, seems long in relation to the upper arm (Pl. 43, Ill. 1), and the female sex has proportionately longer lower arms than the male (Pl. 17). The musculature of the upper arm is extraordinarily well developed among the men (Pl. 15, Ill. 1; 36; 43, Ill. 3); among young men and boys, as well as among the female sex, on the other hand, it is only slightly developed, so that one is obliged to call

/183 cont./

142 them thin-armed (Pl. 11, Ill. 4; 17; 38, Ill. 2; 47, Ill. 2).
[147] Quite obviously, the powerful development among the married men is the result of rowing and of tree-cutting for the planting. On the lower arm among the adult men, the stronger development of the inner muscle (toward the elbow) is striking (Pl. 36, Ill. 1; 49, Ill. 1); among the women, on the other hand, the outer muscle is more strongly developed (Pl. 17). Hands and fingers are small in comparison with ours.

The legs. The women, in comparison with the men, have shorter legs, whereas the proportion between thigh and calf does not differ essentially for the two sexes. The legs in general, especially in youth, are gracile. The individual bulges of the muscles on the thigh, however, are relatively prominent under the skin (Pl. 44, Ill. 1). A further phenomenon is restricted to the children and young people; in later years it gradually recedes and is only rarely visible. This is a marked prominence
[301] of stretches of skin on the inner side of the thigh, just above the knee joint, common among our children as well, which is probably caused by the strong pressure of the cotton bands worn around the calves as a sign of the unmarried state, which are crocheted directly on the body and are cut off and renewed only when they have become too tight and cut deeply into the leg (Pl. 11, Ill. 4; 12, Ill. 2; 38; 42, Ill. 1; 43, Ill. 1; 44, Ill. 1). This
[826] marked bulging of the parts above the knee is shown particularly
[837] among the clay dolls and is apparently regarded as beautiful (Pl. 8). The legs always grew straight; I never saw knock-knees; only two men showed bowlegs, namely, bowed lower legs (Pl. 15, Ill. 4b, and Pedro). The fetlocks are narrow (1); the foot

1. See under "Distinguishing Ornamentation": calf and ankle bands /see pp. 120 -123/.

is generally compact and well formed. The position of the foot, as among us, is outward, which is shown in the illustrations, and only rarely inward /184/ (Pl. 16; 42, Ill. 3; see Ehrenreich, p. 101). In walking they are likewise placed outward. I never

147 /184 cont. / In walking they are likewise placed outward. I never
[981] observed the frequently reported manner of walking, namely, that on the narrow paths one foot is placed in front of the other, although I conducted studies on this for days, walking behind different Indians on narrow Indian paths. Only if a tuft of grass interfered with the toes were these turned inward. Ehrenreich states that the second toe is the longest (p. 101) and that the fifth conspicuously recedes (p. 104). About the latter I did not observe anything, but in various cases I found that the great toe was considerably shorter than the second toe, as Steinen also observed on the Xingu. The great toe may shoot off far to one side. Apparently great individual differences must occur in foot
[826] formation, for the Indians recognize with certainty in the shape of the footprint in the sand (which probably also depends on the different way of stepping) the owner of the foot.

146 The bodies of the Indians generally give a well-nourished impression. It has already been noted above (p. 50) that a drum-like distended stomach is the rule among children, though the rest of the body does not by any means give an impression of weakness. Very well nourished persons (Pl. 44, Ill. 1) are regarded as the ideal of the Indians. Poorly nourished, positively emaciated persons are rare (Pl. 37, Ill. 1, the tallest). Thin women predominate by far, and such emaciation usually occurs in old age. In Villages 5 and 27 I saw a few very old people who were emaciated almost to skeletons (see also Ehrenreich, page 104).

147 Good nourishment gives the Indians good strength, which is hardened by rowing, work in the plantings, and practice in wrestling matches, so that even young people with slightly developed arm musculature have great endurance in rowing and often do surprisingly well in wrestling.

834 The sexual parts are visible only among the men. The foreskin of the penis in front of the glans is wound roll-like with a cotton thread; in this way the penis lies ball-shaped inside the skin, shortened, so that the entire male sexual organ, together with the testicles visible through the scrotum, gives the appearance of three balls (Pl. 36; 38, Ill. 2; 43, Ills. 1 and 3; 49, Ill. 1).

/184 cont./

142 The skin is thin and delicate and feels very soft, a regular tropical skin, such as the Whites in the tropics also have. A certain part of this may also be due to the oiling of the skin. The [302] color of the skin is difficult to determine, since the Indians mostly go about painted or even with an over-all coating of oil color. The hot sun, which shines with particular intensity on the sandbanks, burns the parts exposed to it the most, such as upper arms, chest, shoulders, belly, and thighs, so that here the skin is considerably darker (Nos. 26-28 on the Martin Chart, with a touch of violet) than on the protected parts of the body, such as the inner side of the upper arm, etc. (No. 25). The cheeks are strikingly light, mostly /Pl. 37 appears here/ /185/ only No. 21, and among many definitely sallow, yellowish (Nos. 18-19). Whether this is the result of pathological conditions I am unable to say; the phenomenon was frequent, especially among young people and girls. The actual skin-color can be seen only under the cotton bands, especially under the calf bands; here it is No. 17. The palms of the hands (Nos. 13-15) and soles of the feet (Nos. 10-16) are very light, almost as among us. The women [292] often seemed lighter than the men, undoubtedly a result of the fact that they live more in the shadows of the houses and, when they go out, generally put on their net coverings. My Indian rowers, too, in the course of months took on a lighter coloring 826 under the clothing. I did not see albinos. The ideal of the Karajá Indians is a skin as light as possible; they particularly appreciated my white skin color, and they themselves wanted to be entirely white (see the role of the Whites in the legends).

147 A particular body odor is probably characteristic of the Indians; it is rather strong and unpleasant to us. It cannot be [302] said, however, how much of it is due to the rancid oil on the skin and in the hair.

142 The hair. The head hair is generally straight; hair hanging down long, however, if it is not combed out for a long time, becomes wavy in the case of men and women (Pl. 17; 36; 42, [302] Ills. 1 and 3). If it is freshly combed and oiled, it hangs down smooth naturally. The formation of curls is relatively frequent; among men I observed it ten times; among women, on the

[Text continues on p. 55]

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1. Karajá youths.

[854]

2. Karajá women and children.

/185 cont./

142 the other hand, only four times (Pl. 11, Ill. 4; 38, Ill. 1;
44, Ill. 2). The color of the hair is black, with a reddish shimmer
[302] in an oblique light. Beard hair is sparse and is plucked out. Under-
arm hair is present, though not thick; it is sometimes pulled out,
sometimes left. Pubic hair is heavily developed among the male
sex; it does not extend much beyond the pubic bone and is not
removed. I was unable to observe among the Indians any fine
skin hair on the rest of the body; their skin is completely smooth.
They, on the contrary, were astonished to see hair on my arms,
hands, and fingers, the white sheen of which on my sunburned
[302] skin did indeed look peculiar. Eyebrows and lashes are plucked
out.

164 Pathological formations on bodies were only rarely observed; I saw only one umbilical rupture in the case of a boy of about 12. Chief Ilk apparently suffered from an inguinal hernia
142 (Pl. 36, Ills. 1 and 2, right). Signs of past pregnancies were less noticeable on the body than on the breast.

The general picture of the Karajá is thus the following: Small to medium height, brown in color, with straight, sometimes curly hair; broad-shouldered, wide-chested, narrow-hipped figures with long lower arms and short hands and feet. Well-
[146] nourished, extremely muscular human beings. The women lag behind the men in every respect.

/186/ 2. Dwelling Sites, Arrangement, Number.

101
131 One large Indian nation, that of the Karajá, inhabits the banks of the Araguaya from 15 1/4-7° southern latitude. It is divided into the three tribes of the Šambioá, Šavajé, and Karajá. The Šambioá inhabit the stretch of rapids between 7° and 8°. southern latitude, the Šavajé the middle section of the river island of Bananal, between 11° and 12° southern latitude, while the settlements of the Karajá proper extend along the rapids-free course of the river from 10° 12' to 15° 15' southern latitude.

/186 cont./

131 Apparently there are Karajá living outside of the river valley. The first German Xingu-expedition, on the lower Xingu in the regions of the Yuruna, everywhere came across traces of struggles
171 with alien Indians who were called Karajá by the Yuruna. The
[126] objects brought back that the Yuruna designated as coming from the Karajá, which are in the Museum für Völkerkunde in Berlin, reveal a culture reminiscent of that of the Karajá and that of the Kayapó (1). Thus, they might well have belonged to a splintered-off

1. The clubs, Nos. 1596 and 1597, have handles similar to those of the Šambioá clubs and oars (3979, e, d). Club 1597 is again similar to the one brought back by Herrmann Meyer from the Kayapó of the Paranayuba (4466), but, on the other hand, completely different from my Kayapó and Karajá clubs, whose handles are identical with those of the Šavajé and others of the Šambioá (3983). The diadem, 1595, is identical with a Karajá diadem brought back by Ehrenreich, as well as two of my Kayapó diadems. The arrow, 1598, is like the Ehrenreich Karajá arrows. -- The numbers of the objects refer to the Berlin catalogue.

Karajá tribe, whose culture, altered by its sojourn among
101 Kayapó tribes, became similar to that of the Kayapó. The tribe of the Karajá proper did not, according to my investigations,
173 know anything about any fellow tribesmen on the Xingu. It
[115] was only below Santa Maria that I learned from a Brazilian settler, who seemed to be acquainted with conditions among the Šambioá, that the branching off of the Xingu Karajá is explained by them in the following way: A Šambioá chief (Roca?; cf. Coudreau, p. 123) kidnapped a white woman; his son fell in love with her and wanted to take her away from his father. There was a fight in which the father proved to be the weaker, so he was obliged to depart with his followers; he turned westward toward the Xingu. How much of this story is credible we do not know as yet.

/186 cont./

173 At any rate, it shows that the Xingu Karajá are brought into
[101] closer relationship with the Šambioá than with the Karajá; in view of the geographical conditions and the above statements about the club handles, probably an acceptable opinion.

171 In the source region of the Xingu, the second German Xingu-
[126] expedition heard about an Arumá tribe. Objects from this tribe,
[101] which were acquired among other tribes, show the same middle position between Karajá and Kayapó culture (2). They therefore

2. The four arrows, Berlin 3874 a-d, have, in part, been given new shafts with Bakairí /Bacairi/ feathering; the old shafts, however, show traces of a feathering which is very similar to that of the Karajá, and the points are the same, except for one of the Karajá arrows. The grooved front end of a club (Berlin 2990) could have come from the Karajá or from the Kayapó.

belong to the same ethnographic /187/ province as the Karajá. Now Meyer (1) calls the Arumá Caribs (Bakairí-Apiaká

[113] 1. Cf. Meyer, Zeitschrift f. Ethnol., Berlin, Vol. 30, 1898, p. 258.

173 /Bacairi-Apiaca/). Perhaps the cultural change in the direction of the Bakairí goes back to the influence of the Šavajé. According to statements of the Karajá, the Šavajé split up about 20-30 years ago at the place called Barreira de Santa Izabel Velha; one part continued to live on Bananal, the other moved west across the Araguaya and has since then disappeared. Perhaps this part of the Šavajé went southwest to the Xingu and affected the cultures there in the manner indicated.

101 Of the above-named three tribes, I studied the Šavajé briefly, the Karajá during a lengthy stay.

/187 cont./

101 The Karajá proper (2). They call themselves: kărăjá,

2. As explained above, I mean by Karajá the Indians called Carayahí by Ehrenreich. In
[104] accordance with the rather sharp J sound, which was often pronounced like dj, I was obliged to change the spelling to Karajá.

kărădjá, or krădjá. In addition, īná and īnaûlá were given as designations for themselves. They are called Karayá by the Brazilians. Among the Šavajé, according to their own statement, they are called šŭšomădó or bĕrĕhŏkŭwăndú, among the
131 Cherénte wārăšūtŏrŏ. They inhabit the middle course of the
[439] Araguaya, at present from 15° 15' to 10° 12' south latitude; their boundaries are thus the mouth of the Rio Vermelho in the south, a place between the north end of Bananal Island and Santa Anna in the north; only occasionally do they undertake trade voyages to Santa Maria and Conceição. In general they
[648] are confined to the banks of the river and its immediate hinterland, and they inhabit both shores equally; today, at any rate, there can no longer be any talk of the habit of avoiding the
484 west bank out of fear of enemies (3). They also extend their
[437]

3. Moraes Jardim, O Rio Araguaya;
[113] Ehrenreich, "Südamerikanische Stromfahrten," p. 38.

fishing and trading expeditions over large stretches on either side. In the east they visit the Šavajé in the interior of Bananal, but avoid going there in small numbers. In the west they navigate
[361] the large tributaries. In the Rio das Mortes, 15 leagues above the mouth, there is supposed to be a small Karajá village; they allegedly do not go farther upstream here. They travel
[225] up the Rio Cristallino for a stretch to fish for turtles. On the
131 Rio Tapirapé they go just below the waterfall; a tree with two bullet-tracks, a fire area, and the remains of utensils mark the boundary here against the Tapirapé Indians.

/187 cont./

101 Their neighbors are therefore the following:

In the south, Kayapó and Bororo, the latter known to the Karajá only by name.

/188/ In the west on the Rio das Mortes, the Chavãte, in Karajá: kḷĩũẓã́ (kĩlõẓã́, kũḷĩẓã́); on the Rio Tapirapé, the Tapirapé, ũõhṹ; from Santa Anna northward, the Kayapó, kḷã̄ḷãṹ.

In the east, on the upper Tocantins, the Cherente, ĩnõlã̄tũ; on the south end of Bananal, the so-called Canoeiros, tĩã̄bẽẓã́; in the middle of Bananal, the Šavajé, šã̄wãjẽ́, (ĩ)šã̄(n)dĩwãndṹ.

In the north, the Šambioá: šã̄mbĩõã́.

Of the tribes with whom they were unacquainted, the dõbã̄ĩ́ were mentioned on the Rio das Mortes in the east the ĩšã̄wũndãhṍ.

648 The Karajá live on a war footing with all these tribes, ex-
[439] cept for the related Šavajé and Šambioá; they show great fear of all of them. They formerly carried on trade with the Tapirapé, but for five or six years the two tribes have avoided each other as a result of a feud which flared up between them because of the
619 kidnapping of women by the Karajá. The Karajá show great re-
[162] spect even before the two tribes related to them. This is probably due to the fact that the Šavajé and Šambioá live in a few large villages, whereas the Karajá are scattered in many small settlements, and that they therefore, unaccustomed to great crowds of people, are afraid of the imposing number of armed men. Apparently, fear of other tribes is customary among the Indians generally.

162 The tribe of the Karajá is at present divided into two hordes:

361 The north horde lives from the northern end of Bananal
622 Island to the Rio das Mortes in the following 14 fixed villages (from north to south) (1): village of the chief Wãlãtã́, Crĩsõtẽ,

1. By fixed villages I mean those that are again established in their particular district after each rainy season with the move to the river sandbanks again.

/188 cont./

361 Tŭmănăkū (said to have died in September 1908), João III,
[162] Alfredo, Cyriāki-Cadete (Cyriāki moved to the mouth of the
[622] Tapirapé in September 1908), village on the mouth of the Tapirapé, village of the chief João II, José, Fŏtūnă, Ilk, village on the Izabel Morro, Cadete João, village of the deceased Cincinati. The villages are divided into three groups and an
[484] outlying settlement: Walata lives four days' journey (the days'
[622] journeys are calculated for the descent in a rowboat) below
[578] Crisote, since he is hostile to all the Karajá and therefore is duly feared by them; in the fall of 1908, however, there seems to have been a reconciliation between them. Crisote also lives somewhat isolated, namely, a full day's journey below Tumanakū. From Tumanakū to José there is a string of villages; the average distance between them is a three hours' journey. Only the village on the mouth of the Tapirapé is a trip of four or five hours away from either of the two neighboring villages. Between José and Fotuna there is a distance of one and a half days' journey; then the villages again follow at shorter distances.

[622] A branch of the north horde is the Karajá village of Chief Kŏrŭmăré along the river on Bananal, located a day's march to the east from the village of José. /Pl. 38 appears here./

361 /189/ The south horde lives from the Rio Crixá to the Rio
[162] Vermelho in eight fixed settlements: on the Lago Luiz Alves,
[103] below and above the Rio Crixá, on the Lago de Café, in São José (āŭwĭ), just above São José (hōlĕnĕkă), just below the Rio de Peixe (šĭšă), on the mouth of the Rio Vermelho above
[484] Leopoldina (šĭšămādŏ). These villages, too, are divided into several groups: three villages lie on the Rio Crixá at a distance of about three to four hours' travel apart. The village on the Lago de Café is midway between Rio Crixá and São José and is
[103] about four to six hours of travel in distance from the two. Near
[484] São José there are two villages: šĭšă is one and a half days' journey away; šĭšămādŏ is two and a half days' journey from
[621] šĭšă. šĭšămādŏ is an outlying settlement that has existed for

[TEXT Continues on P. 62]

5: Krause--61 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9

1. Two men, a youth, two boys. Karajá.

2. Painted boy. Karajá.

/189 cont./

361 about five years; it is inhabited by civilized Indians who prefer
62 the advantages of civilization (tobacco, salt) to living together in the tribe.

162 Between the two hordes there is an intervening space of
22 a six and a half days' boat-trip (calculated downstream). As the
[361] reason for the unhabited state of this intervening area the Indians
[132] told me that they lived here on the high banks only during the rainy
[136] season, that in the dry season only a few and poor sandbanks were exposed and there were a great many mosquitoes; two facts which I am able to confirm. As a transit area, however, it is busily used; on both the journey upstream and downstream I came across migratory villages here in both directions.

361 Thus we come to 23 fixed villages.

The size of the villages varies greatly. In the north horde there were villages with one to eight houses; altogether I counted about 80 houses, so that on the average there were five to six houses to a village. In the south horde there were villages with one to four houses. Altogether I counted about 20 houses, so that on the average there were two to three houses to a village. The number of houses in both hordes together is therefore only about 100.

162 The number of inhabitants likewise varies. There were:
621

	North Horde	Koru-mare's Village	South Horde	Total	Immi-grant Šavajé	Total
Men:						
Adults	114	-	27	141	3	144
Youths	57	-	15	72	1	73
Boys (1-12 years old)	141	-	28	169	1	170
Total	312	ca. 20	70	402	5	407
Women:						
Adults	164	-	38	202	7	209
Maidens	22	-	12	34	3	37
Girls (1-12 years old)	129	-	28	157	1	158
Total	315	ca. 20	78	413	11	424
Total for both sexes	627	ca. 40	148	815	16	831

/190/

161 Without the Šavajé of the south horde, the total figure
[162] thus comes to 815; with the Šavajé, 831 persons. Therefore, on the average, there are seven to eight persons in one house.

[131] For the large area that the Karajá inhabit (about 800 kilometers in length), the population is thus very small. It is indeed possible that it was once larger, though the huge figures
162 of earlier reports seem greatly exaggerated. The small number
164 of youths and maidens is striking. Perhaps maidens were kept hidden from me; perhaps, however, very many young persons were in fact victims of the measles epidemic which, according to statements by the Indians, raged terribly among the young people in 1906 or 1907 (1). For the present, no retrogression is

1. In 1908 very good health conditions seemed to prevail among the Karajá. It was only in the village on the mouth of the Tapirapé that many small children were suffering from a kind of whooping cough. From July to the end of October, as far as I know, only one child and two old men died. I did not observe any births, but obviously several were imminent in a short time.

163 to be seen. The number of children seems appropriate for the
589 conditions, about three children to a family. There were a few
581 middle-aged bachelors; their influence on the male youth is not good. They preach the ideal of bachelorhood, which the young try to emulate, and all the more since, with marriage, they are obliged to undertake hard daily work (fishing, laying out plantings). More than one told me that he did not want to marry, because then he would have to work so much. The parents seem to work against this, however.

175 If we look more closely at the relationship of the south
167 horde to the north horde, it seems that the south horde originated only within the course of the last hundred years. The Karajá thus seem to be in the process of migrating to the south. We have the following information about the dwelling sites of the Karajá:

/190 cont./

175 In 1772 José Machado meets Karajá, apparently on Bananal
167 Island. In 1773 Fonseca visits the Karajá north of the southern tip
[162] of Bananal; they occupied nine villages with 9,000 inhabitants, three villages of which belonged to the Šavajé.

175 Transplantings to the south, into aldeamendos, took place
167 from 1782 on. In this year 700 Karajá were transplanted to São
648 José de Mossamedes near Goyaz, where they gradually perished.
[164] In 1786 Carretão was founded for Chavánte and Šavajé; most of
[165] the Indians succumbed to a measles epidemic, and the survivors were taken to Salinas in 1788, where they likewise gradually perished. A removal of the Indians to the south near these "cen-
[131] ters of civilization" did not take place at that time, however, for in 1792 Souza Villa Real, when he traveled downstream from the Rio Vermelho out of the Araguay, did not find any Indians as
[484] far as the south end of Bananal. It was only at the beginning of the nineteenth century that the Karajá seem to have come to Salinas occasionally to visit their fellow tribesmen settled there. Thus, Silva Souza reports that between 1809 and /191/ 1812 they came to Salinas in order to submit peaceably, but that they moved back to their villages on the river as a result of a dispute; unfortunately, it is not said where these villages were. Cunha
[439] Mattos reports in 1824 that the Karajá at times came to Salinas
[172] in order to buy iron implements there (1). These conditions

1. Rev. trim. 37, p. 363.

lasted for many decades, for Castelnau reports in 1844 that the Karajá occasionally came from the Araguaya to Salinas, in part to visit their fellow tribesmen, in part to plunder the plantations
175 of the Brazilians (2). He himself did not come across any villages
131
36

2. Vol. 1, pp. 372, 377, 383.

from the mouth of the Rio Crixá to the southern end of Bananal, but reports that the fixed settlements start only after the division, and, to be sure, on the western arm, and that up to the Rio das

/191 cont./

175 Mortes there are three villages, the first of which lies 38 leagues,
131 the second 30 leagues, and the third directly above the Rio das
361 Mortes (3). Rufino, too, in 1846/47 found Karajá villages (nine)

3. Vol. 1, p. 395; Vol. 2, p. 114.

only along Bananal Island, the most southerly of which lay nine
175 days below the southern end of Bananal. In 1863 Couto de
167 Magalhães made a new attempt to settle Chavánte and Karajá
648 in a village near Salinas, in order to introduce them to civiliza-
361 tion here. It was this settlement, in connection with the further advance of Brazilian civilization toward the west, that seems to have led the Karajá to settle south of Bananal Island. Thus, Moraes Jardim and Spinola in 1880 mention the first village of the Karajá from the south as near São José, then a second village at the mouth of the Rio Crixá. There follow 18 villages on Bananal, beginning on the Lago dos Chavántes and with a village
[162] near Santa Maria at the end. These 21 villages were said to have about 600 inhabitants.

175 Ehrenreich mentions the following villages in 1888: Between
361 Leopoldina and the Rio Crixá a camp with a few tents was found.
[162] Near Schischá there was a village of about 30 persons on a sand-
[721] bank. He found the ranchos near São José, which were inhabited by the Indians during the rainy season, deserted in August. There was another village on the Rio Crixá. North of the southern tip of Bananal he lists the following villages: Above the Rio das Mortes three villages, near Izabel do Morro four villages, from there to the mouth of the Tapirapé six villages, and below the Tapirapé mouth six more villages, the last of which lay isolated
[721] on the north end of Bananal. The formerly northernmost settlement near Santa Maria was, according to his account, attacked by the Kayapó in 1881 (in 1859, according to Coudreau, p. 136), destroyed, and, as a consequence, definitely given up by the
[162] Karajá. The north horde, therefore, according to him, occupied 19 villages, whereas the south horde occupied two to four villages. Cavalcanti in 1895 gives the following villages for the south horde:

/191 cont./

175 The first village on an island opposite Chicas (probably identical
361 with Schischá) with two houses, the /192/ second village on a sandbank opposite São José with four houses, another village on the mouth of the Rio Crixá under the chief Pedro Manco.

The accounts of Coudreau in 1896/97 for the south horde, about whom he reports only information given to him, are even more inexact than for the north horde. He mentions two villages
[162] for the rainy season: one near São José with eleven houses and 60 inhabitants, the other near Schischá with 17 houses and 40
[221] inhabitants. The large number of houses and inhabitants shows how the Indians gather together in a few larger villages during the rainy season. This shows, however, that the south horde was already strengthened.

361 In 1908 I myself found the first village near Leopoldina, the
[162] second near Schischá, the third above, the fourth in São José (a house occupied by Indians), the fifth on the Lago de Café, the sixth above, the seventh below the mouth of the Rio Crixá, the eighth on the Lago de Luiz Alves: altogether, 19 houses and 148 inhabitants.

173 According to stories of the Indians of the south horde, the
167 first Karajá here, those of São José, were supposed to have come
[622] from the north. The first chief who immigrated here was mǎněkōkŏ. He found the land uninhabited. When he died, the Indians continued to live here under another chief, Xavier. Among his people there was kūlĭ, the chief of village 3. kūlĭ seems to be about 60 years old. I do not know whether he was born here. At any rate, the immigration took place before his time, in other words, in about the first half of the nineteenth century. According to
[361] the Indians, šĭšá consisted of one hut 20-30 years ago; later several Indians from the north moved in. The village near Leopoldina is said to have been founded about five years ago; the people formerly lived in šǎndǎlǎbĕ (on the Rio das Mortes, or the Barreira de Izabel Velha, or near Izabel do Morro).

/192 cont./

167 In any case this summary shows that the south horde owes its
698 origin first of all probably to the establishment of the aldeamendos
[179] at Carretão and Salinas. The Indians settled there and the contact with civilization provided by it (iron tools, liquor, tobacco) soon attracted more, and this influx continued even after the aldeamendos were given up.

166 Even today this southern migration is continuing; this can be
361 definitely proved by my observations. Let us consider first the shifts within the two hordes during the summer of 1908.

In the case of the north horde I met 13 occupied villages with 71 houses on my journey downstream, and in addition 14 deserted village sites with about 40 houses and four migratory villages, two of which were traveling north, two south. On the upstream journey the situation was as follows: there were 13 inhabited villages with 63 houses. The difference in comparison with the villages of the downstream trip lay in the fact that two villages had been given up, two were newly founded, and five had been moved. Four villages were migrating, three to the north and one to the south. There were still ten abandoned village sites with about 25 houses.

If we take the Rio Tapirapé as the point of separation, there were: /Plates 39 and 40 appear here/

/193/

	below:	above:
on the downstream trip...	6 villages, 1 migratory village,	7 villages, 3 migratory villages,
on the upstream trip...	4 (1) villages, 3 migratory villages,	9 villages, 1 migratory village.

[13]

1. In March 1909 Kissenberth came across these same four villages, as well as one migratory village, below the Tapirapé. Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, 1909, Vol. 41, p. 967.

[Text Continues on p. 70]

5: Krause--68 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9

Karajá chief's hut. Entrance partly covered.

5: Krause--69 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9

1. Simple closed hut. Karajá.

2. Framework of a double closed hut.

3. Mixed type: short hut. Karajá.

4. Mixed type: long hut. Savajé in Schischá.

/193 cont./

166 Therefore a slight shift to the south has taken place. It should
361 also be mentioned that in September of 1908 Chief Cyriáki detached himself from Cadete and moved to the village at the mouth of the Tapirapé, that is, the next one to the south (2). There were

2. Kissenberth mentions the first village above the mouth of the Tapirapé as Cyriáki's village.

two migrations from the north to the south horde, but only for the purpose of visits or trade. A few persons, however, seemed to wish to remain permanently with the south horde.

In the south horde the same villages were again found in October as in June. On the downstream trip eight villages with 19 houses and five abandoned villages with eleven houses were observed, on the upstream trip the same eight villages with 20
[463] houses, but two villages had been shifted and two branches had withdrawn (boatbuilders of the second and third village who had completed their work); moreover, three deserted villages with six houses were to be seen (3).

3. On the reason for the abandonment of the villages, see below under "House and Village" /see pp. 85 - 87/.

162 The increase in houses by one is attributable to the immigra-
166 tion of Šavajé, for on the upstream journey there were five male
361 and eleven female Šavajé in Schischá. Besides that, however, the number has shifted further: on the downstream trip I counted 70 men and 61 women, on the upstream trip 70 men and 78 women; thus, with the Šavajé, the increase from June to October amounted to five men and 28 women, or 33 persons. This increase is to be traced back, in addition to immigration by the Šavajé, to that from the north horde.

/193 cont./

162 Thus, the migration southward seems to continue to this day,
166 and it seems to have affected the Šavajé as well. Apparently the south horde has a bit of Šavajé blood in it, which is noticeable above all in the taller build. Today only about one-fifth of the Karajá live south of Bananal; the majority still live in the north horde, but we have seen that in it, too, a trend toward the south is making itself noticeable (4).

[361] 4. A migration from the south horde to the north horde took place long ago: people emigrated from Schischá and settled on the Corrego; this is the village of José (six men, eight women).

174 Whether this migration to the south is a continuation of an older migration which brought the Karajá to the Araguaya I should like to leave undecided. As is well known, Ehrenreich pointed out many similarities between the Karajá and the Indians of Guiana.
171 Without wishing to pursue these cultural connections further at present, I should like to state, from a comparison of Karajá and Kayapó culture, that the Karajá show very many cultural traits related to the Kayapó, but also harbor a large percentage of foreign /194/ elements that seem to point to the north or northwest. It will remain for later investigations to pursue these cul-
194 tural problems further. The present-day distribution of the Karajá,
13 their confinement to the river valley in a narrow band beyond 8 1/2
648 degrees of latitude in the midst of hostile tribes, especially those
[101] of the Ges /Ge/ family, seems to point to the fact that the Karajá migrated up the Araguaya from the north, breaking up the tribes
648 living here. So far the Karajá have not yet come to an amicable relationship with the neighboring tribes. Efforts to bring this about
[997] were undertaken at Conceição by the mission, but they failed after initial success (1).

[115] 1. The reports, for which I am indebted to a Brazilian near Santa Maria, that the Kayapó and Šambioá meet annually at a particular place on

/194 cont./

648 [115] 1. (cont.)
the river in order to make exchanges, and that there is now a Karajá boy among the Kayapó and a Kayapó boy among the Karajá for the purpose of learning the other language and later using it at home, probably refer to these efforts.

[721] The feuds, therefore, continue to this day, and even today women and children are abducted by both sides. Thus, the Šambioá are in constant strife with the Kayapó, the Karajá with [729] the Tapirapé, and the Šavajé with the Canoeiros. Among the [548] Šambioá Ehrenreich found many Kayapó women who are used as prostitutes by the tribe. The same is true of the Tapirapé women among the Karajá. In 1908 their number was small: in the south horde there was one girl, in the north horde three women, a girl, 177 and two boys. These Tapirapé seem not to have exerted any cultural, linguistic, or physical influence, whereas the cultural influence of the Tapirapé on the Karajá in former times must have been very strong, especially at the mouth of the Tapirapé, there was a great number of objects which were not seen in any other Karajá village and which appeared to be foreign.

3. House and Village.

342 The house (hãtõ) is built in different ways, depending on the season of the year (dry season, rainy season).

[335] The framework of the dry-season house consists of three arches, one behind the other, each made out of two sticks tied together at the top with bast. Palm fronds serve as covering: the pinnae are bent over to one side; two such fronds are then placed one on top of the other and tied together at the ribs. These fronds are then fastened to the arches from below in such a way that the upper ones cover the lower ones somewhat. The ridge is not finished off; it is not specially covered. About 15 centimeters below the ridge, on either side, a pole is tied parallel to it on the leaf covering (see Pl. 39). These simple huts are about three meters long, two meters wide, and one and a half meters high.

/194 cont./

342 I myself did not see the rainy-season huts. In October /195/ (beginning of the rainy season) the Karajá occupied, on the sand-banks, a hut form differing from the dry-season type; according to their statements, they build their houses on the high banks from November to March in the same way as this transitional type. The chief difference in contrast to the dry-season house is that the two open narrow sides are each closed off by a round structure projecting out about one meter, in each of which a small opening permits entrance (Pl. 40, Ill. 1). The manner in which the round structures are built is shown in Ill. 2 of Plate 40. They are covered in the same way as the rest of the house. Apparently they serve to prevent rain from entering from the side.

[335] By far the majority of these closed huts showed a second difference: they were once again as long; the framework thus consisted of six arches (1). The long houses, /Ill. 18 appears here/

[113] 1. Such long huts with a low entrance on the front side are already mentioned by Villa Souza Real in 1792 from among the Šambioá. Rev. trim., Vol. 11, p. 430.

closed on both sides, naturally afford far greater protection from rain and at the same time to a greater number of persons than, say, two short huts (Pl. 32, Ill. 1).

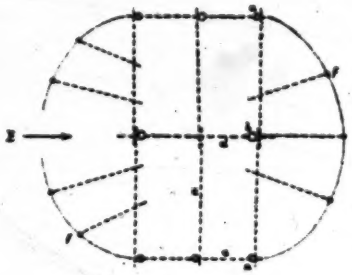
The entrances are fashioned differently: at the beginning and end of the rainy season, only two-thirds of the rounding is covered on the side, and the last third is left free as an entrance (Pl. 39); at the time of the heavy rains, however, the entire rounding is covered, except for a low entrance in the center (Pl. 32, Ill. 2). In the transition periods all possible variations occur: short house with a round structure, long house open on both sides, etc.

342 184 177 In the southernmost villages, near Schischá and São José, there were houses which deviated considerably from this method of construction; they represented a mixed type from the building method of the Šavajé and Brazilians. They look very rancho-like.

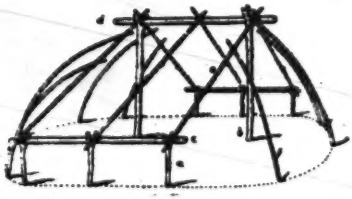
[335] The side walls are formed by three vertical posts about one meter

/195 cont. /

342 high, in the forks of each of which rests a longitudinal beam.
184 In the center of each of the two narrow sides stands a post about
177 three meters high; a ridge beam is laid across the two of them.
335 In most cases a second longitudinal beam at half the height also connects them. From the ridge beam to the side longitudinal beam three rafters run down on either side. /196/ The entrances are closed by round structures. The covering corresponds to that



a Side uprights
b Ridge uprights
c Side supporting beam
d Ridge beam
e Rafters
f Rounding sticks



Ill. 18.
Ground plan and framework of the short hut of the mixed type. Karajá.

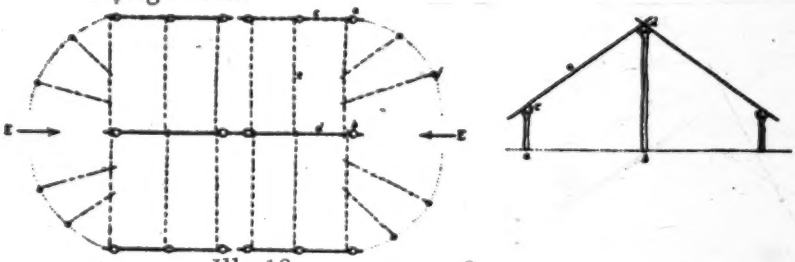
of the other houses. This therefore produces vertical walls, and wall and roof are separate from each other (framework and
342 ground plan, Ill. 18; covered house, Pl. 40, Ill. 3). Sometimes
184 double houses are built in this way. Such huts are considerably
177 higher and roomier, and the round structures project out farther, up to two meters (Ill. 19). /Ills. 19 and 20 appear here./ These houses were originally taken over from the Šavajé; one can, however, easily trace how the Šavajé house changed here under Brazilian influence into this mixed house.

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 76]

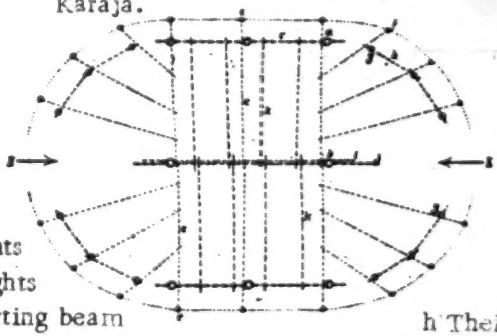
/196 cont./

342
184
[177]

a Side uprights
b Ridge uprights
c Side supporting beam
d Ridge beam
e Rafters
f Rounding sticks



Ill. 19.
Ground plan and cross-section of the long hut of the mixed type. Karajá.



a Side uprights
b Ridge uprights
c Side supporting beam
d Ridge beam
e Rafters
f Rounding sticks
g Rounding uprights

h Their crossbeams
i Middle longitudinal beam at half the height
k Crossbeam for the floor

Ill. 20.
Ground plan and cross-section of the house of the Šavajé on Bananal.

/196 cont./

342 The unaffected Šavajé house is shown in the ground plan and
335 cross-section in Ill. 20. Characteristic are: two ridge uprights, over them the ridge beam, a second longitudinal beam at two-thirds of the height; three side uprights on either side, and over them /197/ side crossbeams. The rafters are led down from the ridge beam over the side crossbeams to the floor and fastened to the floor itself. The roundings are each supported by six low uprights, the three of each of the two sets are connected by cross-beams over which the rounding's roof-beams run down to the ground from the first and third arch. Thus, sides and rounding are supported from the inside by uprights with crossbeams. The entrances are in the roundings. These houses are 20-25 meters long, 12-15 meters wide, 3-4 meters high.

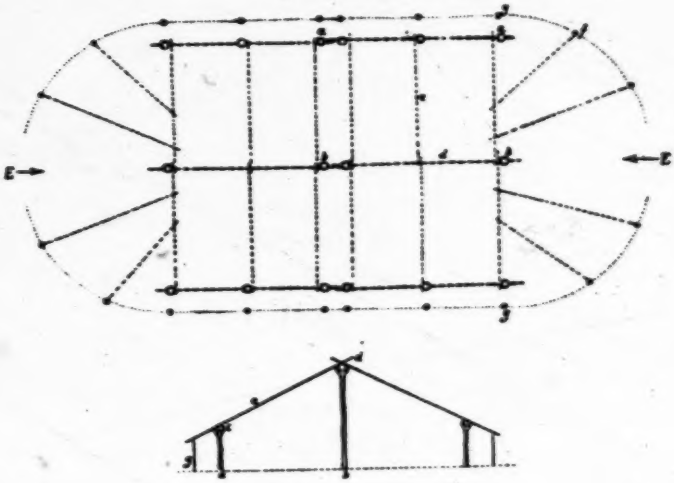
342 In Schischá at the end of October I came across the house
335 of an immigrant Šavajé family; it was already altered (ground
177 plan and cross-section, Ill. 21; covered, Pl. 40, Ill. 4). First of all it was a double house; its layout was identical with that of the Karajá house (Ill. 19). The difference was /Ill. 21 appears here/ that in front of each of the side support-beams a low, free-standing wall post had been rammed into the ground; to these wall posts, which were not connected by crossbeams, the wall covering was fastened. Thus, the separation into roof and wall had already occurred here; the wall supports were retained, and they became side support-beams. With regard to the round structures the layout is already simpler in Karajá fashion. In the mixed houses of the Karajá, these wall posts have disappeared; the covering is fastened to the side support-beams themselves. Thus, we have here before us the process of the development of the Šavajé house into the rancho; one need only omit the round structures in order to have a genuine Brazilian rancho structure. I actually saw such a house among the boatbuilders of Schischá on my downstream journey.

162 /198/ The assumption that the inhabitants of the southern-most villages of the south horde are mixed with Šavajé (see above: "Size" and "Number" /see pp. 46 and 67/) thereby gains additional support.

/198 cont./

342
184
177

a Side uprights
b Ridge uprights
c Side supporting beam
d Ridge beam
e Rafters
f Rounding sticks
g Wall supports



Ill. 21.
Ground plan and cross-section of the long hut of the mixed type. Šavajé in Schischá.

[335] [341] That this influence actually acted in this way, and that these houses are not, say, ranchos taken over from the Brazilians and simply provided with round structures, is first of all shown by the example of the Šavaje, who are acquainted with the ridge beam and upright construction, and then by the fact that the mask houses of the Karajá of the south horde and those of the Šavajé have a ridge beam which is fastened at the top to the three arches. If we add, as is shown in Ill. 3 in Ehrenreich, "Beiträge," p. 13, that the houses of the Šambioá resemble those of the Šavajé, then the huts

/198 cont./

342 of the Karajá seem to us an impoverished form; significantly,
184 the ridge beam is preserved only in the mask house. The
177 mixed houses are thus of Indian origin, though, as far as the separation of wall and roof is concerned, with Brazilian influence.

342 Interior arrangement. The houses are very nicely cool, and the covering, if, as in the rainy season, it is more carefully made,
352 is rainproof. The floor is covered with large mats. These buriti-
[513]

[531]

Ill. 22.
Patterned sleeping mat for girls. Karajá.

fiber mats (bũlẽ) serve as sitting and sleeping mats. On one of their long sides the fibers protrude as long fringe. My largest mat is four meters long and 1.70 meters wide. Smaller mats, which are patterned by black bast-strips plaited in, are rare (Ill. 22, girls' sleeping mat).

352 The sleeping areas are very simply furnished. To sleep, one
513 stretches out on the floor on a mat and covers himself with the other half of the mat or the rĩĩõ (see below /see p. 93 /). Sometimes the legs are drawn up in the side position, the one end of the rĩĩõ put over the feet and the other over the head, so that the entire body is protected from dew and mosquitoes. I did not see wooden cylinders as neck supports, which Ehrenreich mentioned. It is very possible that they have these, for they like to put the head high when sleeping.

/198 cont./

513 head high when sleeping. When they sleep in the open in the sand, they hollow out a pit for their bodies, put a mat over it and themselves on top of that, but in such a way that the head lies on the elevated edge of the pit; they cover themselves with the rest of the mat. It is very agreeable to sleep in this fashion, /199/ as I discovered for myself. In contrast to this, however, I also saw them lying flat on the level floor in the houses, without elevating their heads at all.

293 For fanning cool air and to drive away mosquitoes during the midday rest, plaited, patterned fans (kõlĩ; Pl. 21, Ill. 2) made of palm leaves are used.

352 532 [600] Seats are provided only for chiefs. They are the stool in animal form carved out of one piece of wood: the seat runs out on either side into a head that bears mother-of-pearl eyes with wax pupils; tassels of red-yellow parrot feathers are hung in the ear holes. The mother-of-pearl eyes are cut round on a stone and then glued on with wax. Finally, the entire stool is colored black with genipap coloring, which is applied with the palm of the hand. These stools are called kõlĩšũ, the feather tassels kõlĩšũlã bẽdõsĩ. The stools are said to represent an arara (Pl. 19, Ill. 1a and b).

516 Ordinarily the Indians sit on the mats with their legs crossed under them, hand on hip, or they squat on the ground (Pl. 12, Ill. 1; Pl. 38, Ill. 1).

353 Usually no arrangement for the storing of ornaments, articles of clothing, implements, and weapons is found in the huts. Small things are stuck into the roof /Ill. 23 appears here/ or hung on [411] the posts. Bows, arrows, and lances usually lie along the side walls on the floor or lean in a corner. For the rest, baskets, gourd [415] vessels, and pots hang, stand, and lie around everywhere in the house, some of them filled with other household equipment. In [352] only two houses, in Village 6 and in Schischã, did I see along the wall stands made out of two forked sticks on which bows and arrows were placed (Ill. 23). They, too, seem to go back to Šavajé influence, for the Šavajé in Schischã used such stands.

/199 cont./

417 Outside the houses, on the other hand, there are special storage racks (ǒdēdŭ). They consist of four forked sticks about one and a quarter meters high, which are set up in the form of a square and joined together by two crossbeams and many longitudi-
[251] nal beams. On these racks lie supplies of all kinds, manioc roots, unused implements and weapons kept on hand, as well as raw materials of all kinds; hung on them are gourds and baskets full
[287] of maize and feathers; the bast aprons of the women are also often hung here to dry (Ill. 24).

[225] For drying the lines used to fish for turtles, special racks made of two long vertical poles joined at the top by a cross-pole are used. The line, hanging far down, is hung on this to dry (Ill. 25).

Ill. 23.
Arrow-stand in the house.

[824] /200/ Fresh gourds are stuck on sticks to dry; near each house one sees groups of such staked gourds. Later, they are preferably stored by tying a whole number together on a stake (Ill. 26a and b).

354 Other household equipment is lacking. The hearth is outside
184 the house, in contrast to the Šavajé, among whom it is located in the round structures (see "Food" /see pp. 165 ff./); it was only in the modified houses in Schischá at the end of October that cooking was also done in the house. /Ills. 24 and 25 appear here./

364 House and environs are not very clean: food remains such as fish bones, nut shells, and bones, as well as wood, tools, etc., lie about everywhere. While it is dangerous just to come near the
[136] villages and houses with bare feet, the vast number of flies and other insects that gather in masses on the refuse is an obstacle to remaining outside the houses.

/200 cont./

000 to remaining outside the houses. In addition, there are the sand flies,
136 /Ill. 26 appears here/ which, according to Ehrenreich, become so
361 rampant that the Indians are forced to change their place of residence often (see below under "Village" /see p. 85 /).

417

[225]

Ill. 24.
Storage rack. Drawn from a photograph.

Ill. 25.
Rack for drying the turtle fishlines.

[824]

a b

Ill. 26.
a) Drying gourds.
b) Storing gourds.

514 There are no privies. To attend to their needs, the Indians go to a depression in the sandbank, behind the nearest bush, or into the woods. To clean themselves they use three small sticks which they break from a bush and then place parallel over the excrement. The urubus, which
[136] live in great numbers near the settlements, quickly take care of cleaning the place. In order to piss the men go to the river. Here they go into

/200 cont./

514 water about 5/4 meters deep with their knees slightly bent and there untie the long penis string and tie it on again.

342 The houses are merely living and sleeping houses; cooking
[252] is done outside.

The chiefs in part have better built, larger houses; thus,
[622] /Plate 41 appears here/ /201/ the one belonging to Chief João III was three to four meters high, five to six meters wide, and equally long (Pl. 39).

[344] There are no meeting houses; in order to bring about a de-
[203] cision or announce regulations, the chief goes to the individual
[622] houses.

Other special houses are:

343 1. Birth houses. These are erected for the woman when birth
844 is imminent; their construction is said to be identical with that of the other houses.

346 2. The mask house in which the dance masks are kept. It always stands apart from the village and in its method of construction is a dry-season house with a round structure on the narrow side turned toward the village. The arches are usually slightly curved and strengthened on top by a ridge beam (Pl. 12, Ill. 3). The mask houses serve as bachelor houses; the young people are said to sleep here. I saw only four mask huts, but cannot confirm
513 these statements from my observations. In any case, the young people do not sleep in the houses, but rather, if there is no mask house,
[609] by a fire which is away from the village. Strangers are given shelter by the chief; they sleep in his house, even though they are unmarried (see the reception which I, with my men, found among the Šavajé /pp. 129 ff. in the first part of the work, which is omitted in the translation/).

342 The house belongs to the woman. The man builds it before
423 the marriage, with the assistance of the young people, who are
562 paid for it by the woman with chains of beads. The construction
768 takes one or two days. After death the house is said to be burned.

821 According to the accounts of the Indians, the houses are protected from bolts of lightning by a fish spine stuck on the roof on a pole about half a meter long. Probably only magic is involved here.

[Text continues on p. 84]

Plate 41

133
231
291
342

1. Shade roof, mat wall behind it.

133
342
361

2. Unfinished village: mat-wall camp beside newly built hut.

/201 cont./

342 The chief's house is a communal structure. It is built by all
476 the married men, while the activity of the young people is limited
437 to cutting out and tying together the leaves for the roofing. The chief pays for this with arrows, lances, and clubs.

342 Besides these houses there are lighter protective walls (1),

1. Fonseca already mentioned these protective walls in 1773: The tents consist of two mats, one of which serves as a rug, the other as protection from the sun. Rev. trim. 8, p. 378.

a type of wind screen, in the shade of which the family usually remains during the day, and where the cooking is done. On journeys they serve as the sole dwelling, and in the village as drying racks for the aprons of the women.

There are various kinds of such protective walls.

[829] 1. Walls: Walls of palm leaves are fastened to several vertical poles in the same way as for the house covering (nõbŏ), or mats are tied to them, forming a vertical wall (bŭlĕ). Such walls are encountered in almost all the houses, and they are usually fastened to three poles; also, however, walls of this kind which are twice as [252] long occur. In their /202/ shade is usually found the hearth for cooking, and in front of them lie mats on which the family remains during the day (Pl. 12, Ill. 1; Pl. 41, Ill. 1).

2. Roofs (wãdŏ): They are horizontally fastened to several poles put at the edge, usually to four, sometimes to three or six poles. Only mats are used here, and they are tied on with ropes. The mats usually fall down to the ground on the sunny side. Sometimes a protective roof of this kind is also built at one end of a mat wall (Pl. 41, Ill. 1; Pl. 10, Ill. 1). /Ills. 27 and 28 appear here./

361 The village (ĩsŏ).

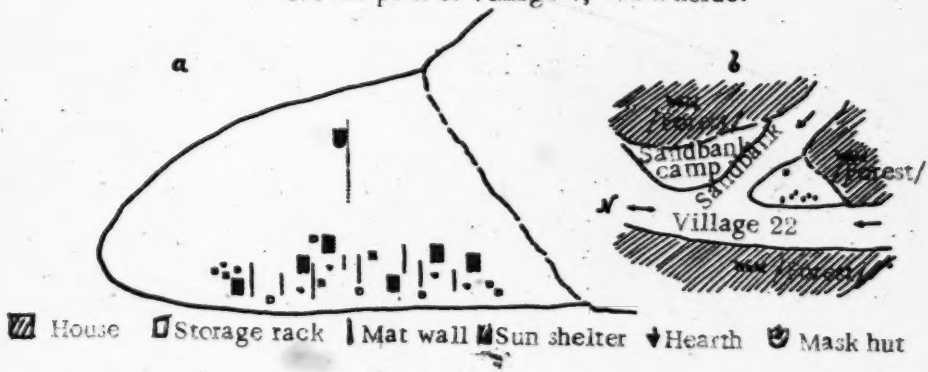
Ehrenreich says that the houses of the Carayahi usually consist of mat walls and stand in wild confusion, without any order. Only the Šambioá were said to have a street-like arrangement of the houses. This arrangement in rows that run parallel to the shore is also present

/202 cont./

361 among the Karajá, though the multitude of mat walls and storage racks makes an over-all view difficult. In general, the arrangement is such that in the first row from the shore with the boats stand the supply racks, /203/ in the second the mat walls with the hearths for cooking, and in the third, up on the dry sand, the dwellings Pl. 11, Ill. 2). Exact rows, however, are not observed, but rather

Ill. 27.

Ground plan of Village 7, south horde.



Ill. 28.

Ground plan of Village 22, north horde.

one house is sometimes built somewhat farther forward than another. Nevertheless, one has the impression of a row. I drew ground plans of all the villages; as particularly typical I should like to speak of the one for Village 22 (second northernmost village; Ill. 28) and Village 7 (south horde; Ill. 27).

/203 cont./

361 The houses in general are oriented in such a way that one long side faces northwest, north, or northeast, thus providing shade.

[592] [340] Each house is occupied by only one family; to each house there generally belongs a mat wall, a supply stand, and one or two hearth areas.

[346] The mask hut lies away from the village, at a distance of about 200 meters.

621 The villages of the Karajá are small; many consisted of only one or two houses, the largest of eight huts (1). Ehrenreich be-

1. Rufino has already reported that the villages of the Karajá have only eight to ten huts on the average. Rev. trim. 10, p. 208.

lieves that this dispersion must be traced back to a lack of means [511] of subsistence. This is scarcely to be assumed, since there is sufficient food, especially fish. In my opinion, it is conditioned first [578] by the many disputes that seem to prevail among the families of [571] the Karajá and lead to the departure of some of them, and then by the prevalence of personal attitudes concerning the feeling of sociability; many families live permanently isolated in one place because they happen to like it there.

It is noteworthy that the villages decrease in size from north [166] to south. This may be explained by the direction of migration of the Karajá: the bulk of them still live in the north; toward the south, the first to be sent are advance groups, which, of course, are small in number.

361 484 On journeys the Karajá pitch camps of mat roofs or walls, in the shade and shelter of which they live and sleep. The walls are, of course, oriented in such a way that they provide as much shade as possible and as long as possible; hence they usually stand approximately from west to east, and likewise arranged in rows (Pl. 13, Ill. 1). If a village is moved, the Indians live under mat walls until the houses are erected (Pl. 41, Ill. 2).

221 361 The villages do not remain permanently in one place. During the dry season, the Indians live on the sandbanks of the river, which,

/203 cont./

22 361 in their dryness and cleanliness, are ideal dwelling sites. In the course of the dry season and within a certain area, they migrate from sandbank to sandbank as each of them becomes exposed by the river, so that in this way they always have fresh, unspoiled, clean dwelling-sites. With the beginning of the rainy season the villages are moved back again to the higher initial sandbanks and finally to the high banks of the river (2).

2. This explains the many abandoned villages that one comes across everywhere.

/204/ These rainy-season villages, lying up on the campo, are often far from the river; in the case of the north horde, they lie in part in mountains and are therefore difficult to find. This and the practice that several dry-season villages live together in a campo village probably explain the small number of Karajá villages mentioned by Coudreau.

361 356 If the villages are permanently abandoned, the houses, the poles of the mat walls and storage racks, the roasting grates, hearths, etc. are left standing; they very quickly disintegrate. Villages abandoned for a short time (for example, during trading expeditions) are made secure by closing the entrances of the houses with leaf walls. All the household equipment, such as pots, baskets, etc., is piled up at the sides and covered with large mats. In front of the houses, manioc stalks, tied in bundles of five or six pieces, are usually planted in the sand. Palm fronds are stuck into the ground all around for protection, and the whole is then tied together. For the rest, wild disorder prevails in such abandoned villages. Large pots lie about upside down, often protecting smaller ones underneath. Mortars, gourd vessels, and scraps of baskets lie about [829] here and there, and everywhere there are large heaps of manioc remains, nut shells, turtle shells, and finally urucú fruits, without which no journey can be undertaken (see greeting painting /see pp.100 -104/).

/204 cont./

4. Clothing.

291 Clothing of the men. The male sex wears but little clothing. While children and boys go about completely naked, the youths and men wear the penis and hip cord as their only clothing.

[283] The penis cord (nötěkàná, nõõdăkăn; from nõõ = penis, wăděkàná = belt) is a long, red (1), sometimes also black cotton

1. All three specimens in Ehrenreich's collection are black.

string which is wound roll-like around the foreskin drawn forward over the glans. The penis is thereby pushed back and takes on a spherical appearance, so that the scrotum looks like three balls with a small roll standing obliquely upright (Pl. 36; 38; 43).

[834] The cord is put on at the age of nine or ten, in other words, at the beginning of puberty, and, according to the unanimous statements of the Indians, it has the purpose of hiding the glans from the eyes of the women. Perhaps however, this is a secondary

Ill. 29.
Cotton belt of the smallest girls.

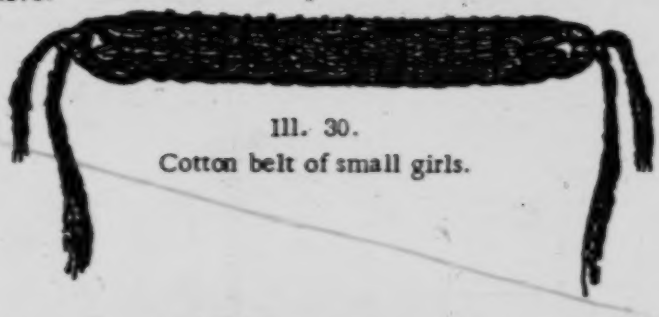
feeling of modesty originating from the constant covering for the purpose of protection.

In combination with the penis cord, the older youths /205/ and the men wear the hip cord (ĕtŭ), whereas children, boys, and younger people do not put it on. Not all men, however, wear it, or perhaps not always. This seems to be left to the discretion of the individual (Pls. 36-38, 43-44).

/205 cont./

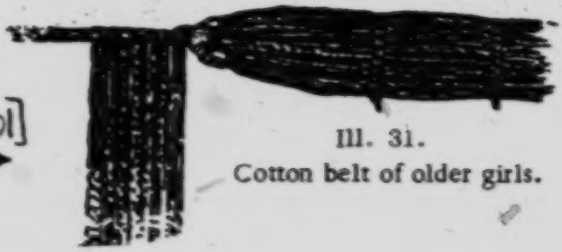
291 It consists of a red cotton string one to two meters long and
[283] from 0.2-0.3 centimeters wide, which is either twisted out of two threads or plaited with four edges.

Whether it was connected in any way with the penis cord in former times could no longer be determined. From a second name for it, nõhõmõdĩ (from nõõ = penis), one might perhaps
[114] conclude this. In any case, Königswald's statement (Globus, Vol. 94, p. 223) that it serves as a penis support is not conclusive.



Ill. 30.
Cotton belt of small girls.

[301]



Ill. 31.
Cotton belt of older girls.

Ill. 32.
Youth with bast band. Drawn from a photograph.

On the other hand, it sometimes serves for fastening small
[412] implements to it. Knives are commonly stuck through it at the back; one man shoved a piece of tobacco given to him, out of lack of a pocket, simply under the hip cord at the small of his back.

/205 cont./

291 Clothing of the women. In contrast to the male sex, the
283 female one is clothed from youth onward, and, to be sure, in childhood with belts of black cotton (wãdakana). The older the girl becomes, the tighter and stronger the belt that is worn. The smallest children wear only a couple of black strings wrapped around horizontally, which are joined by a cross-thread, and the ends of which are knotted in front so that /206/ the fringes hang down in a small bundle (Ill. 29). Smaller girls from two to five years old wear loosely interlaced belts likewise tied in front.
[284] The horizontal threads of the plaiting are knotted looplike at the ends, and into this loop are tied other cotton threads which serve to tie the belt together and at the same time form the bundle of fringe /Ills. 33-36 appear here/ /207/ (Ill. 30; Pl. 11, Ill. 4). Older girls from about five to ten years old already wear more tightly plaited belts, on which separate tie strands are likewise knotted in the loops; but from these strands separate bunches of fringe hang down (Ill. 31). From then until puberty the girls wear tightly and strongly plaited cotton belts. The tie strands are drawn through the two loops, but bear no fringe. In-
[287] stead, a gray tree-bast apron is drawn through the belt, which hangs down in front, is pulled between the legs, and is again fastened to the belt in the back (Pl. 18; Pl. 51, Ill. 2).

291 With the onset of maturity, the female sex dons bands made
287 of the bast of the gameleira. There are three kinds of such bands:
[824]
1. of red bast from a long-leafed tree (ãmbũõdã),
2. of reddish bast (ãndãhũlẽ or ĩnaùdù),
3. of white bast, from a round-leaved tree (hĩdẽũlẽ), the Apeiba jangada, according to Ehrenreich.

These bands are made in the following way: with an edged stone the men cut the outer bark from pieces of trees hewed to the desired length. Later the bast is slit open lengthwise, peeled off, and soaked. Then it is folded together by the women, laid on an inverted mortar, and pounded with a flat rubble stone or an old stone ax.

[Text continues on p. 92]

293
[285]

Ill. 33.
Eye-shade made of palm leaves.

Ill. 34.
Manner of wearing the eye-shade. Drawn from a photograph.

293

293
285

Ill. 35.
Open cylindrical hat:
a) from the side;
b) from below.

Ill. 36.
Ring-shaped eye-shade: a) from above; b) from the side.

/207 cont./

291 The bands are worn in the following manner: one end is held against the small of the back, then the band is wound around the body and the long end is twisted with the short end; in this way the belt is secured. The long end is drawn between the legs and twisted into a roll and is then drawn in its full width from below through the belt in front and falls down over it in front. This end is now worn either hanging down to the knee or to the ground, or else it is again drawn between the legs, this time, however, in its full width, and is pulled up in back, a procedure which is used particularly when the women wish to sit down (Pl. 12, Ill. 4; Pl. 16; 17; 42).

292 Besides this clothing worn constantly, there are a few articles of clothing worn only temporarily for special purposes. These are the following:

293 The eye-shade (ō(ō)dĭ, ōdjĭ). It is worn only by the male sex.
[287] The original form of this protection is probably to be seen in the bast band (Ill. 32) which the Indians sometimes wrapped around their hair (in cases of death, in sickness). The true eye-shade
[824] consists of an oaguassu /babassu/ palm leaf, the pinnae of which are plaited together. In the simplest form, the ends of these
292 pinnae jut out free at the top (Ills. 33 and 34). This eye-shade
293 has passed through a development up to the complete hat: the
285 upper pinnae ends are likewise plaited, and to be sure, into a cylinder open at the top (Ill. 35). Among the Šambioá, Ehrenreich observed such a cylindrical hat (taă), which was already /208/ closed at the top by plaiting (Berlin 3904). This final form was not represented among the Karajá; on the other hand, they had two other forms: first, a ring-shaped, wide-brimmed eye-shade plaited out of bast, with a stiff brim and a chin cord (Ill. 36), and then regular hats of plaited bast strips which are sewed together spirally (Pl. 43, Ill. 3). The method of plaiting these
[117] strips is purely Indian, but the shape of the hats probably goes back to Brazilian influence, as the name (šăpēo, Braz. chapeo)
292 shows. These eye-shades and hats are worn as a protection from
293 the sun and only by married men; I only rarely saw any, however.

/208 cont./

292 The net covering [rĩ(ĩ)ỏ̃, rĩũ̃], on the other hand, is worn by both sexes at all ages. It is knotted of cotton threads and has the shape of a hammock, the two ends of which are each tied together, but lack the cords for hanging it up. The net coverings of the Karajá are of a solid color; the original white color gradually becomes a dirty yellowish-brown with use. Patterned coverings come from the Šavajé or Tapirapé. They are worn for protection against mosquitoes, against sunburn, against the dew of the night, whether the Indians stand, lie, or sit. The manner of wearing them differs: either one end is pulled over the head so that the covering falls down the back (Pl. 12, Ill. 1), or the covering is wrapped around the shoulders so that the two ends fall down in front (Pl. 9, Ill. 1; Pl. 42, Ill. 1). At night they serve
[513] as coverings: the feet of the drawn-up legs, in the side or back position, are stuck into one end, the head into the other end, so that the covering protects the body lying beneath it from mosquitoes and dew. Thus, they are not used as an underlayer, as Ehrenreich
[854] says, but as coverings. Small net coverings hung on strings as
[114] cradles for infants, such as Ehrenreich mentions, I did not see anywhere, despite the fact that I visited almost all the huts (1).

1. See, however, Šavajé, small net covering /see pp. 314 -315/.

[287] Small plaited mats of bast are worn by pregnant women before and after birth, and, to be sure, in such a way that they are wrapped around the body from the back and held together in front with the hands (Pl. 42, Ills. 2, 3). They serve as a protection against wind and rain. Above all, women with nursing babies take such mats with them when they go out, so as to be able to protect the child and themselves to some extent in a sudden downpour.

834 I should like to add a very few words here about the Indians' feeling of modesty. As far as the men are concerned, I should
[197] like to refer to my remarks above about the purpose of the penis cord /see p. 88/; the question is, however, whether the explanation given by the Indians does not go back to Brazilian influence.

/208 cont./

834 explanation given by the Indians does not go back to Brazilian influence. Women never removed or changed their bands in our presence, and small girls from whom I bought belts stepped behind the nearest mat wall, in order to put on a new one there before /Pl. 42 appears here/ /209/ they brought me the belt that they had been wearing. Thus, there seems to be a certain feeling of modesty corresponding to ours. Concerning the peculiar modesty about eating in front of strangers, see under "Eating" /see p. 172 /.

5. Ornamentation.

A. Ornamentation on the Body Itself.

302 a) Hair style and care. The head hair is worn by the female sex in a simple style that remains much the same throughout life, whereas the male sex prefers different hair styles according to age.

Small girls wear their hair hanging down to the neck at the sides and in back, while in front it reaches halfway down the forehead or to the eyebrows (Pl. 11, Ill. 4). At the onset of maturity, the girls have a parting about two fingers wide cut out, extending up in the center from the forehead to the /Ill. 37 appears here/ top of the head and usually painted red. The crown hair, which bounds it at the upper end, is shortened to a tuft. At the sides and in back, adults let the hair grow long (Pl. 17; 42). Older women no longer renew the parting, but comb over it so that it is seldom to be seen.

The hair style of the male sex is more elaborately worked out. Children either have the same hair style as girls, or their hair is cut in steps from the sides toward the back (Ill. 37), or they wear the well-known bowl cut (Pl. 11, Ill. 4; Pl. 12, Ill. 2). For the boys, the back hair is shortened several times. When the boy is bigger, about eight to ten years old, all of the hair is cut short to half a centimeter, except for a wreath of hair of uniform length left standing all around ((ĭ)djūlĕ, Pl. 43, Ill. 2). No clarity was to be obtained as to whether this cutting is done only once or whether this hair style is fashioned anew annually with the

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 96]

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291
292
302
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854

1. Women's clothing and hair style.

2. Karajá women and children.

3. Karajá women and children.

/209 cont./

302 beginning of the dry season; the statements of the Indians about it varied. There were also boys with close-cropped hair who had no wreath of hair. Perhaps the explanation is that the first time (or the first times) the head is shorn quite smooth, while with the last cutting the wreath of hair is left standing. During this time almost all the boys are painted completely black. From [304] then on they let the hair grow until it reaches down to the eyes in front and to the shoulders in back; then the boys are declared grown-up and are given the tribal tattooing. Youths cut off the front hair over the eyebrows; the side and back hair reaches down about halfway to the shoulder blades. The wreath of hair, however, is still kept under the long hair. They, too, like the maidens, wear the red-colored /210/ parting (lāwōlŭ, lāŭlŭ) and the crown tuft (lāzĭ) (Pl. 43, Ill. 1; Pl. 44, Ill. 1).

Ill. 37.
Boy with stepped hair.

The long dangling hair, annoying while rowing, fishing, and walking through the forest, is tied together in various ways. Either the side hair is knotted over the forehead on either side, or /Ill. 38 appears here/ it is tied together with bast into a little braid over the forehead (hŏsĭdŏdănă). The back hair is often tied together in the back into a tuft in which clusters of [237] feathers are sometimes knotted (Ill. 38). Such a cluster of feathers (wăšĭwăšĭdĕlōhĭ) consists of seven little sticks with red feathers, which are fastened as a tassel to a twisted cotton string and from which long colorful parrot feathers hang down at the bottom (Pl. 45, Ill. 2). Usually, however, it is twisted into a braid (lăŏdŭă), which is either plaited round with narrow yellow bast (Pl. 15, Ills. 1 and 2) or wrapped from top to bottom in a thick red cotton string (Pl. 15, Ill. 4 a, b). This cotton string (lăŏdūĕzŏ) consists of two separate strings, each of which has a tassel at the end; these tassels hang out from the wrapping at the upper end of the braid. With this type of hair style, which is not, as Ehrenreich assumes, restricted merely to dandies, but is now worn quite generally by the young people, the hair wreath shows very nicely.

/210 cont./

302 Men sometimes wear the bowl cut, but usually they have the same hair style as the youths, except that they do not tie their hair, but let it hang freely. Among them, too, the wreath of hair can still be seen under the long hair. In later years no value is any longer attached to the parting and the crown tuft (Pl. 17; Pl. 36, Ill. 1; Pl. 43, Ill. 3).

Ill. 38.
Youth with tuft feather-cluster and hair wreath.

The parting (lāwōlŭ), which both sexes wear from puberty on, is achieved through the plucking out of the individual hairs. In the [184] south horde it is narrow, so that at first I did not even notice it; in the north horde, on the other hand, it is about two fingers wide. Young people almost always paint it with red color, whereas older ones do not wear this ornamentation. The crown tuft always goes with it.

The hair wreath is restricted to the male sex from boyhood on; women do not have it.

[412] [237] The cutting of the hair is now done with shears. According to Ehrenreich, they formerly cut it with piranha teeth. To my questions as to how they cut their hair before they had shears, they always told me that in those days they did not cut it, because they did not have any shears. Thus, the former custom has completely vanished from their memory. The hair that was cut off was thrown away, as I myself observed. The purpose of the long hair, they say, is for protection against mosquitoes.

[765] /211/ For mourning they are said to cut off the hair, and the women, too, are said to cut themselves a hair wreath called nākŭlāŭ (?). I did not observe this custom, however, in Kabisá's family, which was in deep mourning.

The hair is very carefully tended. In the morning and evening it is combed out and oiled. Before they start on a journey, when they return to the village from hunting, fishing, or from the plantings, their hair is combed out for them by the mother, wife, or another female relative. When they arrive in a strange village on a visit, the chief's wife combs and oils their hair.

/211 cont./

visit, the chief's wife combs and oils their hair.

412 303 The combs (zĭhŏ) consist of flat, sharpened splinters of palm wood, more rarely of taquara, which, with the flat sides laid on one another, are held together by two pairs of little sticks, one of which is fastened at the upper edge and the other at one-third of the height from the points. These splinters are interlaced with cotton threads in patterns. On either side two or three splinters project a bit above the upper edge. These extensions often bear bunches of feathers or red-colored cotton tassels and are usually connected with one another by a suspension thread. On the outer

415 531

Ill. 39 a, b.
Gourd vessels for hair oil.

412 303 side of these lateral splinters, between the two cross-sticks, several intersecting threads are often stretched. The combs are always one-sided; only in the village on the Tapirapé mouth did I acquire a double-sided comb (Pl. 21, Ill. 1e). The shapes of the combs may be traced back to three basic types: a simple rectangular comb, wide combs with small curved lateral rods and converging teeth, and finally trapeze-shaped combs (Pl. 21, Ill. 1 a-d).

303 824 415 531 The hair oil (tālĭ) is made from the seeds of palm fruits. The fruits of the coceiro (āhăděrĕ), as well as of the tucum palm (hālŭ), were mentioned. The oil is stored in special whole gourd-vessels (tālĭlŭkŭ), which are usually decorated with large designs made by peeling off the upper layer of the gourd rind (Ill. 39 a, b). Tufts of raw cotton are tossed into these oil-filled gourd vessels and now become saturated with oil. They

/211 cont./

303 are tossed in until there is no longer any liquid oil. For use, a
[302] tuft is pulled out, squeezed out between the hands, and the oil is rubbed into the hair, on the skin of the body, mixed with pigments, etc. The tuft is again tossed into the gourd vessel.

302 b) Body hair. The beard growth is little developed. When a
[142] small hair appears, it is plucked out. Cheek and chin hair allegedly does not grow at all among them; some, however, have short, faint /212/ mustache hairs. Since they find them ugly, however (they compared our mustaches with the long barbs of the
[535] pirarara), they pluck them out. On the other hand, they are supposed to wear artificial beards of human hair in the cascudo dance, according to their statements. The mustache-like beard is placed between the lower lip and the chin, pulled up toward the ears, and fastened in back of the head with strings (1).

[113] 1. See Jahrbuch des Museums für Völkerkunde zu Leipzig, Vol. 3, 1910, p. 114.

Eye hair. Eyebrows and lashes are removed, and, to be sure, pulled out with the fingers. For this purpose, the fingers are first dipped in ashes, probably so that they will not slip off the smooth hair. This plucking is said to be very painful; it is undertaken even in the case of small children and repeated when the hair has grown in again. As a reason for it they could only say that they did not want this hair to grow. Why they do not want this, they could not explain.

142 The rest of the body hair is usually only slightly developed.
302 The fine hairs of the skin were scarcely to be seen. Underarm hair, too, was only slightly developed; its removal is left to the discretion of the individual. The pubic hair was heavily developed; it was not removed, as far as I could see, at least among the men.

302 c) Body painting. For body painting, red, black, and white color is used.

/212 cont. /

386 The red color is obtained from the seeds of the fruit of the
824 urucú bush. There are many different varieties, which produce a more or less intense red color, in part also inclining to yellow. Treasured above all is the kind with round seeds (wōlĕlŏnĭ), whereas the kind with long seeds is not esteemed very highly (wōlĕnŏ). The kind with round seeds grows particularly in the
[438] region north of the Tapirapé mouth; it is obtained here in large quantities by the Indians and further traded to the Indians south of the Tapirapé mouth, especially to those of the south horde. The
386 dyestuff is produced from the seeds in the following manner. The many small seeds contained in the beechnut-like fruits are removed, some palm oil is put in the hands, and then the seeds are rubbed between the oiled hands until all the dyestuff on the shells of the seeds has come off. In this way an oil color is produced, which is scraped off the hand with a knife, or stick and is put in a gourd vessel. The rubbed seeds are thrown away. In this fresh state the oil color is immediately ready for use. For
[438] trading, it is boiled in oil (thickened), then put into solid forms, and dried in the sun (Ill. 40 a, b).

[824] For the black color either soot, which is scraped from the charred trees of the plantings or from the cooking pots, or the blue-black juice of the genipap fruit [b(ă)dēnă] is used. This juice is mixed in small spoon-like gourd vessels or in larger, carved half-gourds /Pls. 43 and 44 appear here/ /213/ (Ill. 41 a, b); at first it is light, but soon after it is applied to the skin, under the influence of the air, it becomes a handsome black-blue color.

A white earth (mănāŭlă) is used as a white color. I never
302 observed white body /Ills. 40 and 41 appear here/ painting, to be sure. The small clay dolls, however, bear white patterning, and the Indians told me that with this color they paint rings around their arms, as well as transverse stripes on their chests.

302 The fingers serve as paint brushes, the flat hand for full body
413 painting. /Ill. 42 appears here./ I never observed sticks or rags for applying the colors. On the other hand, for the genipap patterning a stamp (ūlĭnŏ) consisting of two sticks of cane lashed together, the cut surfaces of which are cut to form two semicircles, is popularly used. These semicircles are now placed together to form

[Text Continues on P. 103]

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1. Youth in typical attire.

2. Boy with close-cropped hair and hair-wreath.

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3. Karajá men with straw hat and tobacco pipe.

5: Krause--102 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9

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Plate 44

1. Karajá youths.

2. Karajá youth and boy.

/213 cont./

386
[438]
[415]

Ill. 40.a, b.
Urucú oil-color in trade packaging.

Ill. 41.a, b.
Color bowls.

302 a serpentine line (bū̃ltĩ; according to Kuriši,
413 however, naũěkiělãzĩ = ostrich crown-tuft). These stamps are usually only one-sided (Ill. 42a); only once did I come across a two-sided stamp, which at one end bore the serpentine line, at the other two semi-circles, one above the other (Ill. 42b). The boy in Ill. 2 on Plate 38 is painted with the serpentine-line stamp.

302 In the painting we distinguish between full painting and patterning.

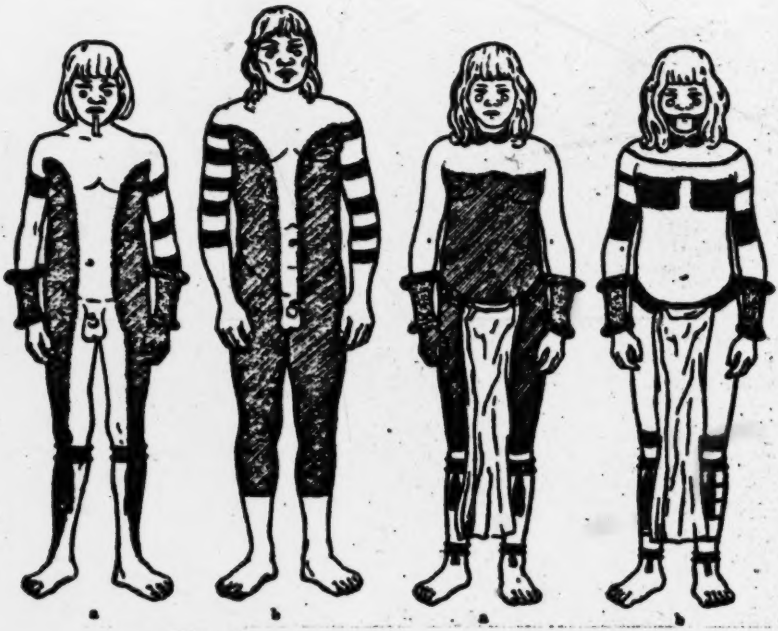
[291] The full painting "is their suit of clothes" (Kuriši's statement); "it protects them from mosquitoes just as their suit does for the Christians" (Mauzĩ's statement).

The patterning, on the other hand, is executed only for special occasions. It is a kind of festive ornamentation. For
[609] receiving strangers, for example, the villagers paint themselves with red and black designs; the arriving strangers also paint themselves before they /214/ enter the village, even if they only draw a black eye-band from ear to ear with soot scraped from the charred Campo trees.

Ill. 42 a, b.
Genipap stamps.

/214 cont./

302 from ear to ear with soot scraped from the charred campo trees.
[535] For dance festivities the men and youths are painted by the women. In general, this patterning is their ornamentation,
[226] their festive clothing. Mothers often painted their sons when the latter were to set out with us on a fishing expedition.



Ill. 43.
Boy (a) and man (b) with full patterning.

Ill. 44.
Two girls with full patterning.

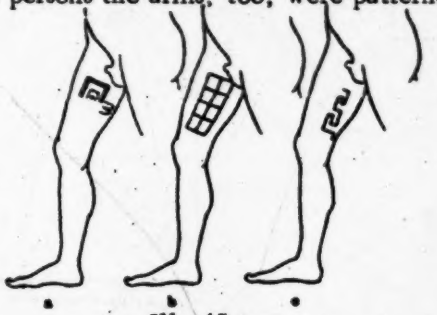
[965] For mourning, the entire body, even the face, is said to be provided with genipap painting. I did not see this custom, however, in the case of Kabisá's family.

There are no differences in the painting between the two sexes, except that perhaps the men, who have more to do out in the open than the women, who essentially remain in the village and in the houses, wear the full painting more than the women. The patterns themselves are the same for both sexes, except that the men like a somewhat more extensive patterning.

/214 cont./

307 [832] The painting of the body is done with red or black color, and, to be sure, the red color is for the most part restricted to men and youths, the black to boys and girls, for black is generally the color of youth (see "Cotton Ornaments" /see p. 123/). Only once was there seen a woman painted entirely red.

/215/ Patterns that extend over the entire body are relatively rare. In Ill. 43 a, b the boy and the man have almost the same patterning: both sides of the body from the armpits to halfway down the calves are painted black, while only a long middle strip in the front and back is left free. The boy in Ill. 2 on Plate 38 is patterned all over with the genipap stamp. Another boy was decorated over his whole body by means of lines intersecting at right angles, which had been drawn with a four-tined fork. In the case of all these persons the arms, too, were patterned. Fully patterned persons of the female sex were rare; the maiden on Plate 16 displayed the most beautiful decoration. One girl was painted black from the breast down to the knee, and her right hand was colored as well; in the case of another, only the bosom, arms, and legs were painted (Ill. 44 a, b).



Ill. 45 a-c.
Thigh patterning.

Individual parts of the body are seldom decorated and then mostly in connection with the full patterning. The decoration on the arms and thighs generally consists of black or red rings which run around the extremities (Ill. 43, 44). Only on the thighs, and, to be sure, mostly on the inner side, more rarely on the outer side, are there separate designs, the meaning of which unfortunately could not be ascertained (Ill. 45). I did not see decorated hands, of which Ehrenreich reproduces a fine example; only one boy and one girl each had a hand painted black.

More important than the body patterning is the painting of the face; if a person has himself painted, the face comes first and only then the remaining parts of the body. Characteristic

/215 cont./

302 for the Karajá is a cross-band that runs from ear to ear over the eyes, is cut off at the top across the forehead, and the lower edge of which often takes a curved course below the tribal tattooing (Ill. 46 a, b). This cross-band is usually painted on with urucú color, rarely with soot or genipap. This type of painting is customary for both sexes. Some deviations could be observed; both were encountered in the south horde. Once the nose was left blank (Ill. 46c); another time a red cross-band ran over the tribal tattooing, below the black cross-band that was cut off at the eyes (Ill. 46d).

Isolated painting of the nose is only rare. One maiden wore a red triangle painted over the nose, another a red angle which /216/ /Ills. 46 and 47 appear here/ rose from the left jaw to the root of the nose and then ran down to the right jaw (Ill. 47 a, b). Both paintings were encountered in the south horde. In connection with other facial painting, there occurred, likewise only twice, a vertical black stroke that ran from the tip of the nose upward over the forehead to the hair, and which in one case was intersected by small cross-strokes (Ills. 50 and 48d). /Ill. 48 appears here./

/217/ Frequently, the lower face was decorated, namely, mouth, cheeks, and chin, and, to be sure, generally only with black color. The simplest of these decorations is a black bordering around the mouth (Ill. 48a). This is further developed in two directions: first, horizontally from the corners of the mouth across the cheeks are drawn two or four cross-strokes which occasionally may also form a black band in which a zigzag line is left blank (Ill. 48 b-d); then lines running vertically downward are drawn from the corners of the mouth (Ill. 48e). In most cases, both types are combined, so that angles, the points of which are turned toward the corners of the mouth, are formed on the cheeks. The sides of these angles are often multiple (Ill. 48 f, g). Another type of decoration is a black rectangle on the chin, which is usually found in combination with cheek cross-strokes or cheek angles (Ill. 49 a-d).

[Text continues on p. 108]

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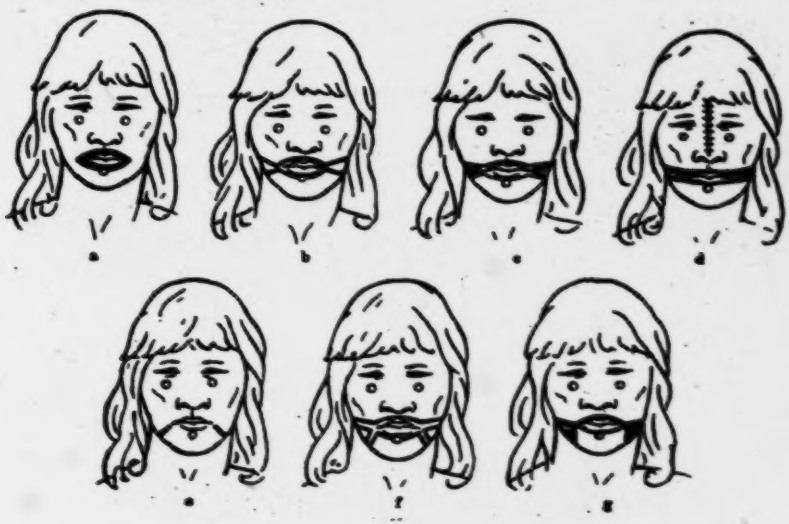
Ill. 46 a-d.
Tribal painting of the Karajá. Eye cross-band.

Ill. 47 a, b.
Nose painting.



Ill. 48 a-g.
Lower-face painting.

/217 cont./

302 In general, either only the upper face or merely the lower face is decorated, and a combination of both decorations occurs only occasionally (see Ill. 50).

304 d) Tattooing. For scarifying the skin, the scarifier (lădji)
[239] is used, a piece of gourd shell into which, close to the upper edge, a row of small fish-teeth (kŭlădjŭ, allegedly dogfish) is set, which is held in place in back by a narrow pad of wax (Ill. 51). This specimen corresponds to one brought back by Ehrenreich (Berlin 3953c), whereas in the case of his other two, the entire back side is covered with a thick layer of wax; I never saw scarifiers of this type among the Karajá, but certainly among the Šavajé (see

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Ill. 49 a-d.
Chin painting.

304 there /see p. 315/). The skin on the arms and thighs is scratched with these scarifiers; I was unfortunately never able to observe the process itself (in this connection see Ehrenreich, "Beiträge," p. 33).

I saw decorative scars only once, namely, on my rower Antonio. They consisted of several ridges running across the chest. These incisions are made with the tooth of the dogfish (cachorra) and rubbed with soot and water, so that they remain visible for a long time. The operation must be done early in the morning by a single man; other onlookers, above all women, may not be present. The wounds are said to heal well, but /218/ a great deal of blood is said to flow in the process. The number of incisions is indefinite. The bearer of such an incision is called wōlĭ (1).

[191] 1. Cunha Mattos reports on this same custom

/218 cont./

304 [171]

1. (cont.)
from among the Cherentes (Rev. trim. 38, p. 23), although he does not give full credence to his informant.

[302]

Ill. 50.
Full facial painting.

Ill. 51.
Scarifier.

Ill. 52.
a) Tattooing stamp with cross-section and circular surface in natural size.
b) Tattooing knife of stone, natural size.

[554] Concerning such decorative scars Kurisí told me that only a person who had killed an enemy was permitted to have such incisions made across the chest and back.

Tattooing. We distinguish between two types of tattooing: tribal and chief's tattooing.

/218 cont./

304 [619] The tribal tattooing, which is characteristic of both sexes, consists of two small blue-black circles about 1.2 centimeters in diameter on /Ills. 50-52 appear here/ the cheeks below the eyes (Pl. 14; 16). As the name for this there was given: ŏdĕmăḷūḷi, ŏdĕmăḷiḷŭ, ŏdemărĭni. The tattooing is executed in the following manner: With a /219/ stamp (wălĭŏnă = tobacco pipe) made of aruera wood (kūwăŏ) the circular line is pressed into the cheek with a slight turn of the sharp, circular edge of the stamp (Ill. 52a), so that it remains visible for a long time (1).

1. Ehrenreich brought back a stamp made of the stem of a bottle gourd (tĕšiā, Berlin 3913).

Ill. 53.
Chief's tattooing. a) man. b) woman.

Any splinter of a smashed flint stone, which is newly made each time, serves as a knife. It is not further worked, but rather one simply selects a pointed, sharp splinter (Ill. 52b shows four such stone splinters smashed by the Indians and said to be suitable). With these stone knives (mănādjŭ = stone tooth), the circle is now cut out about two millimeters wide, the wound washed out with a wet cotton cloth, and then genipa juice is rubbed in, which soon takes on a blue-black coloring. Allegedly the wound is supposed to heal in two days without festering, but in the case of Mauzí, on whom the tattooing had been cut only recently, I noticed that the upper edges of the circle were slightly swollen. When the tattooing is still new, it is deep, has sharp edges, and has a very dark color. With age it forms a scar, gradually becomes entirely flat, and the color disappears. In a village of the north horde I also observed a man with red-colored tattooing.

[881] The tattooing is incised with the onset of puberty, namely, between the ages of 12 and 14. I occasionally, however, found

/219 cont./

304 the two circles drawn with black color on small children. In
881 the case of boys, the time is determined according to when, after the last cropping, the hair reaches down to the tip of the nose in front and to the shoulders in back.

304 The tattooing is done by special persons who own stamps
463 and stone knives and are called wairãdu. There was only one such person in the south horde (in Village 6), whereas in the north horde there were several (for example, Ilk in Village 13). They are paid for this operation. No ceremonies of any kind are said to take place, and the children are not always tattooed together, but also singly on occasion, whenever one happens to be able to get hold of the master.

304 The chief's tattooing, which is characteristic of chiefs
[622] and their wives, consists of vertical black strokes between the lower lip and the lower edge of the face, which are arranged side by side in one or sometimes also in two lines, one above the other (Ill. 53 a, b). According to Kurišĭ, this tattooing is supposed to be peculiar to women. Even girls are said to have such lines of blue dots on the chin, which is supposed to be regarded as very beautiful. I never observed this last phenomenon, however.

515 /220/ e) Body care. The Indians bathe a great deal; usually they take a bath early in the morning, and even during the day they plunge into the water whenever they feel like it, in most cases probably to cool off by means of the subsequent evaporation of the water in drying.

515 Two plant products serve as soap in washing: first, a
824 bark (ũãbãkã = sabão do matto), from which one scrapes off a
388 little, /Ills. 54-57 appear here/, rubs this in water, and washes himself with the lather thus produced; then there is a tree bast (doũ) which is also used as soap for cleansing.

302 The rubbing of the body, the arms, and especially the
824 hair with the fragrant resin (ãndĩlã) of the almecegeira (Hedwigia balsamifera), which is ordinarily stored in gourds, is very popular.

/220 cont./

*301

Ill. 54 a, b.
Bone lip-plugs.

Ill. 55 a-e.
Shell lip-plugs.

Ill. 56 a-c.
Shell lip-plugs.

Ill. 57.
Spirally wound
wooden lip-plug.

B. Different Ornamentation According to Sex and Age
(Distinguishing Ornamentation)

a) Lip ornaments. Such ornaments are worn only by
304 the male sex (1). The hole necessary for receiving the

1. According to Kuriš, women are also supposed to pierce a hole in the lower lip; he himself admitted, however, that he had never seen this, and I, too, never observed this phenomenon.

/220 cont./ The hole necessary for receiving the
304 ornament /221/ (idjārūlāno) is pierced in the center of the lower
[852] lip at the age of about six or seven years. This operation is per-
[237] formed with a piece of bone from the howling monkey (azodi =
[463] howling-monkey bone) and by special men, of whom there was only one in the south horde, in Village No. 7. Special ceremonies are not supposed to take place in connection with it, but the piercing seems to take place on the occasion of certain festivities.

*301 In this hole, plugs of bone, shell, wood, or stone are worn. They are regarded as the insignia of the male sex and are never removed, since, as a result of their narrow base, they are no hindrance in eating. Only a few old men sometimes had no lip plug. In barter, a few gave them up without further ado, others hesitated a bit at first and were embarrassed when they no longer had a plug stuck in the hole; generally they immediately made themselves a new one or inserted a reserve plug. The plugs are stuck through the hole from the inside and drawn out again in the same manner.

Ill. 58 a-c.
Wooden lip-plugs of the youths.

Ill. 59 a, b.
Wooden lip-plugs of older bachelors.

The lip plugs are made of different material and in different forms, according to age.

[237] The smallest boys wear plugs made from the bone of the howling monkey. These are about four to eleven centimeters long,

/221 cont./

*301 taper to a point at the bottom, and at the top have a wider end which rests against the inner side of the lower lip as a support [237] (Ill. 54 a, b). Bigger boys use plugs made of mussel shell (ĭdjĕ). The mussel used for this is the thin, two-pointed mussel (Pl. 45, Ill. 1c), which was called ĭdjĕ /Ill. 59 appears here/ or k(ă)dālă. Also, according to Pedro, lip plugs called djālāpŭ are made from the thick, triangular mussel (bŭlŭ, Pl. 45, Ill. 1a). He maintained that I had such plugs in my collection; /222/ the name was never given to me otherwise, however. Apparently a number of shell plugs are actually made out of this mussel. The plugs made out of the two-pointed shell have a mother-of-pearl sheen, are flat and narrow, rod or wedge-shaped, and usually have a wide

Ill. 60 a-d.
Wooden lip-plugs of the men.

support (Ill. 55 a-e). Plugs made out of the triangular shell on the other hand, have a white sheen and are thick, and usually taper down to a curved point or exhibit curved forms (Ill. 56 a-c; see also Pl. 12, Ill. 2).

Boys at an age just before puberty sometimes wear spirally rolled plugs made out of narrow strips of wood (ōdŭhŏ, Ill. 57).

[881] With the incising of the tribal tattooing the youths change [824] over to lip plugs of wood (ōdŭhŏ) (according to Ehrenreich, made out of the light wood of the piuva tree). At first they like to wear huge wooden lamellae. The largest specimen of my collection is 25 centimeters long by two centimeters wide (Ill. 58a); such lip plugs reach down to the chest (Pl. 43, Ill. 1). At the lower transverse edge these lamellae usually run out to a small point. The older people become, the shorter the plugs they wear; the

/222 cont./

*301 latter are sometimes cut off obliquely at the bottom (Ill. 58 b, c). Older bachelors wear plugs which do not differ essentially from those of the married men (Ill. 59 a, b). The married /Ill. 60 appears here/ men likewise wear wooden plugs which in the beginning still resemble the forms worn by the older youths, but later become ever shorter and thicker, and finally, in the case of older men (from about 50 on), consist of a button 1.8 centi-

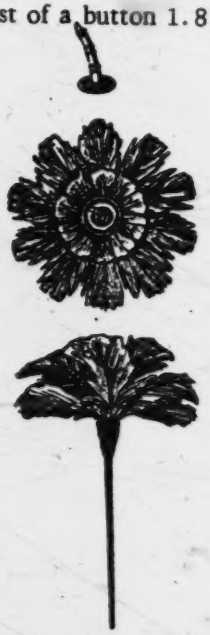
[531] ←

[237] →

Ill. 61.
Painted wooden lip-plug.

Ill. 64.
Capybara teeth in storage form.

Ill. 62.
Stone lip-plug.



Ill. 63.
Ear covering with double feather wreath.

meters in diameter, which sometimes still has a little point in front at the lower edge (Ill. 60 a-d).

[531] On special occasions painted wooden lip-plugs are said to be worn by young people; I never saw such specimens, however. In the first village, the boy Mauẓí, on the day after he had told me this, had his plug painted "as it is done farther [532] downstream" (Ill. 61). Among the wax reproductions of dance figures which I was able to acquire among the Karajá, there is the ĩnãũĩnĩ mask. This has a strip hanging down from the chin,

/222 cont./

*301 painted and covered with rolls of wax, which apparently is supposed to represent such a painted lip-plug (Pl. 45, Ill. 7).

*301 184 This sequence was precisely observed everywhere. Only in the first village near Leopoldina were deviations found. Here the boy, as /223/ has just been mentioned, wore a wooden lamella, and later a wooden button, like his older brother and the [177] father. This family was civilized; they hesitated to walk around with long plugs in front of the Brazilians. On the whole, long [152] plugs are regarded as a sign of vanity, which is why older people, for example, can never wear them without making themselves ridiculous. The young people in the first village felt too superior to their savage fellow-tribesmen to wear such ridiculous things; hence they contented themselves with the dignified button of the old people.

*301 The stone lip-plugs (mǎnǎ'dělě; mǎnǎ = stone, mǎnādĕrĕzo = [324] rock crystal) are a special kind. They are cut to shape out of quartz, rock crystal, or /Ills. 61-63 appear here/ alabaster and then smoothed so that they look as though they were polished. The mouthpiece is greatly widened; the lower end runs out into a thickening (Ill. 62). Such lip plugs are worn only by unmarried men and only at special festivities. When they marry, they give it to a young relative. Since the stone lip-plugs are very thick, the lip hole must first be enlarged. This is done by the insertion of ever thicker wooden plugs. I saw only one specimen of such a lip plug, and, to be sure, in the south horde, but could not acquire it. I learned about a second specimen /224/ in the south [439] horde only long after we had left the village. They are not made by Karajá, but by the Tapirapé, with whom the Karajá of the [438] north horde barter for them. Those of the south horde again buy [435] them from those of the north horde, the price then allegedly amounting to a canoe, an ax, a pot, and a bush knife. In other words, they are very expensive and are therefore, and because they are very fragile, cautiously handled and kept carefully [648] wrapped in cloth. At the present time, when the Karajá have a feud with the Tapirapé and are therefore no longer able to buy stone lip-plugs, their value has naturally increased many times over.

/224 cont./

*301 [304] [602] b) Ear ornaments. The hole serving to receive the ornament is made in the ear lobe, close to the inner edge; it is pierced soon after birth by the mother or a relative (uncle) with a monkey bone or tucum splinter.

Ornaments which differ according to age levels are worn in this hole by both sexes; they are not constantly worn, however, but are put on only occasionally, according to mood.

Children of both sexes, above all the smallest ones, wear the ear ornament called kŭādjŭ (= capybara tooth). A tulip of [237] colorful parrot feathers is fastened to a short, thin palm-wood stem with wax and a wrapping of cotton thread, and in its calyx-bottom there is a mother-of-pearl disk, generally 2.2 centimeters in diameter. From the center of this there rises a rodent tooth (capybara = kū(w)ǎ; according to Ehrenreich, agouti), which is usually wound round with a black cotton thread (Ill. 63).

The specimens that I brought back show certain differences. The tulip usually consists of yellow-red parrot feathers; the disk is sometimes also surrounded by an inner wreath of small, clipped red feathers. The mother-of-pearl disk sometimes bears one or more concentric wax rings. One specimen has a wax disk in place of the mother-of-pearl disk, and in the case of five others the disk is lacking entirely; the tooth rises directly out of the calyx and in one specimen is wound on its lower part with raw white cotton. Four specimens of the collection have small pendant feathers which hang down from the stick on thin string (1).

1. Ehrenreich, in addition to similar specimens, brought back another on which the disk bears a cross of black string. Perhaps it comes from the Šambioá; see the next footnote /see p. 118 /.

This ornament was worn mostly by babies and children from two to three years old, and, to be sure, constantly; among bigger children it was encountered only sporadically (Pl. 18, [435] left). It is a very precious ornament. The capybara is difficult to hunt because of its timid nature, hence the rodent teeth are

/224 cont./

*301 435 [436] very expensive, and they are all the more expensive the smaller they are. They are used as money for buying boats; one buys a boat for two such teeth. They are stored in the packing shown in Illustration 64: two long and two short teeth are tied together at the lower part with cotton threads and partly coated with wax. /Pl. 45 appears here./

*301 /225/ I obtained the gourd disk in Ill. 65 under the name of ăndŏhŏmāĩ. It is covered with four concentric wax rings, some of the interspaces of which are painted red; in the center there are three holes. Allegedly this is supposed to be a disk of an ear rosette, but I did not see such large disks elsewhere. [532] On the dance masks, however, there are large ear rosettes; perhaps it is the disk of such a mask rosette.

The mature young people of both sexes wear a slightly different ear ornament, but only occasionally, probably more as a festive ornament. It is called dŏhŏlüä (= dŏhŏ-eye; the mother-of-pearl disk in the center was also called this). A feather rosette is put on the front of a taquara stick by means of a cotton wrapping, and the middle of it is covered with a mother-of-pearl disk with a wax button in the center (1) (Ill. 66 a, b). /Ills. 65-67 appear here./

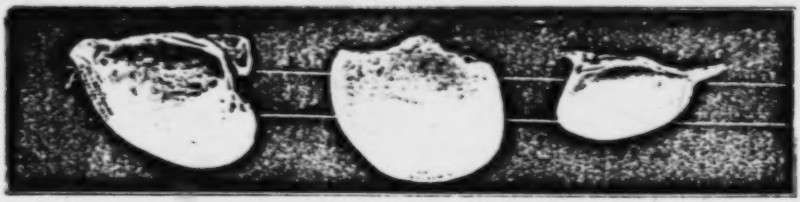
1. Ehrenreich brought back a few specimens with a wax cross on the disk. I never saw such ear rosettes. Königswald (Globus, Vol. 94, p. 219) states that these only come from the Šambioá, whereas those of the Karajá show only the wax button. My findings would agree with this. See also the previous footnote /see p. 117/ and compare in this connection the Šavajé /see pp. 315-316/.

[184]

[Text continues on p. 120]

Plate 45

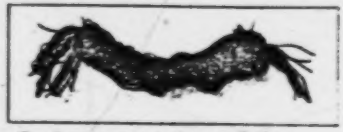
*301
[237]



1. Shells for lip plugs: a) triangular, b) mother-of-pearl, c) two-pointed.

2. Tuft feather-tassel.

4. Calf band (a) and ankle band (b) of a girl.



5. Leg wrapping of the smallest children.

3. Arm cuff of a child.

[532]
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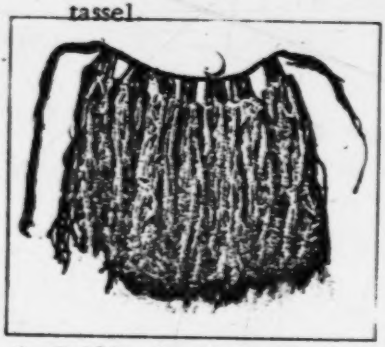
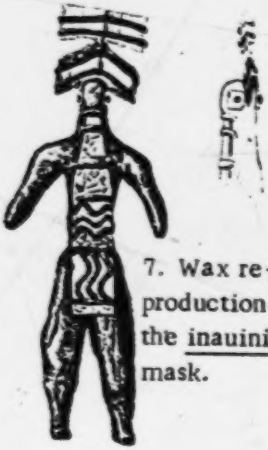


6. Calf band with tasseled string-hangings.



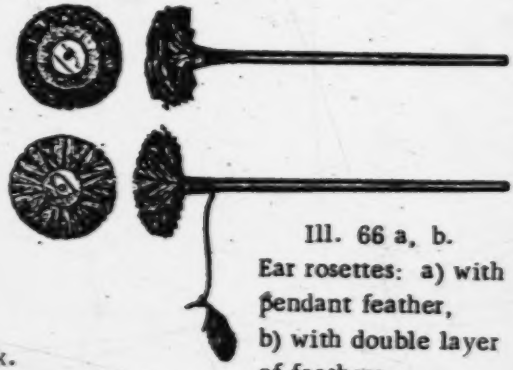
7. Wax reproduction of the inauini mask.

/225 cont./

* 301 [237] The rosette consists either of small fine red feathers or of two layers of yellow and red clipped parrot feathers, of which the outer layer is yellow and the inner layer red, or the opposite. These ear rosettes also occasionally have a small pendant feather.

Young people, as well as adults of both sexes, wear essentially simpler ornaments, namely, simple rods (dŏhŏ), which are often covered on the front part with incised decorations (Ill. 67). Here,

Ill. 65.
Decorated gourd disk.



Ill. 66 a, b.
Ear rosettes: a) with pendant feather, b) with double layer of feathers.

Ill. 67.
Carved ear-rod.

[824] too, we find differences according to age. There are three kinds of such rods: yellow, mostly carved taquara rods, reddish or brown cane rods from a variety of gibate, /226/ and black, undecorated rods of gibate (dŏhòdèbè = black rods). The unmarried youth generally [822] wears rods of yellow taquara cane and sometimes such of red or brown cane, while married persons, besides rarely occurring yellow rods, generally wear only black rods. Maidens and older bachelors, howeve also wear such black rods. Moreover, young people prefer long rods, while old people wear only short ones (Pl. 42, Ill. 1; 43, Ill. 1; 44, Ill. 2).

/226 cont./

*301 c) Arm and leg ornaments of red-colored cotton. These ornaments, consisting of arm cuffs and calf and ankle bands and worn by both sexes, are the insignia of the unmarried and are therefore worn from earliest youth until marriage and then again by widowed persons.

*301 286 The arm cuff (dẽsi) is crocheted out of cotton with the crochet hook as a long cylinder the thickened edges of which are bent outward like a rim (Pl. 45, Ill. 3; see on Pl. 16, 18; 44, Ill. 2). The upper opening is wider than the lower one. They are made by the women, and, to be sure, are crocheted over a club or a manioc pounder (according to Ehrenreich, also over a [386] special wooden cone not observed by me anywhere). When the cuffs are finished, they are colored red with urucú oil-color. *301 They may be put on and taken off; they are laid aside especially for heavy work. On the whole, they are not worn constantly, but [912] most of the time. Young men sometimes insert their knives into them from behind, so that the blade sticks out toward the elbow. If they become too tight, they are removed and new ones are made. They are ultimately removed only at marriage. There [554] is a possibility, however, that they may be put on again later, and, to be sure, in three instances: first, widowed persons wear them again; then, men may wear them again if their wives are satisfied with them and put them on for them; and, finally, the best wrestler may wear them again.

[286] Ankle bands (wãlãũ) and calf bands (dẽõbutã) are likewise crocheted out of cotton and colored red. These are narrow bands with thickened edges, which are crocheted together in front. At this closing place a long tassel of thread hangs down from both edges (Pl. 45, Ill. 4 a, b; see also Pl. 15, Ill. 1; 16; 36, Ill. 1, 43, Ill. 1). The tassels of the calf bands are often tied together in back for long marches or rapid sprints, in order not to impede the movement of the wearer (Pl. 44, Ill. 2). On the calf bands bast bindings are sometimes also tied (perhaps a sign of mourning?).

/226 cont./

*301 In the case of the ankle bands the upper edge, in the case of the calf bands the lower edge, is somewhat wider than the other one. The small circumference of the calf and ankle bands is noteworthy. In the case of a 16-year-old girl the circumference of the calf band is 24 centimeters, that of the ankle band, 17 centimeters; in the case of a young man, that of the calf band, 29 centimeters.

*301 286 Both bands are crocheted by women directly onto the leg of the wearer. The person concerned lies on a mat on the ground, the head put on /227/ a bundle; a rolled-up net covering is [602] pushed under his knees. A woman related to him crochets the bands out of white cotton thread on each leg; only after they are finished are they colored red.

The bands are put on soon after birth. If they become too tight, they are cut and replaced by new ones. In the meantime people often walk around without the bands. To cut them off, they insert a small stick between the band and the leg, so as not to injure themselves with the knife, which, because of the strong, firm netting, must be pressed quite hard to cut through it.

Boys remove their ankle bands at an early age; girls wear them constantly until marriage, when the two sexes cut off each other's calf and ankle bands. Widowed persons put the calf bands on again.

*301 [554] [622] [824] Ornamentation as a sign of rank scarcely exists; at any rate I did not see anything of the sort. Kurišĭ, however, said that chiefs' wives wear a necklace of chains made of Thevetia fruits (mālăni). The chains are arranged vertically on two threads, which are tied at the back of the neck, in such a way that the chains increase in length in front and extend down the body to the navel.

C. Other Ornamentation.

All the other ornaments are limited to unmarried persons (children and young people) and are worn only occasionally.

/227 cont./

*301 a) Cotton ornaments for the neck, hips, arms, and legs. They represent a large part of the Karajá ornaments, but are worn only occasionally, probably because of their weight. With [824] reference to color, the black ornaments for children are distinguished from the red ornaments for young people.

A narrow head-band of black cotton plaiting set with small shell disks was brought back by Ehrenreich from the Karajá [114] (Berlin 3676). I doubt that this object is really a head band. For one thing, I never saw such an ornament, and then the band seems much too long for a head band. Similar bands, on the other hand, are found as belts for girls' string aprons and as bands for the cylindrical dance-masks.

*301 283 On their necks the youths wear long red tassels (nŏhõzãzõ) on a braided string which is hung on the necklace by an eyelet in back. Two such tassels are always worn. The ornament (Ill. 68a) is very rare. In place of it children wear black strings, on each end of which there is a thick, short black tassel (nŏhõzã). Two such strings are placed one on top of the other, so that the tassels coincide, and are then folded in half so that all four tassels hang down at the bottom. The upper loops are knotted [237] and then drawn through the necklace. In the case of the neck tassels of girls, /228/ snail shells (Castalia dolabella) are often drawn over the tassels from above (Ill. 68b; Pl. 18, right).

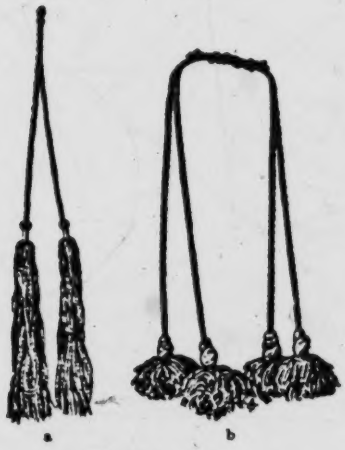
Around the hips the girls sometimes wear an apron [(g)ũŏhĩ] that falls far down and is made of black cotton strings which are plaited into a belt at the top, and this is sometimes trimmed with mother-of-pearl disks. The apron, closed, is drawn up from below over the hips. The strings fall down to the feet; in walking the thighs are visible between them. This ornament was also very rare (Ill. 69; Pl. 18). /Ills. 68 and 69 appear here./

Arms and legs correspond with regard to the type of cotton ornaments. We distinguish between three different kinds:

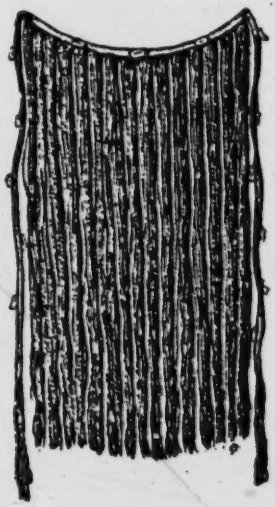
The first kind consists of long black strings, each with two tassels at one end. These strings are wound around the upper arm in the following way: first one holds the tassels against the shoulder, then wraps the upper arm beginning at the top, and leads the wrapping from the elbow upwards again, until the entire string is used up. The end is knotted, and the tassels are then allowed

/228 cont./

*301 283 to fall down over the wrapping, where they naturally always lie on the outside. This ornamentation is worn only by children. Such tassel strings for the upper arm are called dōlŭ, for the lower arm dēsidĕbĕ (though I never saw such lower-arm tassels;



Ill. 68 a, b.
Neck tassels: a) youths, red;
b) children, black.



Ill. 69.
String skirt of the girls.

Kurĭŭ merely told me about them), for the calves deobudĕ; I was unable to discover any special name for ankle tassels of this kind. The strings often have a quite enormous length: in the case of the upper-arm ornamentation (Ill. 70), the strings are 275 centimeters long, the tassels /Pl. 46 appears here/ /229/ /Ills. 70-73 appear here/ /230/ 75 centimeters; in the case of the calf strings, the strings are 210-220 centimeters long, the tassels 17-18 centimeters (Ill. 71 a, b). Ehrenreich states that soon after birth black cotton strings are tied around the lower arms and the lower leg (aǰoñrubĕ; "Beiträge," p. 11); as for black self-contained strings nine centimeters long, to which tie-strings are joined on both sides, which represent such bindings for babies, see Plate 45, Ill. 5. Bigger children, too, occasionally still wear such black calf-bands.

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 127]

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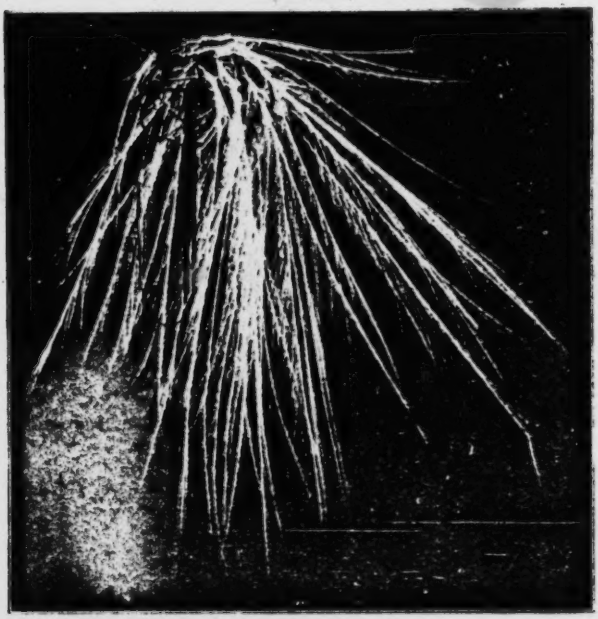
237



1. Feather cap with heron feathers.

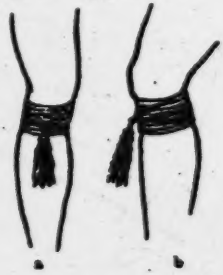
2. Firm net cap set with white down feathers.

3. Feather cap with white feathers.

*301
283

Ill. 70.
Tassel-string for upper arm.

Ill. 72.
Upper-arm band with long string-hangings.

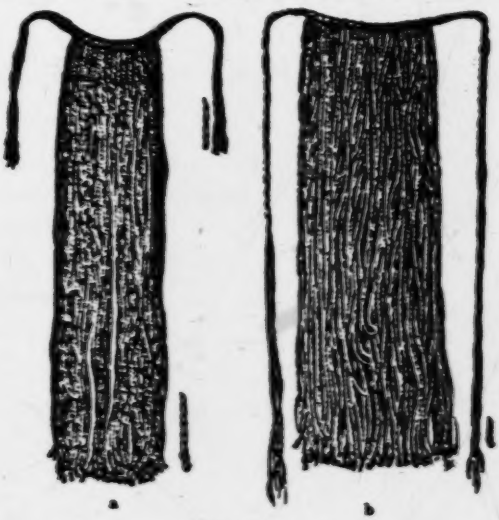


Ill. 71 a, b.
Manner of wearing the tassel-string for the legs.

Ill. 73.
Manner of wearing the calf band with string hangings.

/230 cont./

*301 283 The second kind consists of flat, plaited or tasseled bands with long string hangings. This ornamentation, too, is worn almost solely by children. For the upper arm, it is customary to wear black plaited bands (lõ]ŭ), which are so fashioned that when they are put around the arm the tassels hang down tress-like on the outer side of the arm. The hangings reach a length of up to 127 centimeters (Ill. 72). Below the calf bands, on the other hand, there are more



Ill. 74 a, b.
Double-pad bands with string hangings for the upper arm. b) Tasseled.

Ill. 75.
Double-pad band with string hangings, as calf band.

often tied the red tasseled bands [(k)ūljāŭ], the hangings of which reach a length of 16 centimeters and encircle the entire leg (Ill. 73). The hangings on the specimen in Ill. 6 of Plate 45, in which gaps have been left at regular intervals, are especially pretty.

The third kind, finally, consists of two adjacent, parallel, thick pads which are plaited together and from which long red hangings hang down. This ornamentation is generally worn by bigger children and the youth of both sexes. For the upper and lower arm these bands

/230 cont./

*301 283 are called kōdēsi, in both cases their hangings hang down only on the outer side of the arm. The lower-arm bands are worn behind the arm cuffs (dēsi). In this ornament, too, a plaiting of the upper part sometimes occurs (Ill. 74 a, b). For such calf bands, which are worn underneath the real calf bands, /231/ two names were mentioned: ūljāŭ and wŏdāĭdĭ. In this case the fringe hangs all around the leg (Ill. 75).

*301 [237] b) All other ornaments are worn only by the unmarried; married persons have no feather ornaments, whereas young people are abundantly provided with them, though they seldom wear them. The ornaments most often worn are the feather caps (boys), bead necklaces, and finger rings, as well as cotton belts with feather hangings. All other ornaments seem to be worn only occasionally for dances, festivities, etc. In between times they are carefully [415] stored in the elegant, long, covered baskets. The female youth wear only necklaces and finger rings; the girls also wear feather caps and feather arm-bands. One girl nine to eleven years old wore the following ornaments: feather cap, red ear-rosettes, black neck-tassels with snail shells, feather arm-bands behind the red cuffs, black belt with gray bast-apron over it, a long black string-skirt to go with it, and, finally, calf bands (Pl. 18).

[484] [177] On journeys my Indians had no ornaments; some of them wore Brazilian clothing, as well as lip plugs and native finger-rings. Almost all of the single ones tied a piece of fish line [184] around their ankles. It was remarkable that in the villages of the north horde located north of the Tapirapé mouth there was only a little ornamentation and feather ornaments were almost entirely lacking.

[184] The village on the Tapirapé mouth occupies a special position. All strikingly divergent forms, which will be specially discussed in the following, come from this village. I cannot decide whether this is a coincidence or whether there is Tapirapé influence here.

[237] [114] Of the feather head-ornaments mentioned by Ehrenreich, I did not see the following:

/231 cont./

*301 *237 The headdresses for the crown of the head, which consist of a rhombic plaited plate, from which rise two Cacicus feathers, each mounted on two feather-sheathed quills ("Beiträge," Ill. 8); the hindhead dance ornament lurinã (ibid., Pl. II, 2; IX, 2), which I came across only among the Šavajé in an incomplete specimen; the diadems ahetõ (ibid., Pl. IX, 5) which spread out at the top when they are tied on; the ornament õdjĩ (Pl. 48, Ill. 7) brought back by me from the village on the Tapirapé mouth is similarly constructed.

*301 114 The reasons for this lack among the Karajá may be of three kinds: either the Ehrenreich specimens come from the Šambioá, whose culture, after all, does deviate somewhat from that of the Karajá, or it is only a coincidence that the Karajá did not have these particular ornaments on hand during my presence, or, and this seems to me the most plausible, a different fashion prevailed in Ehrenreich's time. The circumstance that Ehrenreich brought back several specimens of the lurinã, whereas I did not come across any among the Karajá and only a single specimen among the Šavajé, seems /232/ to point to the fact that the ornament, formerly so common, is now no longer worn to such an extent.

*301 *237 The ordinary head ornament is represented by the feather caps (dõlĩdõlĩ). They are worn by children of both sexes; usually [284] one sees boys walking about all day in this ornament. They consist of a net, into the threads of which individual feathers or feather rosettes fastened to rods are knotted. The caps are drawn over the back of the head and fastened with a chin string (lẽrũdĩ) [287] (Ill. 76). The nets are made of fine bast fiber or thick bast plaiting. They can be turned inside out, and the chin string serves as a drawstring to close them; they are stored in this manner (Pl. 47, Ill. 1). Stiffened nets are very rare. The nets that can be turned inside out may be grouped according to two characteristics: according to the way the feathers are fastened, [284] and according to their arrangement in zones. According to the type of fastening we distinguish between two chief types: by far the greater number of them show in each case two small feathers tied to the threads (not into the knots) by means of separate threads (Ill. 77a).

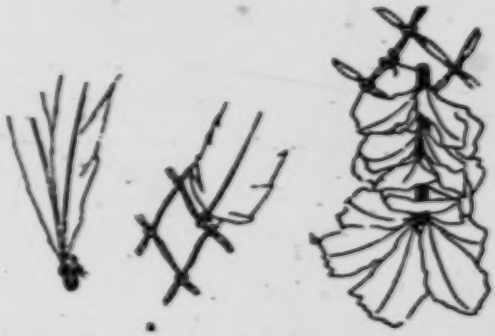
/232 cont./

*30 separate threads (Ill. 77a). A few bear in addition short or long-
*237 stemmed rosettes fastened to small rods (Ehrenreich calls this type hatukõ; Ill. 77b). Added to this there are two special types: first, bunches of long white feathers are tied on, which makes the entire cap look very bushy (Pl. 46, Ill. 3); such caps are usually worn by black-painted boys with short-cropped hair. The other, very rare exception is a cap in each of which a long white heron feather is tied (Pl. 46, Ill. 1). These feathers are laid back when worn.

According to the arrangement into zones, they are classified as follows: Nets completely covered with feathers, where no zones are distinguishable; caps with two zones, the lower of which con-

[284] →

Ill. 76.
Manner of wearing the feather cap.



Ill. 77 a, b.
Fastening of the feathers in the nets of the feather caps a) 2 feathers each, b) rosette sticks.

sists of bunches of two feathers each, the upper of long feathers (Ill. 3 in Plate 47 is an exception, the lower zone of which consists of feather rosettes, the upper of long feathers); caps with three zones, which consist either of differently colored feathers, or whose lower zone consists of small feather-rods, the middle one of small feathers, and the /Plates 47 and 48 appear here/ /233/ upper one of long feathers, or the lower one of individual feathers, the middle one of rosettes, and the upper one of long feathers (Pl. 47, Ill. 2)

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 133]

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1. Inside-out feather cap (storage form).

2. Feather cap with three zones of feathers.

3. Feather cap with two zones of feathers.

4. Feather cap with feather hoop on the lower edge.

5. Feather cylinder.

6. Feather cap with feather hoop in the upper part.

Plate 48

*301
*237

1. Feather hoop.

2. Feather hoop with simple tuft.

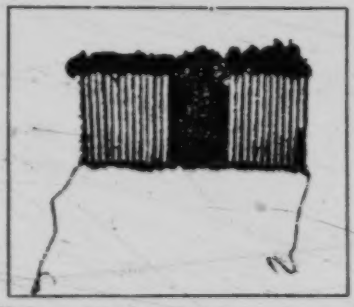
3. Feather hoop with composite tuft.

4. Head band of fine little feathers.

5. Feather diadem.

6. Head hoop with long vertical *arara feathers.*

[824]



7. Stiff cane diadem.

/233 cont./

*301 Another kind of net is made of thick bast plaiting and is
*237 covered with white down feathers (Pl. 46, Ill. 2).
287 Stiffened nets are likewise very rare. A feather hoop is attached either to the lower edge of the net or high up in the net (Pl. 47, Ills. 4, 6).

The feather cylinder in Ill. 5 on Plate 47 represents a deviation. The cylinder consists of small vertical rods which are fastened at the top and bottom to a hoop and seem to be decorated in their entire length on the outside with ascending feathers. The upper opening of the cylinder has a net stretched over it, into which are tied tufts of two small feathers each. This ornament is somewhat reminiscent of Ehrenreich's feather-rod helmet /Federstabhelm/ ("Beiträge," Pl. IX, 3), an ornamental piece that I have not seen elsewhere.

[184] It is strange that these last three types, the nets of thick bast plaiting (Village 20), the stiffened nets (Village 2), and the feather cylinder (camp near Santa Maria) occur at the two end points of the Karajá area, which are in close connection with Brazilian culture, whereas those that can be turned inside out are limited to the as yet less influenced Indian territory.

*301 Feather hoops (nătakán) consist of a cane hoop, into the string
*237 wrapping of which small feathers are tied on the outside. These little feathers, mostly yellow or red parrot-feathers, are seldom tied in one direction all around, but usually go in both directions, starting from the back; and there where the feathers meet in front a couple of longer variegated feathers are attached (Pl. 48, Ill. 1). These hoops, placed horizontally on the head, are usually worn by boys, but they were seen relatively rarely; at any rate they were not an everyday ornament, as Ehrenreich reports in 1888. Sometimes there is set on the hoop in front a feather tuft (ōdĭ), which either consists of a couple of huge arara feathers (Pl. 48, Ill. 2) or is built in very complicated fashion, as in the specimen in Ill. 3 on Plate 48: two small wooden rods are encircled by red-yellow parrot-feather rosettes and each bears at the end a long blue-yellow arara feather, which is clipped off at the top, so that the quill is left standing. This free quill piece is wound with raw cotton; red feathers with small yellow covering-feathers are attached at the ends.

/233 cont./

*30 *237 Diadems, namely, head bands with the feathers standing vertically, are ornamental pieces which occur only very rarely. There are various kinds of such diadems:

In the case of one, to a string which is tied horizontally around the head, there is fastened by means of vertical plaiting colorful feathers whose quills are usually covered with glued-on [184] white down feathers (Pl. 48, Ill. 5). My three specimens (dōlĭdŏ) all come from the village on the Tapirapé mouth; I did not see [171] any in the other villages. They are very reminiscent of the diadems of the Kayapó (see there /untranslated/).

/234/ A technically very superior ornamental piece is the small head-band (lūwjĭ) reproduced in Ill. 4 on Plate 48. On the [284] fine head-cord fine little whitish feathers with a brown border are fastened in several layers on top of one another by being tied together with several strings and gummed over with a light-colored adhesive substance. The little feathers are slightly bent outward [184] with the crowns. This unique specimen also comes from the village on the Tapirapé mouth.

In the case of another diadem (ōdjĭ), which likewise comes from this village, small vertical cane rods are fastened side by side to the head cord by a second cord that runs through the rods alternately from above and below and is joined each time to the first cord. The rods are also tightly wound with black and white cotton string, and this winding runs from one rod to another and joins them firmly together. Into the upper openings /Ill. 78 appears here/ of the rods are stuck red and yellow parrot feathers (Pl. 48, Ill. 7; Ill. 78). I saw this ornamental piece only in this one specimen. Similar to it are the diadems called ahetŏ by Ehrenreich ("Beiträge," Pl. IX, 5), in which, besides the little short feathers, long arara feathers project out of the canes, and on which the side edges are not vertical, but diverge at the top.

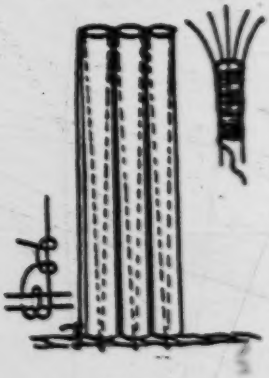
[184] I also saw the closed cane hoop (ăndādăduĭ), around which are fastened vertical, red arara feathers 55 centimeters long (Pl. 48, Ill. 6), only in the village at the Tapirapé mouth.

/234 cont./

*301 Hindhead feathers (wǎšiwǎšidelōhi) were only rarely ob-
*237 served. They consist of long feathers, several of which are usually fastened side by side to a string, and the quills of which are sometimes covered with small feathers of a different color. The string is tied around the tuft of hair, and the feathers stand up vertically (see also "tuft feathers" above under "Hair Style" /see p. 96/). Similar feathers are worn on a thread around the neck, hanging down the back from the nape of the neck (dǎzǒ-lāhědǒ).

One of the most common and most striking ornamental pieces is the hindhead wheel (lāhědǒ; Pl. 49, Ills. 2, 3). This ornamental piece is worn by the male youth at festivities, especially at the wrestling festival; between times it is stored folded in the long, covered basket. To the complete ornament belongs the following five constituent parts: the feather wheel, the bast ring, the horseshoe-shaped disk, the forehead band, and the forehead feathers.

[284]



Ill. 78.
Construction of the stiff cane diadems.

*301 The ornament is worn in the following manner (Ill. 79):
*237 The hair /235/ is tied into a tuft in back; the ends hanging down
284 are again tied up so that a thick knot of hair is produced at the back of the head. The bast ring is first placed around this knot and tied together at the bottom. Over the ring and around the knot the fan-shaped, outspread wheel is then tied. The wheel shape is achieved by the knotting of several strings which run through the feathers and emerge at the rim feathers. Further support is provided by the horseshoe-shaped disk which is placed on the middle part of the wheel and likewise tied around the knot.
*301 Thus, the wheel rests securely between pad and disk, the pad
*237 providing the necessary distance from the hair, while the disk

/235 cont./

*301 holds it spread apart. The wheel, however, is not entirely
*237 closed at the bottom; the size of the open angle varies among the individual specimens. In addition there is still the forehead band, which is placed horizontally around the head and over which the forehead feathers are tied (Pl. 49, Ill. 1).

[114] Ehrenreich did not know how this ornament was worn. He distinguished two kinds: wheels with a one-sided covering layer of small feathers, which he regarded as mantles for feather helmets, and wheels with a two-sided covering of small feathers, which were worn crosswise over the head or as

[284]

Ill. 79.
Schematic representation of the fastening of the hindhead wheel.

Ill. 80.
Schematic representation of the construction of the hindhead wheel.

a collar around the neck or as a complement to the tuft feathers. With the second and last of these four assumptions he comes closest to actuality. The one-sided or two-sided covering layer has no further significance for the way it is worn. The Indians like to conceal the lower portions of the feathers with feather layers; since both sides are visible in the case of the above-mentioned manner of wearing it, the double-sided covering layer is easily explained, whereas the one-sided covering layer, always found on the front side, is perhaps explained by the fact that on the back side the quills are covered by the disk.

[284] The feather wheels (lãhidò) consist of long feathers which are strung fan-shaped on a cord (see Ill. 8, layer c). They are, moreover, connected together by several continuous strings which emerge at the two lateral walls of the fan and, tied together, /236/ hold the wheel open. The whole is so

/236 cont./

*301 flexible that it may be folded together into a roundish cylinder,
*237 in which case the front side is on the outside; they are stored in this fashion (Pl. 50, Ill. 4). The lower parts of the feathers are covered with covering layers, of which the longer, directly supporting one (layer b) always consists of dark green feathers, while the shorter one, supporting at the top (layer a), usually consists of greenish parrot feathers. At the upper ends of the feathers of layer c smaller, little yellow or variegated parrot-feathers are
[284] attached. Either they are tied directly to the quill by a winding of cotton thread (Pl. 49, Ill. 2), or they are fastened to a small rod that runs up along the lower side of the quills of the long feathers, projects above the feathers, is here wound with raw cotton, and bears the small little feathers at the end (layer d) (Pl. 49, Ill. 3). These rods sometimes project to the same length as the long feathers above the latter. Concerning the combination of colors, see below under "Feather Technique" /see pp. 237ff./.

*301 The bast rings consist of a bast pad that is tightly wound
28 with wide bast thread. The pad is bent U-shaped; twisted bast threads are at the ends as tie-strings (Pl. 50, Ill. 3). I obtained three specimens and for each a different name: ähäwö̆, dölähünäni, äsiklörö̆.

The U-shaped disks are of two kinds: either they are made of wood (ähäwö̆; Pl. 49, Ill. 5, from the village on the Tapirapé mouth), or they consist of fine cane strips, which are laid on top of one another with the flat sides, then bent U-shaped as a whole, and interlaced with black cotton strings into a solid disk (lähidölähünäni, ähedölälin(ö); Pl. 49, Ill. 4).

In the same way, we distinguish two types of forehead bands. In one case, wide bands of gameleira bast are used, to the outer side of which are glued white down feathers (ämbülötä, idülä; Pl. 50, Ill. 2); in the other, narrow black plaited cotton bands (wölieädäkän(ä); Pl. 50, Ill. 1).

/236 cont./

*301 *237 284 The forehead feathers are tied to these forehead bands (Pl. 50, Ill. 5 a-e). These consist of a stiffened cord or rod, to which are fastened two feather rods with long black end-feathers. They are tied over the forehead band with a band in such a way that the two feather tufts project horizontally forward.

One specimen consists of a plaited cotton band, like the forehead band; a small thread, tightly wound, is set on horizontally in front. To it is fastened a rod bound with raw cotton, which forks into two parts. Each part is wound with yellow parrot feathers, out of the center of which project long black feathers (name: kŏdšŭlŭkŭ-wăd jĭŏ). In the case of another specimen, a long wound thread serves as the holder for the feather tufts, in the case of a third, even a wound rod. Perhaps two other ornamental pieces which terminate in similar tufts belong here. The one consists of a U-shaped /Plates 49 and 50 appear here/ /237/ bent cane rod whose ends are joined together with tie-strings. It is tightly wound with black cotton string and then wrapped with raw cotton. In front, two feather tufts project out of red feather rods with black end feathers. The other consists of a cane rod which is wound in two places in opposite directions with little red feathers. The center piece is free; to it are tied two little cane rods with little red-yellow feathers, which at the ends bear long red-green feathers.

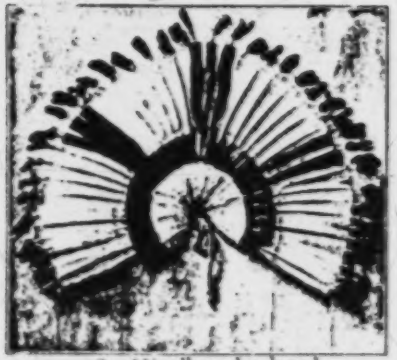
A most peculiar ornamental piece is the feather helmet (lădēnĭna, Pl. 33). Ehrenreich reproduces it in Plate IX, 5, of his "Beiträge" and calls it tatenera. His specimens are incomplete, since the mantle has no feathers and only a piece of it is covered with white down feathers. My specimen consists of a bast plaiting with red parrot feathers glued to it. White down feathers adorn the lower edge. At the top there is a circle of short vertical canes in which are inserted long red arara feathers. These canes are uncovered in my specimen, whereas in Ehrenreich's specimens, around the narrowed neck below the little canes, four feather wreaths, which in part cover the little canes, are tied one above the other at intervals of two to three fingerbreadths.

[Text continues on p. 141]

5. Krause- 139 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Carajá SP9

*301 *387

Plate 49



2. Hindhead wheel.

3. Hindhead wheel.

1. Manner of wearing the hindhead wheel.

4. Plaited disk for the hindhead wheel.

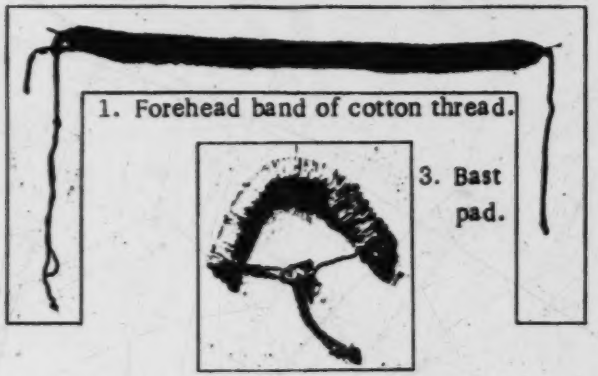
5. Wooden disk for the hindhead wheel.

*30! *231? 284

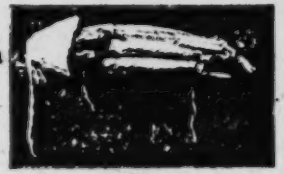
[287]

[283]

Plate 50



2. Forehead band of gameleira bast.



4. Hindhead wheel, folded up (storage form).

a b c d e

5 a-e. Forehead feathers, are tied over forehead bands (1 and 2).

/237 cont./

*301 This helmet belonged to a chief's son; it was worn with the ear pendants and necklaces shown on the same plate. The ear pendant consists of a tulip of colorful parrot feathers (kũãdjũ), from the stem of which two chains of whitish-red beads hang down, each of which bears at the end a Thevetia fruit, out of which shorter and longer little red feathers project. The necklace consists of four neck tassels (nõhõzã) of black cotton with snail shells strung on them. The two strings are not knotted, but run parallel to each other, and, in front on the part placed around the neck, they bear seven long pendulous chains of these same beads, at the ends of which similar fruits with little feathers are attached.

*301 *237 The feather crest of one girl is unique, and it likewise comes from the village on the Tapirapé mouth (Pl. 51, Ill. 1). The name given for it was dãdũlã, a word that was perhaps misunderstood and should be tãbõlã (wax), for the core of the whole is a lump of wax in the form of a huge bean with a flattened base. This lump is completely covered with little red feathers glued over it, and from its upper edge rise five long, red arara feathers. Around the center, concealed, run several black cotton strings which hang far down on both sides and are to be tied under the chin. The ornament is worn on the head with the longitudinal axis from front to back, similar to the Bavarian crest-helmet (Pl. 51, Ill. 2).

I did not notice any other head ornaments. Kurišĩ, to be sure, told me that they tie the red leaves of a plant around their heads as an ornament, but I myself did not observe this.

*301 824 Neck ornaments. As neck ornaments, chains of beads are now used for the most part. /238/ The older neck ornaments consisted of chains made with fruits of the Thevetia (mãlãnĩ; Pl. 51, Ill. 3a) and of such made with grayish-blue fruits (Pl. 51, Ill. 3b). These fruits are called išiũlãnĩ. The shrub on which they grow is supposedly planted in the plantings. Sometimes other, black fruits are also strung on the chains made of these fruits. Such fruit chains are worn mostly by women and children, especially by girls.

/238 cont./

*301 The modern ornaments consist of glass beads, which are threaded on chains. For these, too, the name išiũlã is used. All [822] colors were taken, but green ones generally found little favor. [184] The fashions were entirely different in the individual villages: in one village people preferred large beads, in another small embroidery beads; in one white opaque beads, in another blue, black, or red ones. All the beads were first tested for their fragility and those that did not withstand a bite were rejected [436] forthwith. The unit of exchange was chains of beads with approximately 100 small embroidery beads. Children and women wore these just as they received them; boys and youths, on the other hand, reworked them according to their taste. The beads were strung on several horizontal strings arranged parallel to one another and knotted at several places with vertical threads. The entire necklace was tied in back. It usually fitted the neck closely; the various colors were arranged in varying groups, but in such a way that white constituted the basic color (Pl. 36, Ill. 2). Sometimes appendages of various kinds also hung down from it.

[283] Other neck ornaments consisted of cotton strings. These are either wound around the neck several times by the men (black), [237] or they consist of simple strings with pendants. For example, neck bones (?, bŭhãnãũnĩ) of the dolphin are used as such ornamental appendages. It looked quite dangerous to see children, especially boys, who on the neck band wore shards of colored porcelain plates, which often reached the size of half a plate, with the broken edge toward the neck (1).

1. These appendages are already mentioned by Rufino in 1846/47 for the Šambioá. Rev. trim. 10 (1848), p. 196.

*301 There are three kinds of arm ornaments. First, there are *237 arm bands which have bunches of feathers in one place; then there are those with a plaited band to which are attached several layers of feathers; finally, fine strings from which pendants of all kinds are suspended. They are worn on the upper arm (dẽrõzĩ) and on the

/238 cont./

*301 lower arm (dĭdẽsĭ) in back of the cuff, and, to be sure, by the youth
*237 of both sexes on special occasions.

Arm bands with bunches of feathers for the upper arm are reproduced in Ill. 1 a-c on Plate 52. The feather ornamentation consists either of rosettes with long little end feathers in them or of bunches of individual feathers, some of which look like claws.

In the case of the lower-arm bands with feather layers shown in Ill. 2 a-c on Plate 52, /239/ for 2a two layers of colored feathers are fastened one above the other to separate strings on the one flat side of the cotton strap placed edgewise, while for 2b on either side of the thick, twisted string feather layers are attached one on top of the other, of which the lower, longer layer consists of yellow, the upper shorter one of red clipped feathers. For 2c colorful parrot feathers in a wide layer are knotted to the twisted string by means of cotton knotting, and four Thevetia fruits hang down over this.

As pendants on simple string arm-bands either Thevetia fruits or small blackish fruits or snail shells or claws are used, to which feathers, feather rods, or bunches of cotton thread are usually attached. It is noteworthy that the pendants of snail shells and claws commonly appear in threes (Pl. 52, Ill. 3 a-f).

[824] I did not see strings joined together by little cross-sticks, with Thevetia fruits at the ends, as well as pendants of large red fruits, such as Ehrenreich brought back (Berlin 3729), and likewise none of the arm bands of ounce and wildcat skin with parrot or arara feather pendants (deoθanã) brought back by Ehrenreich, and no more than Ehrenreich the bands of bird bones arranged in parallel fashion that are contained in older Brazilian collections.

As finger rings (dãbŏ = hand, finger) narrow strips made out of the tail rings of lizards are worn, and, /Ill. 81 appears here/ to
[825] be sure, by both sexes at all ages. They differentiate between two kinds: rings made out of the tail of the so-called chameleon (kũlã) with oblique scale edges, and rings from the teju lizard (wãdãlẽ) with vertical scale edges (Ill. 81). Both kinds occur almost equally often.

/239 cont./

*30 *237 In the case of small children the body, as well as the arms and legs, is sometimes covered with white down feathers which are fastened on with light resin. One child wore such down on the upper arm and calves; the little feathers had already become dirty and look like skin scabs. The dead are treated similarly (see there /see p. 277 /).

[164]

Hip ornamentation consists only of dance belts of the male youth. Along with feather belts, there are patterned plaited cotton belts with appendages of all sorts.

[286]

The feather belts consist of long ostrich feathers which are fastened to two fine strings (Ill. 82). I saw such belts in only two specimens and only in the Karajá village in the interior of Bananal, where they were worn by youths for the greeting.

[286]

The patterned, plaited belts made of black and white cotton with appendages of the most varied kinds (wãdãkãnã) are worn by the male youth, usually at wrestling, and otherwise only occasionally. The pendants are of a very diverse nature (Pl. 53, Ills. 1-5). Very popular are /240/ small feather rods or rosettes with long end feathers, which, on long strings, are attached in a long row to the lower edge of the belt; usually Thevetia fruits or mussel shells hang between them, individually or in bunches. In the case of the other belts, the feathers are not fastened to separate threads, but directly to the lower edge.

[825] →

Ill. 81 a, b. Finger rings made of the tail rings from a) chameleon, b) teju lizard.

Especially handsome is the arrangement on the belt of Ill. 4, whose small feather rods alternately bear little white end feathers or red string bundles, as well as on the belt of Ill. 5, between each of the small rods of which three to four Thevetia fruits with red-yellow rosettes and like-colored end feathers hang garland-fashion on a separate string, and the two center rods of which each have two long red arara feathers. The ornamentation on the belt

/240 cont./

*301 *237 of Ill. 1 is quite primitive. It consists of a few feather rods, Thevetia pendants, and the rattle of a rattlesnake.

I did not see the belts made entirely of Thevetia fruits mentioned by Ehrenreich (but cf. the Kayapó /untranslated/).

As leg ornamentation Ehrenreich mentions ("Beiträge," p. 24) bindings with strands of rattles and clusters of feathers; the strands are spaced by little horizontal rods, which are covered with down (ibid., Pl. X, Fig. 4). I have never seen such dance ornaments.

Ill. 82.
Ostrich feather belt.

6. Food.

433 The subsistence of the Karajá Indians is based on the cultivation of food plants and fishing. The gathering of wild [921] plants and hunting, on the other hand, are of less importance, and the breeding of domestic animals for food is wholly absent, since animals are kept only to furnish feathers or for entertainment.

222 Wild plants for food occur on the campo and in the forest 137 /Plates 51 and 52 appear here/ /241/ only in limited numbers, whereas the plantings on the high banks usually provide good yields.

[Text continues on p. 148]

*301

[E9A]

Plate 51

[E9B]*

3. Neck chains: a) Thevetia fruits, b) Iši̇ulanĩ fruits.

[E9C]*

2. Manner of wearing the feather crest.

[E9D]*

1. Feather crest.

Plate 52

*301
*[237]

1. Arm bands with feather clusters. 2. Arm bands with feather layers.

3 a-f. Arm pendants of the most diverse kinds.

/241 cont./

000 136 yields. The country is also relatively poor in useful animals, and [224] almost all of the few animal species that can be hunted are not [242] eaten by the Indians, with the exception, to be sure, of the wild pig. The birds are very numerous, with the exception of the [223] mutum, however, the Indians do not seem to hunt any other bird. Thus, the water must supply the principal food. The river is extremely rich in fish and turtles; everywhere, in shallow places, in the depths, in lakes, but above all in the tributaries, one comes [226] across a quite startling abundance of fish. But even this abundance [242] is not fully exploited, since a few types of fish are not eaten.

A. The Acquisition of Plant Food.

462 The women essentially are responsible for the gathering of wild plants and fruits, while the men engage above all in pro- 222 curing animal food (1). The following come under consideration:

> 1. This division of labor is ancient. In the myth, "How the Karajá acquired manioc," it is said of the father that he would not notice the theft of maize because he only knows fishing (see there /see pp. 302-303/).

the small oitŭ fruits, which are gathered in the forest during the first half of October; the pikí fruits (lămă), which ripen during the second half of October; the watermelon (kŭblăkĕ), which grows on the sandbanks at the place where the banks are connected with the shore. The Indians know exactly those sandbanks on which the melons grow and gather them as early as the end of October when 222 the fruit is not yet quite ripe. Of palm fruits the following are 262 eaten: the seeds of the tucum palm (hălŭ), of the so-called coceiro (ăhăndĕtĕ), and of the oaguassu palm (haulĕnĭ), the roasted seeds of which are called haulĕnĭdŏ. The fruits of the jatobá tree (kŭwà) and of the genipap (bădĕnă) are likewise eaten. Another fruit, from which a black dish is prepared, was called ădŏmŏ; it is

/241 cont./

222 gathered at the beginning of October. Of other fruits Ehrenreich
262 mentions: caju /acajou/, jabuticaba, pitangu, and Bromeliaceae, and Königswald also the mangaba. I never saw these fruits in the villages, however. As vegetable plants there are eaten: mormão (dãdẽdãlĩ), which is gathered the end of October; on the other hand, the mandioca do matto (ãzõ) is supposedly not eaten, because it is too poisonous.

241 The following food plants are cultivated: the poisonous
262 (ãndjĩũlã) and the sweet (ĩ(ĩ)lũ) manioc; four varieties of maize, mãĩ, dõlĩmẽ with large, round kernels, ĩzẽlãlã with round kernels, mãidũzõ with red kernels; batatas (kõdẽrũtĩ), and cara (kãrã). Of fruits, bananas are probably cultivated. The green banana is called jãdãũãbõ, the ripe one jãdàzõ. I obtained bananas in Indian villages only twice, and, indeed, at the beginning of July; I never saw any in the plantings. Perhaps bananas occur only here and there, for example, according /242/ to the statements of Brazilians, among the Šavajé on Bananal Island, which is supposed to have been named after them. I did not see oranges (nãlãdjã) anywhere. Of other fruits Königswald also lists: gourds, water-
[124] melon, pineapple, and sugar cane (mã(ĩ)ĩtĩ). The gourd is not eaten, but used only for the making of vessels; the watermelon is generally gathered in the wild state, probably only rarely cultivated; only once in a village of the south horde, did I meet a family who stored seeds of these plants in small bast packets. Pineapple is surely not cultivated, and I did not see sugar cane either. If they had had any, they would probably not have begged
[114] me for sugar to the extent that they did. The statement of Ehrenreich that during the dry season sugar-cane shoots are planted on the sandbanks should be corrected to read manioc and maize stalks.

241 Of spice plants, peppers (kãšĩwẽrã), of plants for enjoyment, tobacco (kõtĩ), are cultivated.

Moreover, one finds in the plantings: as industrial plants, cotton and gourds; as plants used in ornamentation, ĩšĩũlã shrub (for necklaces) and the urucú shrub; and a quantity of medicinal plants.

/242 cont./

24 [821] The time for laying out the planting is approximately September to October; it is called bōlăhŭă (1). It is regulated by

1. = Southern Cross?

the Pleiades (bōlŏbĕdŏ = parakeets): if it is low, manioc is planted; if it is somewhat higher, maize is planted. Cotton, batatas, and urucú are not planted until much rain falls, in other words, about November and December. These statements of the Indians coincide with the fact that I often found them absent from the village in October; they were sometimes days distant, in order to lay out the planting. Tall columns of smoke indicated in which direction they were doing this. The planting is usually laid out at a great distance from the village, on flood-safe high banks. As far as possible, the Indians ride there in a boat, but then they often still have long land marches to overcome before [311] they reach the planting. Recently they have begun laying out their plantings in the interior of Bananal Island, because the [361] harvests are supposed to be very good there. One chief, Korumaré, has already moved permanently to the inland river of Bananal. On the ninth of October I did not meet Chief Fotuna in his village; he had traveled two days inland to Bananal in order to prepare a new planting there. Apparently other villages were also considering the plan to betake themselves into the interior of Bananal later on.

The plantings are laid out by the married men, but the male youth seems to help. The underbrush is cut down; the tall forest [412] trees are stripped of their branches and then felled, which was formerly done with stone axes, but is now done with iron axes. [313] Larger timber is brought to the village as firewood, /243/ and the rest is burned as soon as it is dry. Then, between the fallen trees, small, low round beds are laid out, in which are planted three manioc stalks, set in a triangle with their twigs interlaced at the top (Ill. 12). For digging, heaping up the beds, and cutting in the holes for the plants a spade-like implement (mă̆ŭlĕ or ĭdjŏlŏ) is used. It consists of a thick stick that is pointed at one end and at the other runs out into a shovel (Ill. 83). The shovel serves to lift

/243 cont./

241 out the earth and heap up the beds, the point to loosen the earth, make holes, and lift out the roots. How the rest of the plants are planted is unknown to me; in the plantings ripe for harvest which I wandered through, they seemed to stand jumbled together. They grew so close together that it was hardly possible to pass through on the narrow path. In view of the height of the growths (three to four meters) a survey was not to be had, in contrast to the plantings of the Kayapó, which was laid out very clearly and in which the individual vegetables were planted in groups.

[462] The division of labor in the planting is such that the men lay out the planting and plant manioc and cara, while the planting of cotton, maize, batatas, and urucú is said to be the duty of the women.

The plantings are apparently so laid out that the families or the villages plant in one clearing; a separation within the planting according to families was not discernible, but nevertheless seems to exist.

Everyone works his plot himself; brothers usually work together. If one of them becomes [465] ill, a relative steps in for him. In this case, or if other assistance is required, the yield from the harvest is either divided into two parts or the helper is paid in arrows, pots, lances, net coverings, axes, spun cotton, etc. If widows [136] have grown sons, they plant for them; otherwise she asks the chief to have someone plant for her. He then appoints one of the villagers to take over this duty and pays him for it.

Ill. 83. Planting implement of the Karajá.

The plantings are not protected against damage. They lie in the midst of the forest, without any kind of enclosure, so that animals, especially pigs and birds, do a great deal of damage. These harmful animals are pursued; the birds above all are chased away by cries.

/243 cont./

241 With the ripening of the foodstuff, the harvest begins. It is not gathered all at once, but rather every two or three days the foodstuffs required for this period are brought in. There are seldom larger supplies on hand in the village. This custom is a great [409] obstacle for a longer stay in the villages, for the Indians /244/ do not leave the villages during the stay of strangers (1), but use up

1. Fonseca already observed this custom in 1773. The Karajá had but little food, because the Chavánte had plundered their plantings and the Karajá therefore did not dare go to their plantings. Nor did they dare go hunting or fishing in Fonseca's presence, nor set out for their plantings with Fonseca's soldiers for fear that he might enter their villages in their absence, which they had refused him up to that time. Rev. trim. 8, p. 385.

their supplies, so that after two days there is nothing more on hand, and the stranger must either donate food or go along to the planting or else depart.

241 285 482 [462] Harvesting is generally done by the women. The harvest is packed into large back-baskets (bĕhūlĕ), which are plaited out of two palm fronds in such a way that the ribs form the two longitudinal poles, and the same sides of the fronds, firmly plaited together, form the bottom, while the other sides, plaited by themselves, make the lattice-like edge (Plate 57, Ill. 1; the back-basket is 116 centimeters long, 34 centimeters wide, and 17 centimeters high). Sometimes the lower edge of the back-baskets is likewise firmly plaited (Plate 57, Ill. 2). The back-basket is worn on two shoulder bands and a forehead band of strong bast. It projects very high above the head, and under the heavy burden people walk with the upper part of the body bent far forward and the knees bent, usually leaning on a staff (Plate 15, Ill. 3). The contents are secured with wide bast bands which are laced across the load from edge to edge.

/244 cont./

527 Regular harvest festivals probably do not take place; the time of the ripening of the food plants, that is to say, the time when they have a great deal to eat, is their chief festival time, however.

B. The Acquisition of Animal Food.

433 The acquisition of animal food is as yet limited to the appropriative form; the Indians have not arrived at animal breeding.

231 To be sure, they keep a great many animals in their
825 houses, but do not use them for food, nor do they mate them,
[262] but rather, after loss, they catch young specimens again to tame these anew. This pleasure in animals arises from the belief that animals are related to man, are the same in essence; they believe that animals speak and act like human beings, only in a different form. And so they surround themselves with them, in
[235] order to divert themselves by their behavior. Only birds are kept for practical purposes, namely, as suppliers of feathers; they are repreatedly robbed of their feathers, which are then made into ornaments. Tamed quadrupeds, as well as chickens, usually run around free; birds have their wings clipped or they are tied to a pole on the roof, in the house, or under a special protective
[438] roof (Plate 54, Ill. 1). Apparently there is a trade in birds, for several times I observed wandering Indians who carried little birds with them in small gourds, in order to sell them in other places. /Plate 53 appears here./

231 /245/ Of such domestic animals, I observed the following:
[136] Of foreign, imported animals there were: chickens [(h)ăni(k)ĕ], pigs [(ĭ)šā(nĕ)], dogs (kjŏlŏzā), cats [(găh)ănlōĕnĕ]. These
[262] animals are not eaten; the Indians are not even acquainted with the eating of chicken eggs (hăníkĕsi). Pigs are very rare; I saw only one large domestic pig, which was quite obviously kept only out of curiosity.

[Text continues on p. 155]

5: Krause--154 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9

301
286
237

1.—5. Plaited cotton belts with feather pendants.

/245 cont./

231 Of native animals, monkeys [kălōbĭ(dĕrŭ), klăŏbĭ] were only very rarely encountered. I did not see any examples of the animals mentioned by Ehrenreich, capybara, agouti, peccary, 231 tapir, etc., in the villages of the Karajá. The bird world is 235 more abundantly represented. Of the araras the red arara (Macrocercus militaris) is preferred, whereas the hyancinth-blue arara (ăndădōlă: M. hyacinthinus) and the blue-yellow one (bīză: M. macao) were seen only rarely. Usually they stayed on the roofs of the houses. Small green parrots (bōlŏbĕdŏ - parakeets; dōlă) were more frequently encountered, mostly as the property of young girls who carried them around sitting on their heads and let them drink from their hands out of small mussel shells. The caracara [ĭ(h)ī(ŏ)lĕ, īlă], a predatory bird, was seen only occasionally. Its feathers were apparently little used. It is probably kept in the houses because it plays a certain role in the legends. Very sporadically I saw a young ostrich [kŭsā(hā)wĕ, nāŋĕkĭĕ], a small water bird, and a young, tame mutum (kŭlĭtĭ), around whose legs had been crocheted small red calf-bands. I did not see the other birds mentioned by Ehrenreich, white heron, roseate spoonbill, and jabiru, tamed among the Karajá. Nor did I observe or learn that small feather tassels are tied into the wings of birds, or that their feathers were artificially changed in color.

231 Of reptiles and other animals I came across small turtles, which were kept by girls in small gourd shells filled with water, lizards (so-called chameleons: kū(ū)lă), which, generally with white down feathers glued on, were carried by the women on the head or shoulders, and, finally, young crocodiles [kăb(ŏ)lōlĕ] about 20 centimeters long, which lay in the shallow puddles on the edge of the sandbanks, tied to the string of a stick planted vertically into the sand; little children would come running, take out the stick, and let the animals walk and swim on the tautly stretched string.

262 These animals kept in the village are never eaten; in order 263 to obtain their meat food, the Indians are much more dependent [125] on gathering and hunting. They gather turtles and turtle eggs, ostrich eggs, and honey.

Of turtles, the tracajá (kōdŭ) and its eggs (kōdŭzĭ) are for the most part scorned; only older people eat them. The laying time is August to early September; the nest contains about 16 eggs.

/245 cont./

262 The eggs are longish and have an odor and taste somewhat re-
222 sembling train oil. The tartaruga (kŏdūnĭ) and its eggs (kōdūnĭzĭ),
[221] on the other hand, are eaten with great relish. /246/ For them,
the Indians undertake distant boat journeys up the tributaries of
the Araguaya in September to October, the laying period of this
turtle, which deposits up to 160 round eggs in a nest. All the
sandbanks are investigated and the often numerous nests emptied
(on the Tapirapé I found up to four nests on small sandbanks).
Thus, they gather quite enormous quantities of eggs. These are
[251] either eaten raw or they are cooked and dried in the ashes and
[239] then kept for a long time, so that the Indians take them home,
[237] eat them later at leisure, or are able to sell them in the Brazilian
towns (Santa Maria, Conceição) on trading expeditions, which
they undertake in September and October. The turtles them-
[225] selves are taken by surprise while laying, or in shallow water they
are caught with the hands by diving from boats or with iron
bottom-tackle. The turtles are brought home alive in great
231 quantities from these expeditions and then eaten or sold. In order
to be able to keep them for a longer time, cages are built out of
twigs bent together at the top, which are stuck in the sand in a
circle, providing shade for them. Here they are tethered and kept
until they are consumed (Ill. 6). Small turtles are raised in the
villages as a pastime.

262 Ostrich eggs (nâŭĕkĭĕzĭ) are eaten with great relish. The
222 Indians empty the entire nest and take the eggs home with them
in order to eat them cooked there.

222 Honey (bădĕrhõ) is a delicacy of which they are passionately
fond. On their boat trips they observe the direction of flight of
the wild bees (bẽdĭ), designated by them as stingless, until, after
a short time, they have discovered their nests high up in the
crowns of trees. Quickly the tree is climbed and the nest cut down
[415] with the bush knife or ax. The honey is then taken out down below;
it is stored in bent pieces of bark or in gourd vessels. Bees nesting
in hollow trees are smoked out and the honey is taken out with the
hand. The often giant honeycombs are individually sucked out;

/246 cont./

222 the wax (tăbōlă)[1] is stored in large lumps; it constitutes one of
[237] their most important gluing and packing mediums and as such is
[232] everywhere offered in quantities by the women to passing boats.
The chief gathering period of the honey seems to commence in October.

224 While the gathering of these foods is bound to specific
[221] seasons and requires journeys often weeks long, in order to collect large amounts, the daily animal food is obtained in short expeditions from the villages by means of all kinds of traps.

[433] It should be noted that the hunting of birds and land
[226] animals is completely overshadowed by fishing. In general, of course, the land is poor in animals as compared to the water. There is only a little big game to be hunted: red deer (bŏlōlă), roe, tapirs [(k)ōlĭ], monkeys (1), wild pigs (ĩsă), and possibly

[237] [262]

1. Howling monkeys are shot only for the bones, which are used for arrow points, lip plugs, and arrows, but not for food.

also /247/ jaguars (ănlōă); smaller animals are more frequent, but very shy and difficult to hunt (agouti, tsŭsŭ; capybara, hūă, etc.).
223 The choice of birds is likewise not very large. Above all, gallinaceous birds (jacu, bĕdjûă; mutum, etc.) and pigeons, as well as ducks (hăăkŏlĭnĭ, hĕdaûlĕ, dōăĭăĭă) and divers, come into
262 consideration. I was unable to find out whether they eat ostriches, or how they feel about lizards, crocodiles, and boa constrictors, which Königswald reports are eaten. The small choice of game animals is even more restricted by all kinds of so-called food prohibitions. Thus, this person will not eat this animal, and that person that one. Some animals are generally not eaten, though
224 they could furnish a great deal of meat. Hunting only plays a secondary role in the economy of these Indians.

For wild game they set out individually or in company; wild pigs in particular are always hunted in company. It is
[222] strange that the chief never goes along on the hunt, though he does engage in fishing. Only large animals are hunted; the young ones are allowed to run away.

1 [i.e., bee's wax --Analyst]

/247 cont./

224 411 Hunting weapons are bows and arrows, lances, and possibly also clubs for wild pigs. The lance (dõnõlĩ) is used in hunting for jaguars (see under "Weapons" /see p. 192/, Ill. 126). The bunches of feathers are said to confuse the leaping animal, so that the thrust can be made more confidently. The arrows differ according to the type of game; for big game one uses either arrows with a flat or many-sided wooden point, which sometimes has small barbs cut into it (ũõhũ, about 150 centimeters long), or arrows with flat or rounded bamboo blade points (ũõhũ, ũãzã, 224 diũãdã; Ills. 113, 114). Nets and traps are unknown for game hunting. Fish otters are lured with fire and then beaten to death with a wooden stick. Königswald states that in the dry season grassy meadows are set afire so that the game, fleeing in large numbers before the fire, may be easily killed. I often saw such grass fires; my Indians and even the Brazilians liked to set them. When asked the reason, both explained in agreement that the subsequent greenery sprouting anew would attract the game, so that when they passed by there afterwards they would find the game localized on such burned areas and would therefore have easy and certain hunting.

[622] The booty is brought to the village and, if abundant, is cut up by the warriors and distributed among the inhabitants by the chief.

223 411 They likewise go bird hunting with bow and arrow. They use either deadly arrows (mãlõl), the points of which consist of the sharpened end of a cane shaft (Ill. 163), or arrows which merely stun the bird with their thick end, so that the feathers are protected from blood. The thickening at the end consists either of a lump of wax or of the cut root-end of the cane that forms the shaft. Such arrows are called lãlũẽlẽ (see "Children's Toys"/see pp. 241-244/, Ill. 164).

223 They also have traps for birds (dõhẽdũ or bũdõlẽkũ); ground manioc and maize are used as bait. I saw such a trap near Village 18 of the north horde, about 500 meters away from the houses, /248/ set up on the sandbank (Plate 54, Ill. 2). It consisted of bamboo rods which were placed on top of one another quadrilaterally, so that each square was smaller than the one below it,

/248 cont./

223 until the uppermost one, finally, closed the opening of the little pyramid. Strings ran down along the edges, were fastened to the lowest rods, and crossed at the top on the surface; they barely held the whole construction together. The type of release is clearly shown in the sketch, Ill. 84.

[198] To lure birds and game the Indians use specific calls which differ according to the particular species of animal, as they know how to imitate animal sounds masterfully.

Birds must be plucked on the spot; they may not be brought to the village unplucked ("otherwise the chief will be angry"). While plucking, the fingertips are dipped in wood ashes.

223 224 [538] It is said that there are no magic devices for making the hunt productive; on the other hand, the Indians are fond of telling one another hunting stories, and, in doing so, they like to exaggerate and tell improbable things.

Ill. 84.
Construction of the bird trap.

226 262 Fishing supplies by far the largest portion of the meat food; the subsistence of the Indians is to a large extent based on it.

136 The Araguaya is extremely rich in fish (kădŏlă); still richer, however, are the tributaries, especially the Rio Tapirapé and the many lakes that accompany these rivers on either side.

In the deep water of the lakes and on the high, steep banks, especially where fallen trees lie in the water, live the pirarucú (b'dŏlĕkĕ; Sudis gigas), three to four meters long, and the pirarara (dŏlĕ; Phractocephalus discolor), which is equipped with strong bone armor and is up to two meters long. Upon being [533] [525] pulled out of the water, it emits air with strange sounds; the humorous Indian likes to imitate these sounds in his songs. Furthermore, the dogfish (lădă), with its powerful teeth, lives here, and above all the worst predatory fish, the piranha. Various

/248 cont./

136 kinds are distinguished: the small yellowish one with a black circle on its cheeks, the whitish-red one (dũẽtã, kjũẽtã), and the huge black, red-eyed piranha (dũũlĩ), the largest specimens of which reach a length of 48 centimeters. The piranhas are vicious predators. When they scent wounded animals or fish, they hasten to them in droves and in a few minutes reduce a whole animal to a skeleton. They leap high out of the water in their greed, so that at such places huge eddies of water and fish are produced and gradually collapse again. It even happens that they injure
136 and devour each other. They live in vast numbers and huge specimens in the Tapirapé especially, and even the Karajá were /Plates 54 and 55 appear here/ /249/ astonished when a dogfish, hit in the head by a vertical shot from the boat, was pulled up after a few minutes as a mere skeleton on the arrow. The meat of the piranha is very tasty; but since the animals seldom come to the surface and can be caught only with the fishhook, they play only a minor role in the economy of the Indians. The latter, however, prize them and, whenever they can, seek to obtain possession of strong fishhooks that can withstand the strong teeth of the animal, and similarly tin to surround the part of the fishline around the hook like a mantle and thus protect it from being bitten through. In spite of this, a number of hooks thus equipped are regularly lost.

The pintado (Pimelodus sorulum), which is up to two meters long and has good yellowish meat, lives in shallow water, where the Indian can hunt better with bow and arrow. I saw matrincham, tokunaré, pacú (ãĩwã) caught relatively rarely. The carí fish lives in the caves of the steep banks and may be pulled out by the tail; it is an extremely tasty fish, which, however, has only a little meat in its armor.

136 Many fish, especially scaleless ones, such as aruana (ĩdjãzõ)
262 and others, are not eaten. Similarly the giant dolphin (boto: bũhã) is not utilized; its droll movements and its puffing merely afford the Indian occasion for mirth and humorous imitation.

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 163]

Plate 54

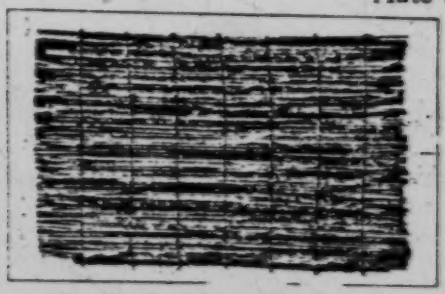
2. Bird trap.

1. Fish trap.

3. Fish net made of ermina.

Plate 55

415



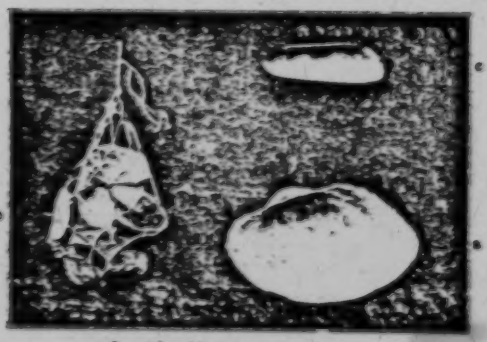
1. Rod sieve.

2. Sieve basket.

3. Sieve plate.

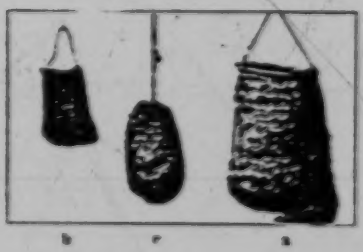
4. Modern sieve.

412



5. Shell spoons.

415



6. Tobacco pouches.

/249 cont./

227 The fishing implements are the following:

The fishing rod was originally unknown to the Indians.
[439] For the last few decades iron hooks (wãsi) have been bartered for in order to catch the piranha; one comes across them relatively rarely, however, because many are lost during the fishing, and an opportunity for barter only rarely presents itself (the fishing-line is called wãsisã, the rod wãsidãõ, and the bait wãsidõ). On the other hand, the Indians seem to have already known harpoons (wõhũnã). They were used to catch piraruc̃ũ. Points and barbs consisted of red-deer bone; they were attached with resin. I no longer saw such implements as described; the present harpoons all had iron points.

The chief implements are bow and arrow, which, with the clear water, are handled with great skill and success. The fishing arrows (ĩõhũ) bear on the shaft a wooden point, on the front end of which a small point made of monkey bone (ũhĩdõ or dũrõlẽnĩdi) is fastened by a thread lashing and resin, and the rear end of which projects laterally out of the lashing and thus forms a barb (Ill. 115). The arrows have an average length of 140-170 centimeters, the bows (wãsĩlũhãtẽ) one of approximately 200 centimeters (Ills. 110, 111).

226 Twice a day, forenoon and afternoon, the husbands and sons
[533] go out to fish and usually return with rich booty. On the way home they sing the song "that is sung every day." At specific spots the names of the fish caught are inserted, so that one may easily tell what kind of booty the fisherman is bringing back.

/250/ Besides this individual fishing, mass fishing is also
226 carried on. Nets knotted out of cotton string or bast are used
227 for this. Their measurements vary considerably, according to the purpose they serve. The net plaited out of embira (lõdẽ) shown in Ill. 3 on Plate 54 is ten centimeters wide and 10.35 meters long. Ill. 85 shows the knot-formation of a net for catching piraruc̃ũ (dãõlãlũ); it has a mesh extension of 25 centimeters with a thread strength of half a centimeter. The largest net that I saw lay on a sandbank on the Tapirapé near a lake inlet; it was six meters wide and 160 meters (!) long.

/250 cont./

[857] The way such anchored nets are set up is shown by the imitations with which children play (hãdĕkĕ). They are fastened to two long end rods; the net is stretched by means of several spaced sticks (Ill. 86). These stakes are driven down in front of the lake inlets, and by stretching the net on them the entrance to the lakes is blocked. From the boat the Indians beat the water and drive the thus frightened fish of the lake toward the entrance into the net, where they are then caught. (Such a device for catching piraruc̃ũ is called dã̃ĭ̃ã̃ũ; see piraruc̃ũ net above.) Other nets (hĕ̃ũ[illegible]) are allegedly set up along the sandbanks; the [illegible] fish, which

[524] →

Ill. 85.
[289] ← Knot formation of the fish nets.

Ill. 86. Barrier fish net (hãdĕkĕ).

swims against the sandbank at night, is caught in them and taken out in the morning. I never saw nets of this type set up; probably the narrow nets are used for this.

The largest mass catches are made by poisoning the water of the lakes; but this is at the same time the worst plundering exploitation. The lakes are blocked off by fences (liklõ), which consist of driven piles to which palm leaves [824] are fastened. The stems of the poisonous cipo (timbo: ãnzĭ) are placed on a forked stick and beaten soft with another stick, whereupon they are shaken out over the lake and a fine dust falls out. Then they are beaten a second time and shaken out. From the boat a second man stirs the water, which takes on a black coloring. The fish are stupefied by it

226 /251/ or die, come to the surface as a result, and can then be conveniently gathered in. The fence prevents the fish from escaping
[267] into the river. Eating this fish is not harmful to human beings; even drinking the water merely causes a stomach-ache. The
[199] Karajá maintain that they learned this type of fishing, which is carried on especially during the rainy season when the water is muddy, from the Chavánte (see also, however, the fish fence of the Tapirapé /see p. 342 /).

I did not see or hear anything about weirs for small fish (adžuriã), on which Ehrenreich reports, nor of other fishing apparatus.

C. Storage and Preparation of Food.

251 The yield from the plantings as well as from hunting and fishing expeditions is usually consumed at once. The hot climate prohibits the laying away of larger supplies; above all, the preservation of meat is completely out of the question because of the lack of salt. In fact, the Indian is forced to go fishing again in the afternoon, since the fish caught in the morning would already be spoiled by suppertime. It is impossible to keep fresh meat for more than a quarter of a day, and even roasted meat is inedible the next day.

[261] Thus, the Indians have to work hard and be constantly concerned about food, especially in the dry season, when the yield from the plantings is always small. To some extent they help themselves with turtles, which, as mentioned above, they keep alive; turtle eggs, cooked and dried, keep for a very long time. But the Indians do not store even plant produce in large quantities; they have supplies for only two or three days in the manioc lying on their supply racks or in the maize kernels in large gourds with a side opening. They also store water in whole gourds.

252 All foods are eaten cooked; only fruits, as well as turtle eggs, are eaten raw; everything else is boiled or roasted.

/251 cont./

252 The hearth lies outside the houses, usually in the shade of mat walls or near them. In the rainy season it is moved to the round structures of the houses. It is constructed in two ways: either three truncated cones, the tops of termite hills [ă(ũ)dŏ, kĕdŏ], are placed in a triangle in the sand, between which the fire is kindled (Plate 12, Ill. 1), or three broken pot bottoms (wăd̆jĩwĩũlã̆), which are set upended, are used instead. The large cooking pots are set on these supports. For roasting, low roasting hearths (kŏbĭŭdŏ) of twigs are used: Four forked sticks are stuck into the ground in a square, two longitudinal sticks are laid between them and over these cross-sticks are laid. The fire, which is lighted underneath, gradually chars the sticks (Plate 61, Ill. 1, Šavajé; see also below, p.168). Roasting on a spit is also customary: a switch is cut from the bushes, tapered to a point, and, with several piranhas strung on it, is stuck obliquely into the sand so that the upper end with the fish is suspended over the fire. The fish are /252/ first roasted on one side, and later, by turning, also on the other side.

313 Dry wood is used for firewood (hãã̆), as it is found in abundance everywhere on the sandbanks in trees washed ashore, as well as in the forest.

372 [824] Fire (hearth fire: hãŏtĕ) is produced by twirling. Base and twirler may be of the same wood; usually ãũtĕ (Brazilian sarão, the root of a goyaba /guava/ species) is used, but ĭndõlŏkŏ (Brazilian mŭrĭgĭ) is also supposed to be usable (1). According to

1. The Brazilian names are given in the Indian pronunciation.

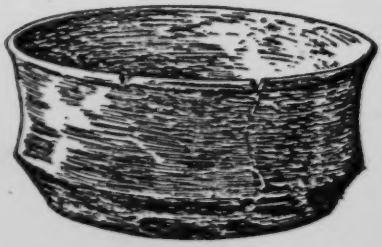
Ehrenreich (Berlin 3937), the drilling stick consists of taquara, the base of Bixa orellana. In the case of the /Ills. 87-89 appear here/ fire twirler reproduced in Ill. 87, the base shows three drilling holes; each hole is opened laterally by a notch so that air can enter. The twirler consists of a wooden rod, to the bottom of which is tied another stick of wood three centimeters long as the actual drilling piece. Tinder is not used; dry palm leaves serve for kindling the flame.

/252 cont./

372 The fire is never allowed to go out, but rather care is taken to keep it constantly burning. On boat trips the Indians take along glowing bast (hãŏdĕ; Ill. 88) or pieces of slowly smoldering wood (hädĕkĕ) on a sand base in the boat, and similarly when they go to the plantings. Apparently, therefore, they dislike drilling new fire, but would rather transfer the fire to the new place. I often had the drilling of fire demonstrated for me, but the men never succeeded in getting beyond a huge development of smoke. These attempts, however, all happened to take place in wet weather.

Ill. 87.
Fire twirler.

Ill. 88.
Glow bast.



Ill. 89.
Cooking pot, ordinary shape.

[252] [415]

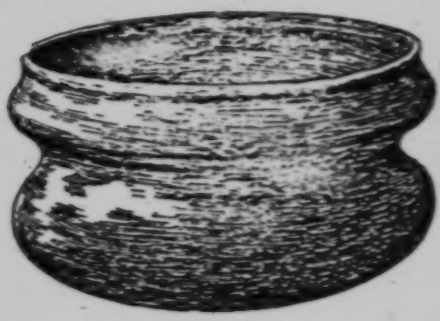
To fan the fire, fans (kōlĭ) which are plaited of palm fronds in simple fashion are used. The cooling fans (Plate 21, Ill. 2) differ from them only in that they have patterning.

252 /253/ Meat is merely roasted; fish and vegetables are [462] eaten roasted and boiled. The preparation of food is the duty of the women; they are busy with it all day. The men, too, however, know how to do it, and on journeys they roast and boil their food themselves in case of emergency. In the villages I never saw roasting hearths; these were found only on sandbanks with traces of camps. Wandering bands use them occasionally. My Karajá always built such roasting hearths

/253 cont./

on the Šavajé journey. Apparently they are used more by the men for the grilling of fish, but the men also understand boiling. 252

Roasting is done on the roasting hearths or on the spit. Meat and fish are roasted until the outer layer is charred. This strong burning makes up for the lack of salt to a certain extent. In the same way, palm nuts and other fruits are roasted in the fire, then later cracked open and eaten. In flat bowls (?) the fruit seeds of the coceiro (hölĕnĭ) are roasted from October on. These seeds are then pounded, mixed



Ill. 90.
Double-bellied cooking pot.

Ill. 91.
Three-legged cooking pot.

[415]

with the meat of the nut, and this is then roasted together.

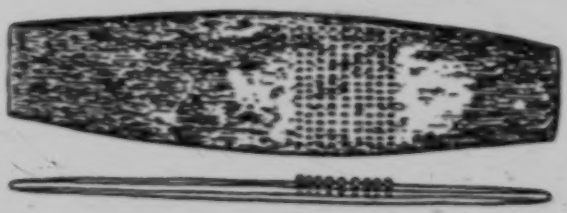
Boiling in large cooking pots preponderates by far, however. The cooking pots (wădjĭwĭ, wădšĭwĭ) are made of gray clay; their typical shape is reproduced in Ill. 89. They are generally undecorated. Their diameter is often tremendous, measuring up to 80 centimeters, the height, however, is generally uniform (11-14 centimeters), so that such huge pots appear more bowl-shaped. Sometimes they are covered with clay plates. Vessels of a special type are the double-bellied vessel (Ill. 90), as well as the three-legged cooking pot (Ill. 91); both were likewise called wădjĭwĭ. [303]

Fish, for one thing, are boiled; they are cleaned, scaled, cut into pieces, and thus boiled. When pikĭ fruits are in season, they are boiled with these. The chameleon is likewise skinned and boiled. Above all, manioc is prepared in this way. It constitutes the chief food. The preparation of the poisonous manioc is done as [262]

/253 cont./

252 follows: The root, provided with incisions, /254/ is placed in
[412] water for several days, then scraped with a sharpened mussel shell,
[237] and after that grated on the wooden grater [(k)ŏlănă]. The longish, rectangular, flat piece of wood bears in the center of one side several transverse rows of inset points of prejauva wood

[412]



Ill. 92.
Manioc grater.

[516] (Ill. 92). The woman kneels while grating and holds the piece of wood against her body and braced against the ground. The well-known palates of the pirarucú
[237] fish also serve as graters. After that the mass is mixed
[415] with water and placed on the rod-sieve [bŭlĕĭdjŭ, pronounced: brĕ(ĭ)djĕ]. This consists of thin little cane rods arranged side by side, which at rather wide intervals are interwoven with two strings, in the same way as the net coverings (Plate 55, Ill. 1). Such rod-

[412]

Ill. 93.
Stirring spoon.

sieves serve, for one thing, as sieves for pounded manioc and for potter's clay, and then, too, as a manioc press, and finally as a base in pottery-making. On such sieves, therefore, the mass of manioc is cleaned, large pieces are picked out, and the sieve, along with the mass, is then rolled up and at the same time pressed hard with the hands, so that the poisonous juice flows out.
[262] The resulting coarse flour (kĕnõdĕ) is cooked to a manioc mush, the common food of the Indians. The sweet manioc (aipim) is
[412] treated somewhat differently. It is cut up and crumbled and then
[412] pounded with the thick wooden pestle approximately one and a half meters long (hãŏ) in the mortar about 50 centimeters high and 26

/254 cont./

254 centimeters wide (kõwõ), which is worked from a tree trunk with
415 a wall three centimeters thick (Plate 40, Ill. 3). This pounded
[412] mass is placed on a sieve resting on a bowl or a pot. As such sieves, dome-shaped or hemispherical basket-sieves (wãlĭlĭlĭ) plaited of stout wickerwork are sometimes used, or flat, round sieve-plates (ŭĭtjŭ ōdãmõdĭ; Plate 55, Ills. 2, 3). In Schischá, modern wares are already manufactured sieves with a one-piece wooden edge five centimeters high and fine, patterned bast plaiting, which are made essentially for use by the Brazilians (ŭĭtjo(a); Plate 55, Ill. 4). On these sieves impurities are first picked out by hand, then the sieve is taken in the left hand, and, by a rapid beating on it from above with the right hand, the mass is sieved through it. Larger pieces remaining behind go back into the mortar, are again pounded, and then /255/ sieved again. When sufficient flour has been collected, it is put in the large cooking pot, water from a gourd water-container is poured on it, and the pot is put on the fire.

252 For stirring, long flat wooden spoons (hãlãdãõ) of tarumã
[412] wood are used (Ill. 93).

[251] Ehrenreich reports that the Indians dry this flour in flat pots, in other words, make farinha d'agua, which keeps for a long time, that they leach out the dried mass (puva beero; according to my notes, bãlo) several times and bake thick loaves out of it; that in small pots they make small roasted flat cakes (beiju: ibredeko) out of fresh roots. I neither saw nor heard anything about any of this.

Fruits that are still unripe are popularly taken and buried in the sand, where they ripen. Only then are they eaten.

252 Of spices only peppers (kãsĭwẽrã: the round-seeded kind) are
263 used. They are grown in the plantings; the pods are pounded and mixed with water, and the roasted fish are dipped in this sauce.

263 Salt (ĭnãtŭ, notakànà) is lacking; only in Village 6 did they
[439] have bitter salt from the salt mine near São José, which was mixed with red earth and which they had bartered for in São José. Their
[261] hunger for salt seems to be extremely great; they are constantly begging for this condiment. But it is strange in this connection

/255 cont./

261 that the women usually refused salted food. Instead, however,
263 they all ate whole handfuls of sand. Charcoal and ashes are also eaten, but all this is supposed to be very constipating. They are also said to make little pellets of clay which are eaten; the eating of them is supposed to cause jaundice.

D. Eating.

264 Eating utensils are very few in number. Roasted things, as well as boiled fish, are eaten with the fingers; mush, etc. are spooned out of the large cooking dish or out of small eating dishes.
415 Halved gourds are used as such and are generally decorated on the outside with carved decorations (Ill. 94). Shallow clay bowls are also customary (Ill. 95). I did not see oval clay bowls with a partition (Berlin 3866) or round and elliptical clay plates (Berlin 3863-3865), as described by Ehrenreich. Only in Schischá were
[197] tall clay dishes with a red border decoration made (1), evidently
[53]

[113] 1. See also my article on "Die Kunst der Karaja-Indianer /The Art of the Karaja Indians/," in the Bässler-Archiv, Vol. 2, No. 1, 1911.

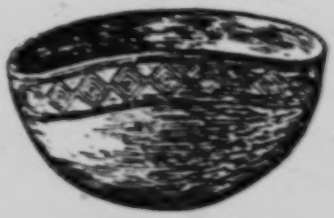
412 under Brazilian influence (Ill. 96). Mussel shells serve as spoons, and, to be sure, the three types kădālĕ (Plate 55, Ill. 5a), kădālă liŏlĕ (Ill. 5b), and wălăbōkădālĕ (Ill. 5c); also small half-gourds ĭsă liŏlĕ, kălsŏ, ŭālŏ, which are generally decorated with pyrography and exhibit various shapes (Ills. 97, 98). I did not come across anywhere the spoons (katarā) of wood (Berlin 3934, 35) and clay (Berlin 3870) mentioned by Ehrenreich.

/256/ To crack open the roasted palm nuts striking stones are used. Rather heavy blows are required to split the shells of the nuts. Flat stones serve as a base; as beaters, fist-sized round ones of quartz, ground conical stones, or old stone axes. All these stones come from the regions north of the Tapirapé mouth. For all striking stones the name mănă (stone) was given. Ill. 99 a-c

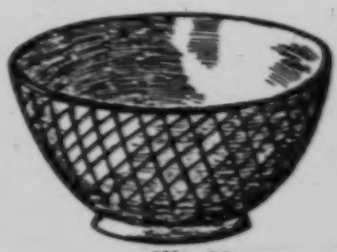
/256 cont./

412 shows a pointed cone-shaped striking stone with hollowed-out striking place and with flat base; Ills. 100-102 show three stone axes, namely, a long flat-ax, a short flat-ax, and an ax with a shaft groove running around it, whose blade is already heavily worn as a result of the pounding.

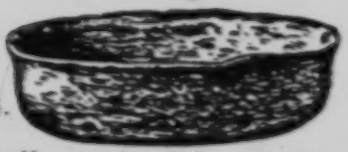
415 [53] 199



Ill. 94.
Gourd vessel for eating.



Ill. 96.
Modern eating dish.



Ill. 95.
412 Shallow eating dish made of clay.

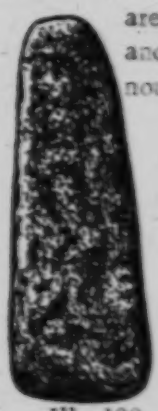
Ill. 97.
Gourd spoon.

Ill. 98.
Gourd spoon.

Ill. 99a-c.
a) Striking stone, b) its striking surface, c) base.

264 There are two meals, breakfast (andoldoho) at about eight or nine
/257/ o'clock, and supper (lĩrõsík) at about five or six o'clock. In between,
[262] however, this and that is munched, fruits, nuts, etc., at noon they like to eat grilled piranhas (fish jacuba: djũdẽã). The menu consists mostly of boiled manioc mush and fish. Much is eaten, but the people do not

/257 cont./ Much is eaten, but the people do not become fat. While eating, they squat around the pot and spoon out their mush. I could not see that they ate turned away from one another, as Ehrenreich and Königswald state, but the women are usually ashamed to eat in the presence of strangers; and the Indians whom I had with me as companions did not eat my cooking when they came to a strange village



Ill. 100.
Flat ax.

Ill. 101.
Short flat-ax.

Ill. 102.
Stone ax with shaft groove.

with me, but went hungry the whole time, if in the village they did not have relatives who gave them something to eat. And they did not work during the stay in the village. They were ashamed, as they expressed it.

E. Beverages.

In drinking, the Indian is, understandably, very moderate; water serves as the ordinary beverage. Yet they also know how to prepare other drinks, which, however, are usually not intoxicating.

Buriti fruits (ãdehõ) are pounded and mixed with water; the liquid is allowed to settle, the clear liquid is ladled into a tall pot, boiled, allowed to cool, and then drunk. The liquid is said to be dark red and very sweet, but not intoxicating. On festive days large quantities of it are said to be consumed.

Pikí fruits are boiled, crushed, and, stirred with water, put into a pot. The liquid is left standing overnight and is drunk cold the next morning. The pits are dried and eaten later.

/257 cont./

273 From maize they allegedly make a drink kănūā̆, with the preparation of which, however, I am unfamiliar.

The most common festive drink, which is drunk on all visits and other /258/ occasions, is made out of manioc mush (ĭūārŭk). The way of making it is described by Ehrenreich ("Beiträge," pp. 16-17). The slight fermentation is brought about by chewing the residuum of the cooled mush. The Indians, men and women, scoop out the drink in huge quantities. It is slightly intoxicating: the people quickly get puffy faces, watery eyes, and are inclined to chatter. It tastes like unseasoned diced-potato soup.

[113] Sugar-cane liquor (cachaça: ĭbūālĕ) is already penetrating here, too, through the Brazilians. There is only one village, however, Schischá, in which liquor is drunk by all, presumably because liquor is made in the vicinity and the drink is therefore very cheap. Otherwise I found very few Indians who accepted liquor (for example, Chief Ilk); women never drank any, except in Schischá. Usually it was also refused by the men and young people.

F. Food Prohibitions.

262 It has already been mentioned above that the potentialities for food are not fully utilized, that some foodstuffs are scorned.
[114] The reason for this is difficult to find. I already thought that I was on the trail of a totemistic system, but I did not succeed in proving it. Apparently, along with superstitious notions, personal taste also plays a role in this.

The following are quite generally not eaten: the meat of domestic animals, eggs, howling monkeys, capybaras, dolphins, crayfish, and mussels. The tracajá turtle and its eggs are eaten only by old people; young people scorn them, because eating them is said to have a bad effect. Allegedly chiefs are said not to eat red-deer meat. Grilled piranha is regarded as the sole food for sick persons; pregnant women, too, are forbidden many foods. Individual persons did not eat certain things: thus, Pedro

/258 cont./

262 scorned red-deer meat and tracajá eggs; others ate these things.
[177] Enlightened (civilized) Indians, who otherwise still believed firmly in all kinds of magic, ate everything.

G. Luxuries.

276 The Indians are familiar with only one luxury item:
[177] tobacco (kōtĭ). They maintain that they adopted the luxury of tobacco only from the Brazilians, and, to be sure, in about the
[249] first half of the nineteenth century. At that time they obtained seed (kōtĭlĭăti) or shoots; at first they planted these in the mud, where only small plants grew, then they tried it in the plantings, where large plants grew. The custom of smoking is older, however. Fonseca reports in 1773 that they smoked their clay peace pipe in an easterly direction, apparently observing a ceremony (1).

1. Rev. trim. 8, pp. 378 and 387.

Probably they received merely another plant from the Brazilians.
249 /259/ Today tobacco is raised in the plantings, and it is planted by the men during the rainy season by placing seed kernels into the ground. Harvest begins "when the leaves begin to hang" (in July I already saw fresh tobacco leaves hung up to dry). The leaves are picked and brought into the house, where they are hung up to dry. When they are half-dry they are rubbed between the hands ("so that the tobacco becomes black"), then hung outside the house on a pole or a special sloping rack, and com-
[415] pletely dried. It is stored in the oblong baskets called ĭăĭă, and, to be sure, rolled up pad-shaped by the south horde (ĭĭŭĭăŭ), plaited into a braid by the north horde (kō(ŭ)ăĭ). (See Ill. 194, Šavajé /see p. 323/.)

276 The variety is evidently very light; its fragrance is not very pleasant, but the Indians smoke it passionately. They find
249 the tobacco of the Šavajé to be better and obtain seedlings from
438 them to improve their stock. Thus, on my return journey from
[437] the Šavajé I was accompanied by /Ills. 103-104 appear here/ a
[883]

/259 cont./

249 438 [437] [482] Karajá who had bartered arrows there for tobacco seedlings; his basket was fully loaded with the packets in which the plants were packed. The seedlings were well wrapped in leaves and bast into a large cylindrically shaped bundle that was reinforced all around with vertical bamboo rods and firmly laced.

276

They were most particularly mad for the heavy Goyaher /Goyana/ tobacco.

Smoking is done by old and young, men and women. Even babies are sometimes permitted to partake of this pleasure. Pipes are smoked throughout; maize-leaf cigarettes are customary.

[824]

Ill. 103.
Fruit of the jequitiba tree, out of which tobacco pipes are made.

Ill. 104 a-c.
Tobacco pipes made out of jequitiba fruit. a) Crude form. b) Carefully worked, without groove. c) Carefully worked, with groove.

[824] /260/ The pipe (in men's language, wăliona, wălikŏkŏ; in women's language, wălikŏkŏ) is made out of the fruit (ărikŏkŏ) of of the jequitiba tree (Hymenea sp.) (Ill. 103). The fruit, approximately seven centimeters long, is closed with a stopper. When it is ripe, the stopper falls out and the fruit kernels fall to the ground.

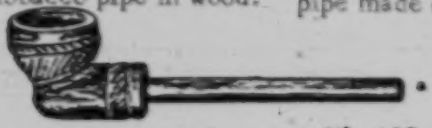
/260 cont./

276 The empty capsule is thoroughly cleaned with the knife, cut smooth on the outside, and then usually painted red. There are two kinds of pipes: one without and one with a groove on the upper edge. I saw only a single example of a decorated pipe.
276 531 In Ill. 104 a-c all the stages from the crudely carved to the

Ill. 105.
Reproduction of a tobacco pipe in wood.

Ill. 106 a, b.
Decorated tobacco pipe made of wood.

Ill.107
Tobacco pipe with suction tube.



Ill. 108 a-d.
Clay tobacco-pipes.

smoothed, long-used pipe are shown. Ill. 105 shows a reproduction of a pipe in wood, as is likewise occasionally customary. Ill. 106 a, b shows a pipe decorated with raised carving and painted black from a village of the north horde. The pipe in Ill. 107 shows a short suction tube, which is joined to the pipe by a black lashing.

276 These pipes were "invented by the ancestors when they took over tobacco from the Brazilians" (?). In the south horde and in part in the north horde they are now already imitated in wood (Ills. 105, 106); in the uppermost villages, which are in contact with the Brazilians, there is already use of /261/ clay bowls set

/261 cont./

276 on pieces of cane (1), which generally resemble the Brazilian

1. In this connection cf. that Fonseca already mentions clay peace pipes in 1773, without, however, describing their shape. Rev. trim. 8, p. 378.

ones and differ from them only by the flattening of the underside. [531] They are usually provided with incised decoration and the clay (zdŭ), light in itself, has taken on a black color from the burning [415] (Ill. 108 a-d). The daily supply, as well as the pipes, is kept in small baskets (mõdĭ, Plate 55, Ill. 6a) or in small plaited pouches, which, in rectangular shape, are made out of simple bast plaiting (sahŭ) or out of a bast plaiting similar to the sitting mats (mãñ) (Plate 55, Ill. 6 b,c).

Smoking is done in the following manner: The tobacco is firmly pressed into the pipe until it is about three-quarters full; then a smoldering piece of wood from the fire is laid on it, and the opening is closed off with the hand or a finger. Then one sucks rapidly many times in succession until the tobacco is burning; the charcoal is then usually, but not always, removed. In smoking, they draw the smoke up rapidly many times in succession: it looks as though they were sucking or drinking (Plate 11, Ill. 3); only then do they take the pipe out and expel the smoke.

171 It seems remarkable that the Kayapó use the name wălĭkŏkŏ, 276 thus, in the form from the women's language. They likewise use pipes made from the fruit of the jequitiba tree; as a unique specimen I saw a pipe of clay fashioned in the same shape. But they already generally use suction tubes which are stuck into the pipe from the side. Such pipes were present only in small numbers, and the Kayapó were constantly demanding them from me. Apparently the implement, and with it the name, reached them from the Karajá or Šambioá through the Brazilians. The women's word is explained by the fact that the men, too, usually use this form in speaking to strangers.

/261 cont./

7. Weapons for War, Hunting, Fishing.

128 In order not to disrupt the survey of the manifold forms of these implements by arranging them subordinately into individual groups according to use, I shall discuss them together here. This has already been referred to above under hunting and fishing. A brief survey of the distribution according to purpose might come first.

411 Clubs, as well as bows and arrows with bamboo blade points, serve as weapons of war. Lances and bows and arrows with wooden points and with bamboo blade points serve for hunting. For fishing, bows and arrows with small bone points added on are used exclusively. Sport is practiced with bows and arrows and the throwing board with arrows. Other, perhaps previously customary weapons are the pellet-bow /Kugelbogen/, the sling (?), the boomerang (?). Thus, bows and arrows play the chief role. Everything else is far behind them.

/262/ Bow [w(ã)s̆(ĩ)ũhãdẽ] and arrow (ũõhũ) are usually made by each one for himself. They are always taken along on boat trips, and, indeed, the most diverse kinds of arrows (war, hunting, and fishing arrows) are taken along.

For shooting, the bow is held vertically (Pl. 56, Ill. 1). The arrow rests on the bow between it and the second finger of the left hand, on the bowstring between the first and second fingers of the right hand, while the rest of the fingers draw the bowstring back. In the stretching, the arrow is drawn against the shoulder.

411 526 Shooting from the feet is done as a sport. I did not observe it myself; it was described to me as follows. The men lie on the ground and stretch their feet up close together. The bow lies across the soles of the feet; the bowstring is drawn with the hands toward the chest. Thus they shoot upward. The bow, of course, likewise flies off their feet; the recoiling bowstring is said to cause sharp pain in the feet (1).

[191] [13]

1. In this connection cf. the same custom among

/262 cont./

411
526
171
113

1. (cont.)
the Indians near Rio de Janeiro, in Debret, Voyage pittoresque et historique du Brésil /Picturesque and historical journey to Brazil/, Vol. 1, Paris, 1836, Plate 5.

411
868

Boys learn how to shoot arrows at an early age; I saw boys three to four years old handling small weapons. These weapons (see under "Toys" /see pp. 241 ff./) serve for practice in shooting. First they shoot toward a fixed goal, a soft, cylindrically shaped root about 30 centimeters high and ten centimeters thick, which is set in the sand (Ill. 109). Later the father proceeds to instruction with the movable target. The father rolls a bast ring along on the ground. The boy stands about ten meters away from the father and shoots from ever greater distances into the moving ring. The arrow must remain hanging in the bast. A little boy four years old succeeded in doing this on the third shot at a distance of two meters. This bast ring [(wă)ˈsiŏ̃ˌlõˌlõ] is a ring-shaped bast pad three and a half centimeters thick and 18 1/2 centimeters in diameter, which is tightly wound with bast (Pl. 56, Ill. 2). Ehrenreich (Berlin 3960) designates it erroneously as a ring for carrying objects on the head, a practice which is not customary among the Karajá Indians. Later comes shooting at a flying target, with green gourds thrown into the air. Thus, the boys learn to shoot the bow at an early age and in general achieve great accuracy. There were Indians who made almost no missed shots while fishing; there were others, however, who were less skilled.

411
[938]
[939]

The bow consists of palm wood. This wood (ŏlõtṍ, wŏãlũṍ) allegedly grows only in the Tapirapé region. In any case, the Indians of the south horde, according to their unanimous testimony, obtain their bows or the material for them from the Karajá of the north horde or from the Tapirapé themselves. As a result, I was able to acquire bows only in the north horde; they were precious possessions in the south horde.

The bow is round, often slightly flattened on the front side, tapers /263/ /Ills. 109-112 appear here/ /264/ toward both ends,

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 182]

E. Krause--181 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9

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531

Ill. 110. Bow with white-colored winding, maize leaf, and feather tassel.

Ill. 112 a, b. Complete arrows.

Ill. 109. Fruit as target for bow-shooting.

Ill. 111. Bow with patterned plaiting around it and feather wreath.

/264 cont./

411 and terminates in offset thorn extensions. The length of the bowstring for my specimens amounts to 184-204 centimeters.

[283] The bowstring (ãnzũ, mbãũ; according to Ehrenreich, manhũga) is made by each person for himself by twisting together three twisted imbauva fiber strings. Its strength gradually decreases from the thicker end to the other one, and it finally terminates in a thin string. Ill. 110 shows how it is attached. The bowstring proper is the strong part, which is attached so that it can be lifted off at one end. The weaker part is led from the firm bow-end along the front side of the bow-wood to approximately the center of the bow, is fastened there, and then is tightly wound around the bow, back to the bow-end. The last [531] little end hangs down freely; it often bears a feather tassel. This winding is usually rubbed with white-earth coloring. In the middle of the bow, where it begins, a maize leaf is fastened as an ornament by means of a black cotton winding. The unwound part of the bow sometimes bears black and yellow plaiting around it (Ill. 111).

The arrows. In order to give a survey of the arrows, it is advisable first of all to group them according to the shapes of the points, for the formation of this part of the arrow depends, of course, on what it is to be used for, which is, after all, the most important thing about the arrow. In addition, however, I also wish to point out other varying characteristics, some of which seem to represent ownership and tribal signs.

First of all, it should be noted that each one makes his own [436] arrows. In view of the custom of using arrows as a means of pay- [431] ment, however, and exchanging them with the chief on visits to strange villages, as well as in turn receiving some as gifts from him, arrows of the most diverse origins are assembled in the hands of one individual; nevertheless, in view of the brief life-span of the arrows, those made by each one for himself predominate. Poisoning is not customary.

Before being shot, the arrows are examined with regard to their curvature by being turned between the right hand lifted up to the right shoulder and the left hand stretched far downward. If

/264 cont./

411 shaft and point do not form a straight line, but rather stand at a slight angle to each other, as can very easily happen, the deviation is removed by a slight bending. Only then is it shot.

On the arrow we distinguish between point and shaft, the latter with the feathering (Ill. 112 a, b). Arrows on which the point and shaft consist of one cane occur only among children (for bird hunting, see "Children's Toys" /see p.241 /); for adults, the point is always set in separately.

The point consists of a wooden rod (ŭhāhūnĭ), which either tapers to a point itself or at its front end bears a point made of a bamboo blade or a small bone.

[324] Arrows with a simple wooden point are used for hunting big game (jaguar, red deer, tapir, monkey). The point is round, flat, or three to four-edged and sometimes has an offset point at the top. Its length is 38-50 centimeters. Sometimes it is painted black (Ill. 113 a-f). A variation of such arrows /265/ has notched wooden points (hādĭbĭrādĭdĭ, ādĭdĭ). The notches are either cut on the edges of the three-edged wooden point or on one edge of flat wooden points. The number and arrangement of notches differ greatly (Ill. 113 g-i).

Ehrenreich mentions arrows with an inset, blunt wooden-block point for hunting birds and small animals. I did not see such arrows among the Karajá, but certainly among the Šavajé (see there /see p. 323 /). /Ill. 113 appears here./

/266/ Arrows with bamboo knives set on them (dĭ(ŭ)ādá) are used for hunting big game, but chiefly as war arrows. Since they break off easily and tear large wounds, they are very dangerous and usually lead to death. The bamboo knife is usually flat, only seldom considerably arched; it is joined to the [531] wooden stem by a fine bast winding. Often the knives are painted with black cross-stripes on the back. Knife and wooden stem usually have approximately the same length (30-40 centimeters); both /Ills. 114-117 appear here/ /267/ together are as long as the cane shaft proper (60-80 centimeters) (Ill. 114 a-c).

[Text Continues on P. 186]

5: Krause--184 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9

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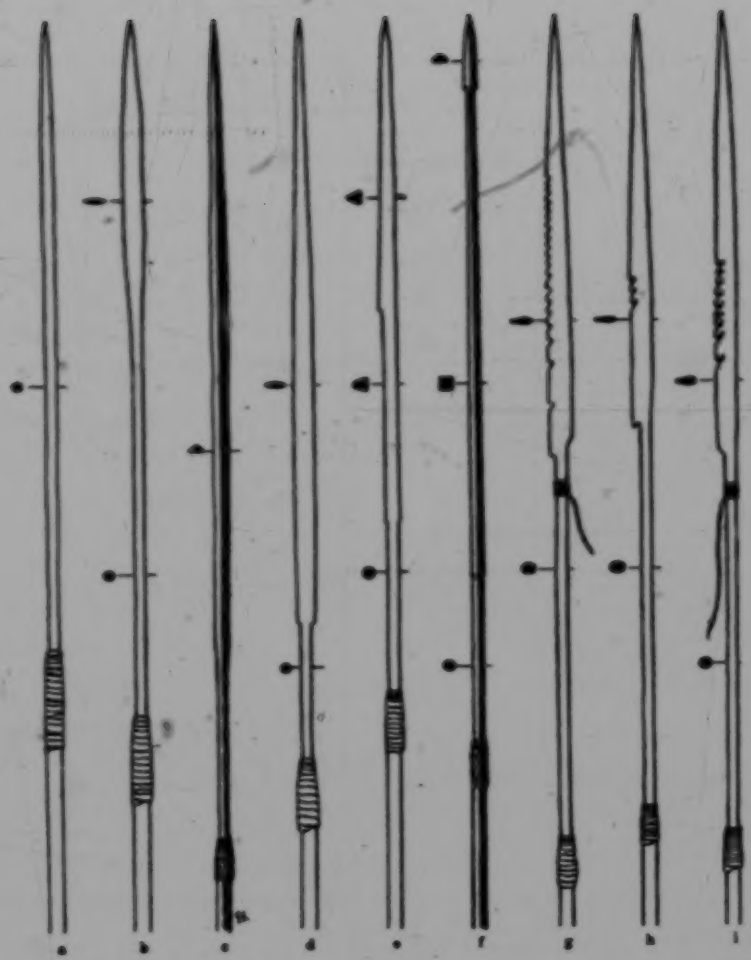

Ill. 113 a-i.
Arrows with wooden points.

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[227]
[237]
→

Ill. 114 a-c.
Arrows with bamboo knives as points.

Ill. 117.
Bone point to be stuck on arrow.

Ill. 115.
Arrow with bone points.

Ill. 116.
Arrow with ray-spine point.

/267 cont./

411 The arrows with the bone point set on them are used ex-
22 clusively for fishing. The bone point is set on in such a way
237 that its rear end projects laterally and thus forms a small barb.
[284] It is four to six centimeters long and is fastened to the wooden
[314] stem by a fine bast winding and a coating of black resin (Ill. 115). On my specimens this bone point is round throughout, whereas Ehrenreich brought back a second type of such arrow with a flat bone point (Berlin 4008) (1) and a third type with a tubular

1. I obtained arrows with flat bone points only from the Kayapó.

bone set on as a point (Berlin 4009). The stem in the case of these arrows is 40-50 centimeters long, sometimes natural color or painted red, but mostly painted black; the shaft has a length of 100-200 centimeters. The one reproduced in Ill. 117 was probably to be used as a point for an arrow with a monkey bone stuck on it (ūhĭdŏ, dūrŏlēnĭdĭ).

A single arrow bears, instead of the bone point, one made of a ray spine (Ill. 116); it comes from the village on the Tapirapé mouth.

411 The stem of the point has no other ornamentation than the
314 black or red painting. It is inserted in the shaft and made fast
[531] in it with resin. In order to detach it from the broken shaft and set it on a new one, the tube is warmed over the fire until the resin melts and the stem can be pulled out. The shaft end is cut to fit for the insertion of the stem, so that the transition into the stem is gradual. When the stem is set into the shaft, the latter often splits; the cracks are glued over with black resin.

411 A black, narrow strip of embira is wound over the place
284 of insertion; it is fastened to the shaft with light-colored resin.
[314] This winding (dŏdĕ) is done in different ways; it either covers stem and shaft in a continuous course, or, separated from the short attachment-winding, there is a longer shaft winding whose intermediate space is sometimes bridged by spirally wound or
[531] crossed winding. At this place one arrow will bear spiral incised ornamentation (ŭŏhūlădĭ, ĭlĭdĭ), another a black and yellow plaiting. A three-part attachment-winding is very rare (Ill. 118).

/267 cont./

411 The shaft (b'dõlẽ) consists of taquara cane. This cane
[824] seems to occur south of the Rio Tapirapé only in the region of the south horde. At the southern end of Bananal Island I came across a village that was on the move southward in order to obtain taquara for their arrows near Leopoldina. The shaft is 0.8-1.0 centimeters thick on the average; its length fluctuates, depending on the type of point (see above). I never saw shaft decorations.

411 The feathering, on the average, is 17-22 centimeters long.
237 Of all my arrows there are only two exceptions, one of which is 15 centimeters long, the other 31. The feathering is attached directly to the lower end of the shaft. Ehrenreich reports that the feathered end is often set into the shaft separately. His assump-
[114] tion that in this case the arrows had been repaired /268/ is confirmed by a specimen in my collection which was thus restored (Ill. 119a).

Great care is used in the construction of the feathering. It
[284] consists of two feathers standing opposite each other, the upper tips of which are held fast by the notch-lashing, and the inner
[314] vanes of which are clipped short. At the place where the quills are supposed to be fastened, the shaft is rubbed with resin; the halved quill ends are pressed on it, whereupon the vanes are set vertically to the shaft and /Ills. 118 and 119 appear here/ are given a turn (an eighth to a quarter of the circumference of the
[284] shaft) (Ill. 119b). Then the quill ends are tightly wound with
[283] black cotton thread (ãsõdẽbẽ), whereupon the outer vanes are cut to shape (Ill. 119c). In former times, the feathers were given the desired shape by singeing, but since the introduction of iron shears they are cut. Not until the feathering is finished is the point inserted.

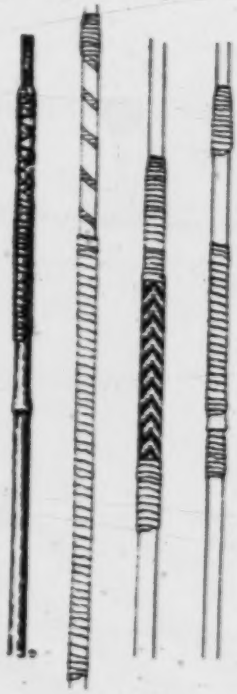
A different kind of feathering (spiral winding through the two halved /269/ /Ill. 120 appears here/ /270/ feathers) is found in the case of a few children's arrows of the north horde (see "Children's Toys" /see p. 241/). It is not yet certain whether this is an old feathering that has now become lost to adults.

/270 cont./

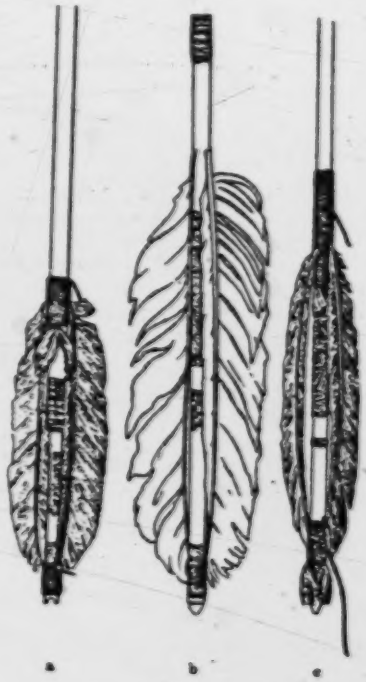
411 237 Little feathers which project in toward the inner part of the feathering and are mostly red, more rarely yellow, are tied into the cotton winding on the quill ends.

[531] The shaft part between the feathers is mostly decorated by bands or rings of red or yellow lacquer (Ill. 120 a-k). This

[284]



Ill. 118.
Point of attachment between the arrow shaft and point here.



Ill. 119 a-c.
Feathering: a) completed end, b) putting on the feathers, c) complete feathering.

decoration is put on only for the sake of a pleasing appearance.

411 283 The notch winding consists of fine white cotton thread. In the case of the arrows of the Karajá it extends up to the notch. According to Kuriši, the characteristic of Karajá [184] arrows lies in this; the Šavajé arrows are said to exhibit a small space between notch and lashing. Among the Šavajé, however, I also obtained arrows with the Karajá winding; perhaps this

[Text continues on p. 190]

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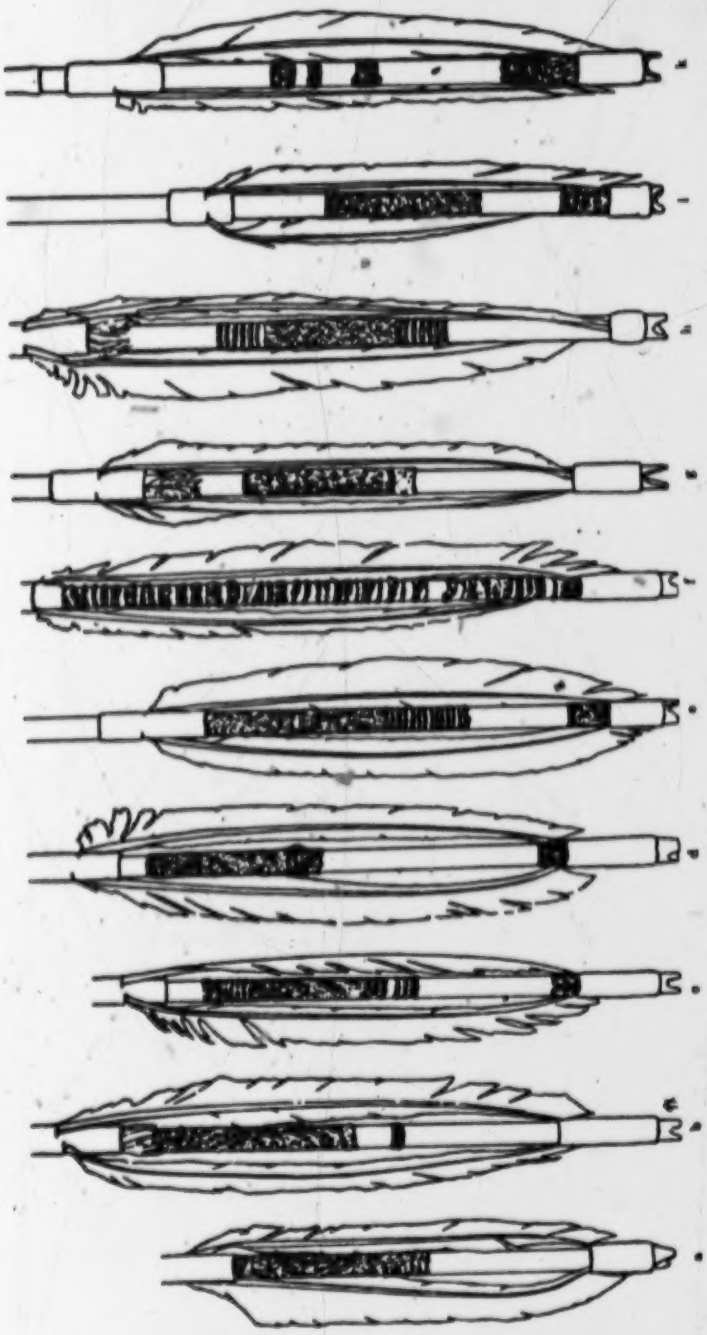
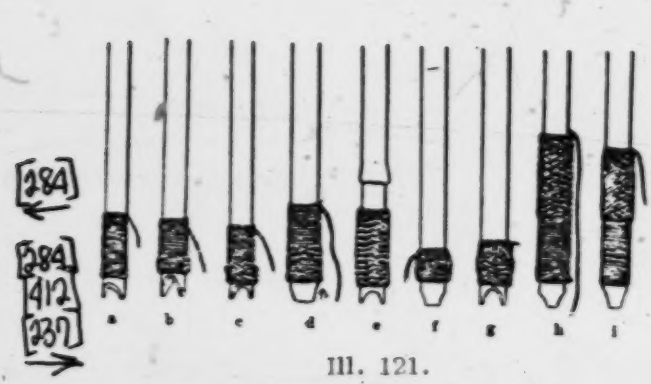
531



Ill. 120 a-k.
Decoration of the shaft between the feathers.

/270 cont./

411 goes back to the lively interchange between the two peoples.
283 The winding consists of parallel circuits; only the uppermost layers show deviations through a crossing of the threads (Ill. 120 a-i). According to Kurišť, four cross-threads are supposed to be characteristic for the Karajá, two cross-threads for the Tapirapé. I did not find this remark confirmed; rather, there was a positively magnificent wealth of the most diverse crossings. The arrows with the two cross-threads (Ill. 121b) and the differently executed notch windings in Ill. 121 h, i, however, were present in the village on the Tapirapé mouth.



Ill. 121.
Notch winding of the arrows.

Ill. 122.
Club groover.

Apparently these windings are the insignia of the makers of the arrows; for upon being questioned about the latter, foreign Karajá always examined the notch-end. I could not find out anything more specific about this, however, especially not whether each individual had his particular mark or whether families (or gens groups?) made specific marks which were the same for all members.

411 The notch (dõnăwŭdŭlõnă) is not cut in very deep and is slightly diagonal. In the case of a few arrows, two little red /271/ feathers are tied into the notch winding and project in the back, beyond the end (Ill. 119c). According to the statement of the Indians, they serve to send off the arrow more easily and do not tire the hand so much.

/271 cont./

411 The club (gõhõrdẽ) is the true war weapon of the Indians. The Karajá do not undertake a boat trip without having the club in the boat, along with arrows and bows, and on land journeys it is usually their sole companion. Even in the villages one sees the Indians, if they are armed at all, walking around with clubs.

The clubs are made of heavy wood (wõãlũõ). They are round, become thicker toward the striking end, and terminate in a pointed convexity with a sharp edge. The handle end terminates in a knob which is separated from the club by a thicker intermediate piece with two or three deep grooves. In Ehrenreich, the number of grooves varies between one deep one and four or five shallow grooves, while his Šambioá clubs show three grooves throughout. The type of clubs (and oar handles) which Ehrenreich brought back from the Šambioá, on which the intermediate piece is divided by a long, thin, smooth piece with wide, thick pieces projecting over it at both ends and each bearing a groove (3979 and elsewhere), does not occur among the Karajá.

The upper half of the club (from the striking end) is provided with lengthwise grooves. I did not see any smooth clubs
[412] such as Ehrenreich brought back. This lengthwise grooving is
[237] made with the tooth of a rodent (cutia; hãulĩ; according to Ehrenreich, also agouti or capybara) fastened to a wooden stick (Ill. 122). This grooving instrument, called hãulĩdjũ (= cutia tooth), is therefore not used to make arrows, as Ehrenreich assumed.

Occasionally there have remained standing in the length-
[531] wise grooving two diametrally placed smooth stripes about one centimeter wide, which, for the entire length, are decorated with incised decorations (Ill. 123).

411 Only rarely does one find clubs that bear a patterned plait-
285 ing of yellow taquara cane and black embira around them (Ill. 124).

This plaiting is always present in the small club-sticks, which I never saw in use and which Königswald designates as dance clubs. They either have the shape of the clubs, without, however, having a special handle, or they end in a wide blade and have an offset handle (Pl. 56, Ill. 3 a-c). The first type is

/271 cont./

411 approximately 70 centimeters long, the second approximately 50
285 centimeters long.

Ehrenreich speaks of a second type of club: flat, shovel-like clubs that have a four-sided, prismatic blade with sharp edges and a lancet-shaped point. The handle is plaited all around, and at both ends of the plaiting cotton tassels hang down ("Beiträge," Pl. VI, Ill. 11). He obtained two such clubs from the Šambioá (Berlin 3980), whereas he saw a cruder form among the Karajá. The question is whether this club form belonged to the Karajá
[171] originally. For I came across such forms neither among the Karajá nor among the Šavajé, but certainly among the Kayapó, /272/ among whom broad cutting-clubs seem to be indigenous. It may be that the Šambioá took over this form from the Kayapó. Only a small child's club of the Karajá (Ill. 125) shows a similar type (1),

1. Cf. also, however, the club stick above (Pl. 56, Ill. 3c).

but it comes from the village on the Tapirapé mouth, so that here, too, it is not certain whether an old, now extinct club form has been preserved in this child's toy or whether it is not more likely that there is influence from the Tapirapé or the Kayapó.

411 The lances (dõnõlǐ; Ill. 126) play a minor role. They are a weapon peculiar to the Karajá. Today they are probably used
[824] only as a display weapon for festivities, visits, etc. In former
[825] times they were put to use in hunting for jaguars: the bunches of feathers on the tip were supposed to make the animal fearful and uncertain, so that the Indian, at the most auspicious moment, /Ills. 123-126 appear here/ was able to deliver the death blow (according to the statements of the Indians). I never heard that they were ever used in war.

[824] The shaft consists of heavy palm wood (aruera); it is almost always 240-260 centimeters long and about three centimeters thick; only two specimens of my collection are a little over 200 centimeters long.

/272 cont./

411 [237] [284] The point is formed by a sharpened thigh bone of the jaguar; /Pl. 56 appears here/ /273/ it is about 20 centimeters long. Where it is mounted on the shaft, the latter is wound for about ten centimeters with red cotton string, from the upper circuits of which long tassels of arara feathers hang down. To

Ill. 123. Club.

Ill. 124. Club with plaiting around the handle end.

Ill. 125. Child's club. Karajá.

Ill. 126. Lance.

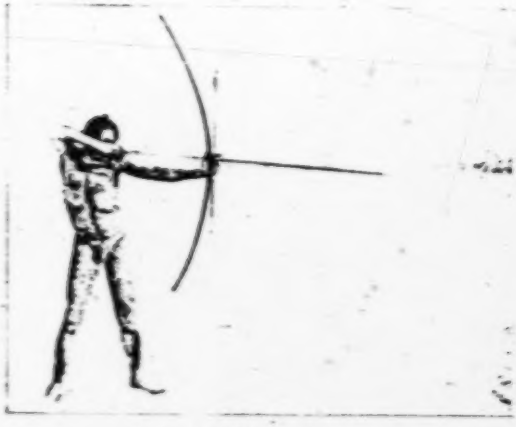
411 285 this winding is joined below a patterned plaiting which consists of yellow longitudinal strips of taquara interwoven crosswise all [531] around with strips of embira. The plaiting is 50-80 centimeters long; its ornaments are the common plaited ornaments (1).

[113] 1. See my article, "Die Kunst der Karajá-Indianer /The Art of the Karajá Indians/," Bässler Archiv, Vol. II, No. 1, 1911.

[Text continues on p. 195]

Plate 56

411



1. Archer.

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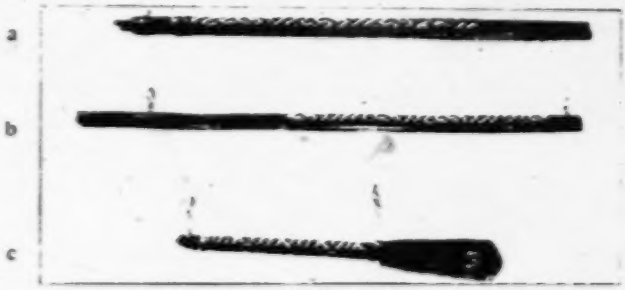
415

2. Target ring.

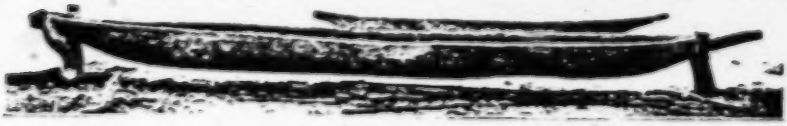
4 a-c. Small carrying-gourds.

411



3 a-c. Club sticks.

501



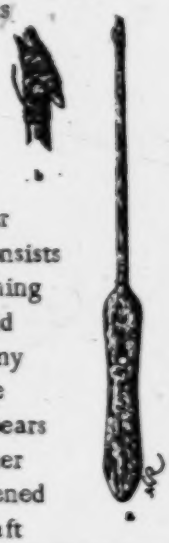
5. Karajá boat on work-rack.

/273 cont./

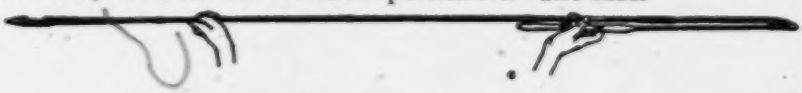
411 Ehrenreich also says that this plaiting is decorated above and
[531] below with small feather wreaths; this is not the case among my
[285] specimens.

According to statements by the Indians, in olden times their spears did not have bone points, but rather ran out in front into the pointed shafts; otherwise they were equipped like the spears of today.

[178] The following weapons no longer serve a serious purpose. Either they have become sporting weapons, like the arrow thrower, or children's toys (pellet-bow), or they have died out.



The arrow thrower (ãŭbĭ, ōbĭrŭ; Ill. 127a) is reminiscent in its form of the arrow throwers of the Xingu tribes, except that it is considerably larger (67 centimeters long). The hook at the upper end consists of bone and is attached by means of white cotton lashing (Ill. 127b). The arrow belonging to it (kŏhūlã) should
[829] really be made of hĕdžĭwã cane (Canna brava). In my model specimen the shaft consists of cambayuva cane and is about one and a half meters long; in front it bears a bulbous point of heavy palm wood (Ill. 127c). Other arrows are said to have points of stone which are fastened with wax, but I did not see such specimens.. The shaft



Ill. 127 a-c.
a) Arrow thrower, b) detail of the hook, c) handling the arrow-thrower.

is unfeathered; it has no notch. Ehrenreich's arrows of ubã cane, on the other hand, have at the end a cut-out section that contains the notch hole. The specimen of throwing stick and arrow reproduced here was made by the Indians at my request.

The manner of handling it is shown in Ill. 127c. The thrower is held in the right hand; the arrow, with the rear, hollow end hooked into the peg, is laid on the board and grasped here with the right hand as follows: the thumb lies on the right edge of the /274/ throwing board, the second finger is stuck into the hole of the handle, the third finger reaches from the left edge over the arrow, the fourth extends from the left edge under the arrow, in other

/274 cont./

411 words, rests between the latter and the board, while the fifth finger lies on the left edge. The front end of the arrow is supported with the outstretched left hand. The arrow is hurled with the same motion with which a spear is thrown. Horizontal, high, and low throws (the latter in fishing) may be executed with it.

I no longer came across this implement among the Karajá; they were familiar with it, to be sure, but in the south horde there were middle-aged persons who maintained that they had never seen one. Its use was known, however, and it was universally re- [184] ported that the Šavajé had many throwing sticks and still used them.

411 526 Among the Karajá it is now used only as a sporting weapon in the game called ǎnārkǎntědūŏhŭ (game of the Tapirapé), which is supposed to take place at the time of the blossoming of the pau d'arco. According to the description, the game proceeds as follows: Two youths stand facing each other, both armed with arrow thrower and arrows. One of them issues a challenge to battle by singing, wōhŭlāḷǎkūdjě, wōhŭlāḷǎkūdjě: throw the arrow, you won't hit me anyway. The other replies, djŏbĭdjŏbĭkŏ, djŏbĭkŏ dèhōĭ: I shall indeed hit you. Then they start throwing arrows at each other toward the thighs or ankles, and each tries to show his skill in throwing, as well as in dodging the arrow. If a person does not dodge adroitly, the arrow is said to penetrate quite deep into the flesh and can be forced out only by being struck from both sides with the throwing stick. Bad wounds are said to result.

[171] The name of the game is striking: game of the Tapirapé. The Karajá reported that the Tapirapé were in possession of the throwing stick and also this game. This suggests that the Karajá took it over from there, if we think of the presence of this implement in the Xingu source region. The circumstances that caused the loss of this implement among the Karajá and its flourishing again among the Šavajé eludes our knowledge.

411 I did not see the pellet-bow (bŏdŏkě) among the Karajá. I was told in the south horde, however, that they knew how to make it and that the children threw stones with it to kill small [179] birds. Probably the Indians took it over from the Brazilians, whose children in Leopoldina largely used it as a toy. The lack

/274 cont./

411 of a native word for the instrument at least leads to the conclu-
[177] sion that the implement, too, is not native.

Note. By way of supplement, I must here discuss two implements about which the Indians gave me information that could not be checked at all. It was my principle to inquire
[125] systematically about everything that might possibly occur; and where the description was not adequate, I made models. Thus, I demonstrated a stone sling to the Indians. They then told me, in agreement in various villages, that this instrument (nĕrŭdĭ) was familiar to them, but that they did not use it because of a scarcity of stones. Allegedly they had taken it over from the
[177] Brazilians. It /275/ was impossible for me to induce the Indians to make such an instrument.

Even more dubious are the statements about the boomerang. My informant Kurišĭ, whom, on the basis of my other experiences, I must regard as trustworthy, told me: his mother told him in his childhood that the Karajá of the north horde had a stick (ĭādĕzĕ) that came back when it was thrown. He had not seen such an implement; it must therefore have fallen into disuse long ago, I was unable to gain confirmation of these two statements; I am therefore repeating them here with all reservations.

411 The Indians do not have defensive weapons. Against blows
714 they protect themselves merely with the hand and the arm. They ward off flying arrows with the club; they do not know how to divert them with the spear, with bow or arrow. They have no real protection against the recoil of the bowstring; the recoil is even said to be very painful. It is somewhat mitigated by the arm cuff (dĕsĭ); a person who does not wear cuffs, like the married men, wraps bast around his lower arm; this apparently occurs only in war, however, for I did not notice anything of the kind for fishing.

714 Amulets are lacking; they use only a charm against arrow
951 shooting; a disk ten centimeters in diameter and made out of scraped pieces of the bowstring is glued on both sides of the chest with resin. They believe that no arrow can then hit the chest.

/275 cont./

8. Means of Transportation and Communication.

484 [364] The Indians do not like to travel by land. The north-south extension of their dwelling area along the river essentially requires boat trips from village to village. Land marches are undertaken only to visit the plantings or foreign tribes. For both purposes paths exist.

487 The paths are approximately 20-25 centimeters wide and are produced by the treading down or pulling up of clumps of grass; they do not go straight, but make slight meanderings. The 481 Indians walk on them single file, one behind the other. Their feet are not, as is often said, placed exactly one in front of the other, but rather, as I was constantly able to observe on marches lasting for days, the Indians turn their toes outward, exactly as we do; at most they sometimes turned their feet slightly inward when a taller clump of grass along the side required it. It is also very pleasant to walk barefoot on these paths; they are kept very clean and smooth.

485 For short marches, such as to the plantings, there are no special arrangements; it is different in the case of paths that lead cross-country for days and are more frequently traveled. They are provided with shelter-huts at intervals of a day's march, cooking places, ferry boats and water-transport vessels on either side of the waters. I traveled such a traffic route when I marched across Bananal Island in order to reach the Šavajé.

482 As a means of transport by land the back-baskets (bĕhūlĕ) are chiefly used; they are carried on shoulder-band and forehead-band and /276/ quite enormous loads may be transported in them (Pl. 57, Ills. 1 and 2). All other heavy loads are also carried on the carrying-band of brown bast (ōūnă), which is placed around the forehead or the chest; for example, the large carrying baskets (wālīlĭ, Pl. 57, Ill. 3). For my knapsacks, the Indians likewise made themselves forehead-bands. Large sleeping mats are rolled up and transported crosswise upon the head.

/276 cont./

482 415 Smaller loads are carried in containers on a hand-strap, for example, in carrying sacks (mãsĩ; Pl. 57, Ills. 5 and 6), carrying bags (lõlũ; Pl. 57, Ill. 4), two-piece baskets (wrãbãhĩ; Pl. 57, Ills. 16 and 17), small pouches (Pl. 55, Ill. 6 a-c), or in small gourd vessels, the perforated edges of which hold the carrying-bands or which are either plaited round with bast (dãlĩlĩkũ) or are set into a net of black cotton plaiting (wãlãbũkũ; Pl. 56, Ill. 4 a-c).

854 Children ride on the hip and are held there with the hand (Pl. 12, Ill. 4; Pl. 37, Ill. 2; Pl. 42, Ills. 2, 3).

50 [484] Their principal journeys take place by water in a boat. The boat (ãwõ), of which there is one or more in each family, consists of a dugout six to ten meters long and 40-60 meters wide. The two ends are greatly elongated and slope up from below, so that getting on and off the sandbanks is easily accomplished (Pl. 56, Ill. 5). The boats have no seats; one squats or sits on the narrow bottom. Sometimes cross-rods are put in, upon which the cargo is placed to protect it from the bilge water. In one place [372] in the boat there is often a layer of loam upon which lies the smoldering wood for transporting fire.

The boats are propelled with oars and poles; both are used in journeys upstream and downstream, the poles, of course, only in shallow water. The oars (nãlĩhĩ) are manipulated freely as paddles, [illegible], indeed, the rowers kneel or sit in the boat, their [502] faces in the direction of travel. If the boat is propelled by one man, he sits at the rear end and steers at the same time; with a crew of two men, one sits at the front end and one at the rear; several rowers distribute themselves over the entire boat. In the latter case, the rowing rhythm is entirely spontaneous, since the [533] ones in the rear must adjust to the man in front. The song which young people like to take up while rowing has nothing to do with the rhythmical rowing. There are various ways of working the oars: short strokes with pauses after each stroke; long, evenly spaced strokes; slow strokes with a lifting of the blade at the end, so that the water falls off the blade in a broad surge, are regarded [197] as a particularly elegant manner of rowing. The Indians have great endurance; they row for many hours without interruption.

/276 cont./

501 The oars are about 130 centimeters long and have a blade 18-19 centimeters wide and about 70 centimeters long, which [531] terminates in an offset, elongated point. The blade is sometimes painted black; a center cross-band is left blank and painted red. The handle end has a short, curved /Pl. 57 appears here/ /277/ crutch. Below this on the handle there are three raised rings, which are produced by two notched grooves; they are characteristic of the Karajá (1) (Ill. 128 a, b).

1. See club handles above /see pp. 191-192/.

Ill. 128 a, b. Karajá oar.

The rudder is identical with the oar; it is likewise freely manipulated.

[824] Poles (hõdjũ, wãlõtõ, made of meijú wood) are about four to five meters long; they are cut out of slender, thin trees, under the white bark of which lies a red bast, which, freshly peeled, smells like cress. When the pole is not in use, it is stuck into a short loop which is drawn through the boat wall in front and floats alongside. The poling is done from the front end of the boat, whether the Indian moves the boat alone or has a helmsman with him. He sets the pole in, now on this side, now on that, depending on the direction of travel, then turns around, presses the end against his chest, and, going five or six paces to the middle of the boat, pushes again toward the middle. Then he goes back to the front and starts anew (Pl. 1).

This walking causes a violent rocking of the boat; the Indians are very skillful, however, so that no water pours in. If several Indians push with poles, they stand turned alternately to the right and left and move the poles from that position. When they pull forward, they set the poles so far from the boat that no water can enter.

Whereas rowing is practiced equally by men and women, I never saw women traveling with the poles.

[Text continues on p. 202]

5: Krause--201 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9

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415
482

1. Back basket.

3. Round carrying-basket with forehead band.

2. Back basket.

12.

4. Carrying bag.

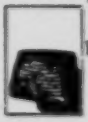
5. Carrying sack.

6. Carrying sack.

13.

12 and 13. Oblong basket plaited out of a leaf pinna.

8.



10.

9.

11.

8-11. Baskets with square bottoms and round openings.

7. Pointed-oval basket.

14. Basket-bowl, both plaited out of two pinnae each.

15. Basket,

16. Two-piece basket, opened.

17. Two-piece basket, closed.

/277 cont./

501 [502] The boat is pushed over shallow places; to get over exposed sandbanks extending crosswise, wooden rollers are laid down on which the boat is rolled across (Ill. 9).

There are no anchors for securing the boat; stones with plaiting around them serve only as anchors for the bottom tackle for turtles. The boats are easily pulled up on the bank, and the boat pole is stuck into the sand through the loop; this is the whole mooring.

[415] Half-gourds are used to scoop out the water that enters.

[532] I saw decorated boats only in Village No. 20. Here, on [484] the inner wall of a boat, there were light-colored human figures; [211] another boat had 36 notches on the edge, which were said to be the number of nights required for a journey to the Šambioá.

484 Such trips lasting for weeks are usually undertaken in a large company; often the entire village sets out in a great number of boats packed high. By themselves the Indians only make [262] journeys of one or two days. By way of /278/ provisions they take only a little with them: manioc, maize, and the cooking pot; the fish are caught on the way twice a day. Rower and helmsman change places daily on longer journeys, especially if only two men are traveling in the boat.

502 132 Shipwrecks sometimes occur, especially while crossing the river in a storm. Such accidents, in which Indians lost their lives and of which several examples were recounted to me, are easily explainable in view of the high waves which storms create on the river and the narrow, low boats of the Indians. In fact, I myself with my boats (dugouts with one or two side planks set on them) was often forced to seek refuge from wind and waves for hours on high banks or on sandbanks.

The Indians endure bad weather on the journey rather simply. They quickly build themselves small sheltering walls out of poles and prepared palm leaves, which they always carry with them on longer journeys, or they pull the boat on land, turn it upside down, and lie down under it wrapped in their coverings beside a fire which they light in the center. They spend the worst nights of storm and rain in this manner.

/278 cont./

9. Trade, Money, Measures.

484 The Karajá undertake their boat trips and land journeys almost entirely for the sake of fishing and for supplies of raw ma-
437 terials. Trade among themselves is carried on only during
438 occasional visits. For example, Pedro took huge quantities of urucú kernels along to his home (Village 2) from Village 19, as the reason he said that there was no urucú above the Rio Tapirapé; he probably meant none of the one particular, very highly appreciated kind providing red coloring. In the villages north of the Tapirapé mouth there was also urucú coloring matter pressed into rolls or into the form of flat cakes, which were sold in such packings. The south horde seems to be dependent on the north horde in various other respects: they buy or bought bow wood, red coloring for painting the pots, stones for stone axes, net coverings, stone lip-plugs, and tamed araras from the north horde, who either produce these themselves or acquire them from the Tapirapé or Šavajē.

From the Šavajē, who are regarded as very rich, they buy tobacco seedlings, manioc roots, arrows, net coverings, etc.

437 They carry on trade with the Brazilians, in part through the
439 Brazilian boats passing by, to whom they offer wax in large balls for calking their boats, as well as manioc, chickens, and fish, in exchange for tobacco, salt, farina, beads, and knives, and in part on great trading expeditions which they themselves undertake in August and September to Santa Maria and sometimes even to Conceição. For this purpose they collect beforehand on their fishing expeditions in the Rio Tapirapé and the many lakes of the river great quantities of turtles, turtle eggs, dried fish, etc., in order to exchange these in the large Brazilian towns for products of European civilization, /279/ especially iron tools, material for blankets for the cold nights, ornamental beads, tobacco, and salt.

437 There are no special standards of value in trade; simple
435 barter still takes place. Among themselves, however, they have fixed prices: a boat costs one ax or two capybara teeth, etc.

/279 cont. /

435 In dealing with us it was necessary first to establish special values. From experience they know approximately the value of chains of beads, knives, shears, axes, and even in their own demands they put this in definite relationship to the value of the trade item concerned. In general they evaluate their objects well, know how to distinguish articles of little value from useful ones, and ask correspondingly varying prices. It was only in the beginning that one had difficulties in each village until the mutual appraisal of value was successful.

436 The simplest medium of exchange was Goyaner roll-tobacco; one piece three fingers long was regarded as a unit of payment for finger rings, lip-plugs, clay and wax figures, one photographic session, etc. For larger objects, glass beads served as the most common medium of exchange. The small change, so to speak, was a chain of about 100 beads. Color and size of the
435 beads naturally altered the value, but this differed greatly, depending on the fashion that happened to prevail in the village, so that in one village small white beads, in another large blue ones, were valued the highest. All colors were accepted; they disliked taking green, as well as transparent beads; on the other hand, they liked white and blue ones and liked best yellow and red ones. With such chains of beads, smaller ornamental objects, arrows, and the like were bartered. Of higher value were small knives, mirrors, shears, fish hooks (as strong and large as possible) for larger ornaments, utilitarian objects, medicines, toys, etc. The most highly valued were forest knives (facão), axes (especially North American ones with a blue upper part), and cotton fabrics (one piece - four meters). For one of these pieces one received a boat or a lance, a bow with arrows, a feather head-wheel, a travel attendant for eight to ten days with free board and lodging. Of their goods they most highly valued net coverings, stone lip-plugs, and capybara teeth.
[430] For these one had to give goods valued from 30-50 marks. Dance masks were not for sale at all.

/279 cont./

437 Trading proceeded very quietly. The Indians brought their articles and stated their demands; after carefully examining the object, I made my offer, or possibly the object was refused. They regularly asked to see the article concerned, whether it was a bead chain, mirror, knife, shears, etc. Then it was given to an expert for approval; they have such persons for beads, iron implements, cloth, etc. Only after this one had expressed approval was the sale completed. Otherwise I was obliged to show other things. The exchanged object then went from hand to hand, was tested or tried on by everyone, and did not reach the hands of the owner until afterwards. Iron implements were subjected to the nail test, beads to the tooth test. Dull /280/ iron implements, beads that broke, or used objects were not accepted. For the rest, everyone let the others bargain for themselves, did not interfere, and gave his opinion only if asked, a very pleasant custom.

435 804 There are no special measures. They want knives and shears as large as possible; quality is less important. Otherwise I only saw how boats were measured. Ordinary boats reach from the foot to the knee, higher boats up to one handbreadth above the knee; for such boats the Indian pays two capybara teeth. In the barter with us the cupped hand or small gourds and mussel shells served as dry measures.

10. Techniques.

463 438 Apparently everyone makes his own implements and tools. Only occasionally did I observe that individual persons made certain things in larger quantities; for example, in Schischá pots and sieves were made, probably for Brazilian use; in José's village, hats, in Alfredo's village, mats were made in quantities. This and the statements about the purchase value of certain objects seem to point to a trade among themselves and accordingly probably also to manufacturing by certain persons beyond their personal needs.

/280 cont./

462 A. The division of labor by age and sex is such that the
561 male youths actually do nothing other than to practice the weapons craft and occasionally travel out to fish. In addition, they make their own weapons, as well as their feather ornaments and the cotton dance-belts. The married men, on the other hand, are usually busy; either they work in the plantings, or they go out twice a day to fish for their families, go hunting, plait baskets
[589] and hats, build houses, and bring in the harvest. In general, the men, when they are married, have a great deal of work and that is why young people no longer want to get married, having been infected by a few older bachelors who preach the ideal of bachelorhood: idling, smoking, chatting in the mask house.

The women learn their manual skills, such as spinning and weaving, from childhood on. Married women take care of the plantings, the harvest, tend the children, cook, make pottery, spin and weave, and plait mats. In general, to be sure, they have to work the whole day, so that one never sees them unoccupied, but in general their lot is a good one; hard work is never demanded of them, but is always taken over by the men.

412 B. Of their ancient tools some have already disappeared (1)
178

1. Iron tools seem to have penetrated in the previous generation. A 40-year old Indian of the south horde told me that he had not seen work done with stone axes any more, only his mother told him about it.

or are used in another way, they still, however, use stone axes /281/ as striking stones, small stone knives for tattooing, bone needles for sewing, mussel shells as scrapers and spoons, sets of piranha teeth for cutting the strips for plaiting baskets. More and
[177] more, however, iron implements are coming in: axes, bush knives, small knives, and shears are used everywhere, likewise iron crochet needles. In spite of these foreign implements, how-
[176] ever, the technique has happily kept its ancient character, and only occasionally are innovations, under the influence of the Brazilian inhabitants, to be noted.

/281 cont./

412 Brazilian inhabitants, to be noted. This shows us how tenaciously
178 the Karajá cling to their nationality, in spite of long association with their civilized neighbors.

311 C. The exploitation of the natural kingdom varies in intensity; the mineral kingdom is exploited least, the vegetable kingdom, which can, of course offer the Indian the most abundant resources, the most.

135 The mineral kingdom is as yet little utilized. Stones are rare in the alluvial valley of the Araguaya; at most there is small rubble on a few sandbanks; otherwise fine sand covers the river valley. On the steep vertical banks there is canga, a ferrous sandstone which cannot be utilized except perhaps in larger pieces which, with plaiting around them, serve as anchors for turtle tackle. Stones are found only north of the Tapirapé, and all of the few stone implements that were present came from there.

317 More frequently used is the gray clay which is embedded in
323 narrow layers in the sandstone of the high banks. It is used for pottery. This art, however, in its technique and form, is still very primitive; ornamentation is entirely lacking. The vessels are shaped according to their practical use; they are made by
562 the women. Apparently the women are more practical and less artistically endowed than the men, for we find everywhere that the things made by the women are simple and practical, those by the men, by contrast, show pleasing forms and ornamentation.

317 Earths are also but little utilized as colors.

237 The animal kingdom is utilized somewhat more intensively for technical purposes by the Indians. Bones and teeth of mammals are worked into tools and ornaments; mussel shells serve as implements. The bird kingdom is most abundantly drawn upon: their brilliant feathers are used for magnificent ornaments such as
235 scarcely any other Indian tribe displays in this abundance. In order to have the material for this always at hand, the Indians keep young birds, taken from the nest, tamed in their huts in order to
237 pluck them from time to time. The wax of bees plays an important role as gluing material.

/281 cont./

824 Most of all, the Indian exploits the vegetable kingdom, and here he has also gone over to the cultivation of plants useful to him. He already has at his disposal, of course, many useful wild plants in the way of trees (leaf trees, palms), shrubs, varieties of cane, etc.

Almost all parts of the plants are utilized, in each case, of course, only certain ones: wood, bark, leaves, stem, bast, [241] blossom. Of plants whose fruits are used technically, the following are planted: /282/ gourds, cotton, urucú. The gluing ma- [314] terials, with the exception of wax, are taken exclusively from plant resins.

324 412 In the following, the processing and utilization of the individual raw materials will be described.

D. Stones are used above all as stone axes. The material for them is chiefly granular diabase or diorite. Nothing is known about how they are made. At the present time they serve only as striking stones for the preparation of bark cloth and for cracking nuts. Apparently they all come from the Rio Tapirapé, as well as from the mountains north of it, and are perhaps not even made by the Karajá themselves, but acquired from the Tapirapé through trade. In shape, there are flat axes and axes with a shaft groove (Ills. 100-102). As a nutcracker I found a stone apparatus consisting of stone base and small hammer, which, in shape, is quite peculiarly suited for this. Through long use a smooth, round hollow was produced in the slightly convex striking surface of the hammer (Ill. 99). Such stones are said to come from the cachoeira /cataract/ near St. Maria. The small stone knives which are used for tattooing are made anew each time out of the flint rubble of the sandbanks by splitting the flint with a stone or iron ax and using the sharpest splinters without any further treatment (Ill. 52b). Nothing is known about the making of the long stone lip plugs (Ill. 62). Allegedly they are struck into shape with [439] stones. The Karajá do not make them themselves, but barter for them with the Tapirapé.

/282 cont./

323 317 [462] E. Earths, besides being used as colors (see under "Coloring Substances" /see p. 240 /), are used only for making pottery, which is practiced by the women. The material used is the grayish-white clay (zõũ) that occurs in strata on the steep banks and, in conical shape, is stored in piles in the villages. For use it is first pulverized very fine and then mixed with a number of additions. The most important addition is mãũzĩ (Pl. 58, Ill. 1), a creation designated by the Brazilian-speaking Indians as the nest of the cupim d'agua, which is found in huge quantities as a covering of the roots and lower branches of the trees along the banks. One finds it piled up in great heaps near the villages. It is burned in the fire, then pounded, and, mixed with water, added to the pottery clay.

323 [824] Another addition is obtained from the purple blossom (ãdẽnã) of a tree; the blossoms are burned and their ashes mixed in with the clay. This statement by Pedro seems to correspond to the custom of making the clay more resistant by means of the flinty content of the ashes of certain creepers, as reported by Ehrenreich from C. de Magalhães ("Beiträge," p. 19).

The shaping of the vessels is done in the following manner: The bottom is shaped out of a flat cake, on which a low edge is simultaneously worked out. A potter's wheel is absent; an old pot-bottom or most often a rod-sieve, the structure of which is imprinted in the soft clay, serves as a base (Pl. 58, Ill. 2). Smaller vessels are shaped on the hand. /283/ The potter then mixes the gray clay with water, twirls it between the palms of her hands into a roll, places this on her left lower-arm, and, with the right index finger, presses a longitudinal groove into it (Ill. 129). The roll is now placed with the groove on the edge of the bottom piece and is then pressed flat toward the top (Ill. 130). It is so arranged that the roll corresponds exactly to the circumference of the vessel. Roll is placed upon roll in this manner and then smeared together with the hand or even with a smoothing stone, until the vessel is finished.

/283 cont./

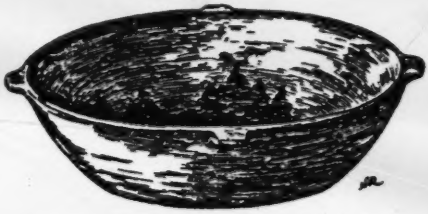
323 After this the vessels are dried slightly in the sun and then fired. This is done on an ordinary hearth. I observed how a large cooking pot stood on three hearth shards with the opening downward and was being fired by a fire underneath it (Ill. 131). I am unable to say whether a firing is also done from the outside. I did not see the use of the termite hill as a kiln, as Ehrenreich reports from Magalhães ("Beiträge," p. 19), anywhere during the dry season; the shaping and firing always took place on the sandbanks on the ordinary hearth.

Ill. 129.

[415] Pressing the groove into the roll of clay.

Ill. 130.
Placing the roll of clay on the edge of the bottom of the vessel.

Ill. 131.
Firing the pot.



Ill. 132.
Clay bowl with four protuberances on the rim.

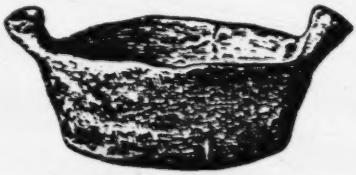
415 Large cooking pots, grave urns which are nothing more than huge cooking pots with a lid, three-legged cooking pots, and bowls are made. All these vessels are called wǎdjĭwĭ. Concerning the sun-dried clay dolls as toys, see p. 247.

The shapes are very simple: the common type is the slightly curved double-conical shape (Ill. 89); the double-bellied pot (Ill. 90) is rare; and the three-legged cooking pot (Ill. 91) is also not too /284/ frequent. Dishes are rare; the most frequent are the shallow bowls (see Ill. 95 /see [417] p. 172/). The eating dish with the four rim-protuberances (Ill. 132) is most peculiar; perhaps it is the result of Brazilian influence, which is

/284 cont. /

415 very pronounced in the pottery in the villages from Leopoldina
172 to São José. These villages furnish the Brazilians with cooking
[439] and eating vessels, so that in São José and Leopoldina one finds
Indian vessels almost exclusively. They have already been
[531] adapted, however, to the taste of the Brazilians: the small eating dishes have the typical bowl-shape and on the edge bear a decoration in red color (Ill. 96). The water-cooling vessels, too, which the Indians in the villages mentioned make for the Brazilians, show the purely Brazilian type and red decoration.
[386] The red designs are made with an earth color. The red earth
[317] for this (zũzõ̆, zõ̆ũbũlẽ̆) comes from the Barreira do Veado and is taken along to São José and Schischá by the Indians of the north horde traveling south for arrow cane, in order to sell it to the Indians
[531] there. It is applied mixed with water. The true Indian vessels are undecorated.

172



Ill. 133.
Old clay-vessel.

I obtained in Schischá a most peculiar vessel, whose origin is unknown (Ill. 133). It is irregularly spotted dark red and black as a result of uneven firing; it is apparently made out of very crude clay and in a very primitive fashion. The two knobs on the edge, which are slightly hollowed out on top, are striking. The vessel was found several decades ago in the sand of a sandbank by Indians from Schischá on a journey downstream. The Indians themselves were unable to say where the vessel might come from.

415 I did not see anywhere the pot and bowl forms brought back by
114 Ehrenreich: shallow, round dishes (Berlin 3862), flat, round plates (3863 and 3864), flat, oval plates (3865), low elliptical double bowls with a dividing wall running lengthwise (3866), cylindrical pot with turned-down rim and bast hanging-band (3861), double conical pot with hanging band (3858), and clay spoons (3878).

/284 cont./

237 The utilization of the animal kingdom for technical pur-
321 poses is likewise confined within narrow limits.

F. Bones have multiple uses when sharpened to a point. The thigh bones of the jaguar, tapered and sharpened, are used as spear points; the cutting surfaces and edges are carefully smoothed. Howling-monkey bones (ǎzōdĭ) find the most use as lip plugs, piercer for lip and ear holes, and points for the fish arrows. It is not known what kind of bones are used to make the small needles for sewing hats, which are round in front and bear a small eye in the flat end-piece (Ill. 140). All these /285/ bone tools are well polished. Unfortunately I could learn nothing about how they are made.

A piece of the breastplate of the tartaruga is made into flat spindle disks (Ill. 144a).

The hard palates of the pirarucú fish are used in their crude state as a grater, as well as the teeth for ornaments and tools. The incisors of the capybara are fastened as the supreme ornament on the mother-of-pearl disks of the ear rosettes of small
[435] children. These teeth are among the most valuable objects of the Indians, for the timid animals are very difficult to hunt. They are kept in pairs of equal size, usually a pair of smaller ones and a pair of larger ones are placed one on top of the other, glued with wax, and wound with cotton threads (kūwǎ, Ill. 64). The tooth of the cutia is lashed to a wooden stem with cotton thread and, mounted in this way, serves for grooving the clubs (Ill. 122).

Shells are used in part in the crude state, in part worked. The most important kinds are (Pl. 45, Ill. 1 a-c): the triangular shell (būlŭ), the mother-of-pearl shell (ŏzīnŏhŏ), the two-pointed shell (dālǎ, īdjĕ). Lip plugs are made from the fine two-pointed shell or the thick triangular shell, and from the latter in such a way that the freely projecting, arched end is removed from the thick, hinged part of the shell. Nothing is known about the manner of manufacture; the edges are well ground. Mother-of-pearl shells are ground on stone into small round disks for ear rosettes and stool eyes. Crude, rectangular pieces of shell with

/285 cont./

237 two holes in the center are sewed on the belt of the long string-
321 skirts of the girls (Ill. 69), as well as on the cylinder-bands of the dance masks. As spoons and scrapers they use mother-of-pearl mussel shells, which are only slightly worked, but are usually used in the crude state.

287 Concerning the feather technique, see below in connection with the tying, knotting, and plaiting technique /see pp. 233 ff./.

824 The utilization of the vegetable kingdom is very extensive. The cane species are used remarkably little; apparently the region is poor in them.

G. The wood of trees is made into boats, poles, oars, mortars and pestles, stools, lances, bows, throwing boards, arrow points, manioc grating boards, lip plugs, comb teeth, etc. Soft or hard woods are used, depending on the purpose. I was not always able to learn which kinds of wood were used for the individual implements. Spears consist of so-called aruera wood, bows of hard palm wood, boat poles of long, slender trees with very light wood. Soft wood is used for stools, lip plugs, and manioc grating boards; all the other implements consist of hard wood. Of the cane species, taquara is used as arrow shafts, gibade and similar types as ear rods.

396 I am most fully informed about boatbuilding. The boats
[462] are built by the men. All of them understand this art, though
[437] many confine themselves to buying boats from others in exchange
[463] for an iron axe. /286/ Apparently certain persons make boats in larger numbers for the village and then sell them. Thus, a few hours downstream from Schischá I met two families from this village who had erected temporary huts for themselves here in the wilderness, in order to build boats in the vicinity. The making of a small boat is said to take four days, a larger one eight days. These time estimates, however, seem to me to be
[824] very low. The trunk of the lantim tree (Calophyllum: dälïŏ) is used as material for the boats; Ehrenreich mentions pau d'arco and jatoba, Königswald also jatahy and others. The trees are felled in the forest and crudely worked; first the outer shape is hewed out with an ax and then the interior is likewise hollowed

/286 cont./

396 out with the ax. In this crude shape the boat is brought into the village and placed on two forked posts about half a meter high (Pl. 56, Ill. 5). With oaguassu palm fronds, which are laid in the hollow, the interior space is completely burned out and blackened, while at the same time burning through the walls is prevented by quickly snatching out the fire. Then, while the wood is still warm, about 20 cross-sticks, each approximately three centimeters thick, are stretched from wall to wall; palm fronds are propped against the boat all around and are lighted at four or five places on either side by one man each. After about five minutes the outside charring and blackening of the boat is completed. The struts remain in the boat until the next day; they are very bent. Afterwards the boat is put through an inspection, during which possible irregularities, especially of the bottom, which could cause disturbances in the balance, are removed with the ax. At the front, narrowly tapering end a hole is cut into the right wall, directly under the edge, for the loop into which the boat pole is stuck during the rowing or lying quietly on the bank. This hole is supposedly cut in with a sharp knife under the application of a wooden mallet.

415 I did not see wooden vessels. Ehrenreich brought back a
412 few: a round vessel hollowed out from a tree root, with a carry-
114 ing string (Berlin 3875) and two spoons, the handle of one of which terminates in a tucano head (3934, 3935). In the case of fire
[372] sticks, according to him, the drilling stick consists of taquara, the base of Bixa orellana.

415 Of larger fruits only gourds are used. They are carefully
[824] dried by being stuck on sticks that stand in the glaring sun and in the sand of the sandbanks. Later, tied together, they are hung on a vertical stick (Ill. 26 a, b). Hollowed out, they serve as oil containers, as hanging containers for white down feathers, with a bast stopper (Pl. 58, Ill. 3a) or wax seal (the hanging band is fastened with wooden wedges; Pl. 58, Ill. 3 b, c), halved paint bowls and eating dishes, smaller ones as spoons. The whole-
[531] gourd vessel and larger half-gourd vessels are usually decorated with incised ornamentation, the smaller half-gourds with pyrography.

/286 cont./

000 824 [276] [301] pyrography. Of the other fruits, jequitiba is used for tobacco pipes, hollowed out and crudely carved on the outside (Ills. 103 and 104); Thevetia is used for necklaces or pendants on belts, etc. The latter usually bear a small /287/ bunch of feathers in the hollow. Other small, whitish fruits are bored and strung as [415] chains. In Ehrenreich's collection there is a small bowl, made out of a timbo fruit, for storing the urucú color (Berlin 3876).

287 [824] The bark of trees is made into women's aprons. Above all the bark of the gameleira is used, which furnishes the reddish aprons (ǎndāhūlĕ). Other species (also gameleira?) furnish red materials (ǎmbūŏdā) or white shiny materials (hidēūlĕ). Ehrenreich, in addition, also mentions Apeiba jangada (Berlin 3696). The preparation is as follows: Thick branches of the trees concerned are hewed off in the required length (one and a half to two meters) and brought into the house. Here the men, with [462] an angular stone, strike off the solid pieces of bark, slit the bark lengthwise, and peel it off. The further treatment is the task of the women: [283] the pieces of bark are soaked, laid folded together on the manioc mortar turned upside down, and are now beaten with a flat stone, usually an old stone ax, until they are completely soft.

Ill. 134 a, b.
Embira: a) wound on a rod,
b) rolled up.

283 H. Bast is used in wide layers as an ornamental binding material and in fine strands as material for strings and for knotting mats.

[824] As ornamental binding material, the bast of Malvaceae (embira: dõdĕ, etc.) is used above all. There are light red, red, and black varieties. It is kept in all widths: the finest (0.3 centimeters wide) is wound on rods (Ill. 134a), the wider (2.5-4 centimeters wide) is rolled up into stout rolls in such a way that the [531] colored, shiny side is on the inside (Ill. 134b). They are used

/287 cont./

283 for the ornamental winding on arrow shafts, spear shafts, imple-
[531] ment handles, etc. A kind of black bast four centimeters wide (ōũnã̆, ãã̃wũ) is used exclusively to decorate the edge of the pointed-oval baskets (Pl. 57, Ill. 7); it is colored with black loam.

[824] Finely split bast fibers of imbauva and buriti serve as material for ropemaking and mat-knotting. I do not know how the imbauva fiber is made. The buriti bast fibers (cedo de burity: lãdẽhõwũ) are obtained as follows: The not yet unfolded leaves of the buriti palm (so-called olhos de burity), which lie stacked up in heaps in the houses of the plaiters, are beaten against the floor several times with one end, until the stalk has split open sufficiently into many narrow longitudinal pieces. Of these longitudinal pieces the fine, soft inner bast (ĩũ) is then separated from the coarser outer leaf-strips (lãdẽhõdẽhẽ). The latter are used as leaf strips in the manufacture of hats; the former are further prepared for twisting and knotting. The imbauva fibers (Pl. 58, Ill. 4a), as well as the buriti fibers (Pl. 58, Ill. 4b; /288/ Ill. 135), are stored in larger bundles that are made up of thin bunches (according to Ehrenreich, in plaited braids, Berlin 3996).

Cords are made out of these by twisting them between the thigh and the palm of the hand. Stouter cords are made out of two or more /Ills. 135 and 136 appear here/ such fine cords with the spindle. They are used as binding string of all kinds, such as bowstrings, as ropes for strong fish-nets, fishlines, etc.

286 Fine twisted bast strings are used to knot the feather-cap nets. The large fish nets are made in the same way as these nets; it is pure netting work. Implements are not used for this: I did not see any in use, and the Indians denied to me that they existed. In Ehrenreich's collection, however, there is the beginning of a net of fine bast threads (Berlin 3938) bearing two small wooden rods at the upper edge, which Ehrenreich is inclined to regard as knitting needles. The cap-nets are made as follows: Out of a string twisted on the thigh a loop is knotted and hung over the great toe of the sitting worker. A second thread is knotted to it, and with this the first /Ills. 137 and 138 appear here/ row of meshes

[Text continues on p. 218]

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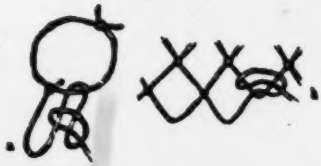
Ill. 135.
Bunch of buriti fibers.



Ill. 136 a, b.
Net knots.

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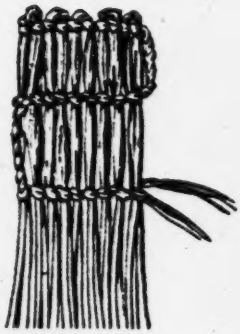
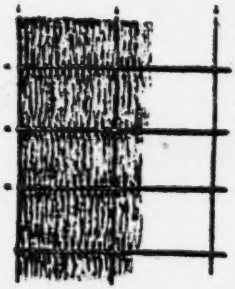


Ill. 137.
Sample of sleeping mat plaiting.



Ill. 138.
Schema of the sleeping mat
a) weft,
b) stiffening cords.

/288 cont./

286 is knotted in such a way that the knots come in the center of the length of the mesh. The meshes of the second and subsequent rows are hooked into those of the preceding one and knotted on their lower end. The method of the knot formation is shown in Ill. 136 a, b.

285 For knotting the large sleeping and sitting mats, untwisted
284 buriti bast-fibers are used. These are laid side by side in bunches and these bunches are wound alternately with two twisted bast-fiber strings, so that a continuous weft runs from side to side. On the edge the two strings are twisted together, led along the edge for about three and a half centimeters, and then again plaited through the bunches. Thus, one /Plate 58 appears here/ /289/ weft runs through the whole mat. (See the sample plaiting, Ill. 137 /see p. 217/.) At greater intervals, every 10-20 centimeters, a twisted bast string runs between the bunches and parallel to them, in order to give the mat more firmness (b in Ill. 138). The weft does not start at the end of the mat and is not led through to the other end; rather, on both of the narrow sides the ends of
285 the bunches remain free as fringe. Such mats in large dimensions are used to make the protective walls and protective roofs, as well as sleeping and sitting mats. Smaller mats are carried by pregnant women; they are put around the lower body and held together in front with the hands. I never saw small mats patterned with black embira threads as an underlayer for the feet during the continuous standing on the hot sandbanks, such as Ehrenreich describes (Berlin 3907; "Beiträge," p. 21). I obtained a patterned sleeping mat, however, the design of which was made by plaiting in black-colored bast strips (Ill. 22).

Small carrying-sacks (maši) are made in the same way as these mats; the bottoms of these are sometimes plaited cross-shaped (Pl. 57, Ills. 5, 6). The edge is reinforced; the carrying-band likewise consists of buriti bast-fibers.

28 The division of labor in ropemaking and knotting is such
462 that the making of the fiber material is usually incumbent on the women, whereas the twisting of the cords is practiced by men and women, but is usually done only as needed. The knotting of the

[Text Continues on p. 220]

Plate 58

1. Addition to pottery clay.

2. Pot bottom with rod-sieve texture.

3 a-c. Feather gourd vessels.

4. a Bunch of imbauva fibers. b Bunch of buriti fibers.

5. Sample of basket plaiting.

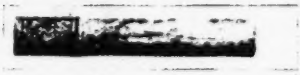
8 a and b. Manner of storing feathers.

7. Ball of cotton.

6. Spindle with picked-cotton band.

10. Monkey-skull rattles.

11. Funerary urn.



9. Bamboo trumpet.

313 415 285 283 764 415 534 [237]

28 /289 cont./
462 nets is a task for the men, that of the mats a task for the women.
285 Usually several women work together on a mat; it is not difficult work, but the hard pulling and constant twisting of the weft threads (they are twisted only when they are plaited through) affects the fingers so much that deep, calloused ridges run across
[463] the finger tips of the plaiters. Apparently there are women in the villages who provide the entire village with mats; at least large supplies of them were found in certain houses, and to buy them I was sent into specific huts where mats were made.

[824] For the plaiting which is done by the men, strips of buriti
[462] bast and the leaf pinnae of the oaguassu palm are used. The
294 strips of buriti bast are used only in the making of hats. Appar-
[177] ently the method of making hats is copied from the neighboring Brazilians. At least the shape is the same; but whether all the types of plaited strips which are sewed together spirally into a hat correspond to Brazilian designs, or whether there are innovations here, I do not know. The most common design, consisting of four-part strips with a notched edge, seems to be Brazilian, the other two, the eleven-part strip with a smooth edge and the nine-part strip with a smooth, double edge, may be original forms in view of the plaiting skill of the Indians (Ill. 139 a-c). These strips are sewed together with fine bast threads and a bone needle four centimeters long (Ill. 140).

285 For all other plaiting the leaf pinnae of the oaguassu palm are used. The material for this is stored in the houses in large /290/ quantities, mostly lying on the floor under mats; in Schischá it also lay on special forked racks on the long sides and in the roundings of the houses.

In the same way as for the house covering, two oaguassu fronds are laid with the ribs one on top of the other in the making of walls, fans, and eye shades, except that in this case the individual pinnae /Ills. 139 and 140 appear here/ are then plaited together. See the beginning of a piece of plaiting in Ill. 5 on Plate 58 /see p. 219/.

/290 cont./

285 The baskets show great variety. The individual types are similar to those described by Max Schmidt, so I can limit myself

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285

Ill. 140.

Bone needle for sewing the hat strips together.

Ill. 139 a-c.
Hat-plaiting strips: a) four-part, b) eleven-part, c) nine-part.

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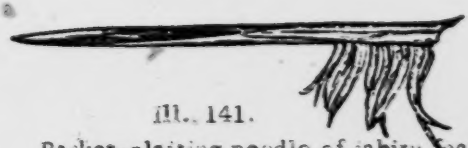
[237]



Ill. 141.
Basket-plaiting needle of jabiru feather quill.

to very brief descriptions.

In the case of large round baskets (wälili, Ehrenreich rorä; Pl. 57, Ill. 3) with a forehead carrying-strap, which are used to transport manioc, the edge consists of the split palm-rib. The pinnae are interwoven and provide a meander-type design. The bottom is reinforced by being interwoven with a second layer of individual pinnae which are cut to the specific length
[237] with piranha teeth. A thick jabiru feather quill 16.5 centimeters

/290 cont./

285 [237] long and pointed at one end serves to lift the plaiting strips of the first layer and to push the pinnae of the second layer under them. This feather-quill plaiting-needle is called wālĭšĭlūdŭsonă (Ill. 141).

Back-baskets (bĕhūlĕ) consist of two caguassu fronds, the ribs of which form the two longitudinal stiffneners. The inner halves of the pinnae are plaited crosswise for the bottom, the outer pinnae are made into the openwork edge /291/ by twisting several pinnae together to form a support and the ends of these supports are joined together to form a longitudinal edge. In one specimen the lower edge is likewise tightly plaited (Pl. 57, Ills. 1 and 2).

In the case of pointed-oval (lālă; Pl. 57, Ill. 7) and canoe-shaped baskets (dālĭdŭn) with a broad bottom, which become narrow at the top, the edge is formed by two palm-leaf ribs placed one on top of the other, while the sides and the bottom are made with the pinnae plaited in a design; the bottom is double. Sometimes the upper edge is decorated with a wide strip of black embira sewed on it.

Small baskets with square bottoms and a round opening (mŏdĭ; Pl. 57, Ills. 8-11) usually have patterned walls, the designs of which are sometimes accentuated by black painting. Such baskets are used by small girls for storing cotton, crochet needles, crochet work, threads, etc. In the same manner, such little baskets are also plaited out of split cane. On these four black cotton strings which are drawn all around the basket serve as carrying-band.

Baskets and bags made out of one palm-leaf pinna. Oblong baskets (lōŭlĕ) are plaited diagonally only halfway, while the other half is formed by the strong under parts of the pinna, which are bent outward from the stems projecting into the interior of the basket (Pl. 57, Ills. 12 and 13).

The rib bent all the way around forms the edge of the oblong, sack-like carrying bags (lōlŭ; Pl. 57, Ill. 4), while the walls are formed by the pinna plaited in the center of the wall, the ends of

/291 cont./

185 which also make the handle. On either side of the center plaiting a palm leaf is drawn through the pinna lengthwise to close up the walls.

Ehrenreich brought back a similar carrying-bag (Berlin 3886), but here the rib forms only the one longitudinal side, while the pinnae are plaited together on the second longitudinal side. This bag of Ehrenreich's corresponds to the bag that I brought back from the Savajé (see Šavajé /see p.327 /).

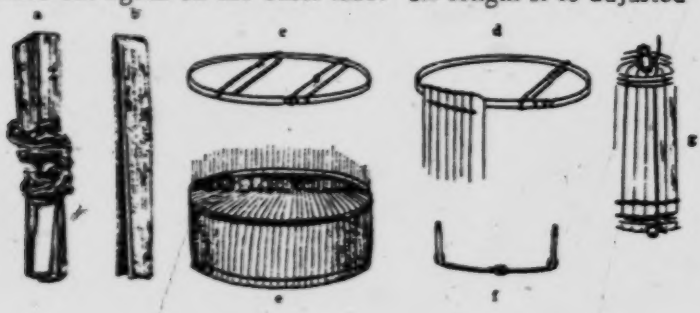
Baskets plaited out of two pinnae correspond to the one-pinna oblong baskets; among them the two stems project from the bottom into the interior of the baskets near the narrow sides (Pl. 57, Ills. 14 and 15).

Two kinds are made differently from all these baskets: the double baskets and the sieve-baskets.

The oblong double-baskets [wrăbă(h)ĭ], in which the Indians, men as well as women, store their smaller, personal belongings, consist of two similarly worked baskets, one of which is somewhat larger and forms the lid. As material the pinnae of the oaguassu palm are used; they are cut to a certain length (40-45 centimeters long, 2-2 1/2 centimeters wide), folded together lengthwise, then bent in half (Ill. 142b) and, with many laid on top of one another and tied together, are stored in this fashion in large supplies (Ill. 142a). Usually in this case the bent corners opposite the rib edges have already been cut off diagonally /292/ in order to avoid great bulk with putting them on top of one another. From these leaves the baskets are now made in the following manner: A split cane rod is tied together in such a way that it forms an oval corresponding to the size of the basket; by means of two or three light temporary bast bindings the oval shape is preserved until the completion of the basket (Ill. 142c). Now the leaf strips are hung over this oval in such a way that they cover one another about halfway, whereby the rib edges come to lie on top (Ill. 142d). With a needle and a cotton thread they are sewed together directly under the rod. Then a second oval, almost as large, is made and pushed about two-thirds of the way up into this oval leaf cylinder. Now a third, /Ill. 142 appears here/

/292 cont./

285 slightly larger oval is made and, on the outside, is pushed over the place under which the second oval rests. Both are then sewed together through the leaves. The projecting ends of the pinnae, one by one, are bent inward over the inner oval toward the center and shortened sufficiently so that they overlap there one to two centimeters (Ill. 142c /sic/). These ends are then sewed together. Now two split cane rods are taken up, one of which is stuck through the wall under the second and third oval, pulled through under the bottom, and pushed out again on the other side. Its length is so adjusted



Ill. 142 a-g.

Manufacture of the oval two-piece basket.

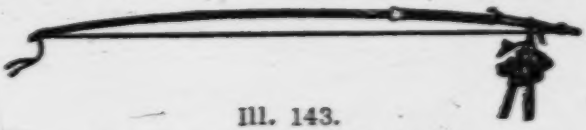
a) Packing of the plaiting strips. b) Individual plaiting strip. c) Inner oval. d) Sewing the strips to the oval. e) Bending the strips to form the bottom. f) Cross-section. g) String closing.

that it projects about one-half centimeter on either side. The second rod is laid in the same direction on the outside of the bottom and then sewed to the first rod (Pl. 57, Ill. 17; Ill. 142f). By this means the bottom is given a firm stiffening. The other half of the basket, which serves as the lid, is made in exactly the same way; it has somewhat larger dimensions so that it can be fitted over the bottom half. The closure of these baskets is peculiar. There is fastened to the bottom rods of the lower half a cotton thread which leads up along the edge

/292 cont./

285 of the lid-half, is pulled through the outer oval of this half from below upward, forms a large carrying /293/ band over the lid, and on the other side leads down to the bottom rods in the same manner. If one wishes to open the basket, the lid-half slides up on the thread (Pl. 57, Ill. 16). At the same time, however, the thread also serves for closure during transport: on either side one makes a loop which is put over the ends of the rod of the lid-half and pulled tight (Ill. 142g).

Sieves and sieve-baskets are made entirely differently [824] (wālilisi; Pl. 55, Ills. 2 and 3). They are made out of shavings of flexible creepers (according to Ehrenreich, arimbamba). The shavings run radially and are interwoven concentrically with similar switches (two each). On the bottom they cross in four groups. In Ehrenreich's specimens the plaiting is in part so tight [823] (Berlin 3898) that the utensil is useless as a sieve. Such tight



Ill. 143.
Bow for picking apart the cotton.

baskets serve as containers for raw cotton in spinning.

Rod-sieves consist of fine rods placed parallel, which are bound together at considerable intervals with two strings (Pl. 55, Ill. 1).

I did not see among the Karajá the other kinds of baskets and bags mentioned by Ehrenreich: small palm-leaf baskets with rectangular bottom, square baskets, small bags with flap lids made of carandasinha palm fiber, bottle-shaped flexible baskets (moti), hanging baskets (Berlin 3879), and lid-baskets (Berlin 3900) made of flexible cipo plaiting.

283 I. Just as varied and skillful are the treatment and the [462] utilization of cotton, which are incumbent on the women. Cotton [248] is grown in the plantings; tending it is the duty of the woman. The harvested cotton is stored in baskets. Before it is spun, it is

/293 cont./

283 first cleaned and picked. A small bow (wãsihũãtã; Ill. 143) is used for this purpose. One puts the cotton on a mat in front of one, holds the bow close to it, and lets the bowstring snap into it. In this way the cotton is loosened up, the impurities are taken out, and it is picked apart into a thin band about four centimeters wide. This band is then twisted at one end and fastened to the top of the spindle (Pl. 58, Ill. 6).

Spinning. The thread is twisted with the palm of the hand on the thigh; then one lets the spindle spin, in order to tighten the twist. When a thread about one meter long has been made in this way, the spindle is stopped, any irregularities of the thread are evened out by pulling it apart and retwisting it, the thread is wound on the spindle, it is again fastened to the knob on top, and the twisting begins anew. Thicker threads, too, are twisted together out of two spun threads in this manner. /294/

[462] Spinning is the task of the women, especially the girls, who acquire this skill at an early age.

The spindles consist of a black wooden stem 32-44 centimeters long (ãsõtã), which bears a small knob at the top and exhibits an extended thickening at the bottom. The spindle whorl [(kũ)dãwã], which consists of bone, clay, a mass of white earth, or wax, is pushed up on it. I came across spindle whorls of bark, such as Ehrenreich brought back (Berlin 3939), only in children's spindles (see "Toys" /see p. 241 /). Bone whorls are plane-parallel, 4 1/2-6 1/2 centimeters in diameter (Ill. 144a). Breastplate bones of the tartaruga turtle are usually used for this. Clay whorls consist of crudely fired, gray pottery clay and are usually attached to the staff with wax. /Ills. 144 and 145 appear here./ Their shape is flat or slightly double-conical. Only

[531] rarely are they decorated; I once saw a cross-like decoration (Ill. 144c), another whorl bears an incised decoration on its red-colored surface. Whorls of white earth [mãũlẽ, mãnã(k)ũlã] are usually slightly double-conical in shape (Ill. 144b). In the village on the Tapirapé mouth I obtained two whorl-like objects made out of such white earth, but they are not perforated. Incised on

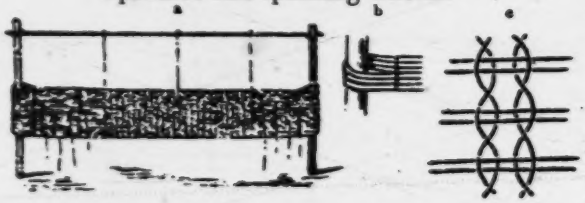
/294 cont. /

283 both sides, they bear a circle with rays; the grooves are drawn in red and black (Ill. 144d). Whorls of wax in a double-conical shape are very common. I did not happen to acquire any from the Karajá; they are the same, however, as those brought back from the Šavajé (see below /see p. 328 /).

/295/ The thread (ãsõtãkẽ) is stored wound in balls (Pl. 58, Ill. 7). These balls are apparently an Indian invention; at any rate the Karajá were extremely astonished when they saw my balls of string. Their balls are roughly cube-shaped, from nine

Ill. 144 a-d.
Spindles and spinning whorls.

[286]



Ill. 145 a-c.
Plaiting of the net coverings.
a) Plaiting apparatus. b) Winding the warp.
c) The plaiting in of the weft.

to ten centimeters long on each side.

283 286 Working with cotton threads, which either retain their natural color or are blackened with earth color, is done by plaiting, crocheting, and knotting.

[462] Plaiting is the work of the men, crocheting and knotting that of the women. The cotton threads are plaited into four-edged cords, for example, hip cords.

/295 cont. /

286 There is no actual weaving; the Indians have not progressed beyond plaiting. For this they use very simple apparatus to make their net coverings, dance belts, and girls' belts.

To make the net coverings [rĩ(ĩ)ỹ, rĩũ] two thick posts are driven into the ground vertically, the length of the covering apart. The warp is wound around the two continuously, and, indeed, in such a way that the rear layer of threads is pulled into the front one during the work, so that there is only one layer. This is made possible by the fact that every four to eight circuits a new thread is taken and the rear threads of the first bundle are pulled over those of the front one (Ill. 145b). In four or five places a weft is now interlaced and tied to a special cross-rod fastened to the upper end of the two posts or to the lowest leaf ribs of the roof covering. The rest of the weft threads are then interlaced at a distance of about two and a half centimeters from one another (Ill. 145a). The weft threads consist of four cotton threads which are knotted to the lowest warp thread. Two weft-threads are in front of the warp, two behind it. Over the second warp thread the front pair is led to the back, the back pair to the front, whereby the pair of threads coming from the back embraces the front one. The same occurs over the fourth, sixth, eighth, etc. warp thread (Ill. 145c). Instruments are not used in this; the interlacing is done only with the fingers. On the uppermost pair of warp threads the weft threads are knotted, and their ends are cut off. When the covering is finished, it is lifted off the posts; a thick string is drawn through the end loops of the warp threads on either side and tied together tightly; its ends are cut off. In this way the two lappets of the covering are produced.

The net coverings of the Karajá are of one color, usually yellowish-brown. Sometimes white ones also occur. I do not know whether the yellowish-brown color is produced only by long wear on the oiled body, but I am inclined to regard this as probable. Among the Karajá there are no net coverings patterned by plaiting in black or red weft threads. In general, they make very few (altogether I saw such plaiting apparatus only three times), but prefer to buy them from the Šavajé and Tapirapé,

/295 cont./

286 who make better and, as far as the Tapirapé are concerned, patterned, thicker coverings (1).

1. The net coverings are mentioned for the first time in 1791 among the Šambioá.

174 /296/ Ehrenreich ("Beiträge," p. 12) assumes that the
286 Karajá learned this technique from the Brazilians. Fonseca in
114 1773 is supposed to have taught weaving to the Šavajé on Bananal. Ehrenreich believes that he can support these statements by the fact that the Šavajé to this day make better coverings. In my opinion this is not a substantiation of this assumption, for the Tapirapé make still better coverings than the Šavajé, and the Karajá bought a great many coverings from them in former, peaceful times. Hence the Karajá could just as well have adopted this technique from the Tapirapé. Now, in the houses of the Tapirapé and at their large fishing sites I found no signs of sleeping places, so I must assume that the Tapirapé sleep in hammocks. It would be peculiar then that the Karajá bought the hammocks (for in shape the coverings are nothing else), but removed the suspension ropes and used the coverings as shawls and blankets. Furthermore, the taffeta-like woven covering which Ehrenreich describes as probably belonging to the Šavajé undoubtedly comes, not from the Šavajé, but from the Tapirapé, for the Šavajé use and make coverings which are exactly like those of the Karajá, whereas the Tapirapé produce the taffeta-like texture. Hence the Karajá, who, of course, live closer to the Tapirapé than the Šavajé and have the role of intermediaries between these two peoples, could not have taken over this texture from the Šavajé. To be sure, Fonseca reports that he built a loom for the Karajá and gave them their first instruction in weaving
286 (Rev. trim. 8, p. 387). It seems to me that this note more likely
174 refers to the making of the girls' belts and the dance belts, which actually show a sort of weaving. The technique by which the coverings are made is not weaving, but knotting, and it is a purely

/296 cont. /

174 286 Indian technique, which we find distributed over a large part of South America. Finally, in the creation myth the woman is shown by the Urubu-re how the net coverings are made. In the myth, the Urubu-re teaches the Indians to become familiar with the textile plants, with spinning and the making of the net coverings, and the manufacture and use of bows and arrows. This points to the fact that this technique has been familiar to the Karajá since ancient times. Hence I believe that it is an ancient art which the Karajá brought along from their former home north or northwest of their present-day territory, where they probably used hammocks. In their present territory they have adopted another way of sleeping, perhaps under the influence of the surrounding Ge peoples. Indeed, their entire culture shows a strong impact by elements of the Ge cultures. The Karajá proper have gradually lost the method of manufacture, for, with the iron goods bartered from the Brazilians, they were able to barter for good coverings from their neighbors without any trouble. That is why their technique is so poor today and that of the Šavajé, who still live untouched by civilization, so much better.

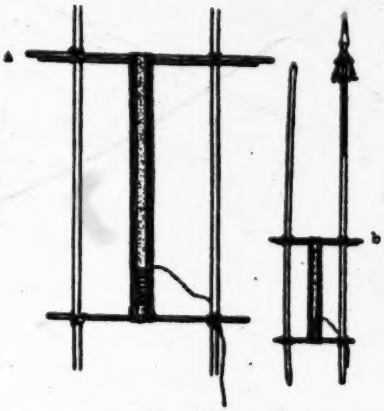
286 A similar, but smaller apparatus is used for making the dance belts and girls' belts and the forehead bands. The warp, in contrast to the net covers, /297/ is stretched continuously between the short rods of an elongated cane frame (Ill. 146). On one apparatus a bow and a lance took the place of the long side rods (Ill. 147). The frame is kept horizontal or slightly sloping upward. The warp threads are picked up with the hand, and the weft is drawn through with the hand, a toilsome task, especially in the case of the dance belts, which are patterned in black and white. /Ills. 146-148 appear here. / The weft consists of only one thread, with which one warp thread after the other is picked up. This type of plaiting is already very close to weaving.

/297 cont./

286 The art of crocheting is peculiar to the women; it is practiced by them from childhood on. Arm cuffs and calf and ankle bands are crocheted. As a crochet needle (dēšidūnā) an iron needle about 12-16 centimeters long, /298/ with a barb, is now used; it is inserted into a cane handle 17-23

Ill. 146.
Frame for plaiting belts.

[531]



Ill. 147 a, b.
Apparatus for plaiting belts.

Ill 149.
Sample of crocheting.

Ill. 148 a, b.
Crochet needles.

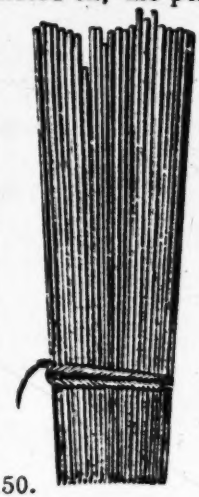
286 531 centimeters long and fastened in it with resin. The handle is usually decorated: both ends are wound with red cotton threads, between which there is a patterned plaiting made of yellow longitudinal stripes with black stripes running through them (Ill. 148a). Sometimes, too, the entire handle is wound with red and bears a few tassels on the end (Ill. 148b). The patterns

/298 cont. /

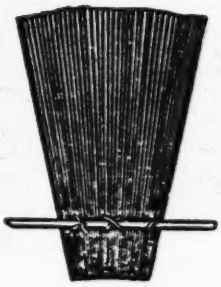
286 correspond to the other plaiting patterns such as we find on
[531] bows, lances, on baskets, fans, etc. The arm cuffs are crocheted over the club or the pestle; I never saw crocheting blocks such as Ehrenreich describes and illustrates in "Beiträge," Plate VII, Fig. 9. I did not observe nor could I find out how the thicker edge is made. The sample of crocheting (Ill. 149) is already more advanced and shows only how the meshes are made. Calf and ankle bands are crocheted directly on the body itself. They remain there until they become too tight; then they are carefully cut off, during which one pushes flat sticks underneath in order not to injure oneself. When they are crocheted on, the person concerned lies down on the mat in

303

Ill. 150. Small rod for making a comb.



Ill. 151. First interlacing of the comb rods.



Ill. 152. Fastening of the cross-rod.

Ill. 153 a, b. Cross-threads on the narrow edges of the combs.

286 the hut, has a bundle of coverings shoved under his knees, and has the bands crocheted by a female relative.

283 The various methods of knotting cotton threads into fringes and tassels is shown on Ills. 4 and 6 of Plate 45 (arm cuffs, calf hangings) and Ill. 68 (neck tassels).

303 K. Finally, comb manufacture should be mentioned here. Small fine wooden rods about 15 centimeters long and pointed at one end /299/ (Ill. 150) serve as the material. They are laid

[See p. 119 -- Analyst]

/299 cont./

303 next to one another and, at the place where the lower pair of cross-rods is fastened, lightly interlaced with cotton threads (Ill. 151). Then the two lower cross-rods are fastened over them, at first loosely with fine bast thread (Ill. 152), then permanently by means of a firm winding with cotton thread. Then the surface plaiting is put on; it is likewise only made by hand. Finally, the two upper cross-rods are put on and plaited over in the same manner as the lower ones. The patterns on the surfaces are the customary plaiting patterns. Cross-threads are often put on at the narrow edges (ill. 153).

237 [301] L. The feather technique. In fastening, arrangement, and color combinations of the feathers, the feather ornaments of the Karajá present a rich diversity, richer probably than in any other Indian tribe. As material they use white down feathers from ducks and diving birds, small fine red feathers, small body feathers from parrots of all kinds, wing and tail feathers from araras, vultures, owls, and herons. I did not observe any coloring of the feathers, on which Ehrenreich reported in "Beiträge," page [415] 14, nor was I able to find out anything about this. The down feathers are kept in special, small gourds which are closed with a wax knob or a bast stopper (Pl. 58, Ill. 3 a-c). The small fine red feathers are tied side by side on a string and wound spirally on a rod. Parrot feathers are placed in the baskets in small bundles or arranged fanlike side by side (Pl. 58, Ill. 8b). Wing and tail feathers are arranged in wings, and, indeed, in decreasing length. Two such wings are usually placed with one on top of the other, so that the rows of feathers descend in the opposite directions (Pl. 58, Ill. 8a). This kind of arrangement is very durable and at the same time makes it possible to find easily the very feathers required.

Usually the feathers are used in complete form. Sometimes, however, they are clipped, and, to be sure, in the long direction for arrow feathering, but crosswise for feather ornaments of all kinds. Whereas at present this clipping is done with the shears, the feathers were formerly singed off in order to obtain the desired shape.

/299 cont./

237 284 [314] Fastening of the feathers to the underlayer. Down feathers are generally glued on, and, to be sure, with light resin. All other feathers are fastened differently according to the underlayer.

On rods. Long feathers are either stuck on with the quill on top of the wooden rod (feather wheels) or laid with the halved quill flat on the wooden rod, in which case quill and rod are joined at several places with fine bast (Ill. 154). Concerning arrow feathering, see above under "Weapons" /see pp. 183 ff./.

In order to fasten small little feathers, wide strips of cane are wound spirally with fine thread, whereby the small feathers are tied in in one direction (feather rod; Ill. 155a). Round rods are likewise spirally wound, and while doing so feathers are continuously bound in on all sides /300/ (rosette rod; Ill. 155b). The same principle is applied in the case of ear rosettes and ear tulips, except that there the winding is very tight and the feathers stand very close together; the latter are also spread out by means of the shell disk pressed on top of them; the same is true of the small rosettes which are knotted into the feather caps, except that here everything is done on the smallest scale.

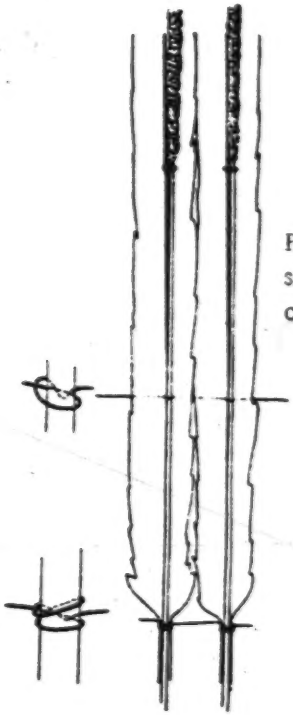
In the fastening to threads, we must distinguish between the feathers standing vertically and the hanging /Ills. 154-156 appear here/ feathers. In order to fasten feathers standing vertically to a string, the quills are bent at the bottom around a thicker string and then the bent end and the quill are wound with a cotton thread. There are differences only in the manner of winding. Either each feather is fastened separately (as in the feather caps, Ill. 77), or one thread joins the feathers continuously in that it is either wound once around each feather or is tied around each feather /301/ (Ill. 156), or, finally, in that the thread is wrapped or tied continuously twice around each feather (Ill. 154).

Hanging feathers are fastened to the thread in the same way as the upright feathers; the mutual joining of the individual feathers is achieved throughout by a continuous thread that is wound around the feathers.

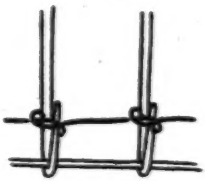
/301 cont./

237 284 As in the case of the rosette rods, thick cotton strings are also sometimes wound around spirally, and feathers are continuously tied on.

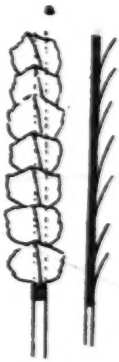
The fastening of the feathers among themselves is peculiar. Feathers of the same size are either united in bunches which are made by joining two feathers at the bottom by the quills, and the



Ill. 154.
Tying on the long feathers of the feather wheels to the wooden rods.



Ill. 156.
Fastening the feathers side by means of a continuous string.

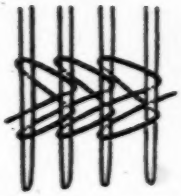


Ill. 155 a, b.
a) Feather rod.
b) Rosette rod.

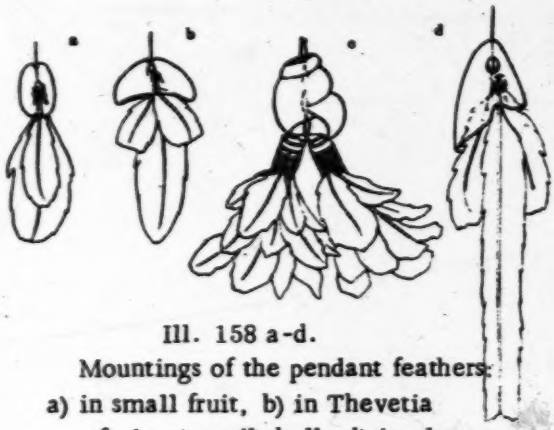
threads of a number of such feather pairs are tied together into a bundle, /Ills. 157 and 158 appear here/ or by arranging them side by side (see above, feathers fastened to threads , as well as in Ill. 157 /see p. 236/, the joining of the feathers for storage wings [Pl. 58, Ill. 8 a, b]). Sometimes these feathers are joined halfway up by a thread which is drawn from quill to quill (Ill. 154).

/301 cont./

Smaller feathers are popularly fastened to larger ones. They are attached to the upper end of the large feather by the removal of the upper vane so that a piece of the quill remains standing; this quill end is coated with resin, and the small feathers are glued on it and wound. This winding is often covered further with white down feathers glued on it or with white raw cotton wrapped around it. It is especially popular to cover the lower quill ends of upright tall feathers with small feathers. In this case, the ends of the quills are wound spirally, whereby the little covering-feathers are tied in on the front side. 237 284



Ill. 157. Joining the feathers of the storage wing.



Ill. 158 a-d. Mountings of the pendant feathers: a) in small fruit, b) in Thevetia fruit, c) snail shell, d) in claw.

Frequently feathers are mounted in fruits, claws, etc., by having a thread drawn through the latter, at the end of which the small feathers are tied as a small cluster (Ill. 158 a-d).

/302/ Feathers (on feather caps) are sometimes reinforced by sewing together two halved feathers by means of a spiral winding with fine threads, in which case, however, the upper ends of the feathers are kept in complete form and overlap each other. The seam is then not visible from the front (Ill. 159).

With regard to the grouping of the feathers, the general rule is that the lower ends must be covered. Hence almost everywhere we find covering layers in the form of smaller feathers which are 237

/302 cont./
237 tied in front of the large feathers, or down feathers glued on with
[301] resin. In the case of the feather wheels, for example, entire bands of feathers are tied in front of the main layer of the wheel as covering layers, and, to be sure, among the Karajá these are always two layers of feathers of different lengths and different colors.

237 Color combinations play an important role in surface
301 feather-ornamentation, whether it be upright or hanging; a
531 lesser one, on the other hand, in the case of cluster-like ornamentation. The following combinations are most popular: yellow and red feathers side by side or on top of each other; dark green, white, and yellow feathers.

Ill. 159
Reinforcing feathers by sewing two halved feathers together.

Surface feather-ornamentation. In the case of the feather wheels the covering layers appear only on the front side, and, to be sure, there are always two, of which the uppermost, shorter one is white, green, or variegated, the second, longer one generally dark green. The main layer, but for one exception (feathers of the roseate spoonbill), consists of white jabiru feathers. In one specimen these are interrupted in three places by three inserted blue arara feathers. The little end feathers which are put on the upper end of the feathers of the main layer are yellow or variegated and usually bear small red covering-feathers.

Diadems consist of colorful feathers of various birds or of green and red feathers that alternate in groups. In the case of the solid diadem (Pl. 48, Ill. 7) small red feathers are fastened to the rods wound with white, and small yellow feathers to the rods wound with black.

/302 cont./

237 Forehead feathers usually consist of long, dark green
301 feathers, the quills of which are covered with yellow-green
531 parrot feathers. Deviating from this, one tuft has one red and one green feather, which are covered at the bottom with a red and yellow feather-rod; another has two blue feathers including a red feather, and the quills are covered with small yellow feathers.

Tufts on forehead hoops consist of long, blue arara feathers. The forehead hoops themselves are made of red or yellow feathers (forehead hoops without feather tufts are generally made of only red feathers). One such feather tuft bears covering feathers at the bottom, which are tied on in the manner of the feather rods, and, to be sure, from the bottom up, first little yellow, then little red feathers. At the upper end the long tuft feathers bear yellow end feathers with small little red covering feathers.

/303/ Flat ear rosettes, if they are of one color, always consist of little red feathers; if they are multicolored, of red and yellow feathers, and, to be sure, a yellow outer and a red inner layer occur, as well as the opposite of this. Ear-tulips consist of yellow, reddish, or variegated parrot feathers and on the inside bear a red feather wreath, if they have one at all.

The pendant feather ornamentation on the waist belts is shaped very diversely. Rosette-rods, which essentially consist of yellow feathers, are usually attached to them. In the case of one belt the lower ends of these yellow rosette-rods are formed by bluish feathers; in another the two center rods bear long red arara feathers as end pieces. In the case of a third belt, the feather rods are red in the upper half, yellow in the lower; finally, in the case of a last belt, the yellow feather-rods alternately bear white, long feathers or red cotton strings at the lower ends. Other hangings alternate with these feather rods on the lower edge of the belt: three to four Thevetia pendants at a time, small shells, shell and Thevetia pendants together. One belt alternately bears two Thevetia fruits with little variegated end feathers at a time and in between a red feather set directly on the edge of the belt.

/303 cont. /

237 301 531 Arm bands bear either rosette-rods which carry short feathers on top and long ones on the bottom (yellow on top, red on the bottom, or the reverse) or layers of feathers which are usually gaily-colored in the same color, but which, in one specimen, consist of a red covering layer on a yellow main layer.

287 531 301 The transition to the cluster-like feather ornamentation is represented by the feather caps, which have either single feathers tied into them or small rosettes, which are often arranged in zones of the same color. Feather caps of one color consist of yellow, red-yellow, variegated, and white feathers; one cap, as a rarity, bears long white heron feathers. In the case of multicolored feather caps, we distinguish the border feathers from those of the cover. The cover feathers are usually one color (red, seldom white), seldom multicolored (red and blue arara feathers, the same mixed with vulture feathers or even with pink heron feathers). The border feathers consist either of a zone of red or mixed red and yellow feathers, or pink heron feathers, or of two zones, which from bottom to top are pale blue and green, or of a yellow hoop and red rosettes, or of white feathers and red and pale blue rosettes. Only one specimen shows three border zones, namely, a yellow hoop at the bottom, above it red feathers, and above them yellow fea thers.

237 301 The cluster-like feather ornamentation is not very diverse. Feather tassels in fruits, snail shells, and the like are red throughout, irrespective of whether they appear on arm bands, ear pendants, combs, or the like. Feather tassels as arm bands consist of red rosette-rods or variegated feathers; as tuft feathers they bear long, colorful parrot feathers on red rosettes. On bows they consist of red rosettes, from which usually hang long, red or yellow feather clusters; on spears they are made up of red or red-yellow rosettes with long clusters of colorful arara and parrot feathers, and on gourd rattles they consist either of /304/ individual feathers or of clusters of yellow or variegated feathers or of rosette rods with clusters of long arara feathers.

/304 cont./

386 M. Coloring substances and adhesives. By way of coloring
[824] substances, besides urucú red (Bixa orellana) and genipap black (Genipa brasilensis), which are used essentially as body colors, only black and white occur as technical colors. The white earth (mǎnāŭlǎ = white stone) serves as white; it is pounded and used above all for painting the bow-wood winding. It is also used for making spinning whorls. Black loam (zŏŭblūlŭ) is used for black coloring. Embira is colored with it by heaping wet black loam over the bast and letting it lie this way for a night. Cotton is dipped in boiling water and then drawn through the loam standing nearby in a pot. This is repeated several times until the threads are sufficiently blackened. Cotton is colored red with urucú oil color only after the completion of the object concerned. Concerning the storing and the trade form of urucú red, see p. 100 and Ill. 40 /see p. 103/.

237 The universal adhesive substance is beeswax (tǎbōlǎ) that is stored in spherical form and is offered to passing travelers in bulk
381 as material for boat calking. Jatobá resin (kūwǎŏ), a light,
314 transparent, hard resin, is also used a great deal. From it the red, lacquer-like resin (daùmālĕ), such as is used to decorate the feathered end of the arrows, is made in the following manner: the resin is softened in a pot over the hearth fire, urucú color is poured in, the two are mixed, and the whole is allowed to stiffen. The black, lacquer-like resin (dŏwŏdālǎ), which serves the same purpose, seems to be made in a similar manner by adding black coloring. Both kinds are stored in large lumps which seldom have a definite shape. For fastening the mother-of-pearl eyes on the stools, the little down feathers on the bodies of children etc., a soft, yellow resin is used (kōōdĭ), which is stored in a piece of palm leaf folded together.

/304 cont./

11. Play and Sport.

Children's Toys.

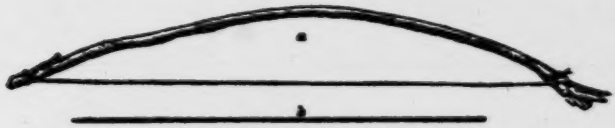
857 868 Children at an early age imitate the activities of the adults: the boys practice shooting, rowing, fishing, and plaiting; the girls, spinning and cooking. Small-scale implements of the 524 adults are used in this. In addition, however, there are some implements which serve purely for play, such as small boats, imitations of the guns, tops, and clay dolls. Other games need no further equipment, such as balls, string game, etc., or are limited to adult men, such as the humming top, whizzing disk, and puzzle carving.

As for small-scale imitations of the implements of the adults, the boys use small bows and arrows, nets, and oars; the /305/ girls, small spindles and clay dishes. Strangely enough, small lances are entirely lacking.

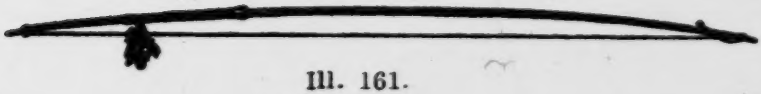
524 411 The bows vary in length. The smallest have a bowstring length of only 27 to 32 centimeters and a very crude construction which does not measure up to that of the large bows. Small, unfeathered arrows of split cane are shot with them (Ill. 160 a, b). They serve for the first shooting attempts of small boys. Larger bows, intended for boys from three to four years old and older, fluctuate between 60 and 120 centimeters in length, depending on the age of the boys. Their construction corresponds to that of the undecorated bows of the adults; only a single bow bears as decoration a white-colored cotton winding with a maize leaf in the center and a feather tassel on the upper end /Ill. 160 appears here/ (Ill. 161). The arrows for these bows in part exhibit types other than those of the adults. Arrows with barbs (fish arrows) and similarly those with a toothed wooden point are lacking. Arrows with bamboo blade points (Ill. 162c) are very rare; on the other hand, those with a round wooden point, /Ill. 161 appears here/ which is 25-40 centimeters long, with a shaft length of approximately 80 centimeters (Ill. 162 a, b), are common. It is noteworthy that the feathering of such arrows in the case of three of my specimens has a character different from the common

/305 cont./

524 411 type. The feathers are halved and fastened to the shaft by a continuous spiral winding (Ill. 162d); it is similar to the pitch-feathering, except that the pitch is lacking (see also above, p. 187). Bird arrows, which are used to kill birds, are common and consist of a cane shaft pointed in front (mãlõl; Ill. 163). Whether the blunt arrows are used for bird hunting or whether they are supposed to prevent injuries during practice or serve for shooting vertically into the air is not known to me. They have either a lump of wax in front (Ill. 164a), or the entire arrow consists of one piece of cane whose circularly carved root knob serves as



Ill. 160 a, b.
Smallest child's bow with arrow.



Ill. 161.
Child's bow.

a blunt point (Ill. 164b). Inserted wooden-knob points are lacking here, too (however, see Šavajé /see p.323 and pages 328 - 330/). For shooting vertically or diagonally into the air, there are arrows upon whose wooden point is pushed a small nut with a lateral hole (Ill. 165). The weighting by means of the fruit has the effect that the arrow, at the turning point, /306/ turns with the point downwards; I did not hear a whistling sound in connection with the shooting of these arrows.

[868] Targets for shooting practice are, first of all, oblong fruits which are stuck into the sand; later, moving bast rings (wãšiõlõlo); and, finally, gourds thrown into the air.

/306 cont./

868 501 In order to learn to row, boys use small oars, which in general are similar in shape to those of the adults, but sometimes deviate in the shape of the blade (Ill. 166a). They are 64-96 centimeters long. Only one specimen /Ills. 162-166 appear here/ /307/ showed painting with red and black squares (Ill. 166b). They, too, have two grooves in the handle cylinder.

868 227 For learning to fish, boys use small anchored nets (hãdeke, lãhõle) knotted out of bast, which they set up in the water on the edge of the sandbanks; they are mounted on two long side rods and are kept stretched by several vertical struts (Ill. 86). /Ill. 167 appears here./

868 283 Girls learn to spin and cook. They have small spindles on which they twist serviceable threads at an early age. One sees girls from six to seven years old already spinning almost constantly. The spinning whorls are either double-conical clay whorls or wooden whorls that are dome-shaped on one side (Ill. 167). This primitive shape has thus been preserved among the children, whereas it seems to have been lost to the adults.

868 415 Small clay dishes appear in all sizes; the larger ones may actually be used for cooking, whereas the smaller ones serve only as playthings. The actual cooking utensils are partly blackened with soot on the outside, in other words, have been exposed to the fire. Besides the usual forms (pot, Ill. 168a) and bowl (Ill. 168 b, c), other forms also appear: bowl with convex bottom (Ill. 168d), dish (Ill. 168 e, f); a four-part dish (Ill. 168g), the use of which did not become clear to me despite the long Indian explanation of the mother concerned, seems to be used for a very special purpose. /Ill. 168 appears here./

524 415 /308/ All the other dishes are used only for play; some of them are not fired and are so small that cooking with them is impossible. It is surprising in this connection that in addition to the [184] usual types there are quantities of different, almost European-looking vessels, which, strangely enough, all come from the village on the Tapirapé mouth. I did not see these peculiar forms

[Text continues on p. 246]

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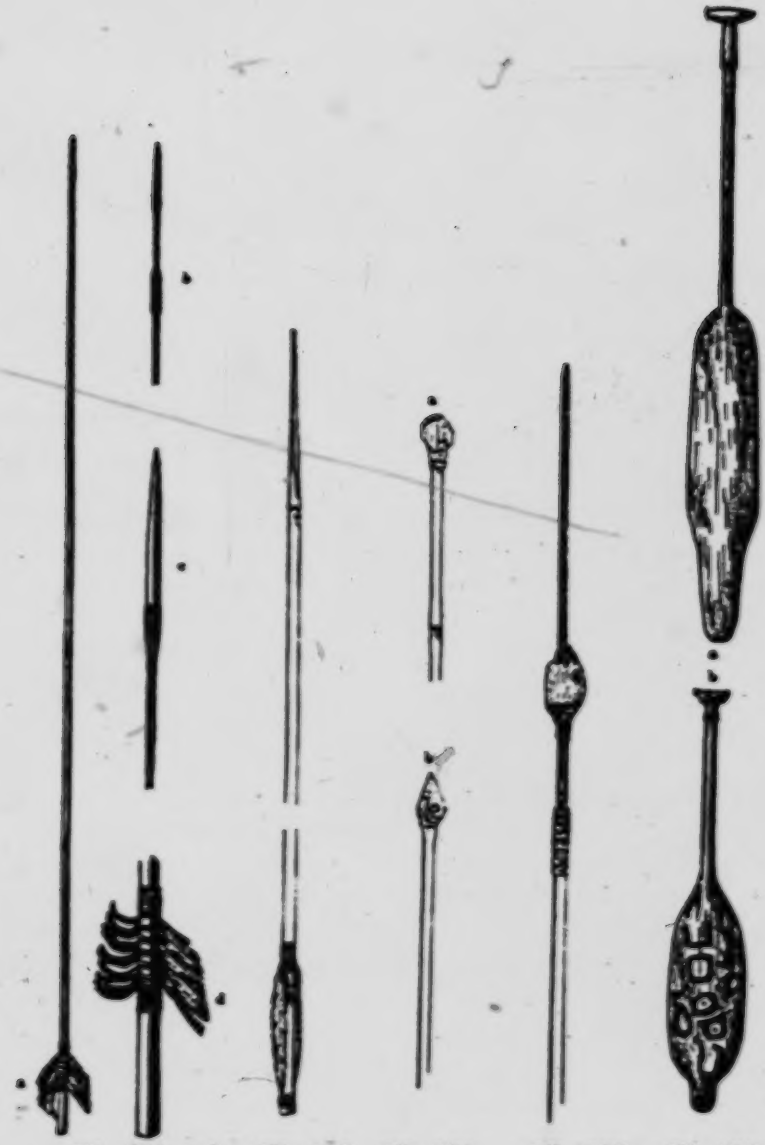

Ill. 162 a-d. Ill. 163. Ill. 164. Ill. 165 Ill. 166 a, b.

Ill. 162 a-d: Child's arrows. Ill. 163: Pointed bird-arrow. Ill. 164 a, b: Blunt bird-arrows, a) wax head, b) root end. Ill. 165: Arrow with nut pushed on it. Ill. 166 a, b: Child's oars, a) ordinary type, b) painted.

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Ill. 167.
Child's spindle
with wooden
whorl.

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Ill. 168 a-g.
Small clay dishes for children.

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/308 cont./
in other villages. /309/ Could influence from the Tapirapé Indians be present here? A few specimens seem to be merely unskillful versions of true Karajá types. Of the ordinary forms there should be mentioned: vessels like water jugs (Ill. 169 a, b), tall curved pots (169c), double conical pots (Ill. 169d), shallow

Ill. 169 a-i.
Small toy dishes.

Ill. 170 a-f.
Small toy dishes.

/309 cont./

cooking pots (Ill. 169e), shallow dishes with straight or curved sides (Ill. 169 f-h), three-legged pot (Ill. 169i). The divergent forms consist of oval bowls (Ill. 170a), small pots with a minimal opening (Ill. 170 b, c), the bottom of which sometimes comes to a point (Ill. 170d), vase-like pots (Ill. 170e), stemmed pots (Ill. 170f), goblets (Ill. 170g), bowls like flower baskets, with a three-part handle (Ill. 170h), and lamp-like bowls with two points at the upper edge (Ill. 170i). 524 415

These smallest vessels already bring us to the actual playthings.

Small boats (hãwŏlĭŏlĕ) with oars are floated by children especially the boys, in the pools on the edge of the sandbanks. 524

Ill. 171 a-d.
Child's toy boats.
a) Ordinary type, b) isolated form, c) halved gourd, d) palm-leaf sheath.

Their form differs from that of the large boats insofar as the rear part is cut off crosswise and does not taper to a long point. The boat in Ill. 171a represents the ordinary type, to which belong two painted oars and a clay doll (girl with long string apron and feather tuft). The boat in Ill. 171b shows a divergent type; it was carved by Kurisĭ, who had already been to Rio and São Paulo and spontaneously remarked that this form was the product of his own imagination. As a substitute for these imitations, halved gourd shells (ĩsã, Ill. 171c) or palm-leaf sheaths (ẽlŭdãzĭ, Ill. 171d) are used and are pulled along by ropes in the sand; they were observed only in the village on the Tapirapé mouth. The small oars which belong [824 184]

/309 cont. /

524 to these boat models differ from the large oars in the construction of the handle and partly also in the blade (Ill. 172 a-d). Some [531] of them show the typical painting: red center cross-band on the black-painted blade.

/310/ The gun reproduction (mǎhaûǎ = gun) is the work of small boys. The barrel is represented by a piece of cane, into which a shorter cross-cut is carved near one end, a longer one near the other. Into the two cuts a fine loop of split cane is stretched (Ill. 173a). One holds the gun in the left hand, with the longer cross-cut away from one, pulls the loop in it back with the index finger of the right hand, and lets it spring forward again. The sound that is produced when it strikes in front represents the shot. The cane is carefully hollowed out; for cleaning it, there is a small instrument of bamboo with a short handle and a thin, narrow blade (Ill. 173c). Double-barreled guns, too, are customary. The two tubes are glued together with light resin and joined with two cotton windings (Ill. 173b). The shooting of small pebbles, which surely would be possible with this instrument, was not practiced. It was only after I had demonstrated this to them that they eagerly shot with small stones at a small wax pig which they set up in the sand. For an investigation as to whether this is actually only a matter of reproducing guns /Ills. 172 and 173 appear here/ or perhaps is an ancient plaything to which this name was merely applied, more comparative material than has been available up to now must be gathered among other Indian tribes.

Tops are very common (kŭdaûé). They consist of a double-conical wax disk three and a half to six centimeters in diameter and one to two centimeters thick, through which is stuck a little wooden rod from 5-18 1/2 centimeters in length, so that it projects only very little at the bottom (Ill. 174 a-d). I did not see any tops with plane-parallel clay disks which are covered on both sides with high layers of wax, such as Ehrenreich brought back, but, on the other hand, the tops with wax disks are lacking in Ehrenreich's collection. Usually the /311/ disks are covered with

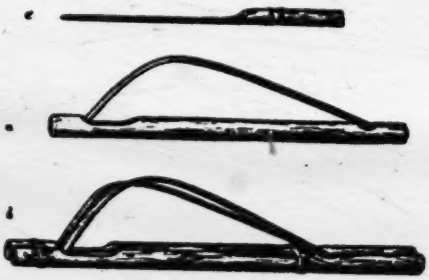
/311 cont./

524 small red and yellow feathers and small pieces of red wood, which make circular figures when spinning. The top is twirled between the palms of the hands in the air and then allowed to fall. It has achieved the desired speed of rotation only when it buzzes.

[824] Humming tops (ĭnâuĭnĭ) are also common. The body consists of a gourd that bears two lateral holes of different sizes opposite each other. The stem goes through from top to bottom and projects 14 1/2 centimeters at the bottom. It is fastened in the gourd with wax (Ill. 175). A string which bears a small

[501]

Ill. 172 a-d.
Child's toy oars (c and d painted).



Ill. 173 a-c.
Gun reproductions. Karajá.
a) Simple, b) double-barreled gun, c) instrument for cleaning the tube.

wooden handle at the end is used to wind it up. Apparently there is no ring or the like to make it possible to wind it up without injury /Ills. 174-176 appear here/ to the left hand. Koch-

[M1] Grünberg in his book, Zwei Jahre unter den Indianern /Two Years Among the Indians/ (Berlin, 1910), Vol. 1, page 121, illustrates a humming top from the Rio Aiarý, which is quite similar and on which a plaited ring protects the hand. Perhaps the Karajá also

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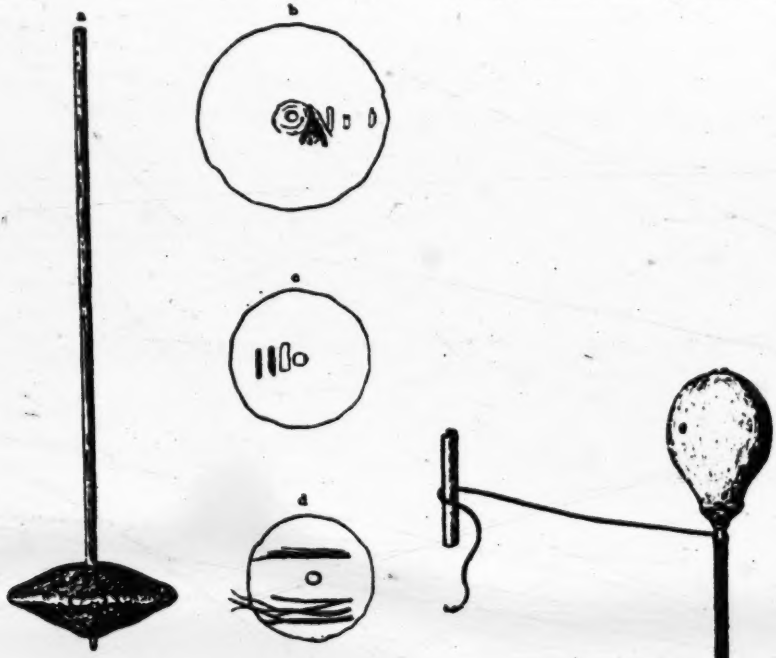
524 use such rings. The humming top can be used only on firm ground, hence probably only on the high banks during the rainy



Ill. 174 a-d.
Top.

Ill. 175.
Humming top.

Ill. 176.
Buzzing disk.

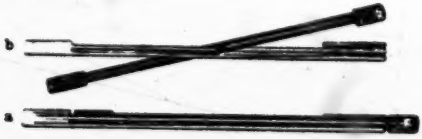
season. Allegedly it is supposed to be in general use, /312/ but I saw only this one specimen (in the Indian house in São José). The name, which is almost identical with the one for the dance mask, ĭnaũĩnĩ, is striking.

The buzzing disk [(ẑĩ)ẑãdĕkĕ] consists of a flat gourd disk seven centimeters in diameter, which bears two holes in the center, through which a string leading back upon itself is

/312 cont./

524 drawn (Ill. 176). The two loops are put over the thumbs; by tumbling it, the thread becomes twisted, and then, by letting it unroll, pulling and relaxing, one makes the disk rotate, whereby it makes a buzzing sound by itself. The Indians did not have such an instrument on hand, but they all knew it; the one shown in Ill. 176 represents a model which an Indian voluntarily made for me. My informant told me that only the men use this instrument, but not women and children. He also linked it up with the

Whizzer stick (nōlĭnōlĭ). This is manipulated fastened to a stick. I never saw a whizzer stick nor was I able to confirm this information. The Indian in question happened to mention



Ill. 177 a, b.
Puzzle carving:
a) covering each other, b) drawn apart.

it when he was looking at a picture in Steinen's second travel
[114] book, page 498. Since this information was obtained in the first village, where I was not yet completely familiar with the Indian's way of expressing himself, this may have been a misunderstanding In any case, subsequent verficiation would be
535 necessary. If the whizzer stick should exist, it probably appears in connection with the masked dances. The buzzing-disk, too, which is supposed to be limited to the men, seems to be connected with them.

I saw the string game (lälŭ) performed several times, though I did not succeed in retaining the difficult movements. Children, above all, occupy themselves with it, adults only occasionally. There are some who command many figures, whereas others are said not to complete any. They have figures which are made by only one person, and some for which

/312 cont./

524 a second person takes part by lifting them off, etc. Each of the figures has a special name; I was shown wind, stars, deer. In general, the string game is regarded as a very difficult game.

[824] [177] I did not see balls, but was told that they make themselves balls out of maize leaves (dõki). They maintain that they learned to make them from the Brazilians. I also did not see anywhere the feather balls made out of corncobs with a ring-shaped insert, which Ehrenreich mentions.

Finally, still to be mentioned is a puzzle game which is popularly practiced by youths and men. The problem is to make two interlocking cane sections out of one piece. What matters here is only the clever way of making it. A piece of cane /313/ approximately 15 centimeters long and half a centimeter wide is split lengthwise, the two sections cut out in the upper layer by means of parallel cuts, the inner substance is scraped out except for two knobs at the ends, and the plaything is finished (Ill. 177 a, b).

Sport and Physical Abilities.

541 [177] As for animal fights, there are said to be cockfights, which, like the hens, they have taken over from the Brazilians. I did not see any; they were described to me as follows: children hide a hen under a mat; then they bring two roosters, one after the other, in order to provoke them.

526 Climbing is practiced a great deal. They are very adept at climbing tall trees; it is said that they sometimes tie a rope around both feet as a climbing loop.

Foot racing is very popular among the male youth; women and children, too, are said to participate in it. Apparently there are times when larger foot-race games are organized (rainy season). At other times the young people run for practice on the sandbank; the one in the lead often holds both arms stretched out sideways, in order not to let the other pass. Their resting position is peculiar: standing, they draw one leg up and place the sole of it against the inner side of the knee of the other (Pl. 30, Ill. 4).

/313 cont./

526 Diving is practiced a great deal; they are very skillful at it, dive for a very long time, and bring up lost objects almost with certainty. It is said that exercises in competitive diving take place, at which the winner receives an arrow. They are equally skilled in

[868] Swimming. Children allegedly are not taught it, but learn it through imitation and trial (like walking). They swim rapidly and with endurance. In one village all the young people swam after my boats. At my request they demonstrated for me the various methods of swimming: the men thrust their right and left arm forward alternately, turning over on the side concerned; the women paddle like dogs, but with both arms simultaneously, that is to say, with both arms closed they thrust them forward and under; girls are said to like to lie on their backs and, with both arms outstretched, to strike backwards with a jerk. According to another report, however, the women are said not to know how to swim (?). In swimming races, the distance from one bank of the river to the other (6-800 meters) serves as the course.

The most popular physical exercise is wrestling. At every opportunity, young people practice it; it then proceeds wholly without restraint. The holds are the same as ours, but interlocking the legs seems to be customary. Injuries to arms and legs are said to occur, but fatal ones only if the person concerned falls on his penis. The opponent is not blamed for this.

[527] When the tracajá lays eggs (August to September), wrestling matches (ĭdjāzŏ) are said to take place; when there is fishing for the tartaruga in the lagoons (September to /314/ October), all-day wrestling festivals (ănărkăn) take place. On these occasions the entire young male population wrestles. The one who causes the most falls is called dĕrĭdŏ (= chief); he is given presents by the others, such as arrows and the like. A person who has never been thrown in wrestling is called ĭdjāzūdŭ; he is also permitted to wear the arm cuffs as well as feather ornamentation, like a married man. The designations ĭdjāzŏ and ĭdjāzūdŭ are striking; is there perhaps some connection between the wrestling matches and the ĭdjāzŏ masked dances?

/314 cont./

526 574 When Karajá come to a strange village, they must officially engage in wrestling with the youth of the village before they are regarded as admitted (1). As soon as the village comes into view,

1. This is an ancient custom which even Fonseca reports in the year 1773 (Rev. trim. 8, 384/85). According to this, the Šavajé paid the Karajá a visit; they came in a large number of boats, adorned and armed, shouted and blew on trumpets. The Karajá responded in like manner, and while they came toward them, armed, in a boat, the others drew up on the shore behind the chief, who carried a large lance. The Šavajé landed and likewise stood in formation. Both clusters of people then moved forward and backward three times, during which they shouted and formed a circle, in the center of which the chiefs then greeted each other. Then a wrestling match began: from either side a warrior stepped up, the two wrestled, cheered on by the chiefs. The victorious nation was always greeted with three loud shouts. It was only after this ceremony that the Karajá chief led the one of the Šavajé to Fonseca in the camp.

one hears sounded from there the challenging shouts for a wrestling match: long and short kjū cries, like dog barks, varying in all kinds of ways. The strangers remain very quiet; I usually observed that my Indians, who afterwards did well in the fight, were trembling with fright. The kjū shouts continue until the strangers have landed and the chief has ordered them to fight. Then they set out for the wrestling place, usually near the mask hut, where the young male population is standing lined up, otherwise where there is firm sand. The two sides step up opposite each other; [535] the chief stands on the side of the strangers. The natives are the first to challenge: two youths side by side dance forward out of the ranks, in that, stamping, they dance forward about eight small

/314 cont./

526 steps half-right, then make a quarter turn and dance forward in
535 the same manner half-left, and so on, alternating in this manner.
574 In connection with this, they swing their hanging arms in the most peculiar way, and the one who happens to be in front utters a howling cry in a high pitch, shouting hū once with every step (Ills. 10, 11, wrestling match between Šavajé and Karajá).[1] When they have reached the front of the opposite row, they stop, turn about on the left foot, whereby they fling their right arms far around and both utter a drawn-out, descending hū; then they run back to their ranks. The opposite side responds to this challenge in like manner. It is only then that from among the natives two men dance forward in the same way, but only to the middle, one pair of the strangers comes dancing toward them, and then, without further ado, the wrestling begins, until one of the opponents is
526 downed. Usually the fights last only one or two minutes. /315/
574 If the opponents are equally skillful and are unable to secure a fall, the fight is broken off. The one who ends up lying on his back is beaten. He remains prostrate; the victor, crying hū, dances around him and in the end climbs over him, or else the victor, with raised hand and shouting in the same manner, dances around the opponent who stands with bowed head. Then both return to
[535] their ranks. Thereupon the chiefs, along with the victor, with arms crossed over their shoulders, shouting hū, dance once around the wrestling place. Each subsequent fight is introduced in the same manner; the big ceremony, however, takes place only before the first fight. Only once did I see an individual man dance forward; otherwise they always went forward in pairs. Sometimes the challenge was not accepted; then the challengers danced to the opposite side, turned about there, and went back. I was unable to find out whether individuals choose certain opponents, or whether
[516] anyone may accept the challenge. After the fight they adopt a certain resting position: they stand bent forward and rest their outstretched arms on their knees. They remain in this position until they wrestle again. Concerning the wrestling match between Karajá and Šavajé /see pp. 330 - 332/.

[1] [See pp. 28-29 -- Analyst

/315 cont./

535 I did not observe any dances, with the exception of mask-dances, which seem to be of a religious nature. Ehrenreich and Castelnau report on such among the Šambioá.

526 Shooting as a sport was not observed. I am unable to say whether shooting matches occur. Sometimes, for practice, they are said to toss green gourds into the air and shoot at them with arrows. Shooting from a position on the back, whereby they hold the bow with the feet, is a sport in which they occasionally indulge, but not too frequently, on account of the great pain which the recoil of the bowstring causes on the feet. I myself did not see it.

I never saw or heard anything about club-throwing about which Königswald reports.

12. Music.

534 The Karajá are very poor in musical instruments. They have only signal trumpets, small whistles, and turtle scrapers; rattles serve as the accompanying instrument for songs. That is [533] all. This lack seems very strange, since the Karajá sing very gladly and well and are apparently highly gifted musically (1).

1. Concerning the love of music of the Karajá, see Part I, p. 52 /untranslated/.

They have three types of signal trumpets.

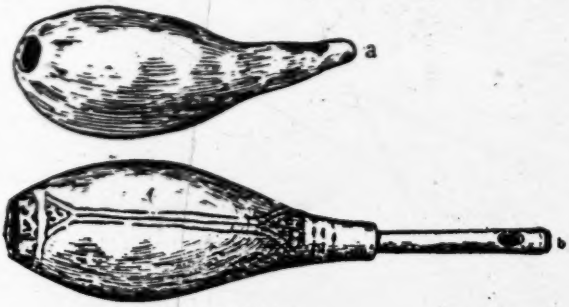
The bamboo trumpet (ŭhŭhŭk) consists of a bamboo cylinder 44 centimeters long and seven centimeters in diameter, the mouth end of which is formed by a node, the center of which is pierced. The open, sounding end is richly carved (Pl. 58, Ill. 9).

/316/ The gourd trumpet consists of a curved bottle-gourd 26 centimeters long, which has the lateral blow-hole on the narrower end, the central sounding-hole on the wider end (Ill. 178a).

/316 cont./

534 [824] The most common are taquara flutes with a gourd for resonance [(h)ă(n)djūlōnă]. The flutes consist of a taquara tube 44-46 centimeters long and about three and a half centimeters thick, one end of which is closed, the other open. Near the closed end is the lateral blow-hole. For resonance there is a gourd 33-38 centimeters long and 16-24 centimeters thick, which is open on both ends and into the large opening of which the flute is

[531]



Ill. 178 a, b.
Gourd trumpets.

[531] obliquely inserted. These resonating gourds are usually decorated with pyrography (Ill. 178b).

533 Hollow sounds which carry very far are drawn from these trumpets. Through alternating long and short tones, blown-in [574] and drawn-out tones, there are produced various tonal sequences, [202] which, on boat trips, are blown near the villages to announce arrival. An actual signal language, however, does not seem to 534 have been developed as yet. At present, ox-horn trumpets, such as the Brazilian deck-hands carry, are already finding entry.

I did not see other kinds of flutes, especially not the Pan-pipes of taquara mentioned by Ehrenreich.

[533] In Village 8 I saw a small horn made of a gourd shell, which [824] apparently is blown at the masked dances. It may not be blown in the presence of women, so I was unable to find out its use and the nature of its sound. Also I was unable to acquire the implement; I did not see it again anywhere else.

/316 cont./

534 There are various kinds of whistles.

[824] The gourd whistle (wŏlăwŭk, ădjūlōnă, lăkŭ) consists of a small, twin-bellied bottle-gourd 8.2 centimeters long, whose smaller belly is cut off crosswise (Ill. 179a). At this cross-cut surface the gourd is blown on from one side and then produces a shrill, high tone.

[824] Buriti-leaf whistles (ădjūlōnă) consist of a narrow buriti leaf strip which is rolled up spirally and then pressed flat. By means of a narrow bast-band wrapped around it the whistle retains its shape. Such whistles are about three centimeters wide and one to two and a half centimeters high and sometimes have a middle reed, while in other specimens this is lacking (Ill. 179b). They are blown by sticking one end of the whistle flat into the mouth.

[237] /317/ The scraper from the shell of the kōdŭ turtle (hūli-hūli) is made from the shell, eight centimeters long and three centimeters wide, in such a way that the tail end of the hollow is completely glued over with wax, while the neck peg of the ventral shell is surrounded by a thick layer of wax (Ill. 180a). One takes the shell in the right hand, places it with the wax peg inclined somewhat /Ills. 179-181 appear here/ obliquely against the tightly stretched palm of the left hand, and strokes the peg vigorously downward over the sweaty palm (Ill. 180b), by means [533] of which a squeaky, muffled sound is produced. According to statements by the Indians, the instrument is said to be used when boys come out of the forest. I did not succeed in finding out whether this is a reference to boys' training, initiation, etc. in the forest.

[533] Rattles serve as the sole instrument accompanying their songs. On all the rattles, the stem is led through the entire body of the rattle and /318/ is fastened at both ends with wax. It is kept plain and only rarely has plaiting around a bit of it. Its length below the body of the rattle varies between nine and 16 [237] centimeters. Monkey-skull rattles, for which monkey skulls seven centimeters long and four to five and a half centimeters wide are

[Text Continues on p. 260]

534

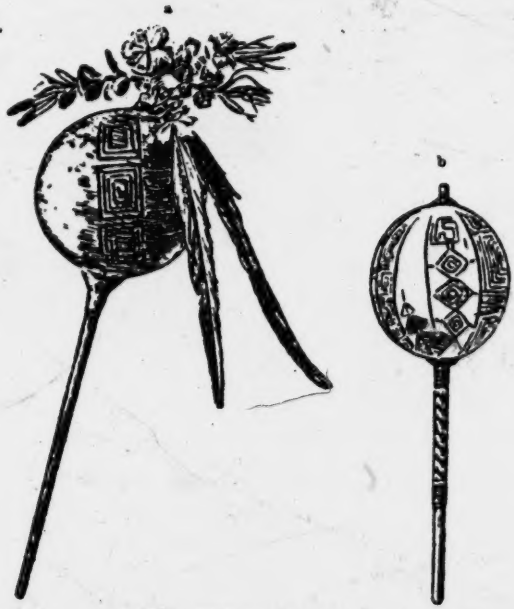
[824]

[237]

Ill. 179 a, b.
Whistles:
a) gourd, b) leaf.

Ill. 180 a, b.
Turtle-scraper and its manipulation.

[531]



Ill. 181a, b.
Gourd rattles.

/318 cont./

534 used, are very rare. I came across only two of these specimens
[237] (Pl. 58, Ill. 10 a, b). Otherwise gourds (ŭälŭ) are commonly used
[824] as the bodies of rattles, which are usually 12-15.5 centimeters long and 5.5-13 centimeters thick (a small rattle is 6.5 centimeters
[531] long and 6 centimeters thick). Most of these gourd rattles are carved with the customary designs (1); many bear feather ornaments

[113] 1. See my article on "Die Kunst der Karajá-indianer," Bässler Archiv, Vol. II, No. 1.

on the stem end projecting out of the gourd at the top (Ill. 181 a, b). These rattles are swung rhythmically in the hand by the masked dancers.

533 Singing plays a considerably larger role. Only the men sing; it is only during the period of mourning that the women, like the men, intone monotonous songs of lament in a high pitch. The singing is one-part singing; mass singing seldom occurs. Only once did I hear a cappella singing. During dances two men simultaneously sing the same thing; otherwise they sing individually, especially when fishing. Apparently the Karajá are very musical;
[176] they sing gladly and well. Most of their songs are masked-dance songs, but it seems as though certain people invented and handed down specific songs. It was often said to me: this is the song of this boy or of that youth. Certain dances and songs seem to be transmitted through tradition only in certain families; others are quite familiar with them, but do not sing them. In 1908 Chief Ilk in Village 13 just below Izabel do Morro knew most of the songs. He was almost inexhaustible. The wŏřizŏ dance and song were handed down in his family. He knew not only Karajá songs, but also sang songs of the Šavajé and Tapirapé. He was known as a singer in all the villages, and everywhere people requested me to
126 play back the phonograms recorded with him. In all I recorded
533 phonographically 44 cylinders of songs. The Indians liked to sing
152 into the apparatus, as soon as the initial shyness had been overcome. To do this I used European music, which amazed them very much. They laughed aloud in astonishment, and many held

/318 cont./

126 their outspread hand in front of their faces; the women usually
533 clicked their tongues in astonishment. Above all, the spoken
152 announcement preceding the songs and pieces of music caused merriment. They were completely unaccustomed to instrumental music; they recognized bird voices as such; they preferred to listen to songs and were delighted with the volume of tone, especially in the case of women's voices. With that their timidity was overcome; usually they themselves pressed forward to be recorded. For this I first used the horn, but later the tube, into which they sang with less constraint. If several Indians were present, they first consulted for a long time as to who should sing, then they all considered the text, first sang the song softly /319/ to themselves for practice, and only then did the chosen one settle down in front of the apparatus. Even Ilk always memorized the song concerned before making the recording. After the recording I immediately played back the song. To hear their own voice at first always provoked great merriment, then they regularly sang along softly to check it, and finally laughed, extremely satisfied because everything agreed perfectly. Even when songs from other villages were played, the text and melody were meticulously checked. It was remarkable that Ilk's songs were always recognized, even when I had not previously mentioned his name and even though he also sang songs which I had heard elsewhere, which were therefore not his alone. The Indians could not figure out the phonograph. When their songs were played back, they always looked into the horn, "to see who is singing in it." After one recording Ilk kept on talking into the apparatus for a long time; when I questioned him, he replied that he was talking to the Ilk who was in there.

533 Unfortunately, the cylinders became distorted through the
[126] influence of the humidity and heat, so that they became oval at one end; work on them has therefore not yet succeeded. As for the melodies, I can only say the following: "The song that is sung every day" starts with high head tones, then in a few tones it descends and ends in a long phrase of deep chest tones. The high head tones and the shift of the voice do not sound good,

/319 cont./

533 especially among older men, whereas the tones were purely sung by boys and young men. This song was sung particularly upon returning from fishing. Then at certain places the names of the fish caught were inserted. In some songs, animal sounds are imitated, for example, the tones which the pirarara makes when it is pulled out of the water. This song always evoked general merriment.

126 533 I obtained only a few texts; see Appendix II, "Texts" /untranslated; see foreign text, pp. 471-482/. They were not given to me from dance songs as long as women were present. Also, in view of the Indians' slight knowledge of the Brazilian language, the translation came up against the greatest difficulties.

In addition, I obtained the following songs:

Masked-dance songs of the Karajá: aruana (1) (S, N) 2

1. In Karaja: ĩdjăzõ. Included in this is: "The song that is sung every day."

djālhēnĩ (N)
dšewēliă (N)
ĩdjăzõ (S, N)
ĩkonă (N)
ũijũ (S)
wŏrĩzõ (N), 5 songs, as well

as 9 dance songs without a name, and the mask-cry: kjũ.

/320/ Songs of the Karajá: djauhĩ (S)
hidăhõ (N)
ĩobĕzĕ (N)
makandità (S)
Paku song (N)
Pirarara song (S, N)

as well as 10 songs without names.

Dance songs of the Šavaje: ĩdjālhēnĩ (N)

Song of the Šavajé: dēsoĩ, dĕsoĩ (N), allegedly sung when a jaguar is killed.

Song of the Tapirapé: ăklīlĩ (N).

The Tapirapé also know a djālhēnĩ mask-song, it is said.

2 [The (S) and (N) here and below refer to the "South" and "North" hordes respectively--Analyst]

/320 cont./

13. Political Conditions.

C 721 Wars seem to have taken place only because of the abduction of women, for it was always reported that the men of the foe were killed, but women and children were brought back to the C 648 village. The position of the Karajá with respect to their neighbors in this respect is the following: with Bororo and southern Kayapó they do not seem to come into contact. With Chavánte battles occurred in which the Karajá always had the greater losses. With the Šavajé of Bananal Island they are on friendly terms, whereas the Canoeiros, likewise on Bananal, are at present their most feared enemies. With the Tapirapé the C 648 Karajá formerly had friendly trade relations; the Karajá furnished [439] iron goods and in return obtained net coverings, bows, stone lip-plugs, food, araras, etc. The Karajá took advantage of the occasion of this trading on a sandbank in the Tapirapé River, far from the village, to lead off in the meantime women and children who were busy in the plantings. The Tapirapé did not know for a long time who was abducting their women. About six or seven years ago the Karajá had again abducted five or six women; on the way home, the latter fled, but the Karajá pursued them and killed all but one who came back to the Tapirapé and reported that the Karajá were the abducters of the women. When, in the following year, the Karajá again undertook their trade journey to the Tapirapé, the latter apparently agreed to the transaction, but then fell upon the Karajá and killed several men. Since then all communication between the two tribes has ceased; the Karajá no longer journey to the trading place and the Tapirapé, too, have moved farther upstream.

C 648 With the northern Kayapó the Karajá likewise seem to live on a hostile footing. I did not hear any reports about former combats. But the antagonistic, rejecting attitude that my Karajá displayed toward the mission Kayapó in Conceição was striking.

/320 cont./

648 Of course, it is not only the Karajá who abduct women from the enemy; they are exploited in the same manner by the latter.

727 /321/ Slain enemies are left lying. I was unable to find out anything about anthropophagy. Wounded fellow-tribesmen are brought back to the village and treated by the doctor. Captured women and children are used as work slaves; captured boys who do not wish to work are exposed, if they do not themselves run away. In both cases they probably face destruction.

The owner in question (their captor) benefits by the work of the war captives. In return, he gives them food and clothing.

727 Women war captives are also used as village prostitutes. In ex-
548 change for the payment of an arrow they are put at the disposal of the young men of the village as well as of other villages. A permanent claim is acquired by the payment of a net covering to the owner. At present the Karajá have only Tapirapé women as prostitutes; altogether I met only five such women and maidens among them, as well as two small boys. Šavajé women are also supposed to play this role occasionally; these are not abducted women, however, but women who, on trade expeditions, joined the Karajá or were banished because of offenses with them (?). One instance which I am able to explain to myself only in this manner occurred during my visit among the Šavajé, where an obviously pregnant Šavajé girl was handed over to my Karajá to be taken along to their villages.

622 The Karajá are led by chiefs (ĭdjāõ̆, dērĭdõ̆, ĭtrĭ). As external insignia they wear the chin tattooing, their wives the large Thevetia neck ornament (see above /see pp. 110 and 122/). Otherwise they have no distinguishing mark of any kind; "one recognizes them by their dignified behavior," Kurišĭ said.

The duties of the chief are the following: He determines and supervises the work in the plantings, the mask festivals and the preparation for them (making the dance masks); he keeps order in the village, settles disputes, decides cases, and supports the poor, widows, and orphans. He determines the fishing and trade expeditions; he decides on expeditions of war. Moreover, he shelters strangers in his house and provides for them,

/321 cont./

622 and represents the village before the strangers. He performs these duties personally, without an intermediary. He does not an-
[623] nounce his orders in men's councils (such institutions are lacking), but goes from house to house. He transmits announcements to other villages by messengers, who, however, are not further legitimatized.

622 His power, however, is only a limited one; it rests entirely
621 on the good will of the villagers. If they are dissatisfied with him for any reason, they simply move away and leave him alone. Souza Villa Real already reported such a case in 1792 (1). On a

1. Rev. trim. 11, 1848, p. 416.

trip by way of the east arm, on a sandbank five days below the northern end of Bananal Island, he met Indians who said that they had migrated from their village because of disputes with their chief, whom they regarded as an evil sorcerer.

/322/ In former times there seem to have been quite a number of tribal chiefs. In 1908 only four chiefs were named (1),

1. In 1792 Souza Villa Real also mentions only four chiefs of the Karajahi, but only from hearsay; Rev. trim. 11 (1848), p. 432.

whereas quite a number of villages were without chiefs (see succession /see pp. 266 -267/). The southernmost chief was Fotuna in Village No. 14, the rest were Cyriãki in Village 18, Tumanakú in Village 21, and Crisote in Village 22. It appears that their power is, in the first place, limited to the village
[628] concerned. The young people of other villages, however, also seem to gather around them; at any rate, in the villages with chiefs I regularly came across an unusually large number of young men. My Karajá rowers also willingly obeyed the com-
624 mands of these chiefs. The men from the individual villages who
191 were called capitão by the Brazilian boatmen are not Indian chiefs,

/322 cont./

624 191 but mostly men who understand a little Brazilian and, as a result, act as intermediaries in dealings with the boatmen (for example, Ilk).

622 591 During my stay at the mouth of the Tapirapé I observed that there may also be rivalry between chiefs. On the downstream journey, in Village No. 18, I met two chiefs, the good-natured old tribal chief Cyriāki and a so-called capitão, the energetic, feared Chico Cadete. Of the two, Cyriaki had the more dignified bearing, though he had no following in the village; Cadete ruled there absolutely, so that Cyriāki was left entirely in the background. On the upstream journey I met the [439] village in the act of undertaking a trading expedition to Santa Maria. When I returned from my navigation of the Tapirapé, I found Cyriāki in the village on the mouth of the Tapirapé. He had moved from Village 18 on account of disputes with Cadete and had settled here in Village 17.

622 The privileges enjoyed by the chiefs for their administration of office are the following: They do not work in the plantings; they do not hunt, and they fish only for tokunaré, pintado, and pirarucu, besides tartaruga and tracajá. They are not subject to any restrictions in diet. They may have several wives, who live together in their houses; there is no chief wife. Their houses are built by the villagers; they are sometimes larger and higher than the other houses.

[562] If the chief is absent, he entrusts the leadership to his wife his son also seems to represent him frequently.

The chief is educated for his position from infancy on. After an ablution with hot water, he lives for four years shut in a special hut; here he learns from his father the dances and dance songs, the administration of justice, and whatever else is necessary for his office. He may already pronounce decisions, which are announced through his father. In return he is given arrows, stones for lip plugs, and similar things as gifts. The apprenticeship ends with a large festival.

[562] The chief's successor is his son. If he only has daughters, one of them becomes chief (hau͡ěkě, děrōdĭ). If she marries,

/322 cont./

622 the honor remains with her; /323/ it does not pass on to her husband. If the chief has no descendants, the village remains without a head; the only thing to be done then is to train a boy from infancy on for this office. Then the men of the village deliberate, choose a child, go to its mother and ask her whether she will permit her child to become chief. If she gives her consent, the boy is trained for his office, apparently by his father. Thus, for example, the chief of Village 7 had died long ago. His son's name was Cadete; he had three daughters and a son. The son died prematurely, the daughters did not wish to accept the rule; hence there was no chief in this village. "One would first have to be trained for this."

609 [622] Strangers are received and given hospitality by the chief. Good form demands that the stranger receive all kinds of gifts (coconuts, honey, batatas, pots, mats, etc.), in the expectation that he will give lavishly in return. In my camp near the villages I was never alone; rather, there was uninterruptedly, day and night, a watch of two or three youths, sometimes even several, present in the camp. At night they slept beside the fire. Apparently this precaution arose out of a mistrust of strangers. Now, however, the placing of the watch by the very Indians who still observe the old forms is regarded as an honor accorded the strangers, and the honor is particularly great if the chief himself spends the night in the camp of the stranger.

421 Legal affairs. Personal property is already very highly developed. As such they regard: house and boat (both belonging to the woman), weapons, implements, ornaments, and articles of clothing, The food from the plantings is family property; large booty from hunting and fishing is distributed to the entire village. Even small children have their ornaments and toys as property. Only the specific owner decides whether to sell, if it is a child, its parents, usually the mother. Outsiders never interfere in the personal affairs of others.

685 Property violations seldom occur. As far as I was concerned, I observed an attempted theft only once. Thefts seem to extend essentially to produce from the plantings and apparently do not remain concealed for long.

/323 cont./

685 remain concealed for long. The injured person complains to the
627 chief; he sends him to the thief with the instruction to demand compensation from him. If the thief refuses, however, the injured one again complains to the chief and may, if the latter agrees, start a "fight" with the former, in other words, demand his rights by force.

682 Murders seem to occur, though seldom. The c om of
627 blood vengeance prevails: the relatives of the slain one pursue the murderer everywhere, even into other villages, until they have slain him.

689 Social life. Objectionable elements (boasters, gossipers, quarrelsome persons) are on occasion flogged. Thus, my camarada Pedro II in Village 17 is said to get a beating almost weekly on account of his incredible boasting.

/324/ Malicious elements who, with their quarreling, never leave the village in peace are finally, as Kurišť reported, killed by the others at the command of the chief; their relatives then have no right to take blood vengeance.

565 There are no class distinctions. Women and children captured in war serve as slaves of sorts. On the other hand, there are differences in wealth; there are rich and poor people. "The rich man has everything, axes, knives, pots; the poor one has nothing. He goes to the rich one and says: Give me a pot, an ax. The rich man must give it to him." (Kurišť.)

[622] The chiefs in particular are regarded as rich, and they, indeed, must share their surplus of goods with the poor. Ilk in Village 13 and Crisote in Village 22 were regarded as especially
[184] rich. The Indians of the south horde are regarded as poor, and they are in comparison with the north horde, which, in turn, is to be designated as poor in relation to the Šavajé.

609 Forms of greeting. If someone comes into a strange village,
576 he remains, with bowed head, in the boat (sta sem vergonha, that is, without shame, as the Indians erroneously said, instead of com v., that is, full of shame) until the others come, greet him, and invite him to come along to the village. Only then do they go on land. This custom was observed in particular among the

/324 cont./

609 Indians who were in the service of whites. When I came into a
576 village, my Indians sat motionless in the boat, with bowed heads and disconcerted faces, until the chief of the village had addressed them. During the entire time of my stay in the village they did not lift a hand, nor did they eat any of my cooking, but rather went hungry, if they did not have relatives in the village who provided for them. They were precisely sem vergonha.

576 Upon returning from the journey, they were received with tearful speeches by their female relatives and family (1). During

1. This way of greeting long unseen kin by female relatives is already mentioned by Fonseca in 1773 (Rev. trim. 8, p. 379).

this the two parties seldom look at each other; they often stand one behind the other. The laments are made in a whimpering tone. Suddenly, they stop and converse in an entirely friendly manner with the ones who have returned. Apparently the whole thing is merely ceremony, the exaggeration of which on the part of particular women evoked derisive smiles even among the other Indians.

14. Marriage, Birth, Education, Death.

114 Marriage. I did not witness an engagement or a marriage, so my statements about this are based merely on the accounts of the Indians.

582 The age at which marriage takes place was difficult to determine. Men apparently marry between 17 and 20 years, women sooner, at 14-16. The only obstacle to marriage is the immediate relationship between siblings; cousins, on the other hand, may marry each other. I did not encounter anywhere any suggestion of marriage prohibitions which might perhaps be based on totemism.

584 /325/ The suitor first tries to win over the mother and the other relatives of the girl. The decision rests with the girl herself, however. The mother gives the suitor the answer. According to Pedro, the father-in-law receives presents from the suitor's father,

/325 cont./

584 and the suitor must also work for the father-in-law (?). During the engagement, the bridegroom, along with the young men, builds the house. This subsequently becomes the property of the woman, who, after the wedding, pays off the builders. The bride, however, apparently provides the furnishings, the sleeping mats, pots, etc.

585 I obtained only unclear reports about the wedding ceremony. Thus, the grandfather is said to carry the bridegroom, painted and adorned, into the house of the bride and back again. The suitor, accompanied by the young men, fetches the woman and leads her into the new house. There they cut off each other's leg bands and remove their arm cuffs for the duration of the marriage. According to another statement, however, the bride cuts off the calf bands of the man; the mother of the man, however, those of the bride. The bridal journey takes place without luggage. Only after the couple have arrived in the house does the husband have the property of the bride brought and take charge of them.

595 [622] In general the Karajá have only one wife at a time; only the chief may have simultaneously several wives who live together in his house. As has been said above, there is no chief wife, but many quarrels are said to take place among them. When the wife grows old, the husband may send her away and marry a second, younger woman. This is based on the fact that only the older girls are left over for the young men, and that, when these grow too old, they then turn to the young girls.

593 562 The position of the wife is very good. The house, the furnishings, and the boat belong to her; the husband simply lives with her. She also gives her opinion in all matters. The husband takes on all the hard work: laying out the plantings, carrying the harvest home, hunting and fishing. The wife must do the lighter work in connection with planting and harvesting and take care of the housekeeping. The two are seldom idle. The men do not

589 like to do the heavy work. At any rate, the young men, for fear of it, do not want to marry and postpone marriage as long as possible, misled, chiefly, by a few old bachelors. The carefree bachelor's life is, of course, free of all work; one does only what

/325 cont./

589 [587] he pleases, there is no "must." Widowers, too, usually marry again only out of consideration for their children. If they have no children, or if they can avoid marriage in any way, they are only too glad to do so.

593 [264] The two sexes take their meals together. In general, married life is very peaceful, quarrels and disputes are rare. Nevertheless, I observed a few marital scenes: In Village 17 one evening the loud shouting and screaming of a woman arose, followed by a half hour of loud abusive speeches by the woman. The next evening the husband came to me and asked me for food, because, he said, his wife would not give him anything to eat on account of the previous day's quarrel. /326/ I was unable to discover the reason for the quarrel. In Village 13, Chief Ilk beat his wife because, on a visit to Village 11, she had been stealing. That is what he said; the others, however, said that the wife had greeted him angrily when he returned from Village 11 because he had had something to do with a woman there; it was only then [587] that he beat her. In Village 7, Kuriší already had his third wife. The first had run away from him, the second died, the third and present one was much older than he and very jealous. On the first evening of my stay she observed how he had twice given a girl tobacco, at the latter's request. As a result, a quarrel was said to have broken out at home; she pulled his hair, he beat her. The result was that the wife departed during the night with her children; I then met her again in Village No. 8. The husband was therefore a grass widower, had nothing to eat, and was obliged to move into the bachelor house. On my return journey I met the two reunited; they were living in peace and, smiling in some embarrassment, spoke of the incident.

586 Divorce occurs in the aforementioned case, when the woman becomes too old. The husband then sends her away and usually marries a young girl. Thus, in Village No. 5 the husband sent his old wife to São José to her brother and married a younger one. He kept the children; he was obliged to go on providing the older wife with food supplies. The mother of the wife supervises the separation of the spouses; both parties turn to her if one no

/326 cont./

586 longer wants the other. In any case the children remain with the father. The divorced wife keeps her property. Ehrenreich re-
[587] ports ("Beiträge," p. 27) that a man who rejects his wife may not marry again, but merely takes a housekeeper. According to my observations, the case from Village No. 5 reported above is quite typical. Contempt is by no means the lot of such a man, as Königswald reports (1).

[113] 1. Globus, Vol. 94, p. 237.

589 Widows and orphans. Widowed persons again don their leg
768 and arm bands. The widower lives like a bachelor; he may marry again, but generally does so only if he has children who need a mother. Otherwise he is afraid of the work incumbent on a husband. Widows continue to live in the house, which, of
589 course, is their property. They may marry again. They get their
736 maintenance from the chief, in case there are no grown sons who are able to care for them. Otherwise the chief appoints someone who is to plant and fish for her, and pays him for it. Orphans are reared and provided for by the brother of the mother.

836 Extramarital sex life. The girls do their utmost to preserve their purity; thus, they do not go into the forest alone, for fear of the young men. If a girl nevertheless has misfortune, she is not punished, at any rate not in the south horde. Even in
[114] this case she is married by another party. I was unable to learn anything about the severe punishment for premarital intercourse and adultery, as reported by Ehrenreich and Königswald. /327/
[548] Before marriage, the men enjoy complete freedom. In many
[485] villages there are Tapirpaé and Šavajé women who serve as prostitutes and are also put at the disposal of strangers. The Karajá nevertheless also seem to become involved occasionally in adventures even with tribal members. Pedro flirted in many villages with young girls whom he called his primas (cousins); in Camp No. 23 proposals for nocturnal trysts were made to him by two women, but he refused them. I did not discover anything about the arrangement of viri viduarum, about which Ehrenreich reports from Magalhães ("Beiträge," p. 28).

/327 cont./

843 Birth. During pregnancy the women wear small plaited mats around their hips, which they hold together in front with
847 their hands. Pregnancy is prematurely interrupted when the woman eats a powder made of pounded white stone (mãnaũlã) or drinks blood. Artificial abortion is not regarded as prohibited.

844 Birth takes place in the house (according to one isolated statement, also in a house built especially for this); the woman, squatting, according to Ehrenreich, is supported by her mother. The husband does not participate (according to Ehrenreich, on the other hand, he helps his wife). There are said to be all kinds of medicines to ease the birth. The umbilical cord is cut with a taquara splinter and ashes are placed on the wound. The after-birth is buried in the forest.

846 Confinement is very brief. The mother lies in the hut for only one day; on the second day she is already up. After four days have elapsed, during which she eats only honey and some manioc mush, she washes herself in the shade with hot water which she has in a pot standing beside her. After that she resumes her work and may again eat everything. In former times the husband was likewise obliged to adhere to a certain diet, whereas allegedly he no longer does this today. In ancient times, "when the Karajá were still living under water," he adhered to
[757] a diet for five months. Later, the husband merely remained in the house for six days; he ate neither fish nor manioc -- they were supposed to be too hard -- and daily emptied his stomach by vomiting, which he induced by eating honey with pepper or pineapple with pepper.

How long after the birth the husband stays away from his wife was not to be determined; in any case, however, the wife is treated with consideration for some time.

844 The skull of the newborn baby is pushed into proper shape by the father of the mother, or, according to another report, by the grandmother. It is then washed with warm water, then smeared with urucú and almesqua resin, whereby the red mucus comes off and the child becomes light. Then it is apparently

/327 cont./

844 washed once more and again rubbed. After this it is wrapped
845 in a small net covering. Deformed children (blind ones, too)
[847] are drowned in the river by the mother; this is not regarded as wrong. Only well-formed children are raised, even when they are all girls. Nothing could be learned about the treatment of twins;
163 such a case had "not yet occurred." The families, on the average, have two to four /328/ children; five are already regarded as many. There are said to be even more children in one family,
862 however. The child is nursed for several years, and even children five or six years old still run to their mother in order to appease their hunger.

553 Children are given their names at birth by the grandparents
[603] on the paternal and maternal side. They keep these names all
[551] through life. Many Karajá bore Christian names, which were
[797] given them by the Brazilian boatmen; there are said to be only
551 one or two actually baptized Karajá in São José. I obtained quite a number of given names for persons of both sexes; unfortunately, translations of them could not be obtained. It is only in the following names that familiar syllables may be separated out: mãŭzĭ = addition to pottery clay (see above, p. 209); kūlĭ = tapir; ănănlŏã = cat; ănlŭãzĭ = jaguar-zi (zi = egg; possibly misheard for ti = bone). For the rest of the names, see the word list /untranslated; see the foreign text, pp. 454-455/.

852 Soon after birth the children have their ear lobes pierced for the insertion of the ear tulips (kūãdjŭ), which are later replaced by the ear rods; it is only later that the lip-hole is pierced for the boys. Both procedures take place without any further ceremony.

291 The boys run about naked; girls wear a black string-belt.
561 It is only at the age of 9-12 that the boys tie the penis up and the girls hang the bast apron over the belt. From then on the boys
301 live with the young men. As insignia the children wear arm cuffs, calf and ankle bands, the latter of which are already removed by the boys at the age of six to eight years.

/328 cont./

881 With the onset of puberty both sexes have the tribal rings
[304] cut on their cheeks; apparently no further ceremonies take place
561 in connection with this. From then on the maidens wear the
301 complete costume of the women, and the cotton pendant orna-
ment is given the red color instead of the black, which was proper
561 for children. The youths live by themselves; where there is a
591 mask house, they spend the day in it and sleep there at night or
beside a fire in its vicinity. Where there is none, they sleep
beside a fire away from the village. In small settlements with
one or two houses, they, too, live in the house.

855 Parents love their children very much. It is touching to
observe with what tenderness they cling to them, and how, far
from them, they are constantly with them in their thoughts.
When Pedro received the (false) message that his children had
died, he scarcely spoke for hours and even after that he was
noticeably more silent than he had been otherwise. The mothers
play with their small children; I even observed the kissing of
855 children. All conceivable ornamentation is put on the little
301 ones; the older the children become, the less ornamentation is
put on, until, finally, married persons give it up almost entirely.
One woman about 50 years old laughed at her own vanity when she
put chains of beads which I had given to her grandchild around
her own neck and looked down on them with pleasure. This
mania /329/ for adorning children goes so far that they hang
around their necks large pieces of broken colorful porcelain
[842] plates, without being aware of the danger (1). "Boys mean more

1. This custom is already reported for the Šambioá by Rufino in the year 1846 (Rev. trim. X, p. 196).

to the father, the mother would rather have girls" (Kuriší). The
861 father teaches the son, the mother the daughter. Contrary to
other reports, I was assured that beating as a punishment also
occurs. Otherwise I observed only the denial of food as a means
of punishment (in Village 17, because the boy in question did not
go fishing, but loitered around me in the Camp).

/329 cont./

000 go fishing, but loitered around me in the camp). Children obey
593 their parents implicitly, and even adults still unquestioningly follow the advice of their mothers. Thus, Pedro's mother gave him the following good advice on his journey (Pedro was a widower with three children): Do not lend money (Pedro therefore flatly refused the attempts to borrow on the part of other comrades, with the argument that his mother had forbidden it); do not bring back a wife (in this respect, too, Pedro obeyed his mother and refused several attempts at matchmaking); men who run after women grow lean, but a person who eats a great deal grows fat.

Legally, too, parents, especially the mother, seem to retain authority over their grown sons. For I was obliged to conduct with his mother the final negotiations about Pedro's taking his children along. I did not negotiate at all with Pedro himself.

859 The result of this rearing is that the children are never ill-behaved and seldom quarrel among themselves; they are merry and gay and soon trusting toward the stranger, without being guilty of rude familiarity.

576 In general, great value is put on dignified and polite behavior. In the huts, the members of the family were separately introduced to me. When, in the evening beside the fire, I
[126] wanted to write down their information, they blew upon a chunk of wood and held it up to me in order to give me light. When they were looking for honey on the way, they always brought me part of it in a piece of tree bark.

514 Modesty is part of the Indians' good behavior. Defecation takes place far outside the village, if possible hidden from the
[291] glances of others. When a girl about eight years old was supposed to sell me her string belt, she ran behind the nearest mat wall, put on a new one there, and then brought me the old one. It is only in farting that they are somewhat more negligent. Loud sounds are greeted with laughter or accompanied by dog-barks. In some places this seemed actually to be good form, and one would outdo the other. On the other hand, foul smells were taken amiss; they would all glance indignantly at the presumed offender and would give expression to their annoyance with disapproving bw and hm̃ sounds.

/329 cont./

763 Death and burial (2). The occurrence of death is recog-

[114] 2. I myself did not observe a death; my statements about this are based on the unanimous accounts of various Indians.

nized when /330/ the deceased is called to and shaken; if he gives no answer, he is regarded as surely dead.

764 The corpse is then smeared with resin (dŏmăłé) upon which are glued white down feathers. The face is painted with urucú (perhaps also only a section from the ear across the chin to the other ear), the lip plug is removed, arara feathers are stuck into the ears; the rest of the ornaments are also put on (for example, the bead chains are hung around women). Then the body is wrapped in a sleeping mat and tied to a pole which is taken to a stake standing upright in the sand away from the village. I could not find out whether it is tied to this or what else happens to it. Here the laments of the women and relatives take place. The young men hold the death watch here; in return they are provided with food by the brother of the deceased. If the dead person died in the evening, he is buried the next morning; if he died during the day, he is removed as quickly as possible. Burial [462] is the task of the men; the women content themselves with weeping and lamenting. All the dead are treated and buried in the same way.

The dead are buried in the cemetery. There are several large collective cemeteries (urn cemeteries); in addition there seem to be smaller village cemeteries for burials. All of them lie on high banks above the high-water mark, some of them days' journeys in distance from the village. Cemeteries to be newly laid out are marked out by the oldest Karajá. The Karajá seek by all means to be buried in their tribal cemeteries. Thus, Kabiśá from Leopoldina brought his dead grandchild to the cemetery at Schischá (three days' journey downstream from Leopoldina) because there was "unconsecrated ground" there.

/330 cont./

764 Large cemeteries are found near São José, S. Izabel do Morro (1).

1. Apparently this is the cemetery that Rufino visited on December 6, 1846; Rev. trim. X, p. 206.

In the smaller cemeteries the grave is dug and the corpse is hung in it horizontally on the pole. Then poles are placed over the opening and the whole is covered with earth. Concerning the equipment of these graves in more detail, none of which I saw, unfortunately, see in Ehrenreich ("Beiträge," p. 31). A dish
765 of food is placed on the grave for six days. When the body is decayed, the grave is dug up again (according to Pedro, after one month; according to Kurišĭ, after a year). The bones are cleaned and gathered together in a large funeral urn. This cleaning from the bones the bits of flesh still clinging to them is said to be done by means of a bone like the one customarily used for cauterizing wounds; one end of the bone is held in the fire and the flesh is then scraped off with this heated end. Special ceremonies no longer seem to take place in connection with this. The urns are placed under trees in the large cemeteries, where they gradually become filled with sand (see Pl. 13 /see p. 7/, Ill. 2). Their shape corresponds to that of the cooking pots, except /331/ that they are provided with a lid (Pl. 58, Ill. 11). The largest such urn that I saw had a diameter of 80 centimeters.
[766] Corpses of small children are said to be immediately deposited in such urns.

[768] The hut of the deceased is abandoned and then burned. If
[302] the husband died, the hair of the wife and of the mother of the man is cut short, except for a wreath of hair running all around (nǎkŭlǎŭ); the hair of the children, however, is not cut. Upon the death of the wife, the husband, mother, and children do not cut their hair. As a further sign of mourning, both sexes wear bast or cotton bands around their heads. One woman wore, in addition, a narrow bast-belt around her waist; one boy had tied bast strips on the calf bands. Otherwise all ornaments are taken off. Laments for the dead are shouted out by both sexes with a

/331 cont. /

765 loud, high voice in a monotonous intonation; at the same time rattle gourds are swung. It seems that laments take place as soon as anything reminds them of the deceased. In any case definite times of the day for these could not be determined. The people, however, are sincerely grieved; one can see their sorrow in their faces, at least at first. The father allegedly mourns a child only one day, the mother four days. This statement is certainly not true, for in Schischá I heard lamentations for a child who was said to have died three weeks before. The husband mourns his wife only a short time; on the other hand, the wife her husband for a year. After this time has elapsed, the widow is painted with urucú and hung with ornaments at the command of the chief. After this she mourns one more day, and with this the period of mourning is at an end.

15. Religion, Masks, Magic, Medicine.

114 Concerning the religious views of the Karajá I was able to
771 discover but little. The researcher does not come across anything that could suggest any belief in spirits or a cult, with the exception of the masked dances.

114 Unfortunately, I saw very few such dances, since I traveled
535 in the Karajá region from June to October, whereas the time of
796 the dancing seems to be precisely from November to April. Thus, I am unable to report anything about the meaning of these dances; all my efforts to find out anything about this from the people by questions failed because of the meager possibility of mutual
[532] understanding or the deliberate withholding of information. I assume, however, that these dances, which coincide with the time of ripening of certain field produce and at which masks representing animals are used, are in part harvest festival dances, but in part originate from ideas out of which the so-called magic by analogy developed later on. More cannot be said about this; all
532 else would be useless speculation. Some of the masks are not

/331 cont./

532 dance masks, but masks of beggars who travel around on certain occasions and beg for food; others seem to be connected with the /332/ cult of the dead. In any case, these are still quite primi-
561 tive forms; a strict organization of the young people seems to be entirely lacking; only the age group of the unmarried men and the men's house (mask house) have developed (1). As a

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1. Dr. Walter Lehmann-München, in a discussion of my essay on masks in the Zentralblatt für Anthropologie, XVI, 1911, p. 100, suspects that the dance masks, like those in Central America, could in part be connected with the cult of the dead, and that they could be associated with totemistic ideas in combination with puberty rites. The connection with the cult of the dead seems actually to exist for the ĭõõnĭ mask, but, unfortunately, I was able to obtain too little information about this (see Part I, p. 78 /untranslated/) to be able to say anything about it with certainty. As for the second point, I suspected totemism among the Karajá Indians from the very beginning, but, in spite of all efforts, I could not discover anything of this nature. And it is the same with puberty rites. I therefore believe that I am right if I abstain from such combinations. It must one day be the task of a researcher who visits the Karajá during the rainy (dance) season to devote his attention to this problem.

As a

535 result, priests are, as yet, entirely lacking; everyone may still
596 take part equally in all the dances. The arrangement is the duty
[993] of the chief. Everything concerning the masks is kept secret from the women. For more detail on the mask arrangements, see
[113] my article, "Tanzmaskennachbildungen vom mittleren Araguaya (Zentralbrasilien) /Copies of Dance Masks from the Middle

/332 cont./
535 Araguaia (Central Brazil)/" (2).
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[113]

2. Jahrbuch des städtischen Museums für Völkerkunde zu Leipzig, Vol. 3, Leipzig, 1910, pp. 97-122.

346 I should like only to make a few remarks here about the
532 mask huts. Castelnau mentions and illustrates (Vue et scènes, Paris, 1853, Plate 8 and text page 7) in the first Šambioá village an almost semicircular, vertical palm-leaf wall, the convex side of which is turned toward the village. In the open space stand about ten dance masks. Beside this there is a framework of poles which consists of several oblique poles stuck in a circle, from the center of which projects a long pole bearing a bunch of leaves at the end. These two structures are shown somewhat larger on page 9. In front of the palm-leaf wall are two dancers who have placed the masks on their heads. The way they are portrayed (the absence of the leaf-aprons and the way they are leaping about) proves that Castelnau was not present at the dances. Ehrenreich also reports on such semicircular compartments for masks, and, to be sure, also among the Karajá ("Beiträge," p. 34). I never saw such compartments, but only the house-like mask huts described by me.

775 About the world beyond, the Karajá were unable to give me any information. Allegedly the deceased go to the heavens.

787 Dreams, which are said to be very frequent, are regarded as reality. For example: "If someone dreams that a relative of his has died, he gets into his boat and rides there, in order to see whether it is true." (Kuriší.)

789 Magic (lŏbūnĭ) of all kinds is very widespread; even enlightened Karajá still firmly believe in its effect. It is believed that through /333/ manipulations natural events (rain) can be influenced or that other people can be harmed through magic.

Rain magic is very common; everyone can use it, everyone has the apparatus necessary for it. I obtained several of these:

/333 cont./

789 hĕtjiwă. Two small cane rods are tied together; on the front end, feathers are glued onto a layer of wax. The rods are cut off; their actual length is approximately one meter (Ill. 182a). People shake such instruments toward the clouds in order to drive away rain.

A second apparatus consists of two switches about 50 centimeters long, which are tied together (Ill. 182b). The thick, black switch is called kŭŏlūnĭ; the thin, light one,

Ill. 182 a, b.
Rain magic.
a) 2 cane rods (cut off),
b) 2 switches.

Ill. 183 a, b.
Eye magic (a) with brush (b).

Ill. 184 a-c.
Fever magic (a) with constituent parts (b, c).

[754] →

nŏhõdāmŭdă. With the two, one beats upward against the clouds.

hŭlālăhĕdŏ (kŏwōlŭ) consists of a simple switch. Its use is said to be familiar to only a few initiates. Kurišĭ demonstrated the apparatus to me when rain threatened: sitting in the boat, he silently beat with it horizontally downstream, as though he wanted to drive the rain clouds there.

/333 cont./

789 In order to be able to see at night, one paints on the eyelids with the brush (Ill. 183b) /334/ some of the substance obtained from the jequitiba fruit (Ill. 183a).

751 As a protection against arrow shots one glues, by means of wax, a scraped bowstring as disks approximately ten centimeters in diameter onto both breasts.

754 In order to induce fever in others, one rubs together in one's hands some of the substance in the little bag (Ill. 184a) and rubs it into the hair of the opponent during a dispute. One protects oneself by washing it off the hands. The constituent parts out of which the substance is made are shown in Ill. 184 b,c; they are, first, a bundle of brown fibers and then a yellowish dried shell, both of which are ground and mixed with charcoal. They did not want to tell me the name for this magic remedy, just as they were generally afraid to let me have these things, since I could, of course, have used them against the seller himself. I had to pack them away immediately before their eyes; otherwise they could not be obtained.

There are various means for killing another person. /Ills. 185 and 186 appear here./ A monkey penis is plaited out of bast (nõõ krãõbẽ, Ill. 185 a, b) and secretly planted on the enemy, who must then die.

The magic arrow (bòlõhẽ) consists of a wooden rod 21 centimeters long and surrounded with a layer of wax, which is completely covered with little red feathers. The point is formed by a bone splinter. Actually, the arrow should consist of gibate cane and the point of a ray spine. Apparently the Indians altered the instrument so that I could not do any mischief with it. With a small bow the arrow is shot at passersby; the person in whose direction the arrow comes to rest must die (Ill. 16 a, b). There is no antidote against this magic.

The electric eel (kũõlũnĩ, hẽtjĩwã) consists of a mixture of pounded bones of the electric eel, charcoal, and wax, which is put in fish form and little red feathers are glued over it. Two mother-of-pearl disks serve as the eyes; a white cotton ring adorns the neck (Ill. 186a). One holds the /335/ rear end of the electric

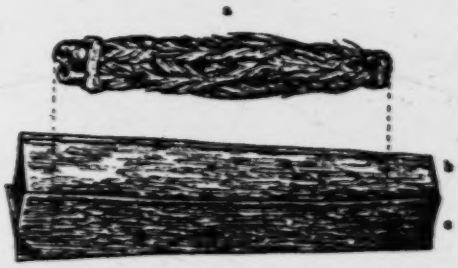
/335 cont./

754 eel with the right hand against the index finger of the left and thus aims at the passerby. He must die if he does not immediately
755 have himself treated by the doctor. The doctor sucks the leg of the bewitched one, beats him on the back, chest, arms, and legs with a switch, and in this way draws the magic out of the body. He himself then rolls around on the ground, spits, etc., in order, for his part, to get rid of the magic. The electric eel is stored in two palm-leaf husks (Ill. 186 b, c).

The use of charcoal as the carrier of the magical remedy is striking.

754

Ill. 185 a, b.
Monkey penis. b) Back side of the glans in a).



Ill. 186 a-c.
Electric eel with protective sheath.

75 Medicine. All illnesses are regarded as originating from the evil magic of others. As a result, witch doctors, whose task is to
757 apply countermagic, play an important role. In addition, however, a great many medicinal plants are used, some of which are supposed to be infallible. I succeeded in obtaining a number of such plants, together with information about their use.

755 The doctors (kōlŭ, kaudŭwādŭ; according to Ehrenreich,
757 kahŏtĕbādŏ) carry on their practice by means of magical performances, singing, swinging rattles, sucking out the morbific agent, massaging, beating with switches which have electric-eel bones attached at the

/335 cont./

755 ends, as well as by the utilization of medicines to be used in-
757 ternally and externally. Altogether I learned of seven doctors,
756 but their number may be larger. One of these, in Village 16, was regarded as an evil witch doctor. The sick chief of this village was not being treated by him, but rather downstream in Village 19 by a famous doctor to whom the Karajá came from
758 afar to be cured. He had opened a sort of hospital: several
756 mat walls had been stretched, in the shade of which the sick lay on mats, tended and supported by their relatives. There were three or four sick persons of both sexes lying here.

119 I did not see any curing ceremonies. In Village 14 I heard
755 singing and rattling coming from the west end of the village, but I was not permitted to go there when I announced my intention of observing Chief Ilk from Village 13 during his activity as doctor.

756 The doctors are paid for their services in boats, pots, food, etc. If the patient dies, they allegedly receive no payment.

752 The Karajá have considerable knowledge of surgery.

[278] Minor wounds are brushed with the decoction of a red tree bark (ōdŭděwŏ) which is kept in large quantities in pots with a little water. Or ashes are sprinkled on bleeding wounds (for example, cutting the umbilical cord), or a little urucú oil color is brushed on minor injuries, so that flies do not get on them. Applying tourniquets to injured limbs also seems to be known already. Festering leg wounds (as a result of injury: kūdjū) are washed with warm water; in this way they heal by themselves.

Deep wounds, such as those from arrow shots and the like, are /336/ also cauterized. For this, a human lower-leg bone is used (Ill. 187; dēĩ or wōlĭsōtĩ), which is wound with bast. Its lower end is browned from the fire. In the case of arrow shots, another remedy is said to be used, one that brings about complete healing in a very short time, allegedly in one day (?).

Broken limbs, according to Ehrenreich ("Beiträge," p. 32), are healed with splints. The chief of Village 16, whom I met in the hospital, /Ill. 187 appears here/ allegedly had a broken leg, but there was no splint bandage. According to Kurĭĭ's statement, they do not know how to heal broken arms and legs.

/336 cont./

164 I saw an umbilical hernia only once, in the case of a boy.

757 I did not learn anything about bloodletting, which Ehrenreich reports.

304 Scarification is very common; almost all Indians bear the scratch scars from it on upper arms and thighs. I was unable to observe anything about the procedure, which Ehrenreich ("Beiträge," p. 33) describes. Concerning the apparatus used for this, see above, page 109, Ill. 51.

[752] ← 164 Of illnesses for which the cure is not known to me, I saw a blind girl, a man blind in one eye, and a boy with dropsy, as well as a man whose legs were atrophied up to his knees and who was able to move forward only by crawling on hands and knees.

757 Ehrenreich reports ("Beiträge," page 32) that in the morning they induce vomiting by inserting a charred taquara rod

Ill. 187.
Bone for cauterizing wounds.

into their throats, in order to empty the stomach in this way. He even brought back such sticks (Berlin 3964). I never observed [846] this custom, but, as related above, simply heard that husbands induce vomiting artificially during the couvade (see page 273).

128 In the following I shall discuss the other illnesses, insofar as I obtained information about them; I shall stress in particular observed cases of illness.

752 In case of snake bite the affected limb is tied up and some pounded dōăhĭ root is put on it.

757 824 There are very many remedies for indigestion and intestinal disorders. For indigestion three different roots are used. Either one pounds the mōnă root (in Brazilian allegedly muriziĩ), mix

/336 cont./

757 it with water, and drink the liquid, or one takes, in the same
824 way, mixed with cold water, the pounded root of a cipo plant [b(ŭ)dōilūlé]. Finally, the root of a shrub which is cultivated for this purpose in the plantings is gnawed with the teeth in case of stomach pains. For intestinal disorders, two roots (dĭlüàkŏzé and bēdí) are /337/ crushed, each cooked separately, and the two decoctions mixed and drunk.

There are also several laxatives. The root ăjăhĭnŏ (in Brazilian allegedly tiŭ) is pounded, cooked in water, and drunk as a purgative, or one uses the root of a vine (hămbūlādŏé), which is pounded and extracted with cold water.

Jaundice and anemia in young people are cured by pounding the leaves of a red-blossomed creeper (dŏwĭlĭzá) growing on
261 the goyaba and rubbing the body with it. Jaundice is caused chiefly by the eating of clay, which is put into ball form. This eating of clay is probably to be traced to the lack of salt. Instead of clay, ashes and sand are also eaten, which are said to have a constipating effect. I often observed how the Indians ate the sand from the sandbanks by the handful.

In order to grow fat, they eat a certain small fruit.

757 In spite of the good teeth which the Indians enjoy, tooth-
[164] ache seems to occur more often than one is inclined to assume. Though I did not observe any cases, they have a whole number of remedies for it. For example, they use the sheath of pieces of root and twigs called kŭsĭ (in Brazilian the so-called para tudo),
[757] as well as a small fruit called sĭbūré. Teeth are not extracted; if they ache, this remedy is used. Otherwise they are left to drop out by themselves.

[164] I observed only one head cold (wādŏwé), in the case of an older man. As a remedy he had wound a palm-leaf binding around his head. Apparently his head was very dizzy, for he held it in front and back with both hands.

164 I often observed coughs (wādŏ); many Indians had a slight
757 cough, probably as a result of the cool nights. The children in Village 17 apparently had whooping cough; when coughing, they had choking spells, until they succeeded in coughing up the

/337 cont./

164 757 mucus. The mothers would pound them on the back; no other remedy was known. The coughing was explained as a consequence of the cold nights and the lack of blankets. They do not know any remedy for coughs.

164 I did not observe any tuberculosis. Ehrenreich reports ("Beiträge," p. 32) that the Karajá suffered from it, that they were aware of its danger and greeted every stranger with the question: "ahi catarrho não tem?" Now this custom has disappeared, probably with the decline of the disease.

[757] For chest pains they use ipipokama emetic powder (hãdãõ).

Fevers apparently are rare from May to October. At any rate, I did not see any attacks of fever in the villages. Only one of my Indian rowers was afflicted with a severe fever for three days in August. Fevers are said to be frequent, however, at the end of the rainy period, especially in the swamp region between São José and the Rio das Mortes; this stretch is therefore not 757 permanently occupied by the Indians. As a remedy they use the [824] /338/ plant kŏdũlãzĩ; it is pounded and mixed with hot water, and with this infusion the body, especially arms, shoulders, and chest, is washed. When this has been done four times in one day, the fever is said to be gone.

[164] Smallpox is unfailingly cured (as I was several times assured in answer to my question), and, indeed, the cure takes place on the eleventh day of the illness. It occurs as follows: [824] The four roots, [illegible], [illegible], [illegible], [illegible], are pounded, mixed with water, and drunk. The drink is followed by profuse sweating. For eleven days this is taken three times a day, noon, afternoon, and evening, and during this time only very small, boiled fish are eaten. On the eleventh day the sickness is gone.

[164] Measles cannot be cured. In 1906/07 a severe measles epidemic must have afflicted the Karajá. Many people are supposed to have died because they bathed in the river during the fever. For this reason bathing is not permitted during any [262] illness now. Grilled piranhas and manioc mush serve as food for the sick; even the parents of the sick eat only these foods during the illness of their children.

/338 cont./

[757] Venereal diseases are rare. The Karajá systematically
[164] avoid them in that infected Karajá, as long as they are not cured,
[834] are prohibited from intercourse with the women and possibly banished from the tribe altogether. Pedro I, who became infected in Conceição, said that if he went home that way he would be unable to remain there: he would then no longer be a Karajá. They seem to have a remedy for syphilis, but it is said to be effective only in the hands of a good doctor.

Persons with infectious diseases are left alone; even the doctor does not pay any attention to them. The people simply move away, but leave food behind for them. If they die, the
[153] others come and bury them. With death the disease, even an infectious one, is regarded as obliterated.

158 Mental illnesses seem to be very rare. I observed only one epileptic youth. Every month at the first quarter of the moon he is said to thrash about and walk around with his eyes closed. He had a strange look and his movements were heavy. For no reason
[828] that I could see, he was suddenly seized by the others, overpowered, and thrown down; after a time he was permitted to get up again and walk about freely, but he was always kept under control.

828 According to their view, mental illness (ĭdjõdẽ) is located in the small of the back.

Raving madness (ãhãhã) is incurable. During attacks the patient, by order of the chief, is bound at ankles and hands and laid on a mat in the shade.

158 In Schischá, on my return journey, I observed a strange custom, which probably goes back to a sadistic tendency. At night, the old bachelor, Maudihi, and Mãuzi were sitting with me in the tent. Suddenly the bachelor leaped at Mauzi's throat and squeezed it, saying, I want to kill you, and then finally let go. Thereupon all /339/ three of them tried this on themselves. They threw their heads back, placed their hands around their throats from behind, and, holding the breath, squeezed the larynx together from both sides with their thumbs. After a while, they let go, swallowed a few times, and took a deep breath. Extreme satisfaction was reflected on their faces.

/339 cont./

16. Knowledge of Arithmetic, Astronomy, and Geography.

802 Arithmetic. Counting is done on the hands and feet, and, indeed, one starts with the thumb of the right hand, then goes to the left hand, and treats the feet in the same manner. Sometimes they also use small stones for counting. They count traveling days by means of notches in a small piece of wood or in the edge of the boat.

The system of counting is that of the 5 (see the word list, IX: "Number Words" /untranslated; see the foreign text, p. 452, "X. Zahlworte"/. The striking thing is: the double designation for 5; an additional, peculiar second word, lēŭl(j)ō̃, for 6, with which 7 is then formed as hand-lēŭl(j)ō̃; the additional peculiar syllables: lăhŭ in the case of 10, lēdŏ in the case of 11, 15, 16, 17, (18?).

Most of them counted unhesitatingly to 6; from there on they were almost all uncertain. Only a few were able to count to 10 and hardly at all to 20; I was also given different designations for these large numbers. There was no number to be obtained beyond 20.

In expressions with number words, the following was appended: one gun-barrel, djĭŏ-zŏhŏdĭ; two gun-barrels, djĭõ-ĭnătjĭ; two hats, ĭăpā(ō)ĭnătĭ.

805 Astronomical. They know that the year has 13 full moons. They calculate the year from one fall of the water to the other. In this connection they distinguish two seasons: the dry season (wōūlă), when they live on the sandbanks, and the rainy season (bĭŭ), when they live on the high banks.

They divide up the day according to the position of the sun. Time designations are made by pointing with the hand to the height of the sun at that particular time.

821 They apparently distinguish between five phases of the moon; for these I was given the following names by one Indian: first quarter, āhăndŭ lōĭtă; not quite full moon, āhăndŭ-lăläĭ; full moon, djūŭm läälälĭ; last quarter, āhăndŭ-ăĭŭlănă; new

/339 cont./

82 moon, ĭkŏnă. Of these, āhăndŭ-lălālĭ means a phase between half and full moon: "they are actually two moons." Probably they mean the bright moon and the dark moon. This was confirmed for me also by other Indians, but it was impossible to find out anything in greater detail about it. Since the sequence of the phases was not clear to the people themselves, they gave various sequences and often corrected themselves. Beaming with pleasure, they called my attention to the first appearance of the crescent moon. The mountains of the moon are designated as toad (krāotĕ).

Eclipses of the sun (wūŏhŭlĭwă, tjūŭ-hŏlŏ-lălārĭ) and eclipses of the moon (āhăn-/340/dŭlŭlŭ, āhăndŭ-lădŏlă) are explained as caused by an evil sorcerer (ŏhŏdĭwātŭ) who shoots arrows at the celestial body concerned. Countereffects on the part of the Indians are unknown.

They called a huge ring around the moon, with a radius of about eight to twelve moon-widths, djūŭlă and kūălŏ, without being able to say more specifically what this phenomenon means.

The rainbow (kŭădĭ) is the shadow of a huge electric eel (the latter, according to Ehrenreich, called koadzĭ). It is re-
[76] garded as evil; if one goes up to it and touches it, one dies; the animal gives a "bum" sound and disappears.

I was able to learn several constellations from them; they drew a few for me in the sketchbook. The Milky Way does not consist of stars, but of ashes (bŭlĭbĭ). The Southern Cross is the black ray (bōlŏhūă). The two stars above it (α and β Centauri) represent the ostrich (nāŭĕkĭĕ), which is being leaped upon by a jaguar (ănlŏă; = our Scorpio). The Pleiades are parakeets (bōlŏbĕdŏ). In addition, Ehrenreich mentions the burning roca /a clearing to be planted/ for Orion.

Meteors are called dăkīnălăză; the noise when they burst apart comes from the star.

/340 cont./

821 Shooting stars are called lẽsiwĩũlãn. They were explained to me by a half-civilized Karajá as change of place by the stars, whereas, according to Ehrenreich ("Beiträge," p. 45), they represent the tossed-out fishing gear with the bait. The Indians knew that in November many shooting stars appear.

823 [804] Geographical. The Karajá are very familiar with the course of the Araguaya. They calculate distances on the river according to steep banks and according to how often one must cross the river going upstream; greater distances according to overnight camps. They have special proper names for tributaries, lakes, steep banks, and mountains (see the word list /untranslated; see the foreign text, p. 456/).

On either side of the Araguaya their knowledge of the country extends somewhat beyond the boundaries of their territory. Thus, they are familiar with the waterfall of the Rio Tapirapé, which lies several hours above the present boundary. About the Furo /Port. furo, natural connection between two bodies of water/ (east arm of Bananal Island) they know that it dries up during the dry season, so that not even Indian boats can navigate it. A small furo is said to run across Bananal Island from the east branch to the west branch of the Araguaya.

[147] They have endurance on land marches; they walk very rapidly. In order to find water on the barren campo, they hold their faces in the direction of the wind: if the wind is cool, it comes from a place where there is water; if it is hot, there is not likely to be any water in this direction. Before digging for water at a place, they pound a stick deep into the ground; if it is moist, 823 151 they start digging. On the way, they pay attention to all tracks, and they are masters at drawing conclusions from them. When traveling down the Tapirapé, I reached the sandbank where we had had our first camp on the Tapirapé, my Karajá immediately recognized from the footprints precisely which of their relatives had been here, approximately how long /341/ they had stayed, where they had their boats lying, and about how long ago they had departed, all conjectures which later proved to come very close to the truth.

/341 cont./

C 829 648 S 105

What the Karaja say about the neighboring Indian tribes (1).

1. For their statements about Šavajé, Tapirapé, and Kayapó, see under these peoples /see pp. 310 and 336 with regard to the first two; the material dealing with the last-named people has not been translated/.

C S [101]

The Chavánte (kliũzǎ, kŭliza) live on the west bank, on the Rio das Mortes, on campo territory; between São José and Leopoldina they also come as far as the Araguaya. They are tall, have fat paunches and a light skin color. Old men wear beards; the hair is cut short in front, as among the Karajá, is worn hanging down very long in back and tied together with red string. The men tie up the penis in front with a black string; in the lower lip they wear small buttons of wood. A genipap painting on the chest is popular: a line from each armpit to the lower end of the breastbone. The Chavánte fish with poison cipo, and the Karajá maintained that they first learned this method of fishing from them. The Chavánte are a true campo people; they do not like to travel in the forest; they even burn off the campo, in order to be able to travel better. They transport their supplies in carrying baskets which are carried by the men. As for weapons, they carry lances, clubs, bows and arrows. The arrows are like those of the Karajá, but are regarded as ugly. One kind has points of tucum wood; these remain stuck in a wound and are broken off (whereas the bamboo blade points of the Karajá arrows may be pulled out, but they tear large holes, so that the wounded person bleeds to death). The feathers of the feathering are given their shape by burning. There are no poisoned arrows. The Chavánte are the enemies of the Karajá. They have already killed many Karajá, whereas the latter have killed only one Chavánte (2).

C [177]

S 648 [113]

2. This hostile relationship dates from ancient times. As Fonseca reports (Rev. trim. 8, pp. 382-388), the Chavánte, who lived between

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2. (cont.)
Araguay and Tocantins, were in the habit of swimming across the Furo during the dry season and plundering the plantings of the Karajá. They needed only to blow the trumpets, and already the Karajá fled. As a result, the latter did not dare visit their plantings and hence suffered from lack of food. Fonseca, when the Chavánte had again broken into the plantings, undertook an expedition against them and surprised them; they fled, leaving behind their weapons and their plunder. The Karajá had held back in cowardly fashion, but now boasted about being the victors. This was the first time that the Chavánte had fled before them; until then, the opposite had always occurred. --'And it seems to be so still today.

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About the Cherénte (ĭnŏlōtŭ) I was able to obtain only the not very credible information that they eat the excrement of human beings, even their own, putting it into their mouths with a brush-like stick that has been beaten flat. Perhaps this is merely a story that has arisen from the hostility and conceit of the Karajá.

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/342/ The Canoeiros (tĭăbĕzĕ) (1) live on the east shore,

1. According to Cunha Mattos, the Canoeiros are the descendants of the Carijos, who were brought along from São Paulo as auxiliary troops and workmen by the discoverer of Goyaz, Bartholomäo Bueno; they deserted in 1725, displaced the Chavánte, and settled in the high mountains between Maranhão, Santa Thereza, and Amaro Leite on the left bank of the Tocantins above Porto Real. They were supposed to be only 300 warriors strong, but were feared because of their brutality (Rev.

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1. (cont.)
trim., Vol. 37, pp. 370-379; Vol. 38, pp. 19 and 83). Castelnau mentions them often and localizes their territory more exactly (Vol. 2, p. 116). Dr. Couto de Magalhães (Viagem ao Araguaya) repeats the statements of Cunha Mattos and also gives a brief description and a vocabulary of their language.

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[101] but also roam on Bananal Island from the mouth of the Rio das Mortes to the southern tip. All the columns of smoke sighted in this region on Bananal are attributed to them. According to an isolated statement, they are also supposed to occupy a village inland from Furo das Pedras, which is at constant war with the neighboring Šavajé. They are supposed to have a darker skin-color than the Karajá. Their hair is worn in the bowl-cut. The men wear beards and large wooden disks; according to another statement, wide lip-plugs of shell in the lower lip; the ears are pierced and hang far down. They are a true campo people who have no boats. Nor do they know how to fish. In the autumn they come to the Araguaya to hunt for turtle eggs on the sand-banks. In connection with this they probably meet Karajá, by whom they are greatly feared on account of their dangerous arrows. They are regarded as the strongest (most warlike) people on the Araguaya and now play the same role there that the Chavánte did at the end of the eighteenth century.

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The peoples of the Xingu region were completely unknown to the Karajá. When I showed them Steinen's pictures, they debated for a long time about the strange style of dress (unclothed men with the penis hanging far down, uluri of the women), as well as about all kinds of implements. Obviously they were seeing such things for the first time. Language samples, too, which I read to them, were foreign to them; only in the case of the Suyá words did they listen attentively and seem to find related sounds. Only one chief, Chico Cadete in Village 18, directly below the Tapirapé mouth, pretended to know the Suyá with their large

/342 cont./

829 lip-disks. He said one could get to them by way of the Tapirapé.
648 When I asked for more details, he wrapped himself in silence. Perhaps through the Tapirapé he had obtained some knowledge of the tribes living to the west.

17. The Language.

126 To make records of the language among the Karajá is very
[194] difficult, because these Indians speak their language, which is rich in nasal forms, most indistinctly. The women speak considerably more clearly than the men.

The words asked for were willingly said; the Indians were indefatigable in pronouncing them for me until I could repeat them correctly. For transcribing them I used the Meinhof transcription in Neumayer's /343/ Anleitung zu wissenschaftlichen Beobachtungen auf Reisen /Introduction to Scientific Observations on Journeys/, 3rd ed., page 484. Determining the strange diphthongs which are peculiar to the language was often difficult and is to be regarded as merely approximated.

I tried to obtain the same words in as many localities as possible. Thus, for the words of the south horde (S) I have 21 informants, for those of the north horde (N) 29. I did not obtain
192 all the words in both groups. Comparison shows that most words
184 are the same in both groups, but that a number of deviations also occur. In my opinion, however, these do not justify our assuming separate dialects, since they do not show any laws, and since it is not certain how many are due to misunderstanding. Some of
[194] them are to be explained only by the omission of vowels in rapid speech, lighter or darker vowel formation, stronger emphasis of one or another character in the diphthongs (l or r in the case of ł, etc.). It is noteworthy that the words obtained in the village of José, who had migrated from the south horde to the north horde, still clearly show the greater relationship with the south horde, whereas those of Chief Korumaré, who had migrated into the interior of Bananal, are more closely linked with those of the

/343 cont./

192 north horde. With Ehrenreich's Karajá words and Castelnau's
184 Sambioá words and Coudreau's Karajá words my records show
[114] correspondences as well as differences. The latter probably go back in part to misunderstandings on both sides, as may be definitely proved in a few cases. With regard to the Šavajé language, there are several very striking differences, the reason for which is as yet unknown.

197 The language of the Karajá, for the time being, is still to be regarded as isolated; the few agreements with Ge languages do not, for the present, justify our counting it among these.

192 From the beginning I followed up the differences between
186 the men's dialect and the women's dialect, which Ehrenreich (1)
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[113] 1. "Materialien zur Sprachenkunde Brasiliens /Materials for Brazilian Linguistics/": I. Die Sprache der Caraya (Goyaz) /The Language of the Caraja (Goiáz)/. Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, Vol. 26, 1894, p. 23.

discovered, and in this way obtained a great number of women's words. Those from the south horde were obtained directly from women, those from the north horde from men. The latter were able to say many words immediately; often, however, they reflected a long time before they found the word. It is doubtful whether they always gave the proper word; in any case, the women's words from the north horde should be taken with some
[191] caution. The men described the language of the women as ibinãli = very poor. They maintained that the two sexes did not understand all of each other's expressions, but that there were words which were foreign to the other sex. My records have so
194 far not confirmed this assertion. The chief difference is that in
562 the women's language a k is inserted where, among the men two vowels stand next to each other; the initial k of the women is omitted among the men. Ehrenreich gives a few further

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194 modifications (2). That the omission of k is regarded as the

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2. Ibid., p. 24.

chief characteristic /344/ of the men's language may be illustrated by a joke of Pedro I. Pedro said one day that my companion Adam was a woman because he says sakuba (= jacuba, the Brazilian name for a drink made of farina, rapadura /Port., a form of sugar/, and water); if he were a man, he would have to say šaŭbă. Probably the women's dialect with a fuller sound represents an older form of the language. For there can be no question here of a different language which could have originated through the taking in of women captured from alien tribes during [192] battle. First of all, the taking of alien women (Tapirapé, Kayapó, Šavajé) is too limited for their language to be a possible influence; on the other hand, the deviations from the men's language are too slight to permit viewing the women's language as of foreign origin.

194 In speaking, many syllables are swallowed, especially at the end of words; the mouth is only slightly opened, so that a soft, indistinct speech is produced. Yet they are able to make themselves understood in a whisper far over the water. The intonation is slightly singsong, the manner of speaking uneven. Sometimes the syllables are uttered in rapid succession, then again a syllable is drawn out at length, just as though the speaker were considering how to express himself further. And this goes on in confused alternation, a way of speaking which the Brazilians greatly like to imitate. Perhaps the custom of pronouncing short-ending words long in compounds (mānā -- mānāŭā, mănādjū, etc.) goes back to this.

195 In conversations among themselves the listener accompanies the speech of the other with many nde, nde (= yes), hm̃, hm̃, or he repeats the last word of every sentence. In communicating with Brazilians they like to start the sentences with ăhĩ (= there) and to ask after every explanation: sābē (= understand?). In

/344 cont./

191 In general, they pronounce Brazilian words badly; they seldom succeed in pronouncing f correctly, usually they say p for it (pǎcõ for facão, žípre for chifre, pǎrīnǎ for farinha, pǎsér for facer).

126 For the list of words and texts recorded by me, along with the translations, see the appendix I and II /untranslated: see the foreign text, pp. 415-482/.

18. Myths.

773 Myths were told me by two persons: Chief Cadete Chico of
126 Schischá told me the creation myth; I obtained a second version
115 of this, as well as all the rest, from Kuriší. Usually he told them the most vividly and in the greatest detail the first time, and considerably more simply in repetitions. Some features had to be verified by much questioning, if they were overlooked in the first notation. When questioned, Kuriší said that he was telling the myths as his mother had told them to him. According to this, the myth seems to be handed down through the mother among the Karajá. To me it was surprising that he professed not to know any of the myths reported by Ehrenreich /345/ ("Beiträge," pp. 39-44), with the exception of the howling monkey myth. Apparently they were truly unfamiliar to him. This is all the more surprising since he is the grandson of Pedro Manco, Ehrenreich's informant, and thus should have known about the store of myths preserved in this family.

773 The Karajá regard the Furo das Pedras as their original home.
[619] There the ancient Karajá lived under water. They regard the
[825] Šavajé and Šambioá as their tribal kinsmen. Animals are regarded as beings like human beings, so that transformations of human
[824] beings into animals and the reverse play an important role. They think of the stars as inhabited by creatures who temporarily came to the earth and there came into contact with human beings.

/345 cont./

The Creation Myth

539 (According to Kurisĩ: as his mother told it.)

A boy saw a girl, married her. Her female cousin came. The one sent the other into the forest, without a net covering, without anything. The boy saw the girl from the rear, he liked her; from the front, he liked her. He married her.

Her mother came. Everything was still dark. They lived on the roots and fruits of the forest, of which there were as many as in a planting. But only when occasionally a ray of light shone forth could they get them out. The mother smashed her hands getting them out. Then the woman grew angry: the boy should work at something else.

The boy ate "codo," after scraping it. He became quite fat from it and lay down; his eyes rotted.

The stench of his belly attracted many urubu and they settled on his belly. He trembled; they said: he is still alive. Then they settled in his eyes; he blinked; they said: he is still alive. Many urubu came, they settled all around and tried again and again, but he still continued to shake and blink.

The caracara (ĭlẽnĭ) came, circled around in the air. The man kept blinking his eyes and saw the bird flying above. The bird came circling down, the man was still blinking. The caracara saw it, came down, settled on a limb beside him, and cried: he is alive. The urubu said he is dead. The bird flew away and came back with the Urubũ-Re. The dispute went on: he is dead -- he is alive. Then an uncle of the Urubũ-Re came, a very old urubu; he said: he is dead. Then the Urubũ-Re flew down on the belly; then there was a bang. The man stretched out his hands and caught him.

He said to the Urubũ-Re (had a red beak and very few hairs): I want to have ornaments (infeitos). That one said that he had some, but they were scattered everywhere. Brought a star. The other was not satisfied. Brought the moon. The other was still not satisfied. Then he brought the sun.

/345 cont./

539 The other was satisfied, said: Now you may pluck me, just /346/ as you are. This he did; then he had nothing but hair. Likewise all other urubu. That is why the urubu all have bald skulls. (?) The caracara came again and wanted to pluck too, but he only cut off the hair all around.

The mother came and asked how they were supposed to live. The Urubú-Re showed plants with which they might spin and showed how they make their net coverings. The mother wanted to know how to catch fish; the former showed a cane, showed how one ties on feathers, how one makes the bow, how one draws it, how one shoots fish.

Then the man freed the Urubú-Re. The mother said he should also have asked how old people become young. Then the Urubú-Re cried out an answer from above; they all heard, trees, animals, fish, but not human beings. Only one heard it, who lives beyond Pará, who knows it; that tall man who rolls it up in the big canvas.

(As told by Cadete Chico.)

The father of the Karajá is god (kĭnŏsĭwĕ).

It was dark. God swallowed air, then he got a fat belly; he lay on the ground.

The jabiru came. Then came the little bird, caracara, and sat down beside him. The one said: come, let us eat. The other said: wait, later. The jabiru flew around in a circle up above. The little bird said, he is dead; the jabiru said, no, he is alive. The jabiru was still flying around in a circle. Then he lighted on the belly of the god.

The god seized him and was alive. He made the jabiru promise to bring light, for as yet there was no light. The jabiru brought a small light; God said: No, I want another. The jabiru brought a bigger light, the moon, asked: is this it? "No, I want another one." Then the jabiru brought the sun itself, then everything was light as day; asked, is this it? God said: That is it, I want that. Then the jabiru flew away; the little bird flew away, too.

/346 cont./

539 The Karajá stayed there; it was day. At that time they lived under water; their home is on the Furo das Pedras (ãhõdiã).

How the Karajá Acquired Manioc.

(As told by Kurišĭ).

They have manioc from God himself.

A beautiful girl was fishing. A star peeped down, said: she is beautiful. It came down and was a handsome youth, was white. The girl asked: Who are you? -- "I." -- I do not know you; who are you? -- "I myself." -- Do tell me your name. -- "That you do not have to know, for, of course, you saw how I played up there with the stars." -- Oh, that was you? -- "I want to marry you, but I want /347/ to come into the house of your mother, old and ugly, and want to marry you and your sister."

He came there as an old man, asked whether she would marry him; she said yes, the other one did not want him. The mother scolded the one who wanted him. He married, laid out the first planting, planted cara, bananas, maize, beans, manioc, gourds, peanuts. When everything was planted, he went away, since the sister, when he asked her once more, still did not want him.

He came back in the canoe as a young, handsome man. Then the other sister said: yes, I want that one. Then he said: "No, now I do not want to; I am the old man, the husband of your sister." Then he turned her into the little owl (dărũtaũ).

He rapidly produced children, more quickly than usual. He taught them to plant and to prepare maize, etc., likewise all plant food. The mother always tried a little first and then ate the whole piece.

Someone told one of the children that if he takes away a piece of maize from the father he will not notice it, because he only knows fishing. But when the maize was planted, no

/347 cont./

539 maize grew, only mosquitoes. Then he went back to the stars; he left the family here, and the latter showed it to all the others.

The Howling Monkeys (āzõ wõbũrã).

(According to Kuriši.)

Detailed version:

Two brothers (haũĕkŭbãdŭ; ĭšãhãn) went into the forest. They met a band of shrieking monkeys with arrows. They told the monkeys they should shoot. The monkeys said: he should shoot. So one of the two brothers shot, missed; then the monkey shot and killed him. Thereupon the other brother shot, also missed; the monkeys killed him too.

The mother (šĭlĭkérŭ) waited for the two boys day and night, but they did not come. So she went into the forest to look for them; the father (ãmbũõlã), too, went looking; but they did not find them. On the way, the mother met an old woman (krãõtĕ) (1), who said that the children were dead, the monkeys

1. = frog, toad.

had killed them. So the mother went home, tore her hair, and wept day and night.

She still had a third son (ũlã) (2), small and ugly. She

2. = white.

gave him to the grandfather (sãbŭzã), for, since the other two were dead, she no longer wanted him either.

One day the boy went into the forest to shoot birds. He lost an arrow, he looked for it; the arrow had fallen directly in front of the door of the man in the hole (hŏkũmãlĭ). When he was about to pick it up, /348/ the man seized him and asked: you are now with your grandfather, does he give you something

/348 cont./

539 to eat? Then the boy said: no, only scraped-off manioc peel and soup made of fish bones. -- And do you have any covering? -- No, only this one, and pointed to an old piece of net covering that he had on his shoulder. The man said: Good, come here tomorrow morning when you go out to catch birds. The children of the man, however, did not want him to come again; only one of them said: Come again, we want to rub you with medicine. The man said: Be sure to come, my friend.

The boy went home and told the grandfather, and the next day he went to the man. He had made a large pot full of medicine (wãwẽnĩ) and rubbed him with it. Then he sent him to bathe until afternoon. Then he rubbed him again, also with charcoal, for his skin was full of wounds (he had the sickness kũẽdji) (1), and sent him to bathe again until it was dark. Then

1. = festering leg wounds; see the word list /untranslated; see the foreign text, p. 446/.

the boy went home.

The next day the same thing happened. Then the little boy became big, strong, handsome, and healthy and again went to the man in the hole. He gave him bow and arrow and said: Now I want to dress you up. Then all the man's children came and wanted to help. But the boy said: No, only the one who first wanted to keep me. Thereupon the man and the child put the arm cuffs, calf and ankle bands on him, gave him ear ornaments (dõhõlũã), oiled his hair, bound it, and painted him with genipap. The man gave him a stone lip-plug and said to him: Go this way here; on the way you will find an ugly old woman (krãõtẽ), like a toad; she will offer herself to you. Use her and go on, then you will find the monkeys; do not shoot first, then you will kill them.

He went and met the ugly old woman sitting by the wayside. She trembled and said: Come to me and use me. He went and used her thoroughly. Then he went on and already from afar

/348 cont./

539 heard the monkeys shrieking. They said: Shoot; but he did not shoot; instead he said: You shoot. And the monkeys shot, but missed. And then he shot; then they fell down from the tree, and he beat them to death.

Then he went to bathe in the lake and beat the water. Two large gavões /Port., sparrow hawks/ (dẽnĭdẽnĭ) then came, one after the other; he grabbed them by the legs and killed them. Thereupon he went back to the man, who questioned him, and he said: They are dead.

Then the man gave him the stick (õbĩrŭ) (2) and said: Now

2. = throwing stick.

go home to your mother. If she gives you something to eat, do not eat, but eat only what your grandfather gives you! And then he also gave him a magic stick (hĕtsĩwã (3); two sticks of Canna

3. Cf. also electric-eel magic /see p.283/; see the word list /untranslated; see p. 447 in the foreign text/ and rain magic, p. 282, Ill. 182a.

brava, glued with wax /349/ and with black feathers at the end). When he beats with it, the wind will bring all kinds of things: honey, wild pigs, etc.

The boy went home. His mother came to meet him; and the others cried out: There comes your son! But he said: You are not my mother. And the mother brought him manioc much to eat, but he ate only manioc leftovers and fish-bone soup from his grandfather. She laid down a beautiful mat for him to sit on, but he sat down on a small torn one of his grandfather's.

Then he took the õbĩrŭ and produced wind. Then came snakes (ũõhũ) (1), which crawled into the hĕtsĩwã. Then came

1. = wind; also arrow.

/349 cont./

539 honey, fish, wild pigs. He gave the honey to all to taste; he ate the rest with his mother. In the evening his aunt came and wanted to marry him; he married her.

One day he went fishing for tokunaré. Then a child seized the ōbĩrũ; then the wind came and brought snakes; but the child did not know how to get the snakes into the hẽtsĩwã, and the snakes bit the child and all the people, so that they all died. And that one in the forest heard the wind and immediately realized what had happened and ran home. On the way he met the snakes; but since he did not have the ōbĩrũ with him, they bit him, too, and he died. Itũãrẽ.

Shorter Version.

First there were the monkeys, who had arrows. They killed the two brothers.

The little brother, who was very ugly, still remained. His mother gave him to the grandfather, for she did not want him any more. The grandfather raised him.

The boy went out to shoot birds, and an arrow fell in front of the door of the man (ōkũmãrẽ). The man wanted to raise the little one. His daughters, however, did not want the ugly boy; only one did.

Then the man smeared the boy with medicine and ordered him to bathe. At noon he came back from the water. He smeared him again. Then he sent him off to bathe a second time, early in the morning. When he came out of the water toward noon, he was already a man. And he adorned him with arm cuffs, ear rods (dõhõ), oiled his hair, painted him with genipap, etc.

And ordered his grandfather: if the mother comes and wants to fetch his things, he should not give them. The grandfather went and gave them to him. Then his mother brought food, but he did not want to eat. Then the grandfather brought poor food, such as fish bones and manioc leftovers: he ate that.

/349 cont./

539 And the next day he went in order to find his brothers. Then the man said to him: On the way you will meet an old woman who /350/ is called toad (krõõtẽ); she will ask you to use her. Do so, go to her. From there he ordered him to look for his brothers.

One of the monkeys shot first, missed. Then he shot with the õbĩrũ, hit and killed him. Then the other shot; thereupon he hit him too. Thus he killed the monkeys.

Then he went into the water in order to look for his brothers. He beat upon the water, tõũ, tõũ. Then a gavião came to kill the boy. He seized him by the hand. Then another one came; he killed him in the same way.

He stopped killing, went on, and came to the house of the man. He said: Give your gear to your mother; now you are going; your mother is coming; give her your gear.

He came into the house of his mother. Another woman asked him to marry her; he married her at once. Then he produced wind with the hẽtsĩwã; when he beat, the wind came. The wind brought honey, snakes, deer, etc. Then he hid the snake in the hẽtsĩwã.

One day he was in the forest. The child grabbed the hẽtsĩwã, produced wind too. It did not understand it. The snake came and cleared out all the people. The boy heard the wind and thought that the child had done this. And the snake came and bit him and killed him. That was the end of it. Now there are no more people.

For the mutum /curassow/ legend, see Appendix II, "Texts," No. VII /untranslated; see the foreign text, pp. 473, 477-478, and 480-481/.

/351/

II. The Šavajé.

175 1. Historical.

Up to the present time the Šavajé /Javahe/ have been known almost only by name. The first to see the entire island of Bananal was Diogo Pinto da Gaia in 1720; I was unable to obtain his report, however, so I cannot say whether he encountered the Šavajé. We have the oldest report by José Pinto da Fonseca, who in 1773 navigated the Araguaya and pacified the Karajá. [62] He reported (Rev. trim. 8, pp. 376 ff.) that they lived in three [31] villages on the island of Bananal. He says that in the interior of the island there was a large lake abounding in fish (1).

1. Ibid., p. 389.--This report does not show that the Šavajé lived on this lake, as subsequent investigators construed (Ehrenreich, "Beiträge," pp. 5, 7).

[574] During his sojourn among the Karajá, the latter were visited by the Šavajé; wrestling took place as a greeting. According to his statements, the two peoples lived in peace. The Šavajé came riding up in large numbers in boats; they bore feather ornaments on their heads and lances adorned with feathers in their hands and blew on trumpets.

In 1774 Vasconcellos was on the Araguaya with Fonseca; he established a presidio and the aldeamendo Nova Beira on the east arm of Bananal where he settled Karajá and Šavajé. He [103] named the three villages of the Šavajé Cunha, Mello, and Ponte de Lima (Rev. trim. 37, p. 393). The presidio and aldeamendo soon ceased to exist: in 1782 the Indians of the aldeamendo were resettled in the new aldea of São José de Mossamedes, where they gradually perished. It is not absolutely certain whether there were Šavajé also at the aldea Pedro III (Carretão). In 1786 Miguel de Arrudo e Sá received the order to make war on the Chavánte and establish an aldea for them. He

/351 cont./

175 settled 3,500 Indians in Carretão. Souza e Silva, in 1812, speaks only of Chavante who were housed there, whereas Cunha Mattos also ascribes this fate to the Šavajé. An epidemic of measles destroyed almost all the Indians; the rest were transferred in 1788 to the aldea Salinas. After that the Šavajé disappear from view; they gradually become a savage, feared people, about
175 which nothing more specific is known. In 1824 Cunha Mattos
131 (Rev. trim. 38, p. 20) reports only that they live on Bananal Island, are very light and almost extinct. In 1844 Castelnau describes the island as uninhabited; according to him, /352/ the Šavajé live about 30-40 miles above the northern end of Bananal Island and three to four days' journey east of the Furo,
[114] in the territory of the Chavanté. Obviously this information rests on misunderstood stories of his boatmen (Vol. 2, p. 115). In the work, O Rio Araguaya, by Moraes Jardim, dated 1880, it is reported that near a Karajá village there is a lake that is connected with the large lake in the interior of Bananal Island, and that from this a canal leads over to the Furo near a Šavajé village. It is said in a later note that all the villages of the Šavajé are supposed to lie on the Furo. Ehrenreich repeats Fonseca's statements ("Beiträge," pp. 5 and 7); at the same time he reports that the Šavajé lived in three villages on the lake and had last been spoken to, in 1888, at the mouth of the lake's outlet into the Furo. They are generally regarded as a tribe linguistically related to the Karajá. In 1896, Coudreau, finally, states only (Araguaya-Tocantins, p. 110) that they lived on Bananal and were but little known, but that they were the strongest of the Karajá tribes.

175 In Goyaz I learned that during the first years of the twentieth century the Bishop of Goyaz navigated the Araguaya
[361] with a steamboat. On this occasion the Brazilians entered the Furo from the north and came across a huge village of the Šavajé at the entrance of a brook. An avenue of bananas led from the river to the village. Since they came in large numbers (approximately 70 men) and all armed, the Šavajé soon

/352 cont./

175 forced them to retreat, with a Šavajé walking on either side of each Brazilian. When the steamer whistled upon departure, many Šavajé, out of terror, leaped from their canoes into the river. In any case, from then on great fear prevailed among the Brazilian population concerning the more powerful Šavajé.

361 [162] [131] 2. Dwelling sites. On the basis of my inquiries among the Karajá, the Šavajé live in the interior of Bananal Island in three to five villages which are distributed over a long stretch of territory. The northernmost small village is said to lie in the interior, three to four days above the north end of Bananal Island. The main village lies, in the dry season, about eight days above the mouth of the Furo on a sandbank at the entrance of a brook (outlet of the inland lake?). In the middle of August it is moved into the interior. It is said to be very large, "like a city"; Pedro drew six rows, each with 20-25 houses, in the sand. The bachelors [346] are said to sleep in the mask house, located apart. Farther south, one to two days (?), one or two small villages lie in the interior [114] of Bananal. I visited one of them from Karajá Village No. 15, from which it is located quite directly east. One reaches it by [487] a well arranged route: after half a day's march, one comes to the Karajá village of Korumaré on a river. Either one travels up the river for one and a half days in a boat, describing a large arc to the south and east, or one walks for a day across the campo eastward to the harbor, from which it is another three to four hours' march to [162] the village. The village, which contains five houses with approximately 100-150 /Pl. 59 appears here/ /353/ inhabitants, lies on a lake; it is moved several times in the course of the dry season. [132] In the rainy season the entire region is inundated with water; apparently this lake then forms a part of the large lake that Fonseca mentions. I was unable to find out where the village is moved to during the rainy season. Finally, there is said to be a fifth small village still farther south, but the accounts about it vary.

131 162 101 361 166 This is the one branch of the Šavajé. A second one lives near the south horde of the Karajá, and, indeed, in the two southernmost villages: Schischá and near Leopoldina. They migrated here in the last generation but one, for Chief Chico in

[Text continues on p. 312]

301
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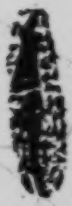
1. Arm wrapping with three string tassels.

2. Leg binding with tasseled fringe-hangings.



3. Small net-covering.

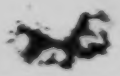
6. Forehead feathers.

4. Lulinā ornament.

5. Feather loop with tuft.

7. Forehead feathers.

9.



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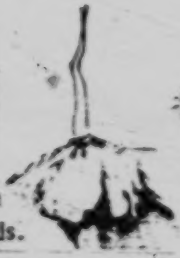

Arm bands.

10

11

10, 11. Feather caps.

12. Cotton belt with hangings.

/353 cont./

166 Schischã, the deceased chief Pedro Manco, and Mother Joana from the migratory camp No. 9, people about 60-70 years old, are regarded as the children of the immigrant Šavajé. Recently, Šavajé again came from Bananal to Schischã; in October 1908 they lived in a separate house. These Šavajé, of course, entered into frequent alliances with the Karajá.

167 A third branch is supposed to have separated from the Šavajé
[101] on Bananal, apparently in the previous generation. This horde crossed the Araguaya and moved toward the west; among the Karajá of the Araguaya they are regarded as lost. The separation took place in the region of the mouth of the Rio das Mortes or somewhat more to the south.

619 Before I enter into a discussion of the culture of the Šavajé, I should like to report very briefly what the Karajá told me about them: The Šavajé are their kinsmen; they speak the same lan-
628 guage and have the same tribal tattooing. They live in peaceful
[438] relations with the Karajá, they intermarry; above all, there is an active trade in which the Karajá trade to the Šavajé stone tools, which the Šavajé lack, as well as iron goods, fabrics, and chains of beads in exchange for urucú, net coverings, araras, and
511 food. In clothing and ornamentation the Šavajé are supposed to be equal to the Karajá, but to have much more beautiful things. Among the Karajá, they are considered rich in ornaments and foodstuffs; hence, in times of hardship, the Karajá often migrate over to them. I found these statements to be generally true.

101 Phonetically the name of the people should be written Šavajé, in accordance with the pronunciation customary among the Karajá. The Karajá also call them: (ĭ)šãndjú, (ĭ)šã(n)dĭwãndú.
361 I cannot give their number, because I became acquainted with
[114] only a small village of five huts. In any case, besides three or
[161] four such small villages, there seems to be a very large village, similar to those of the Šambioá, so that the number may perhaps
[162] be given as 800-1000. The Šavajé living among the southern Karajá perhaps reach 50 in number.

/353 cont./

142 3. Physically the Šavajé differ from the Karajá only in their greater height (Pl. 30, Ills. 3 and 4). The men are probably on the average four to five centimeters taller than those of the Karajá; the women, too, are taller than the Karajá women. Here, too, however, there are persons of small stature, especially of the female sex (Pl. 30, Ill. 3). For the rest, everything that was said about the Karajá is also true of the Šavajé.

184 /354/ In their culture as a whole the Šavajé are pure Karajá. They do, however, show a few differences from the latter, which, in turn, link them up more closely with the Šambioá. In the following I shall therefore state the differences only very briefly.

342 4. House and village. The construction of the house differs
184 considerably from that of the Karajá and is similar to that of the Šambioá. I refer to my explanation above about the house
[177] construction of the Karajá, where the modification of the Šavajé house as a result of Brazilian influence in the case /Ill. 188 appears here/ of the Šavajé living among the southern Karajá is described (pp. 75/77; Ills. 20, 21; Pl. 30, Ill. 1).
[353] The cross beams of the posts supporting the roof have thin poles laid over them and form a sort of loft on which back-baskets, baskets, weapons, women's belts, plaiting material, etc. are
[354] stored. In contrast to the Karajá, the cooking places are in the house, and, to be sure, in the circular structures, one on either side of the entrance, so that there are four hearths in the house. The circular structures serve at the same time as supply rooms for baskets, gourds, food, etc. On the lower parts of the house posts, all around the walls, all kinds of birds, such as vultures, etc., are tied up.

36 The village, like that of the Karajá, is laid out in one row
184 parallel to the shore (see the plan, Ill. 188 /see p. 314/). The
[346] mask house lies apart from the village. It corresponds to that of the Karajá, but has a ridge beam such as appears in the mask house of the southern Karajá.

/354 cont./

184 5. Clothing and ornamentation. In clothing, ornamentation, and body care no essential difference from the Karajá is to be noted.

[301] The men wear the hip cord and penis cord in the same
292 manner as the Karajá. Eye shades were not observed. Net coverings were worn by both sexes. They are made by the Šavajé

361

House Mask hut Supply rack
Village bird

Ill. 188.
Ground plan of the village of the Šavajé on Bananal.

292 themselves. The manner /355/ of knotting is the same as among the Karaja. Ill. 3 in Plate 59 shows a net covering only 24 centimeters long, which is knotted in the manner of the loose belts
[854] of the girls. Apparently it serves as a bed for a newborn child. Occasionally the brown warp threads of the coverings were shot through with white threads; on the basis of inquiries among the

/355 cont./

297 Karajá, the Šavajé are supposed to make such coverings, whereas the coverings with a wide, black center stripe come, not from the Šavajé, but from the Tapirapé.

184 [301] Even the smallest girls already wore firmly plaited, black belts which correspond to those of the Karajá. I did not see anywhere the loosely plaited string belts (Karajá, Ills. 30 and 31).

[291] Adult women wore the bast apron, called hăbĭŏdă here, made mostly out of white and only rarely of reddish bast.

303 184 [302] The hair style does not show anything that is foreign to the Karajá. The combs are plaited by the men in the same manner as among the Karajá. Forms and designs correspond to the others; the decorating by means of feather clusters or bundles of cotton is rare, however.

[304] The side cross-threads are also often absent.

302 184 Body painting is identical with that of the Karajá. As oil, coconut oil is used; as color, chiefly urucú, which, with the seeds removed, is stored in huge hollow gourds.

Ill. 189 a, b.
Scarifier (b = back side).

301

Ill. 190.
Ear rod.

304 Scarification is also customary among the Šavajé. The instrument for it (lālēdjŭ; Ill. 189), however, is covered with a thin coating of wax on the entire back side (cf. Ehrenreich's specimens, Berlin 3953 a b, from the Karajá).

515 As for body care, it should be remarked that the Šavajé go to bathe in the lake every morning at sunrise, even when there is heavy fog over the water and it is very cold. They then warm and dry themselves at the hearth fire in the hut.

/355 cont./

301 184 Ornaments as marks of distinction. The lip plugs assume tremendous proportions among the young men. The longest wooden lip-plug (ōdŭŏ) was 31.5 centimeters long and 2.2 centimeters wide. The shell lip-plugs (ĭdjĕ) of boys almost all terminate in a turned-up point. I did not see stone lip-plugs.

As for ear ornaments, there are yellow rods (dŏhŏ), rods with red feather rosettes and a dot of wax in the middle of the mother-of-pearl disk (dōlĭĕ, dŏhōdŭĕ), and tulip-like rosettes with a rodent tooth in the center (gūēdjŭ). /356/ The latter are almost universal among children; the two former kinds appeared only rarely, especially the simple ear rods, in contrast to the Karajá, almost all of whom wear them. Also, the ear [531] rods are only quite simply decorated with a few rings cut in at the front end (Ill. 190).

The arm cuffs (dēsĭ), calf bands (dēōbĭdă) and ankle bands (wālālĭ) are similar to those of the Karajá. Young men often wore a bast band bound over the arm cuffs and calf bands.

As for other ornaments, very many cotton ornaments were worn. Black neck-tassels of the girls (wādjīklīdjă) sometimes bore snail shells pushed on, as among the Karajá. The long string skirts (gūŏhĭ) are also worn by the Šavajé girls. The arm and leg ornaments with hangings were very elaborate. Of the three kinds among the Karajá, I observed the first kind, strings with tassels, as upper-arm and lower-arm ornaments, the second kind, flat-plaited or tasseled bands with long hangings, only as calf ornaments, and the third kind, two thick pads with long hangings, only as arm ornaments. Whereas among the Karajá each of the strings of the first kind (dōlŭ) have two tassels at the end, those of the Šavajé always have three (Pl. 59, Ill. 1). These tassels, along with the strings, are always dyed black. In the case of one specimen, intended for the upper arm of a child, the wrapping strings are 325 centimeters long; on the other hand, in the case of another, which allegedly was intended for the lower arm of a man, 925 centimeters! The second kind was encountered [822] only as a calf ornament, and, to be sure, dyed black for children (dēăhūlă), dyed red for youths (lūdjaûwŭ). The fringe hangings,

/356 cont./

301 as is always the case among the leg bands, reaches all around
184 (Pl. 59, Ill. 2). The third kind, observed only as an arm ornament (dēsiādăzi) and, dyed red, worn by youths on the lower arm behind the arm cuffs, is identical with the calf hangings of the Karajá (Ill. 75), whereas those intended for the upper arm resemble the fringed bands of the Karajá (Ill. 74 a, b). In these specimens the fringe reaches a length of 55 centimeters and is stored away plaited into thick braids (Ill. 191 a, b).

301 Among the feather ornaments, I obtained the hindhead
237 ornament lōlinā (Pl. 59, Ill. 4), many specimens of which were acquired by Ehrenreich from the Karajá, but which I did not find there. The specimen I acquired is incomplete, since the cane rods between the two plaited surfaces, into which the pink heron feathers are stuck, are not covered with feather wreaths. The plaiting is patterned and smeared with white color (cf. Ill. 192 a-c /see p. 319/, the construction of this ornament).

With regard to feather caps (dōlidōli), I acquired two specimens from the Šavajé in Schischá. Both bore the feathers arranged in three zones. In one specimen the lowest zone consisted of red feather rosettes, the middle one of clusters of two small blue-yellow arara feathers, the uppermost one of single
[531] long, colored feathers tied in (Pl. 59, Ill. 11). In the second specimen the lowest zone consisted of two rows of red rosettes, the middle zone /Pl. 60 appears here/ /357/ of two rows of yellow rosettes, the uppermost one of clusters of two colorful parrot feathers each (Pl. 59, Ill. 10). The feathers and rosettes, like those of the Karajá, are fastened, not in the knots, but on the threads of the net.

Of feather hoops I likewise obtained from the Šavajé in Schischá a specimen with a tuft (hănānā).
[531] The hoop bears little yellow feathers; in front, six long blue-black arara feathers are fastened standing upright, the quills of which are covered with small feathers (Pl. 59, Ill. 5).[1]

[Text continues on p. 319]

[1] See p. 311 -- Analyst

5: Krause--318 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9
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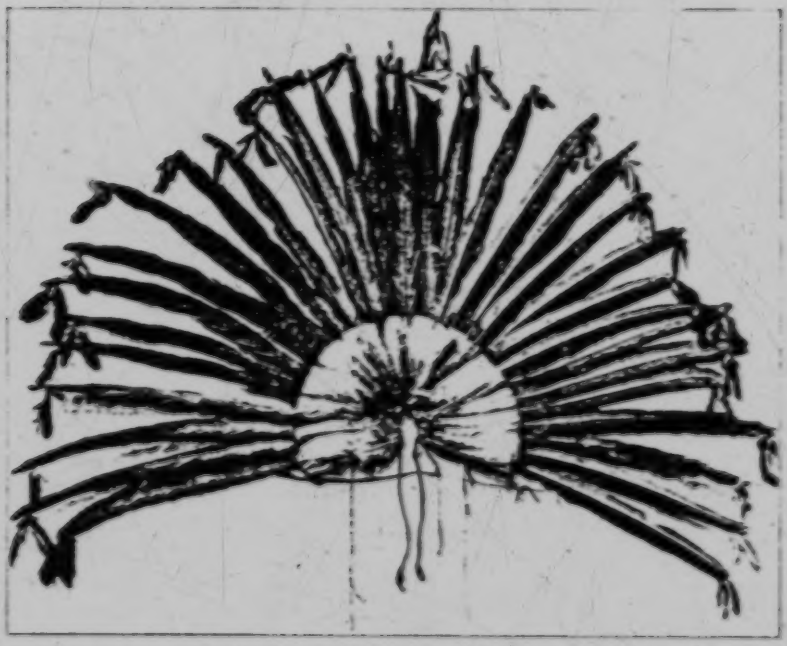
Plate 60

301
237

1. Hindhead feather-wheel.



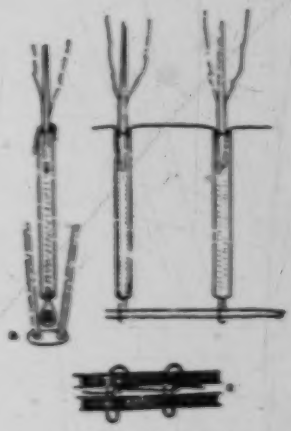
2. Hindhead feather wheel.

/357 cont./

301 Of feather wheels (lăhidŏ) I obtained four specimens from the
237 Šavajé on Bananal, one from those in Schischá. Of these only the one specimen from Bananal is like those of the Karajá. It consists of a large fan of pink heron feathers and blue arara feathers, which alternate with each other in groups of five or six and four pieces. The longer covering layer consists of blue arara feathers; the shorter

[283]

Ill. 191a, b.
Double-pad band with long string-hangings.
b) in storage form.



Ill. 192 a-c.
Construction of the lŭlinŏ ornament.
a) Cross-section through the two surfaces and the middle layer.
b) Fastening of the cane rods (feather bearers).
c) Tying the two surfaces together (seen from the inner edge).

upper covering layer, of pink heron feathers. Little yellow feathers are tied to the upper ends of the feathers of the main layer (Pl. 60, Ill. 1). All the other specimens bear on he main course of feathers only one covering layer, which consists, in the one specimen, of blue arara feathers, in another, of white jaliru feathers, and in the last two,

/357 cont./

301 of blue-green feathers. The main course of feathers shows the
237 following feathers in like sequences: pink heron and owl feathers, which alternate with each other, blue arara feathers (Pl. 60, Ill. 2), white jabiru /358/ feathers which, in the specimen from Schischá, are interrupted three times by two blue arara feathers. The little end feathers are yellow throughout.

I acquired two specimens of forehead feathers, which could perhaps belong to such feather wheels, but perhaps might also be worn standing up vertically, with the hoop placed around the face. In the case of one (waidŏhĕ) the hoop is wound with a black cotton string; its ends are joined by a thin string. In front there are two feather tufts, each consisting of a rod with red feathers, which bears a yellow feather wreath on top, out of which project long dark green feathers. At the base, both rods are wound with white raw cotton (Pl. 59, Ill. 7). In the case of the other one (kōdsŭlŭkŭadsiŏ) the hoop is set with white down feathers; the tuft consists of several red arara feathers up to 35 centimeters long, which below are surrounded with bushy small red and yellow feathers and below that are wound with raw cotton (Pl. 59, Ill. 6).

Fine little red feathers (wālālā), little wing coverts of the roseate spoonbill, are fastened on a fine string and wound spindle-fashion on a rod. The string is many meters long. Ehrenreich brought back the same ornamental feathers from the Karajá. Allegedly they are used for head ornaments.

Of other ornaments there are:

[824] Necklaces of small, reddish-white fruits (ŝiulaĩiadi), which were very common, then feather arm-bands, some of which correspond to those of the Karajá. They bear either bunches of feathers at one place (Pl. 59, Ill. 8), or colorful layers of feathers on either side of a string (Pl. 59, Ill. 9).

Finger rings (dābŏ) are likewise made from the tail rings of lizards and chameleons.

/358 cont./

301 Dance belts (wăděkănă) of the male youth are not as elaborate as those of the Karajá, but are kept essentially simpler. One specimen is striped black and white lengthwise; on its lower edge, on a separate string, hang two bunches of Thevetia fruits and one to three feather rods, alternately. The other one, coming from Schischá, in addition to the lengthwise stripes, exhibits a cross-striping; on its lower edge, directly alternating, are fastened at each place two pairs of Thevetia fruits and one feather rod (Pl. 59, Ill. 12).

262 6. Food. The Šavajé, like the Karajá, live on the fish
136 that they catch and the yield from their plantings. The lake on which they live is extremely rich in fish, in spite of its shallow depth (0.75 to one meter); there were even pirarucús
311 in it. The planting lay far from the village, about six or seven hours away, on the edge of the rainy-season lake. It was growing extremely well and so thickly that one could scarcely follow the path in it. Close beside the new planting there was an older one.
482 Here and there filled back-baskets lay by the wayside, waiting to be picked up.

252 The manioc is pounded in a knee-high mortar (kōŏ) which
[412] has an approximately finger-thick wall, with a pestle (hāâù) of reddish wood 1.6 meters long and 0.10 meters thick, or it is rubbed on a wooden grater (wōlānăkiă), /359/ picked over on the rod-sieve (brēdjĕ), and pressed in it. Then this meal is
262 mixed with water and cooked. Such manioc mush (ĩũālŭ) also constitutes the chief food of the Šavajé. In addition, I also saw yellow mush and green vegetables as festive foods.

226 Fishing was done by the young people with bows and arrows. Early in the morning they would already go out on the
[123] lake and soon return with a good yield. I received my share of everything, even of the huge pirarucú which was caught on the second forenoon. The lucky fisherman took out the entrails of the animal and then cut out the sides of the belly, which were distributed by the chief and placed on different piles. Then the rib pieces of three ribs each were chopped out and likewise distributed. Every family received its share; I, too, was given some.

/359 cont./

235 Of tame animals I found among the Šavajé:

Chickens, which were gladly sold to me, but were not eaten by them; vultures, spoonbills, and parakeets sat tethered on the supply racks in front of the houses; vultures in large numbers squatted on the ground near the wall posts in the houses. Araras were totally absent. Instead, a huge white eagle sat tied to a low cross-bar behind the chief's house (Pl. 30, Ill. 2).

264 The women ate even in my presence. Only the girl who traveled back to the Karajá with us ate turned away from us on the trip, and only when she thought she was not being observed.

252 The hearth, as mentioned above, lies in the circular structures of the houses, on both sides of the entrance. As among the Karajá, it consists of the tips of three termite hills or of three clay shards. Roasting is done on grills (Pl. 61, Ill. 1). [412]

415 The cooking vessels are identical with those of the Karajá.
412 The manioc grater (wōlānǎkiă; in the women's language, kōlānǎkiĕ) and the rod-sieves (brēdjĕ) have the same shape and construction as those of the Karajá. For stirring, an oar-shaped spoon (nālĭhĭ; Ill. 193) is used. For everything else, see the Karajá! [184]

Ill. 193 a, b. Stirring spoon. (b from the side).

249 The luxury item is tobacco, which is cultivated in a considerably better variety among the Šavajé than among the Karajá. The latter buy large quantities of it from the former, even cuttings, so that they will be able to grow this better variety themselves at home. Tobacco (kōti) is stored plaited into three-part braids (Ill. 194) and is carried in plaited bags or such [438]

/359 cont./

Ill. 194.
Braided tobacco.

of monkey skin (djũlẽnĩ; Pl. 61, Ill. 2). The tobacco pipes (wãliõnã) are made of jequitiba fruit; they all bear the groove around the front opening and are colored reddish. 249 276

The Savajé seem to keep supplies at home only in small quantities. 251

/360/ On the second day they were already asking me to depart, since they had nothing more to eat. The food for my five Karajá, in addition to whom there appeared four more from Korumaré's village, had depleted their stores; in view of my presence, however, they hesitated to leave the village, so that I was finally obliged to yield to their wishes. 251 123

7. Concerning the weapons, there is likewise nothing new to report. The bows (djũhãdẽ) are either undecorated or bear white wrappings, a maize leaf, and a feather tassel, like the Karajá bow (Ill. 110). It is handled in such a way that the left hand grasps the bow in the center, so that the arrow goes between the second and third finger; the second to fifth finger of the right hand draws the bow string; the arrow lies between the second and third finger. 411 [184] [284]

Ill. 195 a-c.
Savajé arrows.
a) Lashing at the point of attachment.
b) Feathering.
c) Wooden-knob tip.

As for arrows (wðhũ), I encountered

/360 cont./

411 arrows with angular wooden points, which were in part colored red, with wooden knob tips (dŏbōlă), the knob of which was up to four centimeters thick (Ill. 195c), with bamboo-blade points on a separate wooden intermediate rod, with round bone points which are fastened to a wooden insert colored red on the lower part, and with ray-spine points. Especially noteworthy for the Šavajé are the ray-spine points and the arrows with the red-colored intermediate stem. The length of the arrows amounts to 130-160 centimeters; the fish arrows are the longest. The winding with [284] black embira at the place where the point is inserted in the shaft is of one to three parts and popularly shows a spiral binding between the individual parts (Ill. 195a). The feathered end is formed analogously to that of the Karajá arrows (Ill. 195b). Its upper winding generally consists of black cotton yarn, into which are usually tied little yellow, seldom red, feathers. (In the case of the Karajá, the situation is exactly reversed.) [531] Among the Šavajé, too, the intermediate part between the feathers is decorated with rings and bands of red lacquer, which usually are arranged in two groups. The notch lashing, usually white, is only rarely colored red. On the basis of my specimens, [284] I cannot confirm Kurisí's statement that the Šavajé arrows are recognizable by the notch lashing, which does not quite reach as far as the notch; on these, the lashing always reaches as far as the notch. In the arrangement of this lashing we again find the Karajá types. /Pl. 61 appears here/ /361/ but in simpler form. I did not see little end feathers in connection with the Šavajé arrows.

[184] The clubs (gŏhŏrdĕ), like the Karajá clubs, are grooved only halfway, but differ from the latter by the fact that the intermediate piece on the handle end bears more than three grooves [531] (four or five) (1) (Ill. 196b). In one specimen, as ornamentation

1. Cf. Karajá, club handles /see pp. 191-193/.

within the grooving, two narrow bands with incised points diametrically opposite each other have been left standing (Ill. 196a).

[Text Continues on P. 326]

252

1. Grill of the Šavajé.

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[237]
[285]
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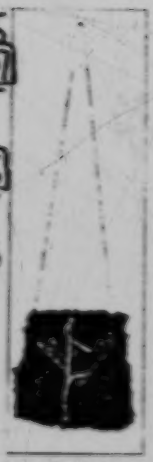
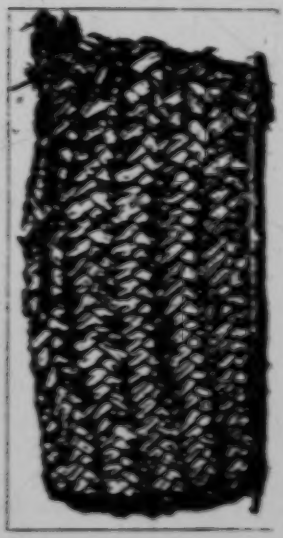


2. Tobacco pouch of monkey skin.



3. Carrying sack, plaited out of a palm frond.

a b c d

5. Spindles.
a Wax, b unfired, c and d fired clay.

283

4. Bow for picking cotton apart.

/361 cont./

411 (Ill. 196a). I did not see here clubs with plaiting around them or flat clubs.

[412] [237] [184] For grooving the clubs, the cutia tooth (haŭlidjŭ) mounted on a rod is also used by the Šavajé (Ill. 197).

As for lances (dõnõli), I acquired only one specimen, which looks very old. It is constructed like those of the Karajá. The shaft is 2.5 centimeters thick and 200 centimeters long, the bone

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412
501
[531]

Ill. 196 a, b. Savajé club. b) Handle end of a second specimen.

Ill. 197. Club groover.

Ill. 198. Arrow thrower. Savajé.

Ill. 199. Savajé oar.

411 point 19.2 centimeters, the red winding 11.5 and the plaiting 63 centimeters long. The feather tassels hang down 42 centimeters. The plaiting pattern is the vertical zigzag pattern.

/362/

411 The arrow thrower (hãõbi) was relatively common. Whereas in the 22 villages of the Karajá I did not see any, but merely acquired a model, I found three specimens in this one small Šavajé village (Ill. 198). The implement is still used for fishing, bird hunting, and as a weapon for sport. One can execute high, horizontal, and low shots with it. The handle, 36-40 centimeters long, 3.5-6.5 centimeters wide, is edged and curved and has a small button at the lower end. The hole for the index finger is quite large and rectangular or square in shape. The staff, 30-35 centimeters long, is round and bears a small hook of bone, which is fastened with tight, fine lashing. Sometimes a few little feathers hang down from this lashing as an ornament.

I did not come across any other weapons among the Šavajé.

501 184 8. Transportation and communication. The boats are the same as those of the Karajá, but usually very long and very wide. The oars differ from those of the Karajá mostly by the fact that 482 the cylinder on the handle bears four grooves (Ill. 199). Back- 184 baskets and other baskets are likewise similar to those of the Karajá. The back-basket [bãh(ĭ)ũlã] is also plaited at the lower edge, so that, when it is carried, the contents have firmer support than is the case in the Karajá back-baskets. It is 158 centimeters long, 27 centimeters wide, and has an edge 12 centimeters 285 high. Among the baskets I observed large carrying-baskets (wãlĩlĩ) plaited, with patterns, out of oaguassu palm pinnae, which are carried with a bast carrying-band, also oblong baskets (dãdã), which likewise show patterning and are carried on a carrying band, oval baskets with a cover (wãlãbãhi), and, finally, carrying sacks, and, to be sure, some of mat plaiting (mãnsi), some which are plaited diagonally out of one palm leaf (lõli), and rectangular sacks plaited out of two palm leaves (lõlĩ), the two ribs forming one longitudinal edge, whereas on the other and on the bottom edge the pinnae of both fronds are plaited together (Pl. 61, Ill. 3). [184] (Cf. Ehrenreich, Berlin 3886, Karajá.) All other baskets and such mentioned are identical with those of the Karajá.

/362 cont./

312 Water was transported in long gourds (rŭkŭ) with short
415 hanging bands; the gourds were usually crudely decorated with
531 pyrography (Ill. 200).

184 9. The techniques are even more primitive than those of
[438] the Karajá; in fact, the Šavajé obtain their iron implements and all foreign wares only through barter with the Karajá. Hence, everything that was said about the latter also applies to the Šavajé.

412 I still found a few examples of stone axes [ūōmădū(ĕ)]; they were used as beaters in pounding soft the women's bast aprons on mortars turned upside down. The two specimens acquired by me are strong, wedge-shaped axes 14 and 20.5 centimeters long; on one, the cutting edge is considerably hollowed out, probably through use as a nutcracker (Ill. 201 a, b).

323 The pottery is as primitive as that of the Karajá. Here,
184 too, we find no decorated vessels. The two vessels acquired by me consist of red clay, are of the Karajá type, and represent a cooking pot (wădjĭwĭ) and a bowl (wădjĭwāŭdă). /363/ /Ills. 200-206 appear here./

283 /364/ Working with cotton. For picking cotton apart, a small, quite crudely worked bow is used (Pl. 61, Ill. 4). The spindles (āzŏdāŏ, Pl. 61, Ill. 5) consist of round rods 32.5-49 centimeters long, with whorls of wax, unfired or fired clay, or bone. By far the most prevalent are wax whorls, which in part are clumsy disks, in part have sharp edges and taper conically
[323] at the top and bottom. The unfired or crudely fired whorls usually have a double-conical form with a sharp edge; only one specimen consists of a thick plate with a rounded edge. Fired clay whorls are disk-shaped and have two sharp edges and flat, conical elevations on both surfaces. Bone whorls consist of quite flat disks, as among the Karajá.

Balls of thread of white (āzō) or black (āzōdĕbē) cotton are also customary among the Šavajé; some of them are kept tied up in a bast covering (Ill. 202).

[Text Continues on p. 330]

412 →

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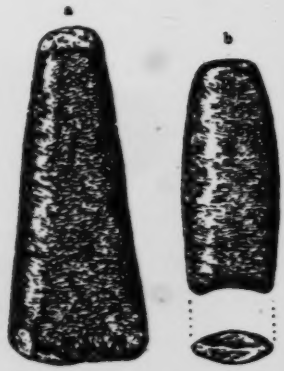
531 ←

Ill. 200.
Gourd for carrying water.

283 →



Ill. 201 a, b.
Stone ax.

Ill. 202.
Cotton ball in bast covering.

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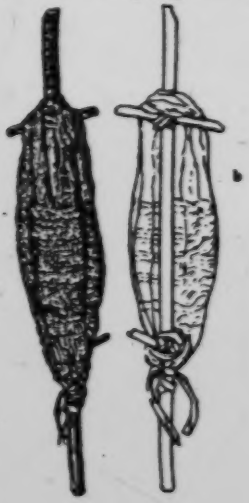
286 ←



Ill. 203 a, b.
Plaiting apparatus for girls' belt.
b) = rear view.

Ill. 204.
Crochet needle.

Ill. 205.
Black resin.

524 →

Ill. 206 a-c.
Child's bow with arrows.

/364 cont./

286 184 The making of the net coverings corresponds to that of the Karajá, and the apparatus is just as primitive as it is there. A small apparatus is used for plaiting the girls' belts: on a long stick, at some distance from either end, a short cross-stick is tied. Around these the warp is then wound (Ill. 203 a, b). The weft is intertwined by hand.

Here, too, crocheting is done with iron crochet needles [531] (dešidūnă). The handle is only rarely decorated and then only simply wound with red cotton thread (Ill. 204).

386 314 184 Coloring and adhesive substances are identical with those of the Karajá. I obtained red dōmāle and black resin, zōbādāla, both in pieces 12-15.5 centimeters long, 5.5-6 centimeters wide, and 2 centimeters thick, and convex on one side (Ill. 205). These are pressed in rod sieves, the texture of which is sometimes still recognizable on the surface.

524 531

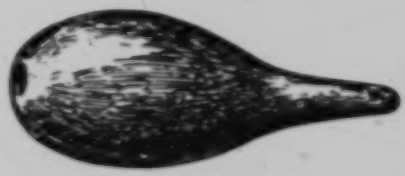
Ill. 207 a-d.
Toy dishes.
a, b) Bowls, c) painted vessel, d) its design.

237 Feathers, for storing, are either tied in small bundles or, as among the Karajá, arranged as wings.

524 10. As children's toys, I brought back: small bows and arrows, of which the bows are very crudely made, whereas the arrows either consist of the pointed shaft, on which, in front, a small /365/ nut with lateral hole is sometimes pushed (Ill. 206 a-c), or exhibit a round, inserted wooden point. The feathering is the ordinary bunch-feathering. I did not see any imitations of guns [531] here. As toy clay dishes I acquired two small bowls (wădjiwiliōlĕ) and, in Schischá, a bowl and a vessel painted red on the outside, which is an imitation of a gourd spoon (207 a-d).

/365 cont./

534 11. Musical instruments are also very rare among the Šavajé. I did not see flutes with gourd resonance; on the other hand, there were flutes made of gourds themselves. The bottle-shaped gourd has a round opening on the broad end, a rectangular one laterally on the narrow end (Ill. 208). This flute is called ǎdjūlõnǎ. The other flute, also called lõkū, consists of a long gourd open on both sides. On one opening there are traces of wax, as though a special mouthpiece had



Ill. 208.
Gourd flute.

been attached there. Perhaps a taquara flute had been attached there, as is customary among the Kayapó. Whistles made of leaf plaiting with a reed are also present here (dūlĕhĕ). The chief instrument among the Šavajé, too, is the gourd rattle (wǎlū), which was usually undecorated. Only one specimen bears a few feathers on the upper handle end.

[184] In their artistic activity the Šavajé follow in the footsteps of the Karajá. In this connection I refer to my article: "Die Kunst der Karajáindianer /The Art of the Caraja Indians/."

622 12. Political and Social. The chief seems to play a considerable
123 role among the Šavajé. In the village that I visited there was none; a man who was probably appointed for this instance represented his office. He put me up in his house, along with my men. He remained by my side the whole time. In purchases he acted as intermediary, finally led me through all the houses, told the people my wishes, and helped to determine the purchase price. When we left the village, he accompanied us across the lake and several hundred meters farther into the campo before he took his leave.

574 The reception ceremony was strange. Even before arriving in the village, my Karajá had made themselves a black band across the

/365 cont./

574 eyes with soot. Having arrived in the chief's house, my men sat down on the mats in a row extending across the house. The chief sat in front of them at one end, his wife at the other; not a word was spoken, the Karajá sat there with bowed heads and made ex-
[302] tremely distressed faces. Then the chief's wife moved along the row from behind, oiled and combed out the hair of all of them. After that, they had to come to her one by one to have themselves painted by her with urucú. During this whole time the challenging shouts for the wrestling match kept coming over from the mask hut.

/366/ Finally the chief spoke a few words; the Karajá arose and went with him in front of the house. A second Šavajé man from the neighboring hut joined them. Now the procession formed: in front the two Šavajé, behind them the Karajá in twos or threes,
[346] all with arms crossed over shoulders. Women and children followed the procession to the mask hut, where the Šavajé young people were standing in an irregular row. All were painted with urucú; two wore dance belts and feather arm-bands. As soon as the Karajá arrived, the shouting ceased and the wrestling began.
526 The two adorned youths danced forward first, shouting and swing-
574 ing their arms, as we know it from the Karajá (Ills. 10 and 11). The Karajá did not accept. Then they danced forward a second time and were accepted. The wrestling followed; the Karajá were the victors. In the second round, the Karajá challenged, and so it went on, five or six times. Some bouts were not accepted; then the challengers turned around to the right, flinging their arms wide, and returned to the center. Here they stood in the resting position with their backs to the Karajá and shouted until one of the opponents accepted them. A few bouts remained indecisive, otherwise the Karajá won. This was astonishing, since the Šavajé were all larger figures and gave the impression of being more powerful; moreover, they did not have three difficult days of travel behind them. Perhaps the explanation is that the Karajá on the average were five to ten years older and therefore had better developed muscles. Scarcely had the chief announced the end when the Šavajé again shouted their cries; the women and children hastened away and hid in the huts, toward which all the participants betook themselves in an irregular procession.

/366 cont./

526 The wrestling was very similar to that of the Karajá. If
574 one bout were not accepted, the challengers made a gesture of rejection with their arms, turned around, and went back to their row. Then one of them walked forward again, assumed the position of rest in the center, with his back to the opponents, and
[516] shouted until one of the latter accepted. The resting position was
[184] identical with that of the Karajá: they stood with the upper part of the body bent over and rested the arms on the knee. The victor performed a dance in front of the loser, shouting loudly; upon walking away, he moved his left hand over the head of the defeated one. Here, too, the chief stood on the side of the guests.

574 Only after the return from the wrestling match was food put before the Karajá; only now were they regarded as accepted and permitted to disperse into the individual houses.

843 Upon my departure from the village a strange ceremony took
628 place, the meaning of which, I believe, is that a girl made
123 pregnant during previous visits of Karajá was sent along with the Karajá to await the birth among them; whether she would then return could not be definitely ascertained; perhaps she went to the Karajá as a village prostitute. Shortly before departure, the chief took me by the hand and led me into the neighboring house. Here an obviously pregnant girl was sitting and /367/ spinning. She had to get up and lay her work aside; the chief's wife took off her neck ornament (I had already bought her leg bands from her in the morning). The girl then had to take a second bast apron and her net covering and go with us to the boat. Apparently this was very little to the girl's liking, for she wept bitterly and only gradually calmed down. The chief then made long speeches to me, the meaning of which, however, I could not understand. On the way, the girl was under the special charge of my Indian guide, who allegedly was her cousin. He was very gallant to her, carried her covering, brought food on a plate, etc. The girl always walked closely in front and behind him.

535 The masked dance that I saw among the Šavajé was a īdjāzõ
[184] dance and very similar to that of the Karajá. It took place on the first evening. The two masks stood side by side in front of the hut,

/367 cont./

535 but turned toward each other, and sang a verse with gourd-rattle accompaniment. They then danced forward together toward the village and back again. This was repeated several times. The
533 dance ended with lively bows at the village. At night the young men sat in front of the mask hut and sang dance songs with the
[184] rattle accompaniment. These songs, too, were very similar to those of the Karajá. The Šavajé did not permit photographing
532 the masks on the next day, so I was obliged to resort to sketching.
535 The masks were cylinder masks with a feather-mosaic covering.
126 Black-dyed leaf-aprons for hips and shoulders served as body coverings.

In Schischá I acquired copies of masks, and, to be sure, of the ĭdjālhēnĭ mask, the ămbŭšăwādiă mask, and the lădēnĭ mask. Of these, ĭdjālhēnĭ seems to be a typical Šavajé mask, for the songs of this mask which I was able to record phonographically among the Karajá were always designated by the latter as Šavajé
[533] songs. Of other Šavajé songs I obtained phonographically dĕsoĭ dĕsoĭ, a song that they sing after slaying a jaguar.

For further data on the masks of the Šavajé, see my article,
[113] "Tanzmaskennachbildungen vom mittleren Araguaya /Dance Mask Reproductions from the Middle Araguaia/," Jahrbuch des Museums für Völkerkunde zu Leipzig, Volume 3, Leipzig, 1910.

197 Their language, according to my data, seems to be identical with that of the Karajá. It does contain some completely different words; see tapir, gavião, maize, red and black neck tassels, lower-arm ornament of two pads with fringe hangings, calf ornament with tassels, leaf pipe; caracara is divergent.

A comparison shows that the south horde of the Karajá is linguistically somewhat closer to the Šavajé than the north horde, undoubtedly a result of the migrations of the Šavajé to the south horde. /Section III, "Die Kayapó (The Cayapo)," pp. 368-402, with Plates 62-68 and Ills. 209-261, is omitted in the translation./

/403/

IV. The Tapirapé.

175 1. Historical. Up to now the tribe of the Tapirapé has been known only from explorations. Their country was probably visited for the first time about 1746-1748 by the adventurer João de Godoy Pinto da Silveira, who evidently repeated the expedition of Pires Campos to look for the Martyrios gold mines (Rev. trim. 37, p. 262, note 18). Their name is mentioned for the first time in 1773 by Fonseca, who heard among the Karajá that the latter were living in peace with them (Rev. trim. 8, p. 388). Souza Villa Real reports that they had eight chiefs. The statement by Silva e Souza (1812) is somewhat confusing: the Tapirapé live on the Rio Grande (upper course of the Araguaya) and are a peaceable, agricultural people who know how to spin and weave; they are said to come from the sertões of the province of Rio de Janeiro (Rev. trim. 12, p. 496). These dwelling sites would be far away from what was otherwise assumed to be their territory on the Rio Tapirapé. It is more in keeping with this general assumption when Cunha Mattos (Rev. trim. 37, p. 393) mentions that they occasionally come to Bananal Island. Castelnau mentions a village of the Tapirapé on a small river opposite the north end of Bananal Island (Vol. 2, page 114). On his map, however, in the source region of the Rio Tapirapé whose course, incidentally, is in general shown correctly, there are three villages: one of the Tapirapé, one of the Mangara Curera, and one of the Milo. Moraes Jardim reports (O Rio Araguaya, Rio, 1880) that a river steamer traveled ten leagues up the Tapirapé to the harbor of these Indians. He says that the Tapirapé still have no contact with civilization, but are teachable and industrious. Ehrenreich reports ("Südamerikanische Stromfahrten /South American River Journeys/," p. 11) that the steamer with which he traveled had already gone up the Tapirapé for 60 kilometers (perhaps this is the same steamer and the same journey). Here, he says, lives that remarkable Tupi people, the Tapirapé, who are regarded as hospitable and gentle. Unfortunately, Ehrenreich was unable to [101] visit them because the steamer went on. At any rate, these reports merely show that on the Rio Tapirapé live the people called Tapirapé, who are on peaceful terms with the Karajá. Coudreau [113] [114] now confuses the entire picture by his report (Voyage au Tocantins-Araguaya, Paris, 1897). According to him)p. 110), the Tapirapé

T /403 cont./
175 are Karajá who are so named because they live on the lower course
114 of the Tapirapé. On page 174 he mentions a village of the /404/
Tapirapé on the Fecho de Tapirapé and a village of the Karajá
five days upward in the Tapirapé River; the one village consists
of one house with ten occupants, the other, one house with 20 (p.
186). Here, therefore, the Tapirapé are regarded as a horde of
the Karajá who live at the mouth of the river itself, and in the
river, five days above the mouth, there is another village of
Karajá! Coudreau was here the end of April; he encountered
only a few places of the Karajá. His other reports are likewise
very confused and uncertain, so that one may trace these, too,
C back to misunderstood information given by the Karajá.
115 2. Information obtained /Erkundetes/. The information that
T I obtained from the Karajá was the following:
131 The Tapirapé (in Karajá: ũõhũ) live six to nine days' journey
[101] in a boat above the emptying of the river into the Araguaya. From
the landing place one is obliged to walk another half day, accord-
T ing to others two days, over the campo in order to reach their vil-
105 lages. They occupy three villages, and, to be sure, one large one
and two smaller ones (according to one isolated statement, four
villages). The men wear penis cuffs plaited out of palm leaves.
Both sexes wear the hair hanging down to the small of the back.
The men wear long lip-plugs of (reddish?) stone. Ear plugs are also
customary. Their ornaments are similar to those of the Karajá.
Tattooing occurs among the married women: they cut vertical
lines into their chins and one line on either side of the corners of
their mouths, obliquely downward; these lines are colored black.
They obtain their food primarily by cultivating manioc; since they
C are very industrious, they cultivate large quantities. They are
[829] therefore considered rich by the Karajá. Of animals they keep dogs
and, above all, araras, which the Karajá buy from them. Their
weapons are bows and arrows, clubs, spears, and spear throwers.
C They know how to work with cotton. They wind the spun threads
T into big balls, like those of the Karajá. The Karajá like to buy
[439] their large, firmly plaited, cotton net coverings with a wide, black
center stripe.

T /404 cont./
105 center stripe. Their women also make pottery. Their language
C differs from that of the Karajá; the two peoples do not understand
T [197] each other. The relationship between the Karajá and the Tapirapé
C seems to have been peaceful in former times. With iron goods the
648 Karajá bartered for net coverings, bows, araras, stone lip-plugs,
[939] food, etc. The meeting place was a sandbank in the Rio Tapirapé,
opposite a high steep bank, slightly below the place to which the
C Karajá ordinarily extend their annual fishing expeditions. The
T [721] Karajá had taken advantage of this opportunity to abduct in secret
the women and children in the places stripped of men. As has
been mentioned above (p. 263), because of this there was finally
a hostile clash between the two tribes about six or seven years ago;
C since then the Karajá avoid this spot, they no longer go so far
[727] upstream. The abducted women are used by the Karajá as slave
women for work, as well as village prostitutes; the children are
taken into the tribe. /Pl. 69 appears here./ /405/ /Ills. 262 and
263 appear here./

C 3. Observations in Karajá villages. In the villages of the
162 Karajá I saw a total of two women, three maidens, and two boys
T [142] from the Tapirapé. They were smaller and more delicate than
/Ills. 264 and 265 appear here/ the Karajá. The women wore black
T 304 incised tattooing on the chins and on the cheeks (see Ill. 262 a, b
302 /see p. 339/). One girl was painted red on the face (Ill. 263).

C In the way of objects that were supposed to come from the
T 439 Tapirapé, I acquired the following in the Karajá villages near
126 the Tapirapé mouth: the comb (kŭwaã; Pl. 69, Ill. 1); its method
T 303 of construction is identical with that of the Karajá, but the very
regular plaiting pattern is different from that of the Karajá. The
T 283 spindle (Ill. 264) with the double-conical wax whorl does not differ
in any way from those of the Karajá.

T The club (ĩwŭrã, Ill. 265) is identical in form with the round
411 clubs of the Karajá. One side of the front half of the club is grooved
and flanked on either side by a raised strip which bears groups of
cross-lines. The cylinder on the handle has three grooves; the
handle is grooved and likewise has two strips with cross-lines and
depressions.

[TEXT Continues on P. 339]

5: Krause--338 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja
Tapirape SP22

Plate 69

303
415
531
171

1. Comb.

2. Whole-gourd vessel.

3 4

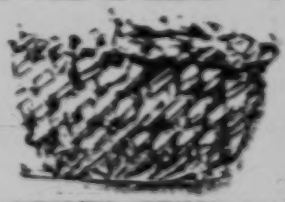
Half-gourd vessels.

285
482

6

5. Back-basket.

7



8

6-8. Rectangular transport bags.

9. Elastic transport bag.

/405 cont./

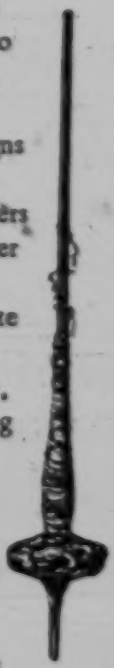
304 ←
302 →

Ill. 262 a, b.
Tattooing of the Tapirapé women.

Ill. 263.
Painting of a Tapirapé girl.

415 531 171 The whole-gourd vessel (kuĩtã; Pl. 69, Ill. 2) bears carved designs similar to those of the Karajá; everything is very crudely executed, however. Of the two half-gourd vessels (kãšẽdi; Pl. 69, Ills. 3, 4), one is provided with a tassel made of red cotton threads; their designs are reminiscent of the Karajá carved designs, whereas the designs on the others are completely foreign and carved rather crudely and clumsily.

532 The doll (dĩoho, Ill. 266) of white earth, of rhomboid shape, represents a [283] Tapirapé /406/ maiden. A roll of wax, which is led from one corner down along [911] the two adjacent edges, serves as hair. A parting and arm cuffs (red painting between two rolls) have been put on it. Moreover, the doll wears two ear-rods. In the center and at the four corners there are small holes that are connected with the center by means of one line to the sides and two lines to the top and bottom. The whole figure is five centimeters high and wide and three centimeters thick. It was made by a Tapirapé boy. Of



Ill. 264.
Spindle.

Ill. 265.
Club.
Tapirapé.

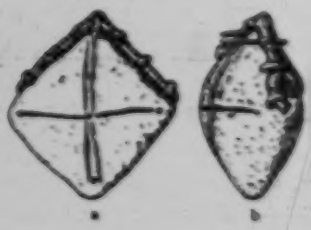
/406 cont./

114 course, I cannot state with certainty that all these objects of actually come from the Taprapé. In particular this cannot be done in the case of the spindle; yet they all have something about them that is more or less foreign to the Karajá.

192 Of words, I obtained the following through the Karaja in their perhaps corrupt pronunciation: penis cuff, hõõlã; urucú, kãã; tobacco, bãdũnã.

114 [131] 4. Observations in Tapirapé territory. In traveling on the Rio Tapirapé I came upon traces of a people who I assume were Tapirapé, for I met them in approximately the region in which, according to the accounts of the Karajá, the Tapirapé were supposed to live; I then crossed the boundary

532



Ill. 266a, b.
Doll of white earth.

114 between the Karajá territory and the Tapirapé territory, as my Karajá companions declared; finally, the number of villages encountered (three) corresponds to that given by the Karajá.

[226] [252] The traces that I came across were the following: on the twelfth day of the river journey footprints on a sandbank; on the thirteenth day a lake blocked off by a fish fence, next to it in the forest a place for roasting food, from which a path led northward over the campo; on the fourteenth day a second roasting place with a campo path; from noon of this day all traces ceased. From the twelfth to the fourteenth day, on the other hand, places of fires, as well as the remains of old lake barricades, were to be seen everywhere.

[See pp. 337-339 -- Analyst]

/406 cont./

114 On the campo path from the first roasting place, which was later
[489] joined by the second coming from the left, we reached a large
[361] village on the second day of the land march, two smaller villages
[312] on the third day, all three abandoned and in utter ruins. Water was not to be found on the campo on which the villages were located; the swamps and brooks to which paths led were dried out and, when excavated, in part to a depth of one meter, did not even yield moist earth, to say nothing of water.

131 On the basis of the discoveries and observations that I
133 made at these places, I formed the following opinion. The tribe lives on the high campo that extends from the southern bend of the Tapirapé to the north as far as the high mountains (or plateau borders) that enclose it in the north and west. In front of these borders there extends a tremendous trough, apparently the source region of the Tapirapé, which from there flows around out of the high campo in the west and south, then turns off to the north-
[361] east. /407/ Here, approximately 130 kilometers due west from
[142] the Tapirapé mouth, the tribe lives in one large and two smaller
361 villages during the rainy season. The large village seemed to have had three to four houses; the second, smaller one, two to
[342] three; the third perhaps the same number. The houses were in such a state of ruin that their construction was no longer recognizable; apparently they were large rectangular buildings with a pointed gable roof. The villages lie close to the large forest
[133] area that accompanies the trough in front of the mountains. All around in smaller troughs extend large swamps to which brooks
221 lead. During the dry season these water areas dry up completely, so that even holes up to a meter deep in the brook bed do not yield moist earth. As a result, the Indians are compelled to migrate to water areas, and apparently they then first seek the
[437] upper Tapirapé. In former times they seem to have come farther downstream to a certain place where they met the Karajá, who extended their fishing expeditions this far, and traded with them. This trading place lies about 30 kilometers southeast of the first village (34 kilometers from the second and third). As
[226] a result of the conflicts with the Karajá, they now avoid this

/407 cont./

221 region and come to the river farther upstream, before it turns
226 toward the northeast. Here, by means of poisonous cipo, they
[252] fish successive lakes blocked off by fences. They seem to travel from upstream downward, for the upper roasting place showed only a few new beams among very old ones, whereas the lower one was apparently quite recently built. This lower one, beside which they fished from the middle to the end of August 1908, lies about 16 kilometers south-southwest of the first village (24 kilometers
[487] from the second and third). The well-worn paths that go from the two roasting places, join, and lead by way of the first village to the other two, seem to indicate that the Indians visit this spot annually. Where they go from here I was unable to find out; perhaps they went across the Tapirapé to the south. In any case a campo lake abounding in fish, several kilometers away from the trading place, showed no traces of human beings.

161 These people seem to be very numerous. The number of
[342] houses is small, to be sure, but their dimensions seemed to be
[252] quite considerable. The 26 huge grills at the first roasting place and 10-15 at the second, the sandbanks completely trodden down with footprints beside the first fish lake, certainly lead one to
513 conclude that there is a large crowd of people. Sleeping is
352 apparently done in hammocks. This is indicated first by the net coverings that the Karajá buy from them, and then by the complete absence of sleeping places beside the roasting place, which was certainly used for many days.

241 Besides manioc (according to the account of the Karajá), these people also plant maize, as is indicated by many, partly
231 charred corncobs at the roasting place. As domestic animals they keep dogs, the traces of which were numerous on the sand-
224 banks. It may surely be assumed that they devote themselves to
[136] hunting. The campo is extremely rich in deer, the forests in wild pigs. Certainly they will not forgo these sources of meat.

226 In addition, fishing is practiced on a large scale through poisoning the /408/ /Ill. 267 appears here/ /409/ water of blocked-off lakes. We saw barrier poles everywhere in the territory of this tribe in front of lake outlets. The first lake that we came across was completely blocked off by a fence that was

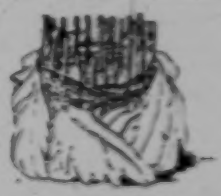
[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 344]

S: Krause--343 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja
Tapirapé SP22

Ill. 267.
The fish-fence on the fish-lake of the Tapirapé, viewed from the river.
(Drawn from a photograph.

/409 cont./

226 still green. The location of the fence is shown in Ill. 7. The fence extends from the lake shore to the sandbank that separates it from the river. Vertical posts are driven in and joined together by a horizontal beam floating on the water. They are supported on either side by diagonal struts. Inside, dense foliage is tied on, which is supposed to prevent the stupefied fish from being carried out (Ill. 267). The posts had been cut nearby in the forest on the southern bank. The water was poisoned with poisonous cipo that lay in quantities on the sandbank and at the rear end of the lake; it had been fetched from the forest at the [501] end of the lake. The Indians apparently do not have boats for traveling on the [225] lake. Serving for this were a few light tree trunks that lay tied together in the lake beside the sandbank. In this way they had caught all kinds of fish, even pirarucús, obviously in large quantities, as the large number of grills (26) 225 shows. They also caught turtles and kept them alive. They had built a sort of cage, in the shade of which the turtles were able to survive the hot part of the day (Ill. 268). Sticks about a meter high were stuck in the ground in a circle three-fourths of a meter in diameter, interwoven with leaves, and joined together by cipo winding.



Ill. 268.
Turtle cage.

252 The preparation of food seems to be done by boiling and roasting. The fire is transported with large blocks of wood that lay about everywhere. Cooking is obviously done in clay vessels, the shards of which lay scattered around at the first roasting place and beside the paths. Chiefly, however, the yield from the fishing expeditions seems to be roasted, perhaps for stores, for the entire layout of the roasting places and the numerous back-baskets indicated large-scale activity. Roasting was done near the lakes in the forest on large sites on which huge grills were found. These had a triangular or rectangular form, a roasting surface as large as four square meters, and were mounted to the trees of the forest. Often several, with their frames, were joined (see Ill. 269 a-c /see p. 346; Pl. 29 /see p. 18/, Ill. 2). The beams of these racks

/409 cont./

252 were lashed together with bast. They were obviously cut to size
[812] with stone axes, whereas thinner branches showed sharp knife cuts. Thus, iron knives have made their appearance here as a result of the carrying trade, even before a white man has seen the people themselves.

251 482 The roasted booty is apparently taken along by the Indians

252 ←

411 →

Ill. 269 a-c. Grills from the large roasting place of the Tapirapé.

Ill. 270 a, b. Arrows.

251 482 on their further expeditions to other water places. For this purpose they use transport back-baskets as well as smaller carrying bags, of which I brought along a selection from the specimens lying about at the roasting places.

/409 cont./

482 The back baskets are similar in construction to those of the
185 Karajá, but considerably smaller. One back-basket is plaited
[171] out of two palm fronds, like those of the Karajá; /410/ the ribs form the two longitudinal poles, the interwoven inner part of the fronds the bottom, the outer part the open-work edge. Their dimensions are 87 centimeters in length, 26 centimeters in width, 14 centimeters in height. Carrying bands are absent. The other back basket (Pl. 69, Ill. 5), by contrast, is made of only one frond in that the rib is broken twice and in this way forms the two longitudinal poles and the bottom cross-pole. To strengthen the longitudinal poles, two separate poles are tied on. The bottom plaiting and the lateral rods are /Ills. 269 and 270 appear here/ made considerably more neatly than in the previous one. It is only 68 centimeters long, 25 centimeters wide, and 15 centimeters high.

The bags are all made out of one palm frond in such a way that the rib forms the lower cross-edge, above which the bag, plaited out of pinnae, is built up (Pl. 69, Ills. 6-8). It is rectangular in shape throughout and is made with a simple one-up-one-down plaiting. Where carrying bands are present, they are fastened to the long side or the transverse side. /411/ Only one bag (Pl. 69, Ill. 9) is different in shape; its upper edge is drawn together tightly, so that only a small round opening remains, below which the bag bulges out in all directions. The measurements of the bag are: 10-16 centimeters high, 15-37 centimeters long.

301 Concerning other finds, there are still to be mentioned: a tassel of red cotton yarn that corresponds exactly to a cut-off,
411 youth's neck-tassel from the Karajá. And then two arrows. One of these (Ill. 270a) has a flat wooden point 43 centimeters long with barbs cut out on two sides and double-edged sharpness. The taquara shaft is 110 centimeters long and bears in back the two-part feathering, the twist of which makes a quarter turn and which is fastened only at the upper and lower end by winding. The upper winding consists of black cotton; into it little red feathers are tied toward the inside. The space between the feathers is

/411 cont./

411 painted with red lacquer from the top to the center. The end winding consists of a fine white thread; it carries a crossed [284] thread and extends to the notch. The attachment winding between shaft and point is made of embira and consists of two [171] parts which are connected by spiral winding. Thus, this arrow shows nothing that would be foreign to the Karajá. The other arrow is entirely different (Ill. 270b). The long-tapered cane point, 30 centimeters long, is set onto a round wooden stem 49 centimeters long and is simply wound with embira at the point of attachment. The wooden stem, in turn, is set into the cane shaft, which is 75 centimeters long. Its attachment winding of black embira extends almost to the upper feather-winding. The feathering is done in the same way as in the case of the [284] other arrow. The upper winding consists of black cotton thread, to which is joined a black embira winding that extends up to half the intermediate space of the very long feathering. In it are wrapped little red feathers. The notch winding consists of white thread and carries three parallel, widely crossed threads.

105 When we sum up everything, we find that the Tapirapé
171 are a people who, like the Karajá and Šavajé, live beside lakes on the campo during the rainy season, come to the river during the dry season in order to fish there, but, in contrast to the former, seek out different places one after the other, in other words, migrate within a definite area. They plant manioc and maize, work cotton into hammocks and ornaments, are familiar with pottery, the working of stones into axes and lip plugs, carry bows, arrows, and clubs, and like to decorate their objects with carvings. In many things their culture seems to be very close to that of the Karajá, along with them they probably belong to the same ethnographic province, which is distinctly separate from that of the Xingu region; they differ essentially from them, however, in their small stature, their foreign language, and an ignorance of navigation. /Page 412 is blank. The "Appendix," pp. 413-482, has been omitted in the translation; see the foreign text./

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Remarks on the Maps.

For the survey map our German atlases were used as a basis; the drawing in of the land route and of the Araguaya, however, was based on my records, which were taken with compass and watch.

For the land route from the Araguaya to Leopoldina this has resulted in essential deviations from our German maps, whereas my records agree better with the Brazilian map of the Companhia Mogyana (S. Paulo, 1905). Especially /495/ important are the changes I made on the stretch from Araguary to Caldas Novas.

The river survey was made from the south from Leopoldina to Village 16, from there to Conceição from the north.

It shows radical deviations from our atlases. The distances northward from the Rio das Mortes seem too great; moreover, the direction of the river differs from there to the east. In order to fit my data into the survey map, the stretch from the Rio das Mortes to Conceição had to be shortened by one-fifth and, in addition, turned approximately 9.5° to the west. I did not make these corrections in the detail map of the river. My linear measure-
[113] ments are most nearly like those on Ehrenreich's map (Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin, Vol. 27, Plate 3).

1 [cf. End Map B on pp. 369-374.]
2 [cf. End Map A on pp. 366-368.]

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102 [114] I should like to remark that on our maps the lower Araguaya from the north end of Bananal Island to the confluence with the Tocantins is represented very differently in its linear proportions, deviates sharply from the Ehrenreich map, which is based on the map of Moraes Jardim existing in Goyaz, and is more like Coudreau's map. Coudreau, however, traveled on the river under abnormal conditions -- extraordinarily high water. /The index, pp. 496-512, is omitted in the translation; see the foreign text./

5: Krause

SP9 Caraja SP9
Tapirape SP22

C
T
101
102
103
131
133
361

Sec. 1 /p. 366/
Sec. 2 /p. 367/
Sec. 3 /p. 368/

Chart of Positions of End Map A.
[Facing p. 365]

5:Krause--366 T-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9
Tapirape SP22

C
T
101
102
103
131
133
361

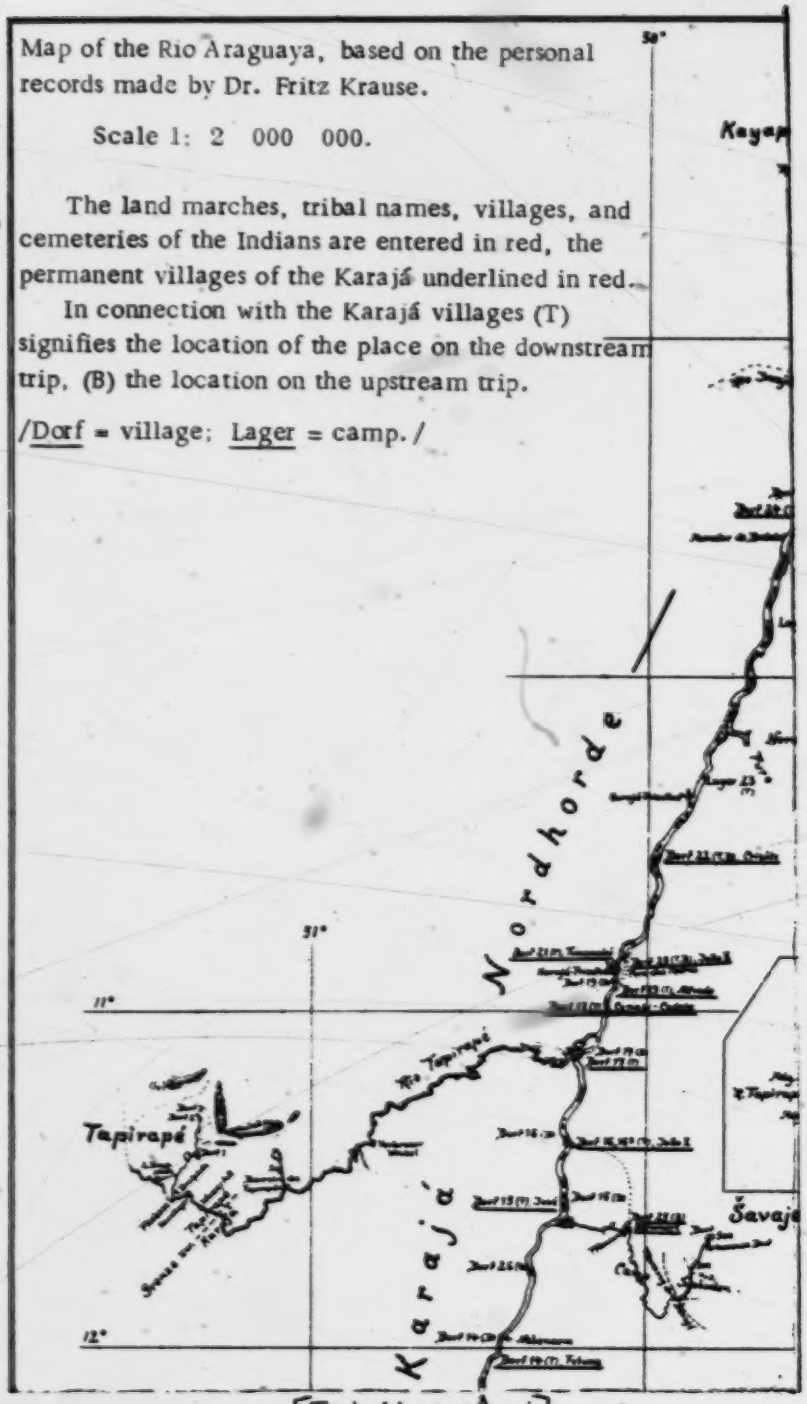
Map of the Rio Araguaya, based on the personal records made by Dr. Fritz Krause.

Scale 1: 2 000 000.

The land marches, tribal names, villages, and cemeteries of the Indians are entered in red, the permanent villages of the Karajá underlined in red.

In connection with the Karajá villages (T) signifies the location of the place on the downstream trip, (B) the location on the upstream trip.

/Dorf = village; Lager = camp./

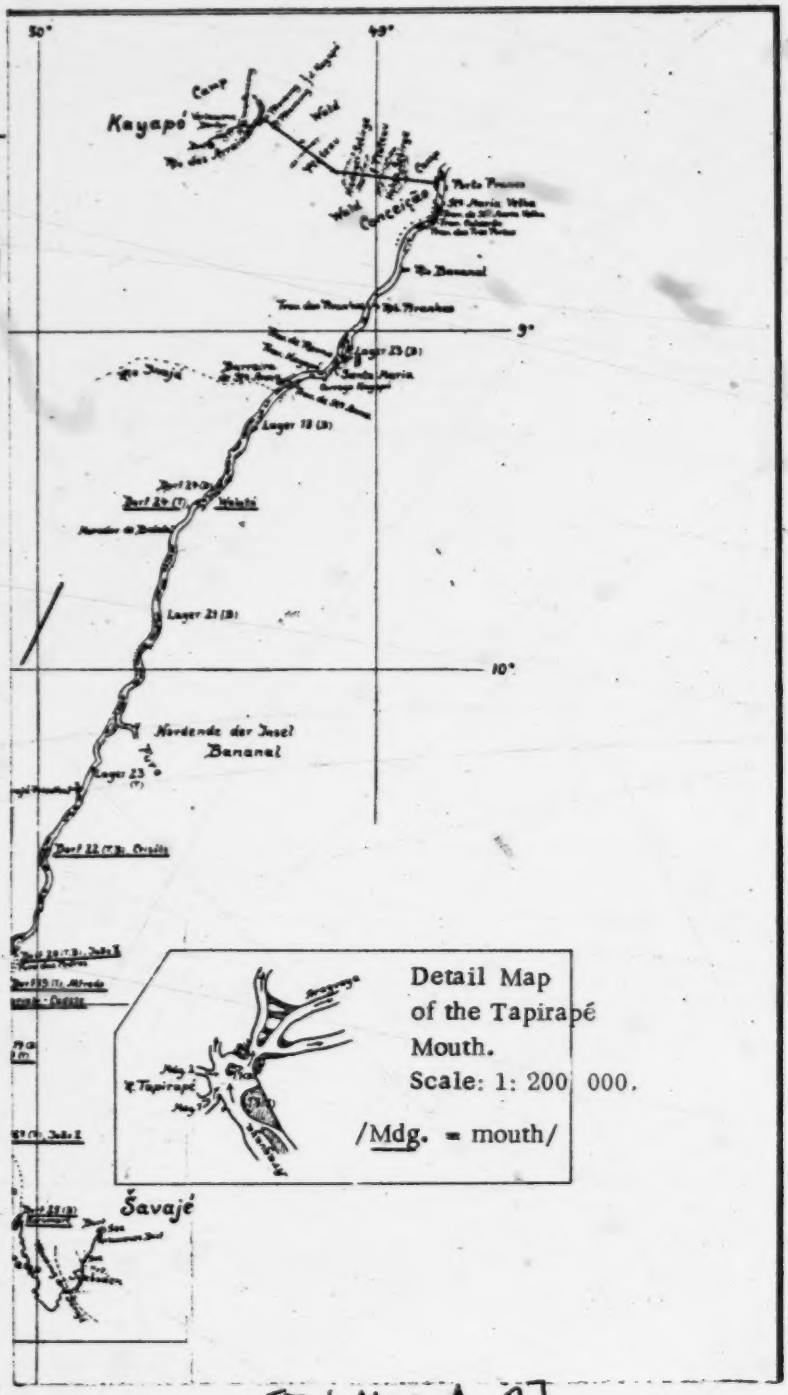


[End Map A-1]

5: Krause--367 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9

Tapirape SP22

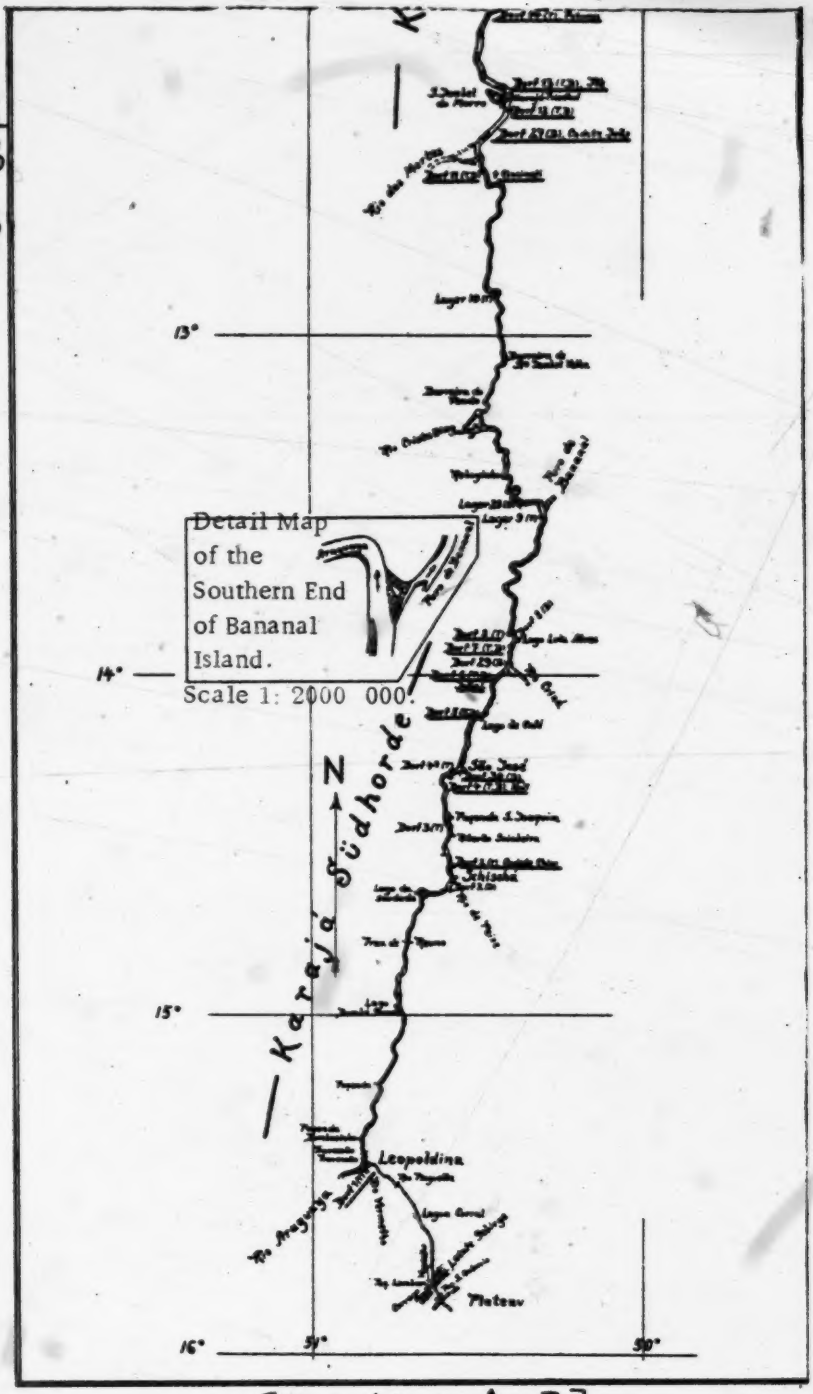
C
T
101
102
103
131
133
361



[End Map A-2]

5: Krause--368 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9 Tapirape SP82

C
T
101
102
103
131
133
361



[End Map A-3]

5: Krause

B
C
T
102
101
103
131
133

SP9 Caraja SP9
Bororo SP8
Tapirape SP22

Sec. 1 /p. 369/	Sec. 2 /p. 370/	Sec. 3 /p. 371/
Sec. 4 /p. 372/	Sec. 5 /p. 373/	Sec. 6 /p. 374/

Chart of Positions of End Map B.
/Facing p. 368/

5: Krause--369 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9
Bororo SP8
Tapirape SP22

B
C
T
101
102
103
131
133

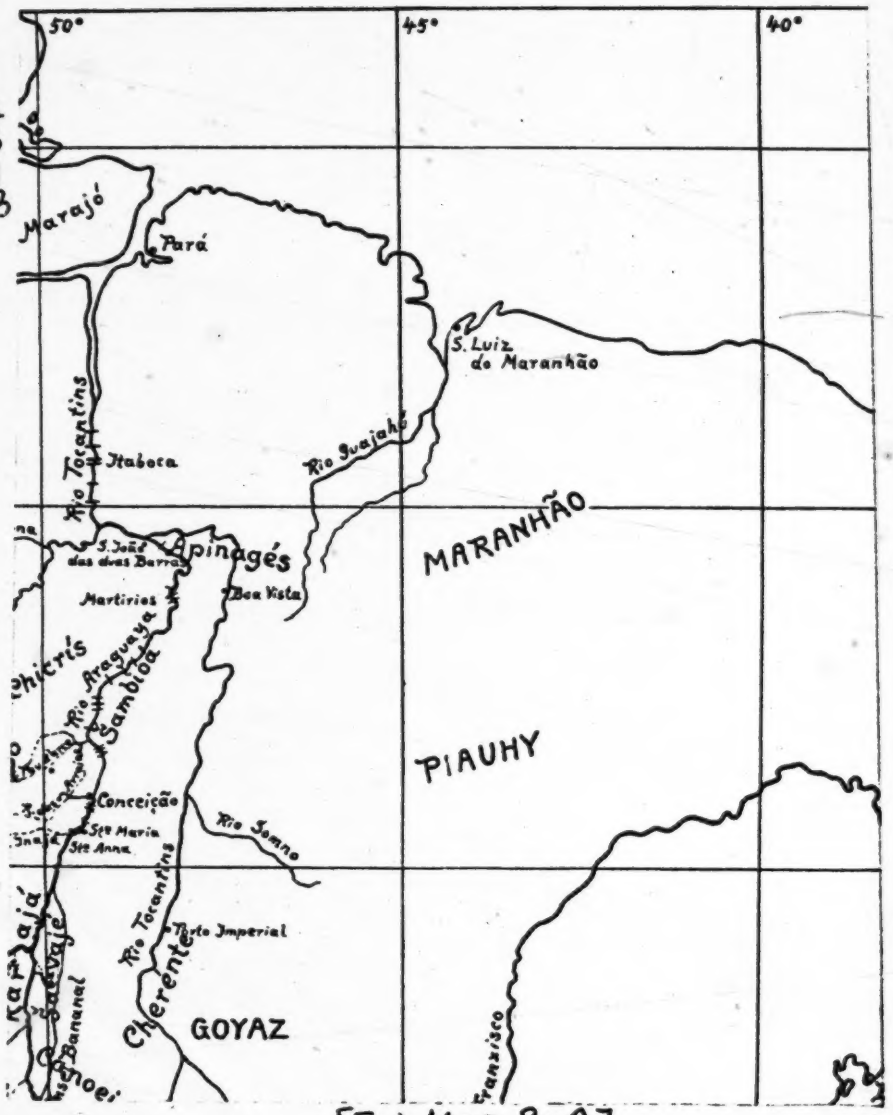
Survey Map

Scale 1: 20'000 000.

[End Map B-1]

5: Krause--370 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9
Bororo SP8
Tapirape SP 22

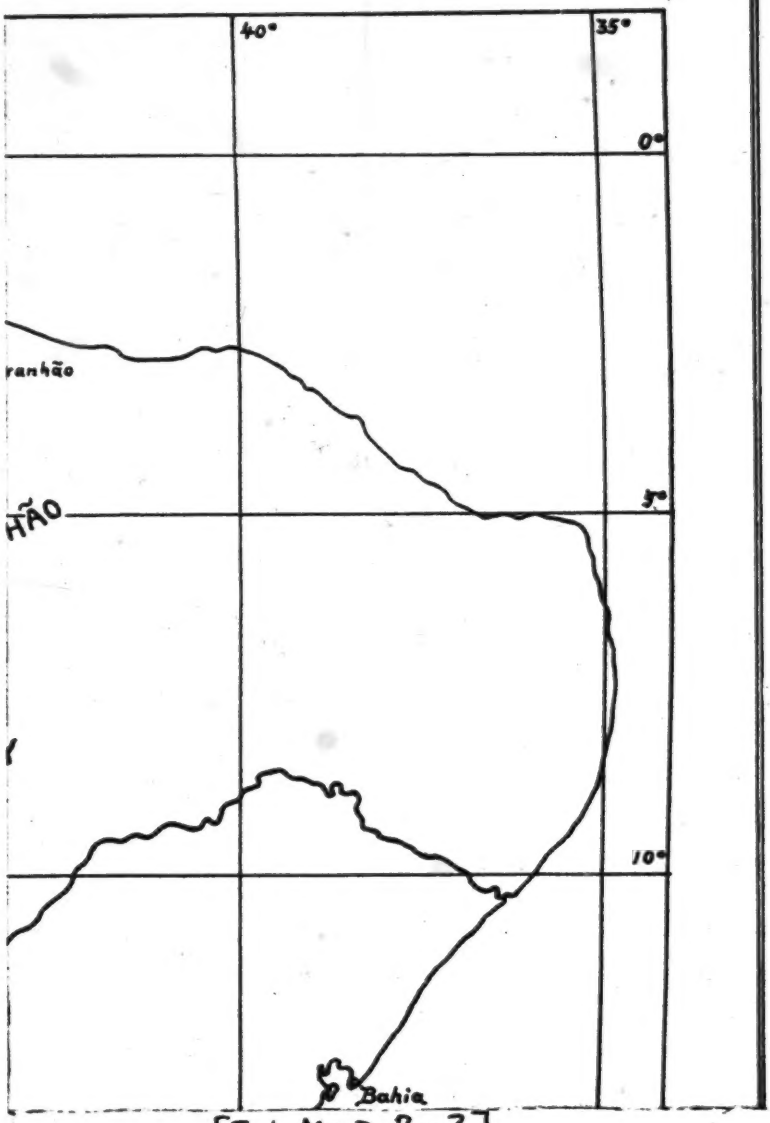
BCT
101
102
103
131
133



[End Map B-2]

5: Krause--371 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9
Bororo SP8
Tupirape SP22

B
C
T
101
102
103
131
133

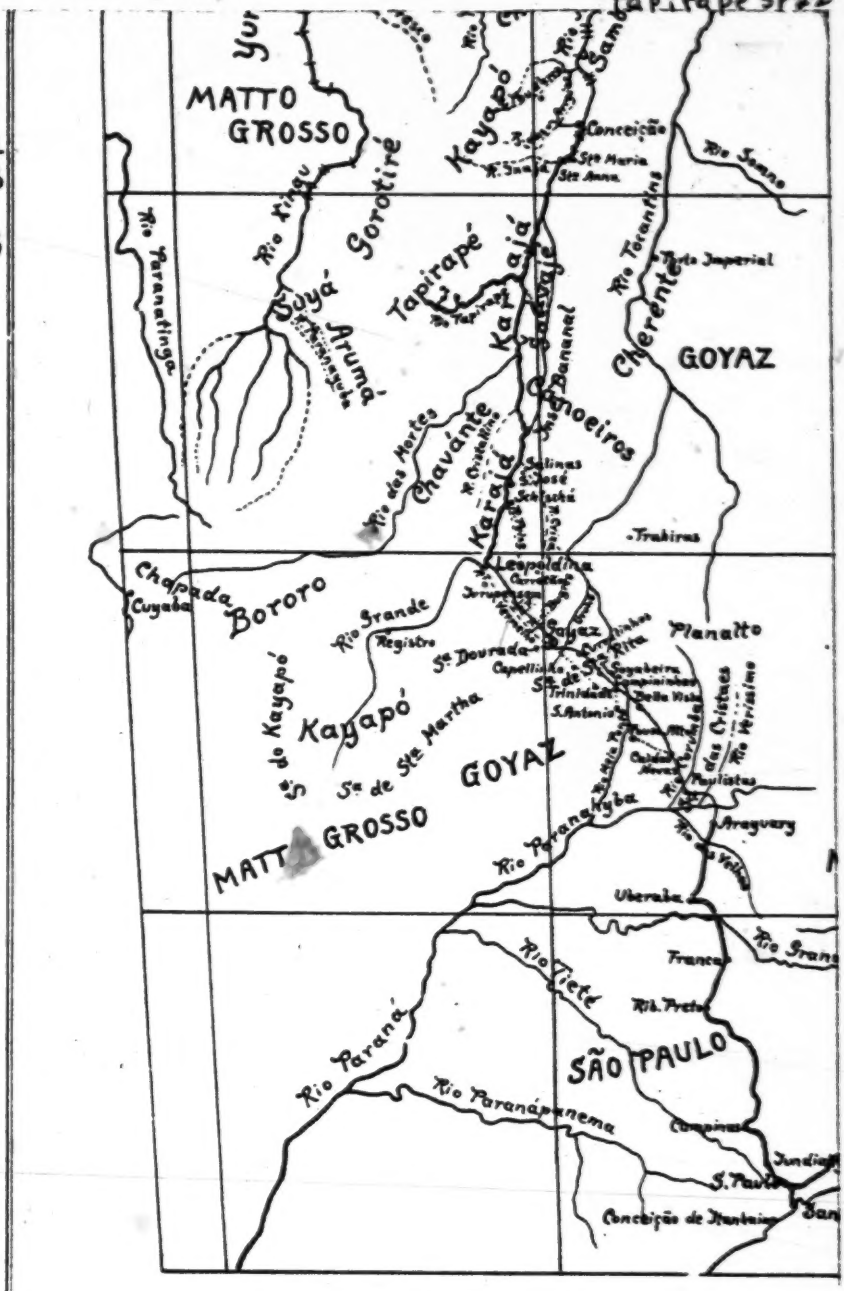


[End Map B-3]

5: Krause--372 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9

Bororo SP8
Tapirape SP22

B
C
T
101
102
103
131
133

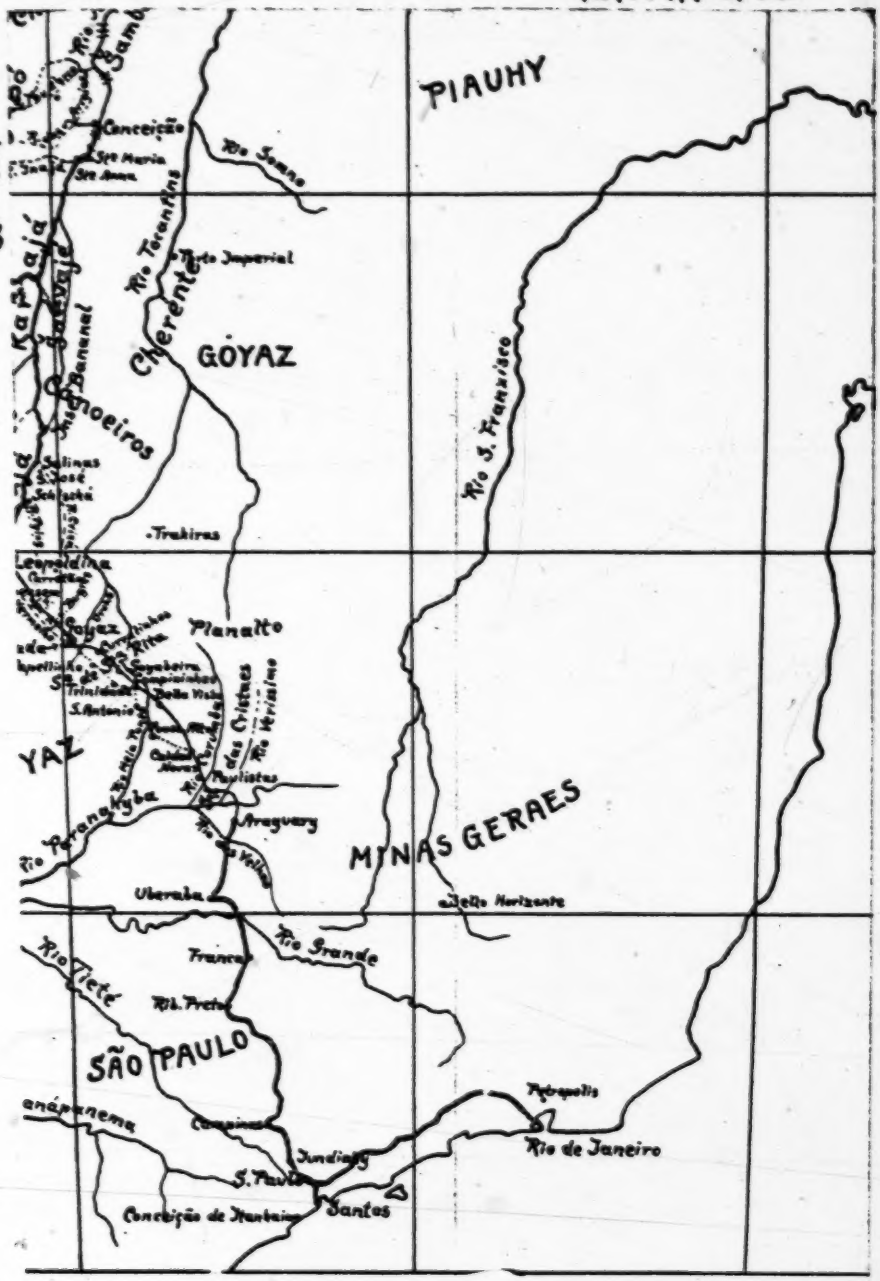


The travel route and the tribal names are entered in red.

[End Map B-4]

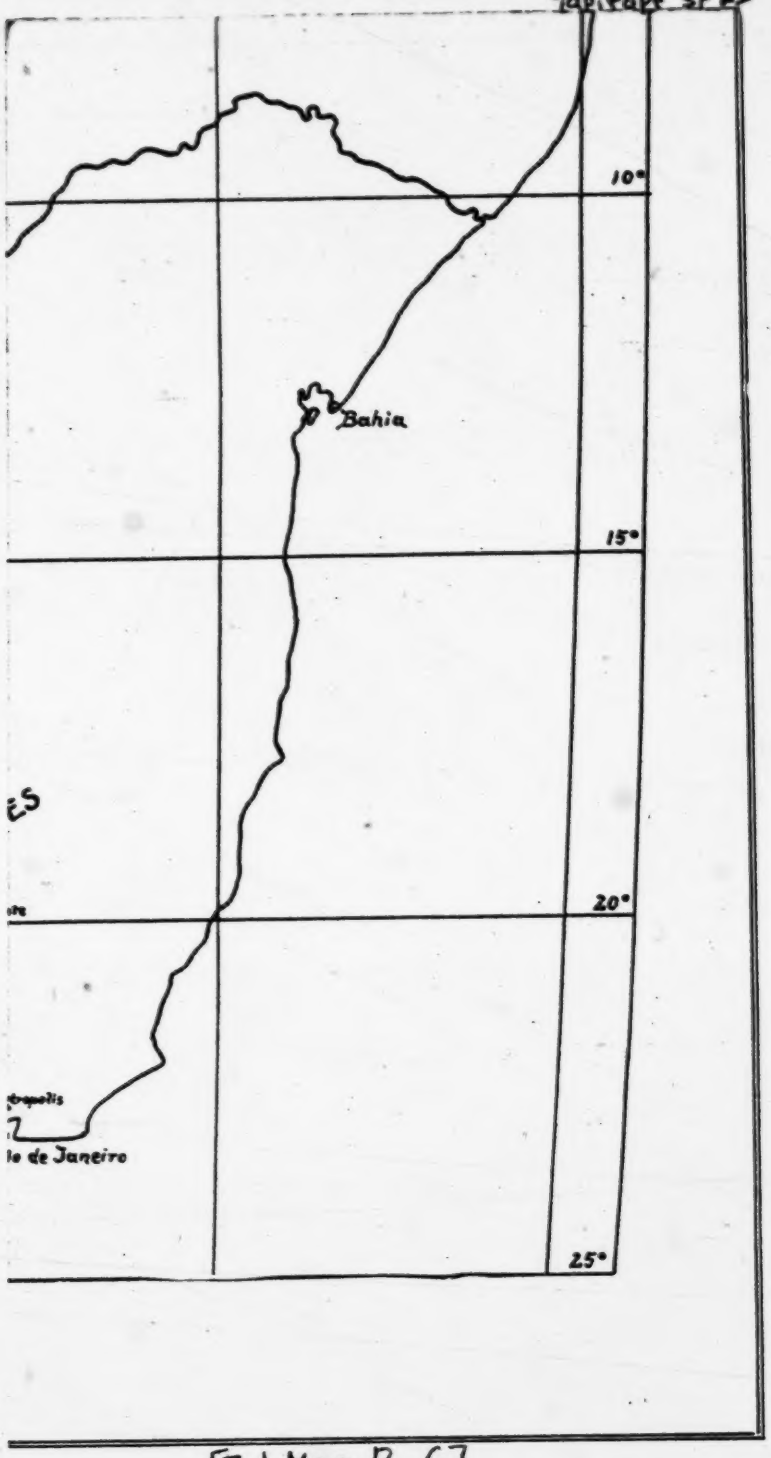
5: Krause--373 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9
Bororo SP8
Tapirape SP22

BCT
101
102
103
131
133



[End Map B-5]

5: Krause--374 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9
Bororo SP8
Tapirape SP22



[End Map B-6]

[This source contains a number of local, Brazilian terms which are fairly uncommon and difficult to identify. The probable meanings of some of these terms are indicated below.]

Foreign term	Page reference	Identification
mutum	1, 148, 155, 157	currassow
taquara	98 ff.	a kind of bamboo
aruera (wood)	110	probably aroeira
jabuticaba	149	*Mouriria pusa*
mangaba	149	*Hancornia speciosa* (fruit of)
cara	149	*Dioscorea* sp.

[For additional, detailed information concerning feather ornaments and feather ornamentation, see category 116, pp. 129-147.]

5: Krause SP9 Caraja SP9

292

535

796

[For the description and use of feathered ornaments such as caps, helmets, belts, hoops, etc. on festive and ceremonial occasions, see category 301.]

[For additional, detailed information concerning ornaments and ornamentation of all kinds, see category 116, pp. 112-147; particularly notable are the descriptions of labrets on pp. 112-116, and feather head-ornaments on pp. 129-141.]

102
131

Cayapo SP11
Coroa SP13
Sherente SP20
Suya SP21
Yuruna SQ26

[For a map showing general tribal locations, see 5: Krause, SP9 Caraja, Category 116, pp. 369-374.]

Tafel 1.

Karajábootsmann.

/Frontispiece facing the title page. /

5:Krause SP9 Caraja

In den Wildnissen Brasiliens

Bericht und Ergebnisse der Leipziger Araguaya-Expedition 1908

Von Dr. Fritz Krause
Direktorial-Assistent am Städtischen Museum für Völkerkunde in Leipzig

Mit 517 Textabbildungen, 337 photographischen Abbildungen auf 69 Tafeln und 2 Karten

[title page]

R. Voigtländers Verlag in Leipzig

[p. I]

Vorwort.

Im Jahre 1908 unternahm ich im Auftrage der Stadt Leipzig eine ethnographische Forschungsexpedition ins zentrale Brasilien, die die wissenschaftliche Erforschung der zu besuchenden Indianerstämme mit den modernsten Methoden und Instrumenten, sowie die Bergung der sichtbaren Belege ihres kulturellen Lebens für das Leipziger Museum für Völkerkunde zum Zwecke hatte. Ihr Ziel war das Gebiet des mittleren Araguaya, zwischen 15. und 9.° südlicher Breite, mit den Indianerstämmen der Karajá, Šavajé, Tapirapé und Kayapó.

Die Expedition nahm ihren Anfang am 29. Januar 1908 und kehrte am 7. Februar 1909 nach Leipzig zurück. Das Programm wurde im allgemeinen durchgeführt; nur der geplante Vorstoß nach Westen mußte wegen unüberwindlicher geographischer Schwierigkeiten vorzeitig abgebrochen werden.

Es wurde ein reichhaltiges Material an Beobachtungen aller Art, photographischer und phonographischer Aufnahmen, Skizzenbuchzeichnungen usw. mitgebracht. Die über 1100 Stück umfassende ethnographische Sammlung ist in den Besitz des Museums für Völkerkunde zu Leipzig übergegangen. Veröffentlicht habe ich bisher von meinen Ergebnissen nur die Nachbildungen von Tanzmasken der Karajáindianer im Zusammenhang mit einer Darstellung des Maskenwesens dieses Stammes (im Jahrbuch des Museums für Völkerkunde zu Leipzig, 3. Band, Leipzig 1910), sodann eine Studie über die Kunst der Karajáindianer (im Bäßler-Archiv Band 2, Heft 1, Berlin 1911), in der das von mir gesammelte Material an plastischer und zeichnerischer Kunstbetätigung der Indianer wiedergegeben ist.

Hier nun soll das gesamte übrige Material der Öffentlichkeit übergeben werden.

Den eigentlichen Ergebnissen schicke ich als ersten Teil einen Bericht über die Expedition voraus. Ich halte das für sehr wichtig; denn die Ergebnisse der Expedition können erst dann richtig eingeschätzt werden, wenn die Art ihrer Gewinnung bekannt ist, also die Bedingungen, unter denen die Studien erfolgten. Der Reisebericht bringt daher den äußeren Verlauf

[p. II not processed]

der Reise, und behandelt dabei vor allem ausführlich das Leben mit den Indianern, da nur aus dieser Darstellung die Forschungsmöglichkeiten, besonders die mannigfaltigen Beschränkungen, denen man draußen sehr gegen seinen Willen unterworfen ist, zu ersehen sind. Dabei ist ein kurzer kultureller Überblick über die einzelnen Indianerstämme gegeben, sowie mancherlei psychologisches und sonst allgemein interessantes Material mitgeteilt, das im zweiten Teil nicht in dieser ausführlichen und direkt wirkenden Weise hätte verwertet werden können. Ich hoffe, daß es mir dadurch gelungen ist, ein möglichst getreues Bild von dem Leben und den Anschauungen dieser Indianer zu zeichnen. Sodann umfaßt der Bericht in kurzen Zügen einen Überblick über die geographischen Verhältnisse der durchreisten Gebiete, über die Art des Reisens, den kulturellen Zustand des Landes, und wird damit wohl manches Neue bieten und künftigen Reisenden wichtige Fingerzeige geben können.

Der zweite Teil, der die Ergebnisse behandelt, ist mehr als Nachschlagewerk gedacht. Für das wichtigste halte ich die Veröffentlichung des Materials durch Abbildungen und Beigabe der nötigen Notizen, gesichtet und überarbeitet nach wissenschaftlichen Gesichtspunkten und verglichen mit dem bisher vorliegenden Material aus dieser Gegend. Dabei ist eine strenge Scheidung in solche Punkte, die selbst mehrmals oder nur einmal beobachtet wurden und in solche, die nur erkundet wurden, eingetreten. Diese Scheidung kann meiner Meinung nach nicht streng genug gehandhabt werden, wenn sich nicht Fehler einstellen sollen, die sich dann immer weiter vererben. Einige Nachrichten, die mir sehr unsicher erschienen, habe ich in Anmerkungen behandelt, um späteren Forschern Hinweise auf deren Nachprüfung zu geben. Ich glaube damit der Wissenschaft den besten Dienst zu erweisen, indem ich das Material für sich und nur als solches veröffentliche. Denn so bleibt es dauernd verwertbar. Zwar wird diese Methode, die sich fern hält von dem Bestreben, Probleme zu lösen und weitreichende Beziehungen nachzuweisen, von manchen Leuten als „veraltet" angesehen, doch halte ich sie für die einzig richtige, um den wissenschaftlichen Wert jeder Mitteilung festzustellen und damit gesichertes Material zu beschaffen, das allein uns in unserer Wissenschaft weiter bringen kann. Daher habe ich auch die Frage nach der Stellung der Karajá zu den übrigen Indianerstämmen nur gestreift; dies Hauptproblem zu lösen, dazu sind weitumfassende Vorstudien nötig, da fast alle vergleichenden Arbeiten in der südamerikanischen Völkerkunde noch fehlen. Sie wird deshalb einer späteren Publikation vorbehalten bleiben. Ich weiß, daß ich mit dieser Art der Selbstbeschränkung der Zustimmung vieler meiner Fachgenossen sicher bin.

Die Expedition hat überall, wohin ich kam, hier zu Haus wie drüben in Brasilien, weitgehende Förderung und Unterstützung hilfsbereiter Menschen

gefunden, und ich möchte nicht verfehlen, allen diesen hierdurch meinen wärmsten Dank auszusprechen. Dieser Dank gebührt in erster Linie dem Rat der Stadt Leipzig und dem Leipziger Stadtverordnetenkollegium für die Bereitwilligkeit, mit der sie die Mittel für die Expedition zur Verfügung stellten, sowie Herrn Konsul Dr. Herrmann Meyer, der die Liebenswürdigkeit hatte, sofort eine große Summe für das Unternehmen bereit zu stellen, ihm späterhin einen guten Abschluß zu sichern und mir bei der Ausrüstung mit Rat und Tat zur Seite zu stehen. Gleichen Dank schulde ich Herrn Prof. Dr. Weule und Herrn W. v. d. Steinen für Unterstützung und Rat bei Ausarbeitung des Planes und Zusammenstellung der wissenschaftlichen und persönlichen Ausrüstung, desgleichen Herrn Geh. Hofrat Prof. Dr. Hans Meyer für Überlassung von Instrumenten und Gewehren. Nicht minder kräftig war die Förderung, die meine Expedition in Brasilien selbst fand. An erster Stelle gebührt der Dank den kaiserlich deutschen Behörden, vor allem dem Herrn Gesandten Freiherrn v. Reichenau, sodann den Herren des Konsulats in Rio de Janeiro und Herrn Legationsrat Flügel in S. Paulo. Sie alle haben mir ihren Beistand gewährt und mir von der brasilianischen Zentralregierung wie den Regierungen der einzelnen Staaten weitgehendste Vergünstigungen erwirkt, für die ich diesen Regierungen auch hier meinen ergebendsten Dank aussprechen möchte. Gleicher Dank gebührt unseren deutschen Landsleuten, Herrn Marxsen in Rio, Herrn Naschold in S. Paulo und Herrn Öchinghaus in Goyaz, die in selbstloser, aufopfernder Weise mich auf alle Art unterstützten und mir die wertvollsten Fingerzeige gaben, durch die mir erst die programmäßige Erledigung der ganzen Reise ermöglicht wurde. Und zum Schluß, aber nicht minder herzlich habe ich zu danken meinen Camaradas, die so willig alle Anstrengungen und Mühen auf sich genommen haben, dem Deutschen Adam, dem Brasilianer Antonio, den Indianern Pedro dem Getreuen, Benedicto dem Lustigen und den vielen anderen Indianern, die mir gern und willig halfen, als das anfängliche Mißtrauen geschwunden war, und die mir, da ich mich als ihresgleichen gab, mein in sie gesetztes Vertrauen mit gleichem Vertrauen lohnten.

Die Kosten des Druckes sind zum Teil aus dem Etat des Museums für Völkerkunde bestritten worden unter Beteiligung des Vereins für Völkerkunde zu Leipzig. Beiden Körperschaften möchte ich auch hier meinen Dank für diese Unterstützung aussprechen.

Leipzig, im Mai 1911.

Der Verfasser.

5: Krause SP9 Caraja

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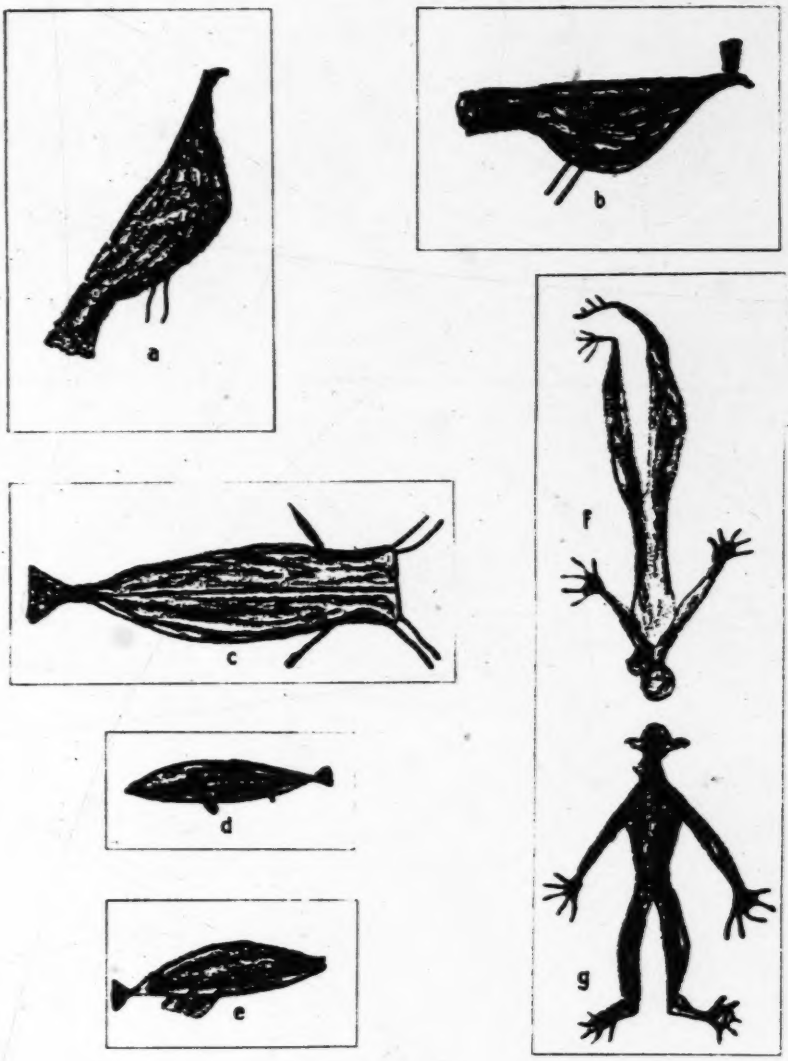


Skizzenbuchzeichnungen der Karajá:
a. Jacu. b. Mutum. c. Pirarara.
d. Hundsfisch. e. Tokunaré. f. Adam. g. Dr. Krause.

/Pl. 7 faces p. 40./

Tafel 8.

a. Frau von vorn.

b. Frau von Seite.

c. Mann.

d. Knabe mit Ohrrosetten.

e. Jüngling mit Lanze.

f. Knabe mit Federschmuck.

g. Mädchen mit Schnurrock.

Tonpuppen der Karajá.

/Pl. 8 precedes p. 41./

5:Krause

SP9 Caraja

1. Mauzi und Maudihi, mit Netzdecken.

2. Camarada Antonio.

/Pl. 9 faces p. 44. /

Tafel 10.

1. Karajáfamilie unter Mattenschutz.
Bei Leopoldina.

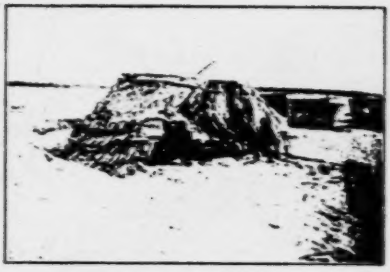
2. Steilufer mit Buschwald.
Rio Araguaya.

3. Sumpfiges Waldufer.

4. Palmengruppe am Ufer.

/Pl. 10 faces p.48. /

Tafel 11.



1. Trockenzeithütte der Karajá.

2. Karajádorf.

3. Rauchende Karajáfrauen.

4. Karajágeschwister.

/Pl. 11 faces p. 52. /

1. oben: Kochplatz der Karajaindianer.
2. unten: Karajajnaben.

3. oben: Mastenhütte in Dorf 7 (Südhorde).
4. unten: Frauen und Mädchen der Karajá.

/Pl. 12 faces p. 56./

Abb. 1.
Sonnenzeichnungen von Tanzmasken.
a) idjagó-Maske. b) ladení-Maske.

[p. 57]

Tafel 14.

Gesichtsausdrücke des Häuptlings Jll.

/Pl. 14 faces p. 64. /

1. Jüngling in vollem Schmuck. Karajá.

3. Kiepenträger. Karajá.

2. In Bast eingewickelter Zopf eines Karajájünglings.

4a. Jünglinge mit Zöpfen, die in rote Baumwollschnur eingewickelt sind.

4b. Dieselben Jünglinge von vorn.

/Pl. 15 faces p. 68./

Tafel 13.

1. Mattenlager wandernder Karajáindianer.

2. Totenurne auf dem Karajáfriedhof S. Jzabel do Morro.

/Pl. 13 faces p. 68./

5: Krause SP9 Caraja

Tafel 16.

Bemalte Karajájungfrau.

/Pl. 16 faces p. 72./

5: Krause

SP9 Caraja

Karajaindianer.

/Pl. 17 faces p. 76. /

Tafel 18.

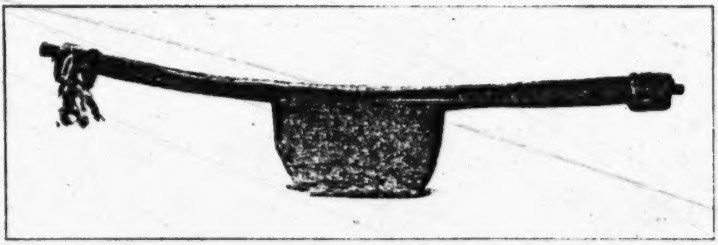
Karajámädchen in vollem Schmuck.

/Pl. 18 precedes p. 77./

Abb. 2.
Iooní-Maske.
Nach Skizze.

[p. 79]

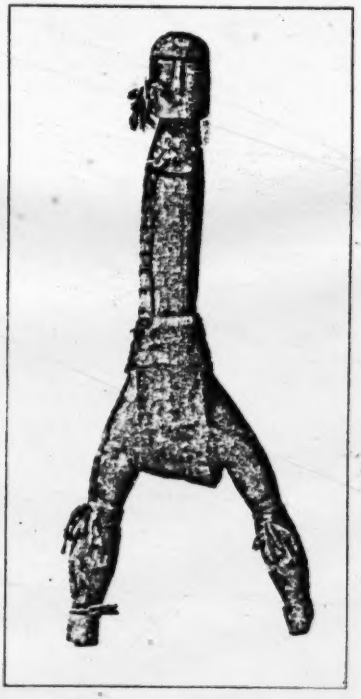
Tafel 19.



1a. Häuptlingsschemel der Karajá.

1b. Vorderansicht des Schemels.

3. Wachsnachbildung der ioonimaske.



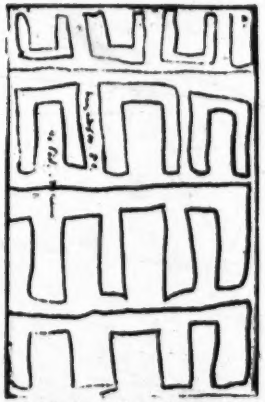
2. Holzpuppe der Karajá.

/Pl. 19 faces p. 80./

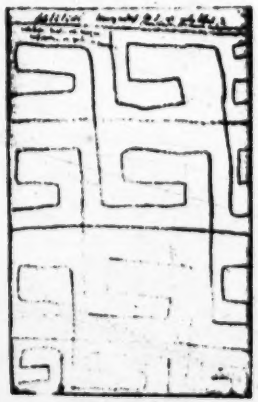
Tafel 20.

1. Koduni-Maskentänzer.

2. Ladeni-Maskentänzer.



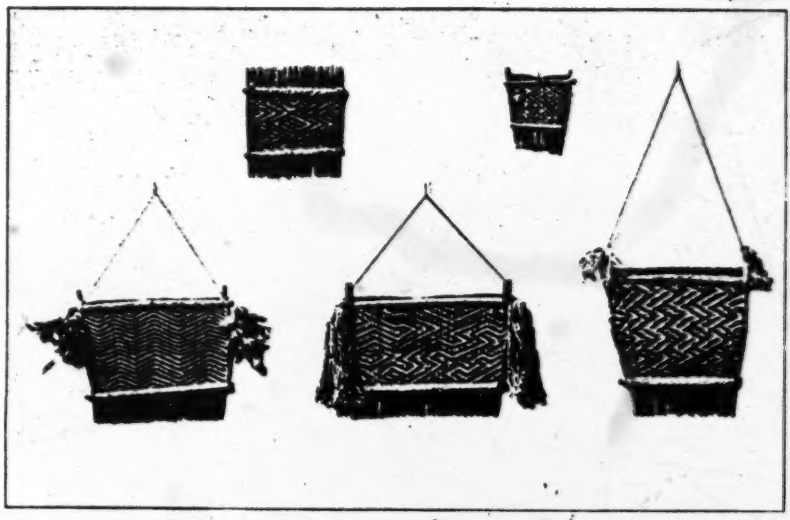
3. Flechtmuster: Hundsfisch.



4. Flechtmuster.

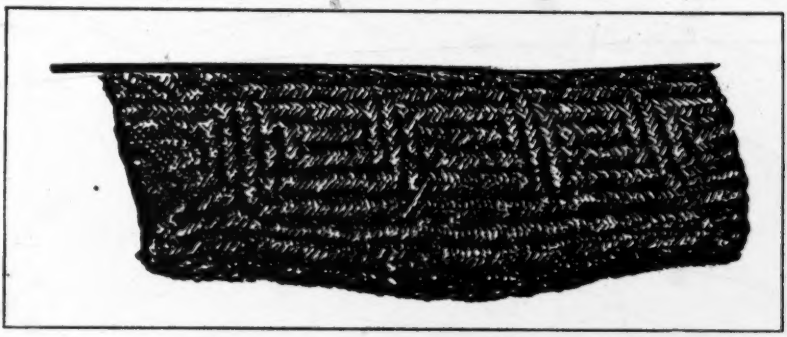
/Pl. 20 precedes p. 81. /

Tafel 21.

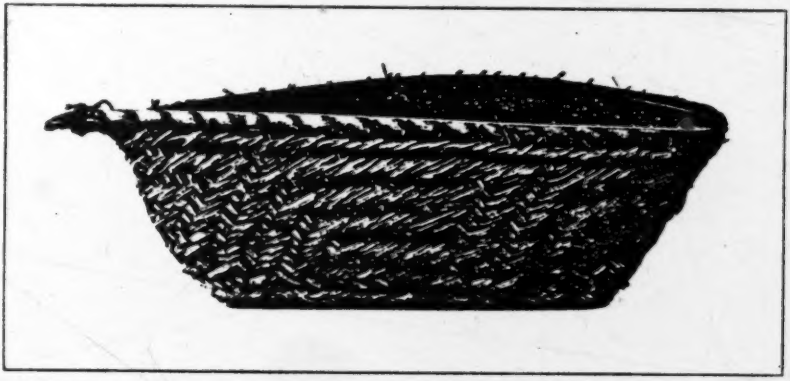


1

a e b d c



2



3

Geflechte der Karajá: 1 a-e: Kämme. 2. Fliegenwedel. 3. Länglicher Korb.

/Pl. 21 faces p. 84./

Tafel 22.

a. Reiter mit Gewehr.

b. Jüngling.

c. Jungfrau.

d. Jaburu.

e. Caracara.

f. Caracara.

g. Schwein.

h. Schildkröte.

i. Jaguar.

Wachsfiguren: Alle außer c (Šavajé) von den Karajá.

/Pl. 22 precedes p. 85./

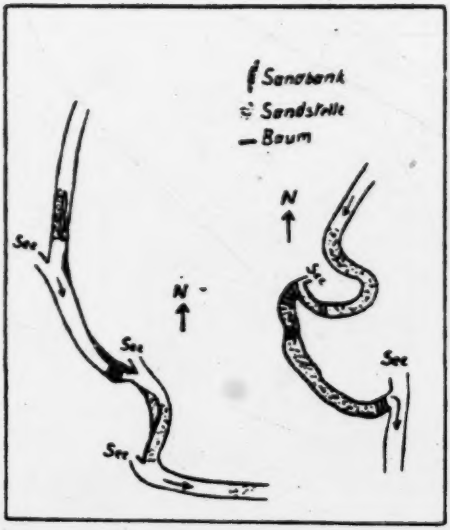


Abb. 4.
Trockene Flußstrecken neben und unterhalb von Seen. Tapirapéfluß.

/Ill. 4 appears on p. 117. /

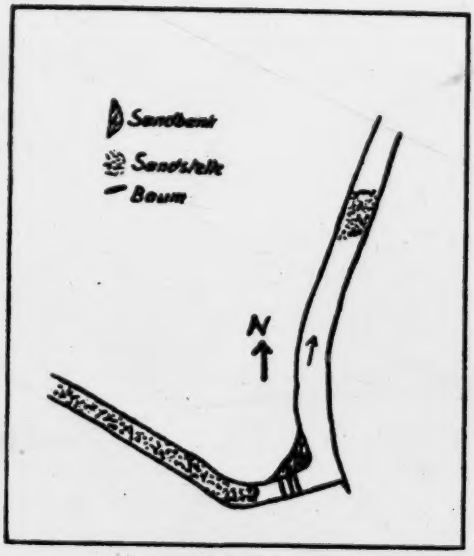


Abb. 5.
Kartenskizze des verlorenen Winkels.
Tapirapéfluß.

/Ill. 5 appears on p. 118./

Abb. 6.
Schilfkräuthäfige der Karajá. Rio Tépirapé. (Nach Photographie gezeichnet.)

[p. 119]

Tafel 28.

1. Erstes Baumhindernis im Tapirapéfluß.

2. Überwindung des Wasserfalles im Tapirapéfluß.

3. „Glattes" Fahrwasser im Oberlauf des Tapirapéflusses.

4. Meine Leute auf dem Marsche zu den Dörfern der Tapirapé.

/Pl. 28 faces p. 120./

Abb. 7.
Kartenskizze des Fischsees im Tapirap fluß.

/Ill. 7 appears on p. 122./

Tafel 29.

1. Durch Zaun abgesperrter See am Tapirapéfluß. Blick vom Seeende aus.

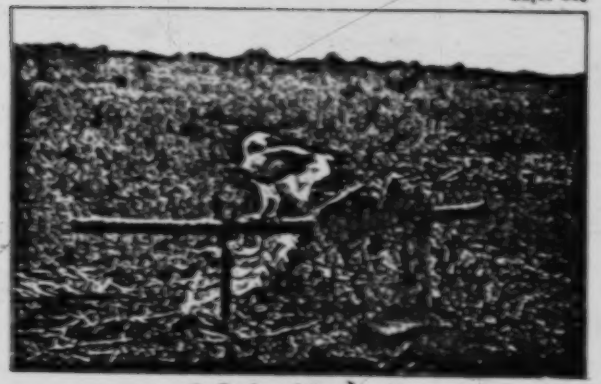
2. Bratroste der Tapirapé im Walde.

/Pl. 29 faces p. 124./

Abb. 2.
Baumfigur. Stellt die weiblichen Geschlechtsorgane der. Karajá.

[p. 135]

1. Häuser der Šavajé auf Bananal.



2. Dorfvogel der Šavajé.

3. Frauen und Kinder der Šavajé.

4. Männer und Jünglinge der Šavajé.

/Pl. 30 faces p. 136./

5: Krause

SP9 Caraja

Abb. 9.
Kanuschuppelle der Karajá. Inneres von Banana. (Nach Photographie gezeichnet.)

[p 136]

5:Krause SP9 Caraja

Abb. 10.
Herausforderungstanz der Tavajé zum Ringkampf. Rechts die Karajá. Dorn die beiden Wege, auf denen die Maxkeulenge stattfinden. Nach Photographie gezeichnet.

[P 138]

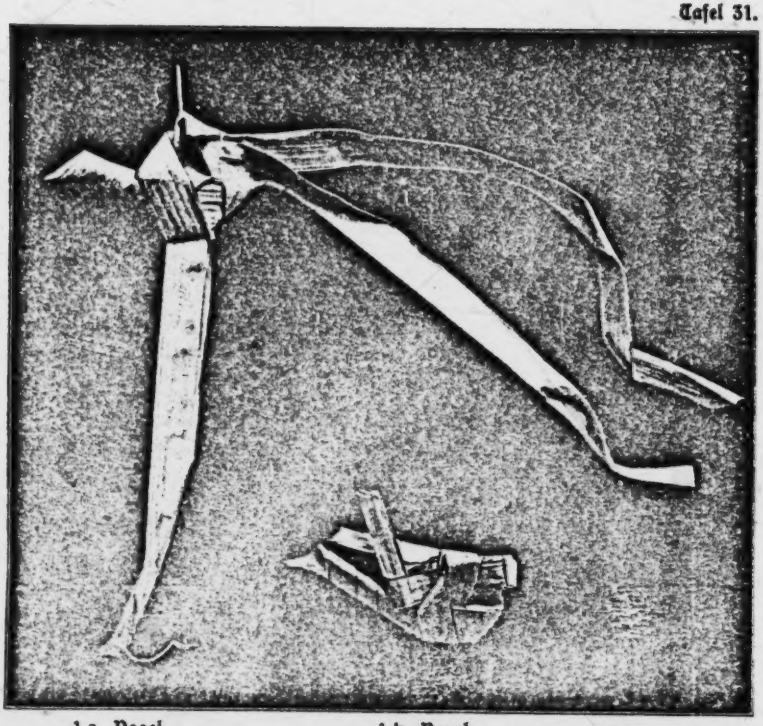
5:Krause

SP9 Caraja

[p. 139]

Abb. 11.
Ringkampf zwischen Karaja (rechts) und Šavaji (links). Nach Photographie gezeichnet.

Tafel 31.



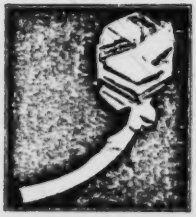
1 a. Vogel. 1 b. Vogel.

2. Tabakspfeife.

3

4

3. Bienenwabe.
4. Vexierfigur.



5. Bienenwaben.

6. Lippenpflock.

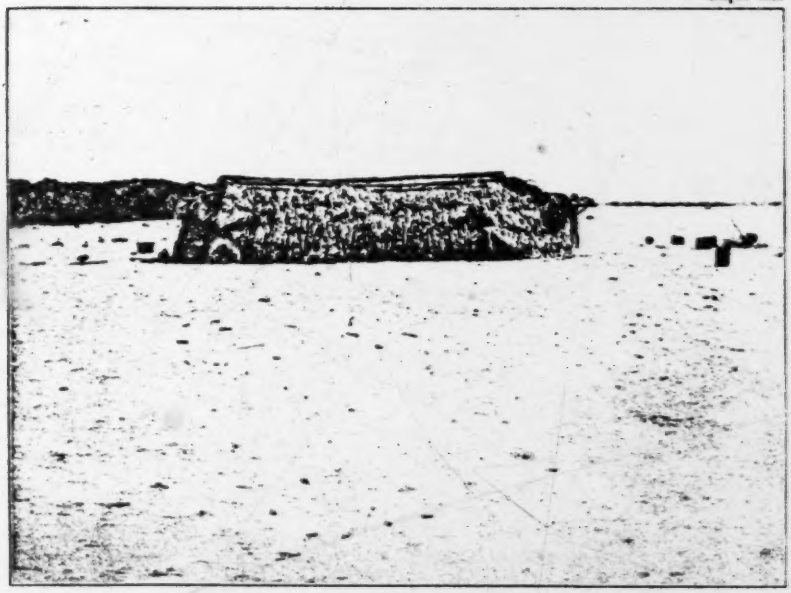
Blattflechtereien.

/Pl. 31 faces p. 140./

Abb. 12.
Pflanzung der Karajá auf Bananas. Nach Photographie gezeichnet.

[p. 145]

Tafel 32.



1. Übergangshütte: Doppelhütte mit Rundbauten. Karajá.

2. Eingang in den Rundbau.

/Pl. 32 faces p. 148. /

Tafel 33.

Knabenschmuck der Karajá:
Oben Federhelm, rechts und links Ohrtulpe mit Perlengehänge,
in der Mitte Halsgehänge mit Nackenquasten.

/Pl. 33 faces p. 152./

Abb. 13.
Skizzenbuchzeichnung: Mond mit Gebirgen (Kröte).

Abb. 14.
Skizzenbuchzeichnung: a) Plejaden (Periquittos); b) der Jaguar springt c), den Strauß (α und β Centauri) an.

[p. 153]

Abb. 15.
Tonpuppe: Karikatur der alten Großmutter. Karajá.

[p. 155]

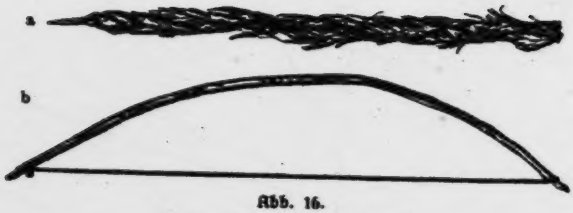


Abb. 16.
Zauberpfeil mit Bogen. Karajá.

[p. 156]

Tafel 34.

Tanzmastennachbildungen: a) Idjazómaste. b) Iadenimaste.

/Pl. 34 faces p. 160./

Tafel 35.

Tanzmastennachbildungen:

a) dja)henimaste,
b) idjazómaste,
c) ladenimaste.

b und c sind völlig aus Federn hergestellt.

/Pl. 35 faces p. 161./

Zweiter Teil.
Wissenschaftliche Ergebnisse.

[p. 171]

[p. 172 is blank]

Geschichtlicher Rückblick.

Der erste, von dem wir Nachrichten haben, daß er das Araguayagebiet besucht hat, ist der Capitão Diogo Pinto de Gaia, der im Jahre 1720 den Fluß von Pará aus aufwärts bis zur Südspitze von Bananal befuhr. Angeblich hat er dabei die ganze Insel Bananal gesehen[1].

Die erste Erwähnung der Karajá finden wir in dem Bericht über die Reise des Paulistaners Antonio Pires de Campos, die zwischen den Jahren 1718 und 1746 stattgefunden haben muß. Pires Campos reiste mit seinem Vater von Cuyaba aus den Rio das Mortes im Boot abwärts, befuhr dann den Araguaya nördlich bis zur Cachoeira von Itaboca, von deren Uferbergen aus sie im Westen die Gebirge der Araes sahen, wo das Gold in Buchblättern zu finden sei. Auf der Rückfahrt trafen sie oberhalb des Zusammenflusses mit dem Paraupebas[2] viele Indianer (Apinages?), besuchten die Martirios und hatten von da bis zur Ilha dos Carajás schlechte Fahrt[3]. Über den Rio das Mortes kehrten sie zu Lande nach Cuyaba zurück. Mit den hier zum ersten Male erwähnten Carajás scheinen die Sambioá gemeint zu sein[4]. Fonseca erwähnt in seinem aus dem Jahre 1775 datierten Bericht eine Reise des Antonio Pires de Campos, die vielleicht mit der hier genannten identisch ist. Sie fand einige zwanzig Jahre vor 1775 statt. Pires gelangte zu den Carajás; der Verkehr ließ sich zuerst friedlich an, bis Pires einen Überfall auf das Hauptdorf ausführte. In dem Blutbade wurden viele Indianer, auch Kinder gemordet, viele wurden als Sklaven hinweggeführt, um auf den Façenden als Arbeiter zu dienen[5].

Noch vor 1748 unternahm João de Godoy Pinto da Silveira eine Sklavenjagd in die Gebiete der südlichen Kayapó, hatte aber keinen Erfolg. Er brachte nur hundert Tapirapés (erste Erwähnung dieses Stammes?) mit, die indessen alle starben[6].

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[1] Morses Jardim, o Rio Araguaya, Dermeri; Ehrenreich, Beiträge zur Geographie, II, S. 149.

[2] Dem Tocantins, nach Rev. trim. 37, S. 263, Anm. 19.

[3] Die Stammnamen werden hier in der neu den betr. Autoren bezeugten Form wiedergegeben.

[4] Roteiro, que deu o capitão-Mor Antonio Pires de Campos ao capitão-Mor Luis Rodrigues Villares, procurador do povo da Villa Real do Senhor Bom Jesus de Cuyabá, para o descobrimento de grandes haveres para as aldêas dos gentios Arades. Rev. trim. 38, S. 140—144.

[5] Rev. trim. 8 (1846, 2. Ausgabe 1867), S. 377—378.

[6] Rev. trim. 12, S. 442; 37, S. 262, Anm. 18.

1772 unternahm José Machado eine militärische Expedition zu Lande von Trahiras aus nach dem Araguaya; es gelang ihm, in friedliche Beziehung zu den Carajás zu kommen, sonst aber blieb seine Expedition erfolglos[7].

1773 gelang es als erstem José Pinto da Fonseca, längere Zeit in friedlicher Berührung mit den Karajá zu bleiben. Seine große militärische Expedition scheint zu Lande nach dem Araguaya gekommen zu sein. An einem von ihm Coróa genannten Orte traf er die Carajásindianer (die eigentlichen Karajá). Die Stelle scheint am Ostarm des Araguaya ungefähr in der Mitte der Längserstreckung der Insel Bananal gelegen zu haben. Es gelang ihm, mit den Karajá in friedlichen Verkehr zu treten. Später kamen die Javaés (erste Erwähnung dieses Stammes) von der Insel Bananal, die von ihm Ilha de Santa Anna genannt wurde, zu Besuch. Nach einem ersten Kriegszuge gegen die feindlichen Chavantes wurde ein Schutzbündnis mit den Carajás geschlossen. Der Bericht schließt mit der Absicht, einen zweiten Zug gegen die Chavantes zu unternehmen. Weiteres ist nicht bekannt geworden. Er hörte von den Tapirapés, mit denen die Carajás in Frieden leben. Fonseca gibt in diesem Bericht die erste kulturelle Darstellung der Karajá; auf seine guten, noch heute zutreffenden Beobachtungen habe ich im nachfolgenden öfter verwiesen[8].

In den nächsten Jahren hatte die Regierung das Bestreben, die Indianer zu beruhigen, zu kultivieren, um dadurch die Bootsfahrt auf dem Araguaya zu gewährleisten. Zu diesem Zwecke zogen zwischen 1774—78 Antonio José Cabral de Almeida e Vasconcellos und José Pinto da Fonseca wiederum nach der Insel Santa Anna, legten hier eine Militärstation an, siedelten einige Kolonisten an und gründeten das Aldeamento Nova Beira für die Carajás und Javaés. Beide Gründungen wurden aber infolge von Krankheiten und Todesfällen bald wieder aufgegeben[9].

Nachdem diese Versuche mißlungen waren, versuchte man es mit einem anderen Prinzip. Man verpflanzte die Indianer in andere Gebiete, um durch diese Entvölkerung der Flußufer die Schiffahrt zu sichern. So wurden bis 1782 etwa 700 Karajá und Savajé aus dem Aldeamento Nova Beira nach São José de Mossamedes bei Goyaz, das 1775 gegründet worden war, gebracht, wo sie allmählich zugrunde gingen[10]. 1786 erhielt Miguel de Arrudo e Sá den Befehl, einen Kriegszug gegen die Chavantes und Javaés zu unternehmen und ein Dorf für die Unterworfenen zu bauen. In der Aldea de Pedro III (Carretão), 24 Leguas nördlich von Goyaz, siedelte er 3500 Indianer beider Stämme an, die aber fast alle den Masern er-

[7] Rev. trim. 12, S. 457; 37, S. 262, Anm. 84.

[8] Copia da carta, que o alferes José Pinto da Fonseca escreveu ao Exm. General de Goyanes, dando-lhe conta do descobrimento de duas nações de indios, dirigida do sitio onde porteu. 2. Agosto 1775. Rev. trim. 8 (1846, 2. Aufl. 1867), S. 378—390.

[9] Rev. trim. 12, S. 457—458; 37, S. 262—263, Anm. 84.

[10] Rev. trim. 12, S. 461; 37, S. 262.

lagen[11]. Die Überlebenden wurden 1788 nach der Aldea de Salinas (Boa Vista), fünf Leguas südöstlich von Piedade, gebracht; 1823 lebten dort noch 76 Indianer[12].

Es folgen nun eine Reihe von Expeditionen, die den Zweck haben, die Schiffahrt auf dem Araguaya zu ermöglichen, vor allem also einen Verkehr zwischen Goyaz und Pará ins Leben zu rufen.

1792—93 unternahm Thomaz de Souza Villa Real die erste Fahrt den Araguaya abwärts, von Goyaz bis Pará, durch den Ostarm von Bananal auf Kosten einiger an der Schiffahrt interessierten Kaufleute. Er gibt Nachricht von den Carajás (gemeint sind die Šambioá) und den Pinagés; auch traf er einige Carajás (wohl eigentliche Karajá) dicht unterhalb des Nordendes der Insel Bananal[13].

1793 befuhr er den Tocantins und Araguaya aufwärts bis zum untersten Dorf der Šambioá (von ihm Carajás genannt). Er erwähnt außerdem noch die Carajahi (erste Erwähnung dieses Namens) und Tapirasse[14].

Diese Expeditionen hatten einen geringen Bootsverkehr auf dem Araguaya zur Folge; als Hafenplatz für Goyaz diente ein Ort am Rio Vermelho oder am Rio de Peixe. Erschwerend wirkte, daß nur wenig Bootsmannschaft für solche Reisen vorhanden war, und daß es an Punkten fehlte, wo man sich unterwegs neu verproviantieren konnte.

Weitere Expeditionen folgten. 1800 reiste der neue Gouverneur von Goyaz, João Manoel de Menezes, von Pará aus den Araguaya aufwärts in seine neue Residenz[14]. 1804—1809 fanden 2—3 weitere Expeditionen statt zur Hebung der Schiffahrt auf dem Araguaya. Der Erfolg war nur gering; die wilden, durch keine Militärmacht gezähmten Indianerstämme und die Stromschnellen ließen eine Befahrung des Flusses zu gefährlich erscheinen[15]. Um wenigstens dem einen dieser Übel abzuhelfen, wurde zwischen 1809 und 1812 das Presidio de Santa Maria am oberen Beginn der Stromschnellenstrecke gegründet. Allerdings wurde es bereits 1813 von den vereinigten Carajás, Carajahis, Chavantes und Cherentes zerstört, um erst 1862 weiter oberhalb neu errichtet zu werden[16]. Auch ein weiterer Versuch, mit den Indianern in Frieden zu leben, mißglückte. Die Carajahis kamen nämlich nach Salinas, um sich den Brasilianern friedlich zu unterwerfen; infolge von Streitigkeiten, die dabei ausbrachen, zogen sie sich aber wieder in ihre Dörfer am Fluß zurück[17].

Von nun an hören alle Nachrichten aus diesem Gebiete auf. Die Brasilianer scheuten sich, die feindlichen Indianer aufzusuchen, und so nahmen

[11] Rev. trim. 37, S. 245; Rev. trim. 12, S. 462 spricht nur von Chavantes.

[12] Rev. trim. 37, S. 246.

[13] Viagem de Thomaz de Souza Villa Real pelos rios Tocantins, Araguaya e Vermelho: accompanhada de importantes documentos officiaes relativos á mesma navegação. Rev. trim. 9, S. 401—444; 37, S. 286.

[14] Rev. trim. 12, S. 463.

[15] Rev. trim. 12, S. 468.

[16] Rev. trim. 12, S. 470; 25, II, S. 91; 37, S. 362; 38, S. 18.

[17] Rev. trim. 12, S. 471.

mit der Zeit die Gerüchte über das feindliche Wesen der Karajá und Šambioá immer größere Dimensionen an. Nur ein paar gute Rückblicke auf diese erste Entdeckerzeit entstanden in diesen Jahren.

1812 schrieb Padre Luiz Antonio da Silva e Souza sein Werk: Memoria sobre o descobrimento, governo, população, e cousas mais notaveis da capitania de Goyaz, in dem er gute historische Nachrichten über sämtliche Forschungsreisen seit Entdeckung der Provinz gibt[18].

In dem zweiten großen Werke: Chorographia historica da Provincia de Goyaz, 1824, verarbeitete Raymundo José da Cunha Mattos alte Dokumente und brachte viele Nachrichten über die Indianer; doch kombiniert er zuweilen und verwirrt dadurch das Völkerbild. Nach ihm wohnen die Carajás in einem Dorf am Furo do Bananal und in drei Dörfern im Stromschnellengebiet (identisch mit unseren heutigen Šambioádörfern); sie verhindern die Durchfahrt durch den Furo. Die Carajahís wohnen am linken Ufer des Araguaya und erscheinen gelegentlich auf Bananal. Die Javaés auf Bananal sind fast ausgestorben, die Xambioás wohnen bald auf Bananal, bald am Flußufer, sie verhindern die Durchfahrt durch den Westarm des Araguaya. Außerdem erwähnt er noch, daß die Tapirapés gelegentlich die Insel Bananal besuchten[19].

Mehr Klarheit bringt erst wieder Castelnau im Jahre 1844. Dieser französische Forscher reiste von Goyaz zum Rio de Peixe, schiffte sich hier ein, befuhr diesen Fluß bis zur Mündung in den Araguaya, fuhr den Araguaya abwärts durch den östlichen Arm von Bananal, erreichte den Einfluß in den Tocantins und kehrte diesen Fluß aufwärtsfahrend nach Goyaz zurück. Er traf am Araguaya nur die Chambioá, von deren Kulturbesitz er eine Sammlung anlegte, die aber in einem Schiffbruch auf dem Tocantins verloren ging. Er beschrieb als erster das Maskenwesen dieser Indianer. Von den Carajás, Carajahís, Javahais und Tapirapés berichtet auch er nur Gehörtes[20].

Volle Klarheit aber verdanken wir erst der Expedition des Dr. Rufino Theotonio Segurado, der 1846/47 von Pará aus aufwärts fuhr. Er besuchte zuerst die Chambioás, die er für einen Stamm der Carajás erklärte, versuchte dann den Ostarm von Bananal emporzufahren, mußte das Vorhaben aber wegen zu großer Seichtheit des Flusses aufgeben, fuhr dann als erster Forscher den Westarm des Araguaya empor und besuchte die hier wohnenden Carajásindianer. Er dehnte seine Fahrt bis zum Rio Vermelho aus, den er elf Tage weit aufwärts befuhr, um dann Goyaz zu Lande zu erreichen. Ihm verdanken wir also die erste genauere Nachricht über die Wohnsitze der Karajá[21].

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[18] Rev. trim. 12 (2. Ser., 5), 1849, S. 429—510.

[19] Rev. trim. 37 und 38.

[20] F. de Castelnau, Expedition dans les parties centrales de l'Amerique du Sud. 1843—47. Paris 1850, Bd. 1 und 2. Derselbe, Vue et scenes. Paris 1858.

[21] Viagem de Goyaz ao Pará em 1846 e 1847, Roteiro do Dr. Rufino Theotonio Segurado. Rev. trim. 10 (2. Serie, Bd. 3), S. 178—212.

Den Bericht des Dr. Eduardo Olympio Machado aus dem Jahre 1850, den Moraes Jardim in der Einleitung seines Werkes: O Rio Araguaya erwähnt, habe ich leider nicht finden können.

Zur selben Zeit befand auf der Insel Bananal das Präsidio de Santa Izabel (jetzt Capoeira do Santa Izabel Velha); es wurde später nahe an die Mündung des Rio das Mortes verlegt (Santa Izabel do Morro, jetzt Karajáfriedhof), dann aber aufgehoben[32].

Die erste kurze neuere ethnographische Schilderung der Karajá verdanken wir Dr. Couto de Magalhães, der 1863 vom Rio Vermelho abwärts fuhr, den Ort São José gründete und die später eingegangene Aldea da Ekina, eine Legua nördlich von Salinas, besuchte, in der Chavantés und Carajás lebten[33].

In einem anderen Werke[34] berichtet er, daß die Chambioás, Carajás, Carajahís und Janoés eine Nation bilden und 7—8000 Seelen stark in 70—80 Dörfern längs des Rio Araguaya vom Furo bis Inxaipobas wohnen.

Derselbe gründete 1871 die Siedelung Dumbasinho mit dem Collegio Izabel, 2 Leguas unterhalb von Leopoldina auf dem Westufer (Leopoldina wurde 1852 gegründet), zwecks Erziehung und Ausbildung junger Indianer (Karajá, Kanapé und Tapirapé) zu Kolonisten. Das Collegio wurde Anfang der 90er Jahre aufgegeben.

Den nächsten ausführlichen Bericht über die Carajás lieferte Dr. Spinola, der 1879 Moraes Jardim auf dessen Araguayafahrt von Leopoldina bis Santa Maria, die zwecks Kartenaufnahme des Flusses unternommen wurde, begleitete. Seine Bemerkungen sind bis auf die über die Religion meist zutreffend[35].

Der Bericht über die Reise des Dr. Joaquim Leite Moraes, der 1892 in Goyaz erschien, ist mir leider nicht zugänglich gewesen.

Die ausführlichsten Nachrichten brachte erst Dr. Paul Ehrenreich, der 1888 im Anschluß an die zweite deutsche Xingu-Expedition von Goyaz den Araguaya abwärts nach Pará reiste. Den oberen, stromschnellenfreien Teil des Flusses befuhr er im Dampfer, so daß er von den Karajá, für die er den Namen Caranahi verwendet, nur einen flüchtigen Eindruck gewinnen konnte, der sich aber durch die dankenswerten Angaben des ihn begleitenden alten Karajá-Häuptlings Pedro Manco wesentlich vertiefen ließ. Eingehender konnte er die Sambioa studieren, deren Gebiet er im Ruderboot durchfuhr. Von den Nawahe und Tapirapé berichtet er nur Gehörtes. Seine ethno-

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[32] Moraes Jardim, O Rio Araguaya, Dermott.

[33] Viagem ao Araguaya. Goyaz 1863, S. 124 ff.

[34] Dr. C. Magalhães, Região e raças selvagens do Brasil. Rio de Janeiro 1874

[35] O Rio Araguaya. Relatorio da sua exploração pelo Major d'Engenheiros Joaquim R. de Moraes Jardim, precedido de um resumo historico sobre sua navegação pelo Tenente-Coronel d'Engenheiros Jeronimo R. de Moraes Jardim e seguido de um estudo sobre os Indios, que habitam suas margens pelo Dr. Aristides de Souza Spinola, presidente de Goyaz. Rio de Janeiro, 1880.

graphische Sammlung, auf die im Nachfolgenden öfter Bezug genommen ist, befindet sich im Berliner Museum für Völkerkunde[26].

Den nächsten kurzen Bericht verdanken wir Dr. A. Cavalcanti, der im Anschluß an die Forschungen zur Anlage einer neuen Hauptstadt für Brasilien den Araguaya von Leopoldina bis Santa Maria befuhr und dabei die Carajahi besuchte[27].

In der Regenzeit 1896/97 befuhr der französische Forscher Coudreau von Pará aus den Araguaya bis zur Mündung des Rio Tapirapé. Er besuchte die Chambioá und Carajás; auch hat er den Rio Tapirapé ein kleines Stück befahren. Seine Angaben sind jedoch nur wenig genau und geeignet, das ganze Bild, besonders am Tapirapé, völlig zu verwirren[28].

Seitdem sind wir ohne jegliche Nachricht aus diesem Gebiete geblieben; kein Forscher berichtete wieder über die Stämme am Araguaya. Inzwischen dehnte sich der Dampferverkehr weiter aus, neue brasilianische Ansiedelungen entstanden, so vor allem im Norden die Missionsstation Conceição unter den Kayapó. Anfang des 20. Jahrhunderts unternahm der Bischof von Goyaz in Begleitung des Dampferunternehmers Adolfo Guedes eine Fahrt auf dem Araguaya. Nach persönlicher Mitteilung des letzteren fuhren sie bei hohem Wasserstande den Ostarm von Bananal von Norden her aufwärts, trafen ein riesiges Dorf der Šavajé, landeten, mußten aber bei dem Widerstand der über die 70 bewaffneten Brasilianer erschrockenen zahlreichen Indianer rasch umkehren. Seitdem schwirrten die wildesten Gerüchte über die Feindseligkeit und die große Anzahl der Šavajé durchs Land.

So lagen die Verhältnisse, als ich 1908 den Araguaya bereiste. Ich befuhr ihn von Leopoldina bis Conceição, besuchte dabei die Karajá, unternahm Seitenmärsche zu den Kayapó bei Conceição und zu den Šavajé auf Bananal, und befuhr den Rio Tapirapé bis ins Quellgebiet, wo ich die verlassenen Dörfer der Tapirapé-Indianer antraf.

Anhangsweise mögen einige Mitteilungen darüber folgen, wie sich die Bezeichnungen der Stämme im Laufe der Zeit geändert haben.

Ich unterscheide folgende drei Horden der Karajá: die Šambioá in der Stromschnellenstrecke, die Šavajé auf der Insel Bananal, die eigentlichen Karajá am Araguaya, westlich und südlich von Bananal.

Die Šambioá werden von den ersten Entdeckern Carajás genannt (Antonio Pires de Campos 1746, Souza Villa Real 1792/93; auch Cunha Mattos benennt sie so in seiner Chorographia de Goyaz, 1824). Der Name

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[26] Er veröffentlichte über seine Reise folgende Werke: 1. Beiträge zur Geographie Zentralbrasiliens, in: Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin, Bd. 26, S. 167 bis 190; Bd. 27, S. 121–152. 2. Südamerikanische Stromfahrten, in Globus, Bd. 62 (1892). 3. Beiträge zur Völkerkunde Brasiliens. Veröffentlichungen aus dem königlichen Museum für Völkerkunde, Bd. 2, Heft 1 und 2. Berlin, Spemann 1891. 4. Anthropologische Studien über die Urbewohner Brasiliens. Braunschweig 1897.

[27] Commissão de Estudos da Nova Capital da União. Rio 1896. Relatorio do Dr. A. Cavalcanti.

[28] Voyage au Tocantins-Araguaya. Paris 1897.

Sambioá erscheint zum ersten Male bei Cunha Mattos für einen Stamm, der schweifend bald die Insel Bananal besucht, bald am Rio Cuyaba weilt und die Durchfahrt durch den Westarm des Araguaya versperrt[99]. Wie Cunha Mattos zu dieser eigenartigen Lokalisierung kommt, ist nicht bekannt. Genannt werden die jetzigen Šambioá mit diesem Namen zuerst von Castelnau 1844, dann Rufino 1846, Ehrenreich 1888. Dieser Name ist jetzt der allgemein gebräuchliche; nur Coudreau nennt sie wieder Carajá. Zur Unterscheidung von den anderen Horden ist dieser Name, der ihnen von den Karajá gegeben wird, beizubehalten.

Die Šavajé werden als Javaes und Javahes zum ersten Male von Fonseca 1773 erwähnt, der sie als Besuch bei den Karajá antraf. (Ob sie Pinto de Gaia erwähnt, ist mir nicht bekannt.) Seitdem sind sie unter diesem Namen bekannt geblieben. Sie werden wieder erwähnt von Vasconcellos-Fonseca 1774, Cunha Mattos 1824, Castelnau 1844, Spinola 1879, Ehrenreich 1888, Coudreau 1896/97, ohne daß einer von diesen außer dem ersten wieder mit ihnen in engere Berührung gekommen wäre.

Die Horde der eigentlichen Karajá wird zum ersten Male von José Machado, 1772, erwähnt und zwar unter dem Namen Carajás. Unter diesem Namen blieb sie weiterhin bekannt und wurde durch Fonseca und Vasconcellos 1773 und 1774 beschrieben. Danach wurde sie nicht wieder besucht; die Nachrichten über sie verwirren sich, besonders durch das Auftreten des Namens Carajahí für eine Horde, deren Sitze nicht genau zu lokalisieren sind. Als erster erwähnt die Carajahí Souza Villa Real 1793: sie hätten vier Häuptlinge. Völlig verwirren das Bild die Autoren der beiden großen historischen Werke aus dem Anfang des 19. Jahrhunderts. Silva e Souza berichtet (1812), daß die Carajá und Carajahí sieben Dörfer am Araguaya bewohnen, und daß die Carajahí nach Salinas kamen, um Frieden zu schließen, aber, da sie schlecht behandelt wurden, wieder in ihre Dörfer abzogen. Cunha Mattos teilt 1824 mit, daß die Carajás am Xuro und im Stromschnellengebiet (siehe unter Šambioá) leben, die Carajahís das linke Ufer des Araguaya bewohnen und nur gelegentlich auf die Insel Bananal kommen. Rev. trim. 37, Seite 363 berichtet er weiter, daß die Carajás nach Salinas kämen, um Eisengeräte zu erbetteln. Es ist aus diesen Nachrichten kein klares Bild über die Beziehungen zwischen Carajá, Carajahí und Šambioá zu gewinnen. Ebenso verwirrt bleibt das Bild nach Castelnaus Bericht (1844). Er teilt mit, daß die Carajás sich öfters zu Besuch in Salinas aufhalten, während die Carajahís am Westarm in drei bis vier Dörfern wohnen. Klarheit bringt endlich Rufino 1846/47, der als erster wieder den Westarm befährt. Er nennt die hier in neun Dörfern wohnenden Indianer Carajás, stellt also den alten Namen wieder her, während er den Namen Carajahí nicht erwähnt. Von da an werden sie allgemein wieder Carajás genannt, so von Magalhães 1863, Spinola 1879; doch erwähnt Magalhães 1874 neben Carajás und Chambioás auch Carajahís, ohne daß deren gegen-

[99] Rev. trim. 37, S. 398; 38, S. 20.

1. Drei Karajámänner.

2. Jüngling, Knabe, Mann. Karajá.

facing p. 180

5:Krause

SP9 Caraja

seitiges Verhältnis klar wird. Ehrenreich bringt 1888 den Namen Caranahí für alle Karajáindianer am Araguaya, westlich und südlich der Insel Bananal auf, und Cavalcanti (1895) schließt sich ihm darin an; doch ist dieser Name in Brasilien nicht gebräuchlich geworden. Coudreau (1896) nennt sie wieder Carajás, und auch ich sehe mich genötigt, diesen Namen und zwar in der Schreibart Karajá beizubehalten. Ich habe mehrfach die Indianer nach dem Namen Caranahí gefragt, stets gaben sie an, ihn nicht zu kennen. Sie selbst nennen sich nur Karajá, und auch bei der brasilianischen Bevölkerung werden sie nur mit diesem Namen benannt.

Ich gebe zu, daß der Name Caranahí für die Unterscheidung dieser Horde vom Gesamtstamm der Karajá sehr praktisch ist, und daß es zuweilen umständlicher Auseinandersetzungen bedarf, um klar zu stellen, ob man unter Karajá den ganzen Stamm oder nur die südliche Gruppe meint; aber man soll sich doch meiner Meinung nach lieber der geringen Mühe unterziehen, mit ein paar Worten mehr diese Klarstellung zu geben, als daß man einen nicht existierenden Namen verwendet.

I. Die Karajá.

1. Anthropologisches.

Direkte anthropologische Messungen wurden von mir nur in bezug auf Größe und Hautfarbe angestellt. Alle übrigen Angaben beruhen auf Beobachtungen oder sind dem Studium der von mir aufgenommenen Photographien entnommen. Zum Vergleich benutzte ich Ehrenreich, Anthropologische Studien über die Urbewohner Brasiliens, Braunschweig 1897.

Größe. Ehrenreich gibt (Seite 108) als durchschnittliche Körpergröße der Männer der Caranahí 168,2, der Frauen 152,8 cm an; die Frauen sind also nach seinen Messungen bedeutend (15,4 cm) kleiner als die Männer. Im allgemeinen stimmt dieses Verhältnis, doch ergeben sich im einzelnen wesentliche Abweichungen.

Die Südhorde scheint im ganzen größer zu sein als die Nordhorde; es ist dies wohl der Beimischung von Šavajéblut zuzuschreiben; zeichnen sich doch die Šavajé durch höheren Wuchs vor den Karajá aus. In der Südhorde gab es viele Männer, die gleich groß waren, und einige, die etwas größer waren als ich (ich maß barfuß 167 cm), doch mochten die Längsten 170 cm nicht überschreiten. Als Mittel kann man wohl für die Südhorde 166 cm annehmen. Auch die Frauen der Südhorde waren z. T. recht groß, sie blieben aber im allgemeinen in demselben Verhältnis hinter den Männern zurück wie in der Nordhorde.

Bei dieser gab es niemanden, der mich an Größe überragte, und nur wenige, die mir gleich kamen, und derartig lange Gestalten waren sehr selten (Tafel 37, Abb. 1). Die überwiegende Mehrheit der Männer war wesentlich kleiner als ich, im Durchschnitt mögen sie 160—162 cm groß sein. Ihre Länge schwankt um eine halbe Kopfhöhe. Wesentlich kleiner sind

die Frauen, sie bleiben hinter den Männern etwa eine halbe Kopfhöhe zurück, für sie würde also Ehrenreichs Mittel anzunehmen sein (Tafel 17).

Daneben gibt es aber nun Volkselemente, die man direkt als kleinwüchsig bezeichnen muß. Man vergleiche die beiden kleinen Jünglinge auf Abbildung 1 in Tafel 37, die einen ganzen Kopf hinter den längsten (diese sind etwa 165 cm hoch) zurückbleiben, so daß sie dem Pygmäenmaß (140—145 cm) nahe kommen. Dasselbe gilt für zwei andere Jünglinge auf Tafel 44, Abb. 1. Ganz auffällig ist die Erscheinung der Zwergfrau auf Tafel 17, die dem neben ihr stehenden Mann, der etwa 164 cm groß ist, gerade bis an die Schultern reicht. Derartig kleine, aber völlig ausgewachsene Personen habe ich bei der Nordhorde vielfach angetroffen (vergleiche auch die Xavajé), während sie bei der Südhorde von mir nicht beobachtet wurden. Vielleicht liegt hier ein Einfluß fremder Stämme (Tapirapé, Kayapó, Canoeiros) usw. vor.

Von Gestalt sind die Indianer, Männer wie Frauen, gut proportioniert, und sie gehören wohl mit zu den bestgebauten Indianerstämmen überhaupt. Man kann sie als mittelgroße kräftige Gestalten bezeichnen. Störend wirkt für uns die stellenweise athletische Entwickelung ihrer Muskulatur, die wohl auf das Rudern, das Stampfen des Maises im Mörser und andere Ursachen zurückzuführen ist.

Der Kopf ist hoch und lang gebaut, das Gesicht ist oval, besonders bei jugendlichen Personen (Tafel 17; Tafel 38, Abb. 1; Tafel 42, Abb. 2; Tafel 44, Abb. 2). Die Stirn steigt gerade auf und ist genügend hoch; nur erscheint sie im allgemeinen niedrig durch die bis in die Augen heruntergekämmten Haare. Augenbrauenwülste sind nur gering entwickelt, die Lidspalte ist schlitzförmig (Tafel 14); mandelförmige Augen, wie Ehrenreich angibt, sind relativ selten. Die Iris ist dunkelbraun. Die Nasenwurzel ist meist stark vertieft; der Rücken tritt kräftig hervor und verläuft gerade; die Flügel sind sehr breit und meist geschweift, so daß die Nasenlöcher von vorn etwas sichtbar werden. Charakteristisch ist die hängende gebogene Nasenspitze. Der Mund ist breit, die Lippen sind voll und geschwungen, die Zähne durchgehends gut; nur alte Leute weisen viele Zahnlücken infolge Ausfallens der Zähne auf. Kinder zeigen Progenie, doch verliert sich anscheinend diese Eigenschaft in späteren Jahren (Tafel 12, Abb. 2; Tafel 42, Abb. 3). Das Kinn ist breit und tritt wenig hervor. Die Ohren konnten wegen der langen Haare nicht beobachtet werden. Ehrenreich (S. 82, 94, 96) glaubt bei den Karajá einen einheitlichen Gesichtstypus gefunden zu haben und zwar eine edlere Form, während die übrigen, wie Sambioá usw., daneben noch einen rohen Typus aufweisen. Ich habe gefunden, daß auch bei den Karajá mehrere Gesichtstypen auftreten, und zwar neben dem edleren und einem roheren noch ein dritter, völlig fremd anmutender, der nur in den großen Dörfern von der Tapirapémündung an nordwärts besonders bei Frauen zu finden war, allerdings auch da nur selten. Leider konnte ich keine dieser Frauen photographieren.

Die Schultern erscheinen mir bei Männern und Frauen im allgemeinen

normal entwickelt, doch gibt es eine ganze Anzahl Personen meist männlichen Geschlechtes, bei denen sie auffallend stark ausgebildet sind, und zwar nicht nur bei Männern (Tafel 36; Tafel 38, Abb. 1), sondern auch bei Jünglingen und Knaben (Tafel 44, Abb. 1; Tafel 49, Abb. 1). Wahrscheinlich ist diese gewaltige Breitenentwickelung der Knochen des Schultergürtels und der daran befestigten Muskeln, besonders des Latissimus dorsi (Tafel 15, Abb. 4a), eine Folge des Ruderns. Eigentlich schmalschultrige Leute habe ich nur wenige gesehen, entgegen Ehrenreich, der (S. 118) die Karajá als von geringer Schulterbreite und grazilem Körperbau beschreibt. Doch muß ich ihm recht geben in der Mitteilung, daß die Frauen ganz allgemein den Männern an Schulterbreite nachstehen und zwar ganz bedeutend.

Der Brustkorb ist gut gewölbt bei Männern und Frauen. Man muß die Indianer, wie Ehrenreich es (S. 119) tut, als weitbrüstig bezeichnen (Tafel 16; Tafel 36; Tafel 43, Abb. 3). Dazu kommt bei den Männern noch die kolossale Ausbildung der Brustmuskulatur, besonders des Pectoralis major (Tafel 15, Abb. 3; Tafel 43, Abb. 2), um im Verein mit der kräftigen Schultermuskulatur der oberen Körperhälfte das völlige Übergewicht über die untere zu verschaffen. Diese starke Ausbildung bewirkt zunächst ein Hervortreten der Brüste, die bei einigen Männern frauenähnliche Gestalt annehmen (Tafel 36), und die Entstehung einer grabenförmigen Vertiefung zwischen den Ansatzstellen der Brustmuskeln am Brustbein (Tafel 14, Abb. 3). Die Brüste der Frauen entwickeln sich anscheinend nur langsam; so hat die Jungfrau (Tafel 16) noch nicht völlig entwickelte Brüste. In der Jugend weisen sie straffe Formen auf (Tafel 16; Tafel 17), während sie nach Geburten bald hängend werden (Tafel 37, Abb. 2; Tafel 42, Abb. 1) und im Alter schlaff herabhängen (Tafel 11, Abb. 4). Der Form nach gibt es halbkugelige und konische, selten sind tellerförmige. Der Warzenhof ist meist prominent (Tafel 17; Tafel 42, Abb. 1).

Stark aufgetriebene Leiber, wahrscheinlich eine Folge der überwiegenden Pflanzennahrung, sind nichts Seltenes, besonders beim männlichen Geschlecht; fast durchgängig haben Kinder beiderlei Geschlechts trommelartig aufgetriebenen Leib (Tafel 11, Abb. 4; Tafel 12, Abb. 2; Tafel 43, Abb. 2; Tafel 51, Abb. 2). Die Muskulatur des Leibes ist bei den Männern meist so gut entwickelt, daß ihre einzelnen Teile unter der Haut sichtbar werden (Taf. 36; 38, Abb. 1). Das Becken ist schmal; besonders Mädchen und Jungfrauen haben Becken, die in der Breite nicht über die des männlichen Geschlechtes hinausgehen, und auch die der Frauen sind nicht wesentlich breiter als die der Männer. Das von mir beobachtete auffallend breite Becken einer Frau ist eine Ausnahme, entgegen Ehrenreich, der sie als in die Breite gehende Figuren bezeichnet[1]. Mit dieser geringen Breitenentwickelung des Beckens geht das fast völlige Fehlen einer Taille Hand in Hand (Tafel 16; 17; 42, Abb. 1), die nur bei Frauen zuweilen deutlich vorhanden ist

[1] S. 119. S. 101 bezeichnet er aber die Hüften der Frauen als relativ schmal.

(Tafel 42. Abb. 3). Dem männlichen Geschlecht eigentümlich ist die oft stark hervortretende Leistenlinie (Tafel 36; 44, Abb. 1).

Die Fettpolster über den Glutäen sind im allgemeinen normal. Wo sie kräftiger entwickelt sind (Tafel 16), tritt die Anhäufung des Fettes mehr in den unteren Teilen auf. Ein kräftig ausgebildetes Fettpolster gehört zum Schönheitsideal der Indianer.

Die Arme. Was die Länge von Ober- und Unterarm anlangt, so erscheint der Oberarm dem unsrigen proportioniert zu sein; der Unterarm hingegen erscheint im Verhältnis zum Oberarm lang (Tafel 43, Abb. 1), und das weibliche Geschlecht hat verhältnismäßig längere Unterarme als das männliche (Tafel 17). Die Muskulatur des Oberarmes ist bei den Männern außerordentlich kräftig entwickelt (Tafel 15, Abb. 1; 36; 43, Abb. 3), bei den Jünglingen und Knaben, sowie beim weiblichen Geschlecht dagegen ist sie nur gering ausgebildet, so daß man diese als dünnarmig bezeichnen muß (Tafel 11, Abb. 4; 17; 38, Abb. 2; 47, Abb. 2). Ganz offenbar ist die starke Entwickelung bei den verheirateten Männern die Folge des Ruderns und des Baumfällens in der Pflanzung. Am Unterarm fällt bei den erwachsenen Männern die stärkere Entwickelung des inneren Muskels (nach dem Ellbogen zu) auf (Tafel 36, Abb. 1; 49, Abb. 1), bei den Frauen dagegen ist der äußere Muskel stärker ausgebildet (Tafel 17). Hände und Finger sind im Verhältnis zu unseren klein.

Die Beine. Die Frauen haben im Vergleich zu den Männern kürzere Beine, während das Verhältnis von Ober- zu Unterschenkel bei beiden Geschlechtern nicht wesentlich verschieden ist. Die Beine sind im allgemeinen, besonders in der Jugend, grazil. Doch treten dabei die einzelnen Muskelbäuche am Oberschenkel relativ stark unter der Haut hervor (Tafel 44, Abb. 1). Eine weitere Erscheinung ist auf die Kinder und die Jugend beschränkt, in späteren Jahren geht sie allmählich zurück und ist nur noch selten sichtbar. Es handelt sich um ein auch bei unseren Kindern häufiges starkes Hervortreten der Hautpartien an der Innenseite des Oberschenkels oberhalb des Kniegelenkes, wohl eine Folge der Erschlaffung der Gelenkkapseln des Kniegelenkes, die wahrscheinlich bewirkt ist durch den starken Druck der als Abzeichen der Ledigen getragenen Wadenbänder aus Baumwolle, die direkt am Körper angehäkelt werden und erst, wenn sie zu eng geworden sind und stark ins Bein einschneiden, abgeschnitten und erneuert werden (Tafel 11, Abb. 4; 12, Abb. 2; 38; 42, Abb. 1; 43, Abb. 1; 44, Abb. 1). Dies starke Hervorquellen der Teile über dem Knie wird besonders bei den Tonpuppen dargestellt und gilt anscheinend als schön (Tafel 8). Die Beine waren stets gerade gewachsen; X-Beine habe ich nie gesehen, O-Beine, und zwar gebogene Unterschenkel, wiesen nur zwei Männer auf (Tafel 15, Abb. 4[b] und Pedro). Die Fesseln sind schmal[1]; der Fuß ist durchgehends gedrungen und gut gebildet. Die Haltung der Füße ist wie bei uns auswärts, was auf den Abbildungen ersichtlich ist, und nur selten ein-

[1] Siehe unter Abzeichenschmuck: Waden- und Knöchelbänder.

Tafel 37.

1. Jünglinge der Karaj.

2. Frauen und Kinder der Karajá.

[Facing p. 184]

wärts (Tafel 16; 42, Abb. 3; vgl. Ehrenreich S. 101). Beim Gehen werden sie ebenfalls auswärts gestellt. Die oft berichtete Art des Gehens, daß nämlich auf den schmalen Pfaden Fuß vor Fuß gesetzt werde, habe ich nie beobachtet, trotzdem ich tagelang, hinter verschiedenen Indianern auf schmalen Indianerpfaden einhergehend, Studien darüber betrieben habe. Nur wenn ein Grasbüschel die Zehen störte, wurden diese nach innen gewendet. Ehrenreich gibt an, daß die zweite Zehe die längste sei (S. 101) und die fünfte auffällig zurücktrete (S. 104). Über die letzte habe ich nichts beobachtet, verschiedentlich fand ich aber, daß die große Zehe wesentlich kürzer war als die zweite Zehe, wie es ja auch Steinen am Xingu beobachtet hat. Die große Zehe kann weit abgespreizt werden. Offenbar müssen große individuelle Unterschiede in der Fußbildung vorkommen; denn die Indianer erkennen an der Form der Fußabdrücke im Sande (die wohl auch von der verschiedenen Art des Auftretens abhängig ist) mit Sicherheit den Besitzer des Fußes.

Die Körper der Indianer machen durchgehends einen wohlgenährten Eindruck. Schon oben (S. 182) wurde bemerkt, daß trommelartig aufgetriebener Leib bei Kindern die Regel ist, wobei der übrige Körper aber durchaus keinen schwachen Eindruck macht. Sehr stark genährte Personen (Tafel 44, Abb. 1) gelten als Ideal der Indianer. Schlecht genährte, direkt abgemagerte Personen sind selten (Tafel 37, Abb. 1, der längste). Bei weitem überwiegen abgemagerte Frauen, und zwar tritt diese starke Abmagerung meist im Alter ein. In Dorf 5 und 27 sah ich einige uralte Leute, die fast zum Skelett abgemagert waren (siehe auch Ehrenreich, Seite 104).

Die gute Ernährung gibt den Indianern gute Kräfte, die durch Rudern, Arbeit in der Pflanzung und Übung im Ringkämpfen gestählt werden, so daß auch junge Leute mit gering entwickelter Armmuskulatur doch im Rudern äußerst ausdauernd sind und im Ringkampf oft überraschend gut abschneiden.

Die Geschlechtsteile sind nur bei den Männern sichtbar. Die Vorhaut des Penis wird vor der Eichel mit einem Baumwollfaden rollenartig umwickelt; der Penis liegt dadurch kugelförmig innerhalb der Haut, verkürzt, so daß der ganze männliche Geschlechtsteil im Verein mit den durch den Hodensack hindurch sichtbaren Hoden einen dreikugeligen Anblick gewährt (Tafel 36; 38, Abb. 2; 43, Abb. 1 und 3; 49, Abb. 1).

Die Haut ist dünn und zart und fühlt sich sehr weich an, echte Tropenhaut, wie sie ja auch die Weißen in den Tropen besitzen. Einen gewissen Anteil daran mag auch das Einölen der Haut haben. Die Hautfarbe ist schwer zu bestimmen, da die Indianer meist bemalt oder sogar mit einem vollkommenen Ölfarbenanstrich herumlaufen. Die heiße Sonne, die auf den Sandbänken besonders prall scheint, verbrennt die ihr am meisten ausgesetzten Teile, wie Oberarm, Brust, Schultern, Bauch und Oberschenkel, so daß hier die Haut wesentlich dunkler ist (Nr. 26—28 der Martinschen Tafel, mit einem Stich ins Violette) als an den geschützteren Körperstellen, wie Innenseite der Oberarme u. a. (Nr. 25). Die Wangen sind auffällig hell, meist

nur Nr. 21, und bei vielen direkt fahl, gelblich (Nr. 18—19). Ob dies auf krankhafte Zustände zurückgeht, vermag ich nicht zu sagen; häufig war die Erscheinung besonders bei jungen Leuten und Mädchen. Die eigentliche Hautfarbe kommt erst unter den Baumwollbinden zum Vorschein, vor allem unter den Wadenbändern; da beträgt sie Nr. 17. Sehr hell, fast wie bei uns, sind Handflächen (Nr. 13—15) und Fußsohlen (Nr. 10—16). Die Frauen erschienen oft heller als die Männer, gewiß eine Folge davon, daß sie mehr im Schatten der Häuser leben und bei Ausgängen meist ihre Netzdecken umnehmen. Auch meine indianischen Ruderer nahmen unter der Kleidung im Laufe der Monate eine hellere Färbung an. Albinos habe ich nicht gesehen. Das Ideal der Karajáindianer ist eine möglichst helle Haut; meine weiße Hautfarbe schätzten sie ganz besonders, sie wollten gern selbst ganz weiß sein (vgl. Rolle des Weißen in den Sagen).

Ein besonderer Körpergeruch ist den Indianern wohl eigen; er ist ziemlich stark und uns unangenehm. Doch läßt sich nicht sagen, wieviel davon auf Kosten des ranzig werdenden Öles auf der Haut und im Haar kommt.

Das Haar. Das Kopfhaar ist im allgemeinen schlicht; lang herabfallendes Haar wird aber, wenn es lange nicht ausgekämmt ist, bei Männern und Frauen wellig (Tafel 17; 36; 42, Abb. 1 und 3). Ist es frisch gekämmt und eingeölt, so hängt es natürlich glatt herab. Lockenbildung ist verhältnismäßig häufig; an Männern beobachtete ich sie zehnmal, bei Frauen dagegen nur viermal (Tafel 11, Abb. 4; 38, Abb. 1; 44, Abb. 2). Die Farbe des Haares ist schwarz, mit einem rötlichen Schimmer bei schrägeinfallendem Lichte. Barthaar ist spärlich und wird ausgerupft. Achselhaar ist vorhanden, wenn auch wenig kräftig; es wird teils ausgerissen, teils stehen gelassen. Das Schamhaar ist beim männlichen Geschlecht kräftig entwickelt; es reicht nicht wesentlich über den Schambeinknochen hinauf und wird nicht beseitigt. Das feine Hauthaar des übrigen Körpers konnte ich bei den Indianern nicht beobachten; ihre Haut ist völlig glatt. Sie waren im Gegenteil erstaunt, bei mir auf Armen, Hand und Finger Haare zu sehen, deren weißer Schimmer auf der sonnenverbrannten Haut allerdings eigentümlich genug aussah. Augenbrauen und Wimpern werden ausgerupft.

Krankhafte Bildungen am Körper waren nur selten zu beobachten, Nabelbrüche habe ich nur einen bei einem Knaben von etwa 12 Jahren gesehen. Häuptling Itk litt offenbar an einem Leistenbruch (Tafel 36, Abb. 1 und 2, rechts). Die Zeichen überstandener Schwangerschaft waren am Leib in geringerer Weise als an der Brust bemerkbar.

Das Allgemeinbild der Karajá ist also folgendes: Klein bis mittelgroß, braunfarbig, mit schlichtem, zuweilen lockigem Haar; breitschultrige, weitbrüstige, schmalhüftige Gestalten mit langen Unterarmen und kurzen Händen und Füßen. Gutgenährte, äußerst muskulöse Menschen. Die Frauen bleiben in jeder Hinsicht hinter den Männern zurück.

2. Wohnsitz, Gliederung, Zahl.

Ein großes Indianervolk, das der Karajá, bewohnt die Ufer des Araguaya von 15¼—7° s. Br. Es gliedert sich in die drei Stämme der Šambioá, Šavajé und Karajá. Die Šambioá bewohnen die Stromschnellenstrecke zwischen 7 und 8° s. Breite., die Šavajé den mittleren Teil der Flußinsel Bananal, zwischen 11 und 12° s. Br., während die Siedelungen der eigentlichen Karajá sich am stromschnellenfreien Laufe des Flusses von 10° 12′ bis 15° 15′ s. Br. hinziehen.

Anscheinend gibt es abseits vom Flußtal hausende Karajá. Die erste Deutsche Xinguexpedition traf am unteren Xingu im Gebiete der Yuruna allenthalben auf Spuren von Kämpfen mit fremden Indianern, die von den Yuruna mit dem Namen Karajá belegt wurden. Die mitgebrachten Gegenstände, die die Yuruna als von den Karajá stammend bezeichneten, und die sich im Museum für Völkerkunde zu Berlin befinden, weisen eine Kultur auf, die Anklänge an die der Karajá und die der Kayapó zeigt[1]. Sie könnten also wohl einem abgesprengten Karajástamm angehören, dessen Kultur durch seinen Aufenthalt unter Kayapóstämmen abgewandelt, der der Kayapó angeähnelt wurde. Der Stamm der eigentlichen Karajá wußte nach meinen Nachforschungen nichts von Stammesbrüdern am Xingu. Erst unterhalb von Santa Maria erfuhr ich von einem brasilianischen Ansiedler, der mit den Verhältnissen der Šambioá vertraut zu sein schien, daß man sich die Abzweigung der Xingu-Karajá folgendermaßen erzähle: Ein Šambioáhäuptling (Roca?; vgl. Coudreau, S. 123) raubte eine weiße Frau; sein Sohn verliebte sich in sie und wollte sie dem Vater abspenstig machen. Es kam zum Streite, in dem der Vater sich als der schwächere erwies, so daß er mit seinem Anhang wegziehen mußte; er wandte sich nach Westen zum Xingu hinüber. Wieviel von dieser Erzählung glaubwürdig ist, entzieht sich noch unserer Kenntnis. Sie zeigt jedenfalls, daß die Xingu-Karajá in engere Verbindung mit den Šambioá als mit den Karajá gebracht werden; im Hinblick auf die geographischen Verhältnisse und auf die obigen Ausführungen über die Keulengriffe eine wohl annehmbare Ansicht.

Im Quellgebiet des Xingu hörte die zweite deutsche Xinguexpedition von einem Stamme der Arumá. Gegenstände dieses Stammes, die bei anderen Stämmen erworben wurden, weisen die gleiche Mittelstellung zwischen Karajá- und Kayapókultur auf[2]. Sie gehören also der gleichen ethnogra-

[1] Die Keulen Nr. 1596 und 1597 haben Griffe, die denen der Šambioákeulen und Ruder (3979, e, d) ähnlich sind. Die Keule 1597 ist wiederum der von Herrmann Meyer von den Kayapó des Paranayuba mitgebrachten (4466) ähnlich, dagegen völlig verschieden von meinen Kayapó- und Karajákeulen, deren Griffe denen der Šavajé und anderen der Šambioá (3983) gleich sind. Das Diadem 1595 ist identisch einem von Ehrenreich mitgebrachten Karajádiadem, sowie zwei meiner Kayapódiademe. Der Pfeil 1598 ist den Ehrenreichschen Karajápfeilen gleich. — Die Nummern der Gegenstände beziehen sich auf den Berliner Katalog.

[2] Die vier Pfeile, Berlin 3874a—d, haben zum Teil neue Schäfte mit der Bakairifiederung erhalten; die alten Schäfte jedoch weisen Spuren einer Fiederung auf, die der

phischen Provinz wie die Karajá an. Nun spricht Meyer[1] die Arumá für Karaiben (Bakairí-Apiaká) an. Vielleicht geht der Kulturwandel gegen die Bakairí auf die Einwirkung von Šavajé zurück. Nach Aussagen der Karajá haben sich nämlich vor etwa 20—30 Jahren die Šavajé an der Barreira de Santa Izabel Velha genannten Stelle geteilt; ein Teil blieb auf Bananal wohnen, der andere zog nach Westen über den Araguaya hinüber und ist seitdem verschollen. Vielleicht hat sich dieser Teil der Šavajé nach Südwesten zum Xingu hinüber begeben und auf die dortigen Kulturen in der angegebenen Weise eingewirkt.

Von den oben genannten drei Stämmen habe ich die Šavajé kurz, die Karajá in langdauerndem Aufenthalte studiert.

Die eigentlichen Karajá[2]. Sie nennen sich selbst: kärajá, kärädjá oder auch krädjá. Daneben wurde auch iná und Inaũjá als Selbstbezeichnung angegeben. Von den Brasilianern werden sie Karaỹá genannt. Bei den Šavajé heißen sie nach ihrer eigenen Angabe šuśömädó oder börêhökuwändú, bei den Cherénte wäräšütörö. Sie bewohnen den Mittellauf des Araguaya, gegenwärtig von 15° 15′ bis 10° 12′ s. Br.; ihre Grenzpunkte sind also im Süden die Mündung des Rio Vermelho, im Norden eine Stelle zwischen dem Nordende der Insel Bananal und Santa Anna; nur gelegentlich unternehmen sie Handelsfahrten bis Santa Maria und Conceição. Im allgemeinen sind sie auf die Ufer des Stromes und dessen nächstes Hinterland beschränkt, und zwar bewohnen sie beide Ufer gleichmäßig; von der durch die Furcht vor Feinden entstandenen Gewohnheit, das westliche Ufer zu meiden[3], kann jetzt wenigstens keine Rede mehr sein. Ihre Fisch- und Handelszüge dehnen sie auch seitwärts über große Strecken aus. Im Osten besuchen sie die Šavajé im Innern von Bananal, vermeiden es aber, in kleiner Anzahl dahin zu gehen. Im Westen befahren sie die großen Nebenflüsse. Im Rio das Mortes soll es 15 Leguas oberhalb der Mündung ein kleines Karajádorf geben; weiter aufwärts gehen sie hier angeblich nicht. Den Rio Cristallino fahren sie eine Strecke weit empor, um Schildkröten zu fischen. Im Rio Tapirapé gehen sie bis dicht unterhalb des Wasserfalles; ein Baum mit zwei Schußkanälen, eine Feuerstelle und Gefäßreste bezeichnen hier die Grenze gegen die Tapirapéindianer.

Ihre Nachbarn sind daher folgende:

Im Süden Kayapó und Bororo, letztere bei den Karajá nur dem Namen nach bekannt.

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der Karajá sehr ähnlich ist, und die Spitzen sind bis auf eine solche von Karajápfeilen gleich. Das geriefelte Vorderende einer Keule (Berlin 2990) könnte von den Karajá wie von den Kayapó stammen.

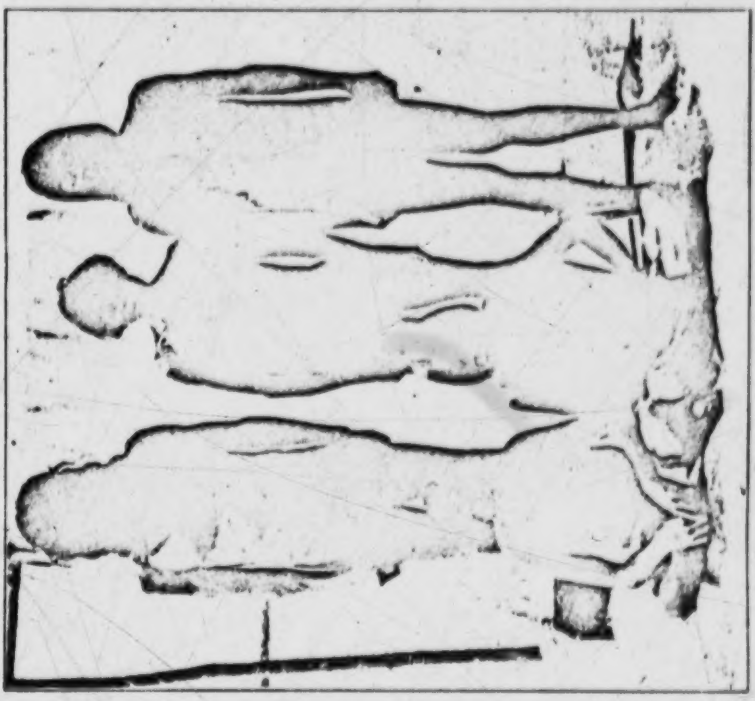
[1] Vgl. Meyer, Zeitschrift f. Ethnol., Berlin, Bd. 30, 1898, S. 258.

[2] Wie oben dargelegt, verstehe ich unter Karajá die von Ehrenreich Carayahi genannten Indianer. Gemäß dem ziemlich scharfen J-Laut, der oft wie dj ausgesprochen wurde, muß ich die Schreibart in Karajá umändern.

[3] Morass Jardim, O Rio Aragusya; Ehrenreich, Südamerikanische Stromfahrten, Seite 38.

Tafel 38.

2. Bemalter Knabe. Karajá.



1. Zwei Männer, ein Jüngling, zwei Knaben. Karajá.

[Facing p. 188]

Im Westen am Rio das Mortes die Chavánte: auf Karajá kítügá (kítügá, kütügá); am Rio Tapirapé die Tapirapé: üöhó; von Santa Anna ab nördlich die Kayapó: kíkjhó.

Im Osten am oberen Tocantins die Cherente: Inblátü; am Südende von Bananal die sogenannten Canoeiros: ükbügá; inmitten von Bananal die Šavajé: ükwüjé, (I)ükí(n)dlwündó.

Im Norden die Šambioá: ükmbiöá.

Den unbekannten Stämmen wurden erwähnt am Rio das Mortes die döbkí, im Osten die Ükwündähó.

Mit sämtlichen dieser Stämme, außer den verwandten Šavajé und Šambioá, leben die Karajá auf Kriegsfuß, vor allen zeigen sie große Furcht. Mit den Tapirapé haben sie früher in Handelsverkehr gestanden, seit fünf bis sechs Jahren aber meiden sich beide Völker infolge einer Fehde, die wegen Frauenraubes durch die Karajá zwischen ihnen entbrannte. Selbst vor den beiden ihnen verwandten Stämmen haben die Karajá großen Respekt. Es kommt das wohl daher, daß die Šavajé und Šambioá in wenigen großen Dörfern leben, die Karajá aber zerstreut in vielen kleinen Siedelungen, und daß sie daher, großer Menschenmengen ungewohnt, vor der stattlichen Anzahl bewaffneter Männer Furcht empfinden. Anscheinend ist die Furcht vor anderen Stämmen bei den Indianern überhaupt üblich.

Der Stamm der Karajá gliedert sich gegenwärtig in zwei Horden:

Die Nordhorde wohnt vom Nordende der Insel Bananal bis zum Rio das Mortes in folgenden 14 feststehenden Dörfern (von Nord nach Süd)[1]: Dorf des Häuptlings Wálatá, Crisóte, Tumanáká (angeblich im September 1908 gestorben), João III, Alfredo, Cariáhi-Cabete (Cariáhi siedelte im September 1908 an die Tapirapémündung über), Dorf an der Tapirapémündung, Dorf des Häuptlings João II, José, Sítánú, Ilk, Dorf am Ipabel Morro, Cabete João, Dorf des † Cincinati. Die Dörfer gliedern sich in drei Gruppen und eine Außensiedelung: Walata wohnt vier Tagereisen (die Tagereisen sind für die Talfahrt im Ruderboot berechnet) unterhalb von Crisóte, da er mit sämtlichen Karajá verfeindet ist und von diesen daher gebührend gefürchtet wird; im Herbst 1908 scheint übrigens eine Versöhnung zwischen ihnen zustande gekommen sein. Etwas isoliert wohnt auch Crisóte, nämlich eine volle Tagereise unterhalb von Tumanáká. Von Tumanáká bis José reiht sich ein Dorf an das andere, der mittlere Abstand beträgt drei Stunden Reisemeg. Nur das Dorf an der Tapirapémündung ist von den beiden Nachbardörfern je vier bis fünf Stunden Fahrt entfernt. Zwischen José und Sotuna ist ein Zwischenraum von 1½ Tagereisen, dann folgen wieder die Dörfer in kürzeren Entfernungen.

Eine Abzweigung der Nordhorde ist das Karajádorf des Häuptlings Körumaré am Flusse auf Bananal, einen Tagesmarsch östlich vom Dorfe des José gelegen.

[1] Unter feststehenden Dörfern verstehe ich solche, die nach jeder Regenzeit beim Übersiedeln auf die Flußsandbänke wieder in ihrem bestimmten Bezirk angelegt werden.

Die Südhorde wohnt vom Rio Crizá bis zum Rio Dermelho in acht feststehenden Siedelungen: am Lago Luiz Alves, unterhalb und oberhalb des Rio Crizá, am Lago de Café, in São José (áówî), dicht oberhalb von São José (hôlêněkâ), dicht unterhalb des Rio de Peixe (ššá), an der Mündung des Rio Dermelho oberhalb Leopoldina (ššámâdô). Auch diese Dörfer gliedern sich in mehrere Gruppen: am Rio Crizá liegen drei Dörfer im Abstand von je drei bis vier Stunden Fahrt etwa. Das Dorf am Lago de Café liegt mitten zwischen Rio Crizá und São José und ist von beiden etwa vier bis sechs Stunden Fahrt entfernt. Bei São José liegen zwei Dörfer, ššá ist von da 1½ Tagereise entfernt, ššámâdô von ššá 2½ Tagereisen. ššámâdô ist eine Außensiedelung, die seit etwa fünf Jahren besteht; sie wird von zivilisierten Indianern bewohnt, die die Vorteile der Kultur (Tabak, Salz) dem Zusammenleben im Stamme vorziehen.

Zwischen beiden Horden liegt ein Zwischenraum von 6½ Tagen Bootsfahrt (flußabwärts gerechnet). Als Grund für die Unbewohntheit dieses Zwischengebietes gaben mir die Indianer an, daß sie nur in der Regenzeit hier auf den Hochufern wohnten, daß in der Trockenzeit nur wenige und schlechte Sandbänke bloßlägen, und daß es sehr viele Moskitos gäbe; zwei Tatsachen, die ich bestätigen kann. Als Durchgangsgebiet wird es aber fleißig benutzt: sowohl auf der Tal- wie Bergfahrt traf ich nach beiden Richtungen wandernde Dörfer hier an.

Wir kommen somit auf 23 feststehende Dörfer.

Die Größe der Dörfer ist sehr verschieden. In der Nordhorde fanden sich Dörfer mit ein bis acht Häusern; im ganzen zählte ich gegen 80 Häuser, so daß im Durchschnitt auf ein Dorf 5—6 Häuser kommen. In der Südhorde fanden sich Dörfer mit 1—4 Häusern. Im ganzen zählte ich gegen 20 Häuser, so daß im Durchschnitt auf ein Dorf 2—3 Häuser kommen. Die Zahl der Häuser in beiden Horden zusammen ist also nur etwa 100.

Ebenso verschieden ist die Zahl der Bewohner. Es waren vorhanden:

	Nordhorde	Kornwards Dorf	Südhorde	Zusammen	Zugewanderte Fremde	Zusammen
Männer:						
Erwachsene	114	—	27	141	3	144
Jünglinge	57	—	15	72	1	73
Knaben (1—12 Jahre)	141	—	28	169	1	170
Zusammen	312	ca. 20	70	402	5	407
Frauen:						
Erwachsene	164	—	38	202	7	209
Jungfrauen	22	—	12	34	3	37
Mädchen (1—12 Jahre)	129	—	28	157	1	158
Zusammen	315	ca. 20	78	413	11	424
Beide Geschlechter zus.	627	ca. 40	148	815	16	831

Ohne die Šavajé der Südhorde beträgt also die Gesamtzahl 815, mit den Šavajé 831 Personen. Auf ein Haus kommen daher im Mittel sieben bis acht Personen.

Für das große Gebiet, das die Karajá bewohnen (etwa 800 km Längenerstreckung), ist die Volkszahl also recht gering. Es ist wohl möglich, daß sie einst größer gewesen ist, wenn auch die riesigen Zahlen früherer Berichte stark übertrieben erscheinen. Auffällig ist die geringe Zahl der Jünglinge und Jungfrauen. Vielleicht wurden Jungfrauen vor mir verborgen gehalten; vielleicht aber sind tatsächlich der Masernepidemie, die 1906 oder 1907 nach Angaben der Indianer furchtbar unter der Jugend gehaust haben soll, sehr viele jugendliche Personen zum Opfer gefallen[1]. Vorderhand ist kein Rückgang zu erkennen. Die Zahl der Kinder erscheint den Verhältnissen angepaßt, auf eine Familie kommen etwa drei Kinder. Hagestolze gab es einige in mittlerem Lebensalter; ihr Einfluß auf die männliche Jugend ist nicht gut. Sie predigen das Junggesellenideal, dem die Jugend um so lieber nachstrebt, als sie mit der Heirat schwere tägliche Arbeit (Fischfang, Pflanzung anlegen) übernehmen muß. Mehr als einer erklärte mir, er wolle nicht heiraten, weil er dann so viel arbeiten müsse. Doch scheinen die Eltern dem entgegenzuarbeiten.

Gehen wir genauer auf das Verhältnis der Süd- zur Nordhorde ein, so scheint es, als ob die Südhorde erst im Laufe der letzten hundert Jahre entstanden sei. Die Karajá scheinen also auf einer Südwanderung begriffen zu sein. Wir haben folgende Angaben über die Wohnsitze der Karajá:

1772 trifft José Machado Karajá an, offenbar auf der Insel Bananal. 1773 besucht Fonseca die Karajá nördlich der Südspitze von Bananal; sie bewohnten neun Dörfer mit 9000 Einwohnern, wovon drei Dörfer auf die Šavajé kamen.

Verpflanzungen nach Süden auf Albeamendos fanden von 1782 an statt. In diesem Jahre wurden 700 Karajá nach São José de Mossamedes bei Goyaz verpflanzt, wo sie allmählich zugrunde gingen. 1786 wurde Carretão für Chavante und Šavajé gegründet; die meisten Indianer erlagen einer Masernepidemie, die Überlebenden wurden 1788 nach Salinas gebracht, wo sie ebenfalls allmählich zugrunde gingen. Ein Übersiedeln der Indianer nach Süden in die Nähe dieser „Kulturzentren" fand aber damals noch nicht statt; denn 1792 traf Souza Dilla Real, als er vom Rio Dermelho aus den Araguaya abwärts fuhr, bis zum Südende von Bananal keine Indianer an. Erst Anfang des 19. Jahrhunderts scheinen die Karajá gelegentlich nach Salinas zum Besuch ihrer dort angesiedelten Stammesbrüder gekommen zu sein. Es berichtet Silva Coutyo, daß sie zwischen 1800 und

[1] 1908 schienen recht gute gesundheitliche Verhältnisse bei den Karajá zu herrschen. Nur im Dorfe an der Tapirapémündung litten viele kleine Kinder an einer Art Keuchhusten. Gestorben sind von Juli bis Ende Oktober, soweit ich Kenntnis bekommen habe, nur ein Kind und zwei ältere Männer. Geburten habe ich nicht beobachtet, doch standen offenbar mehrere in kurzer Zeit bevor.

1812 nach Salinas kamen, um sich friedlich zu unterwerfen, infolge eines Streites aber wieder in ihre Dörfer am Flusse abzogen; leider wird nicht mitgeteilt, wo diese Dörfer lagen. Cunha Mattos berichtet 1824, daß die Karajá zeitweilig nach Salinas kamen, um dort Eisengeräte zu kaufen[1]. Diese Verhältnisse dauerten viele Jahrzehnte hindurch an, denn Castelnau berichtet aus dem Jahre 1844, daß die Karajá gelegentlich vom Araguaya nach Salinas herüberkamen, teils zum Besuch ihrer Stammesbrüder, teils um die Pflanzungen der Brasilianer zu plündern[2]. Er selbst traf von der Mündung des Rio Crixá bis zum Südende von Bananal keine Dörfer an, sondern berichtet, daß die festen Siedelungen erst nach der Teilung beginnen und zwar am westlichen Arm, und daß bis zum Rio das Mortes drei Dörfer liegen, von denen das erste 38 Leguas, das zweite 30 Leguas, das dritte direkt oberhalb des Rio das Mortes liegt[3]. Auch Rufino traf 1846/47 Karajá-dörfer (9 Stück) nur längs der Insel Bananal an, von denen das südlichste 9 Tage unterhalb des Südendes von Bananal gelegen war. 1863 machte Couto de Magalhães einen neuen Versuch, Chavánte und Karajá in einem Dorfe bei Salinas anzusiedeln, um sie hier der Kultur zuzuführen. Erst diese Gründung scheint in Verbindung mit dem weiteren Vordringen brasilianischer Kultur nach Westen dazu geführt zu haben, daß die Karajá auch südlich der Insel Bananal sich ansiedelten. So erwähnen Moraes Jardim und Spinola aus dem Jahre 1880 das erste Dorf der Karajá von Süden her bereits bei São José, sodann ein zweites Dorf an der Mündung des Rio Crixá. Weiter folgen dann 18 Dörfer auf Bananal, am Lago dos Chavántes beginnend, den Schluß bildet ein Dorf bei Santa Maria. Diese 21 Dörfer sollten etwa 600 Bewohner aufweisen.

Ehrenreich führt 1888 folgende Dörfer an: Zwischen Leopoldina und dem Rio Criza wurde ein Lager mit wenigen Zelten angetroffen. Bei Schischá befand sich auf einer Sandbank ein Dorf von etwa 30 Personen. Die Ranchos bei São José, die in der Regenzeit von Indianern bewohnt wurden, traf er im August verlassen an. Ein weiteres Dorf befand sich am Rio Crixá. Nördlich von der Südspitze Bananals verzeichnet er folgende Dörfer: Oberhalb des Rio das Mortes drei Dörfer, bei Izabel do Morro vier Dörfer, von da bis zur Tapirapémündung sechs Dörfer und unterhalb der Tapirapémündung weitere sechs Dörfer, von denen das letzte isoliert am Nordende von Bananal gelegen ist. Die ehemals nördlichste Siedelung bei Santa Maria war nach seiner Mitteilung 1881 (1859 nach Coudreau, S. 136) von den Kayapó überfallen, zerstört und, infolgedessen von den Karajá endgültig aufgegeben worden. Die Nordhorde bewohnte also nach ihm 19 Dörfer, während die Südhorde 2—4 Dörfer inne hatte. Cavalcanti führt 1895 für die Südhorde folgende Dörfer an: Das erste Dorf auf einer Insel gegenüber von Chicas (wohl identisch mit Schischá) mit zwei Häusern, das

[1] Rev. trim. 37, S. 363.
[2] Bd. 1, S. 372, 377, 383.
[3] Bd. 1, S. 396; Bd. 2, S. 114.

zweite Dorf auf einer Sandbank gegenüber von São José mit vier Häusern, ein weiteres Dorf an der Mündung des Rio Crixá unter dem Häuptling Pedro Manco.

Die Angaben Coudreaus 1896/97 sind für die Südhorde, über die er nur Erkundetes berichtet, noch ungenauer als für die Nordhorde. Er gibt für die Regenzeit zwei Dörfer an: eines bei São José mit elf Häusern und 60 Bewohnern, das andere bei Schischá mit 17 Häusern und 40 Bewohnern. Die große Anzahl der Häuser und Bewohner zeigt, wie die Indianer sich in der Regenzeit in wenigen größeren Orten zusammenfinden. Immerhin geht daraus hervor, daß die Südhorde schon erstarkt war.

1908 fand ich selbst also das erste Dorf bei Leopoldina, das zweite bei Schischá, das dritte oberhalb, das vierte in São José (ein von den Indianern bewohntes Haus), das fünfte am Lago de Café, das sechste oberhalb, das siebente unterhalb der Mündung des Rio Crixá, das achte am Lago de Luiz Alves: insgesamt 19 Häusern und 148 Bewohnern.

Nach Erzählungen der Indianer der Südhorde sollen die ersten Karajá hier, die von São José, von Norden gekommen sein. Der erste Häuptling, der hier einwanderte, war mankókó. Er fand das Land unbewohnt vor. Als er starb, blieben die Indianer unter einem andern Häuptling, Xavier, da wohnen. Unter dessen Leuten befand sich kuji, der Häuptling von Dorf 3. kuji scheint etwa 60 Jahre alt zu sein. Ob er hier geboren ist, weiß ich nicht. Jedenfalls erfolgte die Einwanderung vor seiner Zeit, also etwa in der ersten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts. Aisá soll nach Angaben der Indianer vor 20—30 Jahren aus einer Hütte bestanden haben; später seien dann mehrere Indianer aus Norden zugezogen. Der Ort bei Leopoldina sei vor etwa fünf Jahren gegründet worden; die Leute wohnten früher in Kandálábó (am Rio das Mortes, oder der Barreira de Izabel Velha, oder bei Izabel do Morro).

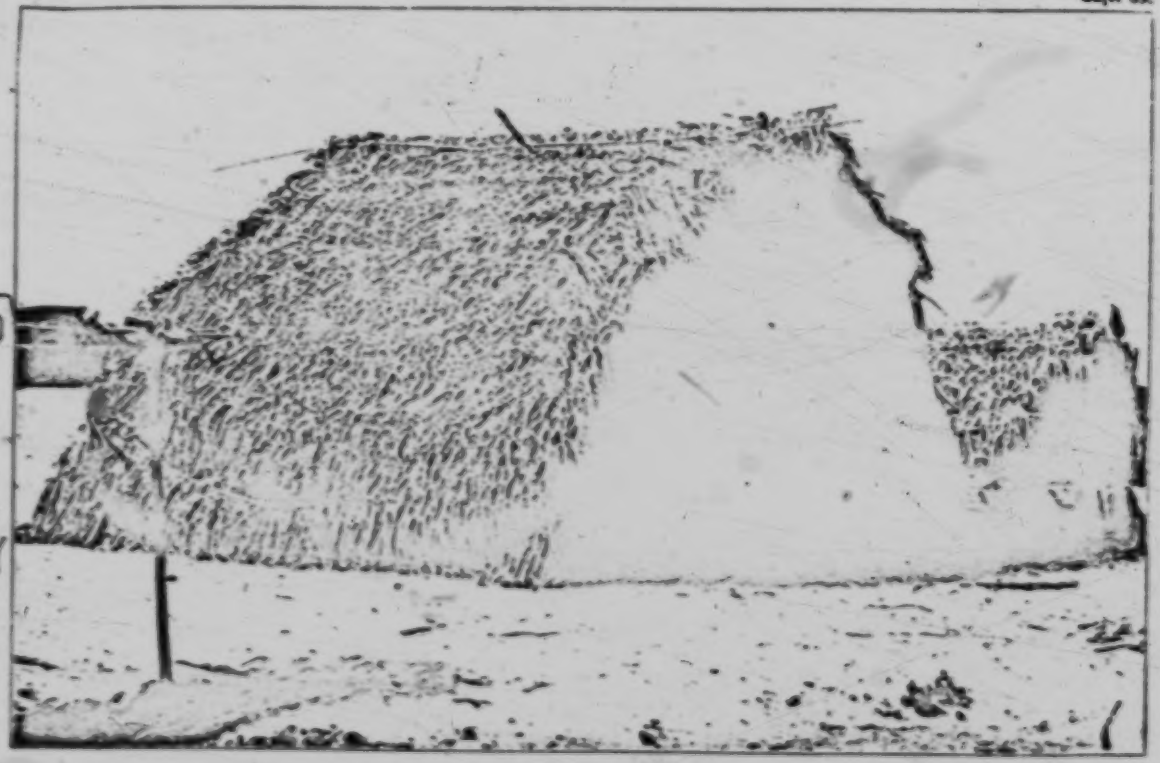
Es geht aus dieser Zusammenstellung jedenfalls hervor, daß die Südhorde ihren Ursprung zunächst wohl der Anlage der Aldeamentos bei Carretão und Salinas verdankt. Die dort angesiedelten Indianer und die dadurch geschaffene Berührung mit der Kultur (Eisenwerkzeuge, Schnaps, Tabak) zogen bald mehr nach sich, und dieser Zuzug hielt auch nach Aufhebung der Aldeamentos an.

Noch heute dauert diese Südwanderung fort; aus meinen Beobachtungen läßt sich dies deutlich nachweisen. Betrachten wir zunächst die Verschiebungen innerhalb der beiden Horden im Sommer 1908.

Bei der Nordhorde traf ich auf der Talfahrt 13 bewohnte Dörfer mit 71 Häusern an, dazu 14 verlassene Dorflagen mit etwa 40 Häusern und 4 wandernde Dörfer, von denen 2 nach Norden, 2 nach Süden zogen. Auf der Bergfahrt war das Verhältnis folgendermaßen: es bestanden 13 bewohnte Dörfer mit 63 Häusern. Der Unterschied gegen die Dörfer der Talfahrt bestand darin, daß 2 Dörfer aufgegeben, 2 neu gegründet und 5 verlegt waren. 4 Dörfer wanderten, und zwar 3 nach Norden und 1 nach Süden. Verlassene Dorfplätze fanden sich noch 10 mit etwa 25 Häusern.

Nehmen wir den Rio Tapirapé als Scheidepunkt, so lagen:

Tafel 30.

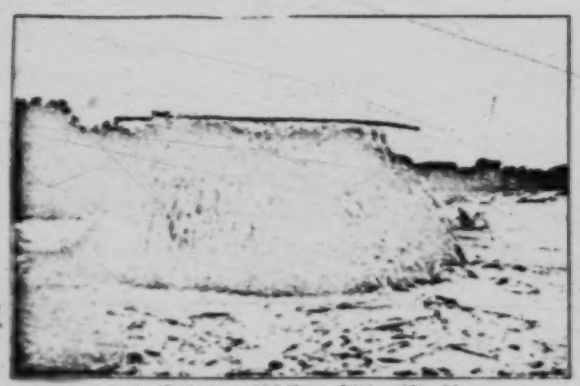


Häuptlingshütte der Karajá. Eingang tellweise gebedt.

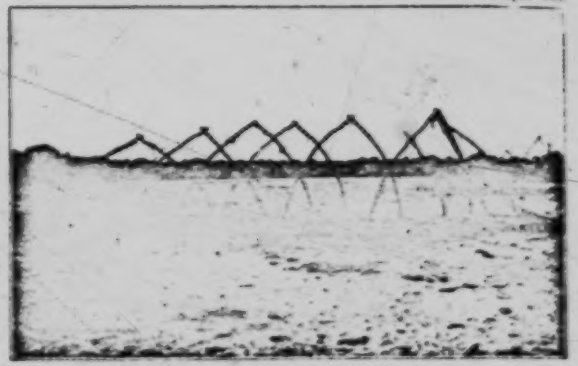
5:Krause

SP9 Caraja

[Facing p. 1938]

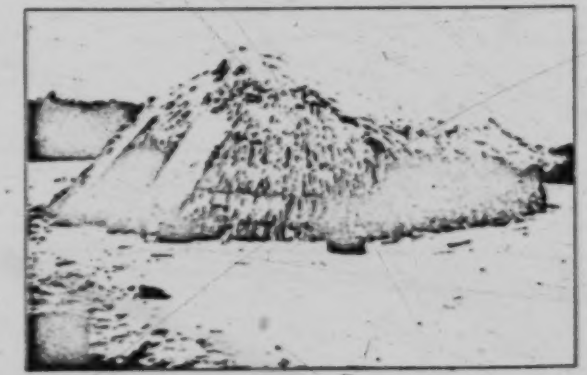


1. Einfache geschlossene Hütte. Karajá.



2. Gerüst einer doppelten geschlossenen Hütte.

3. Mischtypus: Kurzhütte. Karajá.



4. Mischtypus: Langhütte. Šavajé in Schischá.

5:Krause

SP9 Caraja

[Karioa p. 182-B]

	unterhalb:	oberhalb:
auf der Talfahrt . .	6 Dörfer, 1 Wanderdorf,	7 Dörfer, 3 Wanderdörfer,
auf der Bergfahrt .	4[1] „ 3 Wanderdörfer,	9 „ 1 Wanderdorf.

Es hat sich also eine kleine Verschiebung nach Süden vollzogen. Dabei ist noch zu erwähnen, daß im September 1908 Häuptling Cyriáki sich von Cadete getrennt und ins Dorf an der Tapirapémündung, also das nächste südliche, übergesiedelt war[2]. Überwanderungen von der Nord- zur Südhorde fanden zwei statt, doch nur besuches- oder handelshalber. Einige Personen schienen allerdings auch dauernd bei der Südhorde bleiben zu wollen.

In der Südhorde fanden sich im Oktober dieselben Dörfer wie im Juni wieder vor. Auf der Talfahrt wurden 8 Dörfer mit 19 Häusern und 5 verlassene Dörfer mit 11 Häusern beobachtet, auf der Bergfahrt dieselben 8 Dörfer mit 20 Häusern, doch waren 2 Dörfer verlegt und 2 Abzweigungen (Bootbauer des zweiten und dritten Dorfes, die ihre Arbeit vollendet hatten) eingezogen worden; außerdem waren noch 3 verlassene Dörfer mit 6 Häusern sichtbar[3].

Die Zunahme der Häuser um eins ist auf Zuwanderung von Šavajé zu setzen, fanden sich doch auf der Bergfahrt fünf männliche und elf weibliche Šavajé in Schíschá vor. Außerdem aber hatte sich die Zahl noch weiter verschoben: auf der Talfahrt zählte ich 70 Männer und 61 Frauen, auf der Bergfahrt 70 Männer und 78 Frauen; mit den Šavajé zusammen betrug also die Zunahme von Juni bis Oktober 5 Männer und 28 Frauen, das sind 33 Personen. Diese Zunahme ist außer auf Zuwanderung der Šavajé auf solche aus der Nordhorde zurückzuführen.

So scheint noch heute die Südwanderung anzudauern, und sie scheint auch die Šavajé ergriffen zu haben. Anscheinend hat die Südhorde einiges Šavajéblut in sich, das sich vor allem im größeren Wuchs bemerkbar macht. Heute sitzt erst etwa der fünfte Teil der Karajá südlich von Bananal, die Hauptmasse wohnt noch in der Nordhorde, aber wir haben gesehen, daß sich in dieser ebenfalls eine Tendenz nach Süden bemerkbar macht[4].

Ob diese Südwanderung die Fortsetzung einer älteren Wanderung ist, die die Karajá an den Araguaya gebracht hat, möchte ich noch dahingestellt sein lassen. Bekanntlich hat schon Ehrenreich auf viele Anklänge der Karajá mit Indianern Guayanas hingewiesen. Ohne jetzt diese Kulturzusammenhänge weiter verfolgen zu wollen, möchte ich aus einer Vergleichung der Karajá- und Kayapókultur mitteilen, daß die Karajá sehr viele den Kayapó verwandte Kulturzüge aufweisen, aber auch einen großen Prozentsatz fremder

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[1] Nissenberth traf 1909 im März unterhalb des Tapirapé diese selben vier Dörfer, sowie ein wanderndes Dorf an. Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, 1909, Bd. 41, S. 967.

[2] Nissenberth nennt als Cyriákis Dorf das erste Dorf oberhalb der Tapirapémündung.

[3] Über die Ursache des Verlassens der Dörfer siehe unten unter Haus und Dorf.

[4] Eine Überwanderung aus der Südhorde in die Nordhorde ist vor längerer Zeit erfolgt: aus Schíschá wanderten Leute aus und siehe sich am Corrego nieder; es ist das Dorf des José (6 Männer, 8 Frauen).

Elemente in sich bergen, die nach Norden oder Nordwesten zu weisen scheinen. Es wird späteren Untersuchungen vorbehalten bleiben, diesen Kulturproblemen weiter nachzugehen. Die heutige Verbreitung der Karajá, ihre Beschränkung auf das Flußtal in schmalem Bande über 8½ Breitengrade hinweg inmitten feindlicher Stämme, besonders solchen der Gesfamilie, scheint darauf hinzuweisen, daß die Karajá von Norden her den Araguaya emporgewandert sind, die hier wohnenden Stämme auseinandersprengend. Bisher sind die Karajá noch nicht zu einem friedlichen Verhältnis zu den Nachbarstämmen gekommen. Versuche dazu wurden in Conceição von der Mission aus unternommen, sie scheiterten aber nach anfänglichem Erfolge[1].

Die Fehden dauern daher noch heute fort, und noch heute werden gegenseitig Frauen und Kinder geraubt. So liegen die Šambioá mit den Kayapó, die Karajá mit den Tapirapé und die Šavajé mit den Canoeiros in beständigen Kämpfen. Ehrenreich fand bei den Šambioá viele Kayapófrauen, die als Stammesdirnen verwendet wurden. Dasselbe gilt für die Tapirapéfrauen bei den Karajá; ihre Zahl war 1908 gering: bei der Südhorde war ein Mädchen vorhanden, bei der Nordhorde drei Frauen, ein Mädchen und zwei Knaben. Irgendwelchen kulturellen, sprachlichen oder physischen Einfluß schienen diese Tapirapé nicht ausgeübt zu haben, während der kulturelle Einfluß der Tapirapé auf die Karajá in früheren Zeiten, besonders an der Mündung des Tapirapé, sehr stark gewesen sein muß, da in dem an der Mündung des Tapirapé gelegenen Dorfe eine ganze Menge von Gegenständen vorhanden waren, die in keinem anderen Karajádorfe gesehen wurden und die einen fremdartigen Eindruck machten.

3. Haus und Dorf.

Das Haus (hätö) wird je nach der Jahreszeit (Trockenzeit, Regenzeit) verschiedenartig gebaut.

Das Gerüst des Trockenzeithauses besteht aus drei hintereinander stehenden Bogen aus je zwei oben mit Bast zusammengebundenen Stöcken. Als Deckung dienen Palmwedel; die Fieder werden nach einer Seite umgebrochen, zwei solcher Wedel dann aufeinandergelegt und an den Rippen miteinander verbunden. Diese Wedel werden nun von unten her an den Bogen derart befestigt, daß die oberen die unteren etwas überdecken. Der First ist nicht ausgebildet; er wird nicht besonders gedeckt. Etwa 15 cm unterhalb des Firstes ist beiderseits eine Stange ihm parallel auf die Blattdeckung aufgebunden (siehe Tafel 39). Diese einfachen Hütten sind etwa 3 m lang, 2 m breit und 1,5 m hoch.

Die Regenzeithütten habe ich nicht selbst gesehen. Im Oktober

[1] Auf diese Versuche beziehen sich wohl die Nachrichten, die ich einem Brasilianer bei Santa Maria verdanke, daß die Kayapó und Šambioá jährlich an einer bestimmten Stelle des Flusses zusammenkommen, um auszutauschen, und daß jetzt ein Karajáknabe bei den Kayapó und ein Kayapóknabe bei den Karajá sei, um die andere Sprache zu lernen und später zu Hause zu verwerten.

(Beginn der Regenzeit) bewohnten die Karajá auf den Sandbänken eine von dem Trockenzelttyp abweichende Hüttenform; nach ihren Aussagen bauen sie die Häuser auf den Hochufern von November bis März in der gleichen Weise wie diesen Übergangstypus. Der Hauptunterschied gegen das Trockenzelthaus besteht darin, daß die beiden offenen Schmalseiten durch je einen etwa 1 m vorspringenden Rundbau verschlossen werden, in dem je eine kleine Öffnung Eingang gewährt (Tafel 40, Abb. 1). Die Art, wie die Rundbauten hergestellt werden, geht aus Abb. 2 auf Tafel 40 hervor. Gedeckt werden sie in derselben Weise wie das übrige Haus. Offenbar dienen sie dazu, das Eindringen des Regens von der Seite her zu verhindern.

Weitaus die Mehrzahl dieser geschlossenen Hütten wies noch einen zweiten Unterschied auf: sie waren um sich selbst verlängert, das Gerüst bestand also aus sechs Bogen[1]. Die Langhäuser, beiderseits geschlossen, gewähren natürlich weit besseren Schutz vor Regen und zugleich einer größeren Anzahl von Menschen als etwa zwei Kurzhütten (Tafel 32, Abb. 1).

Die Eingänge sind verschiedenartig ausgebildet: zu Anfang und Ende der Regenzeit deckt man die Rundung nur zu ⅔ von der Seite her ein und läßt das letzte Drittel als Eingang frei (Tafel 39); zur Zeit der schweren Regen aber deckt man die ganze Rundung bis auf einen niedrigen Eingang in der Mitte (Tafel 32, Abb. 2). In den Übergangszeiten kommen alle möglichen Varianten vor: Kurzhaus mit einem Rundbau, beiderseits offenes Langhaus usw.

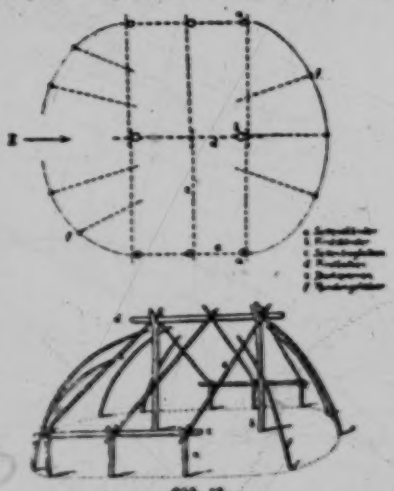

Abb. 18.
Grundplan und Gerüst der Kurzhütte des Mischtypus. Karajá.

In den südlichsten Dörfern, bei Schischá und São José, fanden sich Häuser, die wesentlich von dieser Bauart abwichen; sie stellten einen Mischtypus aus der Bauart der Karajá und Brasilianer dar. Sie sehen sehr ranchoähnlich aus. Die Seitenwände werden durch drei senkrechte, etwa 1 m hohe Pfosten gebildet, in deren Gabeln je ein Längsbalken liegt. In der Mitte der beiden Schmalseiten steht je ein etwa 3 m hoher Pfosten, über beide ist ein Firstbalken gelegt. Meist verbindet sie noch ein zweiter Längsbalken in ⅓ der Höhe. Vom Firstbalken nach den Seitenlängsbalken laufen beiderseits drei Dachsparren

[1] Solche langen Hütten mit niedrigem Eingang an der Stirnseite erwähnt schon Dilla Senna Real 1792 von den Šambioá. Rev. trim., Bd. 11, S. 438.

herab. Die Eingänge sind durch Rundbauten geschlossen. Die Deckung entspricht der der anderen Häuser. Es entstehen also dadurch senkrechte Wände, Wand und Dach sind voneinander geschieden (Gerüst und Grundplan: Abb. 18. Gedecktes Haus: Tafel 40, Abb. 3). Zuweilen sind auch Doppelhäuser in dieser Art gebaut. Solche Hütten sind wesentlich höher und geräumiger, die Rundbauten springen weiter vor, bis zu 2 m (Abb. 19).

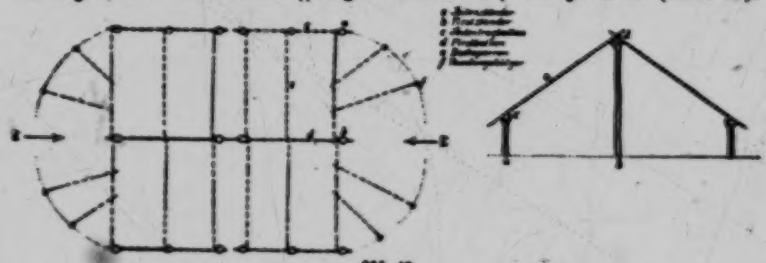

Abb. 19.
Grundplan und Querschnitt der Langhütte des Mischhauses. Karajá.

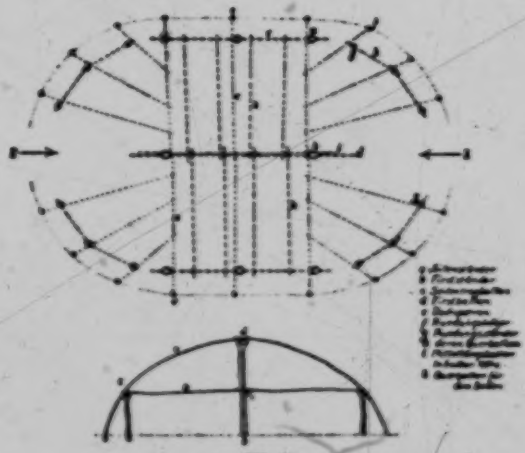

Abb. 20.
Grundplan und Querschnitt des Hauses der Karajá auf Bananal.

Diese Häuser sind ursprünglich von den Šavajé übernommen; es läßt sich aber deutlich verfolgen, wie sich das Šavajéhaus hier unter brasilianischem Einfluß zu diesem Mischhaus umgebildet hat.

Das unberührte Šavajéhaus ist im Grundplan und Querschnitt in Abb. 20 dargestellt. Charakteristisch sind: zwei Firstständer, darüber der Firstbalken, in ⅔ Höhe ein zweiter Längsbalken; beiderseits drei Seitenständer, darüber

Seitenquerbalken. Die Dachsparren sind vom Firstbalken aus über die Seitenquerbalken bis zum Boden herabgezogen und im Boden selbst befestigt. Die Rundungen sind durch je sechs niedrige Ständer gestützt, die zu je zweimal drei durch Querbalken verbunden sind, über die die Rundungsdachbalken vom ersten und dritten Bogen zur Erde herunterlaufen. So sind also Seiten und Rundung von innen durch Ständer mit Querbalken gestützt. Die Eingänge befinden sich in den Rundungen. Diese Häuser sind 20–25 m lang, 12—15 m breit, 3—4 m hoch.

In Schischá traf ich Ende Oktober das Haus einer zugewanderten Šavajé-familie; es war bereits umgebildet (Grundplan und Querschnitt: Abb. 21. Gedeckt: Tafel 40, Abb. 4). Zunächst war es ein Doppelhaus, seine Anlage war dem des Karajáhauses (Abb. 19) gleich. Der Unterschied bestand

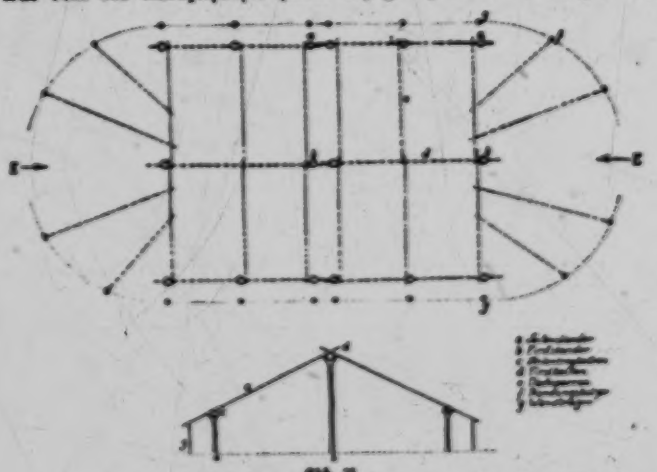

Abb. 21.
Grundplan und Querschnitt der Langhütte bei Mitschipuna. Šavajé in Schischá.

darin, daß vor den Seitenstützbalken je ein niedriger, freistehender Wandpfosten in die Erde gerammt war; an diesen Wandpfosten, die nicht durch Querbalken verbunden waren, war die Wandbekleidung befestigt. Hier ist also schon die Trennung in Dach und Wand eingetreten, die Wandstützen sind erhalten geblieben, sie sind zu Seitenstützbalken geworden. Bei den Rundbauten ist die Anlage bereits karajáähnlich einfacher. Bei den Mischhäusern der Karajá nun sind diese Wandpfosten weggefallen, die Deckung ist an den Seitenstützbalken selbst angebracht. So haben wir hier den Entwickelungsgang des Šavajéhauses zum Rancho vor uns; man braucht nur die Rundbauten wegzulassen, um einen echten brasilianischen Ranchobau vor sich zu haben. Ein solches Haus sah ich denn auch tatsächlich bei den Bootsbauern von Schischá auf der Talfahrt.

Die Annahme, daß die Bewohner der südlichsten Dörfer der Südhorde mit Javajé vermischt sind (siehe oben: Größe und Zahl), erhält also hierdurch eine neue Stütze.

Daß diese Beeinflussung tatsächlich so vor sich gegangen ist, und daß diese Häuser nicht etwa von den Brasilianern übernommene Ranchos sind, die einfach mit Rundbauten versehen wurden, lehrt erstens das Beispiel der Javajé, die den Firstbalken und Ständerbau kennen, dann die Tatsache, daß die Maskenhäuser der Karajá der Südhorde und die der Javajé einen Firstbalken besitzen, der an den drei Bogen oben befestigt ist. Nehmen wir dazu, daß, wie aus Abb. 3 bei Ehrenreich, Beiträge, S. 13 hervorgeht, die Häuser der Sambioá denen der Javajé gleichen, so erscheinen uns die Hütten der Karajá als eine Kümmerform; bezeichnenderweise ist nur im Maskenhaus der Firstbalken erhalten. Die Mischhäuser sind also indianischen Ursprungs, allerdings, was die Trennung von Wand und Dach anlangt, brasilianisch beeinflußt.

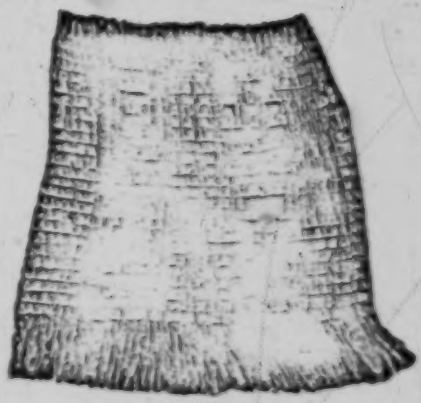

Abb. 22.
Gewöhnliche Schlafmatte für Mädchen. Karajá.

Inneneinrichtung. Die Häuser sind sehr schön kühl, und die Deckung ist, wenn sie, wie in der Regenzeit, sorgfältiger ausgeführt wird, regensicher. Der Boden ist mit großen Matten belegt. Diese Burity-Fasermatten (balé) dienen als Sitz- und Schlafmatten. An ihrer einen Langseite treten die Fasern als lange Fransen heraus. Meine größte Matte ist 4 m lang und 1,70 m breit. Selten sind kleinere Matten, die durch eingeflochtene schwarze Baststreifen gemustert sind (Abb. 22, Mädchenschlafmatte).

Sehr einfach sind die Schlafstellen eingerichtet. Um zu schlafen, legt man sich längshin auf den Boden auf eine Matte und deckt sich mit der andern Hälfte der Matte oder dem riió (siehe unten) zu. Zuweilen werden auch in der Seitenlage die Beine angezogen, das eine Ende des riió über die Füße und das andere über den Kopf gestülpt, so daß der ganze Körper vor Tau und Moskitos geschützt ist. Holzzylinder als Nackenstützen, die Ehrenreich erwähnt, habe ich nicht gesehen. Es ist wohl möglich, daß sie welche haben; denn sie lieben es, den Kopf beim Schlafen hoch zu legen. Wenn sie nämlich im Freien im Sande schlafen, höhlen sie eine Grube für den Körper aus, legen eine Matte darüber und sich darauf, doch so, daß der Kopf auf dem erhöhten Rande der Grube liegt; mit dem übrigen Teil der Matte bedecken sie sich. Es schläft sich sehr angenehm auf diese Weise,

wie ich selbst erprobt habe. Im Gegensatz dazu habe ich aber auch gesehen, daß sie in den Häusern glatt auf ebener Erde liegen, ohne den Kopf irgendwie hoch zu legen.

Zum Fächeln kühler Luft und zum Verjagen der Moskitos beim Mittagsschlaf dienen aus Palmblatt geflochtene, gemusterte Fächer (köll; Tafel 21, Abb. 2).

Sitze gibt es nur für Häuptlinge. Es sind das aus einem Stück Holz geschnitzte Schemel in Tierform: beiderseits läuft die Sitzplatte in einen Kopf aus, der Perlmutteraugen mit Wachspupillen trägt; in die Ohrlöcher werden Quasten aus rot-gelben Papageifedern gehängt. Die Perlmutteraugen werden auf einem Stein rund geschliffen und dann mit Wachs angeklebt. Schließlich wird der ganze Schemel mit Genipapofarbe, die mit der flachen Hand aufgetragen wird, schwarz gefärbt. Diese Schemel heißen köllkú, die Federquasten kullalabédöel. Angeblich sollen die Schemel einen Arara darstellen (Tafel 19, Abb. 1a b).

Gewöhnlich sitzen die Indianer auf den Matten mit untergeschlagenen Beinen, die Hand in die Hüfte gestemmt, oder sie hocken am Boden (Tafel 12, Abb. 1; Tafel 38, Abb. 1).

Zum Aufbewahren von Schmucksachen, Kleidungsstücken, Geräten und Waffen ist in den Hütten meist keine Vorrichtung getroffen. Kleine Sachen werden ins Dach gesteckt oder an die Pfosten gehängt. Bogen, Pfeile und Lanzen liegen meist an den Seitenwänden am Boden oder lehnen in der Ecke. Sonst hängen, stehen und liegen überall im Hause Körbe, Tuxen und Töpfe herum, die zum Teil mit sonstigem Hausrat gefüllt sind. Nur in zwei Häusern, in Dorf 6 und in Schíschá, sah ich an der Wand Ständer aus zwei Gabelhölzern, über die Bogen und Pfeile gelegt waren (Abb. 23). Auch sie scheinen auf Xavajeeinfluß zurückzugehen, da die Xavajé in Schíschá derartige Ständer benutzten.

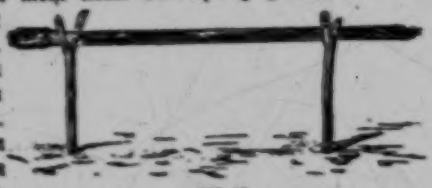

Abb. 23.
Pfeilständer im Haus.

Außerhalb der Häuser befinden sich hingegen besondere Vorratsgerüste (ládédá). Sie bestehen aus vier etwa 1¼ m hohen Gabelhölzern, die im Viereck aufgestellt und durch zwei Quer- und viele Längsbalken verbunden sind. Auf diesen Gerüsten liegen Vorräte aller Art, Manbiokawurzeln, unbenutzte Gerätschaften und Waffen auf Vorrat, sowie Rohmaterialien aller Art, angehängt sind Kürbisse und Körbe voll Mais und Federn; desgleichen werden hier oft die Frauenbastschurze zum Trocknen aufgehängt (Abb. 24).

Zum Trocknen der Schildkrötenangelschnüre dienen besondere Gerüste aus zwei langen senkrechten Stangen, die oben durch eine Querstange verbunden sind. An dieser wird die Schnur lang herabhängend zum Trocknen aufgehängt (Abb. 25).

Frische Kürbisse steckt man zum Trocknen auf Stöcke; bei jedem Haus sieht man Gruppen solcher gepfählter Kürbisse stehen. Aufbewahrt werden sie später gern, indem man eine ganze Anzahl zusammen an einen Pfahl bindet (Abb. 26 a b).

Sonstiges Hausgerät fehlt. Der Herd liegt außerhalb des Hauses, im Unterschied zu den Šavajé, bei denen er in den Rundbauten gelegen ist (siehe Nahrung); nur in den abgewandelten Häusern in Schischá wurde Ende Oktober auch im Hause gekocht.

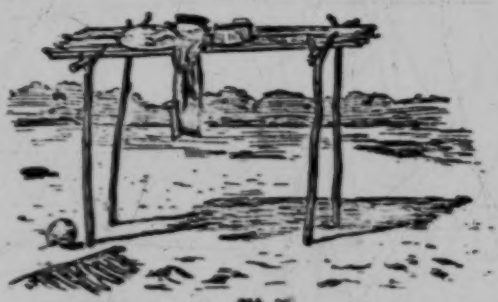

Abb. 26.
Dorfansicht. Nach Photographie gezeichnet.

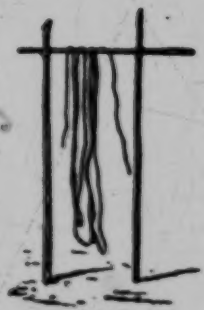

Abb. 25.
Gerüst zum Trocknen der Schildkrötenmagenfischnäpfe.

Haus und Umgebung sind wenig reinlich; überall liegen die Nahrungsabfälle, wie Fischgräten, Nußschalen, Knochen, sowie Holz, Geräte usw. umher. Ist es daher schon gefährlich, mit bloßen Füßen in die Nähe der Dörfer und Häuser zu kommen, so wird der Aufenthalt außerhalb der Häuser noch durch die Unmengen von Fliegen und anderen Insekten, die sich massenhaft auf den Abfällen ansammeln, beeinträchtigt. Dazu kommen noch Sandflöhe, die nach Ehrenreich so überhand nehmen sollen, daß die Indianer zu öfterem Wechsel der Wohnorte gezwungen werden (siehe unten unter Dorf).

a Abb. 26. b
a) Kürbistrocknen.
b) Kürbisaufbewahrung.

Aborte gibt es nicht. Um ihre Bedürfnisse zu verrichten, gehen die Indianer in eine Senke der Sandbank, hinter den nächsten Busch oder in den Wald. Zum Reinigen benutzen sie drei Stöckchen, die sie vom Busch abbrechen und dann parallel auf die Exkremente legen. Die Urubús, die in großen Mengen bei den Siedelungen leben, sorgen für schnelle Reinigung des Platzes. Um zu pissen, gehen die Männer in den Fluß. Hier begeben sie sich in etwa ¾ m tiefem Wasser in leichte Kniebeuge und binden da die lange Penisschnur auf und wieder an.

Die Häuser sind nur Wohn- oder Schlafhäuser, gekocht wird außerhalb. Die Häuptlinge besitzen zum Teil besser gebaute, größere Häuser; so

Tafel 41.

1. Schattendach, dahinter Mattenwand.

2. Unfertiges Dorf: Mattenwandlager neben neugebauter Hütte.

[facing p. 200]

war das des Häuptlings João III. 3—4 m hoch, 5—6 m breit und ebenso lang (Tafel 39).

Versammlungshäuser fehlen; um einen Beschluß herbeizuführen oder Anordnungen mitzuteilen, geht der Häuptling in die einzelnen Häuser.

Sonstige besondere Häuser sind:

1. Geburtshäuser. Diese werden für die Frau errichtet, wenn die Geburt nahe bevorsteht; ihre Bauart soll der der übrigen Häuser gleich sein.

2. Das Maskenhaus, in dem die Tanzmasken aufbewahrt werden. Es steht stets abseits vom Dorfe und ist seiner Bauart nach ein Trockenzeithaus mit einem Rundbau an der dem Dorfe zugewendeten Schmalseite. Die Bogen sind meist leicht geschweift und oben durch einen Firstbalken gestärkt (Tafel 12, Abb. 3). Die Maskenhäuser dienen als Junggesellenhaus; hier sollen die jungen Leute schlafen. Ich habe nur vier Maskenhütten gesehen, kann aber aus eigenem Augenscheine diese Angaben nicht bestätigen. Auf jeden Fall schlafen die jungen Leute nicht in den Häusern, sondern, wo es kein Maskenhaus gibt, an einem Feuer, das sich abseits des Dorfes befindet. Fremde werden vom Häuptling aufgenommen; sie schlafen in seinem Hause, auch wenn sie unverheiratet sind (vergleiche die Aufnahme, die ich mit meinen Leuten bei den Savajé fand).

Das Haus gehört der Frau. Der Mann baut es vor der Hochzeit mit Unterstützung der jungen Leute, die dafür von der Frau mit Perlenketten bezahlt werden. Der Bau dauert 1—2 Tage. Nach dem Tode wird das Haus angeblich verbrannt.

Gegen Blitzschlag werden die Häuser nach Angaben der Indianer geschützt dadurch, daß man einen Fischstachel an einer etwa 1/2 m langen Stange aufs Dach steckt. Es dürfte sich hierbei wohl nur um einen Zauber handeln.

Gemeindebau ist das Häuptlingshaus. Es wird von allen verheirateten Männern gebaut, während sich die Tätigkeit der Jugend darauf beschränkt, die Blätter für die Bedeckung zuzuschneiden und zusammenzubinden. Der Häuptling bezahlt dafür mit Pfeilen, Lanzen und Keulen.

Außer diesen Häusern gibt es nun leichtere Schutzwände[1], eine Art Windschirme, in deren Schatten sich die Familien meist tagsüber aufhalten, und wo auch gekocht wird. Sie dienen auf der Reise als einzige Wohnung, im Dorf auch zugleich als Trockengestelle für Frauenschurze.

Es gibt verschiedene Arten solcher Schutzwände.

1. Wände: An mehreren senkrechten Stangen sind Wände aus Palmblättern befestigt in gleicher Weise wie die Hausdeckung (nõbó), oder es sind Matten daran gebunden, die eine senkrechte Wand bilden (bülé). Solche Wände sind bei fast allen Häusern zu treffen, sie sind meist an drei Stangen befestigt; doch kommen auch doppeltlange derartige Wände vor. In ihrem

[1] Diese Schutzwände erwähnt schon Fonseca 1773: Die Zelte bestehen aus zwei Matten, von denen die eine als Teppich, die andere als Sonnenschutz dient. Rev. trim. 8, S. 378.

Schatten befindet sich meist der Kochherd, vor ihnen liegen Matten, auf denen die Familie sich tagsüber aufhält (Tafel 12, Abb. 1; Tafel 41, Abb. 1).

2. Dächer (wãdó): Sie sind an mehreren im Eck gestellten Stangen horizontal befestigt, meist an vier, zuweilen an drei oder sechs Stangen. Es kommen hier nur Matten zur Verwendung, die mit Stricken angebunden werden. Meist fallen die Matten an der Sonnenseite bis zum Boden herab. Zuweilen wird auch an einem Ende einer Mattenwand ein derartiges Schutzdach angebaut (Tafel 41, Abb. 1; Tafel 10, Abb. 1).

Abb. 27.
Grundplan des Dorfes 7, Südkarajá.

Abb. 28.
Grundplan des Dorfes 22, Karajá.

Das Dorf (ilé).

Ehrenreich gibt an, daß die Häuser der Carajahi meist aus Mattenwänden bestehen und ohne jegliche Anordnung wild durcheinanderstehen. Nur die Sambioá sollten straßenartige Anordnung der Häuser haben. Diese Anordnung in Reihen, die dem Ufer parallel laufen, ist nun auch bei den Karajá vorhanden, wenn auch die Menge der Mattenwände und Vorratsgerüste den Überblick erschwert. Im allgemeinen ist die Anordnung so, daß vom Ufer mit den Booten aus in der ersten Reihe die Vorratsgerüste stehen,

in der zweiten die Mattenwände mit den Kochherden und in der dritten, oben auf dem trockenen Sand, die Wohnhäuser (Tafel 11, Abb. 2). Es werden jedoch keine genauen Reihen eingehalten, sondern zuweilen ist ein Haus etwas weiter vorgebaut als das andere. Immerhin gewinnt man den Eindruck einer Reihe. Ich habe von sämtlichen Dörfern Grundpläne entworfen, als besonders typisch möchte ich den von Dorf 22 (zweitnördlichstes Dorf; Abb. 28) und von Dorf 7 (Südhorde; Abb. 27) mitteilen.

Die Häuser sind im allgemeinen so orientiert, daß eine Längsseite nach Nordwest, Nord oder Nordost zeigt, also Schatten spendet.

Jedes Haus wird nur von einer Familie bewohnt, zu jedem Haus gehören im allgemeinen eine Mattenwand, ein Vorratsständer und ein bis zwei Herdplätze.

Die Maskenhütte liegt abseits vom Dorfe, in etwa 200 m Entfernung.

Die Dörfer der Karajá sind klein, viele bestanden nur aus ein bis zwei Häusern, das größte aus acht Hütten[1]. Ehrenreich glaubt diese Zerstreuung auf Mangel an Subsistenzmitteln zurückführen zu müssen. Dies ist kaum anzunehmen, da es genügend Nahrungsmittel, besonders Fische, gibt. Meiner Meinung nach ist sie einmal bedingt durch die vielen Streitigkeiten, die unter den Familien der Karajá zu herrschen scheinen und zur Abwanderung des einen Teiles führen, sodann durch das Überwiegen persönlicher Rücksichten über das Gesellschaftsgefühl; viele Familien wohnen dauernd isoliert an einer Stelle, weil es ihnen eben da gefällt.

Bemerkenswert ist, daß die Dörfer von Norden nach Süden an Größe abnehmen. Es erklärt sich das aus der Wanderrichtung der Karajá: das Gros sitzt noch im Norden, nach Süden sind erst Vorläufer ausgeschickt, die naturgemäß noch gering an Zahl sind.

Auf Reisen schlagen die Karajá Lager aus Mattenbächern oder Wänden auf, in deren Schatten und Schutz sie wohnen und schlafen. Die Wände sind natürlich so orientiert, daß sie möglichst viel und lange Schatten gewähren, sie stehen also meist annähernd von Westen nach Osten, und zwar ebenfalls in Reihen angeordnet (Tafel 13, Abb. 1). Wird ein Dorf verlegt, so wohnen die Indianer so lange unter Mattenwänden, bis die Häuser errichtet sind (Tafel 41, Abb. 2).

Die Dörfer bleiben nicht dauernd an einer Stelle. Während der Trockenzeit leben die Indianer auf den Sandbänken des Flusses, die in ihrer Trockenheit und Reinheit ideale Wohnplätze sind. Sie wandern im Laufe der Trockenzeit innerhalb eines bestimmten Gebietes von Sandbank zu Sandbank, je nachdem diese vom Flusse bloßgelegt werden, um auf diese Weise immer frische, unverdorbene, reine Wohnplätze zu haben. Mit Beginn der Regenzeit werden die Dörfer wieder auf die höheren ersten Sandbänke zurückverlegt und schließlich auf die Hochufer des Flusses[2].

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[1] Bereits Kalinowski berichtet, daß die Dörfer der Karajá durchschnittlich nur 3—10 Häuser aufweisen. Rev. trim. 10, S. 208.

[2] Dadurch erklären sich die vielen verlassenen Dörfer, die man allenthalben antrifft.

Diese Regenzeitdörfer, oben auf dem Camp gelegen, sind oft weit vom Flusse entfernt; sie liegen bei der Nordhorde zum Teil auf Gebirgen und sind daher schwer auffindbar. Daraus und aus der Sitte, daß mehrere Trockenzeitdörfer ein Campdorf gemeinsam bewohnen, erklärt sich wohl die geringe Zahl der von Coudreau angegebenen Karajádörfer.

Werden die Dörfer dauernd verlassen, so läßt man die Häuser, die Stangen der Mattenwände und Vorratsgerüste, die Bratroste, Herde usw. stehen; sie verfallen sehr rasch. Auf kürzere Zeit verlassene Dörfer (z. B. bei Handelszügen) werden gesichert, indem die Eingänge der Häuser mit Blätterwänden geschlossen werden. Aller Hausrat, wie Töpfe, Körbe usw., wird an den Seiten aufgestapelt und mit großen Matten überdeckt. Vor den Häusern sind meist Mandiokastengel, in Bündeln von 5—6 Stück gebunden, in den Sand gepflanzt. Ringsum sind zum Schutze Palmwedel in den Boden gesteckt, das Ganze ist dann zusammengebunden. Im übrigen herrscht wilde Unordnung in solch verlassenem Dorfe. Große Töpfe liegen verkehrt umher, oft kleinere unter sich schützend. Mörser, Cuyen, Korbreste liegen hier und da, überall finden sich große Haufen von Mandiokaresten, Nußschalen, Schildkrötenpanzern und schließlich Urukúfrüchten, ohne die ja keine Reise unternommen werden kann (siehe Begrüßungsbemalung).

4. Die Kleidung.

Kleidung der Männer. Das männliche Geschlecht trägt nur geringe Kleidung. Während die Kinder und Knaben völlig nackt umherlaufen, tragen die Jünglinge und Männer die Penis- und Hüftschnur als einzige Bekleidung.

Die **Penisschnur** (nötékná, nötétákán; von nötö-Penis, wötétákán-Gürtel) ist eine lange rote[1], zuweilen auch schwarze Baumwollschnur, die um die über die Eichel nach vorn gezogene Vorhaut rollenartig gewickelt wird. Der Penis wird dadurch zurückgeschoben und nimmt ein kugliges Aussehen an, so daß der Hodensack beutelkugelig aussieht mit einer kleinen, schräg nach oben stehenden Rolle (Tafel 36; 38; 43).

Abb. 20.
Baumwollgürtel Weißer Wilden.

Die Schnur wird mit 9 bis 10 Jahren, also dem Beginn der Pubertät, angelegt und hat nach übereinstimmenden Aussagen der Indianer den Zweck, die Eichel vor den Blicken der Frauen zu verbergen. Vielleicht ist dies aber ein erst durch die ständige Bedeckung zum Zwecke des Schutzes entstandenes sekundäres Schamgefühl.

In Verbindung mit der Penisschnur wird von den älteren Jünglingen

[1] Die beiden Exemplare in Ehrenreichs Sammlung sind ziemlich schwarz.

und den Männern die Hüftschnur (eiá) getragen, während Kinder, Knaben und jüngere Leute sie nicht anlegen. Doch tragen sie nicht alle Männer, oder vielleicht auch nicht immer. Es scheint dies in das Belieben des einzelnen gestellt zu sein (Tafel 36—38, 43—44).

Sie besteht aus einer roten, 1—2 m langen Baumwollschnur von 0,2—0,3 cm Stärke, die entweder aus zwei Fäden zusammengedreht oder vierkantig geflochten ist.

Ob sie ehemals mit der Penisschnur irgendwie zusammenhing, ließ sich nicht mehr feststellen. Aus einem zweiten Namen dafür: nõbãmbil (von nõã — Penis) könnte man dies vielleicht schließen. Jedenfalls ist Königswalds Mitteilung (Globus, Bd. 94, S. 223), sie diene als Penishalter, nicht zutreffend.

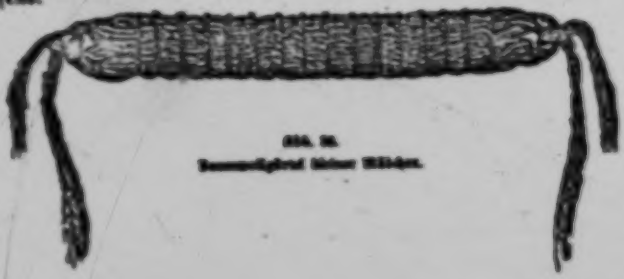


Abb. 10.
Baumwollgürtel kleiner Mädchen.

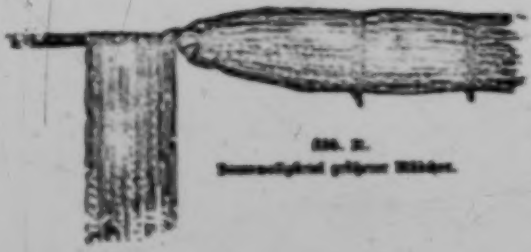


Abb. 11.
Baumwollgürtel größerer Mädchen.

Abb. 12.
Jüngling mit Bakúnde.
Nach Photographie gezeichnet.

Dagegen dient sie zuweilen dazu, kleine Geräte an ihr zu befestigen. Häufig werden auf dem Rücken Messer hindurchgesteckt; ein Mann schob ein Stück ihm geschenkten Tabaks mangels einer Tasche einfach auf dem Kreuz unter die Hüftschnur.

Kleidung der Frauen. Im Gegensatz zu dem männlichen Geschlecht geht das weibliche von Jugend auf bekleidet, und zwar in der Jugendzeit mit Gürteln aus schwarzer Baumwolle (wãdãkuná). Je älter das Mädchen wird, um so festere und dichtere Gürtel legt es an. Kleinste Kinder tragen nur ein paar mageredt umgeschlungene schwarze Schnüre, die auf dem Rücken durch einen Querfaden verbunden sind, und deren Enden vorn verknotet sind, so daß

die Fransen als kleines Büschel herabhängen (Abb. 29). Kleinere Mädchen von 2—5 Jahren tragen locker durchflochtene, ebenfalls vorn gebundene Gürtel. Die wagerechten Fäden des Geflechtes sind an den Enden henkelartig verknüpft, und in diese Henkel sind andere Baumwollfäden eingebunden, die zum Zubinden des Gürtels benutzt werden und gleichzeitig das Fransenbündel

Abb. 28.
Augenbinde aus Palmblatt.

Abb. 29.
Gruppe des Augenbindens.
Nach Photographie gezeichnet.

Abb. 30.
Offener Zopfbindegürtel.
a) von der Seite; b) von unten.

Abb. 31.
Mondförmiger Augenbinden.
a) von oben; b) von der Seite.

bilden (Abb. 30; Tafel 11, Abb. 4). Größere Mädchen von etwa 5 bis 10 Jahren tragen bereits fester geflochtene Gürtel, bei denen ebenfalls besondere Bindesträhnen in die Henkel eingeknüpft sind; doch hängen von diesen Strähnen besondere Fransenbüschel herab (Abb. 31). Von da an bis zur Pubertät tragen die Mädchen fest- und dichtgeflochtene Baumwollgürtel. Die Bindesträhnen sind durch die beiden Henkel geführt, tragen aber keine Fransen. An deren Stelle wird ein grauer Baumbastschurz durch den Gürtel gezogen, der vorn herunterhängt, zwischen den Beinen durchgezogen wird und hinten abermals am Gürtel befestigt ist (Tafel 18; Tafel 51, Abb. 2).

Mit Eintritt der Reife legt das weibliche Geschlecht Binden aus dem Bast der Gameleira an. Es gibt drei Arten solcher Binden:

1. aus rotem Bast, von einem langblättrigen Baume stammend (ãmbuõdã),
2. aus rötlichem Bast (ãndãhũlẽ oder Inãudũ),
3. aus weißem Bast, von einem rundblättrigen Baume stammend (hidẽũlẽ), nach Ehrenreich der Apeiba Jangada.

Hergestellt werden diese Binden in der Weise, daß die Männer mit einem kantigen Stein von den in der gewünschten Länge zugehauenen Baumstücken die äußere Rinde abschlagen. Später wird dann der Bast der Länge nach aufgeschlitzt, abgezogen und eingeweicht. Dann wird er von den Frauen zusammengefaltet, auf einen umgestürzten Mörser gelegt und mit einem flachen Geröllsteine oder einem alten Steinbeile geklopft.

Getragen werden die Binden folgendermaßen: das eine Ende wird auf dem Kreuze festgehalten, dann die Binde um den Leib herumgelegt und das lange Ende mit dem kurzen Ende zusammengedreht; auf diese Weise ist der Gürtel befestigt. Das lange Ende wird zwischen den Beinen hindurchgezogen und dabei zu einer Wulst zusammengedreht, wird dann vorn in voller Breite von unten durch den Gürtel hindurchgesteckt und fällt über ihn vorn herab. Dieses Ende wird nun entweder bis zum Knie oder bis zur Erde lang herabfallend getragen oder nochmals zwischen den Beinen, diesmal aber in voller Breite durchgezogen und hinten hochgeschlagen, eine Maßnahme, die besonders dann angewendet wird, wenn die Frauen sich setzen wollen (Tafel 12, Abb. 4; Tafel 16; 17; 42).

Neben dieser ständig getragenen Kleidung gibt es noch einige Kleidungsstücke, die nur zeitweilig, zu besonderen Zwecken angelegt werden. Es sind das folgende:

Der Augenschirm (õ(ũ)dĩ, ũdjĩ). Er wird nur vom männlichen Geschlechte getragen. Die Urform dieses Schutzes ist wohl in der Bastbinde (Abb. 32) zu sehen, die die Indianer zuweilen um das Haar geschlungen hatten (bei Todesfällen, bei Krankheit). Der eigentliche Augenschirm besteht aus einem Oaguassu-Palmblatt, dessen Fieder miteinander verflochten sind. Bei der einfachsten Form ragen die Enden dieser Fieder oben frei heraus (Abb. 33, 34). Dieser Augenschirm nun hat eine Entwickelung bis zum vollständigen Hut durchgemacht: die oberen Fiederenden sind gleichfalls verflochten und zwar zu einem oben offenen Zylinder (Abb. 35). Ehrenreich beobachtete bei den Šambioá einen solchen Zylinderhut (taã), der oben bereits

1. Frauenkleidung und -haartracht.

2. Karajáfrauen und Kinder.

3. Karajáfrauen und Kinder.

[facing p. 208]

durch ein Geflecht verschlossen war (Berlin 3904). Diese Endform war bei den Karajá nicht vertreten, dagegen besahen sie noch zwei andere Formen: einmal einen ringförmigen, aus Bast geflochtenen, breitkrempigen Augenschirm mit versteiftem Rande und Kinnschnur (Abb. 36), sodann wirkliche Hüte aus Bastgeflechtstreifen, die spiralig zusammengenäht sind (Tafel 43, Abb. 3). Die Art des Flechtens dieser Streifen ist rein indianisch, die Form der Hüte aber geht wohl auf brasilianischen Einfluß zurück, wie auch der Name (šapó, bras. chapeo) darlegt. Getragen werden diese Augenschirme und Hüte zum Schutz vor der Sonne und zwar nur von verheirateten Männern; doch habe ich nur selten welche gesehen.

Die Netzdecke [ni(i)ó, ni] dagegen wird von beiden Geschlechtern in allen Lebensaltern getragen. Sie ist aus Baumwollfäden geknüpft und hat die Gestalt einer Hängematte, deren beide Enden je zusammengebunden sind, der aber die Aufhängeschnüre fehlen. Die Netzdecken der Karajá sind einfarbig; die ursprünglich weiße Farbe wird durch den Gebrauch allmählich schmutzig gelbbraun. Gemusterte Decken stammen von den Šavajé oder Tapirapé. Getragen werden sie zum Schutze gegen die Moskitos, gegen den Sonnenbrand, gegen den Tau der Nacht, mögen die Indianer nun stehen, liegen oder sitzen. Die Art des Tragens ist verschieden: entweder wird das eine Ende über den Kopf gestülpt, so daß die Decke zum Rücken hinabfällt (Tafel 12, Abb. 1), oder die Decke wird breit um die Schultern gelegt, so daß die beiden Enden vorn nach unten fallen (Tafel 9, Abb. 1; Tafel 42, Abb. 1). Nachts dienen sie als Decke: die Füße der hochgezogenen Beine werden in der Seiten- und in der Rückenlage in das eine Ende, der Kopf in das andere Ende gesteckt, so daß die Decke den darunter liegenden Körper vor Moskitos und Tau schützt. Sie werden also nicht als Unterlage benutzt, wie Ehrenreich angibt, sondern als Decke. An Schnüren aufgehängte kleine Netzdecken als Wiegen der Neugeborenen, wie Ehrenreich angibt, habe ich nirgends gesehen, trotzdem ich wohl fast alle Hütten besucht habe[1].

Kleine geflochtene Matten aus Bast werden von schwangeren Frauen vor und nach der Geburt getragen, und zwar so, daß sie von hinten her um den Leib geschlagen und vorn mit den Händen festgehalten werden (Tafel 42, Abb. 2, 3). Sie dienen als Schutz gegen Wind und Regen. Vor allen Dingen führen Frauen mit Säuglingen derartige Matten auf ihren Ausgängen mit sich, um damit das Kind und sich selbst bei plötzlich hereinbrechendem Regen einigermaßen schützen zu können.

Ich möchte hier noch mit ganz wenig Worten auf das Schamgefühl der Indianer eingehen. Was die Männer anlangt, so verweise ich auf meine Bemerkung oben über den Zweck der Penisschnur; es fragt sich allerdings, ob die von den Indianern gegebene Erklärung nicht auf brasilianischen Einfluß zurückgeht. Frauen haben nie in unserer Gegenwart ihre Binde abgelegt oder gewechselt, und kleine Mädchen, denen ich ihren Gürtel abkaufte, gingen hinter die nächste Mattenwand, um dort einen neuen anzulegen, ehe

[1] Vgl. aber Šavajé, Kleine Netzdecke.

sie mir den getragenen Gürtel brachten. Es scheint also ein gewisses, dem unseren entsprechendes Schamgefühl vorhanden zu sein. Über die eigentümliche Scham, vor Fremden nicht zu essen, siehe unter Essen.

5. Der Schmuck.

A. Schmuck am Körper selbst.

a) Haartracht und -pflege. Das Kopfhaar wird vom weiblichen Geschlecht in einfacher, durch das ganze Leben hindurch ziemlich gleich bleibender Frisur getragen, während das männliche Geschlecht nach den Lebensaltern verschiedene Haartrachten bevorzugt.

Kleine Mädchen tragen das Kopfhaar an den Seiten und hinten bis in den Nacken herabhängend, während es vorn bis zur halben Stirn oder bis zu den Augenbrauen herabreicht (Tafel 11, Abb. 4). Mit Eintritt der Reife wird den Mädchen ein etwa zwei Finger breiter Scheitel ausgeschnitten, der in der Mitte von der Stirne bis zur Kopfhöhe emporgeht und meist rot bemalt wird. Die Wirbelhaare, die ihn am oberen Ende begrenzen, sind zu einem Stutz verkürzt. An den Seiten und hinten lassen die Erwachsenen das Haar lang wachsen (Tafel 17; 42). Ältere Frauen erneuern den Scheitel nicht mehr, sondern überkämmen ihn, so daß er nur selten zu sehen ist.

Abb. 37. Knabe mit abgeschnittenem Haar.

Reicher ausgestaltet ist die Haartracht des männlichen Geschlechts. Die Kinder haben entweder dieselbe Haartracht wie die Mädchen, oder das Haar ist an den Seiten nach hinten zu abgestuft (Abb. 37), oder sie tragen die bekannte Topffrisur (Tafel 11, Abb. 4; Tafel 12, Abb. 2). Den Knaben wird das Hinterhaupthaar mehrere Male verkürzt. Ist der Knabe größer, etwa 8—10 Jahre alt, so wird das gesamte Haar auf 1/2 cm kurzgeschnitten bis auf einen ringsum stehenbleibenden, gleichmäßig langen Haarkranz ((I)djalé, Tafel 43, Abb. 2). Es war keine Klarheit zu erlangen, ob dieses Verschneiden nur einmal vorgenommen oder ob jährlich mit Eintritt der Trockenzeit diese Frisur neu hergestellt wird; die Angaben der Indianer darüber schwankten. Es kamen auch völlig kurzgeschorene Knaben vor, die keinen Haarkranz besaßen. Vielleicht liegt die Sache auch so, daß das erste Mal (oder die ersten Male) der Kopf ganz glatt geschoren wird, während beim letzten Scheren der Haarkranz stehen gelassen wird. In dieser Zeit sind die Knaben fast durchgängig vollkommen schwarz angestrichen. Von da an lassen sie das Haar wachsen, bis es vorn in die Augen und hinten auf die Schultern reicht; dann werden die Knaben als erwachsen erklärt und erhalten die Stammestätowierung. Jünglinge schneiden das Vorderhaar über den Augenbrauen ab, das Seiten- und Hinterhauptshaar reicht etwa bis zu den halben Schulterblättern hinab. Der Haarkranz ist aber unter dem langen Haar noch erhalten. Auch sie tragen wie die Jungfrauen den rotgefärbten

Scheitel (lawolá, lanlá) und den Scheitelstuz (lázl) (Tafel 43, Abb. 1; Tafel 44, Abb. 1).

Das beim Rudern, Fischen und beim Gehen durch den Wald störende langflatternde Haar wird in verschiedener Weise zusammengebunden. Entweder wird das Seitenhaar vorn über der Stirn gegenseitig verknotet, oder es wird über der Stirn mit Bast zu einem kleinen Zopf zusammengebunden (hóoidódlná). Das Hinterhauptshaar wird oft hinten zu einem Schopf zusammengebunden, in den zuweilen Federbüschel eingeknüpft werden (Abb. 38). Ein solches Federbüschel (wáilwáilddlohl) besteht aus sieben Stäbchen mit roten Federn, die als Quaste an einer gedrehten Baumwollschnur befestigt sind, und von denen unten längere bunte Papageifedern herabhängen (Tafel 45, Abb. 2). Meist aber wird es in einen Zopf eingewickelt (lahlná), der entweder mit schmalem gelben Bast umflochten (Tafel 15, Abb. 1 und 2) oder in eine dicke rote Baumwollschnur von oben bis unten eingewickelt wird (Tafel 15, Abb. 4a b). Diese Baumwollschnur (lahlnázó) besteht aus zwei besonderen Schnüren, deren jede eine Quaste am Ende trägt; diese Quasten hängen am oberen Ende des Zopfes aus der Umwicklung heraus. Bei dieser Art der Frisur, die nicht, wie Ehrenreich annimmt, nur auf Stuzer beschränkt ist, sondern jetzt ziemlich allgemein von den jungen Leuten getragen wird, ist der Haarkranz sehr schön sichtbar.

Abb. 38. Jüngling mit Federbüschel und Haarkranz.

Männer tragen zuweilen die Topffrisur, meist aber haben sie dieselbe Haartracht wie die Jünglinge mit dem Unterschied, daß sie ihr Haar nicht einbinden, sondern frei hängen lassen. Der Haarkranz ist auch bei ihnen noch unter dem langen Haar zu bemerken. Auf den Scheitel und den Scheitelstuz wird in späteren Jahren kein Wert mehr gelegt (Tafel 17; Tafel 36, Abb. 1; Tafel 43, Abb. 3).

Der Scheitel (lawolá), den beide Geschlechter von der Reife an tragen, wird dadurch hergestellt, daß die Haare einzeln ausgerissen werden. Bei der Südhorde ist er schmal, so daß ich ihn zuerst gar nicht bemerkte, bei der Nordhorde dagegen etwa zwei Finger breit. Junge Leute bemalen ihn fast immer mit roter Farbe, während ältere diesen Schmuck nicht tragen. Zu ihm gehört stets der Scheitelstuz.

Der Haarkranz ist auf das männliche Geschlecht vom Knabenalter an beschränkt; Frauen haben ihn nicht.

Das Verschneiden des Haares wird jetzt mit der Schere ausgeführt. Nach Ehrenreich haben sie sie früher mit Piranhazähnen abgeschnitten. Auf meine Fragen, wie sie vor dem Besitz der Schere die Haare verschnitten hätten, antworteten sie mir stets, daß sie sie damals nicht verschnitten hätten, weil sie ja keine Scheren gehabt hätten. Die frühere Sitte ist ihnen also vollkommen aus dem Gedächtnis verschwunden. Das abgeschnittene Haar wurde beiseite geworfen, wie ich selbst beobachtet habe. Als Zweck des langen Haares geben sie den Schutz gegen Moskitos an.

Bei Trauer sollen sie sich die Haare abschneiden, und auch Frauen sollen sich einen nakulán (?) genannten Haarkranz schneiden. Doch habe ich diese Sitte bei Kabiúás Familie, die doch volle Trauer hatte, nicht beobachtet.

Gepflegt wird das Haar sehr sorgfältig. Früh und abends wird es ausgekämmt und geölt. Ehe sie eine Reise antreten, wenn sie von der Jagd, vom Fischfang, aus der Pflanzung ins Dorf zurückkehren, kämmen ihnen die Mutter, die Frau oder sonstige weibliche Angehörige das Haar aus. Kommen sie als Besuch in ein fremdes Dorf, so werden ihnen von der Häuptlingsfrau die Haare gekämmt und geölt.

Die Kämme (zibó) bestehen aus flachen, zugeschärften Spänen aus Palmholz, seltener aus Taquara, die mit den flachen Seiten aufeinandergelegt sind und durch zwei Stäbchenpaare, von denen das eine am oberen Rande, das andere in ⅓ Höhe von den Spitzen aus befestigt ist, festgehalten werden. Diese Späne sind mit Baumwollfäden in Mustern durchflochten. An beiden Seiten ragen je 2—3 Späne ein Stück über die Oberkante empor. Diese Verlängerungen tragen oft Federbüschel oder rotgefärbte Baumwollquasten und sind meist durch einen Aufhängefaden miteinander verbunden. Auf der Außenseite dieser Seitenspäne befinden sich zwischen den beiden Querhölzern oft mehrere sich kreuzende Fäden ausgespannt. Die Kämme sind stets einseitig; nur im Dorf an der Tapirapémündung bekam ich einen zweiseitigen Kamm (Tafel 21, Abb. 1c). Die Formen der Kämme lassen sich auf drei Grundtypen zurückführen: einfacher rechteckiger Kamm, breite Kämme mit gebogenen Seitenstäbchen und konvergierenden Zinken, schließlich trapezförmige Kämme (Tafel 21, Abb. 1a—d).

Abb. 39a, b. Haarölkürbisse.

Das Haaröl (tali) wird aus den Kernen von Palmfrüchten bereitet. Genannt wurden die Früchte der Coceiro (ähädété), sowie der Tukumpalme (hälá). Aufbewahrt wird das Öl in besonderen Dolcunen (tällúkú), die meist mit großen Mustern, die durch Abheben der oberen Schicht der Kürbisschale hergestellt werden, verziert sind (Abb. 39a b). In diese ölgefüllten Cunen werden rohe Baumwollflausche geworfen, die sich nun mit Öl tränken. Man wirft so viele hinein, bis kein Öl mehr flüssig vorhanden ist. Zum Gebrauch holt man einen Flausch heraus, preßt ihn zwischen den Händen aus und streicht sich das Öl in die Haare, auf die Körperhaut, verreibt es mit Farbe usw. Der Flausch wird wieder in die Cuna geworfen.

b) Körperhaar. Bartwuchs ist nur gering entwickelt. Wo sich ein Härchen zeigt, wird es ausgerupft. Backen- und Kinnhaar soll angeblich bei ihnen überhaupt nicht wachsen, dagegen haben einige kurze, schwache

Schnurrbarthaare. Da sie diese aber häßlich finden (sie vergleichen unsere Schnurrbärte mit den langen Bartfäden des Piranera), so zupfen sie sie aus. Künstliche Bärte aus Menschenhaar dagegen sollen sie nach ihrer Angabe beim Cascubotanz tragen. Der schnurrbartartige Bart wird zwischen Unterlippe und Kinn gelegt, nach den Ohren emporgezogen und hinter dem Kopfe mit Schnüren befestigt[1].

Augenhaare. Brauen und Wimpern werden entfernt, und zwar mit den Fingern ausgerissen. Die Finger werden dazu vorher in Asche getaucht, wahrscheinlich, damit sie an den glatten Haaren nicht abrutschen. Dieses Ausrupfen soll sehr weh tun; es wird schon bei kleinen Kindern vorgenommen und wiederholt, wenn die Haare wieder nachgewachsen sind. Als Grund dafür konnten sie nur angeben, daß sie nicht wollten, daß diese Haare wüchsen. Warum sie das nicht wollen, dafür hatten sie keine Erklärung.

Das übrige Körperhaar ist meist nur gering entwickelt. Die feinen Hautfaare waren fast nicht zu sehen. Auch Achselhaare waren nur gering entwickelt; ihre Entfernung steht in dem Belieben des einzelnen. Das Schamhaar war stark entwickelt, es wurde, soweit ich beobachten konnte, wenigstens bei den Männern nicht entfernt.

c) Körperbemalung. Zur Körperbemalung wird rote, schwarze und weiße Farbe verwendet.

Die rote Farbe wird aus den Fruchtkernen des Urucubaumes gewonnen. Es gibt eine Menge verschiedener Sorten, die eine mehr oder weniger intensiv rote, zum Teil auch ins Gelbliche spielende Farbe geben. Geschätzt wird vor allem die runzlkernige Sorte (wöllönö), wogegen die langkörnige Sorte in geringerem Ansehen steht (wöttönö). Die runzlkernige Sorte wächst besonders im Gebiete nördlich der Tapirapémündung; sie wird hier von den Indianern in großen Mengen gewonnen und an die Indianer südlich der Tapirapémündung, vor allem an die der Gábhorbe, weiterverhandelt. Hergestellt wird der Farbstoff aus den Kernen folgendermaßen. Man entnimmt die vielen kleinen Kerne, die in den buchenkernähnlichen Früchten sitzen, tut etwas Palmöl in die Hand und reibt nun die Kerne zwischen den geölten Händen, bis sich sämtlicher Farbstoff, der auf den Schalen der Kerne sitzt, abgelöst hat. Auf diese Weise wird eine Ölfarbe erzeugt, die mit einem Messer oder Stäbchen von der Hand abgekratzt und in eine Tuye getan wird. Die abgeriebenen Kerne werden weggeworfen. In solch frischem Zustande ist die Ölfarbe direkt gebrauchsfertig. Für den Handel wird sie in Öl gekocht (eingedickt), dann in feste Formen gebracht und an der Sonne getrocknet (Abb. 40a b).

Als schwarze Farbe dient entweder Ruß, der von den angekohlten Bäumen der Pflanzung oder von den Kochtöpfen abgekratzt wird, oder der blauschwarze Saft der Genipapofrucht (b(à)dèná). Dieser Saft wird in kleinen löffelartigen Tuyen oder in größeren geschnitzten Halbcuyen angemacht

[1] Vgl. Jahrbuch des Museums für Völkerkunde zu Leipzig, Bd. 3, 1910, S. 114.

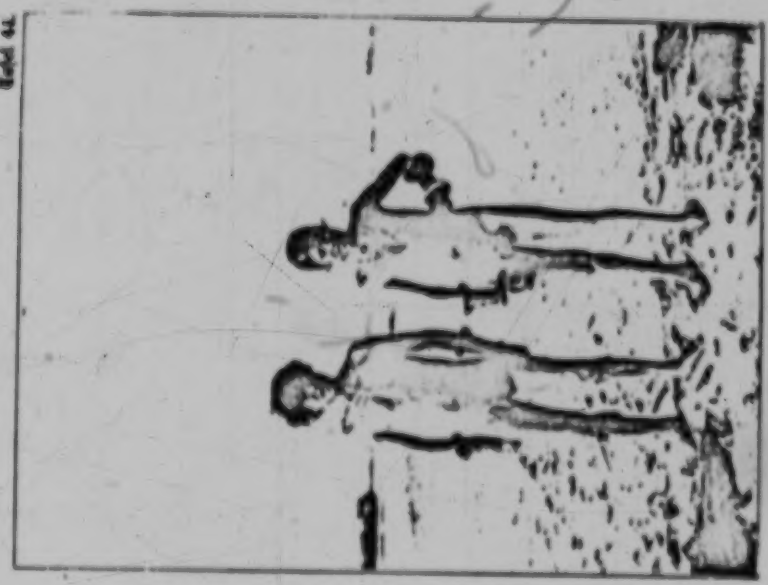
Tafel 42.

1. Jüngling in typischer Tracht.

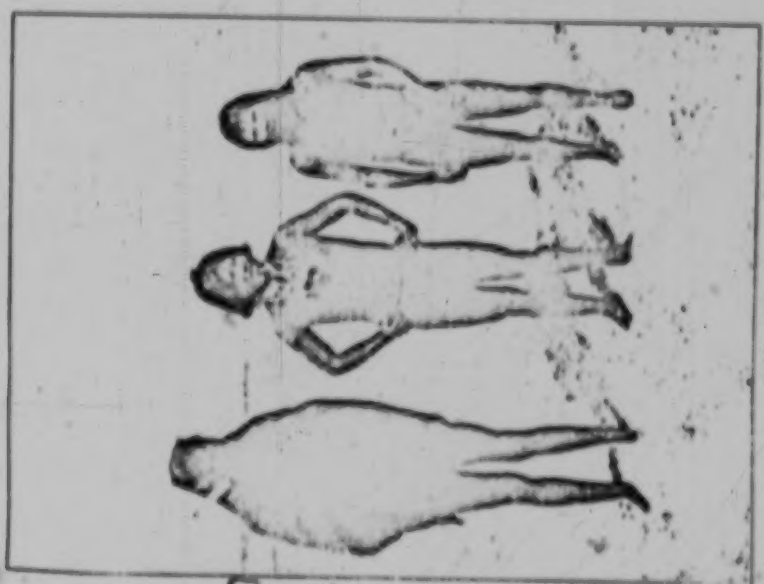
2. Knabe mit kurzgeschorenem Haar und Bemalung.

3. Kanufahrer mit Strohhut und Gebehpfeife.

[Frisch, p. 312-A]



Tafel 44.



[Facing p. 212-B]

(Abb. 41a b); er ist zunächst hell, nimmt aber bald nach dem Auftragen auf die Haut unter dem Einflusse der Luft eine schöne schwarzblaue Farbe an.

Als weiße Farbe dient eine weiße Erde (mánalá). Weiße Körper-

Abb. 40a, b. Urnbestattung in Hockstellung.

Abb. 41a, b. Farbtöpfe.

bemalung habe ich allerdings nie beobachtet. Die kleinen Tonpuppen aber tragen weiße Musterung, und die Indianer berichteten mir, daß sie sich mit dieser Farbe Ringe um die Arme, sowie Querstreifen auf der Brust anbrächten.

Als Pinsel dienen die Finger, für vollen Körperanstrich die flache Hand. Stäbchen oder Lappen zum Auftragen der Farben habe ich nie bemerkt. Dagegen wurde für Genipapomusterung gern ein Stempel (alinó) verwendet, der aus zwei nebeneinandergebundenen Rohrstäbchen besteht, deren Schnittflächen zu zwei Halbkreisen ausgeschnitten sind. Diese Halbkreise nun sind zu einer Schlangenlinie zusammengesetzt (bülul; nach Kuristí aber nanhkilází = Strauß-Scheitelstutz). Diese Stempel sind meist nur einseitig (Abb. 42a); bloß einmal traf ich einen zweiseitigen Stempel, der am einen Ende die Schlangenlinie, am anderen zwei übereinanderstehende Halbkreise trug (Abb. 42b). Mit dem Schlangenlinienstempel ist der Knabe in Abb. 2 auf Tafel 38 bemalt.

Abb. 42a, b. Genipapostempel.

In der Bemalung unterscheiden wir Vollanstrich und Musterung.

Der Vollanstrich „ist ihr Anzug" (Ausspruch Kuristís), „er schützt sie gegen die Moskitos wie die Christen ihr Anzug" (Ausspruch Mauzís).

Die Musterung dagegen wird nur bei besonderen Anlässen ausgeführt. Sie ist eine Art Festschmuck. Bei Fremdenempfang z. B. bemalen sich die Dorfbewohner mit roten und schwarzen Mustern auch die ankommenden Fremden bemalen sich, ehe sie das

Dorf betreten, und sei es auch nur, daß sie sich mit dem von den angekohlten Camphäumen abgekratzten Ruß ein schwarzes Augenband von Ohr zu Ohr ziehen. Bei Tanzfesten werden Männer und Jünglinge von den Frauen bemalt. Überhaupt ist diese Musterung ihr Schmuck, ihr Festkleid. Oft bemalten die Mütter ihre Söhne, wenn diese mit uns auf Fischfang ausziehen sollten.

Bei Trauer wird angeblich der ganze Körper, auch das Gesicht, mit einem Genipapoanstrich versehen. Doch habe ich diese Sitte bei Kabilds Familie nicht bemerkt.

Unterschiede in der Bemalung zwischen beiden Geschlechtern bestehen nicht, nur daß vielleicht die Männer, die ja mehr im Freien zu tun

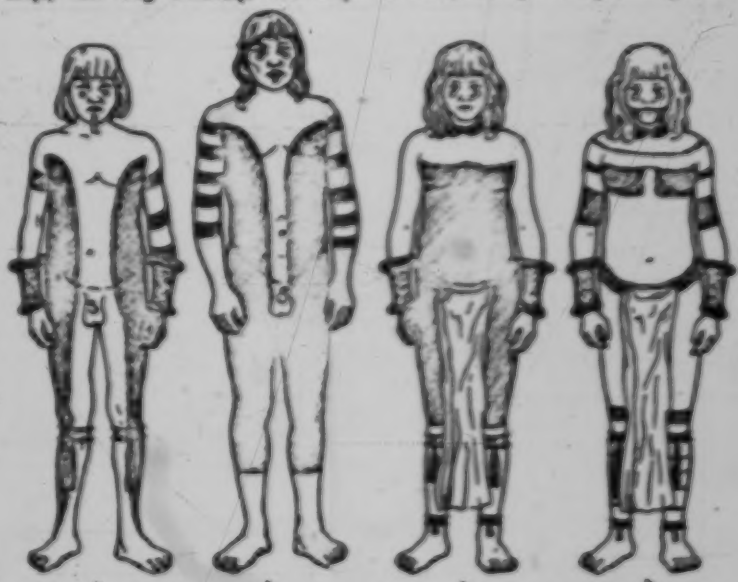


Abb. 42.
Knaben (a) und Mädchen (b) mit Vollanstrichung

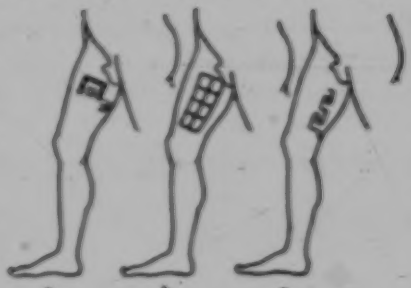
Abb. 43 a, b.
Zwei Mädchen mit Vollanstrichung

haben als die Frauen, die sich im wesentlichen im Dorf und in den Häusern aufhalten, mehr den Vollanstrich tragen als die Frauen. Die Muster selbst sind für beide Geschlechter dieselben, nur lieben die Männer eine etwas weitergehende Musterung.

Der Körperanstrich wird mit roter oder schwarzer Farbe ausgeführt, und zwar ist die rote Farbe meistens auf Männer und Jünglinge beschränkt, die schwarze auf Knaben und Mädchen, wie ja überhaupt schwarz die Farbe der Jugend ist (siehe Baumwollschmuck). Nur einmal wurde eine völlig rot angestrichene Frau gesehen.

Muster, die sich über den ganzen Körper erstrecken, sind verhältnismäßig selten. In Abb. 43 a b haben der Knabe und der Mann fast dieselbe Musterung: beide Körperseiten von den Achselhöhlen bis zur halben Wade sind schwarz angestrichen, wobei nur vorn und hinten ein Mittellängsstreifen freibleibt. Der Knabe auf Abb. 2 in Tafel 38 ist mit dem Genipapostempel über und über gemustert. Ein anderer Knabe war am ganzen Körper dadurch verziert, daß mit einer vierzinkigen Gabel einander rechtwinklig schneidende Linien gezogen worden waren. Bei allen diesen Personen waren auch die Arme gemustert. Vollgemusterte Personen weiblichen Geschlechtes waren selten; die schönste Verzierung wies die Jungfrau auf Tafel 16 auf. Ein Mädchen war von der Brust abwärts bis zum Knie schwarz bemalt, außerdem war die rechte Hand gefärbt, bei einem anderen waren nur die Brust, die Arme und Beine bemalt (Abb. 44 a b).

Einzelne Körperteile sind nur selten verziert und dann meist in Verbindung mit der Vollmusterung. Die Verzierung der Arme und Schenkel besteht im allgemeinen aus schwarzen oder roten Ringen, die um die Extremitäten herumlaufen (Abb. 43, 44). Nur am Oberschenkel, und zwar meist auf der Innenseite, seltener auf der Außenseite, finden sich selbständige Muster, deren Bedeutung leider nicht zu erlangen war (Abb. 45). Verzierte Hände, von denen Ehrenreich ein schönes Beispiel abbildet, habe ich nicht gesehen; nur ein Knabe und ein Mädchen hatten je eine schwarzangestrichene Hand.



a b c

Abb. 45 a–c.
Oberschenkelverzierung.

Wichtiger als die Körpermusterung ist die Bemalung des Gesichtes; läßt sich jemand bemalen, so kommt zuerst das Gesicht daran und dann erst die übrigen Körperteile. Charakteristisch für die Karajá ist ein Querband, das von Ohr zu Ohr über die Augen hinwegläuft, oben mit der Stirne quer abschneidet, und dessen Unterrand oft etwas unterhalb der Stammestätowierung einen gebogenen Lauf nimmt (Abb. 46 a b). Dieses Querband wird meist mit Urukúfarbe aufgemalt, selten mit Ruß oder Genipapo. Üblich ist diese Art der Bemalung bei beiden Geschlechtern. Einige Abweichungen konnten beobachtet werden, beide wurden bei der Südhorde angetroffen. Das eine Mal war die Nase ausgespart (Abb. 46 c), das andere Mal lief unter dem schwarzen Querband, das mit den Augen abschnitt, ein rotes Querband über die Stammestätowierung hinweg (Abb. 46 d).

Isolierte Bemalung der Nase ist nur selten. Eine Jungfrau trug über die Nase ein rotes Dreieck gemalt, eine andere einen roten Winkel, der von

Abb. 46 a–d.
Gesichtsbemalung der Karaja. Regenzeitfest.

Abb. 47 a, b.
Bubenfest Tang.

Die linken Kinnlinie zur Nasenwurzel empor und dann zur rechten Kinnlinie herunterlief (Abb. 47a b). Beide Bemalungen wurden in der Südhorde angetroffen. In Verbindung mit sonstiger Gesichtsbemalung kam ebenfalls nur zweimal ein senkrechter schwarzer Strich vor, der von der Nasenspitze aufwärts über die Stirn bis zum Haar lief und das eine Mal von kleinen Querstrichen gekreuzt war (Abb. 50 und 48 d).

Abb. 48 a–e.
Kampfgesichtsbemalung.

häufig verziert war das Untergesicht, also Mund, Wangen und Kinn, und zwar durchgängig nur mit schwarzer Farbe. Die einfachste dieser Verzierungen ist eine schwarze Umränderung des Mundes (Abb. 48ᵃ). Weitergebildet wird diese nach zwei Richtungen hin: einmal werden von den Mundwinkeln wagerecht über die Wangen zwei oder vier Querstriche gezogen, die zuweilen auch ein schwarzes Band bilden, in dem eine Zickzacklinie ausgespart ist (Abb. 48ᵇ—ᵉ); sodann werden von den Mundwinkeln senkrecht abwärts laufende Striche gezogen (Abb. 48ᶜ). Meist sind beide Arten kombiniert, so daß auf den Wangen Winkel entstehen, deren Spitzen nach den Mundwinkeln zu gerichtet sind. Die Schenkel dieser Winkel sind oft mehrfach (Abb. 48ᶠᵍ). Eine andere Art der Verzierung ist ein schwarzes Rechteck auf dem Kinn, das meist mit Wangenquerstrichen oder Wangenwinkeln verbunden auftritt (Abb. 49ᵃ—ᵉ).

Im allgemeinen ist entweder nur das Obergesicht oder bloß das Untergesicht verziert, und nur zuweilen ist eine Kombination beider Verzierungen vorhanden (siehe Abb. 50).

d) **Tätowieren.** Zum **Wundkratzen** der Haut dient der Wundkratzer ((ládjí), ein Stück Kürbisschale, in die nahe dem oberen Rande eine Reihe Fischzähnchen (kolládjá, angeblich Hundefisch) eingesetzt ist, die hinten

Abb. 49ᵃ—ᵉ. Wangenwinkeln.

durch eine schmale Wachswulst festgehalten wird (Abb. 51). Dieses Exemplar entspricht dem einen von Ehrenreich mitgebrachten (Berlin 3963c), während bei seinen beiden andern die ganze Rückseite durch eine dicke Wachsschicht bedeckt ist; derartige Wundkratzer habe ich nie bei den Karajá, wohl aber bei den Xavajé gesehen (siehe dort). Mit diesen Wundkratzern wird die Haut auf Armen und Oberschenkeln geritzt; den Vorgang selbst habe ich leider nie beobachten können (siehe hierzu Ehrenreich, Beiträge, Seite 33).

Sternarben habe ich nur einmal und zwar bei meinem Ruderer Antonio gesehen. Sie bestanden aus mehreren, quer über die Brust laufenden Wülsten. Diese Einschnitte werden mit dem Zahn des Hundefisches (Cachorra) gemacht und mit Ruß und Wasser eingerieben, so daß sie lange sichtbar bleiben. Die Ausführung muß am frühen Morgen nur von einem einzigen Manne vorgenommen werden, andere Zuschauer, vor allen Dingen Frauen, dürfen dabei nicht zugegen sein. Die Wunden sollen gut heilen, es soll aber

viel Blut dabei fließen. Die Anzahl der Einschnitte ist unbestimmt. Der Träger solcher Einschnitte wird wöll genannt[1]. Kurtil berichtete mir über solche Ziernarben, daß nur, wer einen Feind getötet hat, sich derartige Querrinschnitte auf Brust und Rücken anbringen lassen darf.

Tätowieren. Wir unterscheiden zwei Arten von Tätowierungen: Stammes- und Häuptlingstätowierungen.

Die Stammestätowierung, die beiden Geschlechtern eigentümlich ist, besteht aus zwei kleinen blauschwarzen Kreisen von etwa 1,2 cm Durchmesser auf

Abb. 10.
Delle Gesichtstätowierung.

Abb. 11.
Mundtätowierung.

Abb. 12.
a) Tätowierhammer mit Querschnitt und Kreisfläche in natürlicher Größe.
b) Tätowierstäbchen aus Ton, natürliche Größe.

den Wangen unterhalb der Augen (Tafel 14; 16). Als Name dafür wurde genannt: ôdêmâjûji, ôdêmâjûjâ, ôdomâtinî. Ausgeführt wird die Tätowierung folgendermaßen: Mit einem aus Ararahoij (kûwâ) hergestellten

[1] Diese selbe Sitte berichtet Caspar Mattos von den Cherentes (Rev. trim. 38, S. 23), ohne übrigens seinem Gewährsmann vollen Glauben zu schenken.

Stempel (wÄllná — Tabakspfeife) wird mit leichter Drehung des scharfen, kreisförmigen Stempelrandes die Kreislinie in die Wange eingedrückt (Abb. 52ᵃ), so daß sie lange sichtbar bleibt[1]. Als Messer dient irgend ein Splitter eines zerschlagenen Kieselsteines, der jedesmal erst neu hergestellt wird. Er wird nicht weiter bearbeitet, sondern man sucht nur einen spitzen, scharfen Splitter aus (Abb. 52ᵇ stellt vier derartige, von den Indianern zugeschlagene und als geeignet bezeichnete Steinsplitter dar). Mit diesen Steinmessern (mÄnadjú — Steinzahn) wird nun der Kreis in einer Breite von etwa 2 mm ausgeschnitten, die Wunde mit einem nassen Baumwollflaushe ausgewaschen und dann Genipaposaft eingerieben, der bald eine blauschwarze Färbung annimmt. Angeblich soll die Wunde in zwei Tagen heilen, ohne zu eitern, doch bemerkte ich bei Mauzi, dem die Tätowierung vor kurzem eingeschnitten war, daß die oberen Ränder der Kreise leicht geschwollen waren. Ist die Tätowierung noch frisch, so ist sie tief, hat scharfe Ränder und sehr dunkle Farbe. Im Alter vernarbt sie, wird allmählich ganz flach, die Farbe verliert sich. In einem Dorf der Nordhorde beobachtete ich auch einen Mann mit rotgefärbter Tätowierung.

Eingeschnitten wird die Tätowierung mit Eintritt der Reife, also etwa zwischen 12 und 14 Jahren. Doch fand ich die beiden Kreise zuweilen kleinen Kindern mit schwarzer Farbe aufgemalt. Die Zeit wird bei Knaben danach bestimmt, wenn das Haar nach dem letzten Kahlscheren vorn bis zur Nasenspitze, hinten bis auf die Schultern reicht.

Abb. 52.
Häuptlingstätowierung. a) Mann. b) Frau.

Ausgeführt wird die Tätowierung von besonderen Leuten, die Stempel und Steinmesser besitzen und wairádé genannt werden. Solcher Leute gab es in der Südhorde nur einen (in Dorf 6), in der Nordhorde dagegen mehrere (z. B. Jlk in Dorf 13). Sie werden für diese Operation bezahlt. Es sollen keinerlei Zeremonien stattfinden, und die Kinder werden nicht immer gemeinsam tätowiert, sondern auch einzeln, gelegentlich, wenn man gerade des Meisters habhaft werden kann.

Die Häuptlingstätowierung, die Häuptlingen und deren Frauen eigentümlich ist, besteht aus senkrechten schwarzen Strichen zwischen Unterlippe und unterem Gesichtsrand, die nebeneinander in einer, zuweilen auch in zwei übereinanderstehenden Linien angeordnet sind (Abb. 53ᵃ·ᵇ). Nach Kurisk soll diese Tätowierung den Frauen eigentümlich sein. Auch schon Mädchen sollen derartige Linien blauer Punkte am Kinn besitzen, was als sehr schön gelten soll. Doch habe ich diese letzte Erscheinung nie beobachtet.

[1] Ehrenreich brachte einen Stempel aus dem Stude eines Flachschenkelknochens mit (Sokli, Berlin 1913).

e) Körperpflege. Die Jubianer haben sehr viel; meist nehmen sie am frühen Morgen ein Bad, und auch tagsüber stürzen sie sich, so oft sie Lust haben, ins Wasser, meist wohl, um sich durch die darauf folgende Verdunstung des Wassers beim Trocknen Kühlung zu verschaffen.

Als Seife beim Waschen dienen zwei Pflanzenprodukte; einmal eine Knolle (tabáká — Sabão do mato), von der man etwas abschabt, bis im

Wasser reibt und sich mit dem dadurch entstehenden Schaume wäscht; sodann ein Baumöl (doá), der ebenfalls als Seife zum Reinigen benutzt wird.

Sehr beliebt ist Einreiben des Körpers, der Arme, besonders aber des Haares mit dem wohlriechenden Harz (kadiká) der Almecegeira (Hedwigia balsamifera), das für gewöhnlich in Kürbissen aufbewahrt wird.

B. Nach Geschlecht und Alter verschiedener Schmuck (Abzeichenschmuck).

a) Lippenschmuck. Solcher Schmuck wird nur vom männlichen Geschlecht getragen[1]. Das zur Aufnahme des Schmuckes nötige Loch

[1] Nach Nordiß sollen auch Frauen sich ein Loch in die Unterlippe stechen; er gab aber selbst zu, daß er das noch nie gesehen habe, und ich habe diese Erscheinung auch nie beobachtet.

(idjkrülnö) wird in der Mitte der Unterlippe eingestochen, im Alter von etwa 6—7 Jahren. Ausgeführt wird diese Operation mit einem Stück Knochen des Brüllaffen (ipidi — Brüllaffe-Knochen), und zwar von besonderen Männern, deren es in der Südhorde nur einen im Dorfe Nr. 7 gab. Besondere Feierlichkeiten sollen dabei nicht stattfinden, doch scheint die Durchbohrung gleichzeitig gewisser Feste vorgenommen zu werden.

In diesem Loche nun werden Pflöcke aus Knochen, Muscheln, Holz oder Stein getragen. Sie gelten als Abzeichen des männlichen Geschlechtes und werden nie abgelegt, da sie ja infolge ihrer schmalen Basis beim Essen nicht stören. Nur wenige alte Männer hatten zumeist keinen Lippenpflock. Beim Tausch gaben einige ihn ohne weiteres her, andere zauderten erst ein wenig und waren verlegen, als sie keinen Pflock mehr in dem Loche stecken hatten; durchgängig machten sie sich sofort einen neuen oder steckten einen Reservepflock hinein. Die Pflöcke werden von der Innenseite her durch das Loch gesteckt und eben so wieder herausgezogen.

Abb. 54a—c.
Lippenpflöcke der Jiwaroë.

Je nach dem Lebensalter sind die Lippenpflöcke aus verschiedenem Material und in verschiedener Form hergestellt.

Kleinste Knaben tragen Pflöcke aus dem Knochen des Brüllaffen. Diese sind etwa 4—11 cm lang, laufen unten spitz zu und haben oben ein breiteres Ende, das an die Innenseite der Unterlippe als Widerlager zu liegen kommt (Abb. 54a b). Größere Knaben benutzen Pflöcke aus Muschelschale (idjá). Die dazu verwendete Muschel ist die dünne, zweispitzige Muschel (Tafel 45, Abb. 1a), die idjá

Abb. 55a, b.
Lippenpflöcke Wenner Jiwaroë.

oder k(ä)djá genannt wurde. Nach Pebro werden auch aus der dicken dreikantigen Muschel (balá, Tafel 45, Abb. 1a) djilapá genannte Lippenpflöcke gemacht. Er behauptete, ich hätte derartige Pflöcke in meiner Samm-

lung; der Name ist mir aber sonst nie genannt worden. Augenscheinlich ist aber eine Anzahl der Muschelpflöcke wirklich aus dieser Muschel hergestellt. Die aus der zweispitzigen Muschel gefertigten Pflöcke weisen Perlmutterglanz auf, sind flach und schmal, stab- oder keilförmig und haben meist ein breites Widerlager (Abb. 55a—e). Die aus der dreikantigen Muschel hergestellten Pflöcke dagegen sind weißglänzend und dick, laufen meist unten in eine umgebogene Spitze aus oder weisen geschweifte Formen auf (Abb. 56a—c; siehe auch Tafel 12, Abb. 2).

Knaben, die kurz vor der Reife stehen, tragen zuweilen spiralig aufgerollte Pflöcke aus schmalen Holzstreifen (ödähó, Abb. 57).

Mit Einschneiden der Stammeslätowierung gehen die Jünglinge zu Lippenpflöcken aus Holz (ödähó) über (nach Ehrenreich aus dem leichten Holze des Piuvabaumes hergestellt). Zunächst lieben sie es, riesige Holzlamellen zu tragen. Das größte Exemplar meiner Sammlung ist 25 cm lang bei 2 cm Breite (Abb. 58a); derartige Lippenpflöcke reichen bis auf die Brust herab (Tafel 43, Abb. 1). Am unteren Querrand laufen diese Lamellen meist in eine kleine Spitze aus. Je älter die Leute werden, um so kürzere Pflöcke tragen sie; diese schneiden zuweilen unten querab (Abb. 58b c). Ältere Hagestolze tragen Pflöcke, die sich von denen der verheirateten Männer nicht wesentlich unterscheiden (Abb. 59a b). Die verheirateten

Abb. 60 a—d.
Holzlippenpflöcke der Männer.

Männer tragen ebenfalls Holzpflöcke, die sich im Anfang noch an die Formen der älteren Jünglinge anlehnen, später aber immer kürzer und dicker werden und schließlich bei älteren Männern (etwa von 50 Jahren an) aus einem Knopf von 1,8 cm Durchmesser bestehen, der zuweilen noch eine kleine Spitze vorn am unteren Rande trägt (Abb. 60a—d).

Bei besonderen Anlässen sollen von der Jugend auch bemalte Holzlippenpflöcke getragen werden; doch habe ich derartige Exemplare nie gesehen. Im ersten Dorfe hatte der Knabe Mauzi am Tage, nachdem er mir das erzählt hatte, seinen Pflock bemalt, „wie man es weiter abwärts tue" (Abb. 61). Unter den Wachsnachbildungen von Tanzfiguren, die ich bei den Karajá erwerben konnte, befindet sich die der Inuaini-Maske. Diese trägt einen bemalten und mit Wachswülsten belegten, vom Kinn herabhängenden Streifen, der offenbar einen solchen bemalten Lippenpflock darstellen soll (Tafel 45, Abb. 7).

Diese Aufeinanderfolge war überall genau eingehalten. Nur im ersten Dorfe bei Leopoldina fanden sich Abweichungen. Hier trug der Knabe, wie

eben erwähnt, eine Holzlamelle, später wie sein älterer Bruder und der Vater einen Holzknopf. Diese Familie war zivilisiert; sie scheute sich, vor den Brasilianern mit langen Pflöcken einher zu laufen. Gelten doch überhaupt lange Pflöcke als Zeichen von Eitelkeit, weshalb z. B. ältere Leute solche nie tragen können, ohne sich lächerlich zu machen. Die jungen Leute nun im ersten Dorfe fühlten sich zu erhaben über ihre wilden Stammesgenossen, als daß sie solch lächerliche Sachen trügen, begnügten sich also mit dem würdevollen Knopf der Alten.

Eine besondere Art bilden die Steinlippenpflöcke (mknä'dělě; mknä-Stein, mknadĕrĕzö-Bergkristall). Sie werden aus Quarz, Bergkristall oder

Abb. 61.
Bemalter Holzlippenpflock.

Abb. 64.
Kopfschmuckpflock
in Aufbewahrungsform.

Abb. 62.
Steinlippenpflock.

Abb. 63.
Glyzinien mit doppelten Zeichenkreuz.

Alabaster zugeschlagen und dann geglättet, so daß sie wie poliert aussehen. Das Mundstück ist stark verbreitert, das untere Ende läuft in eine Verdickung aus (Abb. 62). Derartige Lippenpflöcke werden nur von unverheirateten Männern und nur bei besonderen Festen getragen. Wenn sie heiraten, verschenken sie ihn an einen jungen Verwandten. Da die Steinlippenpflöcke sehr dick sind, muß das Lippenloch erst ausgeweitet werden. Dies geschieht durch Einstecken immer dickerer Holzpflöcke. Von solchen Lippenpflöcken habe ich nur ein Exemplar gesehen und zwar bei der Südhorde, ohne es jedoch erwerben zu können. Von einem zweiten Exemplar

bei der Südhorde erfuhr ich erst, als wir das Dorf längst verlassen hatten. Sie werden nicht von den Karajá hergestellt, sondern von den Tapirapé, von denen die Karajá der Nordhorde sie eintauschen. Die der Südhorde kaufen sie wieder von denen der Nordhorde, der Preis beträgt dann angeblich ein Kanu, eine Axt, einen Topf und ein Buschmesser. Sie sind also sehr teuer und werden deshalb, und weil sie sehr zerbrechlich sind, behutsam behandelt und in Stoff gewickelt sorgsam aufgehoben. Gegenwärtig, wo die Karajá mit den Tapirapé in Fehde leben und daher keine Steinlippenpflöcke mehr kaufen können, ist ihr Wert natürlich um ein Vielfaches gestiegen.

b) Ohrschmuck. Das zur Aufnahme des Schmuckes dienende Loch wird im Ohrläppchen dicht am inneren Rande angebracht; es wird bald nach der Geburt von der Mutter oder vom Verwandten (Onkel) mit einem Affenknochen oder Tukumsplitter eingestochen.

In diesem Loche wird von beiden Geschlechtern Schmuck getragen, der nach Altersstufen verschieden ist; doch wird er nicht ständig geführt, sondern nur zuweilen, je nach Laune angelegt.

Kinder beiderlei Geschlechts, vor allem kleinste, tragen den kuãdjú (= Kapivarazahn) genannten Ohrschmuck. An einem kurzen, dünnen Palmholzstiel ist mittels Wachs und Baumwollfadenumwicklung eine Tulpe bunter Papageifedern befestigt, in deren Kelchgrunde sich eine Perlmutterscheibe von meist 2,2 cm Durchmesser findet. Aus deren Mitte erhebt sich ein Nagetierzahn (Kapivara = ku(w)ã; nach Ehrenreich Aguti), der meist mit einem schwarzen Baumwollfaden umflochten ist (Abb. 63).

Die von mir mitgebrachten Exemplare weisen einige Unterschiede auf. Die Tulpe besteht meist aus gelbroten Papageifedern, die Scheibe ist zuweilen noch von einem Innenkranz beschnittener roter Federchen umgeben. Die Perlmutterscheibe trägt manchmal einen oder mehrere konzentrische Wachsringe. Ein Exemplar hat an Stelle der Perlmutterscheibe eine Wachsscheibe, bei fünf anderen fehlt die Scheibe überhaupt: der Zahn steigt direkt aus dem Kelche auf und ist bei einem Exemplar in seinem Unterteil mit weißer Rohbaumwolle umwickelt. Vier Exemplare der Sammlung haben kleine Hängefedern, die vom Stabe an dünner Schnur herabhängen[1].

Diesen Schmuck trugen meist Säuglinge und Kinder von zwei bis drei Jahren und zwar beständig; bei größeren Kindern war er nur vereinzelt anzutreffen (Tafel 18, links). Es ist ein sehr kostbarer Schmuck. Das Kapivara ist wegen seines scheuen Wesens schwer zu jagen, die Nagezähne sind daher sehr teuer, und zwar sind sie um so teurer, je kleiner sie sind. Sie dienen als Geld für den Bootskauf: man kauft ein Boot für zwei solcher Zähne. Aufbewahrt werden sie in der durch Abbildung 64 wiedergegebenen Verpackung: zwei lange und zwei kurze Zähne sind im unteren Teil mit Baumwollfäden zusammengebunden und zum Teil mit Wachs überzogen.

[1] Ehrenreich brachte außer ähnlichen Exemplaren noch ein anderes mit, bei dem die Scheibe ein schwarzes Federkreuz trägt. Vielleicht stammt es von den Bambiod; siehe nächste Anmerkung.

Tafel 45.

a b c

1. Muscheln für Lippenpflöcke: a) dreikantige, b) Perlmutter, c) zweispitzige.

2. Schopffederquaste.

b a

4. Wadenband (a) und Knöchelband (b) eines Mädchens.

5. Beinwickel kleinster Kinder.

3. Armstulpe eines Kindes.

6. Wadenband mit gequästeltem Schnurbehang.

7. Wachsnachbildung der inauini-Maske.

[Facing p. 224]

Unter dem Namen kudöhömalí erhielt ich die Kürbisscheibe Abb. 65. Sie ist mit vier konzentrischen Wachsringen belegt, deren Zwischenräume zum Teil rot bemalt sind; im Zentrum befinden sich drei Löcher. Angeblich soll dies eine Scheibe einer Ohrrosette sein, doch habe ich derartig große Scheiben sonst nicht gesehen. Nun kommen aber an den Tanzmasken große Ohrrosetten vor; vielleicht ist es die Scheibe einer solchen Maskenrosette.

Die mannbare Jugend beiderlei Geschlechts trägt einen etwas abweichenden Ohrschmuck, aber nur zuweilen, wohl mehr als Festschmuck. Genannt wird er döhólaã (= döhó-Auge; so wurde auch die Perlmutterscheibe in der Mitte genannt). An einem Taquarastab ist vorn eine flache Federrosette durch Baumwollumwicklung angebracht, deren Mitte durch eine Perlmutterscheibe mit einem Wachsknopf im Zentrum bedeckt wird[1] (Abb. 66a b).

Abb. 65.
Verzierte Kürbisscheibe.

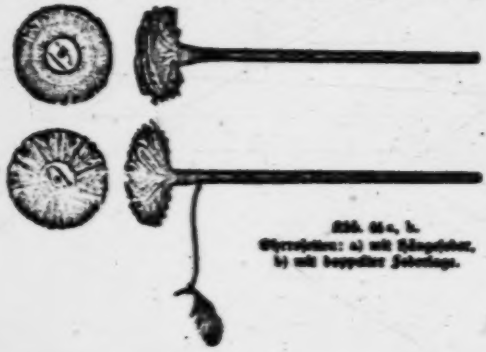


Abb. 66a, b.
Ohrrosetten: a) mit Hängefeder, b) mit doppelter Federlage.

Abb. 67.
Beschnitzter Ohrstab.

Die Rosette besteht entweder aus feinen roten Federchen oder aus zwei Lagen gelber und roter beschnittener Papageifedern, von denen die Außenlage gelb, die Innenlage rot ist oder das umgekehrte Verhältnis eintrifft. Auch diese Ohrrosetten haben zuweilen eine kleine Hängefeder.

Junge Leute, sowie Erwachsene beiderlei Geschlechts tragen wesentlich einfacheren Schmuck, nämlich einfache Stäbe (döhó), die oft im vorderen Teil mit Ritzverzierungen bedeckt sind (Abb. 67). Auch hier finden wir Unterschiede nach dem Alter. Es gibt drei Arten solcher Stäbe: gelbe, meist beschnitzte Taquarastäbe, rötliche oder braune Rohrstäbe aus einer Abart von Gibaie,

[1] Ehrenreich brachte einige Exemplare mit Wachskreuz auf der Scheibe mit. Derartige Ohrrosetten habe ich nie gesehen. Königswald (Globus, Bd. 94, S. 219) gibt an, daß diese nur von den Sambioá stammen, während die der Karajá nur den Wachsknopf aufweisen. Damit würde auch mein Befund übereinstimmen. Siehe auch die vorige Anmerkung und vergleiche hierzu die Šavajé.

und schwarze, unverzierte Stäbe aus Gibate (döhödêbô-schwarze Stäbe). Die unverheiratete Jugend trägt im allgemeinen Stäbe aus gelbem Taquararohr und zuweilen solche aus rotem oder braunem Rohr, während die Verheirateten neben selten vorkommenden gelben Stäben meist nur schwarze Stäbe tragen. Aber auch Jungfrauen und ältere Hagestolze tragen solche schwarze Stäbe. Außerdem bevorzugt die Jugend lange Stäbe, während die Alten nur kürzere tragen (Tafel 42, Abb. 1; 43, Abb. 1; 44, Abb. 2).

c) Arm- und Beinschmuck aus rotgefärbter Baumwolle. Dieser Schmuck, aus Armstulpen, Waden- und Knöchelbändern bestehend und von beiden Geschlechtern getragen, ist das Abzeichen der Unverheirateten, wird also von frühester Jugend auf bis zur Heirat und dann wieder von Verwitweten getragen.

Die Armstulpe (desi) wird mit der Häkelnadel aus Baumwolle als langer Zylinder gehäkelt, dessen verdickte Ränder krempenartig nach außen umgebogen sind (Tafel 45, Abb. 3; siehe auf Tafel 16; 18; 44, Abb. 2). Die obere Öffnung ist weiter als die untere. Hergestellt werden sie von den Frauen, und zwar werden sie über einer Keule oder einem Mandiokastampfer (nach Ehrenreich auch über einem besonderen, von mir nirgends beobachteten Holzkegel) gehäkelt. Sind die Stulpen fertig, so werden sie mit Urukú-Ölfarbe rot gefärbt. Sie können abgelegt und angezogen werden, vor allem bei starker Arbeit werden sie beiseite gelegt, überhaupt nicht ständig, aber meist getragen. Jünglinge stecken zuweilen von hinten her ihre Messer hinein, so daß die Klinge nach dem Ellbogen herausragt. Werden sie zu eng, so werden sie abgelegt und neue angefertigt. Endgültig abgelegt werden sie erst bei der Hochzeit. Doch besteht die Möglichkeit, sie später wieder anzulegen und zwar in drei Fällen: einmal legen sie verwitwete Leute wieder an; dann dürfen Männer sie wieder tragen, wenn ihre Frauen mit ihnen zufrieden sind und sie ihnen wieder anlegen, und schließlich darf sie der beste Ringkämpfer wieder tragen.

Knöchelbänder (wälaú) und Wadenbänder (dóóbutá) werden gleichfalls aus Baumwolle gehäkelt und rot gefärbt. Es sind schmale Bänder mit verdickten Rändern, die vorn zusammengehäkelt werden. An dieser Schlußstelle hängt von beiden Rändern je eine lange Fadenquaste herab (Tafel 45, Abb. 4a b; siehe auch Tafel 15, Abb. 1; 16; 36, Abb. 1; 43, Abb. 1). Die Quasten der Wadenbänder werden bei längeren Märschen oder raschen Läufen oft hinten zusammengebunden, um die Bewegung des Trägers nicht zu behindern (Tafel 44, Abb. 2). Auf die Wadenbänder werden zuweilen noch Bastbinden gebunden (vielleicht Trauerabzeichen?)

Bei den Knöchelbändern ist der obere, bei den Wadenbändern der untere Rand etwas weiter als der andere. Auffällig ist der geringe Umfang der Waden- und Knöchelbänder. Bei einem etwa 16jährigen Mädchen beträgt der Umfang des Wadenbandes 24 cm, der des Knöchelbandes 17 cm; bei einem Jüngling der des Wadenbandes 29 cm.

Beide Bänder werden von Frauen am Beine des Trägers selbst angehäkelt. Der Betreffende liegt auf einer Matte am Boden, den Kopf auf

ein Bündel gelegt; unter seine Knie ist eine zusammengerollte Netzdecke geschoben. An jedem Bein häkelt eine ihm verwandte Frau die Bänder aus weißen Baumwollfaden an; erst nach der Fertigstellung werden sie rot gefärbt.

Die Bänder werden schon bald nach der Geburt angelegt. Werden sie zu eng, so werden sie durchgeschnitten und durch neue ersetzt. In der Zwischenzeit laufen die Leute oft ohne die Bänder herum. Beim Abschneiden stecken sie ein Hölzchen zwischen Band und Bein, um sich nicht mit dem Messer zu verletzen, mit dem bei dem starken, festen Geflecht ziemlich derb aufgedrückt werden muß, um durchzukommen.

Die Knaben legen die Knöchelbänder schon frühzeitig ab, die Mädchen tragen sie dauernd bis zur Hochzeit, wo beide Geschlechter sich gegenseitig die Waden- und Knöchelbänder abschneiden. Verwitwete legen die Wadenbänder wieder an.

Schmuck als Abzeichen des Standes gibt es kaum, jedenfalls habe ich nichts derartiges gesehen. Doch erzählte Kurisi, daß Häuptlingsfrauen ein Halsgehänge von Ketten aus Thevetiafrüchten (mäjäni) tragen. Die Ketten sind zwischen zwei Fäden, die im Nacken gebunden werden, senkrecht in der Weise angeordnet, daß die Ketten nach vorn zu an Länge zunehmen und auf dem Leibe bis zum Nabel herabreichen.

C. Übriger Schmuck.

Der gesamte übrige Schmuck ist auf die Unverheirateten (Kinder und Jugend) beschränkt und wird nur gelegentlich getragen.

a) Baumwollschmuck für Nacken, Hüften, Arme und Beine. Er stellt einen großen Teil des Karajáschmuckes dar, wird aber nur zuweilen getragen, wohl wegen seiner Schwere. Der Farbe nach unterscheidet sich der schwarze Kinderschmuck vom roten Jugendschmuck.

Ein schmales Kopfband aus schwarzem Baumwollgeflecht, mit Muschelscheibchen besetzt, hat Ehrenreich von den Karajá mitgebracht (Berlin 3676). Ich bezweifle, daß dieser Gegenstand wirklich ein Kopfband ist. Denn einmal habe ich nie ein derartiges Schmuckstück gesehen, und dann dürfte das Band auch viel zu lang für ein Kopfband sein. Ähnliche Bänder hingegen finden sich als Gurt der Mädchenschnurschurze und als Bänder an den Zylindertanzmasken.

Im Nacken tragen die Jünglinge lange rote Quasten (nöhözäzö) an einer geflochtenen Schnur, die mit einer Öse hinten in die Halskette gehängt wird. Es werden stets zwei solcher Quasten getragen. Das Schmuckstück (Abb. 68a) ist sehr selten. Kinder tragen statt dessen schwarze Schnüre, an deren Enden sich je eine dicke kurze schwarze Quaste befindet (nöhözä). Zwei solcher Schnüre werden aufeinandergelegt, so daß sich die Quasten decken, und dann zur Hälfte umgeschlagen, so daß alle vier Quasten nach unten hängen. Die oberen Schleifen werden verknotet und dann die Halskette hindurchgezogen. Bei den Nackenquasten der Mädchen sind oft

Tafel 46.

1. Federhaube mit Reiherfedern.

2. Feste Netzhaube, mit weißen Flaumfederchen besetzt.

3. Federhaube mit weißen Federn.

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Schneckengehäuse (Castalia dolabella) von obenher über die Quasten gezogen (Abb. 68b; Tafel 18, rechts).

Um die Hüften tragen die Mädchen zuweilen einen langherabfallenden Schurz [(g)üöhí] aus schwarzen Baumwollschnüren, die oben zu einem Gurt verflochten sind, der manchmal mit Perlmutterscheibchen besetzt ist. Der Schurz wird geschlossen von unten her über die Hüften gezogen. Die Schnüre fallen bis auf die Füße herab, beim Laufen werden die Schenkel dazwischen sichtbar. Auch dieses Schmuckstück war sehr selten (Abb. 69; Tafel 18).

Abb. 68a, b.
Fußquasten: a) Jünglinge, rot; b) Kinder, schwarz.

Abb. 69.
Schnurrock der Mädchen.

Arme und Beine entsprechen sich in der Art des Baumwollschmuckes. Wir unterscheiden drei verschiedene Sorten:

Die erste Art besteht aus langen schwarzen Schnüren mit je zwei Quasten am einen Ende. Diese Schnüre werden so um den Oberarm gewickelt, daß man zunächst die Quasten an der Schulter festhält, dann den Oberarm von oben an einwickelt und die Wickelung vom Ellbogen wieder in die Höhe führt, bis die ganze Schnur aufgebraucht ist. Das Ende wird verknotet, die Quasten läßt man dann über die Wicklung herabfallen, sie kommen selbstverständlich stets an die Außenseite zu liegen. Dieser Schmuck wird nur von Kindern getragen. Derartige Quastenschnüre für den Oberarm heißen dolú, für den Unterarm dösidébé (doch habe ich derartige Unterarmquasten nie gesehen, nur Kuriší erzählte mir von ihnen), für die Waden deöbódá; für Knöchelquasten dieser Art konnte ich keinen besonderen Namen erfahren. Die Schnüre haben oft eine ganz gewaltige Länge: bei dem Oberarmschmuck (Abb. 70) sind die Schnüre 275 cm lang, die Quasten

Abb. 70.
Quaderschurz für Oberarm.

Abb. 72.
Oberarmband mit langem Schurzchen.

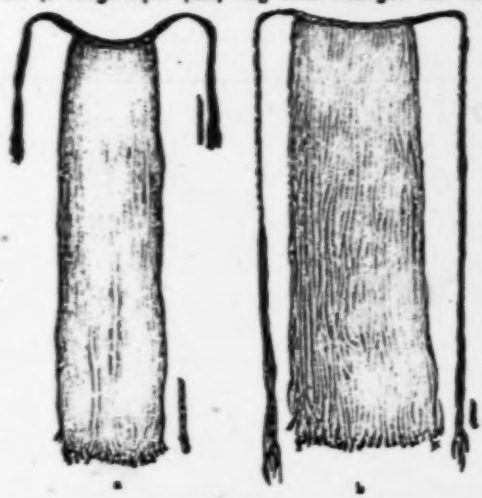
a b

Abb. 71a, b.
Trageart der Quaderschurze für die Beine.

Abb. 73.
Trageart des Wadenbandes mit Schurzchen.

75 cm, bei den Wadenschnüren sind die Schnüre 210—220 cm lang, die Quasten 17—18 cm (Abb. 71a b). Ehrenreich gibt an, daß bald nach der Geburt um Unterarme und Unterschenkel schwarze Baumwollschnüre gebunden würden (aJoñrubé; Beiträge, Seite 11); schwarze, in sich geschlossene Schnüre, in die beiderseits Bindeschnuren eingebunden sind, von 9 cm Länge, die derartige Binden für Säuglinge darstellen, siehe Tafel 45, Abb. 5. Auch größere Kinder tragen zuweilen noch solche schwarze Wadenbänder.

Die zweite Art besteht aus flachen, geflochtenen oder gequästelten Bändern mit langem Schnurbehang. Auch dieser Schmuck wird fast nur von Kindern getragen. Für den Oberarm sind schwarze geflochtene Bänder üblich (lòlù), die so eingerichtet sind, daß beim Anlegen um den Arm die Quasten tressenartig an der Außenseite des Armes herabhängen. Der Behang erreicht bis 127 cm Länge (Abb. 72). Unter die Wadenbänder dagegen werden mehr die roten gequästelten Bänder gebunden [(k)aljáú], deren Behang bis 16 cm Länge erreicht und das ganze



a b

Abb. 74a, b.
Doppelwadenbänder mit Schnurbehang für den Oberarm. b) gequästelt.

Abb. 75.
Doppelwadenband mit Schnurbehang, als Wadenband.

Bein umgibt (Abb. 73). Besonders schön ist der Behang bei dem Exemplar in Abb. 6 auf Tafel 45, bei dem in gleichmäßigen Abständen Lücken ausgespart sind.

Die dritte Art schließlich besteht aus zwei nebeneinander parallelliegenden dicken Wülsten, die miteinander verflochten sind, und von denen langer roter Behang herabhängt. Dieser Schmuck wird allgemein von größeren Kindern und der Jugend beiderlei Geschlechtes getragen. Für den Ober- und Unterarm heißen diese Bänder ködèsí, ihr Behang hängt beide Male nur an der Außenseite des Armes herab. Die Unterarmbänder werden hinter den Armstulpen (dèsí) getragen. Zuweilen kommt auch bei diesem Schmuckstück Verflechtung des oberen Teiles vor (Abb. 74a b). Für derartige Wadenbänder, die unter den eigentlichen Wadenbändern getragen werden,

wurden zwei Namen angegeben: aljáá und wöçaldí. Bei ihnen hängen die Fransen rings um das Bein (Abb. 75).

b) Aller sonstiger Schmuck wird nur von den Unverheirateten getragen; Verheiratete haben keinen Federschmuck, dagegen ist die Jugend reichlich damit versehen, wenn sie ihn auch selten anlegt. Der am meisten getragene Schmuck sind Federhauben (Knaben), Perlenhalsketten, Fingerringe, sowie Baumwollgürtel mit Federbehang. Aller übriger Schmuck scheint nur gelegentlich bei Tänzen, Festen usw. angelegt zu werden. In der Zwischenzeit wird er sorgsam in den eleganten langen Deckelkörben aufbewahrt. Die weibliche Jugend trägt nur Halsketten und Fingerringe, die Mädchen auch Federhauben und Federarmbänder. Ein Mädchen von 9—11 Jahren trug folgende Schmuckstücke: Federhaube, rote Ohrrosetten, schwarze Nackenquasten mit Schneckengehäusen, Federarmbänder hinter den roten Armstulpen, schwarzen Gürtel mit grauem Bastschurz darüber, dazu einen langen schwarzen Schnurrock und schließlich Wadenbänder (Tafel 18).

Auf der Reise hatten meine Indianer keinen Schmuck; sie trugen zum Teil brasilianische Kleidung, sowie Lippenpflock und einheimische Fingerringe. Die Ledigen banden sich fast durchgängig ein Stück Angelschnur um die Knöchel. Auffällig war, daß in den nördlich von der Tapirapémündung gelegenen Dörfern der Nordhorde nur wenig Schmuck vorhanden war und Federschmuck fast völlig fehlte.

Eine besondere Stellung nimmt das Dorf an der Tapirapémündung ein. Sämtliche auffällig abweichenden Formen, die im Nachfolgenden besonders hervorgehoben werden sollen, stammen aus diesem Dorfe. Ob das ein Zufall ist, oder ob hier eine Einwirkung der Tapirapé vorliegt, kann ich nicht entscheiden.

Von den von Ehrenreich mitgeteilten Kopffederschmucksachen habe ich folgende nicht gesehen:

Die Scheitelwirbelaufsätze, die aus einer rhombischen geflochtenen Platte bestehen, aus der sich je zwei auf zwei federumkleideten Kielen montierte Cassicusfedern erheben (Beiträge, Abb. 8); den Hinterhaupts-Tanzschmuck luriná (ibid., Tafel II, 2; IX, 2), den ich nur bei den Šavajé in einem unvollständigen Exemplar antraf; die Diademe ahotö (ibid., Tafel IX, 5), die sich beim Umbinden oben auseinanderspreizen; ähnlich gebaut ist der von mir mitgebrachte Schmuck ödjl (Tafel 48, Abb. 7) aus dem Dorfe an der Tapirapémündung.

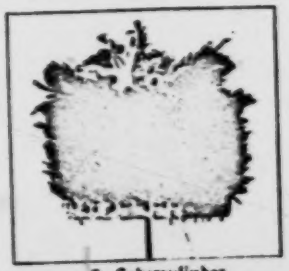
Die Ursachen für dieses Fehlen bei den Karajá können dreierlei Art sein: entweder stammen die Ehrenreichschen Exemplare von den Šambioá, deren Kultur immerhin etwas von der der Karajá abweicht, oder es ist nur ein Zufall, daß die Karajá während meiner Anwesenheit gerade diese Schmuckstücke nicht vorrätig hatten, oder aber, und das scheint mir das annehmbarste, es herrschte zu Ehrenreichs Zeit eine andere Mode. Denn der Umstand, daß Ehrenreich vom luriná mehrere Exemplare mitbrachte, ich aber bei den Karajá kein und bei den Šavajé nur ein einziges Exemplar antraf, scheint

Tafel 47.

1. Eingestülpte Federhaube (Aufbewahrungsform).

2. Federhaube mit drei Zonen von Federn.

3. Federhaube mit zwei Zonen von Federn.



5. Federzylinder.

6. Federhaube mit Federreif im oberen Teil.

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darauf hinzudeuten, daß der ehemals so gebräuchliche Schmuck jetzt nicht mehr in diesem Maße getragen wird.

Der gewöhnliche Kopfschmuck wird durch die Federhauben (dölldöll) dargestellt. Sie werden von Kindern beiderlei Geschlechts getragen; meist sieht man die Knaben den ganzen Tag über in diesem Schmucke einherlaufen. Sie bestehen aus einem Netz, in dessen Fäden einzelne Federn oder an Stäbchen befestigte Federrosetten eingeknüpft sind. Die Hauben werden über den Hinterkopf gezogen und mit einer Kinnschnur (lërüdl) befestigt (Abb. 76). Hergestellt werden die Netze aus feiner Bastfaser oder dickem Bastgeflecht. Sie sind einstülpbar, die Kinnschnur dient als Zug, um sie zu schließen; in dieser Weise werden sie aufbewahrt (Tafel 47, Abb. 1). Versteifte Netze sind sehr selten. Die einstülpbaren Netze kann man nach zwei Merkmalen gruppieren: nach der Befestigungsart der Federn und nach ihrer Anordnung in Zonen. Nach der Befestigungsart unterscheiden wir zwei Haupttypen: bei weitem der größere Teil weist je zwei kleine, an die Fäden (nicht in die Knoten) mittels besonderer Fäden angeknüpfte Federn auf (Abb. 77 a). Einige wenige tragen daneben noch an Stäbchen befestigte, kurze oder langstielige Rosetten (Ehrenreich

Abb. 76.
Tragart der Federhauben.

Abb. 77a, b.
Befestigung der Federn in den Netzen der Federhauben
a) je 2 Federn, b) Rosettenstäbe.

nennt diesen Typus hatukö; Abb. 77 b). Dazu kommen noch zwei besondere Arten: einmal sind Büschel langer weißer Federn eingebunden, wodurch die ganze Haube sehr buschig aussieht (Tafel 46, Abb. 3); derartige Hauben werden meist von schwarz angestrichenen Knaben mit kurzgeschnittenem Haar getragen. Die andere, sehr seltene Ausnahme bildet eine Haube, bei der je eine lange weiße Reiherfeder eingebunden ist (Tafel 46, Abb. 1). Diese Federn werden beim Tragen nach hinten gelegt.

Nach Anordnung in Zonen gliedern sie sich folgendermaßen: Völlig mit Federn bedeckte Netze, die keine Zone erkennen lassen; Hauben mit zwei Zonen, von denen die untere aus Büscheln von je zwei Federn, die obere aus langen Federn besteht (eine Ausnahme bildet Abb. 3 in Tafel 47, deren untere Zone aus Federrosetten, die obere aus langen Federn besteht). Hauben mit drei Zonen, die entweder aus verschiedenfarbigen Federn bestehen, oder deren untere Zone aus Federstäbchen, die mittlere aus kleinen Federn, die

Tafel 48.

1. Federreif.

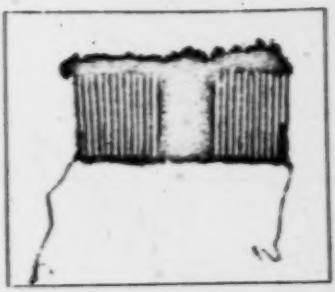
2. Federreif mit einfachem Stutz.

3. Federreif mit zusammengesetztem Stutz.

4. Kopfband aus feinen Federchen.

5. Federbiadem.

6. Kopfreif mit langen senkrechten Araraſedern.



7. Steifes Rohrbiadem.

[facing p. 233]

obere aus langen Federn oder die untere aus Einzelfedern, die mittlere aus Rosetten, die obere aus langen Federn besteht (Tafel 47, Abb. 2).

Eine andere Art Netze ist aus dichtem Bastgeflecht hergestellt und mit weißen Flaumfederchen bedeckt (Tafel 46, Abb. 2).

Versteifte Netze sind ebenfalls sehr selten. Entweder ist an der Unterkante des Netzes oder weit oben im Netz ein Federreif angebracht (Tafel 47, Abb. 4, 6).

Eine Abart stellt der Federzylinder in Abb. 5 auf Tafel 47 dar. Der Zylinder besteht aus senkrechten Stäbchen, die oben und unten an einem Reif befestigt sind und in ihrer vollen Länge außen mit aufsteigenden Federn verziert erscheinen. Die obere Öffnung des Zylinders ist mit einem Netz überspannt, in das Büschel von je zwei Federchen eingebunden sind. Dieser Schmuck erinnert etwas an Ehrenreichs Federstabheim (Beiträge, Tafel IX, 3), ein Schmuckstück, das ich sonst nicht gesehen habe.

Eigentümlich ist, daß diese drei letzten Arten: die Netze aus dichtem Bastgeflecht (Dorf 20), die versteiften Netze (Dorf 2) und der Federzylinder (Lager bei Santa Maria) an den beiden Endpunkten des Karajágebietes vorkommen, die mit brasilianischer Kultur in enger Beziehung stehen, während die einstülpbaren auf das noch weniger beeinflußte Indianergebiet beschränkt sind.

Federreife (nätäkán) bestehen aus einem Rohrreifen, in dessen Schnurumwicklung an der Außenseite Federchen eingebunden sind. Diese Federchen, meist gelbe oder rote Papageifedern, sind selten nach einer Richtung ringsum gebunden, sondern meist von hinten ausgehend nach beiden Richtungen, und dort, wo die Federn vorn zusammentreffen, sind ein paar längere bunte Federn angebracht (Tafel 48, Abb. 1). Diese wagerecht um den Kopf gelegten Reife werden meist von Knaben getragen, doch waren sie verhältnismäßig selten zu sehen, jedenfalls waren sie kein Alltagsschmuck, wie es Ehrenreich aus 1888 berichtet. Zuweilen ist auf den Reif vorn ein Federstutz (ödí) aufgesetzt, der entweder aus ein paar riesigen Ararafedern besteht (Tafel 48, Abb. 2), oder wie bei dem Exemplar in Abb. 3 auf Tafel 48 sehr kompliziert gebaut ist: zwei Holzstäbchen sind mit rotgelben Papageifeder-Rosetten umgeben und tragen am Ende je eine lange blaugelbe Ararafeder, die oben zugeschnitten ist, so daß der Kiel stehen geblieben ist. Dieses freie Kielstück ist mit Rohbaumwolle umwickelt, an den Enden sind rote Federn mit gelben Deckfederchen angebracht.

Diademe, also Kopfbänder mit senkrecht stehenden Federn, sind nur sehr selten vorkommende Schmuckstücke. Es gibt verschiedene Arten solcher Diademe.

Bei der einen sind an einer Schnur, die wagerecht um den Kopf herumgebunden wird, mittels Verflechtung senkrechtstehende bunte Federn befestigt, deren Kiele meist durch aufgeklebte weiße Flaumfederchen verdeckt sind (Tafel 48, Abb. 5). Meine drei Exemplare (dólidó) stammen sämtlich vom Dorf an der Tapirapémündung; in den übrigen Dörfern habe ich keine gesehen. Sie erinnern stark an die Diademe der Kayapó (siehe dort).

Ein technisch sehr hochstehendes Schmuckstück ist das in Abb. 4 auf Tafel 48 wiedergegebene kleine Kopfband (lüwjl). An der feinen Kopfschnur sind feine weißliche Federchen mit braunem Rand in mehreren Lagen übereinander durch Verbindung mit mehreren Schnüren und Überharzung mit einem hellfarbigen Klebemittel befestigt. Die Federchen neigen sich mit den Kronen leicht nach außen. Auch dieses einzigartige Exemplar stammt aus dem Dorfe an der Tapirapémündung.

Bei einem anderen Diadem (ödjl), das ebenfalls aus diesem Dorfe stammt, sind auf der Kopfschnur senkrecht stehende Rohrstäbchen dadurch nebeneinander befestigt, daß eine zweite Schnur abwechselnd von oben und unten durch die Stäbchen hindurchläuft und jemalig mit der ersten Schnur verbunden ist. Die Stäbchen sind außerdem mit schwarzer und weißer Baumwollschnur dicht umwickelt, und diese Umwickelung läuft von einem Stäbchen zum andern weiter und verbindet sie fest miteinander. In die oberen Öffnungen der Stäbchen sind rote und gelbe Papageifedern gesteckt (Tafel 48, Abb. 7; Abb. 78). Dieses Schmuckstück habe ich nur in diesem einen Exemplar gesehen. Ihm ähnlich sind die von Ehrenreich ahetó genannten Diademe (Beiträge, Tafel IX, 5), bei denen außer den kurzen Federchen noch lange Ararafedern aus den Röhren emporragen, und bei denen die Seitenränder nicht senkrecht stehen, sondern nach oben divergieren.

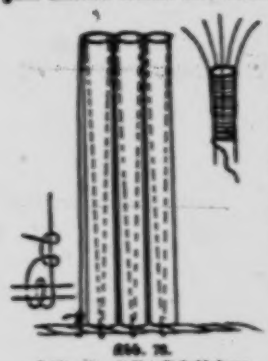


Abb. 78.
Aufbau des feinen Rohrstäbchens.

Auch den geschlossenen Rohrreifen (ändädädó), an dem senkrecht stehende, 55 cm lange rote Ararafedern ringsum befestigt sind (Tafel 48, Abb. 6), habe ich nur im Dorfe an der Tapirapémündung gesehen.

Hinterhauptsfedern (wäälwäädälöhl) wurden nur selten beobachtet. Sie bestehen aus langen Federn, die meist zu mehreren nebeneinander an einer Schnur befestigt sind, und deren Kiele zuweilen durch andersfarbige kleine Federn verdeckt sind. Die Schnur wird um den Schopf gebunden, die Federn stehen senkrecht nach oben (siehe auch Schopffedern, oben unter Haartracht). Ähnliche Federn werden an einem Faden um den Hals im Nacken auf den Rücken hinabhängend getragen (djägö-lahödó).

Eins der häufigsten und auffälligsten Schmuckstücke ist das Hinterhauptsrad (lahidó; Tafel 49, Abb. 2, 3). Dieses Schmuckstück wird von der männlichen Jugend bei Festen, besonders dem Ringfest getragen; in der Zwischenzeit wird es im langen Deckelkorb zusammengelegt aufbewahrt. Zum vollständigen Schmuck gehören folgende fünf Bestandteile: das Federrad, der Bastring, die hufeisenförmige Scheibe, das Stirnband und die Stirnfedern.

Getragen wird der Schmuck folgendermaßen (Abb. 79): Das Haar

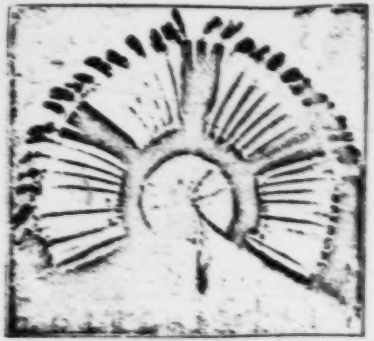
wird hinten zu einem Schopf gebunden, die herabfallenden Haarenden werden nochmals emporgebunden, so daß ein dichter Haarkauz am Hinterkopf entsteht. Um diesen Kauz wird zunächst der Bastring gelegt und unten zusammengebunden. Über den Ring und um den Kauz wird dann das fächerförmig ausgebreitete Rad gebunden. Die Radform wird durch die Verknüpfung mehrerer Schnüre erreicht, die durch die Federn hindurchlaufen und an den Randfedern heraustreten. Weiteren Halt gibt ihm die hufeisenförmige Scheibe, die auf den Mittelteil des Rades gelegt und ebenfalls um den Kauz gebunden wird. So sitzt das Rad fest zwischen Wulst und Scheibe, wobei die Wulst dem Rad den nötigen Abstand vom Haar gibt, die Scheibe es gespreizt erhält. Dabei ist das Rad unten nicht ganz geschlossen; die Größe des offenen Winkels schwankt bei den einzelnen Exemplaren. Dazu gehört nun noch das Stirnband, das wagerecht um den Kopf gelegt wird, und über das die Stirnfedern gebunden werden (Tafel 49, Abb. 1).

Abb. 79.
Schematische Darstellung der Befestigung des Hinterhauptrades.

Abb. 80.
Schematische Darstellung des Aufbaues des Hinterhauptrades.

Ehrenreich hatte die Tragart dieses Schmuckes nicht erkannt. Er unterschied zwei Arten: Räder mit einseitiger Decklage kleiner Federn, die er als Mäntel für Federhelme ansah, und Räder mit zweiseitiger Decklage kleiner Federn, die quer über den Kopf oder als Kragen um den Nacken oder als Vervollständigung der Schopffedern getragen werden. Mit der zweiten und letzten dieser vier Annahmen kommt er der Wirklichkeit am nächsten. Die einseitige oder zweiseitige Decklage hat weiter keine Bedeutung für die Tragart. Die Indianer lieben es, die Unterteile der Federn durch Federlagen zu verdecken; da bei der oben angegebenen Tragart beide Seiten zu sehen sind, so findet die doppelseitige Decklage leicht ihre Erklärung, während die einseitige, stets an der Vorderseite befindliche Decklage vielleicht dadurch erklärt wird, daß auf der Rückseite die Federkiele durch die Scheibe verdeckt werden.

Die Federräder (lahidó) bestehen aus langen Federn, die fächerartig auf eine Schnur gezogen sind (siehe Abb. 80, Lage c). Untereinander sind sie außerdem durch mehrere durchlaufende Schnüre verbunden, die an den beiden Seitenwänden des Fächers heraustreten und miteinander verknüpft das



2. Hinterhauptsrad.

1. Tragart des Hinterhauptsrades.

3. Hinterhauptsrad.

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5:Krause

SP9 Caraja

Rad geöffnet halten. Das Ganze ist so elastisch, daß es zu einem rundlichen Zylinder zusammengeschlagen werden kann, wobei die Vorderseite nach außen zu liegen kommt; in dieser Weise werden sie aufbewahrt (Tafel 50, Abb. 4). Die unteren Teile der Federn sind von Decklagen überdeckt, von denen die längere, direkt aufliegende (Lage b) stets aus schwarzgrünen Federn, die kürzere, obenaufliegende (Lage a) meist aus grünlichen Papageifedern besteht. An den oberen Enden der Federn der Lage c sind kleinere, gelbe oder bunte Papageifederchen befestigt. Entweder sind sie direkt an dem Kiele angebunden durch eine Umwickelung mit Baumwollfaden (Tafel 49, Abb. 2), oder sie sind an einem Stäbchen befestigt, das an der Unterseite der Kiele der langen Federn emporläuft, oberhalb der Federn herausragt, hier mit Rohbaumwolle umwickelt ist und am Ende die kleinen Federchen (Lage d) trägt (Tafel 49, Abb. 3). Diese Stäbe ragen zuweilen in derselben Länge wie die langen Federn über diese hervor. Über die Zusammenstellung der Farben siehe unten unter Federtechnik.

Die Bastringe bestehen aus einer Bastwulst, die mit breitem Bastfaden dicht umwickelt ist. Die Wulst ist u-förmig gebogen, an den Enden befinden sich gedrehte Bastfäden als Bindeschnüre (Tafel 50, Abb. 3). Ich erhielt drei Exemplare und für jedes einen anderen Namen: ähäwó, dölahünäni, käikorö.

Die u-förmigen Scheiben sind zweierlei Art: entweder sind sie aus Holz hergestellt (ähäwó; Tafel 49, Abb. 5, aus dem Dorf an der Tapirapémündung stammend), oder sie bestehen aus feinen Rohrstreifen, die mit den flachen Seiten aufeinandergelegt, dann im ganzen u-förmig gebogen und durch schwarze Baumwollschnüre miteinander zu einer festen Scheibe verflochten sind (lähidölahünäni, ähödölälin(ö); Tafel 49, Abb. 4).

Desgleichen unterscheiden wir zwei Typen von Stirnbändern. Einmal werden breite Bänder aus Gameleirabast benutzt, die an der Außenseite mit weißen Flaumfedern beklebt sind (ämbülötä, idülä; Tafel 50, Abb. 2), das andere Mal schmale schwarze geflochtene Baumwollbänder (wöllëdäkän(ä); Tafel 50, Abb. 1).

Auf diese Stirnbänder werden die Stirnfedern gebunden (Tafel 50, Abb. 5a—e). Diese bestehen aus einem versteiften Faden oder Stab, an dem zwei Federstäbe mit langen schwarzen Endfedern befestigt sind. Mit einem Band werden sie so über das Stirnband gebunden, daß die zwei Federstutze wagerecht nach vorn stehen.

Das eine Exemplar besteht wie das Stirnband aus einem geflochtenen Baumwollband; ein kleiner, dick umwickelter Faden ist wagerecht vorn aufgesetzt. An ihm ist ein mit Rohbaumwolle umwickelter Stab befestigt, der sich in zwei Teile gabelt. Jeder Teil trägt eine Umwickelung mit gelben Papageifedern, aus deren Mitte lange schwarze Federn herausragen (Name ködäläkä-wädjiö). Bei einem anderen Exemplare dient ein langer umwickelter Faden als Träger der Federstutzen, bei einem dritten sogar ein umwickelter Stab. Vielleicht gehören hierher zwei weitere Schmuckstücke, die in ähnliche Stutze auslaufen. Das eine besteht aus einem u-förmig

gebogenen Rohrstab, dessen Enden durch Bindeschnuren miteinander verbunden sind. Er ist mit schwarzer Baumwollschnur dicht umwunden und dann mit Rohbaumwolle umwickelt. Vorn stehen zwei Federstutze aus roten Federstäben mit schwarzen Endfedern heraus. Das andere besteht aus einem Rohrstab, der an zwei Stellen in entgegengesetzter Richtung mit roten Federchen umwickelt ist. Das Mittelstück ist frei, an ihm sind zwei Rohrstäbchen mit rotgelben Federchen angebunden, die am Ende längere rotgrüne Federn tragen.

Ein ganz eigenartiges Schmuckstück ist der **Federhelm** (lädẽnĩná, Tafel 33). Ehrenreich bildet ihn Tafel IX, 5 seiner Beiträge ab und nennt ihn tatenera. Seine Exemplare sind unvollständig, da der Mantel keine Federn trägt und nur ein Stück davon mit weißen Flaumfedern überzogen ist. Mein Exemplar besteht aus einem Bastgeflecht, das mit roten Papageifedern beklebt ist. Den Unterrand schmücken weiße Flaumfederchen. Oben befindet sich ein Ring kurzer senkrechter Röhren, in denen lange rote Ararafedern stecken. Diese Röhren sind bei meinem Exemplare unverdeckt, während bei Ehrenreichs Exemplaren um den verengten Hals unterhalb der Röhrchen vier Federkränze in Abständen von 2—3 Fingerbreiten übereinander gebunden sind, die die Röhrchen zum Teil verdecken.

Dieser Helm gehörte einem Häuptlingssohne, er wurde zusammen mit dem auf derselben Tafel abgebildeten Ohrgehänge und Halsgehänge getragen. Das Ohrgehänge besteht aus einer Tulpe bunter Papageifedern (kuädjú), von deren Stiel zwei Ketten weißlichroter Perlen herabhängen, die am Ende je eine Thevetiafrucht tragen, aus der kürzere und längere rote Federchen hervorragen. Das Halsgehänge besteht aus vier Nackenquasten (nõhõzá) aus schwarzer Baumwolle mit aufgeschobenen Schneckenhäusern. Die beiden Schnüre sind nicht verknotet, sondern sie laufen einander parallel und tragen an dem vorn um den Hals gelegten Teil sieben lang herabhängende Ketten ebensolcher Perlen, an deren Enden gleiche Früchte mit Federchen angebracht sind.

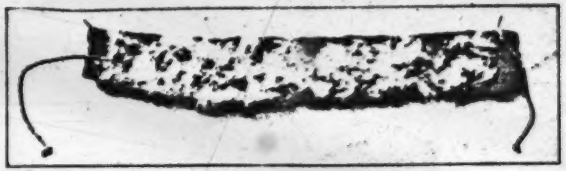
Einzigartig ist die **Federraupe** eines Mädchens, die ebenfalls aus dem Dorfe an der Tapirapémündung stammt (Tafel 51, Abb. 1). Als Name wurde dadüjá angegeben, ein Wort, das vielleicht verhört wurde und tãbõjá (Wachs) heißen soll. Denn den Kern des Ganzen bildet ein Wachsklumpen von der Form einer riesigen Bohne mit abgeplatteter Grundfläche. Dieser Klumpen ist völlig mit roten Federchen beklebt, und aus seiner oberen Kante ragen fünf lange rote Ararafedern empor. Um die Mitte laufen versteckt mehrere schwarze Baumwollschnüre, die beiderseits lang herabhängen und zum Zubinden unter dem Kinn dienen. Getragen wird der Schmuck auf dem Kopfe mit der Längsachse von vorn nach hinten, ähnlich den bayrischen Raupenhelmen (Tafel 51, Abb. 2).

Von sonstigem Kopfschmuck habe ich nichts bemerkt. Zwar erzählte mir Kurisi, daß sie die roten Blätter einer Pflanze als Schmuck um den Kopf binden, doch habe ich dies nicht selbst beobachtet.

Halsschmuck. Als Halsschmuck werden jetzt meist Perlenketten ver-

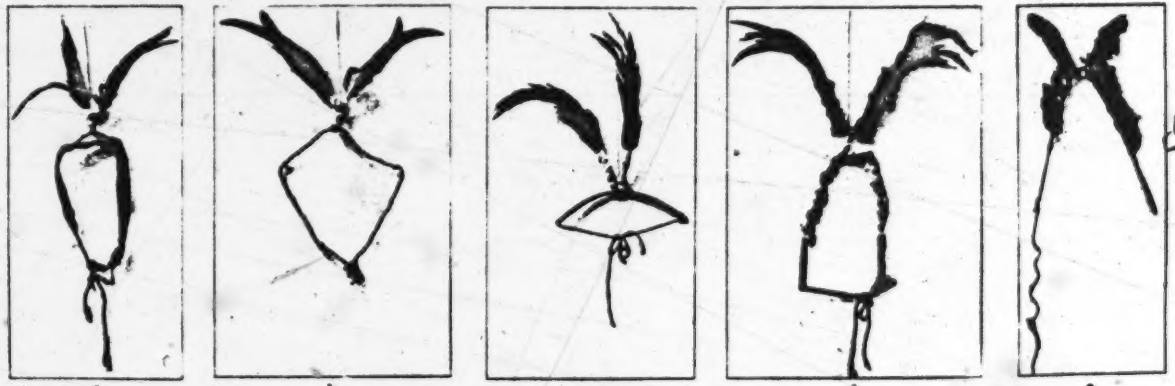
1. Stirnband aus Baumwollfaden.

3. Bastwulst.



2. Stirnband aus Gameleirabast.

4. Hinterhauptsrad, zusammengelegt. (Aufbewahrungsform).



a b c d e

5 a—e. Stirnfedern, werden über die Stirnbänder (1 und 2) gebunden.

SP9 Caraja

5: Krause

FACIUS p. 237

wendet. Der ältere Halsschmuck bestand in Ketten aus Früchten der Thevetia (mäläni; Tafel 51, Abb. 3a) und in solchen aus graublauen Früchten (Tafel 51, Abb. 3b). Diese Früchte heißen ißiläni. Der Strauch, an dem sie wachsen, wird angeblich in der Pflanzung angepflanzt. Zuweilen werden in die Ketten aus diesen Früchten auch noch andere schwarze Früchte eingereiht. Derartige Fruchtketten werden meistens von Frauen und Kindern, besonders von Mädchen getragen.

Der moderne Schmuck besteht aus Glasperlen, die zu Ketten aufgereiht werden. Auch auf sie wird der Name ißiläá angewandt. Es wurden alle Farben genommen; doch fanden grüne im allgemeinen wenig Gegenliebe. Die Moden waren in den einzelnen Dörfern ganz verschieden: in dem einen Dorf bevorzugte man große, im anderen kleine Stickperlen, in dem einen weiße, undurchsichtige Perlen, im anderen blaue, schwarze oder rote. Alle Perlensorten wurden erst auf ihre Zerbrechlichkeit hin geprüft, und solche, die einem Biß nicht widerstanden, wurden ohne weiteres zurückgewiesen. Einheit des Tausches waren Perlenketten von etwa 100 Stück kleiner Stickperlen. Kinder und Frauen trugen diese, wie sie sie bekamen; Knaben und Jünglinge hingegen arbeiteten sie nach ihrem Geschmacke um. Die Perlen wurden auf mehrere parallel geordnete, horizontale Schnüre gereiht, die an mehreren Stellen durch senkrechte Fäden verknüpft waren. Das gesamte Kollier wurde hinten gebunden. Es lag dem Halse meist eng an, die verschiedenen Farben waren in wechselnden Gruppen geordnet, doch so, daß Weiß die Grundfarbe bildete (Tafel 36, Abb. 2). Zuweilen hingen noch Anhängsel verschiedener Art davon herab.

Sonstiger Halsschmuck bestand in Baumwollschnüren. Diese werden entweder von Männern mehrmals um den Hals gewunden (schwarz), oder sie bestehen aus einfacher Schnur mit Anhängern. So werden Halsknochen (?, bühänaani) des Delphins als solche Schmuckanhänger benutzt. Ganz gefährlich sahen Kinder, besonders Knaben aus, die am Halsband Scherben bunter Porzellanteller, die oft die Größe eines halben Tellers erreichten, mit dem Bruchrande nach dem Halse zu trugen[1].

Der Armschmuck ist dreierlei Art. Einmal gibt es Armbänder, die an einer Stelle Federbüschel tragen; dann solche mit geflochtenem Band, an denen mehrere Lagen von Federn angebracht sind; schließlich feine Schnüre, von denen Gehänge aller Art herabhängen. Sie werden am Oberarm (dörögl) und am Unterarm (dldöšl) hinter der Stulpe getragen, und zwar von der Jugend beiderlei Geschlechts bei besonderen Anlässen.

Armbänder mit Federbüschel für den Oberarm sind in Abb. 1a—c auf Tafel 52 wiedergegeben. Der Federschmuck besteht entweder aus Rosetten mit langen Endfederchen darin oder in Büscheln einzelner Federn, die zum Teil Klauenfassung aufweisen.

Bei den in Abb. 2a—c auf Tafel 52 wiedergegebenen Unterarmbändern

[1] Diese Anhänger erwähnt schon Rufino 1846/47 von den Šambioá. Rev. trim. 10 (1848), S. 196.

mit Federlagen sind bei 2ᵃ an der einen Flachseite des hochkant gestellten Baumwollgurtes zwei Lagen bunter Federn übereinander befestigt an besonderen Schnüren, während bei 2ᵇ an der dicken gedrehten Schnur beiderseits je zwei Federlagen übereinander angebracht sind, von denen die untere, längere Lage aus gelben, die obere, kürzere aus roten beschnittenen Federn besteht. Bei 2ᶜ sind an der gedrehten Schnur mittels Baumwollverknotung bunte Papageifedern in breiter Lage eingeknüpft, über die vier Thevetiafrüchte herabhängen.

Als Anhänger an einfachen Schnurarmbändern dienen entweder Thevetiafrüchte oder kleine schwärzliche Früchte oder Schneckenhäuser oder Klauen, in denen meist Federn, Federstäbe oder Baumwollfadenbüschel angebracht sind. Bemerkenswert ist, daß die Gehänge von Schneckenhäusern und Klauen durchweg in der Dreizahl auftreten (Tafel 52, Abb. 3ᵃ—ᶠ).

Durch Querhölzchen miteinander verbundene Schnüre mit Thevetiafrüchten am Ende, sowie Gehänge großer roter Früchte, wie sie Ehrenreich mitgebracht hat (Berlin 3729), habe ich nicht gesehen, ebenso nicht die von Ehrenreich mitgebrachten Armbänder aus Onzen- und Wildkatzenfell mit Papagei- oder Ararafedergehängen (deoʔanä), sodann ebensowenig wie Ehrenreich die in älteren brasilianischen Sammlungen vorhandenen Bänder aus parallel geordneten Vogelknochen.

Als Fingerringe (dähó = Hand, Finger) werden schmale Streifen aus den Schwanzringen von Eidechsen getragen, und zwar von beiden Geschlechtern in allen Lebensaltern. Man unterscheidet zwei Arten: Ringe aus dem Schwanze des sogenannten Chamäleons (kulá) mit schrägen Schuppenrändern, und Ringe der Teju-Eidechse (wädälé) mit senkrechten Schuppenrändern (Abb. 81). Beide Arten kommen fast gleich häufig vor.

Abb. 81 a, b.
Fingerringe aus Schwanzringen von a) Chamäleon, b) Teju-Eidechse.

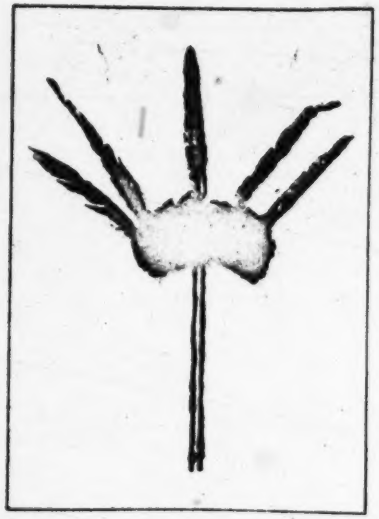
Der Körper wird ebenso wie Arme und Beine bei kleinen Kindern zuweilen mit weißen Flaumfederchen bedeckt, die mittels hellen Harzes befestigt werden. Ein Kind trug solchen Flaum an Oberarm und Waden; die Federchen waren bereits schmutzig geworden und sahen wie Hautgrinde aus. Ähnlich werden die Toten behandelt (siehe dort).

Hüftschmuck besteht nur aus Tanzgürteln der männlichen Jugend. Neben Federgürteln gibt es gemustert geflochtene Baumwollgürtel mit Gehängen aller Art.

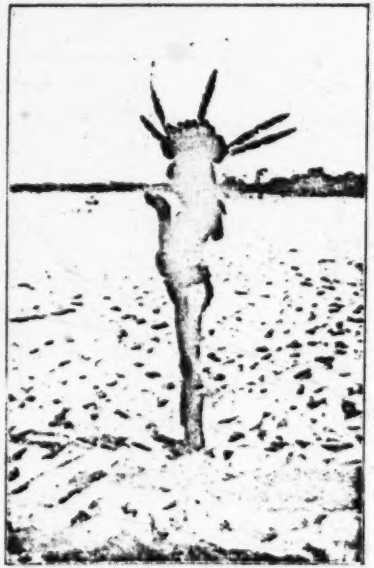
Die Federgürtel bestehen aus langen Straußenfedern, die an zwei feinen Schnüren befestigt sind (Abb. 82). Derartige Gürtel sah ich nur in zwei Exemplaren und nur in dem Karajádorf im Innern von Bananal, wo sie von Jünglingen bei der Begrüßung getragen wurden.

Die aus schwarzer und weißer Baumwolle gemustert geflochtenen Gürtel mit Anhängern der verschiedensten Art (wädäkänä) werden von der männlichen Jugend meist beim Ringkampf, sonst nur gelegentlich getragen. Die Gehänge sind sehr mannigfaltiger Art (Tafel 53, Abb. 1—5). Sehr beliebt sind

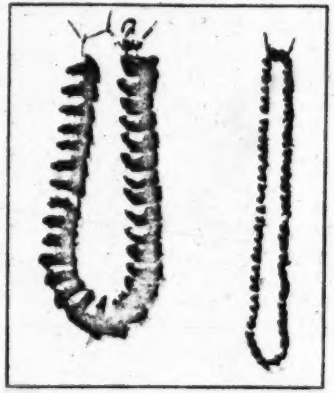
Tafel 51.



1. Federraupe.



2. Tragart der Federraupe.



a b

3. Halsketten: a) Thevetiafrüchte,
b) Isiulanifrüchte.

[fascia p.240]

Federstäbchen oder Rosetten mit langen Endfedern, die an langen Fäden am Unterrande des Gürtels in langer Reihe angebracht sind; meist hängen zwischen ihnen einzeln oder büschelweise Thevetiafrüchte oder Muschelschalen herab. Bei anderen Gürteln sind die Federn nicht an besonderen Fäden, sondern direkt am Unterrande befestigt. Besonders schön ist die Anordnung bei dem Gürtel Abb. 4, dessen Federstäbchen abwechselnd weiße Endfederchen oder rote Schnurbündel tragen, sowie bei dem Gürtel Abb. 5, zwischen dessen Stäbchen mit rotgelben Rosetten und gleichfarbigen Endfedern an besonderer Schnur girlandenartig je 3—4 Thevetiafrüchte hängen, und dessen zwei mittelste Stäbchen je zwei lange rote Ararafedern tragen. Ganz primitiv ist der Schmuck am Gürtel Abb. 1. Er besteht aus einigen Federstäben, Thevetiagehängen und der Rassel einer Klapperschlange.

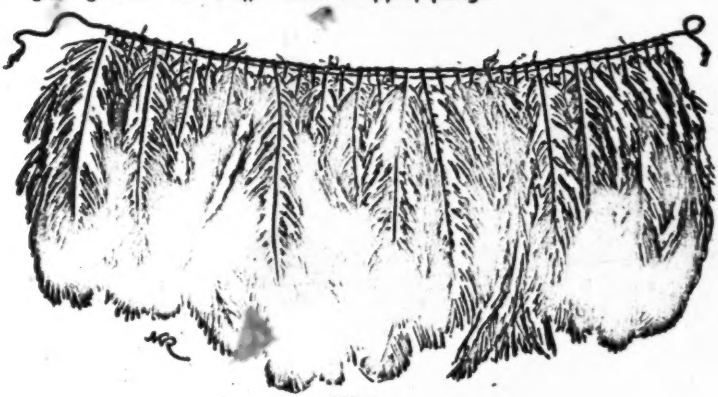


Abb. 82.
Strauhenfedergürtel.

Nicht gesehen habe ich die von Ehrenreich erwähnten, völlig aus Thevetiafrüchten hergestellten Gürtel (vgl. aber die Kayapó).

Als Beinschmuck erwähnt Ehrenreich (Beiträge, Seite 24) Binden mit Strähnen mit Rasseln und Federbüscheln; die Strähnen sind gesperrt durch wagerechte Stäbchen, die mit Flaum überzogen sind (ibid., Tafel X, Fig. 4). Derartigen Tanzschmuck habe ich nie gesehen.

6. Die Nahrung.

Der Lebensunterhalt der Karajáindianer beruht auf dem Anbau von Nahrungspflanzen und dem Fischfang. Das Sammeln wildwachsender Pflanzen sowie die Jagd treten dagegen zurück, und die Haustierzucht zu Nahrungszwecken fehlt vollkommen, da die Tiere nur als Federlieferanten oder zur Unterhaltung gehalten werden.

Wildwachsende Nahrungspflanzen gibt es auf dem Camp wie im Walde

nur in beschränkter Anzahl, während die Pflanzungen auf den Hochufern meist gute Erträgnisse liefern. Auch an nutzbaren Tieren ist das Land verhältnismäßig arm, und die wenigen jagdbaren Tierarten werden fast durchgängig von den Indianern nicht gegessen, mit Ausnahme etwa des Wildschweines. Sehr zahlreich sind die Vögel; außer dem Mutum scheinen die Indianer aber keinem anderen Vogel nachzustellen. So muß das Wasser die Hauptnahrung liefern. Der Fluß ist äußerst reich an Fischen und Schildkröten; überall, an flachen Stellen, in den Tiefen, in Seen, vor allem aber in den Nebenflüssen trifft man einen ganz verblüffenden Fischreichtum an. Doch wird auch dieser Reichtum nicht voll ausgenützt, da einige Fischarten nicht gegessen werden.

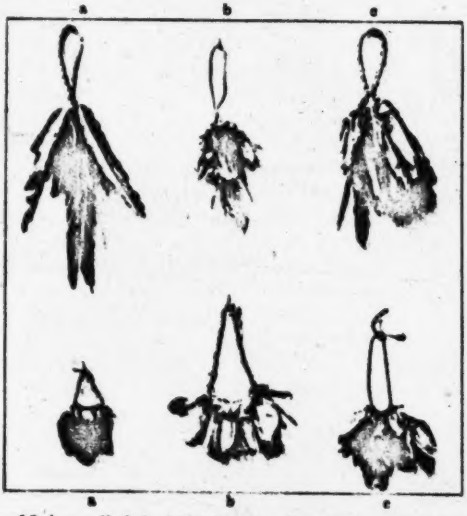
A. Der Erwerb der pflanzlichen Nahrungsmittel.

Dem Sammeln wildwachsender Pflanzen und Früchte liegen im wesentlichen die Frauen ob, während die Männer vor allem die Beschaffung der tierischen Nahrung betreiben[1]. In Betracht kommen: die kleinen oitú-Früchte, die während der ersten Hälfte des Oktobers im Walde gesammelt werden; die Piki-Früchte (lämá), die in der zweiten Hälfte des Oktobers reifen; die Wassermelone (kubläkö), die auf den Sandbänken an der Stelle wächst, wo die Bänke mit dem Ufer zusammenhängen. Die Indianer kennen genau diejenigen Sandbänke, auf denen die Melonen wachsen, und sammeln sie bereits Ende Oktober, wo die Frucht noch nicht ganz reif ist, ein. An Palmfrüchten werden verzehrt: die Kerne der Tukumpalme (hälú), der sogenannten Coceiro (ahändétë) und der Oaguassupalme (hãulëní), deren Kerne geröstet hãulënidó genannt werden. Die Früchte des Jatobábaumes (kuwá) und des Genipapo (bädëná) werden ebenfalls verzehrt. Eine andere Frucht, aus der eine schwarze Speise bereitet wird, wurde adömó genannt; sie wird Anfang Oktober gesammelt. An sonstigen Früchten erwähnt Ehrenreich: Caju, Jabuticaba, Pitangu und Bromeliaceen, Königswald noch die Mangaba. Doch habe ich diese Früchte in den Dörfern nie gesehen. Als Gemüsepflanzen werden genossen: Mormão (dädedáli), die Ende Oktober gesammelt wird; dagegen soll die Mandioca do matto (äzó) nicht gegessen werden, weil sie zu giftig sei.

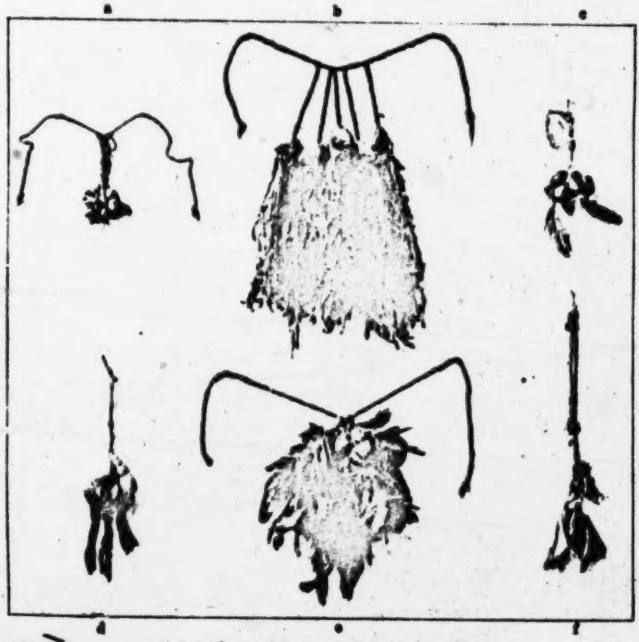
Angebaut werden folgende Nahrungspflanzen: die giftige (ändjïalá) und die zahme (i(ï)lá) Mandioka; vier Arten von Mais: máï, döllimé mit großen runden Kernen, Izëlalá mit runden Kernen, mäidazó mit roten Kernen; Bataten (köderutí) und Cara (kará). An Früchten werden wahrscheinlich Bananen angebaut. Die grüne Banane wird jädaũabó, die reife jädazó genannt. Nur zweimal habe ich in Indianerdörfern Bananen erhalten und zwar Anfang Juli; in den Pflanzungen habe ich nie welche gesehen. Vielleicht sind Bananen nur stellenweise vorhanden, wie z. B. nach

[1] Diese Arbeitsteilung ist urall. In der Sage: Wie die Karajá die Mandioka erwerben, heißt es vom Vater, daß er den Diebstahl von Mais nicht merken würde, weil er nur das Fischen kennt (siehe dort).

Tafel 52.



1. Armbänder mit Federbüscheln. 2. Armbänder mit Federlagen.



3 a-f. Armgehänge verschiedenster Art.

[facing p.241]

den Erzählungen der Brasilianer bei den Šavajé auf der Insel Bananal, die ja davon ihren Namen haben soll. Orangen (nälädjá) habe ich nirgends gesehen. Königswald gibt von sonstigen Früchten noch von: Kürbis, Wassermelonon, Ananas und Zuckerrohr (mä(i)ltl). Der Kürbis wird nicht gegessen, sondern nur zur Herstellung von Gefäßen benutzt; die Wassermelone wird meist wildwachsend gesammelt, wohl nur selten angepflanzt; nur einmal traf ich in einem Dorf der Südhorde eine Familie, die Samen dieser Pflanzen in kleinen Bastpäckchen aufbewahrte. Die Ananas wird sicher nicht kultiviert, und auch das Zuckerrohr habe ich nicht gesehen. Hätten sie welches gehabt, so würden sie wohl auch nicht in dem Maße bei mir Zucker erbettelt haben, wie sie das taten. Die Angabe Ehrenreichs, daß in der Trockenzeit Zuckerrohrstecklinge auf den Sandbänken eingepflanzt würden, ist dahin zu berichtigen, daß es sich dabei um Mandioka- und Maisstengel handelt.

An Gewürzpflanzen wird Pfeffer (käšlwörä), an Genußpflanzen Tabak (kötl) angepflanzt.

Außerdem findet man in den Pflanzungen an Industriepflanzen Baumwolle und Kürbisse, an Schmuckpflanzen lšiülästräucher (für Halsketten) und den Urukústrauch, sowie eine Menge von Medizinalpflanzen.

Die Zeit der Anlegung der Pflanzung ist etwa September bis Oktober; sie heißt bölähüä[1]. Man richtet sich nach dem Siebengestirn (bölöbědó = Periquittos): steht es niedrig, so wird Mandioka, steht es etwas höher, so wird Mais gepflanzt. Baumwolle, Bataten und Urukú pflanzt man erst, wenn viel Regen fällt, also etwa im November und Dezember. Mit diesen Angaben der Indianer stimmt überein, daß ich diese im Oktober vielfach vom Dorf abwesend fand; sie waren zuweilen tageweit entfernt, um die Pflanzung anzulegen. Hohe Rauchsäulen zeigten an, in welcher Richtung sie dies taten. Angelegt wird die Pflanzung meist in großer Entfernung vom Dorfe, auf überschwemmungssicherem Hochufer. Soweit als möglich fahren die Indianer im Boot dahin, doch haben sie dann oft noch lange Landmärsche zu überwinden, ehe sie die Pflanzung erreichen. Neuerdings beginnen sie, im Innern der Insel Bananal ihre Pflanzungen anzulegen, da die Ernten dort sehr gut ausfallen sollen. Ein Häuptling, Korumaré, ist bereits dauernd an den Binnenfluß Bananals übergesiedelt. Häuptling Fotuna traf ich am 9. Oktober nicht in seinem Dorfe an; er war zwei Tage landeinwärts nach Bananal gezogen, um dort eine neue Pflanzung herzurichten. Anscheinend erwogen auch andere Dörfer den Plan, sich später ins Innere von Bananal zu begeben.

Hergestellt werden die Pflanzungen von den verheirateten Männern, doch scheint die männliche Jugend dabei zu helfen. Das Unterholz wird niedergeschlagen, die hohen Waldbäume werden ihrer Zweige beraubt und dann gefällt, was früher mit Steinbeilen geschah, jetzt aber mit Eisenbeilen ausgeführt wird. Größeres Holzwerk wird als Brennholz ins Dorf geschafft,

[1] — Südliches Kreuz?

das übrige wird, sobald es getrocknet ist, abgebrannt. Dann werden zwischen den gefallenen Bäumen kleine niedrige Rundbeete angelegt, auf denen drei Mandiokastengel, die im Dreieck gesteckt und deren Zweige oben miteinander verschränkt werden, eingepflanzt werden (Abb. 12). Zum Umgraben, Häufeln der Beete und Einstechen der Pflanzlöcher dient ein spatenähnliches Gerät (mäülö oder Idjölö). Es besteht aus einem dicken Stock, der an einem Ende zugespitzt ist, am anderen in eine Schaufel ausläuft (Abb. 83). Die Schaufel dient zum Ausheben der Erde und zum Häufeln der Beete, die Spitze zum Lockern der Erde, zum Lochstechen und zum Ausheben der Wurzeln. Wie die übrigen Pflanzen gepflanzt werden, ist mir nicht bekannt; in den erntereifen Pflanzungen, die ich durchwanderte, schienen sie ungeordnet durcheinander zu stehen. Sie wuchsen so dicht bei einander, daß kaum ein Durchkommen auf dem schmalen Wege möglich war. Eine Übersicht war bei der Höhe der Gewächse (3—4 m) nicht zu gewinnen, im Gegensatz zu der Pflanzung der Kayapó, die sehr durchsichtig angelegt war und in der die einzelnen Gewächse gruppenweise angepflanzt waren.

Die Arbeitsteilung in der Pflanzung ist derart, daß die Männer die Pflanzung anlegen und Mandioka und Cara pflanzen, während den Frauen die Anpflanzung von Baumwolle, Mais, Bataten, Urukú obliegen soll.

Die Pflanzungen werden anscheinend so angelegt, daß die Familien oder die Dörfer in einer Rodung pflanzen; eine Trennung innerhalb der Pflanzung nach Familien konnte nicht wahrgenommen werden, scheint aber doch zu existieren.

Jeder bearbeitet sein Feldstück selbst; Brüder arbeiten meist gemeinsam. Wird einer davon krank, so tritt ein Verwandter für ihn ein. In diesem Falle, oder wenn sonstige Unterstützung, nötig ist, wird der Ernteertrag entweder in zwei Teile geteilt, oder der Helfer wird bezahlt mit Pfeilen, Töpfen, Lanzen Netzdecken, Äxten, gesponnener Baumwolle usw. Haben Witwen erwachsene Söhne, so pflanzen diese für sie; andernfalls bittet sie den Häuptling, daß jemand für sie pflanze. Dieser bestimmt dann einen der Dorfleute zur Übernahme dieser Pflicht und bezahlt ihn dafür.

Abb. 83. Pflanzungsgerät der Karajá.

Gegen Schädigungen sind die Pflanzungen nicht geschützt. Sie liegen mitten im Walde, ohne irgendwelche Einfriedigung, so daß die Tiere, besonders Schweine und Vögel, viel Schaden anrichten. Diese Schädlinge werden verfolgt, die Vögel vor allem durch Schreien verscheucht.

Mit der Reife der Nahrungsmittel beginnt die Ernte. Sie wird nicht auf einmal hereingeholt, sondern aller zwei bis drei Tage werden die für diese Zeit nötigen Nahrungsmittel herbeigebracht. Größere Vorräte sind nur selten im Dorfe vorhanden. Diese Sitte ist ein großes Hindernis für längeren Aufenthalt in den Dörfern, da die Indianer während der Anwesenheit der

Fremden das Dorf nicht verlassen[1], sondern ihre Vorräte aufzehren, so daß nach zwei Tagen nichts mehr vorhanden ist und nun der Fremde entweder Nahrungsmittel stiften muß oder mit in die Pflanzung gehen oder aber abreisen muß.

Geerntet wird im allgemeinen von den Frauen. Die Ernte wird in große Kiepen (bëhülé) gepackt, die aus zwei Palmwedeln so geflochten sind, daß die Rippen die zwei Längsstangen bilden, und die einen Seiten der Wedel miteinander dicht verflochten den Boden geben, während die andern Seiten für sich geflochten den gitterartigen Rand bilden (Tafel 57, Abb. 1; die Kiepe ist 116 cm lang, 34 cm breit, 17 cm hoch). Zuweilen ist der untere Rand der Kiepen ebenfalls fest verflochten (Tafel 57, Abb. 2). Getragen wird die Kiepe an zwei Schulterbändern und einem Stirnband aus festem Bast. Sie ragt sehr hoch über den Kopf empor, und unter der schweren Last gehen die Leute mit weit vorgebeugtem Oberkörper und geknickten Knieen, meist auf einen Stab gestützt (Tafel 15, Abb. 3). Der Inhalt wird durch breite Bastbänder gesichert, die von Rand zu Rand über die Ladung hinweggeschnürt werden.

Eigentliche Erntefeste finden wohl nicht statt; die Zeit der Reife der Nahrungspflanzen, also die Zeit, in der sie viel zu essen haben, ist aber ihre Hauptfestzeit.

B. Der Erwerb der tierischen Nahrungsmittel.

Der Erwerb der tierischen Nahrungsmittel ist noch auf die aneignende Form beschränkt; zur Tierzucht sind die Indianer nicht gekommen.

Sie halten sich zwar eine Menge Tiere in ihren Häusern, benutzen sie aber nicht zur Nahrung, bringen sie auch nicht zur Paarung, sondern fangen sich nach Verlust wieder junge Exemplare ein, um diese von neuem zu zähmen. Diese Tierfreudigkeit entspringt dem Glauben, daß die Tiere dem Menschen verwandt, wesensgleich seien; sie glauben, daß die Tiere sprechen und handeln wie die Menschen, nur in anderer Form. Und so umgeben sie sich mit ihnen, um sich an ihrem Gebaren zu ergötzen. Nur Vögel werden zu praktischen Zwecken gehalten, nämlich als Federlieferanten; sie werden mehrmals ihrer Federn beraubt, die dann zu Schmucksachen verarbeitet werden. Gezähmte Vierfüßler sowie Hühner laufen meist frei umher; Vögeln sind die Flügel beschnitten, oder sie sind an einer Stange auf dem Dach, im Hause oder unter einem besonderen Schutzdach angebunden (Tafel 54, Abb. 1). Offenbar besteht ein Handel mit Vögeln; denn mehrmals beobachtete ich wandernde Indianer, die in kleinen Kürbissen kleine Vögel mit sich führten, um sie in anderen Orten zu verkaufen.

[1] Diese Sitte beobachtete schon Fonseca 1773. Die Karajá hatten nur wenig Nahrungsmittel, weil die Chavánte ihre Pflanzungen plünderten und die Karajá daher nicht in die Pflanzungen zu gehen wagten. Auch wagten sie nicht, in Fonsecas Anwesenheit jagen oder fischen zu gehen, noch mit Fonsecas Soldaten in die Pflanzungen zu ziehen, aus Furcht, daß er in ihrer Abwesenheit ihre Dörfer betreten könnte, was sie ihm bis dahin verweigert hatten. Rev. trim. 8, S. 385.

Tafel 53.

1.—5. Geflochtene Baumwollgürtel mit Federgehängen.

[facing p. 244]

An solchen Haustieren habe ich folgende beobachtet:

An fremd eingeführten Tieren fanden sich: Hühner [(h)ànl(k)ó], Schweine [(i)ùà(nó)], Hunde (kjölögá), Katzen [(gàh)ànlöènó]. Diese Tiere werden nicht verzehrt, nicht einmal den Genuß der Hühnereier (hànlkèal) kennen die Indianer. Schweine sind sehr selten, ich sah nur ein großes Hausschwein das ganz offenbar nur der Kuriosität halber gehalten wurde.

Von einheimischen Tieren waren Affen [kàlöbl(dérü), klàöbl] nur sehr selten anzutreffen. Von den von Ehrenreich angegebenen Tieren: Kapivara, Aguti, Peccari, Tapir usw. habe ich keine Exemplare in den Dörfern der Karajá gesehen. Reicher ist die Vogelwelt vertreten. Von den Araras wird der rote Arara (Macrocercus militaris) bevorzugt, während der hyazinthblaue Arara (àndàdölá: M. hyacinthinus) und der blaugelbe (bizá: M. Macao) nur selten gesehen wurden. Meist hielten sie sich auf den Dächern der Häuser auf. Häufiger waren kleine grüne Papageien (bölöbèdó = Periquittos; dölá) anzutreffen, meist als Eigentum junger Mädchen, die sie auf dem Kopfe sitzend umhertrugen und sie von der Hand aus kleinen Muschelschalen trinken ließen. Der Caracará [l(h)i(ö)lö, ilá], ein Raubvogel, wurde nur zuweilen angetroffen. Seine Federn werden anscheinend nur wenig verwendet. Da er in den Sagen eine gewisse Rolle spielt, so wird er wohl deshalb in den Häusern gehalten. Ganz vereinzelt sah ich einen jungen Strauß [küàl(hà)wó, nàüèklö], einen kleinen Wasservogel, sowie einen jungen zahmen Mutum (kültú), dem man kleine rote Wadenbänder um die Beine gehäkelt hatte. Die übrigen von Ehrenreich erwähnten Vögel: weißer Reiher, rosa Löffelreiher, Jaburu habe ich bei den Karajá nie gezähmt gesehen. Ebensowenig habe ich beobachtet oder erkundet, daß den Vögeln kleine Federquasten in die Flügel gebunden würden, oder daß ihr Gefieder künstlich in der Farbe geändert worden wäre.

An Reptilien und sonstigem Getier traf ich kleine Schildkröten, die von Mädchen in kleinen Kürbisschalen voll Wasser gehalten wurden, Eidechsen (sogenannte Chamäleons: kü(u)lá), die, meist mit weißen Flaumfederchen beklebt, von Frauen auf Kopf oder Schultern getragen wurden, und schließlich junge, etwa 20 cm lange Krokodile [kàb(ö)löló], die an der Schnur eines senkrecht in den Sand gesteckten Stockes angebunden in den seichten Wasserlachen am Rande der Sandbänke lagen; kleine Kinder liefen hinzu, nahmen den Stab auf und ließen die Tiere an der straff gespannten Schnur laufen und schwimmen.

Diese im Dorf gehaltenen Tiere werden nie gegessen; um sich ihre Fleischnahrung zu verschaffen, sind die Indianer vielmehr aufs Sammeln und Jagen angewiesen. Gesammelt werden: Schildkröten und Schildkröteneier, Straußeneier und Honig.

Von Schildkröten wird die Tracajá (ködá) und ihre Eier (ködüzi) meist verschmäht; nur ältere Leute essen sie. Die Legezeit ist August bis Anfang September; das Nest umfaßt bis 16 Stück etwa. Die Eier sind länglich und haben einen etwas tranigen Geruch und Geschmack. Die Tartaruga (ködüni) und ihre Eier (ködünizi) hingegen werden leidenschaftlich gegessen.

Ihretwegen unternehmen die Indianer im September bis Oktober, der Legezeit dieser Schildkröte, die bis 160 runde Eier in einem Neste ablegt, weite Bootsreisen die Nebenflüsse des Araguaya aufwärts. Alle Sandbänke werden untersucht und die oft zahlreichen Nester ausgenommen (am Tapirapé traf ich auf kleinen Sandbänken bis zu vier Nester an). So sammeln sie ganz gewaltige Mengen von Eiern. Diese werden entweder roh verzehrt, oder sie werden gekocht und in der Asche getrocknet und halten sich dann lange Zeit, so daß die Indianer sie mit nach Hause nehmen, dort später in Ruhe verzehren, oder in die brasilianischen Orte (Santa Maria, Conceição) auf Handelsreisen, die sie im September und Oktober unternehmen, verkaufen können. Die Schildkröten selbst werden beim Legen überrascht oder im flachen Wasser durch Tauchen vom Boote aus mit den Händen oder aber mit eisernen Grundangeln gefangen. Lebend werden die Schildkröten in großen Mengen von diesen Fahrten mit nach Hause gebracht und dann verzehrt oder verkauft. Um sie längere Zeit aufheben zu können, baut man aus oben zusammengebogenen Zweigen, die man im Kreise in den Sand steckt, Käfige, die ihnen Schatten gewähren. Hier werden sie angebunden und aufbewahrt, bis sie verzehrt werden (Abb. 6). Kleine Schildkröten zieht man zum Zeitvertreib in den Dörfern groß.

Straußeneier (nauĕklĕzl) werden sehr gern gegessen. Die Indianer nehmen das ganze Nest aus und bringen die Eier mit nach Hause, um sie dort gekocht zu genießen.

Honig (bäderhö) ist eine Leckerei, die sie leidenschaftlich gern essen. Auf ihren Bootsfahrten beobachten sie die Flugrichtung der wilden, von ihnen als stachellos bezeichneten Bienen (bĕdl), bis sie nach kurzer Zeit deren Nester hoch oben in den Baumkronen entdeckt haben. Rasch wird der Baum erklettert und mit dem Buschmesser oder der Axt das Nest heruntergeschlagen. Unten wird dann der Honig ausgenommen; er wird in gebogenen Rindenstücken oder in Cuyen aufbewahrt. In hohlen Bäumen nistende Bienen werden ausgeräuchert und der Honig mit der Hand herausgeholt. Die oft riesigen Wachswaben werden einzeln ausgetrunken; das Wachs (tädölä) wird in großen Klumpen aufgehoben, es bildet eins ihrer wichtigsten Kleb- und Dichtungsmittel und wird als solches vorüberfahrenden Booten von den Frauen überall in Menge angeboten. Die Hauptsammelzeit des Honigs scheint im Oktober zu beginnen.

Ist das Sammeln dieser Nahrungsmittel an bestimmte Jahreszeiten gebunden und erfordert es oft wochenlange Reisen, um große Mengen davon zusammenzubringen, so wird die tägliche tierische Nahrung in kurzen Zügen vom Dorfe aus mittels allerlei Fanggeräten erworben.

Zu bemerken ist, daß die Jagd auf Vögel und Landtiere gegenüber dem Fischfang völlig zurücktritt. Das Land ist ja überhaupt im Vergleich zum Wasser tierarm. Es gibt nur wenig jagdbares Großwild: Hirsche (bölölä), Rehe, Tapire [(k)ölt], Affen[1], Wildschweine (ilä), eventuell auch

[1] Brüllaffen werden nur der Knochen wegen, die zu Pfeifpfeifen, Lippenpflöcken, Pfählen verwendet werden, geschossen, aber nicht zur Nahrung.

Jaguar (ānlōá); kleinere Tiere sind häufiger, aber sehr scheu und schwer zu jagen (Aguti: tsüsó; Capivara: huá usw.). Auch die Auswahl an Vögeln ist nicht sehr groß. Vor allem kommen Hühnervögel (Jacu: bēdjuá; Mutum usw.) und Tauben, sowie Enten (hāākōsini, hēdāulē, dōālālá) und Taucher in Betracht. Ob sie Strauße essen, habe ich nicht erfahren können, desgleichen nicht, wie sie es mit Eidechsen, Krokodilen und Riesenschlangen halten, von denen Königswald berichtet, daß sie verzehrt würden. Die geringe Auswahl an Jagdtieren wird nun noch beschränkt durch allerlei sog. Speiseverbote. Da ißt dieser dies und jener jenes Tier nicht. Manche Tiere werden allgemein nicht gegessen, obwohl sie viel Fleisch liefern könnten. Die Jagd spielt eben nur eine Nebenrolle im Haushalte dieser Indianer.

Auf Wild zieht man einzeln oder auch in Gesellschaft aus, besonders Wildschweine werden immer in Gesellschaft gejagt. Eigentümlich ist, daß der Häuptling nie mit auf Jagd geht, wohl aber dem Fischfang obliegt. Gejagt werden nur große Tiere, die jungen läßt man laufen.

Jagdwaffen sind Bogen und Pfeile, Lanzen und eventuell auch die Keulen für Wildschweine. Die Lanze (dönölí) wird bei der Jagd auf Jaguare verwendet (siehe unter Waffen, Abb. 126). Die Federbüschel sollen das anspringende Tier verwirren, so daß der Stoß sicherer angebracht werden kann. Die Pfeile sind je nach der Art des Wildes verschieden; für Großwild gebraucht man entweder Pfeile mit flacher oder mehrkantiger Holzspitze, die zum Teil zu kleinen Widerhaken abgesetzt ist (ōōhú, etwa 150 cm lang), oder Pfeile mit flachen oder gewölbten Bambusblattspitzen (ōōhú, ūāzá, dīnādá; Abb. 113, 114). Netze und Fallen kennt man für die Jagd auf Wild nicht. Fischottern lockt man mit Feuer an und erschlägt sie dann mit einem Holzstock. Königswald teilt mit, daß in der Trockenzeit Grasfluren angezündet werden, damit man das vor dem Brande in Menge flüchtende Wild leicht erlegen kann. Derartige Grasbrände habe ich vielfach gesehen; meine Indianer und auch die Brasilianer legten sie sehr gern an. Nach dem Grunde befragt, erklärten beide übereinstimmend, daß das später hier neu sprossende Grün das Wild anlocken würde, daß sie daher bei späterer Vorüberfahrt das Wild an solchen Brandstellen lokalisiert fänden und deshalb leichte und sichere Jagd hätten.

Die Beute wird ins Dorf gebracht und, wenn sie reichlich ist, von den Kriegern zerlegt und von dem Häuptling unter die Bewohner verteilt.

Der Vogeljagd liegen sie ebenfalls mit Pfeil und Bogen ob. Sie benutzen entweder tödlich wirkende Pfeile (malōl), deren Spitze aus dem zugespitzten Ende des Rohrschaftes besteht (Abb. 163), oder Pfeile, die mit ihrem dicken Ende den Vogel nur betäuben, so daß das Gefieder vor Blut bewahrt wird. Die Verdickung am Ende besteht entweder aus einem Wachsklumpen oder aus dem zugeschnittenen Wurzelende des Rohres, das den Schaft bildet. Derartige Pfeile heißen Mlaōlē (siehe Kinderspielzeug, Abb. 164).

Für Vögel haben sie auch Fallen (dōhōdá oder bādōlēká); als Köder wird geriebene Mandioka und Mais verwendet. Eine derartige Falle sah ich bei Dorf 18 der Nordhorde, etwa 500 m von den Häusern entfernt auf der

Sandbank aufgestellt (Tafel 54, Abb. 2). Sie bestand aus Bambusstäben, die im Viereck übereinandergelegt waren, so daß jedes Viereck enger war als das darunterliegende, bis das oberste schließlich die Öffnung der kleinen Pyramide abschloß. An den Kanten liefen Fäden herab, die an den untersten Stäben befestigt waren und oben auf der Platte sich kreuzten; sie hielten den ganzen Bau notdürftig zusammen. Die Art der Auslösung geht aus der Skizze, Abb. 84, deutlich hervor.

Zum Anlocken der Vögel und des Wildes bedienen sich die Indianer bestimmter Lockrufe, die nach den einzelnen Tierarten verschieden sind, wie sie überhaupt die Tierstimmen mit Meisterschaft nachzuahmen wissen.

Die Vögel müssen an Ort und Stelle gerupft werden, sie dürfen nicht ungerupft ins Dorf gebracht werden („sonst ist der Häuptling böse"). Beim Rupfen taucht man die Fingerspitzen in Holzasche.

Besondere Zaubermittel, um die Jagd ergiebig zu gestalten, soll es nicht geben; dagegen erzählen sich die Indianer gern Jagdgeschichten und lieben es, dabei zu übertreiben oder unwahrscheinliche Dinge zu erzählen.

Abb. 84.
Konstruktion der Vogelfalle.

Bei weitem den größten Teil der Fleischnahrung liefert der **Fischfang**; auf ihm beruht zum großen Teil die Existenz der Indianer.

Der Araguaya ist äußerst reich an Fischen (kädölá); noch reicher sind aber die Nebenflüsse, besonders der Rio Tapirapé und die vielen Seen, die diese Ströme beiderseits begleiten.

Im tiefen Wasser der Seen und an den hohen Steilufern, besonders da, wo herabgestürzte Bäume im Wasser liegen, leben der 3—4 m lange Pirarucú (b'dölëké; Sudis gigas) und der Pirarara (dölé; Phractocephalus discolor), der mit starkem Knochenpanzer ausgestattet ist und bis 2 m lang wird. Beim Herausziehen aus dem Wasser stößt er in eigentümlichen Tönen Luft aus; der humoristische Indianer ahmt diese Töne mit Vorliebe in seinen Gesängen nach. Weiter lebt hier der Hundsfisch (ladá) mit seinen gewaltigen Zähnen, und vor allem der schlimmste Raubfisch, die Piranha. Man unterscheidet verschiedene Sorten: die kleine gelbliche mit schwarzem Kreis auf den Wangen, die weißlichrote (duëtá, kjüëtá) und die riesige schwarze, rotäugige Piranha (düülí), deren größte Exemplare 48 cm Länge erreichen. Die Piranhas sind schlimme Räuber. Wo sie verwundete Tiere oder Fische wittern, eilen sie in Scharen herbei und skelettieren in wenigen Minuten das ganze Tier. In ihrer Gier springen sie hoch über das Wasser heraus, so daß an solchen Stellen riesige Wirbel von Wasser und Fischen entstehen, die allmählich wieder in sich zusammenfallen. Dabei kommt es vor, daß sie sich gegenseitig verletzen und auffressen. Besonders im Tapirapé hausen sie in Unmengen und riesigen Exemplaren, und selbst die Karajá waren

Tafel 54.

1. Vogelläfig.

2. Vogelfalle.

3. Fischnetz aus Embira.

[facing p.248]

erstaunt, als sie einen durch einen senkrechten Schuß vom Boot aus in den Kopf getroffenen Hundsfisch nach wenigen Augenblicken nur noch als Skelett am Pfeil heraufzogen. Das Fleisch der Piranha ist sehr wohlschmeckend; da die Tiere aber selten an die Oberfläche emporkommen und nur mit der Angel gefangen werden können, so spielen gerade sie nur eine geringe Rolle im Haushalte der Indianer. Doch wissen diese sie zu schätzen und suchen sich, wo sie nur können, in den Besitz starker Angelhaken, die dem kräftigen Gebiß der Tiere widerstehen können, zu setzen, desgleichen von Blech, um den über den Haken befindlichen Teil der Angelschnur mantelartig zu umgeben und so vor dem Durchbeißen zu schützen. Trotzdem gehen regelmäßig mehrere derartig ausgestattete Haken verloren.

Im flachen Wasser, wo der Indianer besser mit Bogen und Pfeil jagen kann, lebt der Pintado (Pimelodus sorulum), der bis 2 m lang wird und schönes gelbliches Fleisch besitzt. Relativ selten habe ich Matrincham, Tokunaré, Pacú (allwá) fangen sehen. Der Carfisch lebt in den Höhlungen der Steilufer und kann am Schwanze herausgezogen werden; er ist ein äußerst wohlschmeckender Fisch, der allerdings nur wenig Fleisch in seinem Panzer enthält.

Viele Fische, besonders schuppenlose, wie Aruana (Idjäzó) und andere werden nicht gegessen. Desgleichen wird der riesige Delphin (boto: bühá) nicht ausgenutzt; seine drolligen Bewegungen und sein Schnaufen bilden dem Indianer nur Anlaß zur Heiterkeit und humorvollen Nachahmung.

Die Fischereigeräte sind folgende:

Die Angel ist den Indianern von Haus aus unbekannt. Seit einigen Jahrzehnten werden eiserne Angelhaken (wäsi) eingetauscht zum Piranhafang; doch trifft man sie verhältnismäßig selten, weil viele beim Fang verloren gehen und sich nur selten Tauschgelegenheit bietet (die Angelschnur heißt wäsiśá, der Stock wäsidźó und der Köder wäsidó). Dagegen scheinen die Indianer die Harpunen (wöhüná) schon gekannt zu haben. Man benutzte sie, um den Pirarucú zu fangen. Spitze und Widerhaken bestanden aus Hirschknochen, sie waren mit Harz befestigt. Derartig beschriebene Geräte habe ich nicht mehr gesehen, die jetzigen Harpunen hatten alle Eisenspitzen.

Das Hauptgerät ist Bogen und Pfeil, die bei dem klaren Wasser mit großer Geschicklichkeit und gutem Erfolge gehandhabt werden. Die Fischpfeile (üöhú) tragen auf dem Schaft eine Holzspitze, an deren vorderem Ende eine kleine Spitze aus Affenknochen (ühldó oder dürölänldl) durch Fadenumwickelung und Harz befestigt ist, deren hinteres Ende seitwärts aus der Umwickelung herausragt und so einen Widerhaken bildet (Abb. 115). Die Pfeile weisen durchschnittlich eine Länge von 140—170 cm auf, die Bogen (wäslühätó) eine solche von gegen 200 cm (Abb. 110, 111).

Täglich zweimal, vor- und nachmittags, fahren die Männer und Söhne hinaus auf den Fischfang und kommen meist mit guter Beute zurück. Auf der Heimfahrt singen sie das Lied, „das man alle Tage singt". An bestimmten Stellen werden die Namen der erlegten Fische eingesetzt, so daß man leicht erkennen kann, welche Beute der Fischer mitbringt.

Tafel 55.

1. Stäbchensieb.

2. Siebkorb.

3. Siebteller.

4. Modernes Sieb.

5. Muschellöffel.

6. Tabakkästchen.

[Facing p.249]

Neben diesem Einzelfang wird auch Massenfang betrieben. Man benutzt dazu aus Baumwollschnur oder Bast geknüpfte Netze. Ihre Maße sind recht verschieden, je nach dem Zwecke, dem sie dienen. Das in Abb. 3 auf Tafel 54 wiedergegebene, aus Embira geflochtene Netz (lōdé) hat bei 10 cm Breite eine Länge von 10,35 m. Abb. 85 zeigt die Knotenbildung eines Pirarucúfangnetzes (dÃõ|Ã|á); es hat eine Maschendehnung von 25 cm bei einer Fadenstärke von 1/2 cm. Das größte Netz, das ich gesehen habe, lag auf einer Sandbank am Tapirapé, nahe einer Seemündung; es war 6 m breit und 160 m (!) lang.

Die Art der Montierung solcher Stellnetze zeigen die Nachbildungen, mit denen die Kinder spielen (hadēkó). Sie sind an zwei längeren Endstäben befestigt, das Netz wird durch mehrere Sperrhölzer gespannt (Abb. 86). Diese Pfähle werden vor den Seemündungen eingerammt, und durch Aufspannen des Netzes an ihnen wird der Eingang zu den Seen abgesperrt. Vom Boot aus schlagen die Indianer ins Wasser und jagen die dadurch erschreckten Fische des Sees dem Eingange zu ins Netz, wo sie dann gefangen werden.

Abb. 85.
Knotenbildung der Fischnetze.

Abb. 86.
Fischsperrnetz. Kinderspielzeug.

(Eine derartige Vorrichtung für den Pirarucúfang heißt dÃõ|Ã|á; siehe oben Pirarucúnetz.) Andere Netze (hãndúkú[ãĩ]) werden angeblich längs der Sandbänke aufgestellt; der Tarifisch, der nachts gegen die Sandbänke schwimmt, verfängt sich darin und wird morgens herausgeholt. Doch habe ich aufgestellte Netze dieser Art nie gesehen; wahrscheinlich werden die schmalen Netze dazu verwendet.

Die größten Massenfänge werden durch Vergiften des Wassers der Seen gemacht; es ist dies aber zugleich die schlimmste Raubwirtschaft. Die Seen werden durch Zäune (likłõ) abgesperrt, die aus eingerammten Pfählen bestehen, an denen Palmblätter befestigt sind. Die Stengel des Giftsipo (Timbo: anxi) werden auf ein Gabelholz gelegt und mit einem anderen Knüppel weich geschlagen, darauf werden sie über dem See ausgeschwenkt, wobei ein feiner Staub herausfällt. Sie werden darauf noch ein zweites Mal geklopft und ausgeschwenkt. Ein zweiter Mann rührt vom Boote aus das Wasser, das eine schwarze Färbung annimmt. Die Fische werden dadurch betäubt

oder sterben, kommen infolgedessen an die Oberfläche und können dann bequem abgesammelt werden. Der Zaun verhindert das Entweichen der Fische in den Fluß. Den Menschen schadet der Genuß dieser Fische nicht, auch der Genuß des Wassers erregt nur Leibschmerzen. Die Karajá behaupten, diese Art des Fischens, die besonders in der Regenzeit bei trübem Wasser geübt wird, von den Chavánte gelernt zu haben (siehe aber auch den Fischzaun der Tapirapé).

Von Reusen für kleine Fische (adżuriá), von denen Ehrenreich berichtet, sowie von sonstigem Fischereigerät habe ich nichts gesehen noch gehört.

C. Aufbewahrung und Zubereitung der Nahrungsmittel.

Der Ertrag der Pflanzung sowie der Jagd- und Fischzüge wird meist sofort verzehrt. Das Anlegen größerer Vorräte verbietet das heiße Klima; vor allem die Konservierung des Fleisches ist bei dem Mangel an Salz völlig ausgeschlossen. Ist doch der Indianer gezwungen, nachmittags nochmals fischen zu fahren, da die am Morgen gefangenen Fische fürs Abendbrot bereits verdorben sein würden. Länger als einen viertel Tag ist es unmöglich, frisches Fleisch aufzuheben, und selbst gebratenes Fleisch wird am nächsten Tag ungenießbar.

So haben die Indianer harte Arbeit und beständig für Nahrung zu sorgen, besonders in der Trockenzeit, wo die Erträgnisse der Pflanzung immer gering sind. Einigermaßen helfen sie sich bei den Schildkröten, die sie, wie oben erwähnt, lebend aufbewahren; Schildkröteneier halten sich gekocht und getrocknet sehr lange Zeit. Aber selbst pflanzliche Erträgnisse stapeln die Indianer nicht in großen Mengen auf; sie haben nur für zwei bis drei Tage Vorräte an Mandioka auf ihren Vorratsgerüsten oder an Maiskörnern in großen Kürbissen mit seitlicher Öffnung liegen. Wasser bewahren sie ebenfalls in Vollkürbissen auf.

Alle Speisen werden zubereitet genossen; roh werden nur Früchte sowie Schildkröteneier verzehrt; alles andere wird gekocht oder geröstet.

Der Herd liegt außerhalb der Häuser, meist im Schatten von Mattenwänden oder in deren Nähe. In der Regenzeit wird er in die Rundbauten der Häuser verlegt. Er wird auf zwei Arten hergestellt: entweder werden drei abgestumpfte Kegel, die Spitzen von Termitenhügeln [ã(ũ)dõ, kẽdõ] im Dreieck in den Sand gestellt, zwischen denen das Feuer angemacht wird (Tafel 12, Abb. 1), oder es werden drei zerbrochene Topfböden (wãdjiwiũlã), die hochkant gestellt sind, statt dessen verwendet. Auf diese Unterlagen werden die großen Kochtöpfe gesetzt. Zum Rösten benutzt man niedrige Röstherde (köblũdõ) aus Zweigen: Vier Gabelhölzer werden im Viereck in den Boden gesteckt, zwei Längshölzer hindurchgelegt und darüber Querhölzer gelegt. Das Feuer, das darunter angebrannt wird, verkohlt allmählich die Hölzer (Tafel 61, Abb. 1, Savaſé; siehe auch unten S. 253). Auch Braten am Spieß ist üblich: eine Rute wird vom Gebüsch geschnitten, zugespitzt und mit mehreren darauf gereihten Piranhas schräg in den Sand gesteckt, so daß das obere Ende mit den Fischen über dem Feuer schwebt. Die Fische werden

erst von der einen, später durch eine Drehung auch von der anderen Seite geröstet.

Als Brennholz (häá) dient trockenes Holz, wie es überall auf den Sandbänken an angeschwemmten Bäumen, sowie im Walde reichlich zu finden ist.

Das Feuer (Herdfeuer: hätté) wird durch Quirlen erzeugt. Unterlage und Quirl können aus demselben Holz bestehen; meist wird aütó (brasilianisch sarão, die Wurzel einer Goyabaart) verwendet, doch soll auch ändölökö (brasilianisch mürlzl) brauchbar sein[1]. Nach Ehrenreich (Berlin 3937) besteht der Bohrstab aus Taquara, die Unterlage aus Bixa Orellana. Bei dem in Abb. 87 wiedergegebenen Feuerquirl weist die Unterlage drei Bohrlöcher auf; jedes Loch ist durch eine Kerbe seitlich geöffnet, so daß die Luft zutreten kann. Der Quirl besteht aus einem Holzstab, an dem unten ein anderes, 3 cm langes Stück Holz als eigentliches Bohrstück angebunden ist. Zunder wird nicht verwendet, zum Beleben der Flamme dienen trockene Palmblätter.

Das Feuer läßt man nie ausgehen, sondern sorgt dafür, daß es dauernd

Abb. 87. Feuerquirl.

Abb. 88. Glimmbast.

Abb. 89. Kochtopf, gewöhnliche Form.

brennt. Auf Bootsreisen führen die Indianer Glimmbast (hädó; Abb. 88) oder Stücken langsam glimmenden Holzes (hädéké) auf einer Sandunterlage im Boot mit sich, desgleichen, wenn sie in die Pflanzung gehen. Anscheinend bohren sie also nur ungern neues Feuer, sondern übertragen lieber das Feuer nach der neuen Stelle. Ich habe mir das Feuerbohren öfter vormachen lassen; doch ist es den Leuten nie gelungen, über eine starke Rauchentwickelung hinaus zu kommen. Allerdings fanden diese Versuche zufällig alle bei nasser Witterung statt.

Zum Anfachen des Feuers dienen Fächer (kölf), die aus Palmwedeln in einfacher Weise geflochten sind. Die Kühlwedel (Tafel 21, Abb. 2) unterscheiden sich von ihnen nur dadurch, daß sie Musterung besitzen.

[1] Die brasilianischen Namen sind in indianischer Aussprache wiedergegeben.

Fleisch wird nur geröstet, Fische und Vegetabilien werden geröstet und gekocht genossen. Die Zubereitung der Nahrung ist Aufgabe der Frauen; diese sind den ganzen Tag damit beschäftigt. Doch verstehen es auch die Männer, und sie rösten und kochen sich auf Reisen gegebenenfalls ihre Nahrung selbst. In den Dörfern habe ich nie Röstherde gesehen, nur auf Sandbänken mit Lagerspuren fanden sich solche. Wandernde Truppen benutzten sie zuweilen. Meine Karajá bauten auf der Šavajéreise stets derartige Röstherde. Offenbar werden sie mehr von den Männern zum Braten der Fische benutzt; doch verstehen die Männer auch das Kochen.

Das Rösten geschieht auf den Röstherden oder am Spieß. Fleisch und Fische werden so lange geröstet, bis die äußere Schicht verkohlt ist. Dieser scharfe Brand ersetzt bis zu einem gewissen Grade das Fehlen des Salzes. Desgleichen werden Palmnüsse und andere Früchte im Feuer geröstet, später dann aufgeknackt und verzehrt. In flachen Schüsseln (?) geröstet werden

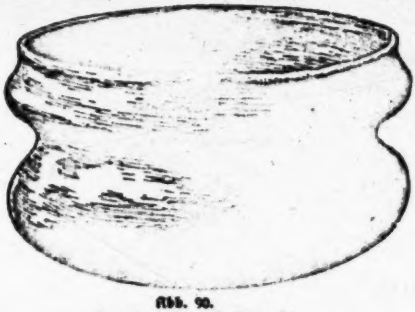


Abb. 90.
Doppelbauchiger Kochtopf.

Abb. 91.
Dreibeiniger Kochtopf.

von Oktober an die Fruchtkerne der Coceiro (hölēní). Diese Kerne werden dann zerstampft, mit dem Fleisch der Nuß vermengt und dies dann zusammen geröstet.

Bei weitem überwiegt aber das Kochen in großen Kochtöpfen. Die Kochtöpfe (wādjīwí, wādšīwí) sind aus grauem Ton hergestellt, ihre typische Form ist in Abb. 89 wiedergegeben. Sie sind durchgängig unverziert. Ihr Durchmesser ist oft ein gewaltiger, bis 80 cm messend; die Höhe bleibt sich aber im allgemeinen gleich (11—14 cm), so daß derartige riesige Töpfe mehr schüsselförmig aussehen. Zuweilen werden sie mit Tontellern bedeckt. Gefäße besonderer Art sind das doppelbauchige Gefäß (Abb. 90), sowie der dreibeinige Kochtopf (Abb. 91); beide wurden ebenfalls wādjīwí genannt.

Gekocht werden einmal die Fische, die ausgenommen und entschuppt, in Stücke geschnitten und so gekocht werden. Zur Zeit der Pikifrüchte werden sie mit diesen zusammen gekocht. Desgleichen wird das Chamäleon abgehäutet und gekocht. Vor allem wird die Mandioka auf diese Weise zubereitet. Sie bildet das Hauptnahrungsmittel. Die Zubereitung der giftigen Mandioka geschieht folgendermaßen: Die Wurzel wird mit Einschnitten versehen mehrere

Tage lang ins Wasser gelegt, dann mit einer geschärften Muschelschale abgeschabt und darauf auf dem Reibholz [(k)ölaná] gerieben. Das länglich-rechteckige flache Holz trägt auf der Mitte der einen Seite mehrere Querreihen eingesetzter Spitzen aus Prejauvaholz (Abb. 92). Die Frau kniet beim Reiben und hält das Holz gegen den Leib und gegen den Boden gestemmt. Als Reiber dienen auch die bekannten Gaumen des Pirarucúfisches. Danach wird die Masse mit Wasser versetzt und auf das Stäbchensieb gelegt [bülöldjú, gesprochen: brö(l)djó]. Dieses besteht aus feinen, nebeneinander geordneten Rohrstäbchen, die in größeren Zwischenräumen mit je zwei Schnüren in gleicher Weise wie die Netzdecken durchflochten sind (Tafel 55, Abb. 1). Der-

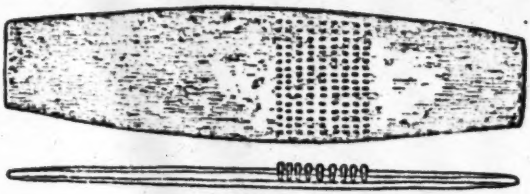


Abb. 92.
Mandiokareiber.

artige Stäbchensiebe dienen einmal als Siebe für gestampfte Mandioka und für Töpferton, sodann als Mandiokapresse und schließlich als Unterlage beim Töpfern. Auf solchen Sieben also wird die Mandiokamasse gereinigt, grobe Stücke werden herausgelesen, dann wird das Sieb mitsamt der Masse zusammengerollt und dabei mit den Händen stark gepreßt, so daß der Giftsaft abfließt. Das so entstehende grobe Mehl (kënödö) wird gekocht zu Mandiokabrei, dem gewöhnlichen Nahrungsmittel der Indianer. Etwas anders wird die zahme Mandioka (Aipim) behandelt. Sie wird zerschnitten und zerbröckelt und dann im Mörser (köwö), der etwa 50 cm hoch und 26 cm breit aus einem Baumstamm mit 3 cm dicker Wandung herausgearbeitet ist, mit der etwa 1 1/2 m langen dicken Holzkeule (haö) zerstoßen (Tafel 40, Abb. 3). Diese zerstoßene Masse wird auf ein Sieb getan, das über einer Schale oder einem Topfe liegt. Als derartige Siebe dienen einmal aus starkem Rutengeflecht gewölbt oder halbkuglig geflochtene Korbsiebe (wälläki) oder flache runde Siebteller (ültjá ödämödi; Tafel 55, Abb. 2, 3). In Schischá wird schon moderne Ware hergestellt: Siebe mit 5 cm hohem Holzspanrand und feinem gemusterten Bastgeflecht, die im wesentlichen für den Gebrauch der Brasilianer hergestellt werden (ültjön(ä), Tafel 55, Abb. 4). Auf diesen Sieben werden zunächst mit der Hand Unreinlichkeiten herausgelesen, dann wird das Sieb in die linke Hand genommen und durch rasches Klopfen mit der rechten Hand von oben darauf die Masse hindurchgesiebt. Größere zurückbleibende Stücke wandern wieder in den Mörser zurück, werden nochmals gestampft und dann

Abb. 93.
Rührlöffel.

wieder gesiebt. Ist genügend Mehl beisammen, so wird es in den großen Kochtopf getan, aus einer Wassercuye wird Wasser darauf gegeben und der Topf aufs Feuer gesetzt.

Zum Umrühren dienen lange, flache Holzlöffel (hälädäö) aus Tarumáholz (Abb. 93).

Ehrenreich berichtet, daß die Indianer dieses Mehl in flachen Töpfen dörren, also Farinha d'agua herstellen, die sehr lange haltbar ist; daß sie die getrocknete Masse (Puva: booro, nach meiner Aufnahme bälö) mehrfach auslaugen und dicke Laibe daraus backen; daß sie aus frischer Wurzel in kleinen Töpfen kleine geröstete Fladen herstellen (Beiju: ibroʒeko). Von all diesem habe ich nichts gesehen noch gehört.

Früchte werden gern noch unreif abgenommen und im Sande vergraben, wo sie nachreifen. Erst dann werden sie verzehrt.

Von Gewürzen wird nur Pfeffer (kašiwēkä; rundkörnige Art) verwendet. Er wird in der Pflanzung gezogen; man zerstößt die Schoten, versetzt sie mit Wasser und tunkt in diese Sauce die gebratenen Fische.

Salz (inätü, nötäkänä) fehlt; nur in Dorf 6 hatten sie von der Saline bei São José stammendes bitteres Salz, das mit roter Erde vermischt war, und das sie in São José eingetauscht hatten. Ihr Salzhunger scheint äußerst stark zu sein; beständig bettelten sie um dieses Gewürz. Eigentümlich ist dabei aber, daß die Frauen gesalzene Speisen meist zurückwiesen. Dafür aßen sie aber sämtlich ganze Hände voll Sand. Auch Kohle und Asche wird gegessen, doch soll dies alles stark verstopfend wirken. Auch sollen sie aus Ton kleine Kugeln machen, die gegessen werden; ihr Genuß soll Gelbsucht erzeugen.

D. Das Essen.

Eßgeräte sind nur ganz gering an Zahl. Geröstete Sachen sowie gekochte Fische werden mit den Fingern gegessen, Brei usw. wird ausgelöffelt aus der großen Kochschüssel oder aus kleinen Eßschüsseln. Als solche dienen Halbcuyen, die durchgängig an den Außenseiten mit Schnitzornamenten verziert sind (Abb. 94). Auch flache Tonschalen sind üblich (Abb. 95). Ovale Tonschalen mit Scheidewand (Berlin 3866), sowie runde und elliptische Tonteller (Berlin 3863—3865), wie sie Ehrenreich beschreibt, habe ich nicht gesehen. Nur in Schischá wurden hohe Tonschüsseln mit roter Randverzierung hergestellt[1], offenbar unter brasilianischem Einfluß (Abb. 96). Als Löffel dienen einmal Muschelschalen, und zwar die drei Arten kädäläá (Tafel 55, Abb. 5[a]), kädaläá liölé (Abb. 5[b]) und wäläbökädaläá (Abb. 5[c]); sodann kleine Halbcuyen (iäá liölé, käisö, üälü), die durchgängig mit Brandmalerei verziert sind und verschiedene Formen aufweisen (Abb. 97, 98). Die von Ehrenreich angegebenen Löffel (katarä) aus Holz (Berlin 3934, 35) und Ton (Berlin 3870) habe ich nirgends angetroffen.

[1] Siehe auch meinen Aufsatz über „Die Kunst der Karajá-Indianer" im Bäßler-Archiv, Bd. 2, Heft 1, 1911.

Zum Aufknacken der gerösteten Palmnüsse dienen Schlagsteine. Es gehören ziemlich kräftige Schläge dazu, um die Schalen der Nüsse zu sprengen. Als Unterlage dienen flache Steine, als Schlägel faustgroße Quarzrundlinge, geschliffene Kegelsteine oder alte Steinbelle. Diese Steine stammen sämtlich aus den Gebieten nördlich der Tapirapémündung. Als Name für alle Schlagsteine wurde maná (Stein) genannt. Abb. 99a—c stellt einen spitzkegel-

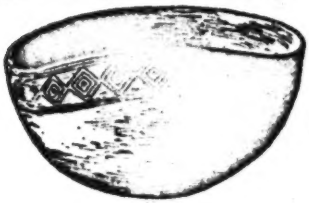


Abb. 94.
Ebenso.

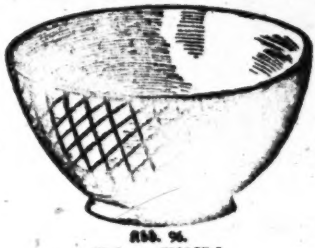


Abb. 96.
Moderne Eßlöffel.

Abb. 95.
Flache Eßlöffel aus Ton.

Abb. 97.
Cuyenlöffel.

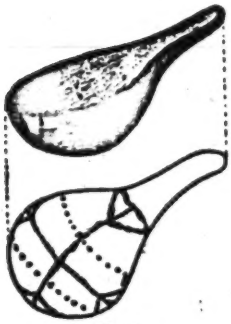


Abb. 98.
Cuyenlöffel.

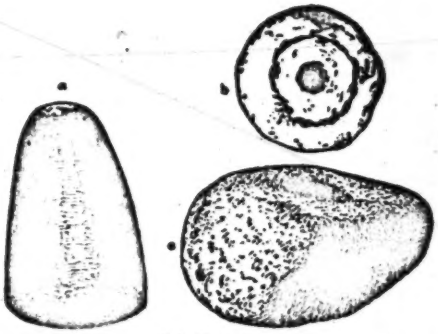


Abb. 99a—c.
a) Schlagstein, b) dessen Schlagfläche, c) Unterlage.

förmigen Schlagstein mit ausgehöhlter Schlagstelle und mit flacher Unterlage dar, Abb. 100—102 drei Steinbelle, und zwar ein langes Flachbell, ein kurzes Flachbell und ein Bell mit ringsumlaufender Schaftriefe, dessen Schneide durch das Klopfen schon stark mitgenommen ist.

Mahlzeiten finden zwei statt, das Frühstück (ãndöldöhö), etwa 8—9

Uhr, und das Abendbrot (iröšlk) etwa 5—6 Uhr. Dazwischen wird aber dieses und jenes geknabbert, Früchte, Nüsse usw.; mittags ißt man gern gebratene Piranhas (Fischjacuba: djadëk). Das Menu besteht meist aus gekochtem Mandiokabrei und Fischen. Gegessen wird viel, trotzdem werden die Leute aber nicht fett. Beim Essen hocken sie um den Topf herum und löffeln ihren Brei aus. Ich habe nicht beobachten können, daß sie abgewendet voneinander gegessen hätten, wie Ehrenreich und Königswald angeben, nur die Frauen schämen sich zumeist, in Gegenwart der Fremden zu essen;

Abb. 100.
Langes Flachbeil.

Abb. 101.
Kurzes Flachbeil.

Abb. 102.
Steinbeil mit Schaftrille.

und die Indianer, die ich als Camaraden mithatte, aßen, wenn sie mit mir in ein fremdes Dorf kamen, nicht mit aus meiner Küche, sondern hungerten die ganze Zeit, wenn sie nicht im Dorfe Verwandte hatten, die ihnen zu essen gaben. Auch arbeiteten sie während des Aufenthaltes im Dorfe nicht. Sie schämten sich, wie sie das nannten.

E. Die Getränke.

Im Trinken ist der Indianer verständigerweise sehr mäßig; als gewöhnlicher Trank dient Wasser. Doch verstehen sie es auch, sich andere Getränke zu bereiten, die indes meist nicht berauschen.

Burityfrüchte (ädëhö) werden gestoßen und mit Wasser versetzt; man läßt die Flüssigkeit absetzen, schöpft die klare Flüssigkeit in einen hohen Topf ab, kocht sie, läßt sie erkalten und trinkt sie dann. Die Flüssigkeit soll dunkelrot aussehen, sehr süß sein, aber nicht berauschen. An Festtagen sollen große Mengen davon vertilgt werden.

Piksfrüchte werden gekocht, zerquetscht und mit Wasser verrührt in einen Topf getan. Die Flüssigkeit bleibt die Nacht über stehen und wird am nächsten Morgen kalt getrunken. Die Kerne werden getrocknet und später gegessen.

Aus Mais machen sie angeblich ein Getränk känuä, dessen Zubereitung ich indessen nicht kenne.

Das gewöhnlichste Festgetränk, das bei allen Besuchen und sonstigen

Gelegenheiten getrunken wird, wird aus Mandiokabrei hergestellt (iūkrūk). Seine Herstellungsart ist bei Ehrenreich beschrieben (Beiträge, S. 16—17). Die leichte Gärung wird durch Kauen des Bodensatzes des erkalteten Breies erzeugt. Die Indianer, Männer wie Frauen, löffeln das Getränk in Unmengen aus. Es berauscht leicht, die Leute bekommen rasch aufgedunsene Gesichter, wässrige Augen und neigen zum Schwatzen. Es schmeckt wie ungewürzte Kartoffelstückchensuppe.

Zuckerrohrschnaps (cachaça: ibaklô) dringt auch hier schon durch die Brasilianer ein. Doch gibt es nur ein Dorf, Schischá, in dem der Schnaps von allen getrunken wird, vermutlich weil eine Schnapsfabrik in der Nähe und das Getränk daher billig zu haben ist. Sonst habe ich nur ganz wenige Indianer gefunden, die Schnaps annahmen (z. B. Häuptling Ilk); Frauen tranken nie welchen, außer in Schischá. Meist wurde er auch von Männern und jungen Leuten zurückgewiesen.

F. Speiseverbote.

Schon oben wurde erwähnt, daß die Möglichkeiten der Nahrung nicht voll ausgenützt werden, daß manche Nahrungsmittel verschmäht werden. Der Grund dafür ist schwer zu finden. Ich glaubte bereits, totemistischen Einrichtungen auf der Spur zu sein; es gelang mir aber nicht, sie nachzuweisen. Anscheinend spielt neben abergläubischen Vorstellungen auch der persönliche Geschmack eine Rolle dabei.

Nicht gegessen werden ganz allgemein: das Fleisch der Haustiere, Eier, Brüllaffen, Kapivaras, Delphine, Krebse und Muscheln. Die Tracajá-Schildkröte und ihre Eier essen nur alte Leute; die Jugend verschmäht sie, weil ihr Genuß von schlechter Wirkung sei. Häuptlinge sollen angeblich kein Hirschfleisch essen. Für Kranke gilt gebratene Piranha als einziges Nahrungsmittel; auch schwangeren Frauen sind viele Nahrungsmittel untersagt. Einzelne Personen aßen bestimmte Sachen nicht: so verschmähte Pedro Hirschfleisch und Tracajá-Eier; andere wieder aßen diese Sachen. Aufgeklärte (zivilisierte) Indianer, die sonst noch fest an alles Zauberwesen glaubten, aßen alles.

G. Die Genußmittel.

Die Indianer kennen nur ein Genußmittel: den Tabak (kōtl). Sie behaupten, den Tabaksgenuß erst von den Brasilianern übernommen zu haben, und zwar etwa in der ersten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts. Sie bekamen damals Samen (kōtlātl) oder Stecklinge; zuerst pflanzten sie diese in den Schlamm, da wuchsen nur kleine Pflanzen; darauf versuchten sie es in der Pflanzung, da wuchsen große Pflanzen. Die Sitte des Rauchens selbst aber ist älter. Fonseca berichtet aus 1773, daß sie aus ihrer tönernen Friedenspfeife nach Osten hin rauchten, offenbar einer Zeremonie folgend[1]. Jedenfalls haben sie durch die Brasilianer nur ein anderes Gewächs erhalten.

[1] Rev. trim. 8, S. 378 und 387.

Heute wird der Tabak in der Pflanzung gezogen, und zwar wird er in der Regenzeit von den Männern durch Einlegen von Samenkörnern in die Erde gepflanzt. Die Ernte beginnt, „wenn die Blätter anfangen zu hängen" (bereits im Juli sah ich frische Tabakblätter zum Trocknen aufgehängt). Die Blätter werden gepflückt und ins Haus geschafft, wo sie zum Trocknen aufgehängt werden. Sind sie halbtrocken, so werden sie zwischen den Händen gerieben („damit der Tabak schwarz wird"), dann außerhalb des Hauses auf eine Stange oder ein besonderes schräges Gerüst gehängt und völlig getrocknet. Aufbewahrt wird er in den länglichen, laſá genannten Körben, und zwar von der Südhorde wulstförmig gerollt (i|a|áũ), von der Nordhorde in Töpfe geflochten (kõ(ũ)zá). (Siehe Abb. 194, Savajé.)

Abb. 103.
Frucht des Jequitibabaumes, aus der die Tabakspfeifen hergestellt werden.

Die Sorte ist scheinbar sehr leicht, ihr Duft ist wenig angenehm; doch rauchen ihn die Indianer leidenschaftlich. Sie finden den Tabak der Savajé für besser und beziehen von ihnen Stecklinge, um ihre Bestände zu verbessern. So begleitete mich auf der Rückreise von den Savajé

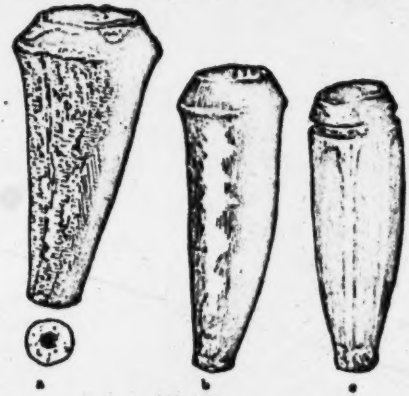


Abb. 104a—c.
Tabakspfeifen aus Jequitibafrucht. a) Rohe Form. b) Fein zugearbeitet, ohne Riefe. c) Fein zugearbeitet, mit Riefe.

ein Karajá, der dort Tabakstecklinge gegen Pfeile eingetauscht hatte; seine Kiepe war voll beladen mit den Paketen, in denen die Pflanzen verpackt waren. Die Stecklinge waren gut eingewickelt in Blätter und Bast zu einem großen zylinderförmigen Bündel, das ringsum durch senkrechte Bambusstäbe versteift und fest verschnürt war.

Auf den schweren Goyaner Tabak waren sie ganz besonders versessen.

Geraucht wird von alt und jung, von Männern und Frauen. Selbst Säuglingen läßt man zuweilen schon diesen Genuß zuteil werden. Es wird durchweg aus Pfeifen geraucht, Maisblattzigaretten sind nicht üblich.

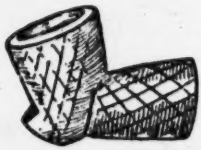
Die Pfeife (in Männersprache: wällöná, wällökó; in Frauensprache: wällökó) wird aus der Frucht (ärikökó) des Jequitibabaumes (Hymenea sp.) hergestellt (Abb. 103). Die etwa 7 cm lange Frucht ist durch einen Stöpsel verschlossen. Ist sie reif, so fällt der Stöpsel heraus, und die Fruchtkerne fallen zur Erde. Das leere Gehäuse wird mit dem Messer völlig gereinigt, außen glatt geschnitten und dann meist rot bemalt. Es gibt zwei Sorten von Pfeifen: eine ohne und eine mit Riefe am oberen Rande. Verzierte Pfeifen habe ich nur in einem einzigen Exemplar gesehen. In Abb. 104 a—e sind alle Stufen von der roh zugeschnittenen bis zur geglätteten, lang-

Abb. 105.
Nachbildung einer Tabakspfeife in Holz.

Abb. 106 a, b.
Verzierte Tabakspfeife aus Holz.

Abb. 107.
Tabakspfeife mit Saugrohr.

Abb. 108 a—d.
Tönerne Tabakspfeifen.



gebrauchten Pfeife dargestellt. Abb. 105 bringt die Nachbildung einer Pfeife in Holz, wie sie ebenfalls zuweilen üblich ist. Abb. 106 a b zeigt die durch erhabene Schnitzereien verzierte, schwarz gefärbte Pfeife aus einem Dorfe der Nordhorde. Die Pfeife in Abb. 107 weist ein kurzes Saugrohr auf, das mit der Pfeife durch schwarze Umwickelung verbunden ist.

Diese Pfeifen haben „die Alten erfunden, als sie den Tabak von den Brasilianern übernahmen" (?). In der Südhorde und zum Teil in der Nordhorde werden sie jetzt schon in Holz nachgebildet (Abb. 105, 106); in den obersten Dörfern, die mit den Brasilianern in Verbindung stehen, benutzt man

bereits auf Rohrstücke gesetzte Tonköpfe[1], die im allgemeinen den brasilianischen gleichen und nur durch die Abplattung der Unterseite von ihnen abweichen. Sie sind meist mit Ritzverzierungen versehen, und der an sich helle Ton (zöú) hat durch den Brand eine schwarze Farbe angenommen (Abb. 108a—d). Aufbewahrt wird der tägliche Vorrat sowie die Pfeife in kleinen Körbchen (mödí, Tafel 55, Abb. 6a) oder in kleinen geflochtenen Täschchen, die von rechteckiger Form aus einfachem Bastgeflecht (sähú) oder aus einem den Sitzmatten ähnlichen Bastgeflecht (mäši) hergestellt sind (Tafel 55, Abb. 6b c).

Geraucht wird folgendermaßen: Der Tabak wird fest in die Pfeife gedrückt, bis diese etwa drei Viertel voll ist; dann wird ein glimmendes Holzstück vom Feuer darauf gelegt und die Öffnung mit der Hand oder einem Finger verschlossen. Nun wird rasch vielmals hintereinander gesaugt, bis der Tabak brennt; die Kohle wird darauf meist, aber nicht immer, herausgetan. Beim Rauchen ziehen sie den Rauch vielmals rasch hintereinander ein: es sieht aus, als ob sie saugen oder trinken (Tafel 11, Abb. 3); erst dann setzen sie die Pfeife ab und stoßen den Rauch aus.

Auffällig erscheint, daß die Kanapó den Namen wällkökó, also in der Form der Frauensprache, anwenden. Sie benutzen ebenfalls Pfeifen aus der Frucht des Jequitibabaumes; als Unikum sah ich eine in gleicher Form nachgebildete Pfeife aus Ton. Doch benutzen sie durchweg bereits Saugrohre, die von der Seite her in die Pfeife gesteckt werden. Derartige Pfeifen waren nur in geringer Anzahl vorhanden, und die Kanapó verlangten beständig welche von mir. Offenbar ist das Gerät und damit der Name zu ihnen von den Karajá oder Šambioá durch Vermittelung der Brasilianer übertragen worden. Das Frauenwort erklärt sich daraus, daß auch die Männer meist diese Form den Fremden gegenüber anwenden.

7. Waffen für Krieg, Jagd, Fischfang.

Um die Übersicht über die mannigfaltigen Formen dieser Geräte nicht durch Unterordnung in die einzelnen Gebrauchsgruppen zu zerreißen, will ich sie hier gemeinsam behandeln. Schon oben ist bei Jagd und Fischfang hierher verwiesen worden. Eine kurze Übersicht der Verteilung je nach dem Zweck möge vorausgehen.

Als Kriegswaffen dienen die Keulen sowie Bogen und Pfeile mit Bambusblattspitzen. Der Jagd dienen Lanzen, Bogen und Pfeile mit Holzspitzen und mit Bambusblattspitzen. Zum Fischfang werden ausschließlich Bogen und Pfeile mit angesetzten kleinen Knochenspitzen verwendet. Sport wird betrieben mit Bogen und Pfeilen und dem Wurfbrett mit Pfeilen. Sonstige, vielleicht ehemals übliche Waffen sind der Kugelbogen, die Schleuder (?), der Bumerang (?). Die Hauptrolle also spielen Bogen und Pfeile. Alle übrigen treten dagegen ganz zurück.

[1] Vergl. hierzu, daß Fonseca 1775 bereits tönerne Friedenspfeifen erwähnt, ohne jedoch ihre Form zu beschreiben. Rev. trim. 8, S. 378.

Bogen [w(ä)ʃ(i)nhädê] und Pfeil (nöhú) werden meist von jedem selbst hergestellt. Sie werden auf Bootsfahrten stets mitgeführt, und zwar werden die verschiedensten Pfeilarten (Kriegs-, Jagd- und Fischpfeile) mitgenommen.

Beim Schuß wird der Bogen senkrecht gehalten (Tafel 56, Abb. 1). Der Pfeil ruht am Bogen zwischen ihm und dem zweiten Finger der linken Hand, an der Sehne zwischen erstem und zweitem Finger der rechten Hand, während die übrigen Finger die Sehne zurückziehen. Der Pfeil wird beim Spannen gegen die Schulter gezogen.

Als Sport betreiben sie das Abschießen von den Füßen aus. Ich habe es nicht selbst beobachtet, beschrieben wurde es mir folgendermaßen: Die Leute liegen am Boden und strecken die Beine geschlossen in die Höhe. Der Bogen liegt über den Fußsohlen, die Sehne wird mit den Händen gegen die Brust gezogen. So schießen sie in die Höhe. Der Bogen fliegt natürlich ebenfalls von den Füßen ab, die zurückschnellende Sehne soll heftigen Schmerz an den Füßen verursachen[1].

Schon frühzeitig lernen die Knaben Bogenschießen; ich sah schon 3—4 jährige Knaben mit kleinen Waffen hantieren. Diese Waffen (siehe unter Spielzeug) dienen zur Übung im Schießen. Zunächst wird nach einem festen Ziel geschossen, einer weichen, zylindrisch geformten Wurzel von etwa 30 cm Höhe und 10 cm Dicke, die in den Sand gestellt wird (Abb. 109). Später geht der Vater zum Unterricht im beweglichen Ziel über: der Vater rollt einen Bastring auf der Erde entlang. Der Knabe steht etwa 10 m vom Vater entfernt und schießt aus immer weiterem Abstand in den laufenden Ring. Der Pfeil muß im Bast hängen bleiben. Einem kleinen Knaben von vier Jahren gelang das auf eine Entfernung von 2 m beim dritten Schusse. Dieser Bastring [(wä)ʃiölölö] ist eine ringförmige Bastwulst von 3½ cm Dicke und 18½ cm Durchmesser, die mit Bast eng umwickelt ist (Tafel 56, Abb. 2). Ehrenreich (Berlin 3960) bezeichnet sie fälschlicherweise als einen Ring zum Tragen von Gegenständen auf dem Kopfe, eine Sitte, die bei den Karajá-Indianern nicht üblich ist. Später wird dann aufs fliegende Ziel geschossen, indem grüne Kürbisse in die Luft geworfen werden. So lernen die Knaben schon frühzeitig Bogenschießen und erlangen im allgemeinen eine große Treffsicherheit. Es gab Indianer, die beim Fischen fast keinen Fehlschuß taten; doch waren andere hinwiederum weniger geschickt veranlagt.

Der Bogen besteht aus Palmholz. Dieses Holz (ölötó, wöalnó) wächst angeblich nur im Tapirapégebiet. Jedenfalls beziehen die Indianer der Südhorde nach übereinstimmender Aussage ihre Bogen oder das Material dazu von den Karajá der Nordhorde oder von den Tapirapé selbst. Infolgedessen konnte ich Bogen nur bei der Nordhorde erwerben, bei der Südhorde waren sie kostbare Besitztümer.

Der Bogen ist rund, auf der Vorderseite oft leicht abgeflacht, verjüngt

[1] Vergl. hierzu dieselbe Sitte bei den Indianern nahe Rio de Janeiro, bei Debret, Voyage pittoresque et historique du Brésil, Bd. 1, Paris 1836, Tafel 8.

Abb. 110. Bogen mit aufgeflickter Umwicklung, Wickelkörper und Federpusch.

Abb. 112a, b. Doppelsäulige Pfeile.

Abb. 109. Strohl als Ziel für Bogenschützen.

Abb. 111. Bogen mit gemalterter Umflechtung und Federbusch.

sich nach beiden Enden und läuft in abgesetzte Dornfortsätze aus. Die Sehnenlänge beträgt bei meinen Exemplaren 184—204 cm.

Die Sehne (anzú, mbáú, nach Ehrenreich mahuga) wird von jedem selbst hergestellt durch Zusammendrehen dreier gedrehter Imbauva-Faserschnuren. Ihre Stärke nimmt von einem dickeren Ende bis zum anderen beständig ab, und sie läuft schließlich in eine dünne Schnur aus. Ihre Montierung zeigt Abb. 110. Die eigentliche Sehne bildet der starke Teil, der am einen Ende abhebbar angebracht ist. Der schwächere Teil wird vom festen Bogenende aus an der Vorderseite des Bogenholzes bis etwa zur Bogenmitte geführt, dort befestigt und dann zurück nach dem Bogenende zu um den Bogen eng herumgewickelt. Das letzte Endchen hängt frei herab, es trägt oft eine Federquaste. Diese Umwickelung wird meist mit weißer Erdfarbe eingerieben. In der Bogenmitte, wo sie beginnt, ist ein Maisblatt mittelst schwarzer Baumwollumwickelung als Schmuck befestigt. Der nichtumwickelte Teil des Bogens trägt zuweilen eine schwarzgelbe Umflechtung (Abb. 111).

Die Pfeile. Um eine Übersicht über die Pfeile geben zu können, empfiehlt es sich, sie zunächst nach den Spitzenformen zu gruppieren; denn die Ausgestaltung dieses Teiles des Pfeiles hängt ja von der Verwendungsbestimmung ab, die schließlich das wichtigste am Pfeile ist. Daneben will ich aber auch auf die anderen variierenden Merkmale hinweisen, die zum Teil Eigentums- und Stammesmarken darzustellen scheinen.

Vorweg sei bemerkt, daß jeder sich seine Pfeile selbst herstellt. Aber bei der Sitte, Pfeile als Zahlungsmittel zu benutzen und bei Besuch in fremden Dörfern mit dem Häuptling zu tauschen, wie anderseits von ihm welche geschenkt zu erhalten, sind Pfeile der verschiedensten Herkunft in der Hand des einzelnen vereinigt; doch überwiegen bei der kurzen Lebensdauer der Pfeile die von jedem selbst hergestellten. Vergiftung ist nicht üblich.

Vor dem Schuß werden die Pfeile auf ihre Rundung geprüft, indem sie zwischen der zur rechten Schulter emporgehobenen rechten Hand und der weit abwärts gestreckten linken gedreht werden. Bilden Schaft und Spitze nicht eine gerade Linie, sondern stehen sie in leichtem Winkel zueinander, wie das ja sehr leicht vorkommen kann, so wird diese Abweichung durch leichtes Biegen beseitigt. Erst dann wird geschossen.

Wir unterscheiden am Pfeile Spitze und Schaft, den letzteren mit der Fiederung (Abb. 112[a b]). Pfeile, bei denen Spitze und Schaft aus einem Rohr bestehen, kommen nur bei Kindern vor (für Vogeljagd, siehe Kinderspielzeug); bei Erwachsenen ist die Spitze stets besonders eingesetzt.

Die Spitze besteht aus einem Holzstab (ahkhúnl), der entweder selbst spitz zuläuft oder an seinem Vorderende eine Spitze aus Bambusblatt oder kleinem Knochen trägt.

Pfeile mit einfacher Holzspitze dienen zur Jagd auf Großwild (Jaguar, Hirsch, Tapir, Affe). Die Spitze ist drehrund, flach oder drei- bis vierkantig und hat zuweilen eine oben abgesetzte Spitze. Ihre Länge beträgt 38—60 cm. Zuweilen ist sie schwarz gefärbt (Abb. 113[a—f]). Eine Abart solcher Pfeile

trägt geherbte Holzspitzen (hädöbträdädá, adédé). Die Kerben sind entweder an den Kanten der dreikantigen Holzspitze eingeschnitten oder an der einen Kante flacher Holzspitzen. Zahl und Anordnung der Kerben ist sehr verschieden (Abb. 113a—l).

Ehrenreich erwähnt Pfeile mit eingesetzter, stumpfer Holzknobenspitze für die Jagd auf Vögel und kleinere Tiere. Derartige Pfeile habe ich bei den Karajá nicht gesehen, wohl aber bei den Šavajé (siehe dort).

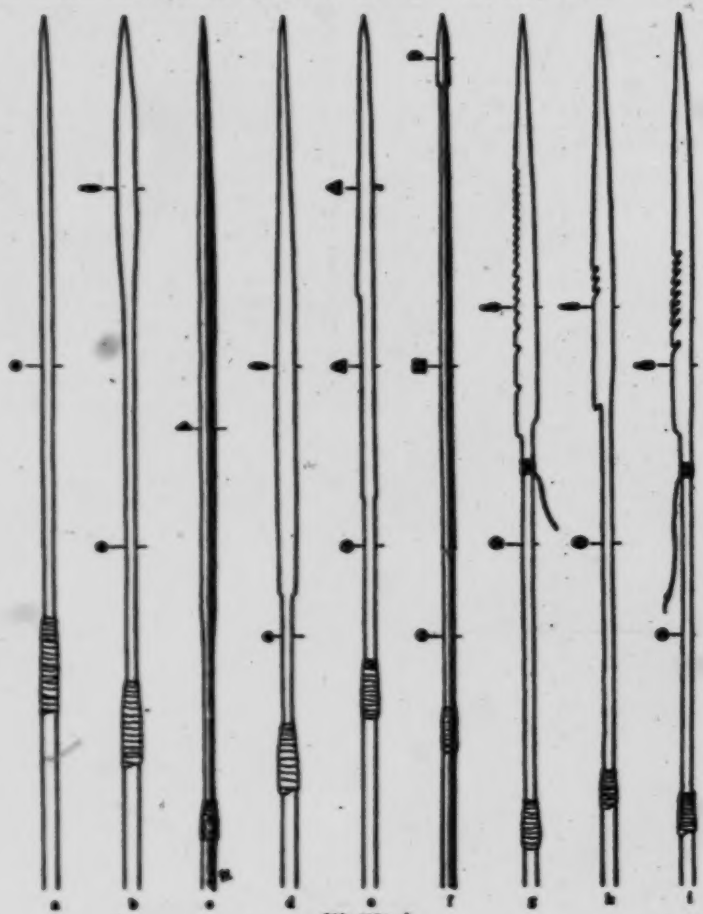


Abb. 113a—l.
Pfeile mit Holzspitzen.

Pfeile mit aufgesetzten Bambusmessern (di(ü)adá) dienen zur Jagd auf Großwild, vornehmlich aber als Kriegspfeile. Da sie leicht abbrechen und große Wunden reißen, so sind sie sehr gefährlich und führen meist den Tod herbei. Das Bambusmesser ist meist flach, nur selten stark gewölbt; mit dem Holzstiel ist es durch eine feine Bastumwickelung verbunden. Oft sind die Messer auf der Rückseite mit schwarzen Querstreifen bemalt. Messer und Holzstiel haben meist annähernd gleiche Länge (30—40 cm), beide zu-

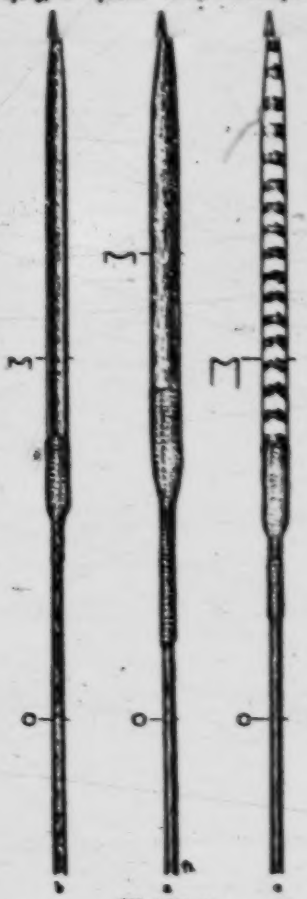


Abb. 114 a—c.
Pfeile mit Bambusmessern als Spitze.

Abb. 117.
Knochenspitze zum Aufsetzen auf Pfeile.

Abb. 115.
Pfeil mit Knochenspitze.

Abb. 116.
Pfeil mit Rochen-Rückenspitze.

sammen sind so lang wie der eigentliche Rohrschaft (60—80 cm) (Abb. 114a—c).

Die Pfeile mit angesetzter Knochenspitze dienen ausschließlich dem Fischfang. Die Knochenspitze ist so angesetzt, daß ihr hinteres Ende seitlich hervorsteht und so einen kleinen Widerhaken bildet. Sie ist 4—6 cm lang und am Schaft durch seine Bespannwickelung und Überspritzung mit schwarzem Harz befestigt (Abb. 115). Bei meinen Exemplaren ist diese Knochenspitze überall rund, während Ehrenreich eine zweite Art solcher Pfeile mit flacher Knochenspitze (Berlin 4008)[1] und eine dritte Art mit aufgesetztem Röhrenknochen als Spitze mitbrachte (Berlin 4009). Der Stiel ist bei diesen Pfeilen 40—50 cm lang, zuweilen naturfarben oder rot bemalt, meist aber schwarz gefärbt; der Schaft hat eine Länge von 100—120 cm. Als Spitze für einen Pfeil mit aufgesteckten Affenknochen (ahldô, dürölönldî) sollte wohl die in Abb. 117 wiedergegebene benutzt werden.

Ein einziger Pfeil trägt statt der Knochenspitze eine solche aus Rochenstachel (Abb. 116); er stammt aus dem Dorfe an der Tapirapémündung.

Der Spitzenstiel hat außer schwarzer oder roter Bemalung keine weitere Verzierung. Er ist in den Schaft eingelassen und mit Harz darin befestigt. Um ihn aus dem zerbrochenen Schafte zu lösen und auf einen neuen zu stecken, erwärmt man das Rohr über dem Feuer, bis das Harz geschmolzen ist und man den Stiel herausziehen kann. Das Schaftende ist am Einsatz des Stieles zugeschnitten, so daß der Übergang in den Stiel allmählich erfolgt. Wenn der Stiel in den Schaft eingesetzt wird, springt dieser häufig; die Risse werden mit schwarzem Harz verklebt.

Über die Ansatzstelle wird schwarzer schmaler Embirastreifen gewickelt; er wird mit hellem Harze am Schafte befestigt. Diese Umwickelung (dôdô) ist verschiedenartig ausgestaltet; sie überzieht entweder Stiel und Schaft in einem Zuge, oder von der kurzen Ansatzumwickelung ist eine längere Schaftumwickelung getrennt, deren Zwischenraum zuweilen durch spiralig gewundene oder gekreuzte Umwickelung überbrückt wird. Ein Pfeil trägt an dieser Stelle spiralige Schnittornamente (döhuläd, ñadî), an anderer ein schwarzgelbes Geflecht. Dreiteilige Ansatzumwickelung ist sehr selten (Abb. 118).

Der Schaft (b'dölô) besteht aus Taquararohr. Dieses Rohr scheint südlich des Rio Tapirapé nur im Gebiete der Südhorde vorzukommen. Am Südende der Insel Bananal traf ich ein Dorf, das auf der Wanderung nach Süden begriffen war, um bei Leopoldina Taquara für ihre Pfeile zu holen. Der Schaft ist durchschnittlich 0,8—1,0 cm dick, seine Länge schwankt je nach der Art der Spitzen (siehe oben). Schaftverzierungen habe ich nie beobachtet.

Die Fiederung ist im Durchschnitt 17—22 cm lang. Meine sämtlichen Pfeile zeigen nur zwei Ausnahmen, von denen die eine 15, die andere 31 cm lang ist. Die Fiederung ist direkt am unteren Ende des Schaftes angebracht. Ehrenreich berichtet, daß das Fiederende oft besonders in den Schaft eingesetzt sei. Seine Vermutung, daß es sich hierbei um reparierte Pfeile handelte,

[1] Pfeile mit flachen Knochenspitzen habe ich nur von den Kayapó erhalten.

bestätigt sich durch ein derartig ergänztes Exemplar in meiner Sammlung (Abb. 119ᵃ).

Auf die Ausgestaltung der Fiederung wird große Sorgfalt verwendet. Sie besteht aus zwei einander gegenüberstehenden Federn, deren obere Spitzen durch die Kerbumwickelung festgehalten werden, und deren Innenfahnen kurz verschnitten sind. An der Stelle, wo die Federkiele befestigt werden sollen, wird der Schaft mit Harz eingerieben, die halbierten Kielenden werden darauf gedrückt, sodann die Fahnen senkrecht zum Schaft gerichtet und ihnen die

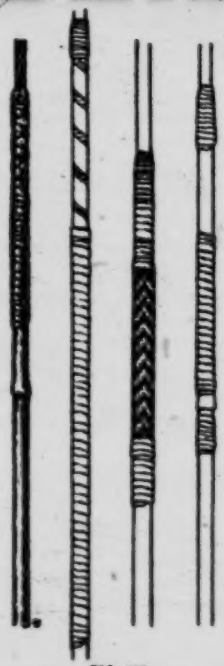


Abb. 118.
Ausgebildete zwischen Pfeilschaft und Spitzenpfeil.

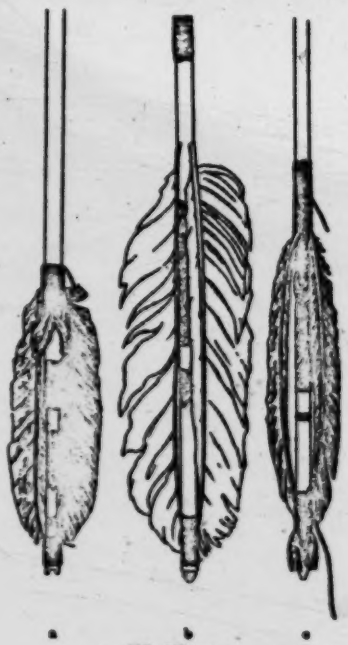


Abb. 119a—c.
Fiederung: a) ergänztes Ende, b) Anbringen der Federn, c) vollständige Fiederung.

Drehung (ein Achtel bis ein Viertel des Schaftumfanges) gegeben (Abb. 119ᵇ). Dann werden die Kielenden mit schwarzem Baumwollfaden (Ksōdēbē) fest umwickelt, sodann die Außenfahnen zugeschnitten (Abb. 119ᶜ). Früher wurden die Federn durch Absengen in die gewünschte Form gebracht, seit Einführung von Eisenscheren werden sie zugeschnitten. Erst nachdem die Fiederung fertig ist, wird die Spitze eingesetzt.

Eine abweichende Befiederung (Spiralwicklung durch die zwei halbierten

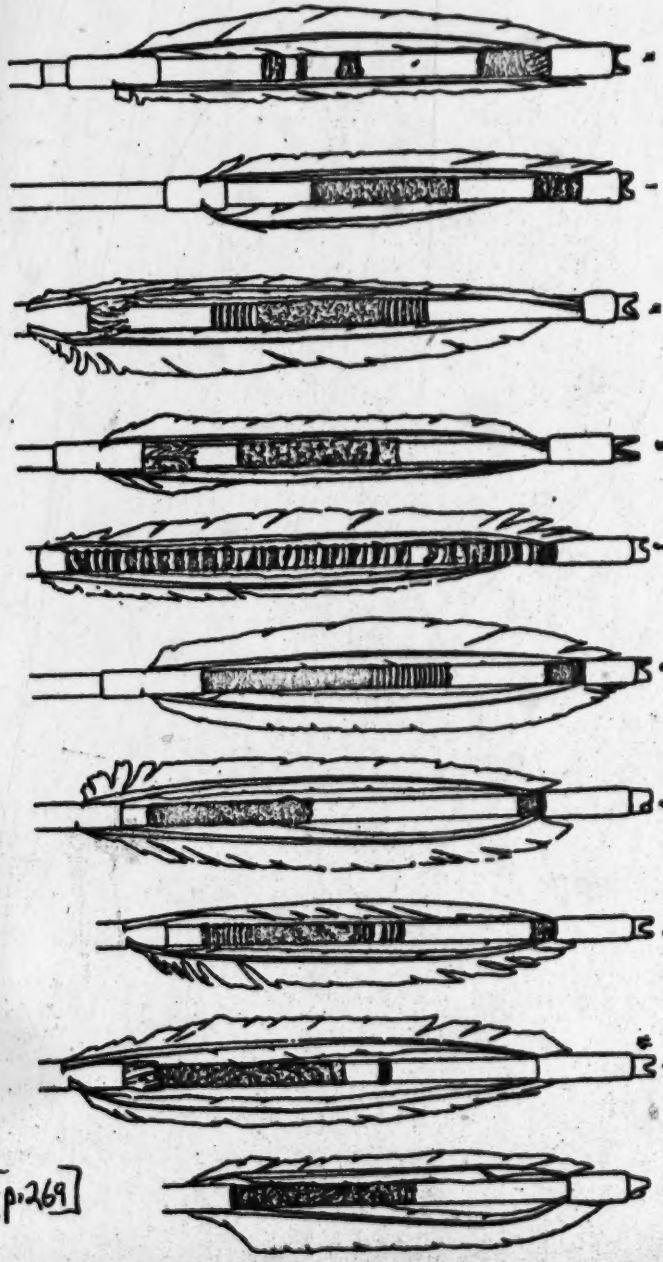


Abb. 120—1.
Bogensehne bei Schäften gebildet aus Sehnen.

[p.269]

Federn hindurch) findet sich bei einigen Kinderpfeilen der Nordhorde (siehe Kinderspielzeug). Ob es sich hierbei um eine alte, den Erwachsenen verloren gegangene Befiederung handelt, steht noch nicht fest.

In die Baumwollumwickelung an den Kielenden sind meist rote, seltener gelbe Federchen eingebunden, die nach dem Innern der Fiederung hereinragen.

Der Schaftteil zwischen den Federn ist meist verziert durch Bänder oder Ringe aus rotem oder gelbem Lack (Abb. 120a—k): Diese Verzierung wird nur des schönen Aussehens wegen angebracht.

Die Kerbumwickelung besteht aus feinem weißen Baumwollfaden. Sie reicht bei den Pfeilen der Karajá bis an die Kerbe heran. Hierin liegt nach Kuriši das Charakteristikum der Karajá-Pfeile; die Šavajé-Pfeile sollen einen kleinen Zwischenraum zwischen Kerbe und Umwickelung aufweisen. Nun habe ich bei den Šavajé auch Pfeile mit Karajá-Umwickelung erhalten; es geht dies vielleicht auf den lebhaften Austausch zwischen den beiden Völkern zurück.

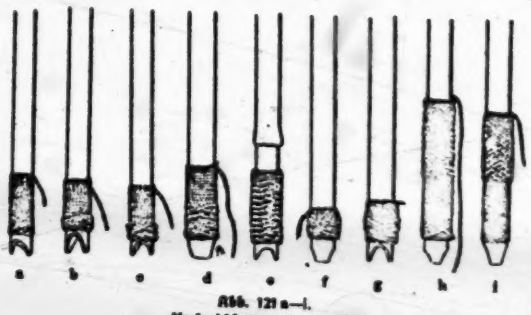


Abb. 121 a—i.
Kerbwicklungen der Pfeile.

Abb. 122.
Kerbenriefler.

Die Umwicklung besteht aus parallelen Umgängen; nur die obersten Schichten zeigen Abweichungen durch Kreuzen der Fäden (Abb. 120a—i). Charakteristisch sollen nach Kuriši für die Karajá vier Kreuzfäden sein, für die Tapirapé zwei Kreuzfäden. Diese Bemerkung habe ich nicht bestätigt gefunden, es herrschte vielmehr eine geradezu großartige Fülle der verschiedensten Kreuzungen. Allerdings kommen auf das Dorf an der Tapirapémündung die Pfeile mit den zwei Kreuzfäden (Abb. 121b) und die verschiedenartig geführten Kerbumwicklungen in Abb. 121h i. Anscheinend sind diese Wicklungen die Abzeichen der Hersteller der Pfeile; denn bei Befragen nach diesen sahen fremde Karajá stets nach dem Kerbende. Genaueres konnte ich aber darüber nicht erfahren, so besonders nicht, ob jeder einzelne seine besondere Marke hat, oder ob Familien (oder Totemgruppen?) bestimmte, für alle Mitglieder gleiche Marken führen.

Die Kerbe (dönäwüdälöná) ist nur wenig tief und leicht geschrägt eingeschnitten. Bei einigen Pfeilen sind in die Kerbumwicklung zwei rote

Federchen eingebunden, die hinten über das Ende herausstehen (Abb. 119c). Sie dienen nach Mitteilung der Indianer dazu, den Pfeil leichter abfahren und die Hand nicht so stark ermüden zu lassen.

Die Keule (göhördö) ist die eigentliche Kriegswaffe der Indianer. Die Karajá unternehmen keine Bootsfahrt, ohne neben Pfeilen und Bogen auch die Keule im Boot liegen zu haben, und auf Landreisen ist sie meist ihr einziger Begleiter. Auch in den Dörfern sieht man die Indianer, wenn sie überhaupt bewaffnet sind, mit Keulen einherlaufen.

Die Keulen sind aus schwerem Holz (wöälaö) hergestellt. Sie sind drehrund, verdicken sich nach dem Schlagende zu und laufen mit scharfem Rand in einen spitzen Buckel aus. Das Griffende endigt in einem Knauf, der durch ein dickeres Zwischenstück mit zwei bis drei tiefen Riefen von der Keule getrennt ist. Bei Ehrenreich schwankt die Zahl der Riefen zwischen einer tiefen und vier bis fünf flachen Riefen, während seine Šambioá-Keulen durchweg drei Riefen aufweisen. Die Art der Keulen (und Rudergriffe), die Ehrenreich von den Šambioá mitgebracht hat, bei der das Zwischenstück durch ein längeres, dünnes glattes Stück geteilt ist, wobei die breiten, dicken Stücke dieses an beiden Enden überragen und je eine Riefe tragen (3979 u. a.), kommt bei den Karajá nicht vor.

Die Keule ist in der oberen Hälfte (vom Schlagende aus) mit Längsriefen versehen. Glatte Keulen, wie sie Ehrenreich mitgebracht hat, habe ich nirgends gesehen. Hergestellt wird diese Längsriefelung durch den Zahn eines Nagetieres (Cutia: haũlí; nach Ehrenreich auch Aguti oder Capivara), der an einem Holzstab befestigt ist (Abb. 122). Dieses Riefelinstrument, haũlidjú (= Cutiazahn) genannt, dient also nicht zur Pfeilherstellung, wie Ehrenreich angenommen hat.

Bisweilen sind in der Längsriefelung zwei diametral gelegene glatte Streifen von etwa 1 cm Breite stehen geblieben, die der ganzen Länge nach mit Schnitzornamenten verziert sind (Abb. 123).

Nur selten findet man Keulen, die eine bemusterte Umflechtung aus gelbem Taquararohr und schwarzer Embira tragen (Abb. 124).

Diese Umflechtung ist immer vorhanden bei den kleinen Keulenstöcken, die ich nie in Gebrauch gesehen habe, und die Königswald als Tanzkeulen bezeichnet. Sie sind entweder von der Gestalt der Keulen, ohne jedoch einen besonderen Handgriff zu besitzen, oder aber sie laufen in ein breiteres Blatt aus und haben einen abgesetzten Handgriff (Tafel 56, Abb. 3a—c). Die erstere Art ist gegen 70 cm, die zweite gegen 50 cm lang.

Ehrenreich teilt noch einen zweiten Keulentypus mit: flache, schaufelartige Keulen, die vierseitiges prismatisches Blatt mit scharfen Kanten und lanzettförmiger Spitze besitzen. Der Stiel ist umflochten, an beiden Enden des Geflechtes hängen Baumwollquasten herab (Beiträge, Tafel VI, Abb. 11). Er erhielt zwei derartige Keulen von dem Šambioá (Berlin 3980), während er eine rohere Form bei den Karajá sah. Es fragt sich, ob diese Keulenform den Karajá ursprünglich zukommt. Denn ich traf derartige Formen weder bei den Karajá noch bei den Šavajé an, wohl aber bei den Kayapó,

bei denen breite Schneidekeulen überhaupt zu Hause zu sein scheinen. Es mag sein, daß die Sambloá diese Form von den Kayapó übernommen haben. Nur eine kleine Kinderkeule der Karajá (Abb. 125) zeigt einen ähnlichen Typus[1], doch stammt sie aus dem Dorf an der Tapirapémündung, so daß auch hier nicht sicher ist, ob eine alte, jetzt erloschene Keulenform sich in diesem Kinderspielzeug noch erhalten hat, oder ob nicht eher eine Beeinflussung seitens der Tapirapé oder der Kayapó vorliegt.

Eine geringere Rolle spielen die Lanzen (dönöll; Abb. 126). Sie sind eine den Karajá eigentümliche Waffe. Heute dienen sie wohl nur noch als Prunkwaffe bei Festen, Besuchen usw. Früher haben sie auf der Jagd des Jaguars Verwendung gefunden: die Federbüschel an der Spitze sollten das Tier scheu und unsicher machen, so daß der Indianer im günstigsten Augenblick

Abb. 123. Keule.

Abb. 124. Keule mit umflochtenem Griffende.

Abb. 125. Kinderkeule. Karajá.

Abb. 126. Lanze.

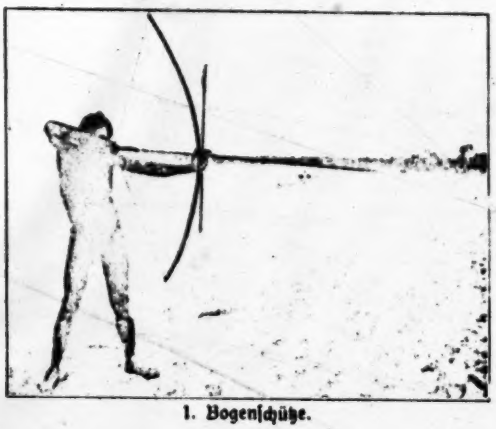
den Todesstoß führen konnte (nach Mitteilung der Indianer). Daß sie je im Krieg verwendet wurden, habe ich nie gehört.

Der Schaft besteht aus schwerem Palmholz (Aruera); er ist fast durchgängig 240—260 cm lang und etwa 3 cm dick, nur zwei Exemplare meiner Sammlung sind wenig über 200 cm lang.

Die Spitze wird durch einen zugeschärften Schenkelknochen des Jaguars

[1] Vgl. aber auch oben den Keulenstock (Tafel 56, Abb. 3a).

Tafel 56.



1. Bogenschütze.

2. Zielring.

a

b

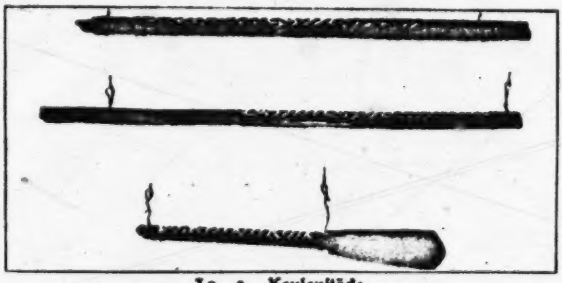
c

4a—c. Kleine Tragtürbisse.

a

b

c



3a—c. Keulenstöcke.

5. Karajaboot auf Arbeitsgerüst.

[facing p. 272]

gebildet; sie ist etwa 20 cm lang. Wo sie dem Schafte aufsitzt, ist dieser auf etwa 10 cm mit roter Baumwollschnur umwickelt, von deren oberen Umgängen lange Quasten aus Ararafedern herabhängen. An diese Umwickelung schließt sich unterhalb ein gemustertes Geflecht an, das aus gelben Taquara-Längsstreifen besteht, die mit ringsumgeführten Embirastreifen quer durchflochten sind. Die Umflechtung ist 50—80 cm lang, ihre Ornamente sind die gewöhnlichen Flechtornamente[1].

Ehrenreich gibt noch an, daß dieses Geflecht oben und unten mit kleinen Federkränzen verziert sei; das ist bei meinen Exemplaren nicht der Fall.

Nach Mitteilung der Indianer haben ihre Speere in alten Zeiten keine Knochenspitzen gehabt, sondern sie liefen vorn in den zugespitzten Schaft aus; im übrigen waren sie wie die heutigen Speere ausgestattet.

Die nachfolgenden Waffen dienen keinem ernsten Zwecke mehr. Entweder sind sie, wie die Pfeilschleuder, zur Sportwaffe geworden oder zum Kinderspielzeug (Kugelbogen), oder sie sind ausgestorben.

Die **Pfeilschleuder** (äübl, öbirú; Abb. 127a) erinnert in ihrer Form an die Pfeilschleudern der Xingustämme, nur daß sie wesentlich größer ist (67 cm lang). Der Haken am oberen Ende besteht aus Knochen und ist mittels weißer Baumwollumschnürung befestigt (Abb. 127b). Der dazu gehörige Pfeil (köhnjá) soll eigentlich aus hëdźiwá-Rohr (Canna brava) hergestellt sein. Bei meinem Modellexemplar besteht der Schaft aus Cambanuvarohr und ist etwa 1½ m lang, er trägt vorn eine kolbige Spitze aus schwerem Palmholz (Abb. 127c). Andere Pfeile sollen Spitzen aus Stein haben, die mit Wachs befestigt werden; doch habe ich derartige Exemplare nicht gesehen. Der Schaft ist ungefiedert, er besitzt keine Kerbe. Ehrenreichs Pfeile aus Ubárohr hingegen haben am Ende einen ausgeschnittenen Absatz, der das Kerbloch trägt. Das hier abgebildete Exemplar von Wurfholz und Pfeil wurde von den Indianern auf meinen Wunsch angefertigt.

Abb. 127a—c.
a) Pfeilschleuder, b) Detail des Hakens, c) Handhabung der Pfeilschleuder.

Die Art der Handhabung ergibt sich aus Abb. 127c. Die Schleuder wird in der rechten Hand gehalten, der Pfeil mit dem hinteren hohlen Ende in den Zapfen eingehakt, aufs Brett gelegt und hier mit der rechten Hand in folgender Weise festgehalten: der Daumen liegt an der rechten Kante des

[1] Siehe meinen Aufsatz: Die Kunst der Karajá-Indianer, Bäßler Archiv, Bd. II, Heft 1, 1911.

Wurfholzes, der zweite Finger steckt im Loch des Handgriffes, der dritte Finger greift vom linken Rand her über den Pfeil hinweg, der vierte kommt vom linken Rand her unter den Pfeil, also zwischen diesen und das Brett zu liegen, während der fünfte Finger an der linken Kante liegt. Mit der ausgestreckten linken Hand wird das vordere Ende des Pfeiles unterstützt. Abgeschleudert wird der Pfeil mit derselben Bewegung, mit der man einen Speer wirft. Man kann Horizontal-, Hoch- und Tiefwürfe (letztere zum Fischfang) damit ausführen.

Bei den Karajá traf ich dieses Gerät nicht mehr an; sie kannten es zwar, doch gab es in der Südhorde Leute mittleren Alters, die vorgaben, noch keins gesehen zu haben. Die Anwendung jedoch war noch bekannt, und allgemein wurde erzählt, daß die Šavajé viele Wurfhölzer hätten und noch anwendeten.

Bei den Karajá wird es nur noch als Sportwaffe bei dem knarkántèdüöhú (Spiel der Tapirapé) genannten Spiele verwendet, das zur Zeit der Blüte des Pau d'Arco stattfinden soll. Nach Beschreibungen geht das Spiel folgendermaßen vor sich: Zwei Jünglinge stehen einander gegenüber, beide mit Pfeilschleuder und Pfeilen bewaffnet. Der eine fordert zum Kampfe auf, indem er singt: wöhúläläkudjé, wöhúläläkudjé: wirf mit dem Pfeil, du trifft mich doch nicht. Der andere antwortet: djöbidjöbiko, djöbiko döhöf: ich treffe dich doch. Darauf beginnen sie, sich gegenseitig mit den Pfeilen nach den Oberschenkeln oder den Knöcheln zu werfen, und jeder sucht seine Geschicklichkeit im Werfen wie im Ausweichen des Pfeiles zu zeigen. Wird nicht geschickt ausgewichen, so soll der Pfeil ziemlich tief ins Fleisch eindringen und nur durch Anschlagen mit dem Wurfholz von beiden Seiten her herausgewuchtet werden können. Böse Wunden sollen die Folge sein.

Auffällig ist der Name des Spieles: Spiel der Tapirapé. Die Karajá berichteten, daß die Tapirapé das Wurfholz und auch dieses Spiel besäßen. Es liegt der Gedanke nahe, daß die Karajá es von da überkommen haben, wenn wir an das Vorkommen dieses Gerätes im Xingu-Quellgebiet denken. Welche Umstände das Erlöschen dieses Gerätes bei den Karajá, sein Weiterblühen bei den Šavajé bedingten, entzieht sich unserer Kenntnis.

Den Kugelbogen (bödökö) habe ich bei den Karajá nicht gesehen. Doch wurde mir bei der Südhorde mitgeteilt, daß sie ihn anzufertigen verständen, und daß die Kinder Steine damit zum Töten kleiner Vögel würfen. Wahrscheinlich haben die Indianer ihn von den Brasilianern übernommen, deren Kinder in Leopoldina ihn vielfach als Spielgerät benutzten. Das Fehlen eines einheimischen Wortes für das Instrument läßt wenigstens schließen, daß auch das Gerät nicht einheimisch ist.

Anm. Anhangsweise muß ich hier zwei Geräte behandeln, über die mir die Indianer nur ganz unkontrollierbare Mitteilungen machten. Es war mein Prinzip, systematisch nach allem zu fragen, was überhaupt vorkommen konnte; und wo die Beschreibung nicht ausreichte, fertigte ich Modelle an. So führte ich den Indianern auch eine Steinschleuder vor. Darauf erklärten sie mir in verschiedenen Dörfern übereinstimmend, daß dieses Instrument (nürüöf) ihnen bekannt sei, daß sie es aber nicht gebrauchten aus Mangel an Steinen. Angeblich hätten sie es von den Brasilianern übernommen. Es

war mir unmöglich, die Indianer dazu zu bringen, ein derartiges Instrument anzufertigen.

Noch unsicherer sind die Mitteilungen betreffs des Bumerangs. Mein Gewährsmann Kurtsi, den ich nach meinen sonstigen Erfahrungen für glaubwürdig halten muß, teilte mir mit: seine Mutter habe ihm in seiner Jugend erzählt, daß die Karajá der Nordhorde ein Holz (ladézá) hatten, das wieder zurückkam, wenn es geworfen wurde. Gesehen habe er ein derartiges Gerät nicht; es müßte also schon längst abgekommen sein. Bestätigungen dieser beiden Mitteilungen konnte ich nicht erlangen, ich gebe sie daher nur mit allem Vorbehalt wieder.

Schutzwaffen haben die Indianer nicht. Gegen Schläge schützen sie sich nur mit der Hand und dem Arm. Fliegende Pfeile wehren sie mit der Keule ab; sie mit dem Speer, mit Bogen oder Pfeil abzulenken, verstehen sie nicht. Gegen den Rückschlag der Bogensehne haben sie keinen eigentlichen Schutz; der Rückschlag soll sogar sehr weh tun. Etwas gemildert wird er durch die Armstulpe (deäl); wer keine Stulpen trägt, wie die verheirateten Männer, wickelt sich wohl auch Bast um den Unterarm; doch tritt dies anscheinend nur im Kriege ein, denn beim Fischfang habe ich etwas derartiges nicht beobachtet.

Amulette fehlen; nur ein Zaubermittel wenden sie gegen Pfeilschuß an: aus geschabten Stücken der Bogensehne wird auf beide Brüste eine Scheibe von 10 cm Durchmesser mittels Harz aufgeklebt. Sie glauben, daß dann kein Pfeil die Brust treffen könne.

8. Transport- und Verkehrsmittel.

Zu Lande reisen die Indianer nicht gern. Die Nord-Süderstreckung ihres Wohngebietes längs des Stromes bedingt ja im wesentlichen Bootsfahrten von Dorf zu Dorf. Nur um die Pflanzung oder fremde Stämme zu besuchen, werden Landmärsche unternommen. Für beide Zwecke existieren Wege.

Die Wege sind etwa 20—25 cm breit, durch Niedertreten oder Ausrupfen der Grasbüschel entstanden; sie führen nicht geradeaus, sondern machen leichte Schlangenwindungen. Die Indianer laufen darauf in einer Linie hintereinander. Die Füße werden nicht, wie öfter angegeben wird, gerade voreinander gesetzt, sondern die Indianer laufen, wie ich auf tagelangen Märschen dauernd beobachten konnte, genau wie wir, die Zehen auswärts gerichtet; höchstens daß sie zuweilen den Fuß etwas einwärts kehrten, wenn ein größeres Grasbüschel an der Seite dazu zwang. Es läuft sich auch barfuß sehr angenehm auf diesen Pfaden; sie sind sehr sauber und glatt gehalten.

Für kurze Märsche, wie zur Pflanzung, gibt es keine weiteren Vorrichtungen; anders bei Wegen, die tageweit über Land führen und häufiger begangen werden. Sie sind mit Unterkunftshütten in Abständen von Tagemärschen, Kochplätzen, Fährbooten und Wassertransportgefäßen an beiden Seiten der Gewässer versehen. Einen solchen Verkehrsweg bereiste ich, als ich quer durch die Insel Bananal marschierte, um zu den Savajé zu gelangen.

Als Transportmittel zu Land dienen im wesentlichen die Kiepen (bähuläö), die an Schulter- und Stirnband getragen werden, und in denen

ganz ungeheure Lasten transportiert werden können (Tafel 57, Abb. 1 und 2). Auch alle sonstigen schwereren Lasten werden am Tragband aus braunem Bast (oaná) getragen, das um die Stirn oder um die Brust gelegt wird; so z. B. die großen Tragkörbe (wälilí, Tafel 57, Abb. 3). Für meine Rucksäcke machten sich die Indianer ebenfalls Stirnbänder. Große Schlafmatten werden zusammengerollt und quer über den Kopf gelegt transportiert.

Kleinere Lasten trägt man in Behältern am Handriemen, z. B. in Tragsäcken (mäší; Tafel 57, Abb. 5 und 6), Tragtaschen (lölá; Tafel 57, Abb. 4), Doppelspankörben (wräbähí; Tafel 57, Abb. 16 und 17), kleinen Täschchen (Tafel 55, Abb. 6a—c) oder in kleinen Cuyen, deren durchbohrter Rand das Tragband hält, oder die entweder mit Bast eingeflochten sind (dälilíká) oder in ein Netz aus schwarzem Baumwollgeflecht gesetzt sind (wäläbüká; Tafel 56, Abb. 4a—e).

Kinder reiten auf der Hüfte und werden dort mit der Hand festgehalten (Tafel 12, Abb. 4; Tafel 37, Abb. 2; Tafel 42, Abb. 2, 3).

Ihre Hauptreisen finden zu Wasser im Boot statt. Das Boot (awó), deren es in jeder Familie eins oder mehrere gibt, besteht aus einem Einbaum von 6—10 m Länge und 40—60 cm Breite. Die beiden Enden sind lang ausgezogen und von unten her abgeschrägt, sodaß dadurch ein leichtes Auf- und Abfahren von den Sandbänken bewirkt wird (Tafel 56, Abb. 5). Die Boote haben keine Sitze; man hockt oder sitzt auf dem schmalen Boden. Zuweilen werden Querstäbe angebracht, auf die die Ladung zum Schutze vor dem Kielwasser gelegt wird. An einer Stelle im Boot befindet sich häufig eine Lehmschicht, auf der glimmendes Holz liegt zum Übertragen des Feuers.

Fortbewegt werden die Boote mit Rudern und Stangen; beide werden bei Tal- und Bergfahrt benutzt, die Stangen natürlich nur im flachen Wasser. Die Ruder (nalihí) werden frei, als Paddel gehandhabt, und zwar knien oder sitzen die Ruderer im Boot, das Gesicht in der Fahrtrichtung. Wird das Boot von einem Mann bewegt, so sitzt er am hinteren Ende und steuert gleichzeitig; bei zwei Mann Besatzung sitzt einer am vorderen und einer am hinteren Ende; mehrere Ruderer verteilen sich über das ganze Boot. Der Rudertakt ergibt sich im letzteren Falle ganz von selbst, da sich die hinteren nach dem Vordermann richten müssen. Der Gesang, den die jungen Leute gern beim Rudern anstimmen, hat mit dem taktmäßigen Rudern nichts zu tun. Es gibt verschiedene Arten, die Ruder einzusetzen: kurze Schläge mit Pausen nach jedem Schlag; lange, gleichmäßig sich folgende Schläge; langsame Schläge mit Hochheben der Schaufel am Ende, so daß das Wasser in breitem Schwall von der Schaufel herabfällt, gelten als besonders elegante Art des Ruderns. Die Indianer sind sehr ausdauernd, sie rudern viele Stunden lang ohne Unterbrechung.

Die Ruder sind etwa 130 cm lang, haben eine 18—19 cm breite Schaufel von etwa 70 cm Länge, die in eine abgesetzte, langausgezogene Spitze ausläuft. Das Blatt ist zuweilen schwarz bemalt, ein Mittelquerband ist ausgespart und rot angestrichen. Das Handende ist eine kurze, geschweifte

Tafel 57.

1. Kiepe.

3. Runder Tragkorb mit Stirnband.

2. Kiepe.

4. Tragtasche.

5. Tragsack.

6. Tragsack.

12. u. 13. Längliche Körbe, aus einer Blattfieder geflochten.

8. 9.

10. 11.

8.—11. Körbe mit quadratischem Boden und runder Öffnung.

7. Spitzovaler Korb.

14. Korbschale,

15. Korb,

beide aus je zwei Siedern geflochten.

16. Doppelspanfarb, geöffnet.

17. Doppelspanfarb, geschlossen.

[Facing p. 276]

Krücke. Unterhalb dieser befinden sich am Stiel drei erhabene Ringe, die durch zwei eingeschnittene Riefen hervorgebracht sind; sie sind charakteristisch für die Karajá[1] (Abb. 128 a b).

Das Steuer ist dem Ruder gleich, es wird ebenfalls frei gehandhabt.

Stangen (hödjú, wälötó, aus Meijúholz) sind etwa 4—5 m lang; sie werden aus schlanken, dünnen Bäumen geschnitten, unter deren weißer Rinde ein roter Bast liegt, der frisch abgezogen wie Kresse riecht. Wird die Stange nicht benutzt, so wird sie in eine kurze Schlinge, die vorn durch die Bootswand gezogen ist, gesteckt und schwimmt nun längsseits mit. Das Staken geschieht vom Vorderende des Bootes aus, mag der Indianer nun allein das Boot bewegen oder noch einen Steuermann bei sich haben. Er setzt die Stange bald an dieser, bald an jener Seite ein, je nach der Richtung der Fahrt, dreht sich dann herum, drückt das Ende gegen die Brust und schiebt, 5—6 Schritte nach der Bootmitte zu gehend, nach der Mitte weiter. Dann läuft er wieder nach vorn und beginnt von neuem (Tafel 1).

Abb. 128 a, b. Karajáruder.

Dieses Laufen verursacht ein heftiges Schwanken des Bootes; doch sind die Indianer sehr geschickt, so daß kein Wasser hereinschlägt. Schieben mehrere Indianer mit den Stangen, so stehen sie abwechselnd nach rechts und nach links gewendet und bewegen die Stangen von der Stelle aus. Sie heben beim Vorziehen die Stange so weit vom Boote ab, daß kein Wasser hereinkommen kann.

Während das Rudern von Männern und Frauen gleichmäßig ausgeübt wird, habe ich nie Frauen mit der Stange fahren sehen.

Über seichte Stellen wird das Boot hinweggeschoben, über querziehende, bloßliegende Sandbänke werden Rollhölzer gelegt, auf denen das Boot hinübergerollt wird (Abb. 9).

Anker zum Befestigen der Boote gibt es nicht; umflochtene Steine dienen nur den Schildkrötengrundangeln als Anker. Die Boote werden leicht aufs Ufer gezogen, und die Bootsstange wird durch die Schleife in den Sand gesteckt; das ist die ganze Befestigung.

Zum Ausschöpfen des eindringenden Wassers dienen Halbkürbisse.

Verzierte Boote habe ich nur im Dorf Nr. 20 gesehen. Hier befanden sich an der Innenwand eines Bootes hellfarbige menschliche Figuren; ein anderes Boot trug am Rand 36 Einschnitte, die als die Zahl der für eine Reise zu den Sambioá nötigen Nächte bezeichnet wurden.

Solche wochenlange Fahrten werden meist in größerer Gesellschaft unternommen; oft zieht das ganze Dorf in einer großen Anzahl hochgepackter Boote. Allein fahren die Indianer nur ein bis zwei Tagereisen weit. An

[1] Vgl. oben Keulengriffe.

Proviant nehmen sie nur wenig mit: Mandioka, Mais und den Kochtopf; die Fische werden unterwegs zweimal täglich zusammengefischt. Ruderer und Steuerer wechseln sich bei größeren Reisen tageweise ab, besonders wenn nur zwei Mann im Boote fahren.

Schiffbrüche kommen zuweilen vor, besonders beim Überqueren des Flusses bei Sturm. Derartige Unglücksfälle, bei denen Indianer ums Leben kamen, und von denen mir mehrere Beispiele erzählt wurden, sind bei den hohen Wellen, die die Stürme auf dem Fluß erzeugen, und den schmalen, niedrigen Booten der Indianer leicht erklärlich. War ich doch selbst mit meinen Booten (Einbäume mit ein bis zwei aufgesetzten Seitenplanken) öfter gezwungen, vor Wind und Wellen stundenlang Zuflucht am Hochufer oder an Sandbänken zu suchen.

Unwetter überstehen die Indianer auf der Reise ziemlich einfach. Sie bauen sich rasch aus Stangen und bearbeiteten Palmblättern, die sie bei längeren Reisen stets mit sich führen, kleine Schutzwände, oder sie ziehen das Boot ans Land, stülpen es um und legen sich in ihre Decken gehüllt darunter neben ein Feuer, das sie in der Mitte entzünden. In dieser Weise bringen sie die schlimmsten Sturm- und Regennächte zu.

9. Handel, Geld, Maße.

Ihre Bootsfahrten und Landreisen führen die Karajá fast nur des Fischfangs und der Besorgung von Rohmaterialien wegen aus. Handel unter sich wird nur bei gelegentlichen Besuchen getrieben. So nahm Pedro aus Dorf 19 Unmengen von Urukúkörnern mit in seine Heimat (Dorf 2); als Grund gab er an, daß es oberhalb des Rio Tapirapé kein Urukú gäbe, wahrscheinlich meinte er nicht die eine bestimmte, sehr hochgeschätzte, rote Farbe gebende Sorte. In den Dörfern nördlich der Tapirapémündung gab es auch in Rollen oder Fladenform gepreßte Urukúfarbmasse, die in solchen Packungen verkauft wurde. Die Südhorde scheint auch sonst in verschiedenen Hinsichten von der Nordhorde abhängig zu sein: Bogenholz, rote Farbe zum Bemalen der Töpfe, Steine für Steinbeile, Netzdecken, Steinlippenpflöcke, gezähmte Araras beziehen oder bezogen sie von der Nordhorde, die diese entweder selbst produzieren oder von den Tapirapé oder Šavajé erwerben.

Von den Šavajé, die für sehr reich gelten, kaufen sie Tabakstecklinge, Mandiokawurzeln, Pfeile, Netzdecken usw.

Mit den Brasilianern treiben sie Handel teils bei der Vorüberfahrt brasilianischer Boote, denen sie Wachs in großen Kugeln zum Dichten der Boote, sowie Mandioka, Hühner und Fische gegen Tabak, Salz, Farinha, Perlen und Messer anbieten, teils auf großen Handelszügen, die sie selbst im August und September nach Santa Maria und zuweilen auch nach Conceição unternehmen. Sie sammeln dazu vorher auf ihren Fischzügen im Rio Tapirapé und den zahlreichen Seen des Flusses große Mengen von Schildkröten, Schildkrötenelern, getrockneten Fischen usw., um diese in den großen brasilianischen Orten gegen Erzeugnisse der europäischen Kultur ein-

zutauschen, besonders Eisenwerkzeuge, Stoffe für Decken für die kalten Nächte, Schmuckperlen, Tabak und Salz.

Besondere Wertmesser gibt es nicht beim Handel, es findet noch einfacher Tausch statt. Unter sich aber haben sie feste Preise: ein Boot kostet ein Beil oder zwei Kapivarazähne usw.

Im Verkehr mit uns galt es erst, besondere Werte zu schaffen. Sie kennen ungefähr erfahrungsgemäß den Wert von Perlenketten, Messern, Scheren, Beilen und setzen selbst in ihren Forderungen diesen in bestimmte Beziehungen zum Werte des betreffenden Handelsobjektes. Im allgemeinen schätzen sie ihre Gegenstände gut ab, wissen geringwertige von brauchbaren Stücken zu unterscheiden und fordern demgemäß variierende Preise. Nur anfangs hatte man in jedem Dorf Schwierigkeiten, bis die gegenseitige Wertabschätzung geglückt war.

Das einfachste Tauschmittel war Goyaner Rollentabak; ein Stück von drei Fingern Länge galt als Zahlungseinheit für Fingerringe, Lippenpflöcke, Ton- und Wachsfiguren, einmaliges Photographieren usw. Für größere Objekte dienten Glasperlen als gewöhnlichstes Tauschmittel. Die Scheidemünze sozusagen war eine Kette von etwa 100 Stück. Farbe und Größe der Perlen änderten natürlich den Wert, doch war dieser je nach der gerade im Dorfe herrschenden Mode ganz verschieden, so daß in einem Dorfe kleine weiße, im anderen große blaue Perlen am höchsten bewertet wurden. Genommen wurden alle Farben; ungern nahmen sie grüne, sowie durchsichtige Perlen, gern dagegen weiße und blaue, am liebsten gelbe und rote. Mit solchen Perlenketten wurden kleinere Schmucksachen, Pfeile und dergleichen eingehandelt. Höher im Wert standen kleine Messer, Spiegel, Scheren, Angelhaken (möglichst starke und große) für größere Schmucksachen, Gebrauchsgegenstände, Medikamente, Spielsachen u. dgl. Am höchsten wurden Waldmesser (facão), Beile (besonders nordamerikanische mit blauem Oberteil), Baumwollstoffe (ein Stück = 4 m) gewertet. Für eines dieser Stücke bekam man ein Boot oder eine Lanze, einen Bogen mit Pfeilen, ein Kopffederrad, eine Reisebegleitung für 8--10 Tage bei freier Station. Von ihren Gegenständen werteten sie am höchsten Netzdecken, Steinlippenpflöcke und Kapivarazähne. Dafür mußte man schon Waren im Werte von 30—50 Mark geben. Ganz unverkäuflich waren Tanzmasken.

Beim Handel ging es sehr ruhig zu. Die Indianer brachten ihre Gegenstände und sagten ihre Forderung; ich gab nach genauer Untersuchung des Gegenstandes mein Angebot, eventuell wurde der Gegenstand zurückgewiesen. Regelmäßig verlangten sie das betreffende Objekt zu sehen, sei es Perlenkette, Spiegel, Messer, Schere usw. Dann wurde es einem Sachverständigen zur Begutachtung übergeben; sie haben derartige Leute für Perlen, Eisengeräte, Stoffe usw. Erst wenn dieser sich zustimmend geäußert hatte, wurde der Kauf perfekt. Andernfalls mußte ich andere Sachen vorlegen. Der getauschte Gegenstand ging darauf von Hand zu Hand, wurde von jedem probiert oder angelegt und gelangte erst spät in die Hände des Besitzers. Eisengeräte wurden der Nagelprobe, Perlen der Zahnprobe unterworfen. Stumpfe

Eisengeräte, zerbrechende Perlen, gebrauchte Gegenstände wurden nicht genommen. Jeder ließ im übrigen den anderen selbst handeln, mischte sich nicht hinein und gab nur auf Befragen sein Urteil ab, eine sehr angenehm wirkende Sitte.

Besondere Maße existieren nicht. Messer und Scheren wollen sie möglichst groß haben, auf die Güte kommt es weniger an. Sonst habe ich nur noch gesehen, wie Boote gemessen wurden. Gewöhnliche Boote reichen vom Fuß bis zum Knie, höhere Boote bis eine Hand breit übers Knie; für solche Boote zahlt der Indianer zwei Kapivarazähne. Als Hohlmaße dienten beim Tausch mit uns die hohle Hand oder kleine Kürbisse und Muschelschalen.

10. Technik.

Anscheinend stellt sich ein jeder seine Geräte und Werkzeuge selbst her. Nur zuweilen habe ich beobachtet, daß einzelne Personen gewisse Sachen in größeren Mengen anfertigten; so z. B. wurden in Schischá Töpfe und Siebe wohl für brasilianischen Gebrauch, im Dorfe Josés Hüte, im Dorfe Alfredos Matten in Mengen hergestellt. Dies und die Angaben über den Kaufwert bestimmter Gegenstände scheint auf einen Handel unter sich und demnach wohl auch auf Herstellung durch bestimmte Personen über den eigenen Bedarf hinaus zu deuten.

A. Die Arbeitsteilung nach Geschlecht und Alter ist derart, daß die männliche Jugend eigentlich nichts tut, als sich im Waffenhandwerk zu üben und gelegentlich auf Fischfang zu fahren. Daneben stellt sie sich ihre eigenen Waffen sowie die Federschmuckstücke und die baumwollenen Tanzgürtel her. Die verheirateten Männer dagegen sind meistens beschäftigt; entweder arbeiten sie in der Pflanzung, oder sie fahren, täglich zweimal, auf Fischfang für ihre Familie, gehen jagen, flechten Körbe und Hüte, bauen die Häuser und schaffen die Ernte herein. Im allgemeinen haben die Männer, wenn sie verheiratet sind, viel Arbeit, und deshalb wollen die jungen Leute nicht mehr heiraten, angesteckt durch einige ältere Hagestolze, die das Junggesellenideal predigen: im Maskenhaus faulenzen, rauchen und schwatzen.

Die Frauen lernen schon von Jugend auf ihre Handfertigkeiten, wie Spinnen und Weben. Verheiratete Frauen besorgen die Pflanzung, die Ernte, pflegen die Kinder, kochen, töpfern, spinnen und weben und flechten Matten. Im allgemeinen haben sie zwar den ganzen Tag über zu arbeiten, so daß man sie nie untätig sieht, doch haben sie im allgemeinen ein gutes Los; schwere Arbeit wird ihnen nie zugemutet, sondern stets von den Männern abgenommen.

B. Von ihren alten Werkzeugen sind einige bereits verschwunden[1] oder werden in anderer Weise verwendet; doch benutzen sie noch Steinbeile

[1] Die Eisenwerkzeuge scheinen in der vorigen Generation eingedrungen zu sein. Ein 40jähriger Indianer der Südhorde erzählte mir, daß er nicht mehr mit Steinbeilen hätte arbeiten sehen, daß ihm nur seine Mutter davon erzählt hätte.

als Schlagsteine, Steinmesserchen zum Tätowieren, Knochennadeln zum Nähen, Muschelschalen als Schaber und Löffel, Piranhagebisse zum Zuschneiden der Korbflechtstreifen. Immer mehr aber bringen Eisengeräte ein: Beile, Buschmesser, kleinere Messer, Scheren sind überall gebräuchlich, ebenso eiserne Häkelnadeln. Trotz dieser fremden Hilfsmittel hat aber die Technik erfreulicherweise ihren alten Charakter bewahrt, und nur zuweilen lassen sich Neubildungen unter dem Einfluß der brasilianischen Anwohner bemerken. Es zeigt uns das, wie zäh die Karajá an ihrem Volkstum festhalten trotz des langen Verkehrs mit ihren zivilisierten Nachbarn.

C. Die Ausnützung des Naturreiches ist eine verschieden starke; am geringsten wird das Mineralreich ausgenutzt, am stärksten das Pflanzenreich, das ja dem Indianer die reichsten Hilfsmittel bieten kann.

Das Mineralreich wird noch wenig ausgebeutet. Steine sind in dem Schwemmtal des Araguaya selten, höchstens kleine Geröllе finden sich auf einigen Sandbänken; sonst bedeckt feiner Sand das Flußtal. An den senkrechten Steilufern steht Canga an, ein eisenhaltiger Sandstein, der nicht ausbeutbar ist außer etwa in größeren Stücken, die umflochten als Anker für Schildkrötenangeln dienen. Steine stehen erst nördlich vom Tapirapé an, und alle die wenigen Steingeräte, die vorhanden waren, stammen von da.

Ausgiebiger wird der graue Ton verwendet, der häufig in schmalen Schichten in den Sandstein der Hochufer eingelagert ist. Er wird zur Töpferei verwendet. Doch ist diese Kunst in ihrer Technik und Formengebung noch sehr primitiv, Verzierung fehlt völlig. Die Gefäße sind alle auf den praktischen Gebrauch zugeschnitten; sie werden von den Frauen hergestellt. Anscheinend sind die Frauen praktischer und weniger künstlerisch veranlagt als die Männer; denn wir finden überall, daß die von den Frauen hergestellten Sachen einfach und praktisch sind, die von den Männern dagegen gefällige Formen und Verzierungen aufweisen.

Auch Erden als Farben werden nur wenig ausgenutzt.

Etwas stärker wird das Tierreich von den Indianern für technische Zwecke verwertet. Knochen und Zähne von Säugetieren werden zu Werkzeugen und Schmucksachen verarbeitet, Muschelschalen dienen als Geräte. Am reichlichsten wird die Vogelwelt herangezogen: ihre farbenprächtigen Federn werden zu herrlichen Schmucksachen verwendet, wie sie kaum ein anderer Indianerstamm in dieser Fülle aufweist. Um das Material dazu immer zur Hand zu haben, halten die Indianer jung dem Neste entnommene Vögel gezähmt in ihren Hütten, um sie von Zeit zu Zeit zu rupfen. Das Wachs der Bienen spielt als Klebemittel eine große Rolle.

Am stärksten beutet der Indianer das Pflanzenreich aus, und hier ist er auch zur Kultivierung ihm nützlicher Pflanzen übergegangen. Es stehen ihm ja viele Nutzpflanzen an Bäumen (Laubbäumen, Palmen), Sträuchern, Rohrarten usw. bereits wild zur Verfügung.

Es werden so ziemlich alle Teile der Pflanzen ausgenutzt, bei jeder natürlich nur bestimmte: Holz, Rinde, Blätter, Stengel, Bast, Blüte. Den Pflanzen, deren Früchte technisch verwendet werden, werden angepflanzt:

Kürbisse, Baumwolle, Urukú. Die Klebstoffe werden außer Wachs ausschließlich Pflanzenharzen entnommen.

Im folgenden soll die Bearbeitung und Verwendung der einzelnen Rohmaterialien geschildert werden.

D. Steine werden vor allem als Steinbeile verwendet. Das Material dafür ist vorwiegend körniger Diabas oder Diorit. Über die Art der Herstellung ist nichts bekannt. Gegenwärtig dienen sie nur noch als Schlagsteine für die Rindenstoffbearbeitung und zum Nüsseaufknacken. Anscheinend stammen sie sämtlich vom Rio Tapirapé sowie aus den Gebirgen nördlich davon und sind vielleicht überhaupt nicht von den Karajá selbst verfertigt, sondern durch Handel von den Tapirapé erworben worden. An Formen existieren Flachbeile und Beile mit Schaftrille (Abb. 100—102). Als Nußknacker fand ich einen Steinapparat aus Steinunterlage und Hämmel bestehend, der sich seiner Form nach ganz einzigartig dazu eignet. Durch den langen Gebrauch ist in der leichtgewölbten Schlagfläche des Hämmels eine glatte runde Höhlung entstanden (Abb. 99). Solche Steine sollen aus der Cachoeira bei St. Maria stammen. Die Steinmesserchen, die zum Tätowieren verwendet werden, werden jedesmal aus Kieselgeröllen der Sandbänke neu gefertigt, indem mit einem Stein oder Eisenbeil der Kiesel zersprengt wird und die schärfsten Splitter ohne weitere Nacharbeit verwendet werden (Abb. 52[b]). Über die Herstellung der langen Steinlippenpflöcke (Abb. 62) ist nichts bekannt. Angeblich werden sie mit Steinen zugeschlagen. Die Karajá fertigen sie nicht selbst an, sondern handeln sie von den Tapirapé ein.

E. Erden werden außer als Farben (siehe unter Farbstoffen) nur noch in der Töpferei verwendet, die von den Frauen betrieben wird. Als Material dient der grauweiße Ton (zóú), der an den steilen Uferwänden in Schichten ansteht und in Kugelform haufenweise in den Dörfern aufbewahrt wird. Zum Gebrauch wird er zunächst ganz fein zerrieben und dann mit einigen Zusätzen vermengt. Das wichtigste Zusatzmittel ist mází (Tafel 58, Abb. 1), ein von den brasilianisch redenden Indianern als Nest der cupim d'agua bezeichnetes Gebilde, das sich in Unmengen als Umkleidung der Wurzeln und unteren Zweige der am Ufer stehenden Bäume findet. In großen Haufen trifft man es bei den Dörfern aufgestapelt an. Es wird im Feuer gebrannt, dann zerstampft und mit Wasser vermischt dem Töpferton zugesetzt.

Ein anderer Zusatz wird aus der violetten Blüte (ãdêná) eines Baumes gewonnen; die Blüten werden verbrannt, ihre Asche dem Ton beigemischt. Diese Mitteilung Pedros scheint mit der von Ehrenreich nach C. de Magalhães berichteten Sitte (Beiträge S. 19) übereinzustimmen, durch den Kieselgehalt der Asche gewisser Schlingpflanzen den Ton widerstandsfähiger zu gestalten.

Das Formen der Gefäße geschieht folgendermaßen: Der Boden wird aus einem flachen Kuchen gebildet, an dem ein niedriger Rand gleich mit herausgearbeitet wird. Eine Drehscheibe fehlt, als Unterlage dient ein alter Topfboden oder meist ein Stäbchensieb, dessen Struktur sich in dem weichen Ton abdrückt (Tafel 58, Abb. 2). Kleinere Gefäße werden auf der Hand

geformt. Die Töpferin mischt dann grauen Ton mit Wasser, quirlt ihn zwischen den flachen Händen zu einer Wulst aus, legt diese auf den linken Unterarm und drückt mit dem rechten Zeigefinger eine Längsriefe ein (Abb. 129). Die Wulst wird nun mit der Riefe auf die Kante des Bodenstückes gelegt und dann nach oben flach verdrückt (Abb. 130). Es wird so eingerichtet, daß die Wulst gerade den Umfang des Gefäßes ausmacht. Auf diese Weise wird Wulst über Wulst gelegt und dann mit der Hand oder auch mit einem Glättstein verstrichen, bis das Gefäß fertig ist.

Danach werden die Gefäße in der Sonne leicht getrocknet und darauf gebrannt. Dies geschieht auf einem gewöhnlichen Herde. Ich beobachtete, wie ein großer Kochtopf mit der Öffnung nach unten auf drei Herdscherben stand und durch ein Feuer darunter von ihnen her gebrannt wurde (Abb. 131).

Abb. 129.
Eindrücken der Riefe in die Tonwulst.

Abb. 131.
Brennen des Topfes.

Abb. 130.
Aufsetzen der Tonwulst auf den Rand des Gefäßbodens.

Abb. 132.
Teilschale mit 4 Ausmäßen am Rand.

Ob auch ein Brennen von außen stattfindet, vermag ich nicht zu sagen. Die Anwendung des Termitenhausens als Brennofen, wie sie Ehrenreich nach Magalhães berichtet (Beiträge S. 19), habe ich während der Trockenzeit nirgends gesehen; das Formen und Brennen fand stets auf den Sandbänken statt auf gewöhnlichem Herd.

Hergestellt werden große Kochtöpfe, Graburnen, die nichts weiter sind als riesige Kochtöpfe mit einem Deckel, dreibeinige Kochtöpfe und Schalen. Alle diese Geschirre werden wädjiwi genannt. Über die an der Sonne getrockneten Tonpuppen als Kinderspielzeug siehe S. 309.

Die Formen sind sehr einfach; der gewöhnlichste Typus ist die leichtgeschweifte doppelkonische Form (Abb. 89), selten ist der doppelbauchige Topf (Abb. 90), und der dreibeinige Kochtopf (Abb. 91) ist auch nicht allzu

häufig. Schüsseln sind selten, am häufigsten sind noch die flachen Schalen (siehe Abb. 96). Ganz eigentümlich ist die Eßschüssel mit den vier Randauswüchsen (Abb. 132); vielleicht ist sie brasilianischem Einfluß zu verdanken, der sich in den Dörfern von Leopoldina bis São José in der Töpferei stark geltend macht. Diese Dörfer liefern nämlich den Brasilianern das Koch- und Eßgeschirr, so daß man in São José und Leopoldina selbst fast nur indianisches Geschirr antrifft. Es ist aber bereits dem Geschmack der Brasilianer angepaßt: die kleinen Eßschüsseln haben die typische Napfform und tragen am Rande eine Verzierung in roter Farbe (Abb. 96). Auch die Wasserkühlgefäße, die die Indianer in den erwähnten Dörfern für die Brasilianer herstellen, weisen rein brasilianischen Typus und rote Verzierung auf. Die roten Muster werden mit einer Erdfarbe hergestellt. Die rote Erde dazu (rüpó, pöábalé) stammt von der Barreira do Deabo und wird von den wegen Pfeilrohr nach Süden reisenden Indianern der Nordhorde mit nach São José und Schischá genommen, um sie dort an die Indianer zu verkaufen. Sie wird mit Wasser vermischt aufgetragen. Die eigentlichen indianischen Gefäße sind unverziert.

Ein ganz eigentümliches Gefäß, dessen Herkunft unbekannt ist, erhielt ich in Schischá (Abb. 133). Es ist unregelmäßig dunkelrot und schwarz gefleckt infolge ungleichmäßigen Brandes, anscheinend aus sehr rohem Ton und in sehr primitiver Weise gearbeitet. Auffällig sind die beiden Knäufe am Rande, die oben leicht ausgehöhlt sind. Das Gefäß ist von den Indianern aus Schischá bei einer Wanderung flußabwärts im Sande einer Sandbank vor mehreren Jahrzehnten gefunden worden. Die Indianer selbst konnten sich nicht erklären, wo das Gefäß herstammen könnte.

Abb. 133.
Altes Tongefäß.

Die von Ehrenreich mitgebrachten Topf- und Schalenformen: flache runde Schüsseln (Berlin 3862), flache runde Teller (3863 und 3864), flache ovale Teller (3865), niedrige elliptische Doppelnäpfe mit längslaufender Scheidewand (3866), Zylindertopf mit umgebogenem Rand und Baßhängeband (3861), doppelkonischer Topf mit Hängeband (3858) und tönerne Löffel (3878) habe ich nirgends gesehen.

Die Ausnutzung des Tierreiches für technische Zwecke hält sich ebenfalls in engen Grenzen.

F. Knochen finden zugespitzt vielfache Verwendung. Die Schenkelknochen des Jaguars werden abgeschrägt und zugespitzt als Speerspitzen verwendet; Schnittflächen und Ränder sind fein geglättet. Die stärkste Verwendung finden Brüllaffenknochen (kpödi) als Lippenpflöcke, Bohrer für Lippen- und Ohrloch und Spitzen für die Fischpfeile. Welche Knochen zur Herstellung der kleinen Hutnädeln, die vorn rund sind und im flachen Endstück ein kleines Ör tragen (Abb. 140), ist nicht bekannt. Alle diese

Knochenwerkzeuge sind fein geglättet. Über die Art ihrer Herstellung konnte ich leider nichts erfahren.

Ein Stück Brustschild der Tartaruga wird zu flachen Spindelscheiben verarbeitet (Abb. 144ᵃ).

Roh verwendet werden der harte Gaumen des Pirarucúfisches als Reiber, sowie Zähne als Schmuckstücke und Werkzeuge. Die Schneidezähne des Kapivara werden als höchster Schmuck auf den Perlmutterscheiben der Ohrrosetten kleiner Kinder befestigt. Diese Zähne sind mit die wertvollsten Gegenstände der Indianer, da die scheuen Tiere nur sehr schwer zu jagen sind. Man bewahrt sie in Paaren gleicher Größe auf, meist sind ein paar kleinere und ein paar größere auseinandergelegt, mit Wachs verklebt und mit Baumwollfäden umwickelt (kawá, Abb. 64). Der Zahn des Cutia wird an einem Holzstiel mit Baumwollfäden angebunden und dient in dieser Weise montiert zum Riefeln der Keulen (Abb. 122).

Muscheln werden teils roh, teils bearbeitet verwendet. Die wichtigsten Arten sind (Tafel 45, Abb. 1ᵃ—ᵉ): die dreikantige Muschel (bajó), die Perlmuttermuschel (ãginõhõ), die zweispitzige Muschel (dáſá, idjá). Lippenpflöcke werden aus der feinen zweispitzigen oder aus der dicken dreikantigen Muschel hergestellt, aus letzterer so, daß das freiragende gebogene Ende aus dem dicken Schlußteil der Muschel genommen wird. Über die Art der Herstellung ist nichts bekannt; die Ränder sind gut abgeschliffen. Zu kleinen runden Scheiben werden Perlmuttermuscheln auf Stein zugeschliffen für Ohrrosetten und Schmelzungen. Rohe, rechteckige Muschelstücke mit zwei Löchern in der Mitte werden an die Gurte der langen Mädchenschnurröcke (Abb. 69), sowie an die Zylinderbänder der Tanzmasken genäht. Als Löffel und Schaber dienen Perlmuttermuschelschalen, die teilweise nur leicht bearbeitet werden, meist aber roh Verwendung finden.

Über die Federtechnik siehe unten im Anschluß an die Binde-, Knüpf- und Flechttechnik.

Die Nutzbarmachung des Pflanzenreiches ist eine sehr weitgehende. Auffallend wenig werden Rohrarten verwendet, offenbar ist das Gebiet arm daran.

G. Das Holz von Bäumen wird zu Booten, Stangen, Rudern, Mörsern und Mörserkeulen, Schemeln, Lanzen, Bogen, Wurfbrettern, Pfeilspitzen, Mandiokareibhölzern, Lippenpflöcken, Kammzinken usw. verarbeitet. Je nach dem Zweck werden weiche oder harte Hölzer verwendet. Ich habe nicht immer erfahren können, welche Holzarten für die einzelnen Geräte benutzt werden. Speere bestehen aus sogenanntem Aruerahol3, Bogen aus hartem Palmholz, Bootsstangen aus langen, schlanken Bäumen mit sehr leichtem Holze. Weiches Holz wird für Schemel, Lippenpflöcke und Mandiokareibhölzer verwendet, alle übrigen Geräte bestehen aus hartem Holz. Den Rohrarten findet Tequara Verwendung als Pfeilrohr, Gibade und ähnliche Arten als Ohrstäbe.

Am eingehendsten bin ich über den Bootsbau unterrichtet. Die Boote werden von den Männern gebaut. Alle verstehen diese Kunst, wenn sich auch viele darauf beschränken, Boote von anderen gegen eine Eisenaxt zu

kaufen. Anscheinend arbeiten gewisse Leute Boote in größeren Mengen fürs Dorf und verkaufen sie dann. So traf ich wenige Stunden abwärts von Schischá zwei Familien aus diesem Dorfe an, die sich hier in der Wildnis vorübergehend Hütten errichtet hatten, um in der Nähe Boote zu bauen. Die Herstellung eines kleinen Bootes soll vier Tage, die eines großen acht Tage dauern. Doch erscheinen mir diese Zeitangaben sehr niedrig bemessen. Als Material für die Boote dient der Stamm des Lantimbaumes (Calophyllum: dilid); Ehrenreich gibt Pau d'arco und Jatobá, Königswald noch Jatahy u. a. an. Die Bäume werden im Walde gefällt und roh bearbeitet; zunächst wird die Außenform mit dem Beile zugeschlagen, dann der Innenraum ebenfalls mit dem Beile ausgehöhlt. In dieser rohen Form wird das Boot ins Dorf gebracht und auf zwei etwa ⅔ m hohe Gabelpfosten gelegt (Tafel 56, Abb. 5). Mit Caguassu-Palmwedeln, die in die Höhlung gelegt werden, wird der Innenraum völlig ausgebrannt und geschwärzt, wobei das Durchbrennen der Wandung durch rasches Herausreißen des Feuers verhindert wird. Danach werden, solange das Holz noch warm ist, etwa 20 je 3 cm dicke Querhölzer von Wand zu Wand gespannt, sodann ringsum Palmwedel gegen das Boot gelehnt und auf jeder Seite von je einem Mann rasch an 4—5 Stellen entzündet. Nach etwa fünf Minuten ist der Außenbrand und die Schwärzung des Bootes vollendet. Die Spreizhölzer bleiben bis zum nächsten Tage im Boot, sie biegen sich stark durch. Danach wird das Boot einer Revision unterzogen, wobei etwaige Unebenheiten, besonders des Bodens, die Gleichgewichtsstörungen hervorrufen könnten, mit der Axt beseitigt werden. Am vorderen, schmal zulaufenden Ende wird in die rechte Wand dicht unter dem Rande ein Loch eingeschlagen, für die Schleife, in die die Bootsstange während des Ruderns oder beim Stilliegen am Ufer gesteckt wird. Dieses Loch wird angeblich mit einem spitzen Messer unter Anwendung eines Holzschlegels eingeschlagen.

Holzgefäße habe ich nicht gesehen. Ehrenreich hat einige mitgebracht: ein aus einer Baumwurzel ausgehöhltes rundes Gefäß mit Tragschnur (Berlin 3875) und zwei Löffel, von denen der Stiel des einen in einen Tucanokopf ausläuft (3934, 3935). Bei Feuerhölzern besteht noch ihm der Bohrstab aus Taquara, die Unterlage aus Bixa Orellana.

An größeren Früchten werden nur Kürbisse verwendet. Sie werden sorgfältig getrocknet, indem sie auf Stöcke gesteckt werden, die in der prallen Sonne und im Sand der Sandbänke stehen. Später werden sie zusammengebunden an einem senkrechten Stock aufgehängt (Abb. 26 a b). Ausgehöhlt dienen sie als Ölbehälter, als Hängebehälter für weiße Flaumfederchen mit Baßpfropfen (Tafel 58, Abb. 3 a) oder Wachsverschluß (das Hängeband ist mit Sperrhölzern befestigt; Tafel 58, Abb. 3 b c), halbiert als Farbnäpfe und Eßschüsseln, kleinere als Löffel. Die Vollcuyen und größeren Halbcuyen sind meist mit Schnitzornamenten verziert, die kleineren Halbcuyen mit Brandmalerei. Von sonstigen Früchten wird Jequitiba zu Tabakspfeifen verwendet, ausgehöhlt und außen roh zugeschnitten (Abb. 103 und 104); Thevetia zu Halsketten oder Anhängern an Gürteln usw. Diese tragen meist ein kleines

Federbüschel in der Höhlung. Andere kleine weißliche Früchte werden durchbohrt und zu Ketten aufgereiht. In Ehrenreichs Sammlung befindet sich ein aus einer Timbofrucht gearbeitetes Schälchen zum Aufbewahren der Urukúfarbe (Berlin 3876).

Die Rinde der Bäume wird zu Frauenschurzen verarbeitet. Es wird vor allem die Rinde der Gameleira verwendet, die rötliche Schurze liefert (kndähúlö). Andere Arten (auch Gameleira?) liefern rote Stoffe (kmbüödá) oder weiße glänzende Stoffe (hldöúlö). Ehrenreich nennt außerdem noch Apeiba Jangada (Berlin 3696). Die Bearbeitung geschieht folgendermaßen: Dicke Zweige der betreffenden Bäume werden in der nötigen Länge (1½—2 m) abgeschlagen und ins Haus gebracht. Hier schlagen die Männer mit einem kantigen Stein die festen Rindenstücke ab, schlitzen die Rinde längshin auf und ziehen sie ab. Die Weiterbearbeitung liegt den Frauen ob: die Rindenstücken werden eingeweicht, zusammengefaltet auf den umgestürzten Mandiokamörser gelegt und nun mit einem flachen Steine, meist einem alten Steinbeile, geschlagen, bis sie völlig geschmeidig sind.

H. Bast wird in breiter Lage als Schmuckbindemittel, in feinen Strähnen als Material für Schnüre sowie zum Mattenknüpfen verwendet.

Als Schmuckbindemittel wird vor allem der Bast von Malvaceen (Embira: dödé usw.) benutzt. Es gibt hellrote, rote und schwarze Sorten. Er wird in allen Breiten aufbewahrt: die feinsten (0,3 cm breit) werden auf Stäbe gewickelt (Abb. 134 a), breitere (2,5—4 cm breit) zu starken Rollen so aufgerollt, daß die farbige, glänzende Seite nach innen kommt (Abb. 134 b). Sie dienen zur schmückenden Umwickelung von Pfeilrohren, Speerschäften, Gerätestielen usw. Eine 4 cm breite Art schwarzen Bastes (öanä, äawú) dient ausschließlich zur Verzierung des Randes der spitzovalen Körbe (Tafel 57, Abb. 7); sie ist mit schwarzem Lehm gefärbt.

Abb. 134 a, b.
Embira: a) auf Stab gewickelt, b) aufgerollt.

Als Material für Seilerei und Mattenknüpfen dienen feingespaltene Bastfasern von Imbauva und Burity. Die Herstellungsart der Imbauvafaser ist mir nicht bekannt. Die Buritybastfasern (codo de burity: lädöhöwú) werden folgendermaßen gewonnen: Die noch unentfalteten Blätter der Buritypalme (sogenannte olhos de burity), die in Haufen in den Häusern der Flechter aufgeschichtet liegen, werden mit dem einen Ende mehrere Male gegen den Boden geschlagen, bis der Stengel genügend weit in viele schmale Längsteile zersprungen ist. Von diesen Längsteilen wird dann der feine weiche Binnenbast (iö) von den gröberen äußeren Blattstreifen (lädöhödöbö) getrennt. Letztere werden als Blattstreifen bei der Hutfabrikation verwendet, ersterer zum Drehen und Knüpfen weiter verarbeitet. Aufbewahrt werden die Imbauva- (Tafel 58, Abb. 4 a) wie Buritybastfasern (Tafel 58, Abb. 4 b;

Tafel 58.

1. Töpfertonzusatz.

2. Topfboden mit Stäbchensiebstruktur.

3 a-c. Federcuyen.

4. a Imbauwafaserbündel. b Burityfaserbündel.

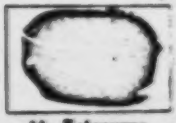
5. Korbflechtprobe.

8 a u. b. Aufbewahrungsart von Federn.

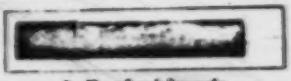
7. Baumwollknäul.

6. Spindel mit gezupftem Baumwollbast.

10. Affenschädelrasseln.



11. Totenurne.



9. Bambustrompete.

[facing p. 288]

Abb. 135) in größeren Bunden, die aus dünnen Bündeln bestehen (nach Ehrenreich in Zopfgeflechten, Berlin 3996).

Die Schnüre werden daraus durch Drehen zwischen Oberschenkel und flacher Hand hergestellt. Stärkere Schnüre werden aus zwei und mehr solcher feinen Schnüre mit der Spindel verfertigt. Sie dienen als Bindfaden aller Art, als Bogensehne, als Stricke für starke Fischnetze, Angelschnuren usw.

Abb. 135. Durityfaserbündel.

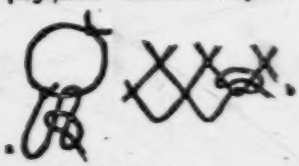


Abb. 136a, b. Knotenkette.

Zum Knüpfen der Federhaubennetze dienen feine, gedrehte Bastschnuren. In gleicher Weise wie diese Netze werden die großen Fischnetze hergestellt; es ist reine Filetarbeit. Geräte werden dabei nicht verwendet: ich habe keine in Anwendung gesehen, ihr Vorhandensein wurde mir von den Indianern in Abrede gestellt; doch befindet sich in Ehrenreichs Sammlung ein angefangenes Netz aus feinen Bastfäden (Berlin 3958), das zwei Holzstäbchen an oberen Rande trägt, die Ehrenreich als Stricknadeln anzusehen geneigt ist. Die Herstellung der Haubennetze geschieht folgendermaßen: Aus einer auf dem Oberschenkel gedrehten Schnur wird eine Schlinge geknotet, die über die große Zehe des sitzenden Arbeiters gehängt wird. Ein zweiter Faden wird daran angeknotet und mit ihm die erste Reihe der Maschen geknüpft in der Art, daß die Knoten auf die Mitte der Maschenlänge zu liegen kommen. Die Maschen der zweiten und späteren Reihen werden in die der vorhergehenden eingehakt und an deren unterem Ende verknotet. Die Art der Knotenbildung geht aus Abb. 136a b hervor.

Abb. 137. Flechtprobe einer Schlafmatte.

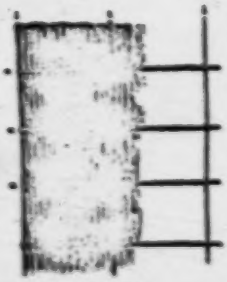


Abb. 138. Schema der Schlafmatte a) Durchsch. b) Verknüpfungsschnüre.

Zum Knüpfen der großen Schlaf- und Sitzmatten dienen ungedrehte Buritybastfasern. Diese werden in Bündeln nebeneinandergelegt, und diese Bündel werden mit zwei gedrehten Bastfaserschnüren wechselweise umschlungen, so daß ein fortlaufender Durchschuß von Seite zu Seite läuft. An der Kante werden beide Schnüre zusammengedreht, etwa 3,5 cm am Rande entlang geführt und dann wiederum durch die Bündel hindurchgeflochten. So geht ein

Durchschuß durch die ganze Matte. (Siehe die Flechtprobe Abb. 137.) In größeren Zwischenräumen, alle 10—20 cm läuft zwischen den Bündeln diesen parallel eine gedrehte Bastschnur, um der Matte größeren Halt zu geben (b in Abb. 138). Der Durchschuß beginnt nicht am Ende der Matte und wird auch nicht bis zum anderen Ende hindurchgeführt, sondern es bleiben an beiden Schmalseiten die Enden der Bündel frei als Fransen stehen. Solche Matten dienen in großem Ausmaß zur Herstellung der Schutzwände und Schutzdächer, sowie als Schlaf- und Sitzmatten. Kleinere Matten werden von schwangeren Frauen mit sich geführt, sie werden um den Unterkörper gelegt und vorn mit den Händen zusammengehalten. Kleine, mit schwarzen Embirafäden gemusterte Matten als Unterlage für die Füße bei längerem Stillstehen auf den heißen Sandbänken, wie sie Ehrenreich beschreibt (Berlin 3907; Beiträge, S. 21), habe ich nie gesehen. Doch erhielt ich eine gemusterte Schlafmatte, deren Muster durch Einflechten schwarzgefärbter Baststreifen hergestellt war (Abb. 22).

In derselben Art wie diese Matten werden kleine Tragsäcke angefertigt (mäsl), deren Boden zuweilen kreuzförmig geflochten ist (Tafel 57, Abb. 5, 6). Der Rand ist verfestigt, das Tragband besteht ebenfalls aus Buritybastfasern.

Die Arbeitsteilung bei Seilerei und Knüpferei ist derart, daß die Herstellung des Fasermaterials meist den Frauen obliegt, während das Drehen der Schnüre von Männern und Frauen geübt wird, meist aber erst im Bedarfsfalle erfolgt. Das Knüpfen der Netze ist Aufgabe der Männer, das der Matten Aufgabe der Frauen. Meist arbeiten mehrere Frauen gemeinsam an einer Matte; es ist das keine schwere Arbeit, aber das feste Anziehen und das beständige Drehen der Durchschußschnüre (sie werden erst beim Durchflechten gedreht) greift die Finger stark an, so daß tiefe, verhornte Riefen quer über die Fingerspitzen der Flechterinnen ziehen. Anscheinend gibt es in den Dörfern Frauen, die das ganze Dorf mit Matten versehen; wenigstens fanden sich in einzelnen Häusern große Vorräte davon, und ich wurde beim Einkauf in bestimmte Hütten geschickt, wo Matten angefertigt wurden.

Zum Flechten, das von den Männern betrieben wird, dienen Buritybaststreifen und die Blattfieder der Oaguassupalme. Die Buritybaststreifen werden nur bei der Hutfabrikation verwendet. Anscheinend ist die Art, Hüte herzustellen, den benachbarten Brasilianern abgesehen. Die Form ist wenigstens dieselbe; ob aber auch alle Arten von Geflechtstreifen, die spiralig zum Hut zusammengenäht werden, mit brasilianischen Mustern übereinstimmen, oder ob hier Neubildungen vorliegen, ist mir nicht bekannt. Das gewöhnlichste Muster, aus vierteiligen Streifen mit gezacktem Rand bestehend, scheint brasilianisch zu sein, die beiden anderen, der elfteilige Streifen mit glattem Rand und der neunteilige Streifen mit glattem, verdoppeltem Rand können bei dem Flechtgeschick der Indianer wohl Eigenbildungen sein (Abb. 139a—c). Diese Streifen werden mit feinen Bastfäden und einer 4 cm langen Knochennadel (Abb. 140) zusammengenäht.

Für alle anderen Flechtereien werden die Blattfiedern der Oaguassupalme verwendet. Das Material dazu wird in den Häusern in großen

Mengen, meist unter Matten am Boden liegend, aufbewahrt; in Schischá lag es auch auf besonderen Gabelgestellen an den Längsseiten und in den Rundungen der Häuser.

In gleicher Weise wie für die Hausbedeckung zwei Oaguassuwedel mit den Rippen aufeinandergelegt werden, geschieht dies bei Herstellung von Wänden, Fächern und Augenschirmen; nur daß hier die einzelnen Fieder

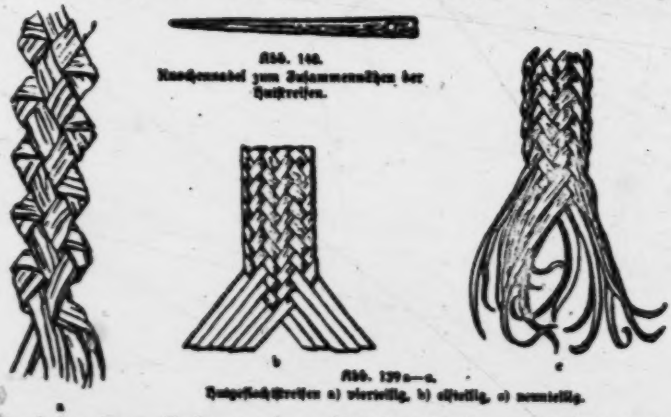


Abb. 140. Knochennadel zum Zusammenziehen der Hutstreifen.

Abb. 139a—c. Hutgeflechtstreifen a) vierteilig, b) achtteilig, c) neunteilig.

dann miteinander verflochten werden. Siehe das angefangene Geflecht in Abb. 5 auf Tafel 58.

Die Körbe weisen eine große Mannigfaltigkeit auf. Die einzelnen Typen sind den von Max Schmidt beschriebenen ähnlich, so daß ich mich auf ganz kurze Beschreibungen beschränken kann.

Bei großen Rundkörben (wÃ]ıſ, Ehrenreich rorä; Tafel 57, Abb. 3) mit Stirntragband, die zum Mandiokatransport dienen, besteht der Rand aus der gespaltenen Palmrippe. Die Fieder sind verflochten und ergeben ein mäanderartiges Muster. Der Boden ist verstärkt, indem eine zweite Lage von Einzelfiedern, die mit Piranhazähnen in der bestimmten Länge zugeschnitten sind, eingeflochten wird. Ein dicker, an einem Ende zugespitzter Jaburúfederkiel von 16,5 cm Länge dient dazu, die Geflechtstreifen der ersten Lage emporzuheben und die Fieder der zweiten Lager darunter hindurchzuschieben. Diese Federkielflechtnadel wird wÃ]ÃÃüdôsönä genannt (Abb. 141).

Abb. 141. Korbflechtnadel, aus Jaburúfederkiel.

Kiepen (bëhülé) bestehen aus zwei Oaguassuwedeln, deren Rippen die beiden Längssteifen bilden. Die inneren Hälften der Fieder sind kreuzweise zum Boden verflochten, die äußeren Fieder zum durchbrochenen Rand ver-

arbeitet, indem mehrere Fieder zu einer Säule zusammengedreht und die Enden dieser Säulen zu einem Längsrand miteinander verbunden sind. Bei einem Exemplar ist der untere Rand ebenfalls dicht verflochten (Tafel 57, Abb. 1 und 2).

Bei spitzovalen (lälá; Tafel 57, Abb. 7) und kahnförmigen Körben (dalidán) mit breitem Boden, die oben schmal zulaufen, wird der Rand von zwei übereinander gelegten Palmblattrippen gebildet, während die Seiten und der Boden durch die gemustert verflochtenen Fieder hergestellt sind; der Boden ist doppelt. Zuweilen ist der obere Rand durch einen aufgenähten breiten Streifen schwarzer Embira verziert.

Kleine Körbe mit viereckigem Boden und runder Öffnung (mōdí; Tafel 57, Abb. 8—11) haben meist gemusterte Wände, deren Muster zuweilen durch schwarze Bemalung hervorgehoben ist. Solche Körbchen dienen kleinen Mädchen zur Aufbewahrung von Baumwolle, Häkelnadeln, Häkelarbeiten, Fäden usw. In gleicher Weise werden solche Körbchen auch aus gespaltenem Rohr geflochten. Bei diesen dienen als Tragband vier schwarze Baumwollschnüre, die rings um das Körbchen geführt sind.

Aus einer Palmblattfieder hergestellte Körbe und Taschen. Längliche Körbe (löülé) sind nur zur Hälfte diagonal verflochten, während die andere Hälfte von den starken Unterteilen der Fieder gebildet werden, die von dem im Innern des Korbes aufragenden Stiele nach außen gebogen sind (Tafel 57, Abb. 12 und 13).

Den Rand der länglichen, sackartigen Tragtasche (lölú; Tafel 57, Abb. 4) bildet die ringsum gebogene Rippe, während die Wände durch die in der Wandmitte verflochtenen Fieder gebildet werden, deren Enden noch den Henkel abgeben. Jederseits der Mittelverflechtung ist durch die Fieder je ein Palmblatt zur Dichtung der Wände längs hindurchgezogen.

Eine ähnliche Tragtasche brachte Ehrenreich mit (Berlin 3886); doch bildet die Rippe hier nur die eine Längsseite, während die Fieder an der zweiten Längsseite miteinander verflochten sind. Diese Ehrenreichsche Tasche entspricht der von mir von den Šavajé mitgebrachten Tasche (siehe Šavajé).

Den einfiedrigen länglichen Körben entsprechen solche aus zwei Fiedern geflochtene; bei ihnen ragen die beiden Stiele im Innern der Körbe nahe den Schmalseiten aus dem Boden empor (Tafel 57, Abb. 14 und 15).

Abweichend von all diesen Körben sind zwei Arten hergestellt: die Doppelkörbe und die Siebkörbe.

Die länglichen Doppelkörbe [wrähä(h)i], in denen die Indianer, Männer wie Frauen, ihr kleineres persönliches Eigentum aufbewahren, bestehen aus zwei gleichartig gearbeiteten Körben, von denen der eine etwas größer ist und den Deckel bildet. Als Material dienen die Fieder der Oaguassupalme; sie werden in bestimmter Länge zugeschnitten (40—45 cm lang bei 2—2½ cm Breite), längshin zusammengefaltet, sodann zur Hälfte geknickt (Abb. 142[b]) und so vielfach übereinandergelegt und zusammengebunden in großen Vorräten aufbewahrt (Abb. 142[a]). Meist sind hier auch schon die der Rippenkante gegenüberliegenden geknickten Ecken abgeschrägt, um beim Aufeinander-

legen starkes Auftragen zu vermeiden. Aus diesen Blättern nun werden die Körbe in folgender Weise hergestellt: Ein gespaltenes Rohrstäbchen wird so zusammengebunden, daß es ein der Größe des Korbes entsprechendes Oval bildet; durch zwei bis drei leichte vorläufige Bastbinden wird die ovale Form bis zur Vollendung des Korbes bewahrt (Abb. 142[c]). Über dieses Oval nun werden die Blattstreifen derart gehängt, daß sie sich etwa zur Hälfte überdecken, wobei die Rippenkanten nach oben zu liegen kommen (Abb. 142[d]). Mit einer Nadel und Baumwollfaden werden sie dicht unter dem Stäbchen miteinander vernäht. Darauf wird ein zweites, fast gleichgroßes Oval hergestellt und in diesen ovalen Blätterzylinder bis auf etwa zwei Drittel der Höhe emporgeschoben. Nun wird ein drittes,

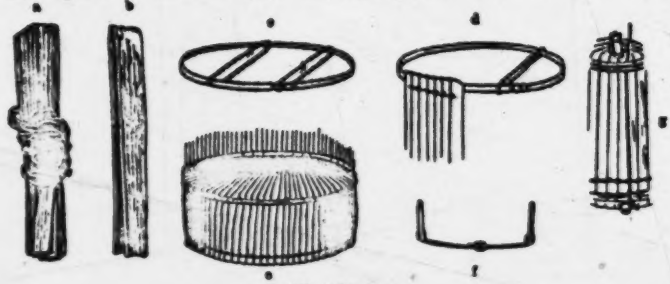


Abb. 142a—g.
Herstellung der ovalen Doppelspankörbe.
a) Verpackung der Flechtstreifen. b) Einzelner Flechtstreifen. c) Inneres Oval. d) Vernähen der Streifen am Oval. e) Das Umknicken der Streifen zur Bodenbildung. f) Querschnitt. g) Schnurverschluß.

etwas größeres Oval hergestellt und außen über die Stelle, unter der das zweite Oval liegt, geschoben. Beide werden dann durch die Blätter hindurch miteinander vernäht. Darauf werden die überstehenden Enden der Fieder der Reihe nach über das innere Oval hinweg nach der Mitte hereingebogen und soweit verkürzt, daß sie sich dort noch 1—2 cm überdecken (Abb. 142[e]). Darauf werden diese Enden miteinander vernäht. Nun werden zwei gespaltene Rohrstäbchen genommen, von denen das eine unter dem zweiten und dritten Oval hinweg durch die Wand gesteckt, unter dem Boden durchgezogen und jenseits wieder herausgestoßen wird. Seine Länge ist so eingerichtet, daß es beiderseits etwa ½ cm übersteht. Das zweite Stäbchen wird in gleicher Richtung auf die Außenseite des Bodens gelegt und dann mit dem ersten Stäbchen hindurch vernäht (Tafel 57, Abb. 17; Abb. 142[f]). Durch sie erhält der Boden eine feste Versteifung. In genau der gleichen Weise wird die andere Hälfte des Korbes hergestellt, die als Deckel dient; sie hat etwas größere Dimensionen, damit sie über die Bodenhälfte gestülpt werden kann. Eigenartig ist der Verschluß dieser Körbe. An den Bodenstäbchen der unteren Hälfte wird ein Baumwollfaden befestigt, der am Rande der Deckelhälfte emporführt, durch das äußere Oval dieser Hälfte von unten nach oben hindurchgezogen ist, über dem Deckel ein großes Trag-

band bildet und an der anderen Seite in gleicher Weise zu den Bodenstäbchen hinabführt. Will man den Korb öffnen, so schiebt sich die Deckelhälfte an dem Faden empor (Tafel 57, Abb. 16). Gleichzeitig dient der Faden aber auch zum Verschluß beim Transport: man bildet beiderseits eine Schleife, die man über die Enden der Stäbchen der Deckelhälfte steckt und fest anzieht (Abb. 142 *).

Völlig anders gearbeitet sind Siebe und Siebkörbe (wällisi; Tafel 55, Abb. 2 und 3). Sie sind aus Spänen elastischer Schlingpflanzen (nach Ehrenreich Arimbamba) hergestellt. Die Späne laufen radial und sind konzentrisch mit ähnlichen Ruten (je zwei) durchflochten. Auf dem Boden kreuzen sie sich in vier Gruppen. Bei Ehrenreichs Exemplaren ist das Geflecht zum Teil so dicht (Berlin 3898), daß das Gerät zum Sieben unbrauchbar ist. Derartige dichte Körbchen dienen als Behälter für die Rohbaumwolle beim Spinnen.

Stäbchensiebe bestehen aus parallelgelegten feinen Stäbchen, die in größeren Abständen mit je zwei Schnüren durchschossen sind (Tafel 55, Abb. 1).

Die übrigen von Ehrenreich angegebenen Korb- und Taschenarten: kleine Palmblattkörbe mit rechteckigem Boden, viereckige Körbe, kleine Täschchen mit Klappdeckel aus Carandasinhapalmfaser, flaschenartige elastische Körbe (moti), Hängekörbe (Berlin 3879) und Deckelkörbe (Berlin 3900) aus elastischem Sipogeflecht habe ich bei den Karajá nicht gesehen.

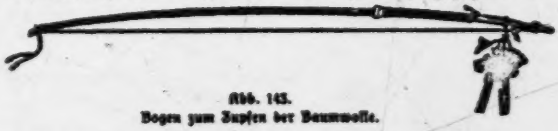


Abb. 143.
Bogen zum Zupfen der Baumwolle.

I. Ebenso vielseitig und geschickt ist die Bearbeitung und Verwendung der Baumwolle, die den Frauen obliegt. Die Baumwolle wird in der Pflanzung gezogen; ihre Besorgung ist Aufgabe der Frau. Die geerntete Baumwolle wird in Körben aufbewahrt. Ehe sie versponnen wird, wird sie zunächst gereinigt und gezupft. Diesem Zwecke dient ein kleiner Bogen (wäsihüätá; Abb. 143). Man legt die Baumwolle vor sich auf eine Matte, hält den Bogen dicht daran und läßt die Sehne hineinschnappen. Auf diese Weise wird die Baumwolle gelockert, werden Unreinheiten herausgenommen, und wird sie zu einem etwa 4 cm breiten dünnen Bande auseinandergezupft. Dieses Band wird dann an einem Ende zusammengedreht und oben an der Spindel befestigt (Tafel 58, Abb. 6).

Das Spinnen. Der Faden wird mit der flachen Hand auf dem Schenkel gedreht; danach läßt man die Spindel tanzen, um die Drehung zu verfestigen. Hat man auf diese Weise einen etwa 1 m langen Faden hergestellt, so hält man die Spindel an, gleicht etwaige Unebenheiten des Fadens durch Auseinanderziehen und Nachdrehen aus, wickelt den Faden auf die Spindel auf, befestigt ihn oben wieder am Knopf und beginnt von neuem zu drehen. Auf diese Weise werden auch dickere Fäden aus zwei gesponnenen Fäden zu-

sammengedreht. Das Spinnen ist Aufgabe der Frauen, besonders der Mädchen, die sich schon frühzeitig diese Fertigkeit aneignen.

Die Spindeln bestehen aus einem 32—44 cm langen schwarzen Holzstiel (Asõtá), der oben einen kleinen Knauf trägt und unten eine langgestreckte Verdickung aufweist. Auf diese ist der Spinnwirtel [(kũ)dãwã] aufgeschoben, der aus Knochen, Ton, weißer Erdmasse oder Wachs besteht. Spinnwirtel aus Rinde, wie sie Ehrenreich mitgebracht hat (Berlin 3939), habe ich nur noch bei Kinderspindeln (siehe Spielzeug) angetroffen. Knochenwirtel sind planparallel von $4^1/_2$—$6^1/_2$ cm Durchmesser (Abb. 144 a). Meist werden Brustschildknochen der Tartarugaschildkröte dazu verwendet. Tonwirtel bestehen aus rohgebranntem, grauem Töpferton und werden meist mit Wachs am Stabe

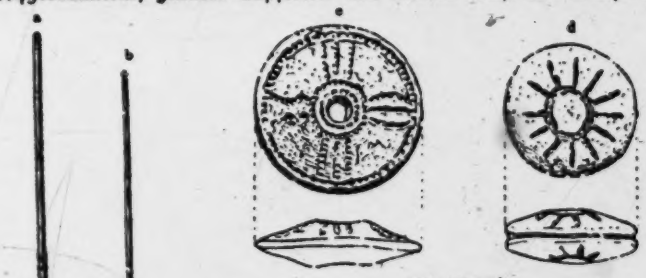


Abb. 144 a—d.
Spindeln und Spinnwirtel.

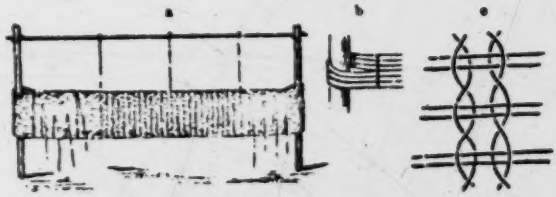


Abb. 145 a—c.
Flechten der Netzbeutel.
a) Flechtapparat. b) Aufwicklung der Kette. c) Durchflechten des Durchschusses.

befestigt. Ihre Gestalt ist flach oder leicht doppelkonisch. Nur selten sind sie verziert; einmal beobachtete ich eine kreuzartige Verzierung (Abb. 144 c), ein anderer Wirtel trägt Ritzverzierungen auf der rotgefärbten Fläche. Wirtel aus weißer Erde [mãũ]ẽ, mãnã(k)ũ]ã] sind meist leicht doppelkonisch gestaltet (Abb. 144 b). Ich erhielt im Dorf an der Tapirapémündung zwei wirtelähnliche Gegenstände aus solch weißer Erde, die aber nicht durchbohrt sind. Sie tragen auf beiden Seiten eingeritzt einen Kreis mit Strahlen; die Riefen sind rot und schwarz ausgezogen (Abb. 144 d). Wirtel aus Wachs von doppelkonischer Gestalt sind sehr gebräuchlich. Zufällig habe ich von den Karajá keine erworben; sie sind aber den von den Javajé mitgebrachten gleich (siehe unten).

Der Faden (Asõtãkẽ) wird zu Knäueln gewickelt aufbewahrt (Tafel 58, Abb. 7). Diese Knäuel sind anscheinend eine indianische Erfindung; jedenfalls waren die Karajá äußerst erstaunt, als sie meine Bindfadenknäuel sahen. Ihre Knäuel sind etwa würfelförmig von 9—10 cm Seitenlänge.

Die Verarbeitung der Baumwollfäden, die entweder ihre natürliche Farbe behalten oder mit Erdfarbe geschwärzt werden, geschieht durch Flechten, Häkeln und Knüpfen.

Das Flechten ist die Arbeit der Männer, Häkeln und Knüpfen die der Frauen. Verflochten werden die Baumwollfäden zu vierkantigen Schnüren, z. B. Hüftschnüren.

Eigentliches Weben gibt es nicht; die Indianer sind über das Flechten noch nicht hinausgekommen. Sie benutzen ganz einfache Apparate dazu, um ihre Netzdecken, Tanz- und Mädchengürtel herzustellen.

Zur Anfertigung der Netzdecken [ri(I)ỗ, riũ] werden zwei dicke Pfosten im Abstand der Länge der Decke senkrecht in den Boden geschlagen. Um beide ist die Kette fortlaufend herumgeschlungen und zwar so, daß die hintere Fadenlage beim Verarbeiten in die vordere hineingeschoben wird, so daß nur eine Lage entsteht. Ermöglicht wird das dadurch, daß aller vier bis acht Umgänge ein neuer Faden genommen wird und die hinteren Fäden des ersten Bundes über dessen vordere geschoben werden (Abb. 145 b). An vier bis fünf Stellen werden nun Einschläge emporgeknüpft und an einem besonderen, an den oberen Enden der beiden Pfosten befestigten Querstab oder auch an den untersten Blattrippen der Dachbedeckung angebunden. Danach werden die übrigen Einschläge hindurchgeknüpft, etwa in 2,5 cm Abstand voneinander (Abb. 145 a). Die Einschläge bestehen aus vier Baumwollschnüren, die am untersten Kettenfaden verknotet werden. Zwei Einschlagfäden befinden sich vor, zwei hinter der Kettenlage. Über dem zweiten Kettenfaden wird das vordere Paar nach hinten, das hintere Paar nach vorn geführt, wobei das von hinten kommende Fädenpaar das vordere umfaßt. Dasselbe geschieht über dem vierten, sechsten, achten usw. Kettenfaden (Abb. 145 c). Instrumente werden dabei nicht benutzt, das Durchknüpfen geschieht nur mit den Fingern. Am obersten Kettenfadenpaar werden die Einschlagfäden verknotet, ihre Enden werden abgeschnitten. Ist die Decke fertig, so wird sie von den Pfosten abgehoben; durch die Endschlingen der Kettenfäden jeder Seite wird eine dicke Schnur gezogen und fest zusammengebunden, ihre Enden werden abgeschnitten. Auf diese Weise entstehen die beiden Zipfel der Decke.

Die Netzdecken der Karajá sind einfarbig, meist gelbbraun. Zuweilen kommen auch weiße vor. Es ist mir nicht bekannt, ob die gelbbraune Farbe nur durch das lange Tragen auf dem geölten Körper entsteht, doch möchte ich dies als wahrscheinlich annehmen. Durch Einflechten schwarzer oder roter Einschläge gemusterte Netzdecken gibt es bei den Karajá nicht. Sie fertigen überhaupt sehr wenige an (ich sah im ganzen nur dreimal solche Flechtapparate), sondern kaufen sie lieber bei den Savajé und Tapirapé, die bessere und, was die Tapirapé anlangt, gemusterte, dichtere Decken herstellen[1].

[1] Erwähnt werden die Netzdecken zum ersten Male 1791 bei den Sambioá.

Ehrenreich (Beiträge, Seite 12) nimmt an, daß die Karajá diese Technik von den Brasilianern gelernt haben. Fonseca soll 1773 den Šavajé auf Bananal das Weben beigebracht haben. Darin, daß die Šavajé noch heute bessere Decken herstellen, glaubt Ehrenreich diese Angaben stützen zu können. Meiner Meinung nach ist das keine Stütze für diese Annahme; denn die Tapirapé stellen noch bessere Decken als die Šavajé her, und von ihnen kauften die Karajá in den früheren friedlichen Zeiten sehr viele Decken. Demnach könnten die Karajá diese Technik ebensogut von den Tapirapé übernommen haben. Nun habe ich in den Häusern der Tapirapé und an ihren großen Fischplätzen keine Lagerspuren getroffen, so daß ich annehmen muß, daß die Tapirapé in Hängematten schlafen. Dann wäre es eigenartig, daß die Karajá sich die Hängematten (denn der Form nach sind ja die Decken nichts anderes) kauften, aber die Hängestricke entfernten und die Decken als Umhang und Zudecken benutzten. Weiter stammt die taftartig gewebte Decke, die Ehrenreich als wahrscheinlich den Šavajé zugehörig beschreibt, wohl sicher nicht von den Šavajé, sondern von den Tapirapé; denn die Šavajé benutzen und stellen Decken her, die genau denen der Karajá gleich sind, während die Tapirapé das taftartige Gewebe anfertigen. Demnach können die Karajá, die doch den Tapirapé näher wohnen als die Šavajé und die Vermittler zwischen diesen beiden Völkern spielen, dieses Gewebe nicht von den Šavajé übernommen haben. Fonseca berichtet allerdings, daß er den Karajá einen Webstuhl gebaut und ihnen die erste Anleitung im Weben gegeben habe (Rev. trim. 8, Seite 387). Mir scheint, daß sich diese Notiz eher auf die Herstellung der Mädchen- und der Tanzgürtel beziehen kann, die tatsächlich eine Art Weberei aufweisen. Die Technik, in der die Decken hergestellt sind, ist keine Weberei, sondern Knüpferei, und sie ist eine rein indianische Technik, die wir über einen großen Teil Südamerikas verbreitet finden. Schließlich wird in der Schöpfungssage der Frau vom Urubu-re gezeigt, wie man die Netzdecken macht. Der Urubu-re lehrt in der Sage die Indianer die Gespinstpflanzen kennen, das Spinnen und Anfertigen der Netzdecken, sodann Anfertigung und Gebrauch von Bogen und Pfeilen. Das weist darauf hin, daß diese Technik den Karajá seit alters bekannt ist. Demnach glaube ich, daß sie eine uralte Kunst ist, die die Karajá aus ihrer früheren Heimat nördlich oder nordwestlich ihres heutigen Gebietes mitgebracht haben, wo sie wahrscheinlich Hängematten benutzten. In ihrem jetzigen Gebiet haben sie eine andere Schlafart angenommen, vielleicht unter dem Einfluß der umwohnenden Gesvölker. Weist ja doch ihre ganze Kultur einen starken Einschlag von Elementen der Geskulturen auf. Die eigentlichen Karajá haben allmählich die Art der Herstellung verlernt, da sie mit den von den Brasilianern eingehandelten Eisensachen sich mühelos gute Decken bei ihren Nachbarn einhandeln konnten. Deshalb ist ihre Technik heute so gering und die der Šavajé, die noch unberührt von der Kultur leben, um so vieles besser.

Ähnliche, aber kleinere Apparate dienen zur Herstellung der Tanz- und Mädchengürtel und der Stirnbänder. Die Kette ist entgegen den Netzdecken

fortlaufend zwischen den kurzen Stäben eines länglichen Rohrrahmens gespannt (Abb. 146). Bei einem Apparat vertraten die Stelle der langen Seitenstäbe ein Bogen und eine Lanze (Abb. 147). Der Rahmen wird wagerecht oder leicht schräg nach oben gehalten. Die Kettenfäden werden mit der Hand aufgehoben, der Durchschlag wird mit der Hand hindurchgezogen, eine mühselige Arbeit besonders bei den Tanzgürteln, die schwarz und weiß

Abb. 146.
Rahmen zum Gürtelflechten.

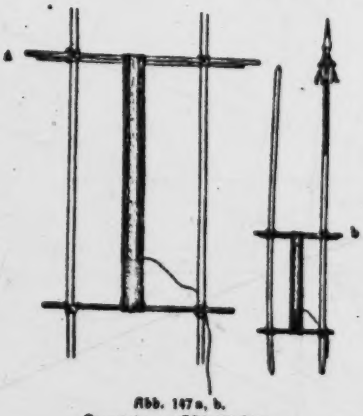


Abb. 147 a, b.
Apparat zum Gürtelflechten.

Abb. 149.
Häkelprobe.

Abb. 148 a, b.
Häkelnadeln.

gemustert sind. Der Durchschlag besteht nur aus einem Faden, mit dem ein Kettenfaden um den anderen aufgehoben wird. Diese Art der Flechterei kommt der Weberei schon sehr nahe.

Die Kunst des Häkelns ist den Frauen eigen, sie wird von ihnen schon von früh auf geübt. Gehäkelt werden Armstulpen, Waden- und Knöchelbänder. Als Häkelnadel (dösidúnä) dient jetzt eine etwa 12—16 cm lange

Eisennadel mit Widerhaken, die in einem 17–23 cm langen Rohrstiel eingelassen und darin mit Harz befestigt ist. Der Stiel ist meist verziert: beide Enden sind mit roten Baumwollfäden umwickelt, zwischen denen sich ein gemustertes Geflecht aus gelben, mit schwarzen Streifen durchschossenen Längsstreifen befindet (Abb. 148a). Zuweilen ist auch der ganze Stiel rot umwickelt und trägt ein paar Quasten am Ende (Abb. 148b). Die Muster entsprechen den übrigen Flechtmustern, wie wir sie an Bogen, Lanzen, auf Körben, Fächern usw. finden. Die Armstulpen werden über der Keule oder dem Mörserstampfer gehäkelt; Häkelklötze, wie sie Ehrenreich beschreibt und Beiträge, Tafel VII, Fig. 9 abbildet, habe ich nie gesehen. In welcher Weise der verdichte Rand hergestellt wird, habe ich nicht beobachten oder erfahren können. Die Häkelprobe (Abb. 149) ist schon weiter vorgeschritten

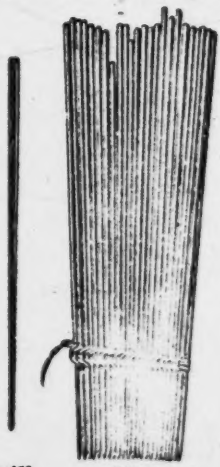


Abb. 150. Stäbchen zur Kammfabrikation.

Abb. 151. Erste Verflechtung der Kammstäbchen.

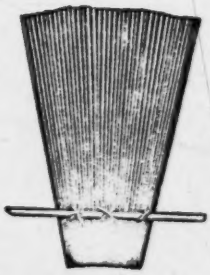


Abb. 152. Befestigung der Querstäbchen.

Abb. 153a, b. Kreuzfäden an den Schmalkanten der Kämme.

und zeigt nur die Art der Maschenbildung. Waden- und Knöchelbänder werden am Körper selbst angehäkelt. Sie bleiben so lange daran, bis sie zu eng werden; dann werden sie vorsichtig abgeschnitten, indem man flache Hölzchen unterschiebt, um sich nicht zu verletzen. Zum Anhäkeln legt sich der Betreffende in der Hütte auf die Matte, läßt sich ein Bündel Decken unter die Knie schieben und von weiblichen Verwandten die Bänder anhäkeln.

Die verschiedenen Arten der Verknüpfung von Baumwollfäden zu Fransen und Quasten geht aus den Abb. 4 u. 6 auf Tafel 45 (Armstulpen, Wadengehänge) und Abb. 68 (Nackenquasten) hervor.

K. Schließlich ist hier noch die **Kammfabrikation** zu erwähnen. Als Material dienen etwa 15 cm lange, feine, einseitig zugespitzte Holz-

stäbchen (Abb. 150). Sie werden nebeneinandergelegt und an der Stelle, wo das untere Querstabpaar befestigt wird, leicht mit Baumwollfaden durchflochten (Abb. 151). Danach werden die beiden unteren Querstäbe darüber befestigt, zunächst lose mit feinem Bastfaden (Abb. 152), dann dauerhaft durch feste Überwickelung mit Baumwollfaden. Darauf wird das Flächengeflecht angebracht; es wird ebenfalls nur mit der Hand hergestellt. Schließlich werden die beiden oberen Querstäbe angebracht und in derselben Weise wie die unteren überflochten. Die Muster der Flächen sind die üblichen Flechtmuster. An der Schmalkante sind oft Kreuzfäden angebracht (Abb. 153).

L. Die Federtechnik. In Befestigung, Anordnung und Farbenzusammenstellung der Federn weist der Federschmuck der Karajá eine reiche Mannigfaltigkeit auf, so reich, wie wohl selten wieder bei einem anderen Indianerstamm. Als Material dienen weiße Flaumfedern von Enten und Tauchervögeln, feine rote Federchen, Körperfederchen von Papageien aller Art, Flügel- und Schwanzfedern von Araras, Geiern, Eulen und Reihern. Färben der Federn, worüber Ehrenreich, Beiträge, Seite 14 berichtet, habe ich nicht beobachtet und auch nichts darüber erfahren können. Aufbewahrt werden die Flaumfederchen in besonderen kleinen Kürbissen, die mit einem Wachsknopf oder einem Baststöpsel verschlossen werden (Tafel 58, Abb. 3a—c). Die feinen roten Federchen werden nebeneinander an eine Schnur gebunden und spiralig auf einen Stab gewickelt. Papageifedern werden als kleine Bündelchen in die Körbe gelegt oder fächerartig nebeneinander angeordnet (Tafel 58, Abb. 8b). Flügel- und Schwanzfedern werden in Flügeln angeordnet, und zwar in abnehmender Länge. Meist sind zwei solcher Flügel so aufeinandergelegt, daß die Federreihen in entgegengesetzter Richtung absteigen (Tafel 58, Abb. 8a). Diese Art der Anordnung ist sehr dauerhaft, sie ermöglicht zugleich das leichte Auffinden der gerade nötigen Federn.

Meist werden die Federn in voller Form verwendet. Zuweilen werden sie aber auch zugestutzt, und zwar in der Längsrichtung bei der Pfeilbefiederung, querab dagegen bei Federschmuck aller Art. Während dieses Zustutzen jetzt mit der Schere geschieht, wurden die Federn früher abgesengt, um die gewünschte Form zu erhalten.

Befestigung der Federn an der Unterlage. Flaumfederchen werden durchgängig aufgeklebt, und zwar mit hellem Harz. Alle übrigen Federn werden je nach der Unterlage verschieden befestigt.

An Stäben. Lange Federn werden entweder mit dem Federkiel oben auf den Holzstab aufgesteckt (Federräder), oder mit dem halbierten Kiel flach auf den Holzstab gelegt, wobei Kiel und Stab an mehreren Stellen mit feinem Bast verbunden werden (Abb. 154). Über die Pfeilbefiederung siehe oben unter Waffen.

Um kleine Federchen zu befestigen, werden breite Rohrstreifen mit feinem Faden spiralig umwunden, wobei die Federchen nach einer Richtung hin eingebunden werden (Federstab; Abb. 155a). Rundstäbe werden ebenfalls spiralig umwickelt und dabei Federn fortlaufend nach allen Seiten eingebunden

(Rosettenstab; Abb. 155 b). Das gleiche Prinzip ist bei den Ohrrosetten und Ohrtulpen angewendet, nur daß da die Wickelung sehr eng ist und die Federn sehr dicht stehen, diese auch durch die oben aufgepreßte Muschelscheibe gespreizt werden; ferner bei den kleinen Rosetten, die in die Federhauben eingeknüpft sind, nur daß hier alles im kleinsten Maßstabe hergestellt ist.

Bei der Befestigung an Fäden müssen wir senkrecht stehende und hängende

Abb. 154.
Anbinden der langen Federn der Federrüder an den Holzstäben.

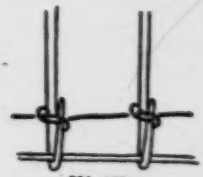


Abb. 156.
Befestigen der Federn nebeneinander durch eine fortlaufende Schnur.

Abb. 155 a, b.
a) Federstab. b) Rosettenstab.

Federn unterscheiden. Um Federn senkrecht stehend an einer Schnur zu befestigen, werden die Kiele unten um eine dickere Schnur gebogen und dann das umgebogene Ende und der Kiel mit einem Baumwollfaden umwickelt. Unterschiede finden sich nur in der Art dieser Umwickelung. Entweder ist jede Feder für sich befestigt (bei den Federhauben, Abb. 77), oder ein Faden verbindet fortlaufend die Federn miteinander, indem er entweder je einmal um jede Feder herumgewickelt oder um jede Feder herumgebunden ist

(Abb. 156) oder schließlich, indem der Faden fortlaufend je zweimal um die Federn geschlungen oder gebunden ist (Abb. 154).

Hängende Federn werden in gleicher Weise wie die stehenden Federn am Faden befestigt; die gegenseitige Verbindung der einzelnen Federn erfolgt durchgängig durch einen fortlaufenden Faden, der um die Federn geschlungen ist.

Entsprechend den Rosettenstäben werden auch zuweilen dicke Baumwollschnüre spiralig umwickelt und darein fortlaufend Federn eingebunden.

Eigenartig ist die **Befestigung der Federn untereinander.** Gleichgroße Federn werden entweder zu Büscheln vereinigt, die dadurch hergestellt sind, daß zwei Federn unten mit den Kielen verbunden und die Fäden einer Anzahl solcher Federpaare zu einem Büschel zusammengebunden

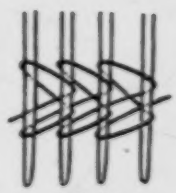


Abb. 157.
Verbindung der Federn der Aufbewahrungsflügel.

Abb. 158 a—d.
Fassungen von Schapfedern:
a) in kleiner Frucht, b) in Eberesfrucht, c) in Schneckenhaus, d) in Klaue.

werden, oder nebeneinander angeordnet sind (siehe oben an Fäden befestigte Federn, sowie in Abb. 157 die Verbindung der Federn der Aufbewahrungsflügel [Tafel 58, Abb. 8 a b]). Zuweilen werden diese Federn in halber Höhe durch einen Faden verbunden, der von Kiel zu Kiel gezogen ist (Abb. 154).

Gern werden kleinere Federn an größeren befestigt. An dem oberen Ende der großen Feder werden sie angebracht, indem die obere Fahne entfernt wird, so daß ein Stück des Kieles stehenbleibt; dieses Kielende wird überharzt, die Federchen werden darauf geklebt und umwickelt. Oft wird diese Umwickelung noch durch aufgeklebte weiße Flaumfedern oder durch darum geschlungene weiße Rohbaumwolle verdeckt. Besonders gern werden die unteren Kielenden senkrecht stehender hoher Federn durch kleinere Federn verdeckt. In diesem Falle werden die Enden der Kiele spiralig umwickelt, wobei die Deckfederchen an der Vorderseite mit eingebunden werden.

Vielfach werden **Federn in Früchten, Klauen usw. gefaßt,** indem ein Faden durch diese hindurchgezogen wird, an dessen Ende die Federchen als kleines Büschel angebunden sind (Abb. 158 a—d).

Verstärkt werden Federn (an Federhauben) zuweilen durch Aneinandernähen zweier halbierter Federn durch spiralige Umwickelung mit feinen Fäden, wobei aber die oberen Enden der Federn in voller Form erhalten werden und sich überdecken. Die Naht ist dabei von der Vorderseite aus nicht sichtbar (Abb. 159).

Was die Gruppierung der Federn anlangt, so ist die allgemeine Regel, daß die unteren Enden verdeckt werden müssen. Demnach finden wir fast überall Deckschichten in Gestalt kleinerer Federn, die vor die großen Federn gebunden werden, oder von Flaumfederchen, die mit Harz aufgeklebt werden. Bei den Federrädern z. B. sind ganze Federbänder als Deckschichten vor die Hauptlage des Rades gebunden, und zwar sind es bei den Karajá stets zwei Lagen verschieden langer und verschiedenfarbiger Federn.

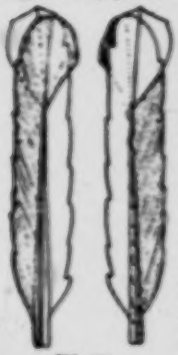


Abb. 159. Verstärkte neu Federn durch Aneinandernähen zweier halbierter Federn.

Die Farbenzusammenstellungen spielen eine große Rolle bei flächenhaftem Federschmuck, sei er nun stehend oder hängend, eine geringere dagegen bei büschelartigem Schmuck. Beliebt sind vor allem folgende Zusammenstellungen: gelbe und rote Federn neben- oder aufeinander; schwarzgrüne, weiße und gelbe Federn.

Flächenhafter Federschmuck. Bei den Federrädern sind die Deckschichten nur an der Vorderseite vorhanden, und zwar sind es stets zwei, von denen die oberste, kürzere weiß, grün oder bunt, die zweite, längere durchgängig schwarzgrün ist. Die Hauptschicht besteht bis auf eine Ausnahme (Federn des rosa Löffelreiher) aus weißen Jaburúfedern. Bei einem Exemplar sind diese an drei Stellen durch je drei eingefügte blaue Ararafedern unterbrochen. Die Endfederchen, die am oberen Ende der Federn der Hauptlage angebracht sind, sind gelb oder bunt und tragen meist kleine rote Deckfederchen.

Diademe bestehen aus bunten Federn verschiedener Vögel oder aus grünen und roten Federn, die gruppenweise miteinander abwechseln. Beim festen Diadem (Tafel 48, Abb. 7) sind auf den weißumwickelten Stäben rote, auf den schwarzumwickelten Stäben gelbe Federchen befestigt.

Stirnfedern bestehen meist aus langen, schwarzgrünen Federn, deren Kiele von gelbgrünen Papageifedern verdeckt sind. Abweichend davon trägt ein Stuz eine rote und eine grüne Feder, die unten mit einem roten und gelben Federstab bedeckt sind, ein anderer zwei blaue Federn, die eine rote Feder einschließen, und deren Kiele durch gelbe Federchen verdeckt sind.

Stuze auf Stirnreifen bestehen aus langen, blauen Ararafedern. Die Stirnreife selbst sind aus roten oder gelben Federn angefertigt (Stirnreife ohne Federstuze durchgängig nur aus roten Federn). Ein solcher Federstuz trägt unten Deckfedern, die nach Art der Federstäbe angebunden sind, und zwar von unten an erst gelbe, dann rote Federchen. Am oberen Ende tragen die langen Stuzfedern gelbe Endfedern mit kleinen roten Deckfederchen.

Flache Ohrrosetten bestehen, wenn sie einfarbig sind, stets aus roten Federchen, wenn sie mehrfarbig sind, aus roten und gelben Federn, und zwar kommen gelbe Außen- und rote Innenlage sowie das Gegenteil davon vor. Ohrtulpen bestehen aus gelben, rötlichen oder bunten Papageifedern und tragen im Innern einen roten Federkranz, wenn sie überhaupt einen haben.

Sehr abwechslungsreich ist der hängende Federschmuck an den Leibgürteln ausgestaltet. An ihnen sind meist Rosettenstäbe befestigt, die im wesentlichen aus gelben Federn bestehen. Bei einem Gürtel werden die unteren Enden dieser gelben Rosettenstäbe durch bläuliche Federn gebildet, bei einem anderen tragen die beiden mittelsten Stäbe lange rote Ararafedern als Schlußstück. Bei einem dritten Gürtel sind die Federstäbchen in der oberen Hälfte rot, in der unteren gelb, bei einem letzten Gürtel schließlich tragen die gelben Federstäbchen am unteren Ende abwechselnd weiße lange Federn oder rote Baumwollschnüre. Mit diesen Federstäben nun wechseln andere Gehänge am unteren Rand der Gürtel ab: je 3—4 Thevetiagehänge, kleine Muschelchen, Muschel- und Thevetiagehänge gemeinsam. Ein Gürtel trägt abwechselnd je zwei Thevetiafrüchte mit bunten Endfederchen und dazwischen je eine direkt an den Gürtelrand angesetzte rote Feder.

Armbänder tragen entweder Rosettenstäbe, die oben kurze, unten lange Federn führen (oben gelb, unten rot, oder umgekehrt) oder Lagen von Federn, die meist gleichfarbig bunt sind, bei einem Exemplar aber aus einer roten Decklage auf gelber Hauptlage bestehen.

Den Übergang zum büschelartigen Federschmuck bilden die Federhauben, die entweder einzeln eingebundene Federn oder kleine Rosetten besitzen, die oft in Zonen gleicher Farbe angeordnet sind. Einfarbige Federhauben bestehen aus gelben, rotgelben, bunten und weißen Federn, eine Haube trägt als Seltenheit lange weiße Reiherfedern. Bei mehrfarbigen Federhauben unterscheiden wir die Randfedern von denen des Deckels. Die Deckelfedern sind meist einfarbig (rot, selten weiß), selten mehrfarbig (rote und blaue Ararafedern, desgleichen mit Geierfedern, oder auch mit rosa Reiherfedern vermischt). Die Randfedern bestehen entweder aus einer Zone roter oder rot und gelb gemischter Federn, oder rosa Reiherfedern, oder aus zwei Zonen, die von unten nach oben zartblau und grün sind, oder aus einem gelben Reif und roten Rosetten, oder aus weißen Federn und roten und zartblauen Rosetten bestehen. Nur ein Exemplar weist drei Randzonen auf, nämlich unten einen gelben Reif, darüber rote und darüber gelbe Federn.

Wenig abwechselungsreich ist der büschelartige Federschmuck. Federquasten in Früchten, Schneckenhäusern u. dgl. sind durchgängig rot, ganz gleich, ob sie sich an Armbändern, Ohrgehängen, Kämmen oder dergleichen befinden. Federquasten als Armbänder bestehen aus roten Rosettenstäben oder bunten Federn; als Schopffedern tragen sie lange, bunte Papageifedern an roten Rosetten. An Bogen bestehen sie aus roten Rosetten, aus denen meist lange rote oder gelbe Federbüschel heraushängen; an Speeren setzen sie sich aus roten oder rotgelben Rosetten mit langen Büscheln bunter Arara- und Papageifedern zusammen, und an Kürbisrasseln bestehen sie entweder in

Einzelfedern oder in Büscheln gelber oder bunter Federn oder aus Rosettenstäben mit Büscheln langer Araxufedern.

M. Farb- und Klebstoffe. An Farbstoffen kommen neben Urukúrot (Bixa Orellana) und Genipaposchwarz (Genipa brasiliensis), die im wesentlichen als Körperfarben verwendet werden, als technische Farben nur noch Schwarz und Weiß vor. Als Weiß dient die weiße Erde (mánanjá — weißer Stein); sie wird zerstampft und vor allem zur Bemalung der Bogenholzumwickelung benutzt. Daneben dient sie zur Herstellung von Spinnwirteln. Zum Schwarzfärben dient schwarzer Lehm (ziábiajá). Embira färbt man damit, indem man über den Bast nassen schwarzen Lehm aufhäuft und eine Nacht lang so liegen läßt. Baumwolle wird in kochendes Wasser getaucht und dann durch den Lehm, den man in einem Topfe nebenan stehen hat, gezogen. Dies wird mehrmals wiederholt, bis die Fäden genügend geschwärzt sind. Rot gefärbt wird die Baumwolle erst nach Vollendung des betreffenden Gegenstandes mit Urukúfarbe. Über die Aufbewahrung und Handelsform des Urukúrots siehe S. 212 und Abb. 40.

Das Universalklebmittel ist Bienenwachs (tábojá), das in Kugelform aufbewahrt und den Vorüberfahrenden massenhaft als Material zum Bootdichten angeboten wird. Viel verwendet wird auch Jatobáharz (kówá), ein helles, durchsichtiges, hartes Harz. Aus ihm wird das rote, lackartige Harz (dáumajá), wie es zur Verzierung des Siebrandes der Pfeile benutzt wird, folgendermaßen hergestellt: Man erweicht das Harz in einem Topf über dem Herdfeuer, schüttet Urukúfarbe hinein, vermischt beides und läßt das Ganze erstarren. Das schwarze, lackähnliche Harz (dówbiajá), das dem gleichen Zwecke dient, scheint auf ähnliche Weise durch Beimischen schwarzen Farbstoffes hergestellt zu werden. Beide Sorten werden in großen Klumpen, die nur selten bestimmte Formen tragen, aufbewahrt. Zum Befestigen der Perlmutteraugen an den Stühlen, der Flaumfederchen am Körper der Kinder usw. dient ein weiches, gelbes Harz (koodí), das in einem Stück zusammengebogenen Palmblattes aufbewahrt wird.

11. Spiel und Sport.

Kinderspielzeug.

Die Kinder ahmen schon frühzeitig die Tätigkeiten der Erwachsenen nach: die Knaben üben sich im Schießen, Rudern, Fischen und Flechten, die Mädchen im Spinnen und Kochen; dabei werden verkleinerte Geräte der Erwachsenen benutzt. Daneben gibt es aber einige Geräte, die zu reiner Spielerei dienen, wie kleine Boote, Nachbildungen der Gewehre, Kreisel, Tonpuppen. Andere Spiele bedürfen keiner weiteren Vorrichtungen, wie Bälle, Fadenspiel usw., oder sind auf die erwachsenen Männer beschränkt, wie Brummkreisel, Schwirrscheibe und Verzierschnitzerei.

An verkleinerten Nachbildungen von Geräten Erwachsener benutzen die Knaben kleine Bogen und Pfeile, Netze, Ruder, die

Mädchen kleine Spindeln und Tongeschirr. Merkwürdigerweise fehlen kleine Lanzen vollkommen.

Die Bogen schwanken in ihrer Länge. Die kleinsten haben nur 27 bis 32 cm Sehnenlänge und einen ganz rohen Aufbau, der dem der großen Bogen nicht entspricht. Mit ihnen werden kleine, ungefiederte Pfeile aus gespaltenem Rohr geschossen (Abb. 160 a b). Sie dienen den ersten Schießversuchen der kleinen Knaben. Größere Bogen, für Knaben von 3—4 Jahren an bestimmt, schwanken je nach dem Alter der Knaben zwischen 60 und 120 cm Länge. Ihr Aufbau entspricht denen der unverzierten Bogen der Erwachsenen; nur ein einziger Bogen trägt als Verzierung eine weißgefärbte Baumwollumwickelung mit Maisblatt in der Mitte und Federquaste am oberen Ende

Abb. 160 a, b.
Kleinster Kinderbogen mit Pfeil.

(Abb. 161). Die Pfeile für diese Bogen weisen zum Teil andere Typen auf als die der Erwachsenen. Pfeile mit Widerhaken (Fischpfeile), desgleichen solche mit gezahnter Holzspitze fehlen. Sehr selten sind Pfeile mit Bambusblattspitzen (Abb. 162 c), häufig dagegen solche mit drehrunder Holzspitze,

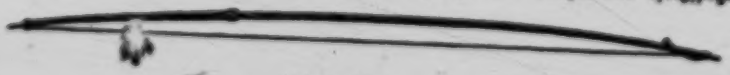


Abb. 161.
Kinderbogen.

die bei etwa 80 cm Schaftlänge 25—40 cm lang ist (Abb. 162 a b). Bemerkenswert ist, daß die Fiederung solcher Pfeile bei drei meiner Exemplare einen vom allgemeinen Typ abweichenden Charakter besitzt. Die Federn sind halbiert und durch fortlaufende Spiralwickelung am Schafte befestigt (Abb. 162 d); ähnlich der Pechfiederung, nur daß die Pichung fehlt (siehe auch oben S. 268). Häufig sind Vogelpfeile, die zum Töten der Vögel dienen und aus einem vorn zugespitzten Rohrschaft bestehen (malól; Abb. 163). Ob die stumpfen Pfeile zur Vogeljagd verwendet werden, oder ob sie bei den Übungen Verletzungen verhindern sollen oder für senkrechten Hochschuß dienen, ist mir nicht bekannt. Bei ihnen ist entweder vorn ein Wachsklumpen angebracht (Abb. 164 a), oder der ganze Pfeil besteht aus einem Stück Rohr, dessen rundgeschnittener Wurzelknauf als stumpfe Spitze dient (Abb. 164 b). Eingesetzte Holzknaufspitzen fehlen auch hier (siehe aber Savajé). Für senkrechten oder schrägen Hochschuß werden Pfeile benutzt, auf deren Holzspitze eine kleine Nuß mit seitlichem Loch geschoben ist (Abb. 165). Die Beschwerung durch die Frucht bewirkt, daß der Pfeil sich am Wendepunkt

mit der Spitze nach unten kehrt; einen pfeifenden Ton habe ich beim Schießen mit diesen Pfeilen nicht gehört.

Ziele für Schießübungen sind zunächst längliche Früchte, die in den Sand gesteckt werden, später laufende Bastringe (wäiöjaiö), schließlich emporgeworfene Kürbisse.

Um Rudern zu lernen, benutzen die Knaben kleine Ruder, die im allgemeinen in der Gestalt denen der Erwachsenen ähnlich sind, zuweilen aber in der Form des Blattes abweichen (Abb. 166a). Sie sind 64—96 cm lang. Nur ein Exemplar

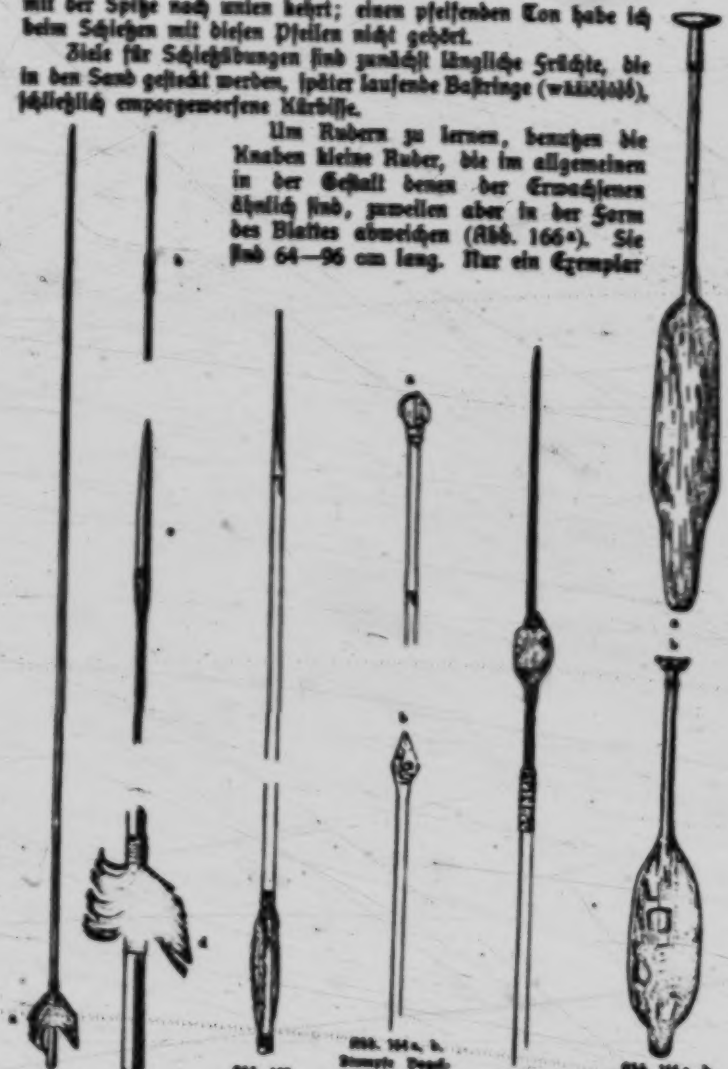


Abb. 162a—d. Kinderpfeile.

Abb. 163. Spitzer Doppelpfeil.

Abb. 164a, b. Stumpfe Doppelpfeile: a) Hochstumpf. b) Wurzelknie.

Abb. 165. Pfeil mit aufgeklebtem Ring.

Abb. 166a, b. Kinderruder. a) Gewöhnlicher Typus, b) beweglich.

zeigte Bemalung mit roten und schwarzen Vierecken (Abb. 166[b]). Auch sie haben zwei Riefen in der Griffrolle.

Zum Fischenlernen verwenden die Knaben kleine aus Bast geknüpfte Stellnetze (hádská; lábójó), die sie am Ufer der Sandbänke im Wasser aufstellen; sie sind an zwei langen Seitenstäben montiert und werden durch mehrere senkrechte Spreizhölzer gestreckt erhalten (Abb. 86).

Die Mädchen lernen spinnen und kochen. Sie besitzen kleine Spindeln, auf denen sie schon frühzeitig gebrauchsfähige Fäden drehen. Schon von 6—7 Jahren an sieht man die Mädchen fast immer spinnend. Die Spinnwirtel sind entweder doppelkonische Tonwirtel oder einseitiggewölbte Holzwirtel (Abb. 167). Diese primitive Form hat sich also in der Hand der Kinder noch erhalten, während sie den Erwachsenen verloren gegangen zu sein scheint.

Abb. 167.
Wirtelspindel mit Spinnwirtel.

Kleines Tongeschirr ist in allen Größen vorhanden; das größere kann wirklich zum Kochen verwendet werden, während das kleinere nur zum Spielen dient. Das eigentliche Kochgeschirr ist teilweise außen rußgeschwärzt, also dem Feuer ausgesetzt gewesen. Neben den gewöhnlichen Formen (Topf, Abb. 168[a]) und Schale (Abb. 168[b c]) treten auch andere Formen auf: Schale mit gewölbtem Boden (Abb. 168[d]), Schüssel (Abb. 168[e f]); eine vierteilige Schüssel (Abb. 168[g]), deren Verwendung mir trotz der langen indianischen Auseinandersetzung der betreffenden Mutter nicht klar geworden ist, scheint zu einem ganz besonderen Zwecke benutzt zu werden.

Abb. 168a—g.
Kleines Tongeschirr für Kinder.

Alles übrige Geschirr dient nur zum Spielen; es ist zum Teil ungebrannt und so klein, daß das Kochen damit unmöglich wird. Überraschend ist hier neben den gewöhnlichen Typen die Unmenge abweichender, fast europäisch anmutender Gefäße, die merkwürdigerweise alle aus dem Dorfe an der Tapirapémündung stammen. In anderen Dörfern habe ich diese eigentümlichen Formen

Abb. 169a—l.
Kleines Spielgeschirr.

Abb. 170a—l.
Kleines Spielgeschirr.

nicht gesehen. Sollte hier Einfluß der Tapirapéindianer vorliegen? Einige Exemplare scheinen nur ungeschickte Ausführungen echter Karajétypen zu sein. Von den gewöhnlichen Formen sind zu erwähnen: wasserkrugartige Gefäße (Abb. 169[a-b]), hohe geschweifte Töpfe (Abb. 169[c]), doppelkonische Töpfe (Abb. 169[d]), flache Kochtöpfe (Abb. 169[e]), flache Schüsseln mit geraden oder gewölbten Seiten (Abb. 169[f—h]), dreibeiniger Topf (Abb. 169[i]). Die abweichenden Formen bestehen in ovalen Schalen (Abb. 170[a]), kleinen Töpfen mit minimaler Öffnung (Abb. 170[b-c]), deren Boden zum Teil in eine Spitze ausläuft (Abb. 170[d]), vasenähnliche Töpfe (Abb. 170[e]), geteilte Töpfe (Abb. 170[f]), Pokale (Abb. 170[g]), blumenkorbartige Schalen mit dreiteiligem Henkel (Abb. 170[h]) und lampenähnliche Schalen mit zwei Spitzen am oberen Rande (Abb. 170[i]).

Diese kleinsten Gefäße leiten uns schon zu den eigentlichen Spielsachen.

Abb. 171 a—d.
Kinderspielzeug.
a) Bemaltes Ruder, b) Geteilte Form, c) [illegible], d) [illegible].

Kleine Boote (ubá-ítsá) mit Rudern werden von den Kindern, besonders den Knaben, in den Lagunen am Rande der Sandbänke schwimmen gelassen. Ihre Form weicht insofern von der der großen Boote ab, als das Hinterteil quer abgeschnitten ist und nicht in eine lange Spitze ausläuft. Den gewöhnlichen Typus stellt das Boot in Abb. 171[a] dar, zu dem zwei bemalte Ruder und eine Tonpuppe (Mädchen mit langem Schnurschurz und Federstutz) gehören. Einen abweichenden Typus zeigt das Boot in Abb. 171[b]; es ist von Kurisí geschnitzt, der schon in Rio und São Paulo war und aus eigenem Antriebe bemerkte, daß diese Form seiner eigenen Fantasie entsprungen sei. Als Ersatz für diese Nachbildungen wurden halbierte Kürbisschalen (ikú, Abb. 171[c]) oder Palmblattscheiden (ãdãxí, Abb. 171[d]) benutzt, die an Stricken im Sand entlang gezogen wurden; sie wurden nur im Dorfe an der Tapirapémündung beobachtet. Die kleinen Ruder, die zu diesen Bootmodellen gehören, weichen in der Griffbildung und zum Teil auch im Blatt von den großen Rudern ab (Abb. 172[a—d]). Einige zeigen die typische Bemalung: rotes Mittelquerband auf dem schwarz gefärbten Blatte.

Die Gewehrnachbildung (mãhãnã = Gewehr) wird von den kleinen Knaben gehandhabt. Der Lauf ist durch ein Stück Rohr dargestellt, in das nahe dem einen Ende ein kürzerer, nahe dem anderen ein längerer Querschnitt eingeschnitten ist. In beide Schnitte ist ein feiner Bügel aus gespaltenem Rohr gespannt (Abb. 173a). Man hält das Gewehr in der linken Hand, mit dem längeren Querschnitt von sich ab, zieht den Bügel darin mit dem Zeigefinger der rechten Hand zurück und läßt ihn wieder vorschnellen. Der Ton, der beim Anschlagen vorn erzeugt wird, stellt den Schuß dar. Das Rohr ist sorgfältig ausgehöhlt; zum Reinigen dient ein kleines Instrument aus Bambus mit kurzem Griff und dünner, schmaler Klinge (Abb. 173c). Auch Doppellaufgewehre sind üblich. Die beiden Rohre sind mit hellem Harz aneinandergeklebt und mit zwei Baumwollumwickelungen verbunden (Abb. 173b). Das Schießen von kleinen Steinchen, das doch mit diesem Instrument möglich ist, wurde nicht geübt. Erst als ich ihnen das vorgemacht hatte, schossen sie eifrig mit Steinchen gegen kleine Wachsschweinchen, die sie im Sande aufstellten. Zur Untersuchung darüber, ob es sich hierbei tatsächlich nur um eine Nachbildung der Gewehre

Kinderspielräder (c und d bemalt).

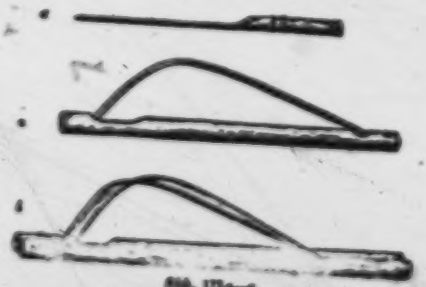


Abb. 173a—c.
Gewehrnachbildungen. Karajá.
a) Einfach, b) Doppellaufgewehr, c) Instrument zum Reinigen der Rohre.

oder etwa um ein altes Spielzeug handelt, auf das nur dieser Name übertragen wurde, muß noch mehr Vergleichsmaterial bei anderen Indianerstämmen beigebracht werden, als bisher vorliegt.

Kreisel sind sehr gebräuchlich (kũdaũõ). Sie bestehen aus einer doppelkonischen Wachsscheibe von 3½—6 cm Durchmesser und 1—2 cm Dicke, durch die ein Holzstäbchen von 5—18½ cm Länge so gesteckt ist, daß es unten nur ganz wenig hervorragt (Abb. 174a—d). Kreisel mit planparallelen Tonscheiben, die beiderseits mit hohen Wachsschichten belegt sind, wie sie Ehrenreich mitbrachte, habe ich nirgends gesehen, dagegen fehlen in Ehrenreichs Sammlung die Kreisel mit Wachsscheibe. Meist sind die

Scheiben mit roten und gelben Federchen und roten Holzstückchen belegt, die beim Tanzen Kreisfiguren erzeugen. Gequirlt wird der Kreisel zwischen den flachen Händen in der Luft und dann fallen gelassen. Die erwünschte Drehungsgeschwindigkeit hat er erst dann erreicht, wenn er summt.

Auch Brummkreisel (Inãdinã) sind gebräuchlich. Der Körper besteht aus einem Kürbis, der zwei seitliche, einander gegenübergelegene, verschieden große Löcher trägt. Der Stiel geht von oben bis unten durch und ragt unten noch 14½ cm hervor. Er ist mit Wachs im Kürbis befestigt (Abb. 175). Zum Aufziehen dient eine Schnur, die am Ende ein kleines Griffholz trägt. Offenbar fehlt ein Ring oder dergleichen, um das Aufziehen ohne Beschädigung

Abb. 174 a—d. Kreisel.

Abb. 175. Brummkreisel.

Abb. 176. Kerrscheibe.

der linken Hand zu ermöglichen. Koch-Grünberg bildet in seinem Buch: „Zwei Jahre unter den Indianern" (Berlin 1910), Bd. 1, Seite 121, einen Brummkreisel vom Rio Alarch ab, der ganz ähnlich ist, und bei dem ein geflochtener Ring die Hand schützt. Vielleicht benutzen auch die Karajá derartige Ringe. Benutzt werden kann der Brummkreisel nur auf festem Boden, also wohl nur in der Regenzeit auf den Hochufern. Angeblich soll er allgemein ge-

bräuchlich sein, doch sah ich nur dies eine Exemplar (in dem Indianerhaus in São José). Auffällig ist der Name, der mit dem der Tanzmaske Inãuinî fast übereinstimmt.

Die Surrscheibe [(ẑi)ẑädèké] besteht aus einer flachen Kürbisscheibe von 7 cm Durchmesser, die in der Mitte zwei Löcher trägt, durch die eine in sich zurückgeführte Schnur gezogen ist (Abb. 176). Die beiden Schlingen werden über die Daumen gesteckt, durch Schleudern wird der Faden zusammengedreht, und dann bringt man durch Abrollenlassen, Ziehen und Nachlassen die Scheibe in Rotation, wobei sie einen surrenden Ton von sich gibt. Die Indianer hatten kein derartiges Gerät da, kannten es aber alle; das in Abb. 176 wiedergegebene stellt ein Modell dar, das mir ein Indianer aus freien Stücken anfertigte. Mein Gewährsmann teilte mir mit, daß nur die Männer diese Instrumente benutzen, Frauen und Kinder dagegen nicht. Auch brachte er es in Verbindung mit dem

Schwirrholz (nõlnõlî). Dieses wird an einer Stange gebunden gehandhabt. Ich habe nie ein Schwirrholz gesehen, noch sonst diese Mitteilung bestätigen können. Zu sprechen kam der betreffende Indianer darauf beim Besichtigen des Bildes in Steinens zweitem Reisewerk, Seite 498. Da diese Mitteilung im ersten Dorf erlangt wurde, wo ich mit der Ausdrucksweise der Indianer noch nicht völlig vertraut war, liegt vielleicht ein Mißverständnis vor. Immerhin wäre eine spätere Nachprüfung nötig. Sollte das Schwirrholz existieren, so tritt es wohl in Verbindung mit den Maskentänzen auf. Auch die Surrscheibe, die ja auf die Männer beschränkt sein soll, scheint mit ihnen in Beziehung zu stehen.

Abb. 177 a, b.
Vexierschalspiel:
a) übereinandergeschoben, b) auseinandergezogen.

Das Fadenspiel (ãlá) habe ich mehrmals ausführen sehen, ohne daß es mir gelungen ist, die schwierigen Bewegungen festzuhalten. Vor allem Kinder beschäftigen sich damit, Erwachsene nur zuweilen. Es gibt einige, die viele Figuren beherrschen, während andere keine fertig bringen sollen. Sie haben Figuren, die nur von einer Person hergestellt werden, und solche, bei denen eine zweite Person durch Abheben usw. mitwirkt. Die Figuren haben jede einen besonderen Namen, vorgeführt wurden mir Wind, Sterne, Hirsch. Im allgemeinen gilt das Fadenspiel als ein sehr schweres Spiel.

Bälle habe ich nicht gesehen, doch wurde mir erzählt, daß sie sich Bälle aus Maisblättern machen (dókî). Sie wollen deren Anfertigung von den Brasilianern gelernt haben. Auch die Federbälle aus Maiskolben mit ringförmiger Einlage, die Ehrenreich erwähnt, habe ich nirgends gesehen.

Schließlich ist noch ein Vexierspiel zu erwähnen, das von den Jünglingen und Männern gern geübt wird. Die Aufgabe ist, zwei ineinanderhängende Rohrfächer aus einem Stück herzustellen. Es kommt dabei nur auf die geschickte Art der Herstellung an. Man spaltet ein Stück Rohr von

etwa 15 cm Länge und 1/2 cm Breite der Länge nach auf, schneidet in der Oberschicht durch parallele Schnitte die beiden Fächer aus, kratzt die Innenmasse bis auf zwei Kolben an den Enden ab, und das Spielzeug ist fertig (Abb. 177a b).

Sport und körperliche Fähigkeiten.

An Tierkämpfen soll es Hahnenkämpfe geben, die sie, wie die Hühner, von den Brasilianern übernommen haben. Gesehen habe ich keine, beschrieben wurden sie mir folgendermaßen: Kinder verstecken eine Henne unter einer Matte; dann bringen sie nacheinander zwei Hähne dahin, um sie zu reizen.

Klettern wird viel geübt. Sie sind sehr geschickt im Erklettern hoher Bäume; zuweilen sollen sie sich dabei einen Strick um beide Füße als Kletterschlinge binden.

Wettlaufen ist sehr beliebt bei der männlichen Jugend; auch Frauen und Kinder sollen sich daran beteiligen. Anscheinend gibt es Zeiten, wo größere Wettlaufspiele veranstaltet werden (Regenzeit). Sonst laufen die jungen Leute zur Übung auf der Sandbank; der vordere hält oft beide Arme seitwärts gestreckt, um den andern nicht vorüber zu lassen. Eigentümlich ist ihre Ausruhestellung: sie ziehen stehend das eine Bein empor und legen seine Sohle gegen die Innenseite des Knies des anderen (Tafel 30, Abb. 4).

Tauchen wird viel geübt; sie sind sehr geschickt darin, tauchen sehr lange und bringen verlorene Gegenstände fast mit Sicherheit wieder herauf. Es sollen Übungen im Wettauchen stattfinden, wobei der Gewinner einen Pfeil bekommt. Ebenso geschickt sind sie im

Schwimmen. Angeblich werden die Kinder nicht angelernt, sondern lernen es durch Nachahmen und Probieren (ebenso wie das Gehen). Sie schwimmen rasch und ausdauernd. In einem Dorfe schwammen meinen Booten sämtliche junge Leute nach. Auf meine Bitte machten sie mir die verschiedenen Schwimmarten vor: die Männer werfen abwechselnd den rechten und den linken Arm vor, wobei sie sich auf die betreffende Seite legen; die Frauen paddeln wie die Hunde, aber gleichzeitig mit beiden Armen, d. h. sie stoßen beide Arme geschlossen nach vorn und unten; die Mädchen sollen sich gern auf den Rücken legen und beide Arme gestreckt mit einem Ruck nach hinten schlagen. Nach anderer Mitteilung aber sollen die Frauen nicht zu schwimmen verstehen (?). Beim Wettschwimmen dient die Entfernung von einem Flußufer zum anderen (6—800 m) als Bahn.

Die beliebteste körperliche Übung ist das Ringen. Bei jeder Gelegenheit üben sich die jungen Leute darin; es geht dann ganz zwanglos dabei zu. Die Griffe sind die unsrigen, doch scheint Einhaken der Beine üblich zu sein. Verletzungen an Armen und Beinen sollen vorkommen, tödliche nur, wenn der Betreffende auf den Penis fällt. Dem Gegner wird keine Schuld dafür angerechnet.

Wenn die Tracajá Eier legt (August bis September), sollen Ringkämpfe (Idjkzó), wenn man in den Lagunen die Tartaruga fischt (September bis

Oktober) ganztägige Ringkampffeste (ànàrkàn) stattfinden. Dabei ringt die gesamte Jungmannschaft. Wer die meisten wirft, heißt dèridò (= Häuptling); er bekommt von den anderen Geschenke, wie Pfeile und dergleichen. Wer nie im Ringkampf geworfen wird, heißt Idjäzùdù; er darf auch als verheirateter Mann die Armstulpen sowie Federschmuck tragen. Auffällig ist die Bezeichnung Idjäzò und Idjäzùdù; sollte zwischen den Ringkämpfen und den idjäzò-Maskentänzen etwa irgendeine Beziehung bestehen?

Kommen Karajá in ein fremdes Dorf, so müssen sie offiziell zum Ringkampf mit der Jugend des Dorfes antreten, ehe sie als aufgenommen gelten[1]. Schon sobald das Dorf in Sicht kommt, hört man von da das Herausforderungsgeschrei zum Ringkampf herübertönen: lange und kurze, in verschiedenster Weise miteinander abwechselnde, hundegebellartige kju-Rufe. Die Fremden verhalten sich ganz ruhig; meist beobachtete ich, daß meine Indianer, die doch dann beim Kampfe gut bestanden, vor Furcht zitterten. Das kju-Geschrei dauert an, bis die Fremden gelandet sind und der Häuptling ihnen den Kampf befohlen hat. Dann ziehen sie zum Ringplatz, meist bei der Maskenhütte, wo die Jungmannschaft aufgestellt steht, sonst dorthin, wo fester Sand vorhanden ist. Die beiden Parteien treten einander gegenüber, der Häuptling steht auf der Seite der Fremden. Die Einheimischen fordern zuerst heraus: zwei Jünglinge tanzen nebeneinander aus der Reihe vor, indem sie stampfend etwa acht Schrittchen halbrechts vorwärts tanzen, dann eine Vierteldrehung ausführen und in gleicher Weise halblinks vortanzen und so abwechselnd weiter. Dabei schlenkern sie in ganz eigentümlicher Art die herabhängenden Arme, und der jeweils Vordere stößt ein heulendes Geschrei in hoher Tonlage aus, indem er bei jedem Schritte einmal hü schreit (Abb. 10, 11. Ringkampf zwischen Šavajé und Karajá). Sind sie vor der Gegenreihe angelangt, so halten sie inne, drehen auf dem linken Fuße um, wobei sie die rechten Arme weit herumschleudern und beide ein langgezogenes absteigendes hu ausstoßen; dann laufen sie in ihre Reihe zurück. Die Gegenpartei erwidert in gleicher Weise diese Herausforderung. Erst dann tanzen von den Einheimischen zwei Mann auf dieselbe Art vor, aber nur bis zur Mitte, ein Paar der Fremden kommt ihnen tanzend entgegen, und dann beginnt ohne weiteres das Ringen, bis einer der Gegner liegt. Meist dauern die Kämpfe nur ein bis zwei Minuten.

[1] Es ist das eine uralte Sitte, die schon Fonseca aus dem Jahre 1773 berichtet (Rev. trim. 8, 384/85). Danach statteten die Šavajé den Karajá einen Besuch ab; sie kamen in einer großen Anzahl Boote, geschmückt und bewaffnet, schrien und bliesen auf Trompeten. Die Karajá antworteten in gleicher Weise, und während sie ihnen bewaffnet in einem Boote entgegenfuhren, stellten sich die anderen am Ufer hinter dem Häuptling, der eine große Lanze trug, auf. Die Šavajé landeten und stellten sich ebenfalls auf. Beide Volkshaufen gingen dann dreimal vor und zurück, wobei sie schrien und einen Kreis schlossen, in dessen Mitte sich dann die Häuptlinge begrüßten. Darauf begann ein Ringkampf: von jeder Seite ging ein Krieger vor, beide rangen, angefeuert von den Häuptlingen. Die siegende Nation wurde allemal mit drei lauten Schreien begrüßt. Erst nach dieser Zeremonie führte der Karajá-Häuptling den der Šavajé zu Fonseca ins Lager.

Sind die Gegner gleich gewandt und können sie sich nicht zu Fall bringen, so wird der Kampf abgebrochen. Besiegt ist, wer auf den Rücken zu liegen kommt. Er bleibt liegen, der Sieger tanzt, hü schreiend, um ihn herum und steigt zum Schluß über ihn hinweg, oder der Sieger umtanzt mit erhobener Hand in gleicher Weise schreiend den gesenkten Hauptes dastehenden Gegner. Dann gehen beide ab in ihre Reihen. Der Häuptling tanzt darauf mit dem Sieger mit über den Schultern verschränkten Armen, hu schreiend, einmal um den Ringplatz herum. Jeder weitere Kampf wird in gleicher Weise eingeleitet; die große Zeremonie findet jedoch nur vor dem ersten Kampfe statt. Nur einmal sah ich, daß ein einzelner Mann vortanzte, sonst gingen sie immer paarweise vor. Zuweilen wurde die Herausforderung nicht angenommen; dann tanzten die Herausforderer bis zur Gegenseite, drehten dort um und gingen zurück. Darüber, ob die einzelnen sich bestimmte Gegner heraussuchen, oder ob jeder Beliebige auf die Herausforderung eingehen kann, habe ich nichts erfahren können. Nach dem Kampfe nehmen sie eine bestimmte Ausruhstellung ein: sie beugen sich stehend nach vorn und stützen die gestreckten Arme auf die Knie. In dieser Haltung verharren sie, bis sie wieder ringen. Über den Ringkampf zwischen Karajá und Šavajé siehe Šavajé.

Tänze, außer Maskentänze, die religiöser Art zu sein scheinen, habe ich nicht beobachtet. Ehrenreich und Castelnau berichten solche von den Šambioá.

Schießen als Sport war nicht zu beobachten. Ob Wettschießen vorkommen, vermag ich nicht zu sagen. Zuweilen sollen sie zur Übung grüne Kürbisse in die Höhe werfen und mit Pfeilen danach schießen. Das Schießen aus der Rückenlage, wobei sie den Bogen mit den Füßen festhalten, ist ein Sport, dem sie sich zuweilen, aber wegen der großen Schmerzen, die der Sehnenrückschlag an den Füßen erzeugt, nicht zu häufig hingeben. Gesehen habe ich es selbst nicht.

Von Keulenwerfen, von dem Königswald berichtet, habe ich nie etwas gehört noch gesehen.

12. Musik.

An Musikinstrumenten sind die Karajá sehr arm. Sie haben nur Signaltrompeten, kleine Pfeifen und Schildkrötenkratzer; als Begleitinstrument für Gesänge dienen Rasseln. Das ist alles. Es erscheint dieser Mangel sehr verwunderlich, da die Karajá sehr gerne und gut singen und anscheinend musikalisch gut veranlagt sind[1].

An Signaltrompeten haben sie drei Arten.

Die Bambustrompete (ähähük) besteht aus einem 44 cm langen Bambuszylinder von 7 cm Durchmesser, dessen Mundende durch einen Knoten gebildet wird, dessen Zentrum durchbohrt ist. Das offene Schallende ist reich beschnitzt (Tafel 58, Abb. 9).

[1] Über die Musikliebe der Karajá siehe Teil I, S. 52.

Die Kürbistrompete besteht aus einem gebogenen Flaschenkürbis von 26 cm Länge, der am schmäleren Ende das seitliche Blasloch, am stärkeren Ende das zentrale Schalloch trägt (Abb. 178[a]).

Am häufigsten sind Taquaraflöten mit Kürbisresonnanz [(h)ä(n)djülönä]. Die Flöten bestehen aus einem 44—46 cm langen und etwa 3½ cm dicken Taquararohr, dessen eines Ende geschlossen, das andere offen ist. Nahe dem geschlossenen Ende befindet sich das seitliche Blasloch. Als Resonanz dient ein Kürbis von 33—38 cm Länge und 16—24 cm Dicke, der beiderseits offen ist, und in dessen größere Öffnung die Flöte schräg hineingesteckt wird. Diese Resonanzkürbisse sind meist mit Brandmalerei verziert (Abb. 178[b]).

Diesen Trompeten werden dumpfe Töne entlockt, die sehr weit tragen. Durch Abwechseln langer und kurzer Töne, hineingeblasener und herausgezogener Töne werden verschiedenartige Tonfolgen erzeugt, die auf Bootsfahrten in der Nähe der Dörfer zur Anmeldung geblasen werden. Eine eigentliche Signalsprache scheint aber noch nicht ausgebildet zu sein. Jetzt finden schon Ochsenhorntrompeten, wie sie die brasilianischen Schifferknechte bei sich führen, Eingang.

Abb. 178 a, b. Kürbistrompeten.

Sonstige Flöten habe ich nicht gesehen, besonders nicht die von Ehrenreich erwähnten Pansflöten aus Taquara.

Ein kleines Horn aus Kürbisschale, das anscheinend bei Maskentänzen geblasen wird, sah ich in Dorf 8. In Gegenwart der Frauen durfte es nicht angeblasen werden, so daß ich Gebrauch und Tonart nicht kennen lernen konnte. Auch erwerben konnte ich das Gerät nicht; anderswo habe ich es nicht wieder gesehen.

Pfeifen gibt es verschiedener Art.

Die Kürbispfeife (wöläwúk ädjalönä, läkú) besteht aus einem kleinen, doppelbauchigen Flaschenkürbis von 8,2 cm Länge, dessen kleinerer Bauch quer abgeschnitten ist (Abb. 179[a]). An dieser Querschnittfläche wird der Kürbis von der Seite her angeblasen und gibt dann einen scharfen, hellen Ton.

Burityblattpfeifen (ädjülönä) bestehen aus einem schmalem Burityblattstreifen, der spiralig aufgewickelt und dann flach gedrückt ist. Durch ein darum geschlungenes schmales Bastband wird die Pfeife in ihrer Form erhalten. Solche Pfeifen sind etwa 3 cm breit und 1—2½ cm hoch und haben zuweilen eine Mittelzunge, während diese anderen Exemplaren fehlt (Abb. 179[b]). Angeblasen werden sie, indem man die Pfeife mit dem einen Ende flach in den Mund steckt.

Der Kratzer aus der Schale der ködú-Schildkröte (hüll-hüll) ist aus der 8 cm langen und 3 cm breiten Schale derartig hergestellt, daß das Schwanzende der Höhlung völlig mit Wachs verklebt ist, während der Halszapfen des Bauchschildes mit einer dicken Wachsschicht umgeben ist (Abb. 180a). Man nimmt die Schale in die rechte Hand, setzt sie mit dem Wachszapfen leicht

Abb. 179a, b.
Pfeifen:
a) Kürbis, b) Blatt.

Abb. 180a, b.
Schildkrötenkratzer und dessen Handhabung.

schräg geneigt auf die straffgespannte linke Handfläche und streicht den Zapfen über die schweißige Handfläche kräftig nach unten (Abb. 180b), wodurch ein knarrender dumpfer Ton entsteht. Nach Angaben der Indianer soll das Instrument benutzt werden, wenn die Knaben aus dem Walde kommen. Ob hierin ein Hinweis auf Knabenerziehung, Weihen usw. im Walde liegt, gelang mir nicht festzustellen.

Als einziges Begleitinstrument zu ihren Gesängen dienen Rasseln. Bei allen Rasseln ist der Stiel durch den ganzen Rasselkörper hindurchgeführt und an beiden Enden

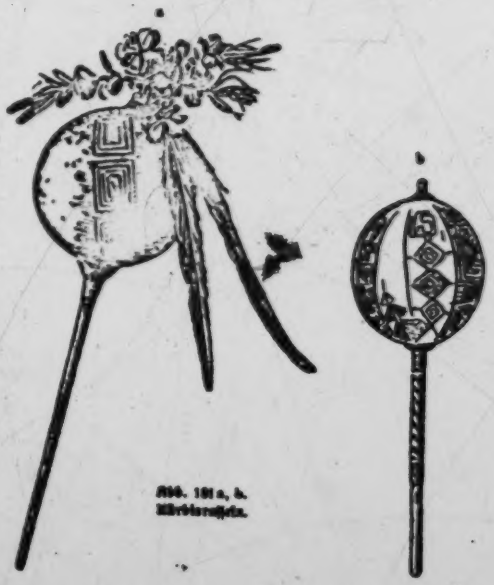


Abb. 181a, b.
Kürbisrasseln.

mit Wachs befestigt. Er ist einfach gehalten und nur selten ein Stück umflochten. Seine Länge schwankt unterhalb des Rasselkörpers zwischen 9 und 16 cm. Sehr selten sind Affenschädelrasseln, zu denen 7 cm lange und 4—5½ cm breite Affenschädel benutzt werden. Ich traf nur zwei dieser Exemplare an (Tafel 58, Abb. 10a b). Sonst werden allgemein Kürbisse (nãlá) als Rasselkörper benutzt, die meist 12—15,5 cm lang und 5,5—13 cm dick sind (eine kleine Rassel ist 6,5 cm lang bei 6 cm Dicke). Die meisten dieser Kürbisrasseln sind mit den üblichen Mustern[1] beschnitzt, viele tragen an dem oben aus dem Kürbis hervorragenden Stielende Federschmuck (Abb. 181a b). Diese Rasseln werden von den Maskentänzern taktmäßig in der Hand geschwungen.

Eine wesentlich größere Rolle spielt der Gesang. Nur die Männer singen, die Frauen lassen nur wie die Männer während der Trauerzeit eintönige Klagegesänge in hoher Stimmlage ertönen. Der Gesang ist einstimmig, Massengesänge kommen selten vor, nur einmal hörte ich einen a-Capella-gesang. Bei Tänzen singen zwei Mann gleichzeitig dasselbe, sonst singen sie einzeln, besonders auf dem Fischfang. Anscheinend sind die Karajá sehr musikalisch; sie singen gern und gut. Die meisten ihrer Gesänge sind Maskentanzlieder; doch scheint es, als ob gewisse Leute bestimmte Lieder erfänden und vererbten. Oft wurde mir gesagt: das ist der Gesang dieses Knaben da oder jenes Jünglings dort. Gewisse Tänze und Gesänge scheinen sich nur in bestimmten Familien durch Tradition zu vererben, die anderen kennen sie wohl, führen sie aber nicht aus. Die meisten Gesänge kannte 1908 Häuptling Ilk in Dorf 13, dicht unterhalb von Izabel do Morro. Er war fast unerschöpflich. Der wõrĩzõ-Tanz und -Gesang vererbte sich in seiner Familie. Er kannte nicht nur Karajálieder, sondern sang auch solche der Savajé und Tapirapé. In allen Dörfern war er als Sänger bekannt, und überall begehrte man von mir die Wiedergabe der mit ihm aufgenommenen Phonogramme. Im ganzen habe ich 44 Walzen mit Gesängen phonographisch aufgenommen. Die Indianer sangen gern in den Apparat, sobald einmal die erste Scheu überwunden war. Dazu benutzte ich europäische Musik, die sie stark in Erstaunen setzte. Sie lachten laut verwundert, viele hielten sich dabei die gespreizte Hand vors Gesicht; die Frauen schnalzten meist erstaunt mit der Zunge. Heiterkeit erregte vor allem die den Gesängen und Musikstücken vorangehende sprachliche Ankündigung. Instrumentalmusik standen sie völlig fremd gegenüber, Vogelstimmen erkannten sie als solche; Gesänge hörten sie am liebsten und freuten sich über die Tonfülle besonders bei Frauenstimmen. Damit war ihre Scheu überwunden, meist drängten sie selbst herbei zur Aufnahme. Dazu benutzte ich zuerst den Trichter, später den Schlauch, in den sie unbefangener hineinsangen. Waren mehrere Indianer anwesend, so berieten sie erst lange, wer singen sollte, überlegten dann gemeinsam den Text, sangen das Lied erst leise zur Probe

[1] Siehe meinen Aufsatz über „Die Kunst der Karajáindianer", Bäßler Archiv, Bd. II, Heft 1.

vor sich hin, und dann erst setzte sich der Auserwählte vor den Apparat zurecht. Auch Ilk memorierte stets vor der Aufnahme das betreffende Lied. Nach der Aufnahme gab ich sofort das Lied wieder. Ihre eigene Stimme zu hören, löste zunächst stets große Heiterkeit aus, dann sangen sie regelmäßig leise mit zur Kontrolle und lachten zum Schluß äußerst befriedigt, weil alles genau stimmte. Auch bei Wiedergabe von Gesängen aus anderen Dörfern wurden Text und Melodie genau kontrolliert. Auffällig war, daß Ilks Gesänge stets erkannt wurden, auch wenn ich seinen Namen nicht vorher genannt hatte, und obwohl er auch Lieder sang, die ich noch von anderer Seite hörte, die also nicht ihm allein zukamen. Erklären konnten sich die Indianer den Phonographen nicht. Sie schauten bei der Wiedergabe ihrer Lieder stets in den Trichter, „um zu sehen, wer darin sänge". Ilk sprach nach einer Aufnahme noch lange in den Apparat hinein; auf mein Befragen erwiderte er, er habe mit dem Ilk, der da drinnen wäre, gesprochen.

Leider haben sich die Walzen durch die Einflüsse der Feuchtigkeit und Hitze verzogen, so daß sie an dem einen Ende oval geworden sind; ihre Bearbeitung ist daher bisher noch nicht gelungen. Über die Melodien kann ich nur folgendes sagen: „Das Lied, das man alle Tage singt" beginnt mit hohen Kopftönen, geht dann mit wenig Tönen herab und endet in einem langen Satze tiefer Brusttöne. Die hohen Kopftöne und das Umschlagen der Stimme klingen besonders bei älteren Männern nicht gut, während von Knaben und Jünglingen die Töne rein gesungen wurden. Dieses Lied wurde besonders bei der Rückkehr vom Fischfang gesungen. Dann wurden an bestimmter Stelle die Namen der gefangenen Fische eingefügt. In einzelnen Liedern werden Tierlaute nachgeahmt, so z. B. die Töne, die der Piraran von sich gibt, wenn er aus dem Wasser gezogen wird. Dieses Lied löste stets allgemeine Heiterkeit aus.

Texte habe ich nur wenige erlangt; siehe Anhang II, Texte. Von Tanzgesängen wurden sie mir nicht mitgeteilt, solange Frauen dabei waren. Sodann stieß die Übersetzung bei den geringen brasilianischen Sprachkenntnissen der Indianer auf die größten Schwierigkeiten.

Außerdem erhielt ich noch folgende Gesänge:

Maskentanzlieder der Karajá: arnana[1] (S, N)
djälhönf (N)
döwölä (N)
idjäzö (S, N)
ikönä (N)
ütjü (S)
wörtzö (N), 5 Lieder, sowie 9 Tanzgesänge ohne Namen, sodann das Maskengeschrei: kju.

[1] Auf Karajá: idjäzö. Hierin ist mit inbegriffen: „Das Lied, das man alle Tage singt".

Lieder der Karajá: djãnhl (S)
hidähõ (N)
iobẽgẽ (N)
makanditã (S)
Pakugesang (N)
Pirararagesang (S, N)
sowie 10 Gesänge ohne Namen.
Tanzlieder der Savajé: idjalhẽnl (N)
Lied des Savajé: dẽsõl, dẽsõl (N), angeblich gesungen, wenn ein Jaguar getötet wurde.
Lied der Tapirapé: ãkhill (N).
Die Tapirapé sollen auch ein djälhẽnl-Maskenlied kennen.

13. Politische Verhältnisse.

Kriege scheinen nur des Frauenraubes wegen stattgefunden zu haben; denn stets wurde berichtet, daß die Männer der Feinde erschlagen, Frauen und Kinder dagegen mit ins Dorf gebracht würden. Die Stellung der Karajá zu ihren Nachbarn ist in dieser Hinsicht folgende: mit Bororo und südlichen Kayapó scheinen sie nicht in Berührung zu kommen. Mit Chavánte sind Kämpfe vorgefallen, bei denen die Karajá stets die größeren Verluste hatten. Mit den Savajé der Insel Bananal leben sie in freundschaftlichem Verkehr, während die Canoeiros, ebenfalls auf Bananal, gegenwärtig ihre gefürchtetsten Feinde sind. Mit den Tapirapé standen die Karajá früher in friedlichem Tauschverkehr; die Karajá lieferten Eisenwaren und erhielten dafür Netzdecken, Bogen, Steinlippenpflöcke, Nahrungsmittel, Araras usw. Die Gelegenheit dieses Tauschverkehrs auf einer Sandbank im Tapirapéfluß, weit ab vom Dorfe, benutzten die Karaja, um inzwischen Frauen und Kinder, die in der Pflanzung tätig waren, wegzuführen. Die Tapirapé wußten lange nicht, wer ihnen die Frauen raubte. Vor jetzt etwa 6—7 Jahren nun hatten die Karajá wiederum 5—6 Frauen geraubt; auf der Heimfahrt entflohen diese, die Karajá verfolgten sie und töteten alle bis auf eine, die zu den Tapirapé zurückkam und berichtete, daß die Karajá die Frauenräuber seien. Als im Jahre darauf die Karajá wiederum ihre Handelsfahrt zu den Tapirapé unternahmen, gingen diese scheinbar auf den Handel ein, überfielen dann aber die Karajá und töteten mehrere Männer. Seitdem ist jeder Verkehr zwischen beiden Stämmen abgebrochen; die Karajá fahren nicht mehr bis zum Handelsplatz, und auch die Tapirapé haben sich weiter flußaufwärts gezogen.

Mit den nördlichen Kayapó scheinen die Karajá ebenfalls auf gespanntem Fuße zu leben. Über frühere Kämpfe habe ich nichts berichten hören. Auffällig aber war das feindlich abweisende Verhalten, das meine Karajá den Missionskayapó in Conceição gegenüber an den Tag legten.

Natürlich rauben nicht nur die Karajá Frauen der Feinde, sondern werden in gleicher Weise von diesen ausgebeutet.

Erschlagene Feinde werden liegen gelassen. Über Anthropophagie habe ich nichts erfahren können. Verwundete Stammesgenossen werden ins Dorf zurückgeschafft und vom Arzt in Behandlung genommen. Gefangene Frauen und Kinder werden als Arbeitssklaven benutzt; gefangene Knaben, die nicht arbeiten wollen, werden, wenn sie nicht selbst ausreißen, ausgesetzt. In beiden Fällen gehen sie wohl ihrem Untergange entgegen.

Der Nutzen an der Arbeit der Kriegsgefangenen kommt dem betreffenden Besitzer (ihrem Erbeuter) zugute. Er gibt ihnen dafür Nahrung und Kleidung. Kriegsgefangene Frauen werden außerdem als Dorfdirnen benutzt. Gegen Zahlung eines Pfeiles werden sie der Jungmannschaft des Dorfes sowie fremder Dörfer zur Verfügung gestellt. Dauernde Ansprüche erwirbt man durch Zahlung einer Netzdecke an den Besitzer. Gegenwärtig haben die Karajá nur Tapirapéfrauen als Dirnen; ich traf im ganzen nur fünf solcher Frauen und Jungfrauen, sowie zwei kleine Knaben bei ihnen an. Auch Savajéfrauen sollen gelegentlich diese Rolle spielen; es sind dies aber nicht geraubte Frauen, sondern solche, die bei Handelszügen sich den Karajá angeschlossen haben oder wegen Vergehungen mit ihnen ausgestoßen wurden (?). Ein Fall, den ich mir nur auf diese Weise erklären kann, ereignete sich bei meinem Besuche der Savajé, wo ein offenbar schwangeres Savajémädchen meinen Karajá mitgegeben wurde, um es mit in ihre Dörfer zu nehmen.

Geleitet werden die Karajá durch Häuptlinge (Idjkô, dêrdô, Itrf). Sie tragen als äußeres Abzeichen die Kinntätowierung, ihre Frauen den großen Thevetia-Halsschmuck (siehe oben). Sonst haben sie keinerlei Kennzeichen; „man erkennt sie an ihrem würdevollen Benehmen", sagte Kurisi.

Die Aufgaben des Häuptlings sind folgende: Er bestimmt und leitet die Arbeiten in der Pflanzung, die Maskenfeste samt ihren Vorbereitungen (Anfertigen der Tanzmasken); er hält auf Ordnung im Dorfe, schlichtet Streitigkeiten, entscheidet Rechtsfälle und unterstützt Arme, Witwen und Waisen. Er bestimmt die Fisch- und Handelszüge, er entscheidet über Kriegsfahrten. Außerdem nimmt er die Fremden in seinem Hause auf und verpflegt sie, und repräsentiert das Dorf den Fremden gegenüber. Diese seine Aufgaben verrichtet er persönlich, ohne Mittelspersonen. Seine Anordnungen gibt er nicht in Beratungen der Männer kund (derartige Einrichtungen fehlen), sondern indem er von Haus zu Haus geht. Nachrichten in andere Dörfer übermittelt er durch Abgesandte, die aber nicht weiter legitimiert werden.

Seine Macht ist indessen nur eine beschränkte; sie beruht völlig auf dem guten Willen der Dorfbewohner. Sind diese aus irgendwelchen Ursachen mit ihm unzufrieden, so ziehen sie einfach weg und lassen ihn allein. Einen solchen Fall berichtete bereits Souza Villa Real 1792[1]. Er traf auf der Fahrt durch den Ostarm fünf Tage unterhalb des Nordendes der Insel Bananal auf einer Sandbank Indianer an, die angaben, aus ihrem Dorf wegen Streitigkeiten mit ihrem Häuptling, den sie für einen bösen Zauberer hielten, abgewandert zu sein.

[1] Rev. trim. 11, 1848, S. 416.

Früher scheint es eine ganze Anzahl Stammes-Häuptlinge gegeben zu haben. 1908 wurden nur vier Häuptlinge genannt[1], während eine ganze Menge Dörfer ohne Häuptlinge lebten (siehe Nachfolge). Der jüngste Häuptling war Sotuna in Dorf Nr. 14, die übrigen Cyriaki in Dorf 18, Tumanahi in Dorf 21 und Crisote in Dorf 22. Es scheint, als ob ihre Macht zunächst nur auf das betreffende Dorf beschränkt sei. Doch scheinen sich um sie die jungen Leute auch aus anderen Dörfern zu versammeln; wenigstens traf ich in den Dörfern mit Häuptlingen regelmäßig eine ungewöhnlich große Anzahl von Jünglingen an. Auch meine Karajáruberer gehorchten willig den Befehlen dieser Häuptlinge. Die von den brasilianischen Bootsleuten capitão genannten Leute der einzelnen Dörfer sind keine indianischen Häuptlinge, sondern meist Leute, die etwas brasilianisch verstehen und infolgedessen den Verkehr mit den Bootsleuten vermitteln (z. B. Jiki).

Daß es auch zu Rivalitäten zwischen Häuptlingen kommen kann, beobachtete ich bei meinem Aufenthalte an der Tapirapémündung. Auf der Talfahrt traf ich in Dorf Nr. 18 zwei Häuptlinge an, den gutmütigen alten Stammeshäuptling Cyriaki und einen sogenannten Capitão, den tatkräftigen, gefürchteten Chico Cabete. Von ihnen hatte Cyriaki das würdevollere Auftreten, obwohl er keinen Anhang im Dorfe besaß; Cabete herrschte dort unbedingt, so daß Cyriaki völlig in den Hintergrund trat. Auf der Bergfahrt traf ich das Dorf auf einer Handelsfahrt nach Santa Maria begriffen. Als ich von der Befahrung des Tapirapé zurückkam, fand ich Cyriaki im Dorf an der Tapirapémündung vor. Er war wegen Streitigkeiten mit Cabete vom Dorf 18 weggezogen und hierher nach Dorf 17 übergesiedelt.

An Vorrechten genießen die Häuptlinge für ihre Amtsführung folgende: Sie arbeiten nicht in der Pflanzung, jagen nicht und fischen neben Tartaruga und Tracajá nur Tokunaré, Pintado und Pirarucú. In der Nahrung sind sie keinen Beschränkungen unterworfen. Sie dürfen mehrere Frauen haben, die gemeinsam in ihren Häusern wohnen; eine Hauptfrau gibt es nicht. Ihre Häuser werden von den Dorfbewohnern gebaut; sie sind zuweilen größer und höher als die anderen Häuser.

Ist der Häuptling abwesend, so überträgt er die Leitung seiner Frau; auch sein Sohn scheint ihn oft zu vertreten.

Zu seinem Amte wird der Häuptling schon von klein auf erzogen. Nach einer Waschung mit heißem Wasser lebt er vier Jahre lang abgeschlossen in einer besonderen Hütte; hier lernt er von seinem Vater die Tänze und Tanzgesänge, lernt Rechtsprechen und was sonst zu seinem Amte nötig ist. Er darf auch, ohne Ausschweifungen [illegible], hie durch, seinen Vater kumbaraeben werden. Dafür erhält er Pfeile, Steine für Lippenpflöcke und dergleichen geschenkt. Die Lehrzeit schließt mit einem großen Feste ab.

Nachfolger des Häuptlings ist sein Sohn. Hat er nur Töchter, so wird eine von ihnen Häuptling (hauéko déródi). Heiratet diese, so bleibt die

[1] Souza Villa Real erwähnt 1792 von den Karajahi auch nur vier Häuptlinge, allerdings nur dem Hörensagen nach; Rev. trim. 11 (1848), S. 452.

Würde bei ihr, sie geht nicht auf den Mann über. Hat der Häuptling keine Nachkommen, so bleibt das Dorf ohne Oberhaupt; es muß dann erst ein Knabe von klein auf zu diesem Amte erzogen werden. Dann beraten sich die Männer des Dorfes, wählen ein Kind aus, gehen zu dessen Mutter und fragen sie, ob sie ihr Kind Häuptling werden lassen wolle. Gibt sie ihre Einwilligung, so wird der Knabe zu seinem Amte erzogen, anscheinend von seinem Vater. So z. B. war der Häuptling des Dorfes 7 längst gestorben. Sein Sohn hieß Cadete; dieser hatte drei Töchter und einen Sohn. Der Sohn starb vorzeitig, die Töchter wollten die Regierung nicht annehmen, also gab es keinen Häuptling in diesem Dorfe. „Es müßte erst wieder einer dazu erzogen werden."

Fremde werden vom Häuptling aufgenommen und bewirtet. Der gute Ton verlangt, daß der Fremde allerlei Geschenke (Kokosnüsse, Honig, Bataten, Töpfe, Matten usw.) erhält, in der Erwartung, daß er dafür reichlich wiedergibt. In meinem Lager nahe den Dörfern blieb ich nie allein, sondern es war ununterbrochen, Tag und Nacht, eine Wache von 2–3 Jünglingen, manchmal auch von mehreren, im Lager anwesend. Nachts schliefen sie am Herdfeuer. Offenbar ist diese Maßregel einem Mißtrauen gegen die Fremden entsprungen. Jetzt aber wird das Stellen der Wache gerade von den Indianern, die noch auf alte Formen halten, als eine Ehrung angesehen, die dem Fremden erwiesen wird, und besonders hoch ist die Ehre, wenn der Häuptling selbst nachts im Lager des Fremden bleibt.

Rechtsverhältnisse. Persönliches Eigentum ist schon stark ausgebildet. Als solches gelten: Haus und Boot (beide der Frau gehörig), Waffen, Geräte, Schmucksachen und Kleidungsstücke. Die Nahrungsmittel aus der Pflanzung sind Familieneigentum, große Ausbeuten bei Jagd und Fischfang werden unter das gesamte Dorf verteilt. Auch kleine Kinder besitzen schon als Eigentum ihren Schmuck und Spielsachen. Über den Verkauf entscheidet nur der jeweilige Besitzer, wenn es ein Kind ist, dessen Eltern, meist die Mutter. Fremde mischen sich nie in die persönlichen Angelegenheiten der anderen ein.

Eigentumsverletzungen kommen nur selten vor. Mir gegenüber beobachtete ich nur einmal einen Diebstahlsversuch. Diebstähle scheinen sich im wesentlichen auf Pflanzungsprodukte zu erstrecken und bleiben anscheinend nicht lange verborgen. Der Geschädigte beschwert sich beim Häuptling; dieser schickt ihn zum Dieb mit der Anweisung, von diesem Entschädigung zu verlangen. Weigert sich aber der Dieb, das zu tun, so beschwert sich der Geschädigte wiederum beim Häuptling und darf, falls dieser einwilligt, „Streit" mit jenem beginnen, d. h. also, sich gewaltsam sein Recht verschaffen.

Totschläge scheinen, wenn auch selten, vorzukommen. Dabei herrscht die Sitte der Blutrache: die Verwandten des Getöteten verfolgen den Mörder überallhin, auch in andere Dörfer, bis sie ihn erschlagen haben.

Soziales Leben. Mißliebige Elemente (Prahler, Schwätzer, Zankhähne) werden bei Gelegenheit verprügelt. So soll mein Camarada Pedro II, in Dorf 17 fast wöchentlich seine Prügel beziehen wegen seiner unglaublichen prahlerischen Aufschneiberei.

Bösartige Elemente, die mit ihren Streitereien das Dorf nie zur Ruhe kommen lassen, werden schließlich, wie Kurisí berichtete, auf Befehl des Häuptlings von den anderen getötet; ihre Verwandten haben dann keine Rechte auf Blutrache.

Standesunterschiede fehlen. Kriegsgefangene Frauen und Kinder dienen als eine Art Sklaven. Dagegen gibt es Vermögensunterschiede; es gibt reiche und arme Leute. „Der Reiche hat alles, Äxte, Messer, Töpfe; der Arme hat nichts. Er geht zum Reichen und sagt: Gib mir einen Topf, eine Axt. Der Reiche muß es ihm geben." (Kurisí.)

Als reich gelten besonders die Häuptlinge, die ja von ihrem Überfluß an Gegenständen den Armen mitteilen müssen. Als besonders reich galten Ilk in Dorf 13 und Crisote in Dorf 22. Die Indianer der Südhorde gelten als arm, und sie sind es auch im Vergleich zur Nordhorde, die selbst wieder den Xavajé gegenüber als arm zu bezeichnen ist.

Grußformen. Kommt jemand in ein fremdes Dorf, so verharrt er gesenkten Hauptes im Boote (sta sem vergonha, d. h. ohne Scham, wie die Indianer fälschlich statt com v., d. h. voller Scham sagten), bis die anderen kommen, ihn begrüßen und einladen, mit ins Dorf zu kommen. Dann erst gehen sie ans Land. Diese Sitte war besonders bei den Indianern zu beobachten, die sich im Dienste von Weißen befanden. Kam ich in ein Dorf, so saßen meine Indianer unbeweglich, mit gesenktem Haupte und betretenen Gesichtern im Boot, bis der Häuptling des Dorfes sie angesprochen hatte. Sie taten in der ganzen Zeit meines Aufenthaltes im Dorf keinen Handgriff, aßen auch nicht aus meiner Küche, sondern hungerten, falls sie keine Verwandten im Dorfe hatten, die sie verpflegten. Sie waren eben sem vergonha.

Bei der Rückkehr von der Reise wurden sie von ihren weiblichen Verwandten und Angehörigen mit tränenreichen Reden empfangen[1]. Dabei sehen sich beide Teile selten an, oft stehen sie hintereinander. Die Klagen finden in weinerlichem Tone statt. Plötzlich hören sie auf und unterhalten sich ganz freundschaftlich mit dem Zurückgekehrten. Offenbar ist das Ganze bloß Zeremonie, deren Übertreibung seitens einzelner Frauen selbst bei den übrigen Indianern spöttisches Lächeln hervorrief.

14. Ehe, Geburt, Erziehung, Tod.

Ehe. Ein Verlöbnis oder eine Hochzeit habe ich nicht mit erlebt, so daß sich meine Mitteilungen hierüber nur auf die Angaben der Indianer stützen.

Das Alter, in dem die Heirat stattfindet, war schwer zu bestimmen. Männer heiraten anscheinend zwischen 17 und 20 Jahren, die Frauen zeitiger, mit 14—16 Jahren. Als Ehehindernis gilt nur die direkte Verwandtschaft zwischen Geschwistern; Vettern und Basen dagegen dürfen einander heiraten. Anklänge an Eheverbote, die vielleicht auf Totemismus zurückgehen könnten,

[1] Auch diese Art der Begrüßung lange nicht gesehener Verwandter durch weibliche Angehörige wird bereits von Fonseca 1773 (Rev. trim. 8, S. 379) erwähnt.

habe ich nirgends getroffen. Der Freier wirbt zunächst bei der Mutter und den übrigen Verwandten des Mädchens. Die Entscheidung aber liegt dem Mädchen selbst ob. Die Antwort gibt die Mutter dem Freier. Nach Pedro erhält der Schwiegervater vom Vater des Freiers Geschenke, auch muß der Freier für den Schwiegervater mit arbeiten (?). Während der Brautzeit baut der Bräutigam mit der Jungmannschaft das Haus. Dieses wird später Eigentum der Frau, die nach der Hochzeit die Bauleute auszahlt. Die Braut besorgt indessen anscheinend das Hausgerät, die Schlafmatten, Töpfe usw.

Über die Hochzeitszeremonien habe ich nur unklare Nachrichten erhalten. So soll der Großvater den Bräutigam bemalt und geschmückt ins Haus der Braut tragen und wieder zurück. In Begleitung der Jungmannschaft holt der Freier die Frau ab und führt sie ins neue Haus. Dort schneiden sie sich gegenseitig die Beinbänder ab und legen für die Dauer der Ehe die Armstulpen ab. Nach einer anderen Nachricht schneidet dagegen die Braut die Wadenbänder des Mannes ab, die Mutter des Mannes aber die der Braut. Die Brautfahrt findet ohne Gepäck statt. Erst wenn das Paar im Haus angekommen ist, läßt der Mann das Eigentum der Braut herbeibringen und nimmt es in Verwahrung.

Im allgemeinen haben die Karajá nur eine Frau zur selben Zeit; nur der Häuptling kann gleichzeitig mehrere Frauen haben, die gemeinsam in seinem Hause leben. Wie schon oben gesagt ist, gibt es keine Hauptfrau, doch sollen viele Streitigkeiten unter ihnen vorkommen. Wird die Frau alt, so kann der Mann sie wegschicken und eine zweite, jüngere Frau heiraten. Es geht das darauf zurück, daß den jungen Leuten nur die älteren Mädchen übrig gelassen werden, und daß sie, wenn diese zu alt werden, sich dann an die jungen Mädchen halten.

Die Stellung der Frau ist sehr gut. Ihr gehört das Haus, das Hausgerät, das Boot; der Mann wohnt nur bei ihr. In allen Angelegenheiten gibt sie ihr Urteil mit ab. Alle schwere Arbeit übernimmt der Mann: Anlegen der Pflanzung, Heimtransport der Ernte, Jagd und Fischfang. Die Frau hat die leichteren Pflanz- und Erntearbeiten zu verrichten und den Haushalt zu besorgen. Beide sind selten untätig. Die schwere Arbeit wird von den Männern nicht gern verrichtet. Jedenfalls wollen die jungen Leute aus Scheu davor nicht heiraten und schieben die Heirat möglichst weit hinaus, verleitet vor allem durch einige ältere Junggesellen. Das sorglose Junggesellenleben ist ja frei von jeglicher Arbeit; man tut nur, was man will, ein Muß gibt es nicht. Auch Witwer heiraten meist nur aus Rücksicht auf ihre Kinder noch einmal. Haben sie keine Kinder, oder können sie die Heirat irgendwie umgehen, so tun sie das nur zu gern.

Die Mahlzeiten nehmen beide Geschlechter gemeinsam ein. Im allgemeinen ist das Eheleben sehr friedlich, Zank und Streit sind selten. Dennoch beobachtete ich einige Ehegemen: In Dorf 17 erhob sich eines Abends lautes Geschrei und Kreischen einer Frau, dem eine halbe Stunde lang laute Schimpfreden der Frau folgten. Am nächsten Abend kam der Mann zu mir und bat mich um Essen, da ihm seine Frau wegen des gestrigen Streites nichts

zu essen gäbe. Die Ursache des Streites konnte ich nicht erfahren. In Dorf 13 schlug der Häuptling Ilk seine Frau, weil sie bei einem Besuche in Dorf 11 gestohlen habe. So sagte er; die anderen aber erzählten, daß die Frau ihn bös empfangen habe, als er von Dorf 11 zurückkam, weil er sich dort mit einer Frau abgegeben habe; erst darauf habe er sie geschlagen. Im Dorf 7 hatte Kurisl bereits die dritte Frau. Die erste war ihm weggelaufen, die zweite gestorben, die dritte, jetzige war viel älter als er und sehr eifersüchtig. Am ersten Abend meiner Anwesenheit beobachtete sie, wie er einem Mädchen auf dessen Bitte zweimal Tabak schenkte. Darauf soll es zu Haus zum Streit gekommen sein; sie zog ihn an den Haaren, er schlug sie. Das Resultat war, daß die Frau nachts mit den Kindern abfuhr, ich traf sie dann in Dorf Nr. 8 wieder. Der Mann war also nun Strohwitwer, hatte nichts zu essen und mußte ins Junggesellenhaus ziehen. Auf der Rückreise traf ich beide wieder vereinigt, sie lebten in Frieden und sprachen, leicht verlegen lachend, über das Ereignis.

Scheidung kommt in dem oben erwähnten Falle vor, daß die Frau zu alt wird. Der Mann schickt sie dann fort und heiratet meist ein junges Mädchen. So hatte in Dorf Nr. 5 der Mann seine alte Frau nach São José zu ihrem Bruder geschickt und eine jüngere geheiratet. Die Kinder hatte er behalten, die ältere Frau mußte er weiterhin noch mit Lebensmitteln versorgen. Die Trennung der Gatten leitet die Mutter der Frau; an sie wenden sich beide Teile, wenn eins das andere nicht mehr mag. Die Kinder bleiben in jedem Falle beim Vater. Die geschiedene Frau behält ihr Eigentum. Ehrenreich berichtet (Beiträge, S. 27), daß ein Mann, der seine Frau verstößt, nicht wieder heiraten, sondern nur eine Haushälterin annehmen darf. Nach meinen Beobachtungen ist der oben mitgeteilte Fall aus Dorf Nr. 5 ganz typisch. Ein solcher Mann verfällt durchaus nicht der Verachtung, wie Königswald berichtet[1].

Witwen und Waisen. Verwitwete legen ihre Bein- und Armbänder wieder an. Der Witwer lebt als Junggeselle; er darf wieder heiraten, tut das aber meist nur, wenn er Kinder hat, die der Mutter bedürfen. Sonst scheut er die Arbeit, die dem Ehegatten obliegt. Witwen bleiben im Hause wohnen, das ja ihr Eigentum ist. Sie dürfen wieder heiraten. Ihren Unterhalt empfangen sie vom Häuptling, falls keine erwachsenen Söhne da sind, die für sie sorgen können. Andernfalls bestimmt der Häuptling jemanden, der für sie pflanzen und fischen soll, und bezahlt ihn dafür. Waisenkinder werden vom Bruder der Mutter aufgezogen und unterhalten.

Außerehliches Geschlechtsleben. Die Mädchen suchen ihre Reinheit möglichst zu bewahren; so gehen sie nicht allein in den Wald, aus Furcht vor der Jungmannschaft. Hat ein Mädchen dennoch Unglück, so wird es, wenigstens in der Südhorde, nicht bestraft. Auch in diesem Fall wird es von anderer Seite geheiratet. Über die harten Strafen für vorehelichen Verkehr und Ehebruch, wie sie Ehrenreich und Königswald mitteilen, habe ich

[1] Globus, Bd. 94, S. 237.

nichts erfahren können. Die Männer genießen vor der Ehe volle Freiheit. In vielen Dörfen befinden sich Tapirapé- und Savajéfrauen, die als Prostituierte dienen und auch Fremden zur Verfügung gestellt werden. Doch scheinen sich die Karajá auch mit Stammesangehörigen zuweilen in Abenteuer einzulassen. Pedro schäkerte in vielen Dörfern mit jungen Mädchen, die er seine primas (Basen) nannte; im Lager Nr. 23 wurden ihm von zwei Frauen Anträge auf ein nächtliches Stelldichein gemacht, doch lehnte er sie ab. Über die Einrichtung der viri viduarum, von der Ehrenreich nach Magalhães berichtet (Beiträge, S. 28), habe ich nichts erfahren.

Geburt. Während der Schwangerschaft tragen die Frauen kleine geflochtene Matten um die Hüften, die sie vorn mit den Händen zusammenhalten. Die Schwangerschaft wird vorzeitig unterbrochen, indem die Frau Pulver aus zerstoßenem weißen Stein (mánánlá) ißt oder Blut trinkt. Künstlicher Abortus gilt nicht als verboten.

Die Geburt findet im Hause statt (nach einer isolierten Angabe auch in einem besonders dazu gebauten Hause); die nach Ehrenreich hockende Frau wird von ihrer Mutter unterstützt. Der Mann ist unbeteiligt (nach Ehrenreich hilft er dagegen seiner Frau). Es soll allerlei Medikamente zur Erleichterung der Geburt geben. Die Nabelschnur wird mit einem Taquaraspan abgeschnitten und Asche auf die Wunde getan. Die Nachgeburt wird im Walde vergraben.

Das Wochenbett ist sehr kurz. Die Mutter bleibt nur einen Tag in der Hütte liegen, am zweiten steht sie schon wieder auf. Nach Ablauf von vier Tagen, während der sie nur Honig und etwas Mandiokabrei zu sich nimmt, wäscht sie sich im Schatten mit heißem Wasser, das sie in einem Topfe neben sich stehen hat. Danach arbeitet sie wieder und darf alles wieder essen. Der Mann mußte in früherer Zeit ebenfalls eine gewisse Diät einhalten, während er das heute angeblich nicht mehr tut. In uralter Zeit, „als die Karajá noch unter Wasser wohnten", hielt er fünf Monate lang Diät. Später blieb der Mann nur sechs Tage im Hause; er aß weder Fische noch Mandioka — sie seien zu hart —, und leerte täglich den Magen durch Erbrechen, das er durch Essen von Honig mit Pfeffer oder von Ananas mit Pfeffer erzeugte.

Wie lange Zeit nach der Geburt der Mann der Frau fern bleibt, war nicht zu ermitteln; jedenfalls aber wird die Frau eine Zeit lang geschont.

Dem Neugeborenen schiebt der Vater der Mutter, nach anderer Mitteilung die Großmutter, den Schädel zurecht. Es wird dann mit warmem Wasser gewaschen, sodann mit Urukú- und Almesquaharz beschmiert, wodurch der rote Schleim heruntergeht und das Kind hell wird. Dann wird es offenbar nochmals gewaschen und wiederum eingerieben. Hierauf wird es in eine kleine Netzdecke gehüllt. Mißgestaltete Kinder (auch blinde) werden von der Mutter im Flusse ertränkt; es gilt das nicht als Unrecht. Nur wohlgestaltete Kinder werden aufgezogen, auch wenn es alles Mädchen sind. Über die Behandlung von Zwillingen war nichts zu erfahren; dieser Fall sei „noch nicht vorgekommen". Die Familien haben durchschnittlich zwei bis vier

Kinder; fünf gelten bereits als viel. Doch sollen auch noch mehr Kinder in einer Familie vorkommen. Gestillt wird das Kind mehrere Jahre lang, und selbst Kinder von fünf bis sechs Jahren laufen noch zur Mutter, um ihren Hunger zu stillen.

Die Kinder erhalten ihren Namen bei der Geburt von den Großeltern väterlicher und mütterlicher Seite. Diese Namen behalten sie ihr ganzes Leben lang. Viele Karajá trugen christliche Namen, die ihnen von den brasilianischen Bootsleuten beigelegt waren; wirklich getaufte Karajá soll es nur ein bis zwei in São José geben. An Eigennamen erhielt ich eine ganze Anzahl für Personen beider Geschlechter; leider ließ sich keine Übersetzung dafür erlangen. Nur bei folgenden männlichen Namen lassen sich bekannte Silben abtrennen: mäüzí = Töpfertonzusatz (siehe oben, Seite 282); küsi = Tapir; änänlöö = Katze; änlääzí = Jaguar-zi (zi = Ei; vielleicht verhört für ti = Knochen). Die übrigen Namen siehe im Sprachverzeichnis.

Bald nach der Geburt werden den Kindern die Ohrläppchen durchstochen zur Aufnahme der Ohrtulpen (küädjá), die später durch die Ohrstäbe ersetzt werden; später erst wird den Knaben das Lippenloch eingestochen. Beide Maßnahmen finden ohne weitere Zeremonien statt.

Die Knaben laufen nackt umher, die Mädchen tragen einen schwarzen Schnurgürtel. Erst mit 9—12 Jahren schnüren die Knaben den Penis zusammen und hängen die Mädchen die Bastschürze über den Gürtel. Von da an wohnen auch die Knaben mit bei den Jünglingen. Als Abzeichen tragen die Kinder Armstulpen, Waden- und Knöchelbänder, welch letztere von den Knaben schon mit sechs bis acht Jahren wieder abgelegt werden.

Mit Eintritt der Pubertät werden beiden Geschlechtern die Stammesringe auf den Backen eingeschnitten; anscheinend finden dabei keine Zeremonien weiter statt. Von da an tragen die Jungfrauen volle Frauentracht und bekommt der Baumwollbehangschmuck rote Farbe statt der schwarzen, die den Kindern eigentümlich war. Die Jünglinge wohnen für sich; wo es ein Maskenhaus gibt, halten sie sich tagsüber darin auf und schlafen nachts darin oder an einem Feuer in seiner Nähe. Wo es keins gibt, schlafen sie an einem Feuer abseits vom Dorfe. In kleinen Siedlungen mit ein bis zwei Häusern wohnen sie mit im Hause.

Die Eltern lieben ihre Kinder sehr. Es ist rührend zu beobachten, mit welcher Zärtlichkeit sie an ihnen hängen und wie sie, fern von ihnen, beständig mit ihren Gedanken bei ihnen weilen. Als Pedro die (falsche) Nachricht erhielt, daß seine Kinder gestorben seien, war er stundenlang einsilbig und blieb auch von da an merklich stiller, als er sonst gewesen war. Mit kleinen Kindern spielen die Mütter; selbst Küssen der Kinder habe ich beobachtet. Aller erdenklicher Schmuck wird den Kleinen umgetan; je älter die Kinder werden, um so weniger Schmuck wird angelegt, bis endlich Verheiratete fast ganz darauf verzichten. Eine etwa 50jährige Frau lachte selbst über ihre Eitelkeit, als sie von mir dem Enkelkinde geschenkte Perlenketten sich um den Hals legte und wohlgefällig darauf herabsah. Diese Sucht, die

Kinder zu schmücken, geht so weit, daß sie ihnen große Stücke zerbrochener bunter Porzellanteller um den Hals hängen, ohne die Gefahr zu kennen[1]. „Beim Vater gelten die Knaben mehr, die Mutter will lieber Mädchen haben" (Kurisk). Der Vater lernt den Sohn an, die Mutter die Tochter. Entgegen anderweitigen Mitteilungen wurde mir versichert, daß auch Schläge als Strafe vorkommen. Sonst beobachtete ich nur Essenverweigerung als Strafmittel (in Dorf 17, weil der betreffende Knabe nicht gefischt, sondern sich bei mir im Lager herumgetrieben hatte). Ihren Eltern gehorchen die Kinder aufs Wort, und auch Erwachsene folgen noch unbedingt den Ratschlägen ihrer Mutter. So gab Pedros Mutter diesem folgende gute Lehren mit auf die Reise (Pedro war Witwer mit drei Kindern): Verborge kein Geld (Pedro schlug daher Borgversuche anderer Kameraden rundweg ab mit der Begründung, die Mutter habe es verboten); bringe keine Frau mit (auch hierin folgte Pedro seiner Mutter und schlug mehrere Vermittlungsversuche anderer ab); Leute, die den Frauen nachstellen, werden mager; wer aber viel ißt, wird dick.

Auch rechtlich scheinen die Eltern, besonders die Mutter, über ihre erwachsenen Söhne Macht zu behalten. Denn die abschließenden Verhandlungen wegen Pedros Mitnahme der Kinder mußte ich mit dessen Mutter führen. Mit Pedro selbst habe ich gar nicht verhandelt.

Die Folge dieser Erziehung ist, daß die Kinder nie ungezogen sind und sich selten streiten; sie sind heiter und lustig und dem Fremden gegenüber bald zutraulich, ohne sich plumpe Vertraulichkeiten zuschulden kommen zu lassen.

Auf würdevolles und höfliches Benehmen wird überhaupt viel Wert gelegt. In den Hütten wurden mir die Familienmitglieder einzeln vorgestellt. Wenn ich abends beim Feuer ihre Mitteilungen aufschreiben wollte, bliesen sie einen Holzkloben an und hielten ihn mir hin, um mir zu leuchten. Wurde unterwegs Honig gesucht, so brachten sie mir jedesmal einen Teil davon in einer Baumrinde.

Dezenz gehört zum Anstand der Indianer. Die Defäkation findet weit außerhalb des Ortes statt, möglichst versteckt vor den Blicken der anderen. Als ein Mädchen von etwa acht Jahren mir ihren Schnurgürtel verkaufen sollte, lief sie hinter die nächste Mattenwand, legte dort einen neuen an und brachte mir dann den alten. Nur gegen Farben sind sie etwas nachsichtiger. Laute Töne werden lachend begrüßt oder mit Hundegebell begleitet. In einzelnen Orten schien das geradezu zum guten Ton zu gehören, und einer überbot den anderen. Hingegen wurden üble Gerüche übel vermerkt; alle blickten sich entrüstet nach dem vermeintlichen Übeltäter um und gaben ihrem Unwillen durch mißbilligende bw- und hm-Laute Ausdruck.

Tod und Bestattung[2]. Der Eintritt des Todes wird daran erkannt,

[1] Diese Sitte wird bereits von Ruffino aus dem Jahre 1846 von den Sambiaá berichtet (Rev. trim. X, S. 196).

[2] Ich habe selbst keinen Todesfall beobachtet; meine Mitteilungen hierüber beziehen sich auf übereinstimmende Angaben verschiedener Indianer.

daß man den Verstorbenen anruft und ihn schüttelt: gibt er keine Antwort, so gilt er als sicher gestorben.

Der Leichmann wird dann mit Harz (dõmãlé) beschmiert, auf das weiße Flaumfederchen geklebt werden. Das Gesicht wird mit Urukú bemalt (vielleicht auch nur ein Stück vom Ohr übers Kinn zum anderen Ohr), der Lippenflock wird herausgenommen, in die Ohren werden Ararafedern gesteckt; auch sonst wird der übrige Schmuck angelegt (z. B. werden den Frauen die Perlenketten umgehängt). Dann wird der Körper in eine Schlafmatte gehüllt und an eine Stange angebunden, die zu einem abseits vom Dorfe senkrecht im Sande stehenden Pfahl geschafft wird. Ob sie dort angebunden wird, oder was sonst da mit ihr geschieht, konnte ich nicht feststellen. Hier finden die Klagen der Frauen und Verwandten statt. Die Jungmannschaft hält hier die Totenwache, sie bekommt dafür vom Bruder des Verstorbenen Essen geliefert. Ist der Tote abends gestorben, so wird er am nächsten Morgen begraben, ist er am Tag gestorben, so wird er möglichst rasch weggeschafft. Das Bestatten ist Aufgabe der Männer, die Frauen begnügen sich mit Weinen und Klagen. Alle Toten werden gleichmäßig behandelt und bestattet.

Bestattet werden die Toten auf dem Friedhofe. Es gibt mehrere große Sammelfriedhöfe (Urnenfriedhöfe), daneben scheint es noch kleinere Dorffriedhöfe für Bestattungen zu geben. Alle liegen auf Hochufern über der Hochwasserlinie, zum Teil Tagereisen weit vom Orte entfernt. Neu anzulegende Friedhöfe werden von den ältesten Karajá markiert. Die Karajá suchen durchaus, auf ihren Stammesfriedhöfen begraben zu werden. So brachte Kabiá aus Leopoldina sein totes Enkelkind auf den Friedhof nach Schischá (drei Tagereisen abwärts von Leopoldina), weil dort „ungeweihte Erde" sei. Große Friedhöfe befinden sich bei São José, S. Isabel do Morro[1]. Auf den kleineren Friedhöfen wird das Grab ausgehoben und der Leichnam an der Stange wagerecht hineingehängt. Dann werden Stangen über die Öffnung gelegt und das Ganze mit Erde bedeckt. Über die genauere Ausstattung dieser Gräber, deren ich leider keins zu Gesicht bekam, siehe bei Ehrenreich (Beiträge, S. 31). Sechs Tage lang wird auf das Grab eine Schüssel mit Lebensmitteln gestellt. Ist der Körper verwest, so wird das Grab wieder aufgegraben (nach Pedro nach einem Monat, nach Kurisí nach einem Jahr). Die Knochen werden gereinigt und in eine große Totenurne gesammelt. Dieses Reinigen der Knochen von noch anhaftenden Fleischteilen soll mittels eines Knochens wie des zum Ausbrennen der Wunden üblichen geschehen; der Knochen wird mit dem einen Ende ins Feuer gehalten und mit diesem erhitzten Ende dann das Fleisch abgeschabt. Besondere Zeremonien scheinen hierbei nicht mehr vorgenommen zu werden. Die Urnen werden auf den großen Friedhöfen unter Bäume gestellt, wo sie allmählich versanden (siehe Tafel 13, Abb. 2). Ihre Form entspricht der der Kochtöpfe, nur

[1] Offenbar ist das Nicht Friedhof, den Raffno am 6. Dezember 1846 besuchte; Rev. trim. X, S. 208.

daß sie mit einem Deckel ausgestattet sind (Tafel 58, Abb. 11). Die größte derartige Urne, die ich sah, hatte einen Durchmesser von 80 cm. Leichen kleiner Kinder sollen angeblich gleich in solchen Urnen beigesetzt werden.

Die Hütte des Verstorbenen wird verlassen und dann verbrannt. Ist der Mann gestorben, so wird der Frau und der Mutter des Mannes das Haar kurz geschnitten bis auf einen ringsum laufenden Haarkranz (nákulóu), den Kindern wird das Haar aber nicht verschnitten. Beim Tode der Frau schneiden sich Mann, Mutter und Kinder die Haare nicht ab. Als weiteres Trauerzeichen tragen beide Geschlechter Bast- oder Baumwollbinden um den Kopf. Eine Frau trug außerdem einen schmalen Bastgürtel um den Leib, ein Knabe hatte sich auf die Wadenbänder Bastbtreifen gebunden. Aller Schmuck wird im übrigen abgelegt. Totenklagen werden von beiden Geschlechtern mit lauter, hoher Stimme in eintönigem Tonfall herausgeschrien; dazu werden Rasselkürbisse geschwungen. Es scheint, daß die Klagen stattfinden, sobald sie durch irgend etwas an den Verstorbenen erinnert werden. Bestimmte Zeiten am Tage ließen sich jedenfalls dafür nicht feststellen. Dabei sind die Leute aber aufrichtig betrübt, man sieht ihnen die Trauer an, wenigstens in der ersten Zeit. Um ein Kind klagt der Vater angeblich nur einen Tag, die Mutter vier Tage. Diese Mitteilung stimmt sicher nicht, da ich in Schíschá Trauerklagen um ein Kind hörte, das schon vor etwa drei Wochen gestorben sein sollte. Um die Frau klagt der Mann nur geringe Zeit, um den Mann die Frau dagegen ein Jahr. Nach Ablauf dieser Zeit wird die Witwe auf Befehl des Häuptlings mit Urukú bemalt und mit Schmuck behängt. Darauf klagt sie noch einen Tag, und damit ist die Trauerzeit zu Ende.

15. Religion, Maskenwesen, Zauberei, Medizin.

Über religiöse Anschauungen der Karajá habe ich nur wenig ausfindig machen können. Dem Forscher begegnet nichts, was nur irgendwie an Geisterglauben und Kult gemahnen könnte, mit Ausnahme der Maskentänze.

Leider habe ich nur ganz wenige solcher Tänze gesehen, da ich von Juni bis Oktober im Karajágebiet reiste, während die Tanzzeit gerade von November bis April zu sein scheint. So kann ich nichts über den Sinn dieser Tänze berichten; alle meine Bemühungen, etwas darüber aus den Leuten herauszufragen, scheiterten an der geringen Verständigungsmöglichkeit oder an absichtlicher Verweigerung der Mitteilung. Ich nehme aber an, daß diese Tänze, die mit der Reifezeit bestimmter Feldfrüchte zusammenfallen und bei denen Masken verwendet werden, die Tiere darstellen, zum Teil Erntefesttänze sind, zum Teil aber Ideen entspringen, aus denen sich später der sogenannte Analogiezauber entwickelt hat. Mehr läßt sich nicht darüber aussagen, alles andere würde unnütze Spekulation sein. Einige der Masken sind nicht Tanz-, sondern Bettelmasken, die bei bestimmten Gelegenheiten umherreisen und Nahrungsmittel zusammenbetteln; andere scheinen mit dem

Totenkult in Zusammenhang zu stehen. Jedenfalls haben wir es hier noch mit ganz primitiven Formen zu tun; eine straffe Organisation der jungen Leute scheint völlig zu fehlen; nur die Altersklasse der unverheirateten Männer und das Männerhaus (Maskenhaus) hat sich herausgebildet[1]. Priester fehlen infolgedessen noch gänzlich, es kann noch jedermann an allen Tänzen gleichwertig teilnehmen. Die Anordnung liegt dem Häuptling ob. Vor den Frauen wird alles Maskenwesen geheimgehalten. Genaueres über das Maskenwesen siehe in meinem Aufsatz: Tanzmaskennachbildungen vom mittleren Araguaya (Zentralbrasilien)[2].

Nachholen möchte ich hier nur noch einige Bemerkungen über die Maskenhütten. Castelnau erwähnt und bildet ab (Vue et scènes, Paris 1853, Tafel 8, und Text, Seite 7) im ersten Sambioá-Dorf eine fast halbkreisförmige, senkrechte Palmblattwand, deren gewölbte Seite gegen das Dorf zu gewendet ist. Im offenen Raume stehen etwa zehn Tanzmasken. Daneben befindet sich ein Stangengerüst, das aus mehreren im Kreis gesteckten, schrägen Stangen besteht, aus deren Mitte eine lange Stange emporragt, die am Ende ein Blätterbüschel trägt. Auf Tafel 9 sind diese beiden Bauten etwas größer ausgeführt. Vor der Palmblattwand befinden sich zwei Tänzer, die die Masken auf den Kopf gesetzt haben. Die Art der Darstellung (das Fehlen der Blätterschurze und die Art des Umherspringens) beweist, daß Castelnau Tänzen nicht beigewohnt hat. Auch Ehrenreich berichtet von solchen halbkreisförmigen Verschlägen für Masken, und zwar auch bei den Karajá (Beiträge, Seite 34). Derartige Verschläge habe ich nie gesehen, sondern nur die von mir beschriebenen hausähnlichen Maskenhütten.

Über das Jenseits konnten die Karajá mir keine Auskunft geben. Angeblich kommen die Verstorbenen in den Himmel.

Träume, die sehr häufig sein sollen, werden für Wirklichkeit gehalten. Z. B.: „Wenn jemand träumt, daß ein Verwandter von ihm gestorben ist, so setzt er sich ins Boot und fährt hin, um zu sehen, ob es wahr ist." (Kurisi).

Zauber (lóbüní) aller Art ist sehr verbreitet; an seine Wirkung wird auch von aufgeklärten Karajá noch fest geglaubt. Man glaubt, durch Hand-

[1] Dr. Walter Lehmann-München vermutet in einer Besprechung meines Maskenaufsatzes im Zentralblatt für Anthropologie, XVI. Jahrg. 1911, S. 100, daß die Tanzmasken ähnlich wie die in Zentralamerika zum Teil mit Totenkult zusammenhängen könnten, und daß sie mit totemistischen Darstellungen in Kombinationen mit Pubertätsweihen verbunden sein könnten. Der Zusammenhang mit Totenkult scheint für die ttoa'-Maske auch vorhanden zu sein, doch konnte ich leider zu wenig Aufschluß darüber erlangen (siehe Teil I, S. 79), als daß ich mit Sicherheit etwas darüber auszusagen vermöchte. Was den zweiten Punkt anlangt, so vermutete ich von Anfang an Totemismus bei den Karajábianern, ich habe aber trotz aller Bemühungen nichts derartiges auffindig machen können. Und mit den Pubertätsweihen ist es ebenso. Ich glaube mich daher im Recht, wenn ich derartige Kombinationen noch unterlasse. Aufgabe eines Forschers, der in der Regen-(Tanz)zeit die Karajá besucht, wird es einst noch sein müssen, diesem Problem seine Aufmerksamkeit zu widmen.

[2] Jahrbuch des städtischen Museums für Völkerkunde zu Leipzig, Bd. 3, Leipzig 1910, S. 97—122.

lungen auf natürliche Vorgänge (Regen) einwirken oder durch Zauberei anderen Menschen schaden zu können.

Regenzauber ist sehr gewöhnlich; jeder kann ihn anwenden, jeder hat den dazu nötigen Apparat. Deren habe ich mehrere erhalten:

hètjiwâ. Zwei kleine Rohrstäbchen sind aneinandergebunden; am vorderen Ende sind auf eine Wachsschicht Federn aufgeklebt. Die Stäbchen sind abgeschnitten, ihre eigentliche Länge beträgt etwa 1 m (Abb. 182a). Mit

Abb. 182a, b.
Regenzauber.
a) 2 Rohrstäbe (abgeschnitten),
b) 2 Ruten.

Abb. 183a, b.
Regenzauber (a) mit Pinsel (b).

Abb. 184a—c.
Federzauber (a) mit Schwanzfedern (b, c).

solchen Instrumenten schütteln die Leute gegen die Wolken, um den Regen zu vertreiben.

Ein zweiter Apparat besteht aus zwei etwa 50 cm langen Ruten, die miteinander verbunden sind (Abb. 182b). Die dicke schwarze Rute heißt kuòjanî, die schwache helle nèbòdkmàdâ. Mit beiden schlägt man senkrecht gegen die Wolken.

hèlîjàbèdô (kòwòlâ) besteht aus einer einfachen Rute. Ihre Anwendung soll nur wenigen Eingeweihten bekannt sein. Kurîtî führte mir bei drohendem Regen den Apparat vor: im Boote stehend schlug er damit schweigend wagerecht flußabwärts, als ob er die Regenwolken dahin vertreiben wollte.

Um nachts sehen zu können, streicht man mit dem Pinsel (Abb. 183b)

etwas von der aus der Jequitibafrucht gewonnenen Masse (Abb. 183[a]) auf die Augenlider.

Als Schutz gegen Pfeilschüsse klebt man geschabte Bogensehne mittels Wachs als Scheiben von etwa 10 cm Durchmesser auf beide Brüste.

Um bei anderen Fieber zu erzeugen, zerreibt man von der Masse im Säckchen (Abb. 184[a]) ein wenig in der Hand und streicht es beim Streit dem Gegner ins Haar. Sich selbst schützt man durch Abwaschen der Hand. Die Bestandteile, aus denen die Masse angefertigt wird, sind in Abb. 184[bc] dargestellt; es sind einmal ein Bündel brauner Fasern, sodann eine gelbliche getrocknete Schale, die beide zerrieben und mit Kohle vermischt werden. Den Namen für dies Zaubermittel wollte man mir nicht mitteilen, wie man überhaupt Furcht hatte, mir die Sachen zu überlassen, da ich sie ja hätte gegen die Verkäufer selbst anwenden können. Ich mußte sie vor ihren Augen gleich wegpacken, anders waren sie nicht zu erhalten.

Um einen anderen zu töten, hat man verschiedene Mittel.

Abb. 185a, b. Affenpenis. b) Rückseite der Eichel in a).

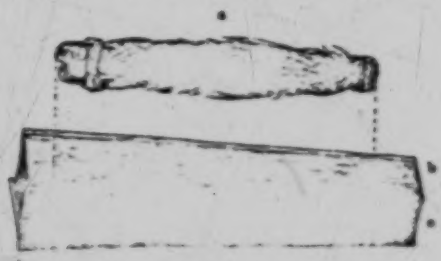


Abb. 186a—c. Zimmerl mit Schutzhülle.

Man flicht aus Bast den Affenpenis (nöö kraöbö, Abb. 185[ab]) und steckt ihn dem Feinde zu, der daraufhin sterben muß.

Der Zauberpfeil (böjöhé) besteht aus einem 21 cm langen Holzstab, der mit einer Wachsschicht umgeben ist, die mit roten Federchen völlig bedeckt ist. Die Spitze wird von einem Knochenspan gebildet. Eigentlich soll der Pfeil aus Gibaterohr und die Spitze aus Rochenstachel bestehen. Offenbar änderten die Indianer das Instrument so ab, damit ich kein Unheil damit anrichten könnte. Mit einem kleinen Bogen wird der Pfeil gegen Vorübergehende geschossen; der, in dessen Richtung er zu liegen kommt, muß sterben (Abb. 16[ab]). Es gibt kein Gegenmittel gegen diesen Zauber.

Der Zitteraal (kuöjüní, bötjiwá) besteht aus einem Gemisch von zerstoßenen Knochen des Zitteraals, Kohle und Wachs, das in Fischform gebracht und mit roten Federchen beklebt ist. Als Augen dienen zwei Perlmutterscheibchen, den Hals ziert ein weißer Baumwollring (Abb. 186[a]). Man hält das

hintere Ende des Zitteraales mit der rechten Hand gegen den Zeigefinger der linken und zielt so auf den Vorübergehenden. Dieser muß sterben, falls er sich nicht sofort vom Arzt behandeln läßt. Der Arzt saugt den Verzauberten am Bein, schlägt ihn mit einer Rute auf Rücken, Brust, Arme und Beine und zieht dadurch den Zauber aus dem Körper heraus. Darauf wälzt er sich selbst auf dem Boden, spukt aus usw., um seinerseits den Zauber loszuwerden. Aufbewahrt wird der Zitteraal in zwei Palmblattschalen (Abb. 186bc).

Auffällig ist die Verwendung von Kohle als Träger des zauberkräftigen Mittels.

Medizin. Alle Krankheiten gelten als durch bösen Zauber anderer entstanden. Infolgedessen spielen Zauberärzte, denen die Anwendung von Gegenzauber obliegt, eine große Rolle. Daneben wird aber auch eine Menge von Medizinalpflanzen verwendet, die teilweise unfehlbar wirken sollen. Es ist mir geglückt, eine Reihe solcher Pflanzen zu erhalten samt den Mitteilungen über ihre Anwendungsweise.

Die Ärzte (kolú, kaũdũwãdú, nach Ehrenreich kahõõbãdõ) üben ihre Tätigkeit durch Zauberhandlungen aus: Singen, Rasselschwingen, Aussaugen des Krankheitserregers, Massieren, Schlagen mit Ruten, auf deren Enden Zitteraalknochen gesteckt sind, sowie durch Anwendung innerlich und äußerlich zu gebrauchender Medikamente. Ich habe im ganzen von sieben Ärzten gehört, doch mag ihre Zahl größer sein. Davon galt der eine, in Dorf 16, als böser Zauberarzt. Der kranke Häuptling dieses Dorfes war nicht bei ihm in Behandlung, sondern abwärts in Dorf 19 bei einem berühmten Arzt, zu dem von weither die Karajá kamen, um sich heilen zu lassen. Er hatte eine Art Krankenhaus aufgetan: mehrere Mattenwände waren gespannt, in deren Schatten die Kranken auf Matten lagen, gepflegt und unterhalten von ihren Angehörigen. Es mochten drei bis vier Kranke beiderlei Geschlechts hier liegen.

Heilungszeremonien habe ich nicht gesehen. In Dorf 14 hörte ich vom Westende des Dorfes Singen und Rasseln herübertönen, doch ließ man mich nicht hingehen, als ich die Absicht bekundete, den Häuptling Ilk aus Dorf 15 bei seiner Tätigkeit als Arzt zu beobachten.

Die Ärzte werden für ihre Tätigkeit bezahlt mit Booten, Töpfen, Nahrungsmitteln usw. Stirbt der Kranke, so erhalten sie angeblich keine Bezahlung.

In der Chirurgie weisen die Karajá ziemliche Kenntnisse auf.

Auf kleine Wunden streicht man den Absud einer roten Baumrinde (ôdõdêwô), die in großen Mengen in Töpfen mit etwas Wasser aufbewahrt wird. Oder man streut Asche auf blutende Wunden (z. B. bei Abnabelung), oder streicht auf leichte Verletzungen etwas Urukuölfarbe, damit die Fliegen nicht daran gehen. Auch das Abbinden verletzter Glieder scheint bereits bekannt zu sein. Eiternde Beinwunden (durch Verletzung: kadjá) werden mit warmem Wasser gewaschen; sie heilen auf diese Weise von selbst wieder.

Tiefe Wunden, wie solche von Pfeilschüssen und dergleichen, werden

auch ausgebrannt. Dazu dient ein menschlicher Unterschenkelknochen (Abb. 187; dél oder wöllsöti), der mit Bast umwickelt ist. Sein unteres Ende ist durch das Feuer gebräunt. Bei Pfeilschüssen soll noch ein anderes Heilmittel verwendet werden, das in sehr kurzer Zeit, angeblich in einem Tag, die Heilung vollbringt (?).

Gebrochene Glieder werden nach Ehrenreich (Beiträge, S. 32) durch Schienenverbände geheilt. Der Häuptling aus Dorf 16, den ich im Krankenhaus antraf, hatte angeblich einen Beinbruch; ein Schienenverband war aber nicht vorhanden. Nach Kuritis Angabe verstehen sie es auch nicht, Arm- und Beinbrüche zu heilen.

Abb. 187. Knochen zum Ausbrennen des Wundes.

Nabelbrüche habe ich nur einmal bei einem Knaben beobachtet.

Über Aderlaß, von dem Ehrenreich berichtet, habe ich nichts erfahren.

Skarifizieren ist sehr gebräuchlich, fast alle Indianer tragen die Ritznarben davon an Oberarmen und Oberschenkeln. Über die Prozedur, die Ehrenreich (Beiträge, S. 33) beschreibt, konnte ich nichts beobachten. Über den dabei benutzten Apparat siehe oben Seite 218, Abb. 51.

Von Krankheiten, deren Heilung mir nicht bekannt ist, beobachtete ich ein blindes Mädchen, einen einseitig erblindeten Mann, einen wassersüchtigen Knaben, sowie einen Mann, dessen Beine bis zu den Knien vertrocknet waren und der nur durch Kriechen auf Händen und Knien sich fortbewegen konnte.

Ehrenreich berichtet (Beiträge, Seite 32), daß sie des Morgens durch Einführen eines angekohlten Taquarastabes in den Schlund Erbrechen erzeugen, um auf diese Weise den Magen zu entleeren. Er brachte derartige Stöcke auch mit (Berlin 3964). Ich habe diese Sitte nie beobachtet, sondern habe nur, wie oben berichtet, erzählen hören, daß die Männer während der Couvade künstlich Erbrechen hervorrufen (siehe Seite 327).

Im folgenden will ich die **übrigen Krankheiten** erörtern, soweit ich Mitteilung über sie erhalten habe; beobachtete Krankheitsfälle werde ich dabei besonders hervorheben.

Bei Schlangenbiß wird das betreffende Glied abgebunden und etwas zerschlagene döähl-Wurzel aufgelegt.

Sehr viel Mittel hat man gegen Magen- und Darmbeschwerden. Gegen Magenbeschwerden benutzt man drei verschiedene Wurzeln. Entweder zerstößt man die monä-Wurzel (brasilianisch angeblich murizi), vermischt sie mit Wasser und trinkt die Flüssigkeit, oder man nimmt auf gleiche Weise mit kaltem Wasser angesetzte zerstoßene Wurzel einer Sipo-Pflanze [b(ä)döilalö] zu sich. Schließlich wird noch die Wurzel eines Strauches, der zu diesem Zwecke in der Pflanzung angebaut wird, bei Magenschmerzen mit den Zähnen zermagt. Bei Darmbeschwerden werden zwei Wurzeln (dünäktgö und bödi)

kleingeschlagen, jede für sich abgekocht, beide Absude dann vermischt und so getrunken.

Auch Abführmittel sind mehrere vorhanden. Die Wurzel ãjähnõ (brasilianisch angeblich tiú) wird zerstampft, in Wasser gekocht und als Purgativ getrunken, oder man benutzt die Wurzel einer Schlingpflanze (hãmbaladóẽ), die zerstoßen und mit kaltem Wasser ausgezogen wird.

Gelb- und Bleichsucht der Jugend wird geheilt, indem die Blätter einer rotblühenden, auf der Goyaba wachsenden Schlingpflanze (dõwilizá) zerstoßen und der Körper damit eingerieben wird. Gelbsucht entsteht vor allem durch das Essen von Ton, der in Kugelform gebracht wird. Dies Tonessen geht wahrscheinlich auf das Fehlen des Salzes zurück. Statt des Tones wird auch Asche und Sand genossen, die verstopfend wirken sollen. Oft beobachtete ich, wie die Indianer den Sand der Sandbänke händeweise aßen.

Um dick zu werden, essen sie eine bestimmte kleine Frucht.

Zahnschmerzen scheinen trotz der guten Zähne, deren sich die Indianer erfreuen, doch häufiger vorzukommen, als man anzunehmen geneigt ist. Beobachtet habe ich zwar keinen Fall, doch besitzen sie eine ganze Anzahl Heilmittel dagegen. So benutzen sie die küsi genannte Umkleidung von Wurzel- und Zweigstücken (brasilianisch sog. para tudo), sowie eine kleine, elbaré genannte Frucht. Die Zähne werden nicht herausgezogen; schmerzen sie, so verwendet man diese Mittel. Im übrigen läßt man sie von selbst ausfallen.

Schnupfen (wadówé) habe ich nur einmal bei einem älteren Manne beobachtet. Als Gegenmittel hatte er sich eine Palmblattbinde um den Kopf gewickelt. Anscheinend hatte er einen stark benommenen Kopf, denn er hielt ihn vorn und hinten mit beiden Händen.

Husten (wadó) beobachtete ich vielfach; viele Indianer hüstelten etwas, wohl infolge der kalten Nächte. Die Kinder in Dorf 17 hatten anscheinend den Keuchhusten; sie bekamen beim Husten Erstickungsanfälle, bis es ihnen gelang, einen Schleim auszubrechen. Die Mütter schlugen sie dabei auf den Rücken, ein anderes Gegenmittel war nicht bekannt. Erklärt wurde der Husten als Folge der kalten Nächte und des Mangels an Decken. Ein Mittel gegen Husten kennen sie nicht.

Tuberkulose habe ich nicht beobachtet. Ehrenreich berichtet (Beiträge, S. 32), daß die Karajá darunter zu leiden hätten, daß sie ihre Gefährlichkeit kannten und jeden Fremden mit der Frage begrüßten: „ahi catarrho não tem?". Jetzt ist diese Sitte erloschen, wahrscheinlich mit dem Nachlassen der Krankheit.

Gegen Brustschmerzen wenden sie Ipipokama-Brechpulver (hãdkõ) an.

Fieber sind anscheinend von Mai bis Oktober selten. Jedenfalls habe ich keinen Fieberanfall in den Dörfern beobachtet. Nur einer meiner Indianer-Ruderer lag drei Tage lang im August an schwerem Fieber darnieder. Doch sollen besonders in dem Sumpfgebiet zwischen São José und Rio das Mortes Fieber häufig sein am Ende der Regenzeit; diese Strecke wird denn auch nicht dauernd von Indianern bewohnt. Als Gegenmittel verwenden sie die

Pflanze kódalázi; sie wird zerstampft, mit heißem Wasser angesetzt, und mit diesem Aufguß der Körper, besonders Arme, Schultern und Brust gewaschen. Hat man dies viermal an einem Tage getan, so soll das Fieber vorüber sein.

Pocken werden unfehlbar (wie mir mehrmals auf meine Frage versichert wurde) geheilt, und zwar tritt die Heilung am elften Tage der Krankheit ein. Sie geschieht folgendermaßen: Die vier Wurzeln: nãũkłédizó, sindãkálãndó, kjakjá, lojuó werden zerstoßen, mit Wasser vermischt und getrunken. Der Trank hat starke Schweißbildung zur Folge. Elf Tage lang nimmt man dreimal täglich ein, mittags, nachmittags und abends, und ißt während dieser Zeit nur ganz kleine, gekochte Fische. Am elften Tage ist die Krankheit behoben.

Masern können nicht geheilt werden. 1906/07 muß eine schwere Masern-Epidemie die Karajá heimgesucht haben. Viele Leute sollen hierbei dadurch gestorben sein, daß sie im Fieber im Fluß gebadet haben. Deshalb darf jetzt während jeder Krankheit nicht gebadet werden. Als Krankenspeise dienen gebratene Piranhas und Mandiokabrei; auch die Eltern der Erkrankten essen während der Krankheit der Kinder nur diese Speisen.

Geschlechtskrankheiten sind selten. Die Karajá halten sie sich systematisch fern, indem erkrankte Karajá, solange sie nicht geheilt sind, vom Verkehr mit den Frauen ausgeschlossen sind und eventuell überhaupt aus dem Stamme ausgestoßen werden. Pedro I, der sich in Conceição angesteckt hatte, sagte, wenn er so nach Hause käme, könne er nicht dort bleiben: er sei dann kein Karajá mehr. Gegen Syphilis scheinen sie ein Heilmittel zu haben, das aber nur in der Hand eines guten Arztes wirksam sein soll.

Leute mit ansteckenden Krankheiten werden allein gelassen; auch der Arzt kümmert sich nicht um sie. Man zieht einfach weg, läßt ihnen aber Nahrung zurück. Sterben sie, so kommen die anderen und begraben sie. Mit dem Tode gilt die Krankheit, auch die ansteckende, als erloschen.

Geisteskrankheiten scheinen sehr selten zu sein. Beobachtet habe ich nur einen epileptischen Jüngling. Aller Monate beim ersten Mondviertel soll er um sich schlagen und mit geschlossenen Augen umherlaufen. Er hatte einen eigentümlichen Blick und schwere Bewegungen. Ohne jegliche mir erkennbare Ursache wurde er plötzlich von den anderen gepackt, überwältigt und hingeworfen; nach einiger Zeit ließ man ihn wieder aufstehen und frei laufen, doch behielt man ihn immer unter Kontrolle.

Geisteskrankheit (ãdjõdé) sitzt nach ihrer Ansicht im Kreuz.

Tobsucht (ãhãhã) ist unheilbar. Bei Anfällen wird der Kranke auf Befehl des Häuptlings an Knöcheln und Händen gebunden und auf eine Matte in den Schatten gelegt.

Eine merkwürdige Sitte, die wohl auf sadistische Neigung zurückgeht, beobachtete ich auf der Rückreise in Schiché. Nachts saßen der alte Junggeselle, Mãũdihi und Mãnzi bei mir am Zelt. Plötzlich sprang der Junggeselle Mãnzi an die Surgel, drückte diese zusammen, wobei er sagte, ich will dich töten, und ließ dann endlich wieder los. Darauf probierten alle

drei dies an sich selbst. Sie warfen den Kopf zurück, legten die Hände von hinten her um den Hals, und indem sie den Atem anhielten, drückten sie den Kehlkopf von beiden Seiten her mit den Daumen zusammen. Nach einiger Zeit ließen sie wieder los, schluckten einige Male und holten tief Atem. Auf ihren Mienen spiegelte sich dabei äußerste Befriedigung.

16. Kenntnisse in Rechnen, Astronomie und Geographie.

Rechnen. Gezählt wird an Händen und Füßen, und zwar beginnt man am Daumen der rechten Hand, geht dann zu dem der linken über und behandelt die Füße in gleicher Weise. Zuweilen verwenden sie auch Steinchen als Zählmittel. Reisetage zählen sie durch Kerbschnitte in einem kleinen Holz oder in dem Bootsrand.

Das Zahlensystem ist das der 5 (vgl. Wörterverzeichnis, IX: Zahlworte). Auffällig ist: die Doppelbezeichnung der 5; das Nebenhergehen eines besonderen zweiten Wortes, lëäl(j)ö, für 6, mit dem dann 7 als handlëäl(j)ö gebildet ist; das Nebenhergehen besonderer Silben: lähü bei 10, lëdö bei 11, 15, 16, 17, (187).

Bis 6 zählten die meisten glatt; von da an waren fast alle unsicher. Nur wenige konnten bis 10 oder gar bis 20 zählen; auch wurden mir für diese großen Zahlen abweichende Bezeichnungen gegeben. Über 20 hinaus war keine Zahl zu erlangen.

Bei Ausdrücken mit Zahlworten wird dieses nachgesetzt: ein Gewehrlauf: djiö-göhödl; zwei Gewehrläufe: djiö-lnätjl; zwei Hüte: läpä(ö)lnätl.

Astronomisches. Daß das Jahr 13 Vollmonde hat, ist ihnen bekannt. Sie rechnen das Jahr von einem Fallen des Wassers bis zum anderen. Dabei unterscheiden sie zwei Jahreszeiten: die Trockenzeit (wöalä), wo man auf den Sandbänken lebt, und die Regenzeit (biä), wo man auf den Hochufern lebt.

Den Tag teilen sie nach dem Stand der Sonne ein. Zeitbestimmungen werden gemacht, indem man mit der Hand nach der Höhe der Sonne zu der betreffenden Zeit zeigt.

Beim Mond unterscheidet man anscheinend fünf Phasen; ich erhielt von einem Indianer folgende Namen dafür: Erste Sichel: ähändü loftä; noch nicht ganz voller Mond: ahändü-läläll; Vollmond: djalám llälll; letzte Sichel: ahändü-älälänä; Neumond: ikónä. Davon bedeutet ahändü-läläll eine Phase zwischen Halb- und Vollmond: „das seien eigentlich zwei Monde". Wahrscheinlich sind der helle und der dunkle Mond gemeint. Dies wurde mir auch von anderen Indianern bestätigt, ohne daß es aber möglich war, Genaueres darüber zu erfahren. Waren die Leute sich doch über die Reihenfolge der Phasen selbst nicht klar, gaben verschiedene Folgen an und verbesserten sich oft. Auf das erste Erscheinen der Mondsichel machten sie mich freudestrahlend aufmerksam. Die Mondgebirge werden als Kröte (krötä) bezeichnet.

Sonnenfinsternis (wöähälíwä, tjüö-höö-läläll) und Mondfinsternis (ähän-

dülülá, ähändó-lädóla) erklärt man sich dadurch, daß ein böser Zauberer (öhödtwätú) Pfeile gegen das betreffende Gestirn schießt. Gegenwirkungen von seiten der Indianer sind unbekannt.

Einen riesigen Hofring um den Mond von etwa acht bis zwölf Mondbreiten Radius nannten sie djaülá und kuülö, ohne genauer angeben zu können, was diese Erscheinung bedeute.

Der Regenbogen (küädí) ist der Schatten eines riesigen Zitteraales (dieser nach Ehrenreich koadzi genannt). Er gilt als böse; wenn man zu ihm hinkommt und ihn berührt, stirbt man; das Tier gibt einen „bum"-Laut von sich und ist verschwunden.

Sternbilder konnte ich mehrere von ihnen erfahren, einige zeichneten sie mir ins Skizzenbuch. Die Milchstraße besteht nicht aus Sternen, sondern aus Asche (bülibí). Das südliche Kreuz ist der schwarze Rochen (bölöbüá). Die zwei Sterne darüber (α u. β Centauri) stellen den Strauß (nauöktié) dar, der durch einen Jaguar (änlöá; = unser Skorpion) angesprungen wird. Die Plejaden sind Periquittos (bölöbödó). Ehrenreich gibt noch für den Orion die brennende Roça an.

Meteore heißen däkinällzá; das Geräusch beim Zerspringen geht vom Stern aus.

Sternschnuppen heißen löüiwtälán. Erklärt wurden sie mir von einem halbzivilisierten Karajá als Platzwechsel der Sterne, während sie nach Ehrenreich (Beiträge, S. 45) die ausgeworfene Angel mit dem Köder bedeuten. Den Indianern war bekannt, daß im November große Sternschnuppenfälle auftreten.

Geographisches. Der Flußlauf des Araguaya ist den Karajá gut bekannt. Entfernungen auf dem Fluß berechnen sie nach Steilufern und danach, wie oft man aufwärtsfahrend den Fluß kreuzen muß; größere Entfernungen nach Nachtlagern. Für Nebenflüsse, Seen, Steilufer, Gebirge haben sie besondere Eigennamen (siehe im Sprachverzeichnis).

Seitlich des Araguaya reicht ihre Kenntnis des Landes etwas über die Grenzen ihres Gebietes hinaus. So kennen sie den Wasserfall des Rio Tapirapé, der mehrere Stunden oberhalb der jetzigen Grenze liegt. Vom Furo (Ostarm der Insel Bananal) wissen sie, daß er während der Trockenzeit austrocknet, so daß nicht einmal Indianerboote ihn passieren können. Ein kleiner Furo soll quer durch die Insel Bananal vom Ostarm zum Westarm des Araguaya ziehen.

Auf Landmärschen sind sie ausdauernd; sie laufen sehr rasch. Um Wasser auf ödem Camp zu finden, halten sie das Gesicht in der Windrichtung: ist der Wind kühl, so kommt er von einer Stelle, wo Wasser vorhanden ist; ist er heiß, so ist in dieser Richtung kein Wasser zu vermuten. Ehe man an einer Stelle nach Wasser gräbt, stößt man einen Stock tief in die Erde; ist er feucht, so beginnt man zu graben. Unterwegs achten sie auf alle Spuren, und sie verstehen es meisterhaft, ihre Schlüsse zu ziehen. Als ich den Tapirapé herabfahrend die Sandbank erreichte, wo wir unser erstes Lager im Tapirapé gehabt hatten, erkannten meine Karajá ganz genau aus den Fußspuren; wer von ihren Angehörigen hier gewesen war, wie lange

sie sich etwa aufgehalten hatten, wo sie ihre Boote liegen hatten, seit wann sie etwa weg waren; alles Vermutungen, die sich nachher als der Wahrheit sehr nahe kommend erwiesen.

Was sich die Karajá über die benachbarten Indianerstämme erzählen[1].

Die Chavánte (kitagá, kaitzá) wohnen auf dem Westufer, am Rio das Mortes, auf Campgebiet; zwischen São José und Leopoldina kommen sie auch bis an den Araguaya heran. Sie sind groß, haben dicke Bäuche und helle Hautfarbe. Alte Männer tragen Bärte; das Haar wird vorn kurz geschnitten wie bei den Karajá, hinten sehr lang herabhängend getragen und mit rotem Faden zusammengebunden. Die Männer binden den Penis mit einer schwarzen Schnur vorn zusammen; in der Unterlippe tragen sie kleine Knöpfe aus Holz. Beliebt ist eine Genipapobemalung auf der Brust: je eine Linie von der Achselhöhle nach dem unteren Ende des Brustbeines. Die Chavánte fischen mit Giftfipo, und die Karajá behaupteten, diese Art des Fischens erst von ihnen gelernt zu haben. Die Chavánte sind ein echtes Campvolk, im Wald gehen sie ungern; sogar den Camp brennen sie noch ab, um besser gehen zu können. Ihre Vorräte transportieren sie in Traghörben, die von den Männern getragen werden. An Waffen führen sie Lanzen, Keulen, Bogen und Pfeile. Die Pfeile sind wie die der Karajá, gelten aber für häßlich. Eine Sorte hat Spitzen aus Tukumholz; bei der Verwundung bleiben diese stecken und werden abgebrochen (während die Bambusplattspitzen der Karajápfeile herausgezogen werden können, dabei aber große Löcher reißen, so daß der Verwundete sich daran verblutet). Die Federn der Fiederung werden durch Brennen in ihre Form gebracht. Vergiftete Pfeile gibt es nicht. Die Chavánte sind die Feinde der Karajá. Sie haben schon viele Karajá getötet, während diese erst einen Chavánte getötet haben[2].

Über die Cherénte (Inhóta) konnte ich nur die wenig glaubliche Mitteilung erlangen, daß sie Exkremente der Menschen, auch ihre eigenen, essen, indem sie sie mit einem pinselartig breitgeschlagenen Holz in den Mund führen. Vielleicht ist dies nur eine Erzählung, die der Feindschaft und Überhebung der Karajá entsprungen ist.

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[1] Ihre Mitteilungen über Karajá, Tapirapé und Kayapó siehe unter diesen Völkern.

[2] Dieses Feindschaftsverhältnis datiert aus alten Zeiten. Wie Southey berichtet (Rev. trim. 8, S. 382—388), pflegten die Chavánte, die zwischen Araguaya und Tocantins wohnten, in der Trockenzeit den Suro zu durchschwimmen und die Pflanzungen der Karajá zu plündern. Sie brauchten nur die Trompeten zu blasen, und die Karajá entflohen schon. Infolgedessen wagten diese nicht, ihre Pflanzungen zu besuchen, und litten daher an Nahrungsmangel. Southey unternahm, als die Chavánte wieder in die Pflanzung eingebrochen waren, einen Zug gegen sie und überraschte sie; sie entflohen unter Zurücklassung der Waffen und ihrer Beute. Die Karajá hatten sich feig zurückgehalten, brüsteten sich nun aber als Sieger. Es war dies das erste Mal, daß die Chavánte vor ihnen flohen; bis dahin war immer das Gegenteil eingetreten. — Und so scheint es auch heute zu sein.

Die Canoeiros (Ilbrgá)[1] wohnen auf dem Ufer, schweifen aber auch auf der Insel Bananal, von der Rio das Mortesmündung bis zur Südspitze. Alle Rauchsäulen, die in diesem Gebiete auf Bananal gesichtet werden, werden ihnen zugeschrieben. Nach einer isolierten Angabe sollen sie auch ein Dorf landeinwärts vom Suro das Pedras besitzen, das in beständigem Kampfe mit den benachbarten Karajá lebt. Sie sollen von dunklerer Hautfarbe sein als die Karajá. Das Haar wird in Topffrisur getragen. Die Männer tragen Bärte und große Holzscheiben, nach anderer Mitteilung breite Lippenpflöcke aus Muschel in den Unterlippen; die Ohren sind durchlocht und hängen weit herab. Sie sind ein echtes Campoolk, das keine Boote hat. Auch zu fischen verstehen sie nicht. Im Herbst kommen sie an den Araguaya, um auf den Sandbänken Schildkrötereier zu suchen. Dabei treffen sie wohl mit den Karajá zusammen, von denen sie wegen ihrer gefährlichen Pfeile sehr gefürchtet werden. Gelten sie doch als das stärkste (kriegerischste) Volk am Araguaya und spielen jetzt dort dieselbe Rolle, wie am Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts die Chavánte.

Die Völker des Xingugebietes waren den Karajá vollkommen unbekannt. Über die fremde Art der Kleidung (unbekleidete Männer mit langherabhängendem Penis, uluri der Frauen), sowie über allerlei Geräte debattierten sie lange, als ich ihnen Steinens Bilder zeigte. Offenbar sahen sie zum ersten Male dergleichen. Auch Sprachproben, die ich ihnen vorlas, waren ihnen fremd; nur bei den Suyáwörtern horchten sie auf und schienen verwandte Anklänge zu finden. Nur ein Häuptling, Chico Cabeto in Dorf 18, dicht unterhalb der Tapirapémündung, gab vor, die Suyá mit ihren großen Lippenscheiben zu kennen. Man könne vom Tapirapé aus zu ihnen gelangen. Als ich genauer fragte, hüllte er sich in Schweigen. Vielleicht hatte er durch die Tapirapé Kenntnis von westlicher wohnenden Stämmen erhalten.

17. Die Sprache.

Sprachaufnahmen bei den Karajá zu machen ist sehr schwer, da diese Indianer ihre an nasalen Bildungen reiche Sprache äußerst undeutlich reden. Wesentlich klarer als die Männer sprechen die Frauen.

Die abgefragten Worte wurden gern gesagt, die Indianer waren unermüdlich, sie mir vorzusprechen, bis ich sie richtig nachsprechen konnte. Zur Übertragung bediente ich mich der Meinhofschen Transkription in Neumayers

[1] Nach Cunha Mattos sind die Canoeiros die Abkömmlinge der Carijos, die vom Entdecker von Goyaz, Bartholomäo Bueno, aus São Paulo als Hilfstruppen und Arbeiter mitgebracht wurden, 1725 desertierten, die Chavánte vertrieben und sich in den hohen Gebirgen zwischen Maranhão, Santa Theresa und Amaro Leite auf dem linken Ufer des Tocantins oberhalb von Porto Real niederließen. Sie sollen nur 300 Krieger stark sein, aber wegen ihrer Grausamkeit gefürchtet werden (Rev. trim. Bd. 37, S. 370—379; Bd. 38, S. 19 und 83). Castelnau erwähnt sie vielfach und lokalisiert ihr Gebiet genauer (Bd. 2, S. 116). Dr. Couto de Magalhães (Viagem ao Araguaya) gibt die Angaben des Cunha Mattos wieder, sowie eine kurze Schilderung und ein Wörterverzeichnis ihrer Sprache.

Anleitung zu wissenschaftlichen Beobachtungen auf Reisen, 3. Aufl., Seite 484. Das Fixieren der eigentümlichen Zwischenlaute, die der Sprache eigen sind, war oft schwer und ist nur als angenähert zu bezeichnen.

Ich habe versucht, dieselben Worte in möglichst vielen Orten zu erhalten. So habe ich für die Worte der Südhorde (S) 21, für die der Nordhorde (N) 29 Gewährsleute. Nicht alle Worte habe ich in beiden Gruppen erhalten. Die Vergleichung ergibt, daß die meisten Worte in beiden Gruppen gleich sind, daß aber doch auch eine Anzahl von Abweichungen vorkommen. Diese berechtigen uns meiner Meinung nach aber noch nicht, besondere Dialekte anzunehmen, da sie keine Gesetzmäßigkeiten aufweisen, und da nicht feststeht, wieviele auf Mißverständnis beruhen. Zum Teil erklären sie sich auch nur durch Auslassen von Vokalen bei schnellem Sprechen, hellerer oder dunklerer Vokalbildung, stärkerem Betonen des einen oder anderen Charakters bei Zwischenlauten (l oder r bei l usw.). Bemerkenswert ist, daß die im Dorfe des José, der aus der Südhorde in die Nordhorde übergewandert war, erlangten Worte noch deutlich die größere Verwandtschaft mit der Südhorde aufweisen, während sich die des ins Innere von Bananal übergewanderten Häuptlings Korumaré enger an die der Nordhorde anschließen. Mit Ehrenreichs Karajá- und Castelnaus Sambiodworten und Coudreaus Karajáworten zeigen meine Aufnahmen sowohl Übereinstimmungen wie Abweichungen. Letztere gehen wohl auf beiden Seiten zum Teil auf Mißverständnisse zurück, wie bei einigen sich direkt nachweisen läßt. Gegen die Savajésprache ergeben sich mehrere ganz auffällige Abweichungen, deren Ursache noch unbekannt ist.

Die Sprache der Karajá ist vorläufig noch als isoliert zu betrachten; die wenigen Anklänge an Ges-Sprachen berechtigen uns zunächst noch nicht, sie diesen zuzuzählen.

Den Unterschied zwischen Männer- und Frauendialekt, den Ehrenreich[1] entdeckt hat, habe ich von Anfang an verfolgt und eine große Menge von Frauenworten dadurch erhalten. Die der Südhorde wurden direkt von Frauen erhalten, die der Nordhorde von Männern. Diese konnten viele Worte sofort sagen, oft aber überlegten sie lange, ehe sie das Wort fanden. Es ist fraglich, ob sie immer das richtige Wort wiedergegeben haben; jedenfalls sind die Frauenworte der Nordhorde etwas mit Vorsicht aufzunehmen. Die Männer bezeichneten die Sprache der Frauen mit Itinâll — sehr schlecht. Sie behaupteten, daß beide Geschlechter sich nicht in allen Ausdrücken verständen, sondern daß es Worte gäbe, die dem anderen Geschlechte fremd seien. Meine Aufnahmen haben bisher diese Behauptung nicht bestätigt. Der Hauptunterschied beruht darin, daß in der Frauensprache ein k eingeschoben ist, wo bei den Männern zwei Vokale nebeneinander stehen; anlautendes k der Frauen wird bei den Männern weggelassen. Ehrenreich gibt noch einige weitere Umwandlungen[2]. Daß das Auslassen des k als Hauptmerkmal

[1] Materialien zur Sprachenkunde Brasiliens. I. Die Sprache der Carajás (Goyaz). Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, Bd. 26, 1894, S. 22.
[2] Ibid., S. 24.

der Männersprache gilt, möge ein Scherzwort Pedros I. beleuchten. Pedro sagte eines Tages, mein Begleiter Adam sei eine Frau, denn er sage ãkúbã (= jacuba, der brasilianische Name für ein Getränk aus Farinha, Rapadura und Wasser); wenn er ein Mann wäre, müßte er ãũbã sagen. Wahrscheinlich stellt der volltönendere Frauendialekt eine ältere Form der Sprache dar. Denn um eine verschiedene Sprache, die durch die Aufnahme kriegsgefangener Frauen aus fremden Stämmen entstanden sein könnte, kann es sich hier nicht handeln. Einmal bleibt die Übernahme fremder Frauen (Tapirapé, Karajá, Šavaješ) in zu engen Grenzen, als daß deren Sprache von Einfluß sein könnte, andererseits sind die Abweichungen von der Männersprache zu gering, um die Frauensprache als fremden Ursprungs ansehen zu dürfen.

Beim Sprechen werden viele Silben, besonders am Ende der Worte, verschluckt; der Mund wird nur wenig geöffnet, so daß eine leise, undeutliche Sprache zustande kommt. Doch verstehen sie es, sich im Flüsterton weithin über das Wasser vernehmbar zu machen. Der Tonfall ist etwas singend, die Sprechweise ungleichmäßig. Bald werden die Silben rasch hintereinander herausgestoßen, dann wieder wird eine Silbe lang ausgedehnt, gerade als ob der Sprecher erst überlegte, wie er sich nun weiter ausdrücken solle. Und so geht das in buntem Wechsel fort; eine Art zu sprechen, die von den Brasilianern sehr gern nachgeahmt wird. Vielleicht geht hierauf auch die Sitte zurück, kurz auslautende Worte in Zusammensetzungen lang zu sprechen (maná — mãnaũlã, mãnãdjũ usw.).

Bei Gesprächen unter sich begleitet der Zuhörende die Rede des anderen mit vielen nde, nde (= ja), hm̃, hm̃, oder er wiederholt das letzte Wort jeden Satzes. Im Verkehr mit den Brasilianern lieben sie es, die Sätze mit ahã (= dort) zu beginnen und nach jeder Auseinandersetzung zu fragen: akbẽ (= verstanden?). Brasilianische Worte sprechen sie im allgemeinen schlecht aus; f gelingt ihnen nur selten einmal richtig auszusprechen, meist sagen sie p dafür (pacõ für facão, ãfpré für chifre, pãrinã für farinha, phaér für facer.)

Das Verzeichnis der von mir aufgenommenen Worte und Texte samt Übersetzung siehe im Anhang I und II.

18. Sagen.

Sagen wurden mir von zwei Personen erzählt: Häuptling Cadete Chico von Schischá erzählte mir die Schöpfungssage; eine zweite Version dieser sowie alle übrigen erhielt ich von Kuriší. Meist erzählte er sie das erstemal am lebhaftesten und ausführlichsten, bei Wiederholungen wesentlich einfacher. Manche Züge mußte man erst durch vieles Fragen wieder feststellen, wenn sie beim ersten Notieren übersehen worden waren. Auf Befragen teilte Kuriší mit, daß er die Sagen so erzähle, wie sie ihm seine Mutter erzählt habe. Demnach scheint sich bei den Karajá die Sage durch die Mutter zu überliefern. Auffällig war mir, daß er von den von Ehrenreich mitgeteilten

Sagen (Beiträge, S. 39—44) außer der Brüllaffensage keine kennen wollte. Anscheinend waren sie ihm wirklich fremd. Dies ist um so auffälliger, als er der Enkel Pedro Mancos, des Gewährsmannes Ehrenreichs ist, also wohl von dem Sagenschatz, der in dieser Familie lebte, hätte wissen müssen.

Als ihre Urheimat sehen die Karajá den Furo das Pedras an. Dort haben die alten Karajá unter Wasser gelebt. Die Šavajé und Šambioá betrachten sie als ihre Stammesverwandten. Tiere gelten als den Menschen gleiche Wesen, so daß Verwandlungen von Menschen in Tiere und umgekehrt eine große Rolle spielen. Die Gestirne denken sie sich von Wesen bewohnt, die zeitweilig zur Erde kamen und dort mit den Menschen in Verbindung traten.

Die Schöpfungssage.

(Nach Kuriál: wie sie seine Mutter erzählte.)

Ein Knabe sah ein Mädchen, heiratete es. Deren Base kam. Die eine schickte die andere in den Wald, ohne Netzdecke, ohne alles. Der Knabe sah das Mädchen von hinten, es gefiel ihm; von vorn, es gefiel ihm. Er heiratete es.

Ihre Mutter kam. Es war noch alles finster. Sie lebten von den Wurzeln und Früchten des Waldes, deren gab es so viele, wie in einer Pflanzung. Aber nur, wenn einmal ein Lichtstrahl aufleuchtete, konnten sie sie herausholen. Die Mutter zerschlug sich die Hände beim Herausholen. Da wurde das Weib böse: der Knabe solle etwas anderes schaffen.

Der Knabe aß „codo", nachdem er sie geschabt hatte. Er wurde ganz dick davon und legte sich hin; die Augen verfaulten.

Durch den Gestank seines Bauches kamen viele Urubú herbei und setzten sich ihm auf den Bauch. Er zitterte, sagten sie: er lebt noch. Dann setzten sie sich ihm in die Augen; er blinzelte, sagten sie: er lebt noch. Es kamen viele Urubú, setzten sich ringsum und versuchten immer wieder, aber er wackelte und blinzelte immer noch.

Der Karakará (Uönl) kam, kreiste oben in der Luft. Der Mann blinzelte immer mit den Augen und sah den Vogel oben fliegen. Der Vogel kam in Kreisen herab, der Mann blinzelte immer noch. Der Karakará sah es, kam herab, setzte sich auf einen Ast daneben und schrie: er lebt. Die Urubú sagten, er ist tot. Der Vogel flog weg und kam mit dem Urubú-Re wieder. Der Streit ging weiter: er ist tot — er ist lebendig. Da kam ein Onkel des Urubú-Re, ein ganz alter Urubú; der sagte: er ist tot. Da flog der Urubú-Re herab auf den Bauch, da knallte es. Der Mann faßte mit den Händen zu und fing ihn.

Er sagte zum Urubú-Re (hatte roten Schnabel und ganz wenig Haare): ich will Schmuck (infeitos) haben. Jener sagte, er hätte welchen, aber er wäre überall zerstreut. Brachte einen Stern. Der andere war nicht zufrieden. Brachte den Mond. Der andere war noch nicht zufrieden. Dann brachte er die Sonne.

Der andere war zufrieden, sagte: Du kannst mich nun ausrupfen, so

wie du bist. Das tat er; dann hatte er lauter Haare. Ebenso alle übrigen Urubú. Daher haben die Urubú alle kahle Schädel. (?) Der Karahará kam wieder und wollte auch berupfen, er hat aber nur die Haare ringsum abgeschnitten.

Die Mutter kam und fragte, wie sie leben sollten. Der Urubú-Re zeigte Pflanzen, von denen sie spinnen könnten, und zeigte, wie sie ihre Netzbecken machen. Die Mutter wollte wissen, wie man Fische fängt; jener zeigte ein Rohr, zeigte, wie man Federn anbindet, wie man den Bogen macht, wie man spannt, wie man Fische schießt.

Da ließ der Mann den Urubú-Re los. Die Mutter sagte, er hätte noch fragen sollen, wie die alten Leute jung werden. Da schrie der Urubú-Re von oben eine Antwort; alle hörten sie, Bäume, Tiere, Fische, aber die Menschen nicht. Nur einer hat es gehört, der wohnt hinter Pará, der weiß es; jener große Mann, der das in die große Leinwand einrollt.

(Nach Cabete Chico.)

Der Vater der Karajá ist Gott (kinõllwõ).

Es war dunkel. Gott schluckte Luft, da bekam er einen dicken Bauch; er lag am Boden.

Der Jaburú kam. Danach kam der kleine Vogel, Karahará, und setzte sich daneben. Der eine sagte: komm wir wollen essen. Der andere sagte: warte, später. Der Jaburú flog oben rings im Kreise herum. Der kleine Vogel sagte: er ist tot; der Jaburú sagte: nein, er ist lebendig. Der Jaburú flog immer noch im Kreis herum. Dann setzte er sich dem Gott auf den Bauch.

Der Gott griff zu und war lebendig. Er verpflichtete den Jaburú, Licht zu bringen; denn es gab noch kein Licht. Der Jaburú brachte ein kleines Licht; Gott sagte: Nein, ich will ein anderes. Der Jaburú brachte ein größeres Licht, den Mond, fragte: ist es dieses? „Nein, ich will ein anderes." Dann brachte der Jaburú die Sonne selbst, da war alles taghell; fragte, ist es dieses? Gott sagte: Das ist es, das ich will. Dann flog der Jaburú fort; der kleine Vogel flog auch fort.

Die Karajá blieben da, es war Tag. Sie wohnten damals unter Wasser, ihre Heimat ist am Suro das Pedras (ãhõdlã).

Wie die Karajá die Mandioka erwarben.

(Nach Kuriãl).

Die Mandioka haben sie von Gott selbst.

Ein schönes Mädchen fischte. Ein Stern guckte herab, sagte: sie ist schön. Er kam herab und war ein schöner Jüngling, war weiß. Das Mädchen fragte: Wer bist du? — „Ich." — Ich kenne dich nicht; wer bist du? — „Ich selbst." — Sag mir doch deinen Namen. — „Den brauchst du ja nicht zu wissen; denn du hast ja gesehen, wie ich da oben mit den Sternen gespielt habe." — Ach, das bist du? — „Ich will dich heiraten, aber ich will

ins Haus deiner Mutter kommen, alt und häßlich, und will dich und deine Schwester heiraten."

Er kam hin als alter Mann, fragte, ob sie ihn heiraten wolle; sie sagte ja, die andere wollte ihn nicht. Die Mutter schimpfte auf die, die ihn wollte. Er heiratete, legte die erste Pflanzung an, pflanzte Cara, Bananen, Mais, Bohnen, Manbioka, Kürbis, Erdnüsse. Als alles gepflanzt war, ging er weg, da ihn die Schwester, als er sie nochmals fragte, immer noch nicht haben wollte.

Er kam wieder im Xanu als junger schöner Mann. Da sagte die andere Schwester: ja, den will ich. Da sagte er: „Nein, jetzt will ich nicht; ich bin der alte Mann, der Mann deiner Schwester." Dann verwandelte er sie in die kleine Eule (därítaũ).

Er erzeugte rasch Kinder, schneller als gewöhnlich. Diese lehrte er den Mais usw. pflanzen und zubereiten, desgleichen alle pflanzlichen Nahrungsmittel. Die Mutter probierte immer erst ein wenig und aß dann das ganze Stück.

Jemand sagte einem der Kinder, wenn es dem Vater ein Stück Mais wegnimmt, merkt er es nicht, weil er nur das Stückchen kennt. Wie aber der Mais gepflanzt war, wuchs kein Mais, sondern Moskitos. Dann ging er wieder weg zu den Sternen, die Familie ließ er hier, und diese hat es allen anderen gezeigt.

Die Brüllaffen (aná wibará).

(Nach Kurití.)

Ausführliche Fassung:

Zwei Brüder (hanẽkõbádé; ilihãn) gingen in den Wald. Sie trafen eine Bande schreiender Affen mit Pfeilen. Sie sagten zu den Affen, sie sollten schießen. Die Affen sagten: er solle schießen. Da schoß der eine der beiden Brüder, traf nicht; da schoß der Affe und tötete ihn. Darauf schoß der andere Bruder, traf auch nicht; die Affen töteten auch ihn.

Die Mutter (ãlikérã) wartete auf die zwei Knaben Tag und Nacht, sie kamen aber nicht. Da ging sie in den Wald, sie zu suchen; auch der Vater (ãmbaõjã) ging suchen; sie fanden sie aber nicht. Die Mutter traf am Wege eine alte Frau (kraõdé)[1], die sagte, daß die Kinder tot wären, die Affen hätten sie getötet. Da ging die Mutter nach Hause, raufte sich das Haar und weinte Tag und Nacht.

Sie hatte noch einen dritten Sohn (elã)[2], klein und häßlich. Den gab sie dem Großvater (sabãgã); denn da die anderen beiden tot waren, wollte sie ihn auch nicht mehr.

Eines Tages ging der Knabe in den Wald, Vögel zu schießen. Ein Pfeil ging ihm verloren, er suchte ihn; der Pfeil war gerade vor die Tür des Mannes im Loch (hõkumãlí) gefallen. Als er ihn aufheben wollte,

[1] — Frosch, Kröte.
[2] — weiß.

packte ihn der Mann und fragte: du bist jetzt bei deinem Großvater, gibt er dir auch zu essen? Da sagte der Knabe: nein, nur abgeschabte Manbiokarinde und Suppe aus Fischgräten. — Und hast du eine Decke? — Nein, nur diese, und zeigte auf ein altes Stück Netzdecke, das er auf der Schulter hatte. Der Mann sagte: Gut, komm morgen früh, wenn du Vögel fangen gehst, hierher. Die Kinder des Mannes wollten aber nicht, daß er wiederkomme; nur eins sagte: Komm wieder, wir wollen dich mit Medizin einschmieren. Der Mann sagte: Komm bestimmt, mein Freund.

Der Knabe ging nach Hause und erzählte es dem Großvater, und am anderen Tag ging er hin zum Mann. Der hatte einen großen Topf voll Medizin (wĩwẽnĩ) gemacht und rieb ihn damit ein. Darauf schickte er ihn baden bis nachmittag. Dann rieb er ihn wieder ein, auch mit Holzkohle, denn seine Haut war voller Wunden (er hatte die Krankheit kuẽdjĩ)[1], und schickte ihn wieder baden, bis es dunkel war. Dann ging der Knabe nach Hause.

Am nächsten Tage geschah es ebenso. Da wurde der kleine Knabe groß, stark, hübsch und gesund und ging wieder zum Mann im Loch. Der gab ihm Pfeil und Bogen und sagte: Jetzt will ich dich anputzen. Da kamen alle Kinder des Mannes und wollten helfen. Der Knabe aber sagte: Nein, nur das eine, das mich zuerst behalten wollte. Darauf machten ihm der Mann und das Kind die Armstulpen, Waden- und Knöchelbänder an, gaben ihm Ohrschmuck (dõhõluã), salbten ihm das Haar, banden es und bemalten ihn mit Genipapo. Der Mann gab ihm einen steinernen Lippenpflock und sagte zu ihm: Gehe den Weg hier; du wirst am Wege ein altes häßliches Weib (kraõtẽ) finden, wie eine Kröte; die wird sich dir anbieten. Gebrauche sie und gehe weiter, dann findest du die Affen; schieße nicht zuerst, dann wirst du sie töten.

Er ging und traf das alte häßliche Weib am Wege sitzend. Sie zitterte und sagte: Komm zu mir und gebrauche mich. Er ging hin und gebrauchte sie tüchtig. Dann ging er weiter und hörte schon von ferne die Affen schreien. Sie sagten: Schieße; aber er schoß nicht, sondern sagte: Schieße du. Und die Affen schossen, trafen aber nicht. Und dann schoß er, da fielen sie vom Baum herab, und er schlug sie tot.

Dann ging er in den See baden und schlug ins Wasser. Da kamen zwei große Gavões (denidẽnĩ) nacheinander, er packte sie bei den Beinen und tötete sie. Darauf ging er zum Manne zurück, und der fragte ihn aus, und er sagte: Sie sind tot.

Da gab ihm der Mann den Stock (õbirã)[2] und sagte: Nun geh nach Hause zu deiner Mutter. Wenn sie dir zu essen gibt, so ißt nicht, sondern ißt nur, was dir der Großvater gibt! Und dann gab er ihm noch einen Zauberstock (hõtãiwã[3]; zwei Stöcke aus Canna brava, mit Wachs verklebt

[1] — eiternde Beulenwunden, siehe Wörterverzeichnis.
[2] — Wurfholz.
[3] Vergl. auch Bitteralzauber; siehe Wörterverzeichnis, und Regenzauber, S. 333, Abb. 182c.

und mit schwarzen Federn am Ende). Wenn er damit schlägt, so wird der Wind alles mögliche bringen: Honig, Wildschweine usw.

Der Knabe ging nach Hause. Da kam ihm seine Mutter entgegen; und die anderen riefen: Da kommt dein Sohn! Er aber sagte: Du bist nicht meine Mutter. Und die Mutter brachte ihm Manbiokabrei zu essen, er aber aß nur vom Großvater Manbiokarest und Fischgrätensuppe. Sie legte ihm eine schöne Matte hin zum Darauffetzen, er aber setzte sich auf eine kleine abgerissene des Großvaters.

Dann nahm er den ôbirá und machte Wind. Da kamen Schlangen (ôbhá)[1], die krochen in den hétiwá. Da kamen Honig, Fische, Wildschweine. Den Honig gab er allen zu kosten, das andere aß er mit seiner Mutter. Am Abend kam seine Tante und begehrte ihn zu heiraten; er heiratete sie.

Eines Tages ging er Tokunaré fischen. Da packte ein Kind nach dem ôbirá, da kam der Wind und brachte Schlangen; das Kind aber verstand es nicht, die Schlangen in den hétiwá hineinzubringen, und die Schlangen bissen das Kind und alle Leute, so daß sie alle starben. Und jener im Walde hörte den Wind und dachte sich gleich, was passiert sei, und lief nach Hause. Unterwegs begegneten ihm die Schlangen; da er aber den ôbirá nicht bei sich hatte, so bissen sie auch ihn, und er starb. Itáré.

Kürzere Fassung.

Zuerst waren die Affen da, die hatten Pfeile. Sie töteten die zwei Brüder.

Da blieb der kleine Bruder übrig, der war sehr häßlich. Den gab die Mutter dem Großvater, denn sie wollte ihn nicht mehr. Der Großvater zog ihn auf.

Der Knabe ging Vögel schießen, und ein Pfeil fiel vor die Tür des Mannes (ôkumáré). Der Mann wollte den Kleinen aufziehen. Seine Töchter wollten aber den häßlichen Knaben nicht, nur eine.

Da beschmierte der Mann den Knaben mit Medizin und befahl ihm, zu baden. Mittag kam er aus dem Wasser zurück. Er beschmierte ihn wieder. Danach schickte er ihn ein zweites Mal baden, frühmorgens. Als er aus dem Wasser kam gegen Mittag, war er schon ein Mann. Und er schmückte ihn: mit Armstulpen, Oberstäben (dohó), ölte ihm das Haar, bemalte ihn mit Genipapo usw.

Und befahl seinem Großvater: wenn die Mutter kommt und seine Sachen holen will, soll er sie nicht geben. Der Großvater ging und gab sie ihm. Da brachte die Mutter Essen, aber er wollte nicht essen. Da brachte der Großvater schlechtes Essen, wie Fischgräten und Manbiokarest, das aß er.

Und am anderen Tage ging er, um seine Brüder zu entdecken. Da sagte der Mann zu ihm: Auf dem Wege wirst du ein altes Weib treffen,

[1] — Wind; auch Pfeil.

die heißt Kröte (krácöã); die wird dich bitten, sie zu gebrauchen. Tue das, gehe zu ihr. Dann befahl er ihm, die Brüder zu suchen.

Der eine Affe schoß zuerst, traf nicht. Da schoß er mit dem ôbirá, traf und tötete ihn. Da warf der andere; da traf er auch ihn. So tötete er die Affen.

Da ging er ins Wasser, um die Brüder zu suchen. Er schlug ins Wasser, tóã, tóã. Da kam ein Gavião, um den Knaben zu töten. Er faßte ihn mit der Hand. Da kam ein anderer, er tötete ihn auf dieselbe Weise.

Er hörte auf zu töten, ging fort und kam zum Haus des Mannes. Der sagte: Gib dein Zeug der Mutter; jetzt gehst du; deine Mutter kommt; gib ihr dein Zeug.

Er kam ins Haus seiner Mutter. Eine andere Frau bat ihn, sie zu heiraten; er heiratete sie sogleich. Da machte er Wind mit dem hêtáwã; schlug er, so kam der Wind. Der Wind trug Honig, Schlangen, hörsch usw. herbei. Dann verbarg er die Schlange im hêtáwã.

Eines Tages war er im Walde. Das Kind griff nach dem hêtáwã, machte auch Wind. Es verstand es nicht. Die Schlange kam und räumte mit allem Volke auf. Der Knabe hörte den Wind und dachte, daß das Kind das getan hätte. Und die Schlange kam und biß ihn und tötete ihn. Da war es zu Ende. Nun gibt es keine Leute mehr.

Die Mutumsage siehe im Anhang II, Texte, Nr. VII.

II. Die Šavajé.

1. Historisches.

Die Šavajé sind bisher fast nur dem Namen nach bekannt geworden. Der erste, der die ganze Insel Bananal sah, ist Diego Pinto da Gama 1720 gewesen; doch habe ich seinen Bericht nicht erhalten können, so daß ich nicht angeben kann, ob er mit den Šavajé zusammengetroffen ist. Die älteste Nachricht besitzen wir von José Pinto da Fonseca, der 1773 den Araguaya befuhr und die Karajá pacifizierte. Er berichtete (Rev. trim. 8, S. 376 ff.), daß sie in drei Dörfern auf der Insel Bananal wohnten. Im Innern der Insel befände sich ein großer, fischreicher See[1].

Während seines Aufenthalts bei den Karajá erhielten diese Besuch von den Šavajé; es fand zur Begrüßung ein Ringkampf statt. Nach seinen Mitteilungen lebten beide Völker in Frieden. Die Šavajé kamen in großer Anzahl in Booten angefahren, sie trugen Federschmuck auf dem Kopfe und mit Federn verzierte Lanzen in den Händen und bliesen auf Trompeten.

Dasconcellos war mit Fonseca 1774 am Araguaya, er legte ein Präsidio und das Aldeamento Nova Beira am Ostarm von Bananal an, wo er Karajá und Šavajé ansiedelte. Die drei Dörfer der Šavajé benannte er Cunha, Mello und Ponte de Lima (Rev. trim. 37, S. 393). Das Präsidio und Aldeamento gingen bald ein: 1782 wurden die Indianer des Aldeamento in die neue Aldea von São José de Mossamedes übergesiedelt, wo sie allmählich zu Grunde gingen. Ob sich Šavajé auch auf der Aldea Pedro III (Carretão) befunden haben, steht nicht völlig fest. 1786 erhielt Miguel de Arruda e Sá den Befehl, die Chavante zu bekriegen und eine Aldea für sie anzulegen. 3600 Indianer siedelte er in Carretão an. Souza e Silva, 1812, spricht nur von Chavante, die da untergebracht wurden, während Cunha Mattos auch Šavajé diesen Schicksal zuschreibt. Eine Masernepidemie vernichtete fast alle Indianer, die Reste wurden 1788 nach der Aldea Salinas übergeführt. Seitdem verschwinden die Šavajé aus dem Gesichtskreise; sie werden allmählich zu einem wilden, gefürchteten Volke, von dem nichts Genaueres bekannt ist. Cunha Mattos (Rev. trim. 38, S. 20) berichtet 1824 nur, daß sie auf der Insel Bananal wohnen, sehr hell und fast ausgestorben seien. Castelnau erklärte 1844 die Insel für unbewohnt; nach ihm

[1] Ibid. S. 399. — Daß die Šavajé am diesem See wohnen, wie spätere Forscher angegeben haben (Ehrenreich, Beiträge S. 5. 7), geht aus diesem Berichte nicht hervor.

Tafel 59.

1. Armpfeil mit drei Schwanzquasten.

2. Beinbinde mit Stirnerhebung, gespaltet.

3. Kleine Hesbede.

6. Stirnfeben.

4. Latini-Schmuck.

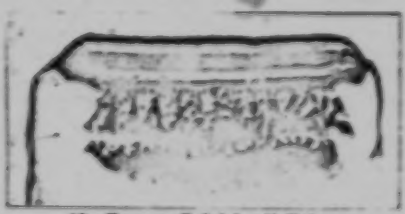
8. Federmuff mit Stab.

9. 9. Armbänder.

7. Stirnfeben.

10. 11.

10., 11. Federhauben.



12. Baumwollgürtel mit Behang.

[Encina p. 359]

wohnen die Šavajé etwa 30—40 Meilen oberhalb des Nordendes der Insel Bananal und 3—4 Tagereisen östlich vom Xuro, im Gebiet der Chavanté. Offenbar beruht diese Angabe auf mißverstandenen Erzählungen seiner Bootsleute (Band 2, Seite 115). In dem Werk O Rio Araguaya von Moraes Jardim aus dem Jahre 1880 wird berichtet, daß bei einem Karajádorf ein See existiere, der mit dem großen See im Innern der Insel Bananal in Verbindung stehe, und daß von diesem aus ein Kanal nach dem Xuro hinüberführe bei einem Šavajédorf. Aus einer späteren Notiz geht hervor, daß die Dörfer der Šavajé sämtlich am Xuro liegen sollen. Ehrenreich gibt Xavecus Angaben wieder (Beiträge, Seite 6 und 7); zugleich berichtet er, daß die Šavajé am See in drei Dörfern wohnten und das letzte Mal 1888 an der Mündung des Abflusses des Sees in den Xuro angesprochen worden seien. Sie gelten allgemein als ein den Karajá sprachlich verwandter Stamm. Coudreau schließlich gibt 1896 nur an (Araguaya-Tocantins, S. 110), daß sie auf Bananal wohnten und nur wenig bekannt seien, aber der stärkste der Karajástämme wären.

In Goyaz erfuhr ich, daß in den ersten Jahren des 20. Jahrhunderts der Bischof von Goyaz den Araguaya mit einem Dampfer befahren hätte. Dabei wären die Brasilianer von Norden her in den Xuro eingefahren und hätten am Einfluß eines Baches ein riesiges Dorf der Šavajé angetroffen. Eine Bananenallee habe vom Fluß zum Dorfe geführt. Da sie in großer Anzahl (gegen 70 Mann) und alle bewaffnet gekommen seien, hätten die Šavajé sie bald wieder zum Abzug gezwungen, indem neben jedem Brasilianer beiderseits ein Šavajé einherging. Als der Dampfer bei der Abfahrt pfiff, seien viele Šavajé vor Schreck aus ihren Kanus in den Fluß gesprungen. Jedenfalls herrschte seitdem unter der brasilianischen Bevölkerung große Furcht vor den übergewaltigen Šavajé.

2. Wohnsitze. Nach meinen Erkundigungen bei den Karajá wohnen die Šavajé im Innern der Insel Bananal in 3—5 Dörfern, die sich über ein lang gestrecktes Gebiet verteilen. Das nördlichste, kleine Dorf soll 3—4 Tage oberhalb des Nordendes der Insel Bananal im Innern liegen. Das Hauptdorf liegt in der Trockenzeit etwa acht Tage oberhalb der Mündung des Xuro auf einer Sandbank am Einflusse eines Baches (Abfluß des Binnensees?). Mitte August wird es landeinwärts verlegt. Es soll sehr groß sein: „wie eine Stadt"; Pedro zeichnete sechs Reihen mit je 20—25 Häusern in den Sand. In dem abseits gelegenen Maskenhaus sollen die Junggesellen schlafen. Weiter südlich, 1—2 Tage (?), liegen im Innern von Bananal 1—2 kleine Dörfer. Das eine davon habe ich vom Karajádorf Nr. 15 aus besucht, von dem es ziemlich genau östlich liegt. Man gelangt dahin auf einem gut eingerichteten Verkehrsweg: nach ½tägigem Marsch trifft man an einem Fluß das Karajádorf Korumarés. Entweder fährt man den Fluß 1½ Tage lang im Boot aufwärts, einen großen Bogen nach Süden und Osten beschreibend, oder man läuft einen Tag lang quer über den Camp nach Osten bis zum Hafen, von dem aus man noch 3—4 Stunden Marsch bis zum Dorfe hat. Das Dorf, das fünf Häuser mit etwa 100 150 Be-

wohnern umfaßt, liegt an einem See; es wird im Laufe der Trockenzeit mehrmals verlegt. In der Regenzeit ist das gesamte Gebiet von Wasser überflutet; offenbar bildet dieser See dann einen Teil des großen Sees, von dem Sonsera erzählt. Wohin das Dorf in der Regenzeit verlegt wird, konnte ich nicht erfahren. Endlich soll es noch weiter südlich ein fünftes kleines Dorf geben, doch schwanken die Angaben darüber.

Dies ist der eine Zweig der Šavajé. Ein zweiter wohnt bei der Südhorde der Karajá und zwar in den beiden südlichsten Dörfern: Schischá und bei Leopoldina. Sie sind in der vorvorigen Generation hierher gewandert; denn der Häuptling Chico in Schischá, der verstorbene Häuptling Pedro Manco, die Mutter Joana aus dem Wanderlager Nr. 9, Leute von etwa 60—70 Jahren, gelten als Kinder der eingewanderten Šavajé. Neuerdings sind wiederum Šavajé von Bananal nach Schischá gekommen; sie wohnten im Oktober 1908 in einem besonderen Hause. Natürlich sind diese Šavajé vielfache Verbindungen mit den Karajá eingegangen.

Ein dritter Zweig soll sich, anscheinend in der vorigen Generation, von den Šavajé auf Bananal abgezweigt haben. Diese Horde hat den Araguaya überschritten und ist nach Westen abgezogen; bei den Karajá des Araguaya gelten sie als verschollen. Die Abzweigung geschah im Gebiete der Rio das Mortes-Mündung oder etwas südlicher.

Ehe ich in die Behandlung der Kultur der Šavajé eintrete, will ich noch ganz kurz mitteilen, was mir die Karajá über sie erzählten: Die Šavajé sind ihre Verwandten, sie sprechen die gleiche Sprache und haben dieselbe Stammestätowierung. Mit den Karajá leben sie in friedlichem Verkehr, es wird gegenseitig geheiratet; vor allem findet ein lebhafter Tauschhandel statt, wobei die Karajá Steinwerkzeuge, die den Šavajé fehlen, sowie Eisenwaren, Stoffe und Perlenketten an die Šavajé gegen Urukú, Netzdecken, Araras und Nahrungsmittel vertauschen. In Kleidung und Schmuck sollen die Šavajé den Karajá gleich sein, aber viel schönere Sachen besitzen. Sie gelten bei den Karajá als reich an Schmuck und Nahrungsmitteln, in Notzeiten wandern daher die Karajá häufig zu ihnen über. Diese Angaben habe ich im allgemeinen bestätigt gefunden.

Das Volk ist phonetisch Šavájé zu schreiben, gemäß der bei den Karajá üblichen Aussprache. Die Karajá nennen sie auch noch: (I)šándjá, (I)šá(n)dîwándé. Ihre Zahl kann ich nicht angeben, da ich nur ein kleines Dorf mit fünf Hütten kennen lernte. Jedenfalls scheint neben 3—4 solchen kleinen Dörfern ein sehr großes Dorf, ähnlich denen der Šambioá zu existieren, so daß man die Zahl vielleicht auf 800—1000 angeben kann. Die unter den Südkarajá lebenden Šavajé erreichen etwa die Zahl 50.

3. Körperlich unterscheiden sich die Šavajé von den Karajá nur durch den höheren Wuchs (Tafel 30, Abb. 3 u. 4). Die Männer sind im Mittel wohl 4—5 cm größer als die der Karajá; auch die Frauen sind größer als die Karajáfrauen. Doch kommen auch hier kleinwüchsige Personen, besonders weiblichen Geschlechts, vor (Tafel 30, Abb. 3). Im übrigen gilt alles für die Karajá Gesagte auch für die Šavajé.

In ihrer gesamten Kultur sind die Šavajé reine Karajá. Doch zeigen sie einige Abweichungen von diesen, die sie wiederum enger mit den Šambioá verknüpfen. Im folgenden werde ich daher nur ganz kurz die Abweichungen konstatieren.

4. Haus und Dorf. Der Hausbau weicht von dem der Karajá erheblich ab und ist dem der Šambioá ähnlich. Ich verweise auf meine Ausführung oben beim Hausbau der Karajá, wo auch die infolge des brasilianischen Einflusses eingetretene Umwandlung des Šavajéhauses bei den unter den Südkarajá wohnenden Šavajé dargestellt ist (S. 196/97; Abb. 20, 21; Tafel 30, Abb. 1). Die Querbalken der Dachstützpfosten sind mit dünnen Stangen überlegt und bilden eine Art Boden, auf dem Kiepen, Körbe, Waffen, Frauengürtel, Flechtmaterial usw. aufbewahrt werden. Entgegen den Karajá befinden sich die Kochplätze im Hause und zwar in den Rundbauten, je einer beiderseits vom Eingang, so daß vier Herde im Hause vorhanden sind. Die Rundbauten dienen gleichzeitig als Vorratsräume für Körbe, Kürbisse, Lebensmittel usw. An den unteren Teilen der Hauspfosten sind ringsum an den Wänden allerlei Vögel, wie Geier usw. angebunden.

Abb. 188.
Grundplan des Dorfes der Šavajé Bananal.

Das Dorf ist wie das der Karajá in einer Reihe parallel zum Ufer angelegt (siehe den Plan, Abb. 188). Das Maskenhaus liegt abseits vom Dorfe. Es entspricht dem der Karajá, hat aber einen Firstbalken, wie er beim Maskenhaus der Südkarajá auftritt.

5. Kleidung und Schmuck. In Kleidung, Schmuck und Körperpflege ist kein wesentlicher Unterschied gegen die Karajá zu bemerken.

Die Männer trugen Hüft- und Penisschnur in gleicher Weise wie die Karajá. Augenschirme wurden nicht bemerkt. Hetzdecken wurden von beiden Geschlechtern getragen; sie werden von den Šavajé selbst hergestellt. Die Art

der Knüpfung ist dieselbe wie bei den Karajá. Abb. 3 in Tafel 89 stellt eine nur 24 cm lange Netzdecke dar, die nach Art der losen Mädchengürtel geknüpft ist. Offenbar dient sie als Lager für ein Neugeborenes. Zuweilen waren die braunen Kettenfäden der Decken mit weißen Fäden durchschossen; nach Erkundigung bei den Karajá sollen die Šavajé derartige Decken herstellen, während die Decken mit breitem, schwarzem Mittelstreifen nicht von den Šavajé, sondern von den Tapirapé stammen.

Auch die kleinsten Mädchen trugen schon festgeflochtene, schwarze Gürtel, die denen der Karajá entsprechen. Die lose geflochtenen Schnurgürtel (Karajá, Abb. 30 u. 31) habe ich nirgends gesehen. Erwachsene Frauen trugen den hier habitüell genannten Baumschurz meist aus weißem, selten nur aus rötlichem Bast.

Die Haartracht weist nichts den Karajá Fremdes auf. Die Kämme werden in gleicher Weise wie bei den Karajá von den Männern geflochten. Formen und Muster entsprechen den anderen; selten aber sind die Verzierungen durch Federbüschel oder Baumwollbündel. Auch die Seitenkreuzfäden fehlen oft.

Abb. 189 a, b.
Wundkratzer (a — Rückseite).

Die Körperbemalung ist mit der der Karajá identisch. Als Öl wird Kokosnußöl verwendet, als Farbe vor allem Urukú, das entkernt in riesigen Hohlkürbissen aufbewahrt wird.

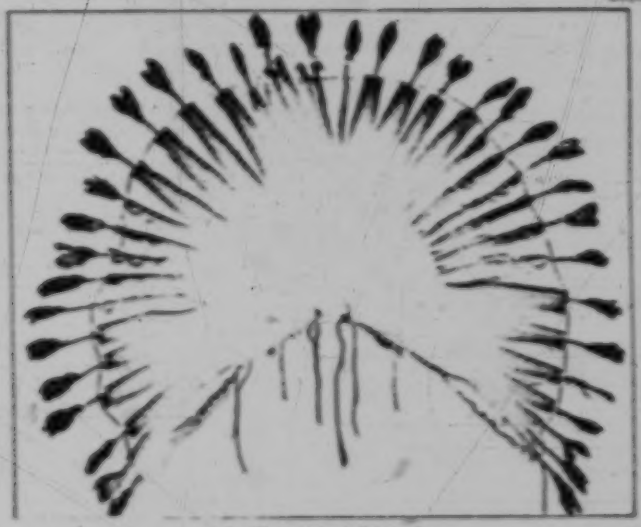
Wundkratzen ist auch bei den Šavajé gebräuchlich. Das Instrument dazu (labdjé; Abb. 189) ist aber auf der ganzen Rückseite mit einer dünnen Wachsschicht bedeckt (vergl. die Ehrenreichschen Exemplare Berlin 3953 a b von den Karajá).

Über die Körperpflege ist zu bemerken, daß die Šavajé jeden Morgen mit Sonnenaufgang in den See baden gehen, auch wenn dicker Nebel über dem Wasser liegt und es empfindlich kalt ist. Am Herdfeuer in der Hütte wärmen und trocknen sie sich dann.

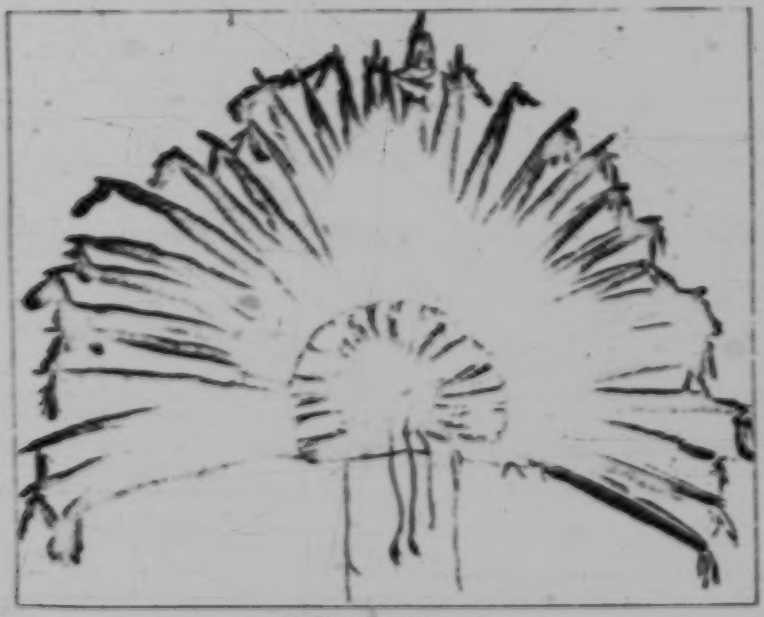
Abb. 190.
Stäbe.

Abzeichenschmuck. Die Lippenpflöcke nehmen bei den Jünglingen gewaltige Dimensionen an. Der längste Holzlippenpflock (ôdô) war 31,5 cm lang bei 2,2 cm Breite. Die Muschellippenpflöcke (idjé) der Knaben laufen fast alle in eine emporgebogene Spitze aus. Steinlippenpflöcke habe ich nicht gesehen.

An Ohrschmuck sind gelbe Stäbe (ôbô), Stäbe mit roten Federrosetten und einem Wachspunkt im Zentrum der Perlmutterscheibe (dôbô, dôbôdé), sowie tulpenartige Rosetten mit Nagelierzahn in der Mitte (gôdjé) vor-



1. Hinterhauptsfederrest.



2. Hinterhauptsfederrest.

[facing p. 356]

haben. Letztere sind bei den Kindern fast allgemein, erstere beiden Arten waren nur selten vorhanden, vor allem die einfachen Ohrstäbe, im Gegensatz zu den Karajá, die fast alle welche tragen. Auch sind die Ohrstäbe nur ganz einfach durch einige eingeschnittene Ringe am vorderen Ende verziert (Abb. 190).

Die Armmanschetten (dóll), Waden- (dóobdá) und Knöchelbänder (wálál) sind denen der Karajá gleich. Jünglinge trugen über Armstulpen und Wadenbänder oft ein Bastband gebunden.

Von sonstigem Schmuck wurde sehr viel Baumwollschmuck getragen. Schwarze Nackenquasten der Mädchen (wádjiklidjá) trugen zuweilen, wie auch bei den Karajá, aufgeschnittene Schneckenhäuser. Die langen Schnurgürte (güühl) werden auch von den Xavantémädchen getragen. Sehr ausgebildet war der Arm- und Beinbehangschmuck. Von den drei Arten der Karajá bemerkte ich die erste: Schnüre mit Quasten als Oberarm- und Unterarmschmuck, die zweite: flachgeflochtene oder gequältelte Bänder mit langem Behang nur als Wadenschmuck, die dritte Art: zwei dicke Wülste mit langem Behang nur als Armschmuck. Während bei den Karajá die Schnüre der ersten Art (dóllá) je zwei Quasten am Ende tragen, sind es bei denen der Xavanté stets drei (Tafel 59, Abb. 1). Diese Quasten samt Schnüren sind durchgängig schwarz gefärbt. Bei dem einen Exemplar, das für den Oberarm eines Kindes bestimmt ist, sind die Wickelschnüre 325 cm lang, bei dem anderen, das angeblich für die Unterarme eines Mannes bestimmt ist, dagegen 925 cm! Die zweite Art wurde nur als Wadenschmuck, und zwar schwarz gefärbt für Kinder (déahalá), rot gefärbt für Jünglinge (ládjaüwá) angetroffen. Der Franzenbehang reicht, wie das bei den Beinbändern immer der Fall ist, ringsum (Tafel 59, Abb. 2). Die dritte Art, nur als Armschmuck beobachtet (déllidágl) und rot gefärbt von Jünglingen am Unterarm hinter den Armstulpen getragen, ist identisch mit den Wadenbehängen der Karajá (Abb. 75), während sie, für den Oberarm bestimmt, den Franzenbändern der Karajá (Abb. 74a b) gleichkommen. Die Franzen erreichen bei diesen Exemplaren 55 cm Länge und werden zu dicken Zöpfen verflochten aufbewahrt (Abb. 191a b).

Unter dem Federschmuck erhielt ich den von Ehrenreich in vielen Exemplaren von den Karajá erworbenen, von mir dort nicht vorgefundenen Hinterhauptsschmuck Iolinã (Tafel 59, Abb. 4). Das von mir erworbene Exemplar ist insofern unvollständig, als die Rohrstäbchen zwischen den beiden geflochtenen Flächen, in die die rosa Reiherfedern gesteckt sind, nicht durch Federkränze überdeckt sind. Das Geflecht ist gemustert und mit weißer Farbe beschmiert (vgl. Abb. 192a—c, Aufbau dieses Schmuckes).

An Federhauben (dóllidóll) erwarb ich zwei Stück von den Xavanté in Schíschá. Beide trugen die Federn in drei Zonen angeordnet. Bei dem einen Exemplar bestand die unterste Zone aus roten Federrosetten, die mittlere aus Büscheln von je zwei kleinen blaugelben Ararafedern, die oberste aus einzeln eingebundenen, langen, bunten Federn (Tafel 59, Abb. 11). Beim zweiten Stück bestand die unterste Zone aus zwei Reihen roter, die mittlere Zone

aus zwei Reihen gelber Rosetten, die oberste aus Büscheln von je zwei bunten Papageifedern (Tafel 59, Abb. 10). Die Federn und Rosetten sind wie bei den Karajá nicht in den Knoten, sondern an den Fäden des Netzes befestigt.

Von Federreifen erhielt ich ebenfalls von den Šavajé in Schichá ein Exemplar mit einem Stuz (hananá). Der Reif trägt gelbe Federköpfe; vorn sind sechs lange blauschwarze Ararafedern senkrecht stehend befestigt, deren Kiele durch kleine Federn verdeckt sind (Tafel 59, Abb. 5).

Von Federröhren (ihhidé) erhielt ich vier Stück von den Šavajé auf Bananal, einer von denen in Schichá. Davon ist nur das eine Exemplar

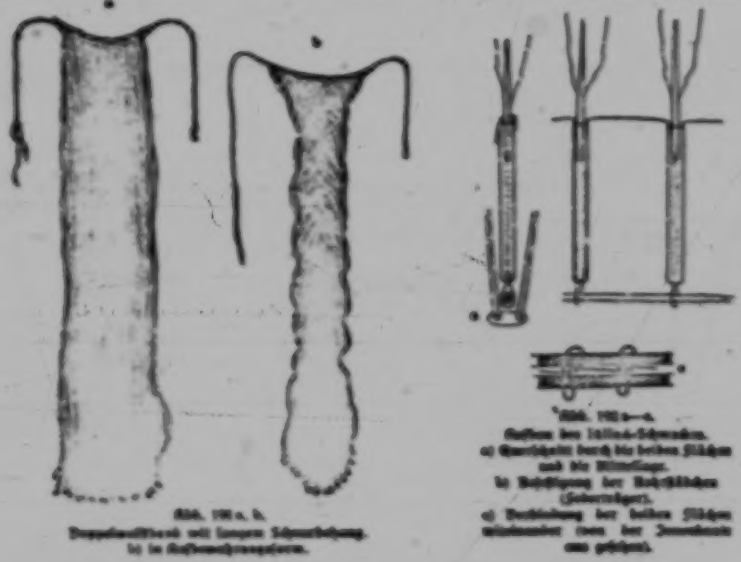


Abb. 7[illegible] a, b.
Doppelwulstbeil mit langem Schwanzbehang.
b) in Aufbewahrungsgarn.

Abb. 7[illegible] b—e.
Aufbau des Ihhidé-Schwanzes.
a) Querschnitt durch die beiden Stäbe und die Bindelage.
b) Befestigung der Reihenfäden (Federträger).
c) Deckbindung der beiden Stäbe miteinander (von der Innenseite aus gesehen).

von Bananal denen der Karajá gleich. Es besteht aus einem großen Fächer von rosa Reiherfedern und blauen Ararafedern, die in Gruppen von 5—6 und 4 Stück miteinander abwechseln. Die längere Decklage besteht aus blauen Ararafedern, die kürzere obere Decklage aus rosa Reiherfedern. An die oberen Enden der Federn der Hauptlage sind gelbe Federchen angebunden (Tafel 60, Abb. 1). Alle übrigen Exemplare trugen auf der Hauptfederschicht nur eine Decklage, die bei dem einen Exemplar aus blauen Ararafedern, bei einem anderen aus weißen Jaburúfedern, bei den beiden letzten aus blaugrünen Federn besteht. Die Hauptfederschicht weist in gleicher Reihenfolge folgende Federn auf: rosa Reiher- und Eulenfedern, die miteinander abwechseln, blaue Ararafedern (Tafel 60, Abb. 2), weiße Jaburú-

federn, die bei dem Exemplar aus Schiſchá dreimal durch je zwei blaue Araurafedern unterbrochen ſind. Die Endfederchen ſind durchweg gelb.

Stirnfedern, die vielleicht zu ſolchen Federrädern gehören könnten, vielleicht aber auch ſenkrecht emporſtehend getragen werden, indem der Reif um das Geſicht gelegt wird, habe ich zwei Stück erhalten. Bei dem einen (wáidóbó) iſt der Reif mit ſchwarzer Baumwollſchnur umwickelt, ſeine Enden ſind durch eine dünne Schnur miteinander verbunden. Dorn befinden ſich zwei Federſtutze, die jeder aus einem Stab mit roten Federn beſtehen, der oben einen gelben Federkranz trägt, aus dem lange ſchwarzgrüne Federn emporragen. An der Baſis ſind beide Stäbe mit weißer Rohbaumwolle umwickelt (Tafel 59, Abb. 7). Bei dem anderen (ködiólakádó) iſt der Reif mit weißen Flaumfederchen beſetzt, der Stutz beſteht aus mehreren, bis 35 cm langen roten Araurafedern, die unten mit kleinen roten und gelben Federchen buſchig umgeben und unterhalb dieſer mit Rohbaumwolle umwickelt ſind (Tafel 59, Abb. 6).

Feine rote Federchen (wáiáldí), Flügeldeckfederchen des roſa Löffelreihers, ſind auf einer feinen Schnur befeſtigt und ſpindelartig auf einen Stab gewickelt. Die Schnur iſt viele Meter lang. Dieſelben Schmuckfedern brachte Ehrenreich von den Karajá mit. Angeblich werden ſie für Kopfſchmuck verwendet.

An ſonſtigen Schmuckſtücken ſind vorhanden:

Halsketten aus kleinen, rötlich-weißen Früchten (kalaiadí), die ſehr häufig waren, ſodann Federarmbänder, die zum Teil denjenigen der Karajá entſprechen. Sie tragen entweder Federbüſchel an einer Stelle (Tafel 59, Abb. 8), oder zu beiden Seiten einer Schnur bunte Federſchichten (Tafel 59, Abb. 9).

Fingerringe (dábó) werden ebenfalls aus den Schwanzringen von Eidechſe und Chamäleon hergeſtellt.

Tanzgürtel (wádákáná) der männlichen Jugend ſind nicht ſo reichhaltig wie die der Karajá, ſondern weſentlich einfacher gehalten. Das eine Exemplar iſt ſchwarz und weiß längsgeſtreift; an ſeiner Unterkante hängen an einer beſonderen Schnur abwechſelnd zwei Thevetiafruchtbündel und ein bis drei Federſtäbchen. Das andere, aus Schiſchá ſtammende weiſt neben der Längsſtreifung noch eine Querſtreifung auf; an ſeiner Unterkante ſind direkt abwechſelnd je zwei Thevetiafruchtpaare und je ein Federſtab befeſtigt (Tafel 59, Abb. 12).

6. Nahrung. Die Savajé leben wie die Karajá vom Fiſchfang und den Erträgniſſen ihrer Pflanzung. Der See, an dem ſie wohnen, iſt trotz ſeiner geringen Tiefe (0,75 bis 1 m) äußerſt fiſchreich; ſelbſt Pirarucús gab es in ihm. Die Pflanzung lag weit ab vom Dorfe, etwa 6 bis 7 Stunden Wegs, am Rande des Regenzeitſees. Sie war äußerſt gut bewachſen und ſo dicht, daß man kaum den Weg darin verfolgen konnte. Dicht neben der neuen Pflanzung befand ſich eine ältere. Hier und da lagen gefällte Kiepen am Wege und harrten der Abholung.

Die Mandioka wird im knietiefen Mörſer (kió), der eine etwa fingerdicke Wand beſitzt, mit einem 1,6 m langen und 0,10 m dicken Stampfer (hádá) aus rötlichem Holze geſtampft, oder auf dem Reibholz (weiamákíá)

gerieben, auf dem Siebchensieb (brödjé) ausgelesen und in ihm gewrüngt. Dann wird dieses Mehl mit Wasser versetzt und gekocht. Derartiger Manbiokabrei (iäläé) bildet auch bei den Šavajé die Hauptspeise. Sonst sah ich noch als Festspeisen gelben Brei und grünes Gemüse.

Gefischt wurde von den jungen Leuten mit Bogen und Pfeilen. Bereits früh am Morgen fuhren sie auf den See hinaus und kamen bald mit guter Beute wieder. Von allem erhielt ich meinen Anteil, auch von dem riesigen Pirarucú, der am zweiten Vormittage gefangen wurde. Der glückliche Fischer schlachtete das Tier aus, dann schnitt er die Bauchseiten heraus, die vom Häuptling verteilt und auf verschiedene Haufen gelegt wurden. Dann wurden die Rippenstücke zu je drei Rippen herausgeschlagen und ebenfalls verteilt. Jede Familie erhielt dann ihren Anteil, auch ich bekam davon.

An gezähmten Tieren fand ich bei den Šavajé vor:

Hühner, die mir gern verkauft, aber von ihnen nicht gegessen wurden; angebunden saßen auf den Vorratsständern vor den Häusern Geier, Löffelreiher und Periquittos, an den Wandpfosten im Hause auf der Erde hockend Geier in großer Zahl. Araras fehlten völlig. Dafür sah hinter dem Häuptlingshause, auf niedriger Querstange angebunden, ein riesiger weißer Adler (Tafel 30, Abb. 2).

Gegessen wurde von den Frauen auch in meiner Gegenwart. Nur das Mädchen, das mit uns zu den Karajá zurückreiste, aß unterwegs abgewendet von uns und nur, wenn es sich nicht beobachtet glaubte.

Der Herd liegt, wie oben erwähnt, in den Rundbauten der Häuser, beiderseits vom Eingang. Er besteht wie bei den Karajá aus den Spitzen von drei Termitenhaufen oder aus drei Tonscherben. Geröstet wird auf Rösthorden (Tafel 61, Abb. 1).

Das Kochgeschirr ist mit dem der Karajá identisch. Die Manbiokareiber (wolánkiß, in Frauensprache: kolankiß), die Siebchensiebe (brödjé) haben dieselbe Form und Bauart wie die der Karajá. Zum Umrühren dient ein ruderförmiger Löffel (nalihi; Abb. 193). Alles übrige vergleiche man bei den Karajá!

Abb. 192 a. b. Rührlöffel. a. aus der Seite.

Genußmittel ist der Tabak, der bei den Šavajé in einer wesentlich besseren Sorte gebaut wird als bei den Karajá. Diese kaufen sich große Mengen davon bei jenen, auch Sträflinge, um sich zu Hause diese edlere Sorte selbst ziehen zu können. Der Tabak (köti) wird in dreiteiligen Töpfen geflochten aufbewahrt (Abb. 194) und in geflochtenen Taschen oder solchen aus Affenfell (djalóni; Tafel 61, Abb. 2) mitgeführt. Die Tabakspfeifen (wällöná) werden aus der Jesuitenfrucht hergestellt; sie tragen sämtlich die Riefe um die vordere Öffnung und sind rötlich gefärbt.

Vorräte scheinen die Šavajé nur in geringer Menge zu Hause aufzu-

Abb. 195. Schwirrer Gebäck.

bewahren. Am zweiten Tage bereits ließen sie mich bitten, wieder abzureisen, da sie nichts mehr zu essen hätten. Die Verpflegung meiner fünf Karajá, zu denen sich noch vier aus Korumarés Dorf eingefunden hatten, hatte ihre Vorräte dezimiert; in meiner Anwesenheit aber scheuten sie sich, das Dorf zu verlassen, so daß ich schließlich ihren Bitten nachgeben mußte.

7. Bei den **Waffen** ist ebenfalls nichts Neues zu bemerken. Die Bogen (djúbádé) sind entweder unverziert oder tragen weiße Überwickelungen, Maisblatt und Federquaste, wie der Karajábogen (Abb. 110). Die Handhabung ist derart, daß die linke Hand den Bogen in der Mitte faßt, so daß der Pfeil zwischen dem zweiten und dritten Finger hindurchgeht; der zweite bis fünfte Finger der rechten Hand spannt die Sehne, der Pfeil liegt zwischen dem zweiten und dritten Finger.

Abb. 196a–c. Kavajépfeile. a) Holzpfeil. b) Federung. c) Knochenspitze.

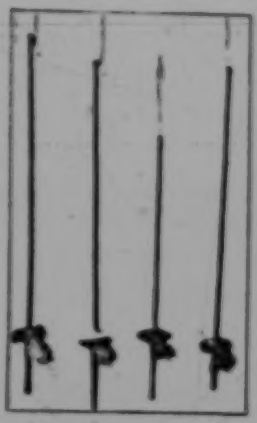
An Pfeilen (wóhú) traf ich solche mit kantigen Holzspitzen, die zum Teil rot gefärbt waren, mit Holzknaufspitzen (dóbolé), deren Knauf bis 4 cm Dicke aufwies (Abb. 196c), mit Bambusblattspitzen auf besonderem Holzzwischenstab, mit runden Knochenspitzen, die an einem im unteren Teil rotgefärbten Holzeinsatz befestigt sind, und mit Rochenstachelspitzen. Besonders bemerkenswert sind für die Kavajé die Rochenstachelspitzen und die Pfeile mit rotgefärbtem Zwischenstiel. Die Länge der Pfeile beträgt 130—160 cm, am längsten sind die Fischpfeile. Die Umwickelung mit schwarzer Embira an der Stelle, wo die Spitze in den Schaft eingesetzt ist, ist ein- bis dreiteilig und weist gern Spiralverbindung zwischen den einzelnen Teilen auf (Abb. 196a). Das Federende ist analog dem der Karajápfeile ausgebildet (Abb. 196b). Seine obere Umwickelung besteht durchgängig aus schwarzem Baumwollgarn, in das meist gelbe, selten rote Federchen eingebunden sind. (Bei den Karajá ist das Verhältnis gerade umgekehrt.) Der Zwischenteil zwischen den Federn ist auch bei den Kavajé durch Ringe und Bänder aus rotem Lack verziert, die meist in zwei Gruppen angeordnet sind. Die meist weiße Kerbumwickelung ist nur selten rot gefärbt. Die Angabe Kurisés, daß die Kavajépfeile dadurch kenntlich wären, daß die Kerbumwickelung nicht ganz bis an die Kerbe reiche, kann ich nach meinen Exemplaren nicht bestätigen; bei ihnen reicht überall die Umwickelung bis zur Kerbe. In der Ausgestaltung dieser Umwickelung finden wir die Typen der Karajá

Tafel 61.

1. Rüßjeeb der Šanajé.

2. Tabakstasche aus Affenfell.

3. Tragkorb, aus einem Palmwedel geflochten.



a b c d

5. Spinbeln.
a Wachs, b ungebrannter, c u. d gebrannter Ton.

4. Baumwollzupfbogen.

[Facing p. 360]

ebenfalls wieder, nur in einfacheren Formen. Endfederchen habe ich bei den Šavajé-Pfeilen nicht gesehen.

Die Keulen (göhördö) sind wie die Karajáhkeulen nur bis zur Hälfte gerieſelt, unterscheiden sich von ihnen aber dadurch, daß das Zwischenstück am Griffende mehr als drei Riefen (vier und fünf) trägt[1] (Abb. 196 b). Bei einem Exemplar sind als Verzierung innerhalb der Rieſelung diametral gegenüberliegend je zwei schmale Leisten mit eingeschnittenen Punkten stehen geblieben (Abb. 196 a). Umflochtene Keulen sowie Flachkeulen habe ich hier nicht gesehen.

Zum Rieſeln der Keulen wird auch von den Šavajé der an einem Stäbchen montierte Cutiazahn (hauldjö) benutzt (Abb. 197).

Abb. 196 a, b. Šavajé-Keule. b) Griffende eines gewöhnlichen Exemplares.

Abb. 197. Keulenrieſler.

Abb. 198. Pfeilschleifer. Šavajé.

Abb. 199. Šavajépfeilschleifer.

Von Lanzen (dönöll) erwarb ich nur ein Stück, das ein sehr altes Aussehen hat. Es ist wie die der Karajá gebaut. Der Schaft ist bei 2,5 cm Dicke 200 cm lang, die Knochenspitze 19,2 cm, die rote Umwickelung 11,5 und das Geflecht 63 cm lang. Die Federquasten hängen 42 cm lang herab. Das Geflechtmuster ist das senkrechtstehende Zickzackmuster.

[1] Vergl. Karajá, Keulengriffe.

Verhältnismäßig häufig war die Pfeilschleuder (haöbl). Während ich in den 22 Dörfern der Karajá keine sah, sondern nur ein Modell erhielt, fand ich in diesem einen kleinen Šavajédorfe bereits drei Stück vor (Abb. 198). Benutzt wird das Gerät noch zu Fischfang, Vogeljagd und als Sportwaffe. Man führt damit Hoch-, Horizontal- und Tiefschüsse aus. Der 36—40 cm lange, 3,5—6,5 cm breite Griff ist kantig und geschweift und trägt einen kleinen Knopf am unteren Ende. Das Loch für den Zeigefinger ist ziemlich groß, und rechteckig oder quadratisch gestaltet. Der 30—35 cm lange Stab ist rund und trägt einen kleinen Haken aus Knochen, der mit dichter, feiner Umwickelung befestigt ist. Zum Teil hängen von dieser Umwickelung einige Federchen als Schmuck herab.

Sonstige Waffen habe ich bei den Šavajé nicht angetroffen.

8. Transport und Verkehr. Die Boote sind denen der Karajá gleich, gewöhnlich aber sehr lang und sehr breit. Die Ruder unterscheiden sich von denen der Karajá meist dadurch, daß die Rolle am Griff vier Riefen trägt (Abb. 199). Kiepen und Körbe sind ebenfalls denen der Karajá ähnlich. Die Kiepe [bäh(ñäjä] ist auch an der Unterkante verflochten, so daß beim Tragen der Inhalt ein festeres Widerlager hat, als dies bei den Karajákiepen der Fall ist. Sie ist 158 cm lang, 27 cm breit und hat einen 12 cm hohen Rand. An Körben beobachtete ich große Traghörbe (wälilí) aus Oaguassu-Palmfiedern gemustert geflochten, die mit einem Basttragband getragen werden, sodann längliche Körbe (dädá), die ebenfalls Musterung aufweisen und am Tragband getragen werden, ovale Deckelkörbe (wäläbähl) und schließlich Tragsäcke, und zwar solche aus Mattengeflecht (mänsl), solche, die aus einem Palmblatt schräg geflochten sind (löll), und rechteckige, aus zwei Palmblättern geflochtene Säcke (löll), deren eine Längskante die beiden Rippen bilden, während an der anderen und an der Unterkante die Fieder beider Wedel miteinander verflochten sind (Tafel 61, Abb. 3). (Vergl. Ehrenreich, Berlin 3886, Karajá.) Alle übrigen erwähnten Körbe usw. sind mit denen der Karajá identisch.

Wasser wurde in langen Kürbissen (rükú) mit kurzem Hängeband transportiert; die Kürbisse waren meist roh mit Brandmalerei verziert (Abb. 200).

9. Die Technik ist noch ursprünglicher als die der Karajá; bekommen doch die Šavajé ihre Eisengeräte und alle fremden Waren erst im Austausch von den Karajá. Alles bei diesen Gesagte gilt daher auch für die Šavajé.

An Steinbeilen [nömädü(ë)] fand ich noch einige Exemplare vor; sie wurden als Schlägel beim Weichklopfen der Frauenbastschurze auf dem umgelegten Mörser benutzt. Die beiden von mir erworbenen Exemplare sind starke, keilförmige Beile von 14 und 20,5 cm Länge; bei dem einen ist die Schneide, wohl durch den Gebrauch als Nußknacker, stark ausgehöhlt (Abb. 201 a b).

Die Töpferei ist eben so primitiv wie die der Karajá. Auch hier finden wir keine ornamentierten Gefäße. Die beiden von mir erworbenen Gefäße bestehen aus rotem Ton, zeigen den Karajátypus und stellen einen Kochtopf (wädjiwl) und Napf (wädjiwländá) dar.

Abb. 200.
Wasserkrugverschlüsse.

Abb. 201 a, b.
Steinbeile.

Abb. 202.
Bemaltes Holz in Bastfülle.

Abb. 203 a, b.
Flechtapparat für Blätterschurzes.
b) — Blätterfäden.

Abb. 204.
Schlafstab.

Abb. 205.
Schwerer Stein.

Abb. 206 a—c.
Kinderbogen mit Pfeilen.

Baumwollverarbeitung. Zum Auszupfen der Baumwolle dient ein kleiner, recht roh gearbeiteter Bogen (Tafel 61, Abb. 4). Die Spindeln (Ázödáó, Tafel 61, Abb. 5) bestehen aus 32,5—49 cm langen, runden Stäben mit Wirteln aus Wachs, ungebranntem oder gebranntem Ton oder Knochen. Bei weitem überwiegen die Wachswirtel, die teils klobige Scheiben sind, teils schneidige Kanten haben und oben und unten konisch zulaufen. Die ungebrannten oder roh gebrannten Wirtel haben meist doppelkonische Form mit scharfem Rand; nur ein Exemplar besteht aus einer dicken Platte mit gerundetem Rande. Gebrannte Tonwirtel sind scheibenförmig, haben zwei scharfe Ränder und flache, konische Erhebungen auf beiden Flächen. Knochenwirtel bestehen wie bei den Karajá aus ganz flachen Scheiben.

Fadenknäuel aus weißer (Ázö) oder aus schwarzer (Ázödébé) Baumwolle sind auch bei den Šavajé gebräuchlich; sie werden zum Teil in einer Basthülle verschnürt aufbewahrt (Abb. 202).

Die Herstellung der Netzdecken entspricht der der Karajá, auch die Apparate sind genau so primitiv wie dort. Zum Flechten der Mädchengürtel dient ein kleiner Apparat: an ein langes Holz ist in einigem Abstande von den Enden je ein kurzes Querholz angebunden. Um diese ist dann die Kette geschlungen (Abb. 203 a b). Der Einschlag wird mit der Hand hindurchgeflochten.

Abb. 207 a—d.
Spielgeschirr.
a b) Näpfe, c) bemalte Schale, d) deren Muster.

Gehäkelt wird auch hier schon mit eisernen Häkelnadeln (dešldunâ). Der Stiel ist nur selten verziert und dann nur einfach mit rotem Baumwollfaden umwickelt (Abb. 204).

Farb- und Klebstoffe sind denen der Karajá gleich. Ich erhielt rotes dömalé und schwarzes Harz zöbädklá, beide in 12—15,5 cm langen, 5,5—6 cm breiten und 2 cm dicken, einseitig gewölbten Stücken (Abb. 205). Diese sind in Stäbchensieben gepreßt, dessen Struktur noch zum Teil auf der Oberfläche erkennbar ist.

Federn werden zur Aufbewahrung entweder in kleine Bündel gebunden oder wie bei den Karajá zu Flügeln geordnet.

10. An Kinderspielzeug brachte ich mit: kleine Bogen und Pfeile, von denen die Bogen sehr roh ausgeführt sind, während die Pfeile entweder aus dem zugespitzten Schaft bestehen, auf den zum Teil vorn eine kleine

Ruß mit seitlichem Loch aufgeschoben ist (Abb. 206a—e), oder eine runde eingesetzte Holzspitze aufweisen. Die Fiederung ist die gewöhnliche Bundfiederung. Gewehrnachbildungen sah ich hier nicht. Als Spieltongeschirr erhielt ich zwei kleine Näpfe (wädjiwliöjé) und in Schischá einen Napf und eine außen rotbemalte Schale, die einen Kürbislöffel nachbildet (207a—d).

11. **Musikinstrumente** sind auch bei den Šavajé sehr selten. Flöten mit Kürbisresonanz sah ich nicht, dagegen Flöten, die aus Kürbis selbst hergestellt sind. Der flaschenförmige Kürbis hat am breiten Ende eine runde, am schmalen seitlich eine rechteckige Öffnung (Abb. 208). Diese Flöte wird ädjalönä genannt. Die andere Flöte, auch löká genannt, besteht aus einem beiderseits offenen, langen Kürbis. An der einen Öffnung sind Wachsspuren vorhanden, als ob da ein besonderes Mundstück angebracht gewesen wäre. Vielleicht war hier eine Taquaraflöte angebracht, wie es bei den Karapó üblich ist. Pfeifen aus Blattgeflecht mit Zunge sind auch hier vorhanden (dülëbö). Das Hauptinstrument ist auch bei den Šavajé die Kürbisklapper (wKlö), die meist unverziert war. Nur ein Exemplar trägt am oberen Stielende einige Federn.

Abb. 208. Kürbisflöte.

In ihrer **Kunstbetätigung** folgen die Šavajé den Spuren der Karajá. Ich verweise hierfür auf meine Abhandlung: „Die Kunst der Karajá-indianer".

12. **Politisches und Soziales.** Der Häuptling scheint eine ziemliche Rolle bei den Šavajé zu spielen. In dem Dorf, das ich besuchte, gab es keinen; ein Mann, der wohl für diesen Fall dazu bestimmt war, vertrat dessen Stelle. Er nahm mich samt meinen Leuten in sein Haus auf. Die ganze Zeit über blieb er an meiner Seite. Bei Käufen vermittelte er, führte mich schließlich durch alle Häuser, sagte den Leuten mein Begehr und half den Kaufpreis festsetzen. Als wir das Dorf verließen, begleitete er uns über den See hinüber und noch mehrere hundert Meter durch den Camp hindurch, ehe er sich verabschiedete.

Eigentümlich war die Aufnahmezeremonie. Meine Karajá hatten sich schon vor dem Eintreffen im Dorf mit Ruß ein schwarzes Augenquerband gemacht. Im Häuptlingshaus angekommen, setzten sich meine Leute in einer Reihe quer durch das Haus auf den Matten nieder. Der Häuptling saß an einem Ende vor ihnen, am anderen seine Frau; gesprochen wurde kein Wort, die Karajá saßen mit gesenktem Haupte da und machten äußerst bedrückte Gesichter. Nun ging die Häuptlingsfrau von hinten die Reihe entang, ölte allen das Haar und kämmte es aus. Danach mußte einer nach dem anderen zu ihr kommen, um sich von ihr mit Urukú bemalen zu lassen. Während dieser ganzen Zeit tönte das Herausforderungsgeschrei zum Ringkampf von der Maskenhütte herüber.

Jetzt endlich sprach der Häuptling einige Worte, die Karajá standen auf und gingen mit ihm vors Haus. Ein zweiter Šavajémann aus der Nachbarhütte gesellte sich zu ihnen Nun ordnete sich der Zug: voraus die beiden Šavajé, hinterher die Karajá zu zwei oder drei, alle die Arme über den Schultern verschränkt. Frauen und Kinder folgten dem Zuge zur Maskenhütte, wo die Šavajéjugend in regelloser Reihe aufgestellt war. Alle waren mit Urukú bemalt, zwei trugen Tanzgürtel und Federarmbänder. Sobald die Karajá angelangt waren, verstummte das Geschrei, der Ringkampf begann. Die beiden geschmückten Jünglinge tanzten zuerst vor, schreiend und die Arme schlenkernd, wie wir es von den Karajá kennen (Abb. 10 u. 11). Die Karajá nahmen nicht an. Nun tanzten sie ein zweites Mal vor und wurden angenommen. Es folgte das Ringen, die Karajá blieben Sieger. Beim zweiten Gang forderten die Karajá, und so ging es weiter, fünf- bis sechsmal. Einige Kämpfe wurden nicht angenommen; dann drehten sich die Herausforderer rechts um, wobei sie die Arme weit abschleuderten, und gingen zur Mitte zurück. Hier stellten sie sich mit dem Rücken in Ausruhstellung gegen die Karajá auf und schrieen so lange, bis einer der Gegner sie annahm. Einige Kämpfe blieben unentschieden, sonst siegten die Karajá. Dies war verwunderlich, weil die Šavajé alle größere Gestalten waren und einen kräftigeren Eindruck machten, außerdem nicht drei beschwerliche Reisetage hinter sich hatten. Vielleicht erklärt es sich daraus, daß die Karajá durchschnittlich 5—10 Jahre älter waren und daher ausgebildetere Muskeln besaßen. Kaum hatte der Häuptling Schluß erklärt, so schrieen die Šavajé wieder ihr Geschrei, die Frauen und Kinder enteilten und verbargen sich in den Hütten, zu denen sich alle Teilnehmer in regellosem Zuge begaben.

Die Kämpfe waren denen der Karajá sehr ähnlich. Wurde ein Kampf nicht angenommen, so machten die Forderer eine wegwerfende Bewegung mit den Armen, kehrten um und gingen in ihre Reihe zurück. Dann ging einer von ihnen wieder vor, nahm in der Mitte die Ausruhstellung ein mit dem Rücken gegen die Gegner und schrie, bis einer von diesen annahm. Die Ausruhstellung war der der Karajá gleich: sie stellten sich mit gebeugtem Oberkörper hin und stützten die Arme auf die Knie. Der Sieger führte vor dem Besiegten einen Tanz auf, wobei er laut schrie; beim Weggehen hob er die linke Hand über den Kopf des Besiegten hinweg. Der Häuptling stand auch hier auf der Seite der Gäste.

Erst nach der Rückkehr vom Ringkampf wurde den Karajá Essen vorgesetzt; erst jetzt galten sie als aufgenommen und durften sich von nun an in die einzelnen Häuser zerstreuen.

Bei meiner Abreise vom Dorfe ereignete sich eine eigentümliche Zeremonie, deren Sinn, wie ich glaube, der ist, daß ein von Karajá bei früheren Besuchen geschwängertes Mädchen den Karajá mitgegeben wurde, um bei ihnen ihre Geburt abzuwarten; ob sie dann wieder zurückkehren würde, war nicht genau zu ermitteln; vielleicht ging sie als Dorfdirne mit zu den Karajá. Kurz vor der Abreise nahm mich der Häuptling bei der Hand und führte mich ins Nachbarhaus. Hier saß ein offenbar schwangeres Mädchen und

spann. Es mußte aufstehen und seine Arbeit weglegen; die Häuptlingsfrau nahm ihm den Halsschmuck ab (die Beinbänder hatte ich ihm schon am Morgen abgekauft). Das Mädchen mußte dann einen zweiten Bastschurz und seine Netzdecke nehmen und mit uns zum Boot gehen. Offenbar war dies dem Mädchen sehr wenig angenehm, denn es weinte heftig und beruhigte sich erst allmählich. Der Häuptling hielt mir noch große Reden, deren Sinn ich aber nicht verstehen konnte. Unterwegs stand das Mädchen unter der besonderen Obhut meines indianischen Führers, der angeblich sein Vetter war. Er war sehr galant zu ihm, trug ihm die Decke, brachte das Essen auf einem Teller usw. Das Mädchen ging immer dicht vor und hinter ihm her.

Der Maskentanz, den ich bei den Šavajé sah, war ein idjäzö-Tanz und dem der Karajá sehr ähnlich. Er fand am ersten Abend statt. Die beiden Masken standen vor der Hütte nebeneinander, aber einander zugewendet, und sangen einen Vers mit Kürbisrasselbegleitung. Dann tanzten sie zusammen gegen das Dorf vor und wieder zurück. Das wiederholte sich mehrmals. Der Tanz endigte mit lebhaften Verbeugungen am Dorfe. Nachts saßen die jungen Leute vor der Maskenhütte und sangen Tanzlieder mit Rasselbegleitung. Auch diese Lieder waren denen der Karajá sehr ähnlich. Photographieren der Masken ließen die Šavajé am nächsten Tage nicht zu, so daß ich mich aufs Skizzieren verlegen mußte. Die Masken waren Zylindermasken mit Federmosaikverkleidung. Als Körperhülle dienten schwarz gefärbte Blattschurze für Hüften und Schultern.

In Schischá erhielt ich Maskennachbildungen, und zwar solche der Idjälhöni-Maske, der ambäšwädä-Maske und der lädöni-Maske. Davon scheint Idjälhöni eine typische Šavajémaske zu sein; denn die Gesänge dieser Maske, die ich bei den Karajá phonographisch aufnehmen konnte, wurden mir von diesen stets als Šavajégesänge bezeichnet. An sonstigen Šavajégesängen erhielt ich phonographisch dêsoi dêsoi, ein Gesang, den sie nach Erlegung eines Jaguars singen.

Weiteres über die Masken der Šavajé siehe in meinem Aufsatze: Tanzmaskennachbildungen vom mittleren Araguaya; Jahrbuch des Museums für Völkerkunde zu Leipzig, Band 3, Leipzig 1910.

Ihre Sprache erscheint nach meinen Aufnahmen der der Karajá gleich. Doch enthält sie einige völlig verschiedene Worte, siehe Tapir, Gavião, Mais, rote und schwarze Nackenquasten, Unterarmschmuck aus zwei Wülsten mit Fransenbehang, Wadenschmuck mit Quasten, Blattpfeife; abweichend ist Caracara.

Ein Vergleich ergibt, daß die Südhorde der Karajá den Šavajé sprachlich ein wenig näher steht als die Nordhorde, gewiß eine Folge der Überwanderungen von den Šavajé zur Südhorde.

[pp. 368 - 402 not processed]

IV. Die Tapirapé.

1. Historisches. Der Stamm der Tapirapé ist bisher nur aus Erkundungen bekannt. Zum ersten Male betreten wurde ihr Land wahrscheinlich von dem Abenteurer João de Godoy Pinto da Silveira etwa 1746—1748, der anscheinend den Zug des Pires Campos zum Aufsuchen der Martyrios-Goldminen wiederholte (Rev. trim. 37, Seite 262, Anm. 18). Ihr Name wird zum ersten Male erwähnt von Fonseca 1773, der bei den Karajá hörte, daß diese mit ihnen in Frieden lebten (Rev. trim. 8, Seite 388). Souza Villa Real berichtet, sie hätten acht Häuptlinge. Etwas verwirrend ist die Angabe des Silva e Souza (1812), die Tapirapé wohnten am Rio Grande (Oberlauf des Araguaya), seien ein friedliches, ackerbauendes Volk, das zu spinnen und weben verstände; sie sollten aus den Sertões der Provinz Rio de Janeiro stammen (Rev. trim. 12, Seite 496). Diese Wohnsitze würden weitab liegen von dem sonst angenommenen Gebiete am Rio Tapirapé. Besser paßt zu dieser allgemeinen Annahme, wenn Cunha Mattos (Rev. trim. 37, Seite 393) erwähnt, daß sie gelegentlich auf die Insel Bananal kämen. Castelnau erwähnt ein Dorf der Tapirapé an einem Flüßchen gegenüber dem Nordende der Insel Bananal (Band 2, Seite 114). Auf seiner Karte aber liegen im Quellgebiet des Rio Tapirapé, dessen Lauf übrigens im allgemeinen richtig dargestellt ist, drei Dörfer: eins der Tapirapé, eins der Mangara Curera und eins der Milo. Moraes Jardim berichtet (O Rio Araguaya, Rio 1880), daß ein Flußdampfer 10 leguas weit den Tapirapé aufwärts bis zum Hafen dieser Indianer gefahren sei. Die Tapirapé seien noch ohne Verbindung mit der Kultur, aber gelehrig und fleißig. Ehrenreich teilt mit (Südamerikanische Stromfahrten, Seite 11), daß der Dampfer, mit dem er fuhr, den Tapirapé bereits 60 km aufwärts befahren habe (vielleicht handelt es sich hier um denselben Dampfer und um dieselbe Reise). Hier hause das merkwürdige Tupivolk der Tapirapé, das als gastfrei und sanftmütig gelte. Leider konnte Ehrenreich sie nicht besuchen, da der Dampfer weiterfuhr. Jedenfalls geht aus diesen Nachrichten nur das hervor, daß am Rio Tapirapé das Tapirapé genannte Volk wohnt, das mit den Karajá in friedlichem Verkehre steht. Coudreau verwirrt nun das ganze Bild durch seine Mitteilungen (Voyage au Tocantins-Araguaya, Paris 1897). Nach ihm (Seite 110) sind die Tapirapé Karajá, die so genannt werden, weil sie am Unterlauf des Tapirapé wohnen. Seite 174 erwähnt er ein Dorf der

Tafel 69.

1. Kamm.

2. Dollcuye.

3. 4.
Halbcuyen.

6.

5. Kiepe.

7.

8.
6—8. Rechteckige Transporttäschchen.

9. Elastische Transporttasche.

Gegenstände der Tapirapé.

[Fanciny p. 404]

Tapirapé am Fecho de Tapirapé und ein Dorf der Karajá fünf Tage im Tapirapéfluß aufwärts; das eine Dorf besteht aus einem Haus mit 10, das andere aus einem Haus mit 20 Bewohnern (Seite 186). Hier werden also die Tapirapé als Horde der Karajá angesehen, die an der Mündung des Flusses selbst wohnen, und im Flusse befindet sich fünf Tage oberhalb der Mündung nochmals ein Dorf der Karajá! Coudreau war hier Ende April, er traf nur wenige Orte der Karajá an. Seine sonstigen Nachrichten sind ebenfalls sehr verwirrt und unsicher, so daß man auch diese auf falsch verstandene Mitteilungen der Karajá zurückführen kann.

2. Erkundetes. Die Nachrichten, die ich von den Karajá erhielt, waren folgende:

Die Tapirapé (auf karajá: üöhü) wohnen 6—9 Tagereisen im Boot oberhalb der Mündung des Flusses in den Araguaya. Man hat vom Landungsplatz noch einen halben, nach anderen zwei Tage, über den Camp zu laufen, um in ihre Dörfer zu gelangen. Sie bewohnen drei Dörfer, und zwar ein großes und zwei kleinere (nach einer vereinzelten Angabe vier Dörfer). Die Männer tragen aus Palmblatt geflochtene Penisstulpe. Das Haar wird von beiden Geschlechtern hinten bis zum Kreuz herabhängend getragen. Die Männer tragen lange Lippenpflöcke aus (rötlichem?) Stein. Auch Ohrpflöcke sind üblich. Der Schmuck ist ähnlich dem der Karajá. Tätowierung ist bei den verheirateten Frauen vorhanden, sie schneiden sich senkrechte Linien ins Kinn und je eine Linie beiderseits von den Mundwinkeln schräg abwärts; diese Linien werden schwarz gefärbt. Ihre Nahrung erwerben sie vor allem durch den Anbau der Mandioka; da sie sehr fleißig sind, bauen sie große Mengen. Sie gelten daher bei den Karajá als reich. An Tieren halten sie Hunde und vor allem Araras, die die Karajá von ihnen kaufen. Ihre Waffen sind Bogen und Pfeile, Keulen, Speere und Speerschleuder. Sie verstehen die Bearbeitung der Baumwolle. Die gesponnenen Fäden wickeln sie zu großen Knäueln auf, gleich denen der Karajá. Ihre großen, festgeflochtenen, baumwollenen Netzdecken mit breitem, schwarzem Mittelstreifen werden von den Karajá gern gekauft. Auch die Töpferei wird von ihren Frauen betrieben. Ihre Sprache ist verschieden von der der Karajá; beide Völker verstehen sich nicht. Das Verhältnis der Karajá zu den Tapirapé scheint früher ein friedliches gewesen zu sein. Mit Eisenwaren tauschten die Karajá sich Netzdecken, Bogen, Araras, Steinlippenpflöcke, Lebensmittel usw. ein. Als Treffpunkt diente eine Sandbank im Rio Tapirapé gegenüber einem hohen Steilufer, wenig unterhalb der Stelle, bis zu der die Karajá für gewöhnlich ihre jährlichen Fischzüge ausdehnen. Die Karajá hatten diese Gelegenheit benutzt, um heimlich in den von Männern entblößten Orten Frauen und Kinder zu rauben. Wie schon oben (Seite 320) erwähnt, war es schließlich vor etwa 6—7 Jahren deswegen zu einem feindlichen Zusammenstoß zwischen beiden Stämmen gekommen; seitdem meiden die Karajá diese Stelle, sie gehen nicht mehr so weit flußaufwärts. Die geraubten Frauen benutzen die Karajá als Sklavinnen zum Arbeiten sowie als Dorfdirnen, die Kinder werden in den Stamm aufgenommen.

a b

Abb. 262 a, b.
Tätowierung der Tapirapéfrauen.

Abb. 263.
Bemalung eines Tapirapémädchens.

3. Beobachtungen in Karajádörfern. In den Dörfern der Karajá sah ich im ganzen zwei Frauen, drei Jungfrauen und zwei Knaben der Tapirapé. Sie waren kleiner und zierlicher als die Karajá. Die Frauen trugen schwarze Schnittätowierung am Kinn und auf den Backen (siehe Abb. 262 a b). Ein Mädchen war im Gesicht rot bemalt (Abb. 263).

An Gegenständen, die von den Tapirapé stammen sollten, erhielt ich in den Karajádörfern nahe der Tapirapémündung folgende: den Kamm (kuwíá; Tafel 69, Abb. 1); seine Machart ist identisch mit der der Karajá, das sehr regelmäßige Geflechtmuster weicht aber von denen der Karajá ab. Die Spindel (Abb. 264) mit doppelkonischem Wachswirtel unterscheidet sich in nichts von denen der Karajá.

Die Keule (twurá, Abb. 265) ist der Form nach den Rundkeulen der Karajá gleich. Die eine Seite der vorderen Keulenhälfte ist geriefelt und beiderseits von einer erhabenen Leiste flankiert, die gruppenweise Querstriche trägt. Die Rolle am Handgriff hat drei Riefen; der Handgriff ist geriefelt und trägt ebenfalls zwei Leisten mit Querstrichen und Vertiefungen.

Die Vollkeule (kaitá; Tafel 69, Abb. 2) trägt denen der Karajá ähnliche Schnitzmuster; doch ist alles sehr roh ausgeführt. Von den beiden Halbkeulen (kásedí; Tafel 69, Abb. 3, 4) ist die eine mit einer Quaste aus roten Baumwollfäden versehen; ihre Muster erinnern an Karajáschnitzmuster, während die Muster der anderen völlig fremdartig und ziemlich roh und unbeholfen eingeschnitten sind.

Die Puppe (diöhó, Abb. 266) aus weißer Erde, von rhombischer Gestalt, stellt eine Tapirapé-

Abb. 264.
Spindel.

Abb. 265.
Keule.
Tapirapé.

jungfrau dar. Als Haar dient eine Wachswulst, die von einer Ecke aus an den beiden benachbarten Kanten herabgeführt ist. An ihr sind ein Scheitel und Armstulpen (rote Bemalung zwischen zwei Wülsten) angebracht. Außerdem trägt die Puppe zwei Ohrstäbe. Im Zentrum und an den vier Ecken befinden sich kleine Löcher, die nach den Seiten mit einer, nach oben und unten mit zwei Linien mit dem Zentrum verbunden sind. Die ganze Figur ist 5 cm hoch und breit und 3 cm dick. Hergestellt ist sie von einem Tapirapéknaben. Ich kann natürlich nicht mit Bestimmtheit behaupten, daß alle diese Gegenstände wirklich von der Tapirapé stammen. Vor allem ist bei der Spindel nicht nachzukommen; doch haben sie alle mehr oder weniger etwas den Karajá Fremdes an sich.

An Worten erlangte ich durch die Karajá in deren vielleicht verderbter Aussprache noch folgende: Penisstulp: höölä; Urukú: kää; Tabak: bädúmä.

4. **Beobachtungen im Tapirapégebiet.** Bei der Befahrung des Rio Tapirapé traf ich nun auf Spuren eines Volkes, von dem ich annehme, daß es die Tapirapé gewesen sind. Denn ich traf sie etwa in der Gegend, in der nach den Mitteilungen der Karajá die Tapirapé wohnen sollten; sodann überschritt ich die Grenze des Karajágebietes gegen das Tapirapégebiet, wie meine Karajábegleiter erklärten; schließlich stimmt die Zahl der angetroffenen Dörfern (drei) mit der von den Karajá angegebenen überein.

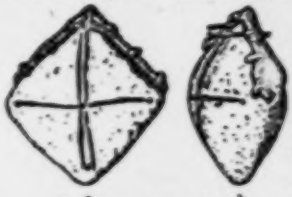


Abb. 266 a, b.
Puppe aus weißer Erde.

Die Spuren, die ich antraf, waren folgende: am 12. Tag der Flußfahrt Fußspuren auf einer Sandbank; am 13. Tag einen durch einen Fischzaun versperrten See, daneben im Walde einen Bratplatz, von dem ein Weg nordwärts über den Camp lief; am 14. Tage einen zweiten Bratplatz mit Campweg; vom Mittag dieses Tages ab hörten alle Spuren auf. Vom 12. bis 14. Tage dagegen waren überall Feuerstellen sowie Reste alter Seeabsperrungen zu sehen. Auf dem Campwege vom ersten Bratplatz aus, der später den vom zweiten von links her aufnahm, erreichten wir am zweiten Tage des Landmarsches ein großes Dorf, am dritten Tage zwei kleinere Dörfer, alle drei verlassen und völlig verfallen. Wasser war auf dem Camp, auf dem die Dörfer sich befanden, nicht zu finden; die Sümpfe und Bäche, zu denen Wege hinabliefen, waren ausgetrocknet und gaben bei Grabungen zum Teil in 1 m Tiefe noch keine feuchte Erde, geschweige denn Wasser.

Nach den Funden und Beobachtungen, die ich an diesen Stellen machte, habe ich mir folgende Anschauung gebildet. Der Stamm wohnt auf dem Hochcamp, der sich von dem südlichen Knie des Tapirapé aus nach Norden erstreckt bis zu den hohen Gebirgen (oder Plateaurändern), die ihn im Norden und Westen einfassen. Vor diesen Rändern zieht sich eine gewaltige Senke hin, anscheinend das Quellgebiet des Tapirapé, der von da aus den Hochcamp im Westen und Süden umfließt, um dann nach Nordosten abzubiegen.

hier, etwa 130 km direkt westlich von der Tapirapémündung, wohnt das Volk während der Regenzeit in einem großen und zwei kleineren Dörfern. Das große Dorf schien 3—4, das zweite kleinere 2—3, das dritte vielleicht eben so viele Häuser gehabt zu haben. Die Häuser waren derartig verfallen, daß die Konstruktion nicht mehr erkennbar war; anscheinend waren es große rechteckige Gebäude mit spitzem Giebeldach. Die Dörfer liegen dicht an dem großen Waldgebiet, das die Senke vor den Gebirgen begleitet. Ringsum dehnen sich in kleineren Senken große Sümpfe, zu denen Bachläufe ziehen. Während der Trockenzeit trocknen diese Wasserstellen vollkommen aus, so daß selbst bis 1 m tiefe Löcher im Bachbett keine feuchte Erde liefern. Infolgedessen sind die Indianer gezwungen, nach Wasserplätzen abzuwandern, und anscheinend suchen sie da zunächst den oberen Tapirapé auf. Früher scheinen sie weiter abwärts bis zu einer Stelle gekommen zu sein, wo sie mit den Karajá, die ihre Fischzüge bis hierher ausdehnten, zusammentrafen und in Tauschverkehr mit ihnen traten. Dieser Handelsplatz liegt etwa 30 km südöstlich vom ersten Dorf (34 km vom zweiten und dritten). Infolge der Kämpfe mit den Karajá meiden sie jetzt dieses Gebiet und kommen weiter oberhalb an den Fluß, noch ehe er nach Nordosten abbiegt. Hier fischen sie nacheinander mittels Giftsipo durch Zäune abgesperrte Seen aus. Dabei scheinen sie von oben nach unten zu ziehen; denn der obere Bratplatz wies neben sehr alten Balken nur wenige neue auf, während der untere anscheinend ganz neu angelegt war. Dieser untere, an dem sie Mitte bis Ende August 1908 fischten, liegt etwa 16 km südsüdwestlich vom ersten Dorf (24 km vom zweiten und dritten). Die gut ausgetretenen Wege, die von beiden Bratplätzen ausgehen, sich vereinigen und über das erste Dorf zu den beiden anderen führen, scheinen darauf hinzuweisen, daß die Indianer jährlich diese Stellen wieder besuchen. Wohin sie von hier aus ziehen, konnte ich nicht feststellen; vielleicht sind sie über den Tapirapé nach Süden gegangen. Jedenfalls wies ein äußerst fischreicher Campsee, mehrere km vom Handelsplatz entfernt, keine menschlichen Spuren auf.

Das Volk scheint sehr zahlreich zu sein. Die Zahl der Häuser ist zwar gering, aber deren Ausmaße schienen doch ziemlich erhebliche zu sein. Die 26 riesigen Bratroste am ersten und 10—15 am zweiten Bratplatz, die von Fußstapfen völlig zertretenen Sandbänke am ersten Fischsee lassen jedenfalls auf eine große Volksmenge schließen. Geschlafen wird anscheinend in Hängematten. Darauf weisen einmal die Netzdecken hin, die die Karajá von ihnen kaufen, dann aber das völlige Fehlen von Lagerplätzen am Bratplatz, der doch viele Tage hindurch benutzt worden ist.

Neben Mandioka (nach Angabe der Karajá) baut das Volk auch Mais an, wie aus vielen, zum Teil verkohlten Maiskolben am Bratplatze hervorgeht. Als Haustiere halten sie Hunde, deren Spuren auf den Sandbänken zahlreich zu finden waren. Daß sie der Jagd obliegen, ist wohl anzunehmen. Der Camp ist äußerst reich an Rehen, die Wälder an Wildschweinen. Sicher werden sie sich diese Fleischquellen nicht entgehen lassen.

Daneben wird der Fischfang im großen betrieben durch Vergiften des

5: Krause SP9 Caraja

Abb. 267.
Der Flußgrund am Fischsee der Tapirapé, vom Fluß aus gesehen.
Nach Photographie gezeichnet.

Wassers abgesperrter Seen. Sperrpfähle sahen wir allenthalben im Gebiete dieses Volkes vor Seemündungen. Der erste See, den wir trafen, war vollkommen durch einen noch grünen Zaun abgesperrt. Die Lage des Zaunes geht aus Abb. 7 hervor. Der Zaun ist vom Seeufer bis zur Sandbank, die ihn vom Flusse trennt, gezogen. Senkrechte Pfosten sind eingerammt, die durch einen wagerechten, auf dem Wasser schwimmenden Balken miteinander verbunden sind. Sie sind durch schräge Streben von beiden Seiten gestützt. Innen ist dichtes Blattwerk angebunden, das das Hinaustreiben der betäubten Fische verhindern soll (Abb. 267). Die Pfähle waren nahebei im Walde auf dem südlichen Ufer geschlagen worden. Das Wasser war durch Giftsipo vergiftet, der in Mengen auf der Sandbank und am hinteren Ende des Sees lag; er war im Walde am See-Ende geholt worden. Boote zum Befahren des Sees haben die Indianer offenbar nicht. Dafür dienten einige leichte Baumstämme, die miteinander verbunden im See an der Sandbank lagen. Auf diese Weise hatten sie alle Arten von Fischen, auch Pirarucús erlegt, offenbar in großer Menge, wie die große Anzahl der Bratroste (26) beweist. Schildkröten hatten sie ebenfalls gefangen und lebend aufbewahrt. Sie hatten eine Art Käfig gebaut, in dessen Schatten die Schildkröten die heiße Tageszeit überstehen konnten (Abb. 268). Etwa 1 m hohe Stöcke waren in einem Kreise von ¾ m Durchmesser in den Boden gesteckt, mit Blättern durchflochten und durch Sipoumwickelung miteinander verbunden.

Abb. 268.
Schildkrötenkäfig.

Die Zubereitung der Nahrung scheint durch Kochen und Rösten zu geschehen. Das Feuer wird mit großen Holzkloben übertragen, die allenthalben umherlagen. Gekocht wird offenbar in Tongefäßen, deren Scherben am ersten Bratplatz und an den Wegen zerstreut lagen. Hauptsächlich scheint aber die Ausbeute der Fischzüge geröstet zu werden, eventuell auf Vorrat. Denn die Größe der Bratplätze und die zahlreichen Kiepen ließen auf Großbetrieb schließen. Geröstet wurde nahe den Seen im Walde auf großen Plätzen, auf denen sich riesige Bratständer befanden. Diese hatten dreieckige oder rechteckige Form, bis 4 qm Roststäche und waren an den Bäumen des Waldes montiert. Oft waren mehrere mit ihren Gestellen vereinigt (siehe Abb. 269a—c; Tafel 29, Abb. 2). Die Balken dieser Ständer waren durch Bast miteinander verbunden. Zugeschlagen waren sie offenbar mit Steinäxten, während dünnere Zweige scharfe Messerschnitte erkennen ließen. Die Eisenmesser haben also hier infolge des Zwischenhandels ihren Einzug gehalten, noch ehe ein Weißer das Volk selbst gesehen hat.

Die geröstete Ausbeute wird offenbar von den Indianern auf ihren weiteren Zügen nach anderen Wasserstellen mitgenommen. Dazu dienen Transportkiepen sowie kleinere Tragtäschchen, von denen ich eine Auswahl aus den auf dem Bratplatze herumliegenden Exemplaren mitbrachte.

Die Kiepen sind denen der Karajá ähnlich gebaut, aber wesentlich kleiner. Die eine Kiepe ist wie die der Karajá aus zwei Palmwedeln geflochten;

die Rippen bilden die beiden Längsstangen, die verflochtenen Innenwedel den Boden, die Außenwedel den durchbrochenen Rand. Ihre Maße sind 87 cm Länge, 26 cm Breite, 14 cm Höhe. Tragbänder fehlen. Die andere Kiepe (Tafel 69, Abb. 5) ist dagegen nur aus einem Wedel hergestellt, indem die Rippe zweimal gebrochen ist und auf diese Weise die beiden Längsstangen und untere Querstange bildet. Zur Verstärkung der Längsstangen sind zwei besondere Stangen angebunden. Bodengeflecht und Seitenstäbchen sind wesent-

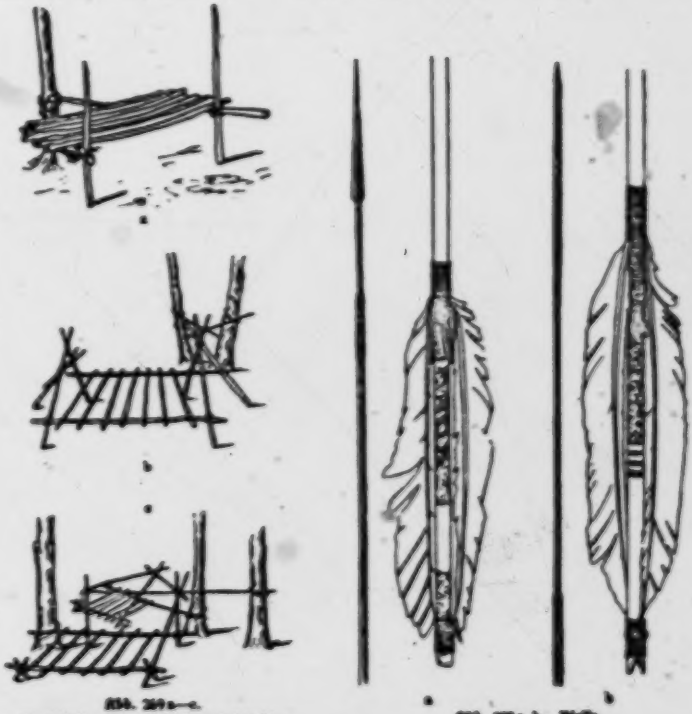


Abb. 269 a—c.
Bestäuber vom großen Bratplatz der Tapirapé.

Abb. 270 a, b. Pfeile.

lich zierlicher als bei der vorigen hergestellt. Sie ist nur 68 cm lang, 25 cm breit und 15 cm hoch.

Die Taschen sind alle aus einem Palmwedel hergestellt in der Art, daß die Rippe die untere Querkante bildet, über der sich die aus den Fiedern geflochtene Tasche aufbaut (Tafel 69, Abb. 6—8). Diese hat durchgängig rechteckige Form und ist aus einfachem 1-auf-1-nieder-Geflecht hergestellt. Wo Tragbänder vorhanden sind, sind sie an der Längs- oder Querseite be-

festigt. Abweichend in der Form ist nur eine Tasche (Tafel 69, Abb. 9); ihr oberer Rand ist eng zusammengezogen, so daß nur eine kleine runde Öffnung übrig bleibt, unter der sich die Tasche weit nach allen Seiten ausbauscht. Die Maße der Tasche sind: 10—16 cm Höhe bei 15—37 cm Länge.

An sonstigen Funden sind noch zu erwähnen: eine Quaste aus rotem Baumwollgarn, die vollkommen einer abgeschnittenen Jünglingsnackenquaste der Karajá entspricht. Sodann zwei Pfeile. Davon hat der eine (Abb. 270ᵃ) eine flache, 43 cm lange Holzspitze mit zweiseitig ausgeschnittenen Widerhaken und zweikantiger Schärfe. Der Taquaraschaft ist 110 cm lang und trägt hinten die zweiteilige Fiederung, deren Drall eine Vierteldrehung ausmacht, und die nur am oberen und unteren Ende durch Umwickelung befestigt ist. Die obere Umwickelung besteht aus schwarzer Baumwolle, in sie sind nach innen rote Federchen eingebunden. Der Zwischenraum zwischen den Federn ist von oben her bis zur Mitte mit Rotlack bemalt. Die Endumwickelung besteht aus feinem, weißem Faden, sie trägt einen gekreuzten Faden und reicht bis zur Kerbe heran. Die Ansatzumwickelung zwischen Schaft und Spitze ist aus Embira hergestellt und besteht aus zwei Teilen, die durch Spiralumwickelung miteinander verbunden sind. Dieser Pfeil weist also nichts auf, was den Karajá fremd sein würde. Ganz anders der andere Pfeil (Abb. 270ᵇ). Die langabgeschrägte, 30 cm lange Rohrspitze ist auf einen runden Holzstiel von 49 cm Länge aufgesteckt und am Ansatz mit Embira einfach umwickelt. Der Holzstiel ist seinerseits erst wieder in den 75 cm langen Rohrschaft eingelassen. Dessen Ansatzumwickelung aus schwarzer Embira erstreckt sich fast bis zur oberen Fiederumwickelung. Die Fiederung ist in gleicher Weise wie beim anderen Pfeil ausgestaltet. Die obere Umwickelung besteht aus schwarzem Baumwollfaden, daran schließt sich eine schwarze Embiraumwickelung, die bis zur Hälfte des Zwischenraumes der sehr langen Fiederung reicht. In sie sind rote Federchen eingewickelt. Die Kerbumwickelung besteht aus weißem Faden und trägt drei parallellaufende weitgekreuzte Fäden.

Fassen wir alles zusammen, so sind die Tapirapé ein Volk, das ähnlich den Karajá und Savajé in der Regenzeit auf dem Camp an Seen lebt, in der Trockenzeit an den Fluß kommt, um da zu fischen, aber, im Unterschied zu jenen, verschiedene Stellen nacheinander aufsucht, also innerhalb eines bestimmten Gebietes wandert. Es pflanzt Mandioka und Mais, verarbeitet Baumwolle zu Hängematten und Schmucksachen, kennt Töpferei, Verarbeitung von Steinen zu Beilen und Lippenpflöcken, führt Bogen, Pfeile und Keulen und liebt es, seine Gegenstände durch Schnitzereien zu verzieren In vielen Dingen scheint ihre Kultur der der Karajá sehr nahe zu stehen, sie gehören wohl mit diesen zu derselben ethnographischen Provinz, die streng von der des Xingugebietes geschieden ist; sie unterscheiden sich jedoch wesentlich von ihnen durch ihre kleinere Gestalt, die fremde Sprache und die Unkenntnis der Schiffahrt.

[p.412 is blank]

Anhang.

I. Wörterverzeichnisse.
II. Texte.

[p. 413]

[p. 414 is blank]

Anhang I.

Wörterverzeichnisse.

Zur Transskription benutze ich die Tabelle von Meinhof in Neumayer, Anleitung zu wissenschaftlichen Beobachtungen auf Reisen. 3. Aufl., Bd. II, S. 484.

Dabei habe ich aber folgende Zufügungen gemacht:

- bedeutet Nasallerung (ã, ẽ usw., ñ).
ɾ — Zwischenlaut zwischen l und r.
ɗ — „ „ d und l.
ɦ — „ „ h und w.
û bedeutet, daß bald o, bald u gehört wurde.

Jeder Vokal wird für sich gesprochen.

Diphthonge sind durch ‿ gekennzeichnet: au͡, ol͡, al͡. In zusammengesetzten Worten werden auslautender Vokal des 1. und anlautender des 2. Wortes oft diphthongartig gesprochen; ich habe das durch Belassung des Bindestriches und der Längenbezeichnung auf den Vokalen unter dem Diphthongzeichen gekennzeichnet. Besonders häufig ist diese Erscheinung bei den Kayapóworten.

Buchstaben in ( ) wurden zuweilen gehört, zuweilen nicht.

' bedeutet, daß beim Schnellsprechen ein Vokal ausgelassen wurde.

In den Verzeichnissen bedeutet S: Worte der Südhorde,
N: „ „ Nordhorde,
T: Worte, deren Bedeutung aus meinen Texten genommen wurde,
E: Worte des Verzeichnisses Ehrenreichs [1]),
C: „ „ „ Castelnaus [2]),
Co: „ „ „ Coudreaus [3]).

[1]) Materialien zur Sprachenkunde Brasiliens.
I. Die Sprache der Karayá (Goyaz). Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, Berlin, Jahrgang 1894, S. 1—32.
II. Die Sprache der Kayapó (Goyaz). Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, Berlin, Jahrgang 1894, S. 35—57.

[2]) Expédition dans les parties centrales de l'Amérique du Sud. Histoire du voyage. Bd. 5. Paris 1851. S. 268—270.
Die Worte dieser drei Autoren sind in deren Transskription wiedergegeben.

[3]) Voyage au Tocantins-Araguaya. Paris, Lahure, 1897. Dialecte Carajá, S. 259—270. Dialecte Cayapó, S. 271—290.

A. Karajá.

I. Körperteile.

	♂	♀
Kopf:	baã (S), i-ḷà (N); wa-ara (E); woara (C); ouara (Co)	
	[1])öhõ (S)	köhõ (S)
— -haar:	ládẽ (S); wa-radẽ (N); wa-radã (E), woara-day (C); ouaradé (Co)	ládẽ (S), irãdẽ (N); i-radã (E)
Gesicht:	ãšõnẽ (S); naonsana (Co)	kãšõnẽ (S)
Stirn:	õḷõ, õḷũ (S), wa-ũḷũ (N); wa-oro (E); wa-a-ro (C); oucouro (Co)	kṇ̃ũ (S), wã-kã(ã)ḷũ (N)
Auge:	i-ḷũã (S, N); wa-ruã (E); wa-a-rouwai (C); ouaroudé (Co)	wã-ḷũã (S), i-ḷũã (N)
Augenlid:	lũã-brõdẽkẽ (S); i-ruãbratǫkẹ (E); ourou dignetẽ (Co)	
Wimpern:	(wã)-lũ-šẽ (S, N); wa-ruša (E); wato-ta-tou-serai (C); ouarouché (Co)	(a)-lũ-šẽ (S, N)
Brauen:	[2])lũ-(b)lõd'kẽ(rẽ)-sirĩ (S, N) wa-ritetẽ (E); ouaroutati (Co)	lũ-(b)lõd'kẽrẽsirĩ (N) [2])lulõdẽ (S)
Nase:	dẽḷã (S); dããẓõ (N); wa-dãanõa-õ (E); wa-day-asan (C)	dẽḷã (S); dããkũ (N); wa-dãanõa (E)
Nasenloch:	[4])dẽḷidjõ (S); wa-dearõ (E)	
Mund:	lũã (S); wã-lũ (N); wa-ru (E); wa-a-rou (C); ouaarou (Co)	i-ḷũ (N); rũã (E)
Oberlippe:	zũũkã (S); wa-idõotã (E) [5])wa-ltjõsḷĩ (N)	[illegible]kõgirĩ (N)

[1]) Wohl Verwechslung mit Stirn?
[2]) Vergl. Augenlid. Endsilbe: sirĩ, vergl. Wimpern, Lippenbart, Kinnbart.
[3]) ~ Auge -haar.
[4]) Vergl. C: wa-day-asan-djo — Lippen; ist wohl versehen für Nasenloch.
[5]) Wohl Verwechslung mit Lippenbart.

	♂	♀
Unterlippe:	djīātē (S); wa-idžetā (E); oualété — Lippen (Co)	
	[9]) dölütē (N)	dölütö (N)
Zunge:	dörötö (S), wā-dölütö (N); wa-darotö (E); wa-cla-rato (C); ouadoroto (Co)	dölötö (S), dölütö (N); torotö (E)
	dörīgö (S)	
Zahn:	djūū (S), wā-tjū (N); wa-idžu (E); wa-adjou (C); ouadiou (Co)	djūū (S), tjūū (N); tūū (E)
Kinn:	[7]) djūrūtē (S); wa-djou-outai (C); ouadou outié (Co)	djūhutē (S)
		dehuta (E)
Lippenbart:	[8]) sökū-žērī (S); wa-ðokuðerö (E)	
	[8]) djiö-sirī (N); oua'idiotéri (Co)	dīkö-girī (N)
	[8]) dūdēlēhī (S)	djūdē-žērī (S)
Kinnbart:	[10]) djūdū-žerī (S), djüēdē-sirī, duhū-dēsīlī (N); wa-dehuteðerö (E)	djüēdē-sirī (N)
	ioutécéré (Co)	
	ūlālö (S)	djūlālö (S)
Backen:	w(ö)ā(h)ö (N)	wā(ā)kö (N)
Ohr:	nādē (S)	
	nöötī (S), wā-nūhötī (N); wana-outai (C); noon'oti (Co)	nöhödī (S); wā-nūhötī (N)
Ohrläppchen:	nādē (S); wa-nohö-tā (E)	tohoń-tā (E)
Ohrloch:	nöhödē-wö (S); tohoń-tā-ua (E)	tohoń-tā-uokū (E)
Hals:	lāhö (S); wa-ðaū (E); ouabato (Co)	mādö (S)
	[11]) wālötī (N); walaté (C)	kālötī (N)
Schulter:	[12]) kāiöt' (S), āsīötī (N); wa-āiotā (E); wansiolé (C)	kāīköt' (S), āsīkötī (N); wa-āikotā (E)
Oberarm:	hū'dīlālā (S)	
		kāīkjö (S)
	[13]) ö-ānsīiö (N); wa-ańðia (E); ouachi-con (Co)	ö-ānsīīkö (N), wa-ańðika (E)

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[6]) Wohl Verwechslung mit Zunge.
[7]) Vergl. Zahn; Endsilbe -tī — Knochen?
[8]) Vergl. Oberlippe.
[9]) Wohl Verwechslung mit Kinnbart.
[10]) Vergl. Kinn. Für žerī, sirī vergl. Anm. 2.
[11]) Wohl Verwechslung mit Nacken; vergl. E: Nacken — wa-ðaū-tā: zusammengesetzt aus Hals- und tī — Knochen?
[12]) Vergl. Oberarm; Endsilbe tī — Knochen.
[13]) Vergl. C: Arm — wa-aio. Als Name der vorderen Extremität (Arm oder Pfote) einer Figur im Skizzenbuch wurde dēkhā (N) genannt. Vergl. dazu Ellbogen.

	♂	♀
Ellbogen:	tã(ẽ)hõ (S)	dãkõhõ (S)
	wa-hotirarekõ (E); ouatiraricon (Co)	i-hotirarekõ (E)
Unterarm:	dã]ĩdã (S), dẽõlũtẽ (N); wa-ðekoritõ (E)	lãkõĩdã (S), dẽkõlũtẽ (N)
Handgelenk:	wã-dẽkõlãtĩ (N)	dẽkõlãtĩ (N)
	wa-ðedãtã (E)	
Hand:	(wã)-dẽwõ (S, N); wa-ðebõ (E); wadebo (C); outépon (Co)	
Handfläche:	[14]) wã-dẽwõ-bẽ (S); wa-ðebõ-bẽ (E)	wa-ðebõ-kubẽ (E)
Handrücken:	wã-dẽwõ-rãdĩ (S); wa-ðebõbrõ (E)	
Finger:	dãbõ (S); wadebo (C)	dãbõ (S)
	dãbõnu]ẽ (N)	
	wa-ðekoratã (E)	[15]) dẽkõlãtĩ (N)
	ouadéchicon (Co)	
Daumen:	(wã)-dãbõ-kũlũ (S); wa-ðebõ-yuhúðedõ (E); ouadéyoudouou (Co)	dãbõdjũ (S); wa-ðebõtiuhuðedo (E)
Zeigefinger:	wã-dẽwã-lãdĩ (S)	
	dãbõdẽ (S)	dãbõd'k" (S)
	wa-ðebõ-kóðedõ (E); ouadéboutoucou (Co)	wa-ðebõ-kokúðedõ (E)
Mittelfinger:	wã-dẽwã-drã (S)	
	dãbõ-dẽãdõ (S), wa-ðebõ-toáðedõ (E)	dãbõ-d'ká (S); wa-ðebõtokáðedõ (E)
	ouadéhoutoucou'calandoumé (Co)	
Ringfinger:	[16]) wã-dẽwõ-lõkõ (S)	
	dãbõ-hãlõkũ (S)	dãbõ-hãlũtũ (S)
	ouadéboutou' calédou (Co)	
	wã-ðebo-iheóðedõ (E)	wa-ðebo-rekoðehã (E)
Kleinfinger:	dãbõ-hãlũtĩ (S)	dãbõ-hãlũtĩ (S)
	[17]) wa-ðebõ-rokõ (E)	wa-ðebo-rekõðedõ (E)
	ouadéboutoucou'lantot (Co)	
Fingerknöchel:	[18]) dẽbõ-lũblõ (N)	
Fingernagel:	dẽšiã (S), wa-dẽšiã (E)	dẽšĩkẽ (S); wa-dẽšĩkã (E)
	(wã)-dẽšĩõ (S, N); ouadéchiou (Co)	dẽšĩkõ (N)
Weibliche Brust:	kahã (S)	
	i-hukã (E); ouaoucan (Co)	wa-hukaã (E)
	wa-wou-o (C)	

[14]) Zur Endsilbe -bẽ vergl. Fußsohle.
[15]) Vergl. Handgelenk.
[16]) Vergl. E: Kleinfinger.
[17]) Vergl. Ringfinger.
[18]) Vergl. Augenlid, Brauen.

	♂	♀
Brustwarze der Männer:	wa-blüërödí (N) wa-hukanatä (E)	wä-bülëködí (N)
Bauch:	wa͡ũwé (N); wa-huä (E); wa-awai (C) ouaouancame (Co)	wa͡ubükünú (N); i-huä (E)
Nabel:	binú, bënú (N); wa-benö (E); ouabino (Co)	bënú (N); i-benö (E)
Penis:	döö (S); döö, döö (N) nöö (N); wa-nö (E)	döö (N)
Hodensack:	wa-gëú (N)	gëkú (N)
Vulva:	(h)i-dú (N); döö, dëë (N); i-tü (E)	wä-dú, wä-dë (N); wa-atü (E)
Clitoris?:	göö (N) [19])idü-djühú (N)	
Rücken:	wä-göní (N) wa-brà (E) ouarancoti (Co)	wä-göküní (N) i-brä (E)
Podex:	wä-häi-blïblé (N); wa-hatiä (E); wa-a-ti (C); ouaatidième (Co) i-hidjí (N)	wä-hätjü-ëblé (N); i-hati (N)
Oberschenkel:	dö(ü)dí (S) wa-lütí (N); wa-rutä (E); waroté, wa-até (C) ouatirorame = Bein (Co)	dö(ö)dí (S) ë-rütí (N); i-rutä (E)
Kniescheibe:	mönä (S); wa-mena (E) [20])wä-köwö (N) ouarouti = Knie (Co)	i-mena (E) ji-köhö (S), wä-köwökú (N)
Unterschenkel:	[21])dií (S); wöatí (N); wa-ti (E)	dëí (S), i-ti (E)
Fuß:	wä-há (S) i-wä, wäü-wá (N); wa-wä (E); wa-a-wa (C); ouaoua (Co)	wä-há (S) i-wö (N)
Fußsohle:	[22])(wä)-waübé (S, N); wä-waubë (E)	(wä)-wäkübé (S, N), wa-wakubë (E); ouacoubé (Co)
Ferse:	wä-läläkö (S); wä-wäwëjíkö (N); wa-warekö (E); oualocon (Co)	wä-läläkö (S), wä-wäjíkö (N)

[19]) Vergl. Zahn.

[20]) Vergl. E: Kniegelenk: ♂ wa-koho, ♀ i-kohokü. Wohl Verwechslung meiner Gewährsleute. Vergl. auch Mörser.

[21]) ti = Knochen.

[22]) Zur Endsilbe -be vergl. Handfläche. Der Ausdruck bei Co gehört sicher der Frauensprache an.

	♂	♀
Große Zehe: [23]) wä-ǀädúru (S); wa-wayuhúθedo (E)		
Haut: dälödé (N)		wädälödé (N)
wa-tçkę (E); takeu (C); tacou (Co)		i-tçkę (E)
Weiße Haut: [24]) hau̯ödúläǀé (N)		
Schwarze Haut: [25]) hau̯ödúbúñ (N)		
Knochen: ti (N); wa-ti (E)		i-ti (E)
Herz: widjí (S)		wıdjí (S)
wä-dërëdesé (N)		wä-dërëdesé (N)
wa-hukananö (E)		wa-mań-wa-bräkoti-raukü (E)
wa-mantiri (C); ouaman (Co)		
Ader: [26]) wä-dëǀätí (N)		wä-dëkölätí (N)
wa-däθetä (E)		
Puls: kuú, köú (N)		wä-dëdesöjé (N)
wa-notiruru (E)		
Exkremente: i-djiná (N)		
tiǀú (N)		

II. Natur.

Naturerscheinungen.

Sonne: tju(h)ú (S); tjuú (N); tiu (E); tiou (C); tiou ou (Co)		tju(h)ú (S), tjüú (N); tiu ura kakon (E)
Sonne am Mittag: tju-kǀé (S)		
Sonnenfinsternis: [27]) tjuü-hólö-ǀüǀärí (N)		
[27a]) wuöhüǀiwá (S)		
Mond: ahändú (S, N); ahańdö (E); aadou, endo (C); an-andou (Co)		ahändó (S, N)
— 1. Sichel: [28]) ahändüǀóftä (N); ahańdö roira (E)		

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[23]) Vergl. Daumen.
[24]) Vergl. uǀa — weiß.
[25]) Vergl. dubu — schwarz.
[26]) Vergl. Unterarm und Handgelenk. Vielleicht Verwechslung seitens der Indianer.
[27]) Zu ǀüǀärí vergl. läǀäǀí — kommen (T).
[27a]) Zu wuöhú vergl. Pfeil. Siehe S. 339 f.
[28]) ǀöftä: ǀöí — kommen (T); ta ev. — ra — Suffix des eingetretenen Zustandes (E).

	♂	♀
Mond: noch nicht ganz voll (= 2 Monde; gemeint ist wohl der helle und der dunkle Mond): [87]) ahändú-läḷäḷɪ (N)		
— Voll-: [89]) djulúmläälläɪ (N); ahaṅdō inaratua kiranire (E); an-andou irarité bouran (Co)		
— letzte Sichel: ahändū-áḷūḷänä (N); ahaṅdō raturinare (E)		
⊥ Neumond: [90]) ɪkóṇä (N); ahaṅdō i-kura (E)		
Mondgebirge: [91]) kräötě (S, N); krau (E)		
Mondfinsternis: ahändūḷuḷú (S); ahaṅdō rōrō (E); ahändú-lädóḷä (N)		
Erdschatten auf Mond bei Mondfinsternis: [92]) höllɪwäẓɪlūḷó (N)		
Hofring um den Mond: djuūḷá (S); kuäḷó (S)		
Stern: damá (S, N); takina (E, C); taīnan (Co)		dakmä (S, N)
Milchstraße: [93]) bühbí (S)		
[93a]) höllīduḷó(k) (N)		höllīduḷäká (N)
Plejaden: [94]) bōḷōbědó (S); dölöbědó (N); ßerabotö (E)		
Südliches Kreuz: [95]) bōḷōhuá (S); bärahoä (E)		
Sternbild: Skorpionsschweif: [96]) änlöá (N); aṅßauä (E)		
Sternbild: α und β Centauri: [97]) nau̯ěkīé (N); naukiä (E)		
Meteor: däkmälägá (S)		
Sternschnuppe: löšɪwɪūlán (S)		
Himmel: [98]) bɪ(w)ěděké (S); bīuätěkě (E) sonétoutouré (Co)		bīkūěděké (S); bīkuätěkě (E)

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[89]) djulüm: Zusammenhang mit Sonne? läälläɪ wohl von läḷäḷɪ — gehen, kommen (T).

[90]) Von könē — nicht.

[91]) — Frosch.

[92]) Vergl. Sonnenfinsternis: -höllö-ḷūḷä-rɪ.

[93]) — Asche nach Angabe der Indianer, vergl. E: Asche — brɪbi.

[93a]) Vergl. Sonnenfinsternis und Erdschatten auf Mond.

[94]) Vergl. Papageiart.

[95]) — schwarzer Rochen.

[96]) — Jaguar.

[97]) — Strauß.

[98]) bīuä vergl. Regen, Muscheilöffel; děké vergl. Hemd.

	♂	♀
Regen:	brú (S, N); biu (E); bi-ou (C); biou (Co)	biku (E)
Blitz:	brudāiaká (S); biu dāŝokā (E); biouré lacanéri, biouté déca (Co)	
Donner:	biu-mātjú, -mātí (S); biu-ra motü (E); almanti (C); bioumata = Gewitter (Co)	
Regenbogen:	kūādí (S); [39]) koadži (E)	
Trockenzeit:	wōuḷá (S); léouéra (Co) = Sommer	
Regenzeit:	brú (S); biouré nan nan é (Co) = Winter	
Berg:	[40]) tuléhāḷún (S); enwaso = Gebirge (C); amaro = Berg (C); an'ouanlo (Co)	
Wald:	bēr'bůnūk (S)	
	kōdiḷá (S)	kōdiḷá (S)
	bedžiū (E); bédiou (Co)	
	bederaeu (C)	
Camp:	bēdēḷó (S); badero (C); bédéro (Co)	
Wasser:	bāá (S); beā (E); be-ai (C); bé'é (Co)	bāá (S)
Fluß:	bāró (S, N); berō (E, C); bérooco (Co)	bāráků (S, N)
See:	ahů (S, N); aňho (E); en-o (C); an'o (Co)	
Cachoeira:	huḷá (S); aorā (E); oou-rai (C)	horāhākorare (E)
Travessão:	[41]) maná huḷá (S)	
Kleine Steintravessão:	[42]) huḷēlīōḷé (S)	
Wind:	u(ē)hú (S); o ouou (Co)	
Kleine Windwellen (Schauer) auf Wasser:	kōbó (S)	
Schatten:	ūbḷāḷó (S)	
	ūnē (N)	
Echo:	kēnōšīwā, kēnaūšīwā (N)	
Tag:	[43]) džnú (S); tiun (E); roujouban (C)	
Mittag:	tju-īnānādōák (S)	
	tioué tiou ou iri (Co)	
Nachmittag:	[44]) tju-dōétjīōḷú (S)	
Nacht:	(d)ḷnú (S); rūúrere (E); roou (C); rou ou (Co)	
Norden:	djudé (S)	

[39]) — Zitteraal (E).
[40]) Vergl. dazu d(l)uléhā-loko — Fledermaus.
[41]) Vergl. Stein.
[42]) īōḷé — klein.
[43]) Vergl. Sonne.
[44]) Vergl. Sonne; dōétjōú ev. zusammengesetzt mit īōḷé — klein?

	♂	♀
Osten:	ūdīdjīdjō](ōnōrī?) (S)	
Süden:	alōlā (S)	
Westen:	[46]) djīōlō	
heute:	ūdjūlē (S); uidīōā (E)	
gestern:	kānāu (S); kenau (E); kenau (Co)	
morgen:	nudjībē (S); ludjēbū (T); rudžebu (E) bicouroso (Co)	

Mineralreich.

Steinchen im Sand:	ūnaūlūtū (N)	ūnaūkulūtū (N)
Stein:	manā (S); māna (S); man(n)a (C); ma oua (Co)	māna (E)
Bergkristall:	mānadērēgō (S)	
Weiße Erde (als Farbe, Spindelstein usw.):	māna-ūlā (S, N)	
Rote Erde (Farbe für Topfbemalung):	[46]) gugō (S, N)	
	[46]) gōū(-bulē) (N)	
Schwarzer Lehm (zum Baumwollfärben):	[46]) gōūbjulū (S)	
Töpferton:	gōū (S, N); sou-ou, soru (C)	
Salz:	(ī)nātū, nōtākānā (S); joucoura (C); dioura (Co)	
Sand:	kānūlā (S), kīnōlā (N); kanara (C); can oura, cao uara (Co)	kānālā (S), kīnōlā (N)
	ēnaūē (S)	
Sandbank:	[47]) kēnōnā (S); kenarā (E)	
	āwākulī (S)	

Tierreich.

Jaguar:	ānlōā (S, N); āndōā (S); anōauā (E); avoai (C); anolé (Co)	anōokua (E)
Katze:	gāh-anlōō-nē (S); āngōō-nī (S); anoloé'ni (Co)	alōkōl-nī (S)
Wolf:	kōbjērō (S)	
	ahōudā (S); aosa (C)	
Affe:	kajōbī-dē(rū) (S)	
	kjaōbī (S, N); k(a)raābi (E); craobi (C)	kjaōbī (N)

[46]) Vergl. Osten.
[46]) Vergl. Töpferton; so'o'o = Erde (Co).
[47]) Vergl. Sand.

	♂	♀
Affenart:	sĩlólɪ (N)	
Brüllaffe:	agó (S); ããda (E)	
	agó wõburá (S)	
Hirsch: C. paludosus:	b(ũ)ɭõɭá (S, N); brãrã (E)	
— C. campestris:	ũatí (N); wati (E)	
Tapir:	õɭí (S), kõlí (N); kaoñri (E); coonri (C)	kõlí (N)
Schwein: Wildschwein:	ɪšá (S, N); ichon (Co)	
— Hausschwein:	ɪsá (N); šanẽ (S)	
Nasenbär:	tšuší, tjuzó (S); djuší, dšuší, duší (N); toucho (C)	
— Schwanz des:	[48]) djušõn-hãɭaɭú (N)	
Kapivara:	huã (N); kũnã (E)	
— -zähne (für Ohrtulpen)		ku(w)ã (S)
Cutia:	hãũlí (S)	
Hase:	d(l)r(l)djé(k) (S)	
Ameisenbär, großer:	wallíí (N); wariri (E); aoudra (C)	
	ouradi (Co)	
Hund:	djõrõgá (N); klõɭõgá (S); kjõɭõgá (N); kulõgá (N); ikoroda (E); colosa, aicorotha, kerota (C); icoroça (Co)	kjõlõgá, kilõgá (N)
Fischotter:	dlũɭã (S); diurã (E); djouré (Co)	
Fledermaus:	(bɪuã)-d(l)ũlẽhã-ɭõkó (S, N); tourãhã (E)	
Maus:	ɪndí (S)	
Pferd:	kãvãɭũ (S)	
Maulesel:	búrũ (S); hãdõã (N)	
Ziege:	dialẽtó (S)	
	ũãtɪní (S); wachini (C)	
Schaf:	bũtõinẽ (S)	
Weitere Namen von Vierfüßlern:	hãbí (N); dešíõ (N)	
Arara, rotblau:	ãndãdõɭã (S, N); daidorã (E); andedoura (C); andédoura (Co) — gelber A.	
—, schwarzblau:	hãnãnã (S); arara (Co) — schwarzer A.	

[48]) hãɭaɭá — Schwanz, vergl. E: to-hãraro — Schwanz; Co: ton'éra'rou — Vogelschwanz.

♂ ♀

Arara, gelbblau: bẽzá, bɪzá (S, N); belɔ̃ã (E); blita (Co) = roter A.
Papagei: dõ|ã (S, N); ndãrã (E); do'oré (Co) bi-idi (C)
Periquittos: ãmãnãbɪ|ĩ (S); bi'iri (Co) = perruche
Papageiart (kleine grüne): [49]) bõlõbẽdõ (N)
Urubu, gewöhnlicher: la|ã (S, N); nããrã (E); la'ara (Co)
— rotschnäbliger: lã|ãdjẽ (S, N); nããradẽã (E)
— Königsgeier (U. re): la|ãlẽzã (S); nararãõa (E)
Caracara: (h)ɪ|ã (S, N); ĩlẽnĩ (S), ĩ(h)ɪ(õ)|ẽ (N); ĩĩra (E)
Geier: kõẽĩdũmã|ũ (S)
õkõã, kõãkõẽ (S)
Gavião: nõkĩkẽ (S)
Eule: kõdãu|ũkũ (S); kaudžurukũ (E); asoukoulé (C)
Nachteule: ãdjũãzanĩ (S)
Kleine Eule: dãrutãũ (S)
Tukano: dõ|rwã (S); toriwa (C) téroucrou (Co)
Cuidac: djũẽ (S)
Specht: dõzõ (S, N)
Taube: dãũã (S); bedãũã (E); botoé (Co)
Strauß: kũsã(hã)wẽ (S)
nãũẽkĩẽ (S, N)
Mutum: kũ|ĩtĩ (S, N); kuritĩ (E)
Jacu: bẽdjũã (S)
ohãrã, kuntĩ (E)
Jacu cigano: (h)ãdanã (S, N)
Perlhuhn: kõkã (S)
Hahn: ẽabũ (S)
Huhn: [50]) (h)ãnĩẽ (S); (h)ãnĩkẽ (S, N); nikẽ (E); (h)ãnĩkẽ (S) aneca (C); anicá (Co)
Hühnerei: hãnĩkẽzĩ (S); nikẽ-zi (E); éici (Co) = Ei
Gaviota: nõtjlẽnĩ, nũdzĩkĩnĩ (S)

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[49]) Vergl. Sternbild Plejaden: bõlõbẽdõ; sollen kleine grüne Papageien darstellen, nach E. Periquittos.

[50]) Für weiße Henne wurde genannt: ĩũrã (S), für schwarze ĩdẽbã (S).

	♂	♀
Martim pescador: rãdjõljõl (N)		
Jaburu: wa|ulí (S, N)		
wõ|é (S, N); wõlẽhẽk (S); ooral (C)		wõ|é (S)
ouaérecan (Co)		
Reiher, grauer: õgãnstã (S)		
[81])guarí (S)		
döko (E)		
Löffelreiher, rosafarbener: (kr)ũ|a|é (S, N)		
Ente: ẽlũkrã (S); aléca lecan (Co)		
hẽdãu|é (N)		hãdãkõ|ini (S)
dõõ|ã|ã (S); poñarara (E)		
Sonstige Vogelnamen: wũdĩdu|ẽhẽ (N)		
Fisch: kãdõ|ã (S); katora lõatã (E); pottoura (C);		
catoura (Co)		
Fischgräte: kãdu|ã-kí (S)		
la'itoé (Co)		
Pirarucu: b(ẽ)dõlẽkẽ (S, N); bedoẽekã (E); bédo		
louque (Co)		
Pirarara: dõ|é (S); doori, dõrã (E); dou'ouré		
(Co)		
Pintado: a|ezũ (S); arãtũ (E)		
dzanã (E)		
Hecht: wõãdjí (S)		
Hundsfisch (cachorra): ladã (S, N); la'até (Co)		
Tokunare: bainõlã (S); benora (Co)		
Bicote: (k)ãnã(n)dú|ã (S)		
Aruana: ĩdjãgõ (S)		
Pacu: (h)aĩtwã (S, N); ariwa (E); ari'oua (Co)		
Piranha, rötliche: duẽtã (S, N); [82])kjũẽtã (S, N);		
dzuẽta (E)		
—, schwarze: dũu|í (S); riri (E)		
Garanha: ãĩkt|í (S)		
Cari: |õní (S); runã (E)		
Cascudo: ĩhũ (S)		
[83])bẽdĩõ: ladẽní (S)		
Sardine: mãĩtwé(nẽ) (N)		
Rochen: bõ|ó (S, N)		

[81]) Vielleicht Verwechslung mit Löffelreiher.
[82]) kjuẽtã ist vielleicht die Form der Figuensprache.
[83]) Schreibart in indianischer Aussprache.

	♂	♀
Rochen, schwarze Art:	böl̃ö-hnã (S); bärä hoã (E)	
Delphin:	bühã (S, N)	
Krokodil, große Art:	käb(ö)löl̃ó (S, N); kabröró (E); cabararo (Co)	
— kleine Art:	kol̃ĩl̃ã (S, N); kärärä (E)	
Tracaja:	ködú (S); kätü (E); cootou (Co)	
Tracajaei:	[64]) hötn-gĩ (N)	
Tartaruga:	ködunĩ (S, N); cootouné (Co)	
Schildkröte, 3. Art:	ködubönã (S, N)	kadöböná (N)
Krebs:	ködĩmãlĩ (S)	
Muschel, zweispitzige:	dal̃ã (S)	
	idjé (S)	
—, dreikantige:	bul̃ú (S)	
—, Perlmutter:	özmöhó (S)	
—, rote:	wulübülãbúlö (N)	
Perle in Muschel:	kädãl̃ã-luwé (S)	
Schneckenhaus:	bül̃ú (S)	
	l̃al̃adjĩã möödó (S)	
	küühó (S)	bädĩhó (S)
	dubarã (E)	
Schlange:	(h)ĩmädádä (S, N); ämonöäba (E); amantala (C); émalala (Co) = Schlange, Sucuriu.	
—, Jararaca, Sucuriu:	l̃ö(ö)l̃ (S); erãi = Riesenschlange (E)	
—, Ganinana:	bödül̃eso (S)	
—, Gibola:	ökömädö (S)	
—, Klapperschlange:	ïërudé (S)	
	amoudawa (C)	
Teju-Eidechse:	wädĩlĩé (S)	
Leguan (sog. Chamäleon):	kü(ü)l̃ã (S); küürä (E)	
Eidechse:	böögödó (S)	
	tohrökóko (E); toricoco (C)	
	éama (Co)	
Frosch, Kröte:	kraötö (S); kräu (E); coora (C); crooré (Co)	
Vogelspinne:	ködjürügú (S); cantiouroucou (Co)	
Libelle:	hul̃ödó (S)	

[64]) Siehe Hühnerei.

	♂	♀
Gottesanbeterin:	ɪ]ōbīkō (S);	dōbīō (S)
Maulwurfsgrille:	[55]) zēī (S)	
Grille:	nblōlā (S)	
Heuschrecke:	[56]) sēōhī (S)	
Sandspringer (Art Heupferd, aber durchsichtig hell):	dōgī (N)	
Termitenhaufen:	kēdō (S);	dāō (E)
Mutuka:	kōdārrōlī (S);	kōdjūlalū (N)
Moskito, Tag-:	mālūlā (S);	monronra (Co)
— Nacht-, erste Art:	ahē (S, N);	ahā (E) ahē (S)
— —, zweite Art:	dōkō (N)	
Schmetterling, allgemein:	kōdīšā (S)	
	kainohō (E)	
	youasé (Co)	
—, weiße Art:	kōdīšā (S)	
—, rote Art:	nlā kōdīšā (S)	
—, dunkle Art (Art Fuchs):	ōkanī (S)	
—, [57]) gelbe Art:	zēī (S)	
Nachtfalter:	ɪ]alē (S)	
Nachtmotte:	[58]) ōdīšā (N)	
Kleine grüne Raupe:	ɪdjalē (S)	
Schmetterlingspuppe:	mādēnī (N)	
Biene:	bēdī (S);	badi (E)
Bienenstock (oder -waben):	bādēdō (N)	
Honig:	bēdō (N);	beōāwū (E)
	bādērhō (N)	
Wachs:	tābōlā (N);	tobārū (E)
Schabe (Barate):	djūlahā (S)	

Pflanzenreich.

Mais, 1. Art:	māī (S, N); mahi (E); maī (Co)	maki (E)
—, 2. Art, große runde Körner:	dōlīmō (S)	
—, 3. Art, runde Körner:	ɪzēlālā (S)	
—, 4. Art, rot:	mārdūgō (S)	
Zuckerrohr:	mār-ītī (S); maitē (E); ma'ītī (Co)	
Zuckerrohrschnaps:	ɪbūālē (S)	

[55]) Siehe auch Heuschrecke und Schmetterling, gelbe Art.
[56]) Siehe auch Maulwurfsgrille und Schmetterling, gelbe Art.
[57]) Siehe auch Maulwurfsgrille und Heuschrecke.
[58]) Wohl dasselbe Wort wie Schmetterling.

	♂	♀
Reis:	maĩsĩmũ (S)	
Mandioka, 1. Art, do matto:	[60]) ag̃ó (N)	
—, 2. Art, giftige:	ãndjũlá (S, N); andg̃iura (E); odjou-oura (C)	ãndjĩkalá (N)
	kẽnõndá (N)	
—, 3. Art, Aipim:	ı(l)lá (S); lira (E); irou (Co)	
Farinha, von Mais:	kẽnõndãdẽbú (N)	
—, von Mandioka:	kẽnõdé (S, N); kanande (E); canandé (Co)	
Puva:	bãlló (S); bẽẽro (E)	
Beiju:	[60]) beijú (S) ibrãdeka, kerotu (E)	
Mandiokaspeise (gekocht und gekaut):	mãrúk (N); iuerõ (E)	
	[61]) kauí (S)	
Maisgetränk:	kãnũã (S)	
Batate:	kõdẽrũtí (S); kotarutã (E); cotarouti (C)	
Cara:	karã (S); karã (E)	
Kokoskerne zum Essen:	[62]) hõlẽní (S), kõlmí (S); hãũlẽnídõ (N) aalay (C)	
Tukumnuß:	[63]) hãlú (S, N)	
Palmnuß zur Ölbereitung:	ahã(n)dẽtẽ (S)	
Wassermelone:	kubĩkkẽ (S) toarionan (Co) = Melone	
Piki:	lãmã (S); aramã, arẽma (E)	
Banane, reife:	jadãgõ (S), ĩdjadã (N); yáta (E); djata (C); djatasso (Co)	
—, grüne:	jadãũabõ (S)	
—, Fruchtstand:	[64]) dõõ (N)	
Orange:	nalãdjã (S)	
Mormão:	dõdẽdãlı (S)	
Mamão:	dõlĩwũ (S); tourikoũ (E)	

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[60]) Vergl. E: Patipalme: ɜõõ.

[60]) beijus wurden bei den Karajá nie gesehen. Sie wenden das brasilianische Wort an.

[61]) Von den Brasilianern entlehntes Wort.

[62]) Vergl. E: Oaguassupalme = hõrẽmẽ.

[63]) Vergl. E: kleine Palmnuß = ɜ uoõ, ɜ hẽẽrũ; Guariobapalme = hãrori.

[64]) Vergl. Penis.

	♂	♀
Speise aus schwarzer Frucht:	adömõ (N)	
Burityfrucht:	[65]) ädëhõ; été'on (Co)	
Pfeffer:	kašĩwërá (S); kašuärä (E); cachi'ouéra (Co)	
Rapadura:	bädërá (S), bıdërá (N); bideräı (E)	
Tabak:	kõtí (S, N); koti, kotę, kohotë (E); cooté (C); cooti (Co)	kötí (N)
Tabaksamen:	[66]) kötĩ]ätí (S); kotę atu (E)	
Lantimbaum für Boote:	dä]tõ (S)	
Holz für Bogen:	ölötõ (S); wöalüõ (S)	
Holz für Keule:	wöalnõ (S)	
Rohr für Pfeile:	b'dö]ë (N)	
Canna brava (= Uba?):	hëdžıwá (S)	
Thevetiafrucht:	ma]änĩ (S), mananĩ (N); maranë (E)	
Jequitibafrucht:	ärĩkökõ (S)	
Genipapo:	bädëná (S, N); beëënä (E)	
Uruku:	wölënõ (S), wö]anõ (N); warenö (E); ouarénan (Co)	
—, runde Sorte:	wölënönĩ (S)	
Jatobafrucht:	kuwá (S), küwá (N); küüoä (E)	
Jatobaharz:	kuwäõ (S)	
Gelbes, weiches Harz:	köödí (S); [67]) dömä]ë (N)	
Rotharz:	dáumä]ë, dömä]ë (S); dömä]ë (N)	
Schwarzes Harz:	döwödä]ä (S)	
Baumwolle:	äsötá (N); essondé (Co)	äsöntäk' (S)
Embira, rötlich:	dõdé (S); ëëä (E) = Waimbë	
—, schwarz:	dõdé (S, N)	
—, blauschwarz gefärbt:	aäwü, öünä (S)	
timbo (Giftsipo):	anzí (N); achidé (Co)	
Holz, Baum:	[68]) kaüölõ (S), köwarü (N); kauirö (E); caouarou, oorou (C) irarire (Co)	kauorö (E)
Blatt:	kötĩ-]ä]ätë (S) = Tabaksblätter; [69]) ıradë (N); kararatë (E)	
	djtlü = Bananenblatt; ırü = Blatt am Maisschaft (N); ti'irou (Co) = Blatt	

[65]) Vergl. Flechtfaser aus Burityblatt. [66])]ätĩ vergl. Kopfhaar; Blatt.
[67]) Wohl fälschlich für Rotharz.
[68]) Vergl. awarou (C) = Stock; Holz = ü (E).
[69]) Vergl. Kopfhaar, Tabaksamen.

	♂	♀
Gras:	ãḷã-ʒí (S)	
Grasblüte:	ĩkõḷõdĩsĩ (N)	
Orchideenblüte:	noĩdĩʒá (S)	
Weißer Pilz:	hẽdõhõ (S)	
Fruchtart:	ĩuḷaú (N)	

III. Familie und Staat.

Leute — Karajá:	mõ (N), ĩnãũḷã (N); ĩnomboho (E)	idĩo (E)
— — Weiße:	ĩtakĩbá (S) [70]tóḷĩ, tõhũrá, rũrá (N); tõrĩ (E) ĩtacouolarécon (Co)	
— — Schwarze:	[71]ĩdẽbẽ (S) tõḷĩ-djũbú (N); tõrĩ ẽbẽ (E); ĩroubourou (Co)	
Mann:	aãbú (S, N); ããũbu (E); aboũ (C) babou'oudounandé (Co)	aãbũ (S); ããũbu (E)
Frau:	amũkẽ (S); hanõkõ (E); anoucoucoudounandé (Co)	hanõkõ (E)
	hãũ(ẽ)kẽ (S, N); awkeu (C)	hãũkú (S)
Jüngling:	nĩĩĩĩbõ (N); wereriba ĩreriba (E)	ũkeriba (E)
Jungfrau:	ĩadõmã (S, N); yadõma (E)	yadokoma (E)
Knabe:	ũkĩḷĩ, ũkĩĩĩbõ (S, N) õdadú, õgadú (N) oueroulécan (Co)	ũkĩḷĩ (S) kõdadú, kõgadú (N)
Mädchen:	[72]ũkĩḷĩ (S); ũkĩĩĩbõ (S); oueourou (Co)	ũkĩḷĩ (S) hidadĩ (S)
Säugling:	ũkĩḷĩkĩ (S) [72]dõhõkũẽ (S); tohokua (E)	dõhõkũẽ (S); tohokuã (E)
Vater:	wahá (S); waha (E); ouaa (C); oua oua (Co)	wahá (S)
Mutter:	nadĩ (S); nadi (E); nadi (C); naandi (Co)	nadẽ (S)
Sohn:	waĩdĩõ, dõ (S) wariore (E); wadiaurai (C); narioré (Co)	dõ (S) warikoré (E)

[70]) Für toḷĩ vergl. Fremder; für ura vergl. Leute — karaja, weiß.

[71]) Vergl. nächste Zeile, sowie schwarz.

[72]) Vergl. Knabe. Genannt wurde noch: ♂ waĩtõiã, ♀ wãĩtkiõĩã (N), wörtlich — meine kleine.

[73]) dõhõ — Ohrstab; kuã — Kapivara; Säuglinge tragen die Ohrtulpen mit dem Kapivarazahn im Zentrum!

	♂	♀
Tochter:	dë (S); deš (E)	dë (S); deš (E)
	oladou (C)	
Bruder:	[74]) ɪnätjɪlïö|ë (S)	
	wánare (E);	
	wachi (C); oua'si (Co)	
Schwester:	[75]) nadï-|ïö|ë (S); waiðora (E)	
	[76]) ïä|ú (S); ðëëraň (E); veran (C)	
	wahë, wanomaň (E)	
Onkel:	hölabjflü (S)	
	waðana (E); wanarüra (E); olbeieran (C)	
Tante:	dülabëdëlü (S)	
	wahaura (E); waðaðira (E)	
Vetter:	[77]) wäïsï (S)	
	waðabeðäre (E); wara (C)	
Base:	[78]) ïä|ú (S)	
	nadiüre (E)	
Neffe:	[79]) ɪnätjɪú|ä (S)	
	wara, waranö (E)	
Nichte:	[79]) ɪnätjɪkúlä (S)	
Großvater:	wülablë (S); waðabe (E)	waðahë (E)
Großmutter:	walabï (S)	
	nadi-ura (E)	nadi-ura (E)
Enkel:	[80]) wa-ïïölë-|ïö|ë (S)	
	ourario (Co)	
Enkelin:	wä-ïïkökö|ë (S)	
Häuptling:	ïtrï (S)	
	[81]) derïdö (S)	
	ïdjäö (N)	
	ïšandenödö (E); chandénondo (Co)	hauatö (E)
—, weiblicher:	[82]) häüëkë dërödï (S)	
Bester Ringer:	[83]) derïdö (S)	

[74]) ɪnätjï — 2; ïïö|ë — klein.
[75]) nädï — Mutter; ïïö|ë — klein.
[76]) — Base, siehe dort.
[77]) E. waïsï — Eltern, Verwandte allgemein.
[78]) Siehe Schwester.
[79]) ɪnätjï — 2.
[80]) wa — mein; ïïölë-ïïö|ë — klein — klein.
[81]) Vergl. bester Ringer.
[82]) häüëkë — Frau; dërödï — derïdö; Verstellungen der Vokale und Konsonanten kommen sehr häufig vor. [83]) Vergl. Häuptling.

	♂	♀
Ringer, der nie unterlegen ist: [84])	Idjĩgúdũ (S)	
Zauberarzt:	kõ]ú (S); hori (Spinola) kãũdũwãdú, kãũdĩ]ẽdõ (S); kahotebãdõ (E)	
Stammestätowierer: [85])	wãirãdú (S)	
Stammestätowierung: [86])	ödẽmãrrú (S, N); auõamanure (E); waaoumaoural (C)	
Tätowierstempel: [87])	wĩĩlõnã (S) tešiã (E)	
—: [88]) Holz, aus dem er geschnitten wird:	ku(w)ãõ (S)	
Tätowiermesser aus Stein: [89])	mãnadjú (S) mãna rošimẽ (E)	
Freund:	õalãkídã (S); ouazaquima (Co)	
Feind:	õalĩkĩnaũĩ dĩĩkĩ]ĩ (S) binon (C)	
Frauensprache: [90])	ibĩnálẽ (S)	

IV. Kleidung und Schmuck.

Hüftschnur: [91])	nõhõmõdĩ (N) ẽtú (N)	wa-tú (N)
Penisschnur: [92])	nõõdãkán (S); wãnõtẽkãnã (N); wanotekairi (E)	nõtẽkãnã (N)
Frauenbastbinde:	Inãũdú (S); inantõ (E)	Inãũdú (N)
—, rote:	ãmbũ(g)ödã (S)	ãmbĩõdẽ (N), kãmbũ (N)
—, weiße:	hĩdõ-ú]ẽ (S), Idẽhãĩẽ (N)	
—, rötliche:	ãndĩ-hú]ẽ (S) ũatú (N)	ũatú (N)
—, Material:	Idãũ]ẽ (N) ãmbũõdẽ (S) ãndãhũ]ẽ (N)	

[84]) Vergl. Häuptling und Ringfest. [85]) Vergl. E: Narbe — wadiorarotẽ.

[86]) Für -trú vergl. Auge. Die Stammestätowierung besteht aus einem kleinen Kreis auf jeder Backe unterhalb des Auges.

[87]) — Tabakspfeife. Zuweilen scheint diese als Stempel benutzt zu werden.

[88]) Angeblich arueraholz.

[89]) mãnã — Stein; djuũ — Zahn.

[90]) — sehr schlecht. So von den Männern bezeichnet!

[91]) Zusammenhang mit nõõ — Penis?

[92]) nõõ — Penis; zu dãkán vergl. Gürtel: wãdũkãnã.

	♂	♀
Mädchengürtel aus schwarzer Baumwolle: [96]) wädäkäná (S, N); waltakaui (E)		
Mädchenrock aus langen schwarzen Baumwollschnüren: güöhí (S, N); iöhí (N)		güöhí (N)
Netzdecke: ri(i)ó (S, N); riiö (E)		rió (N); riaká (E)
Hemd:		[94]) déké, déká (N)
Augenschirm: [95]) ódjí (S, N); ódí (N); ãodi (E)		hódí (N)
Scheitel: la(w)ólú (N)		
Scheitelstutz: lägí (N)		
Haarkranz bei kurzverschnittenem Kopf: (i)djülé (S)		
— bei Trauer: näkülán (S)		
Zopf hinten: laödná (N)		
— vorn: hösidödäná (N)		
Zopfband mit Quasten, kurz: [96]) ladë-wädäkán (S)		
Zopfband, rot, lang: laödnë-gó (S)		
Federhaube: dölidóll (S, N); ãori-ãori (E)		
—, Netz dazu: ladéké (S)		
—, Kinnschnur: lerüdí (S)		
Federreif: [97]) nätäkán (S) [98]) óodjí (N)		
—, Stutz daran: ódí (S)		
Senkrechte Stirnfedern: [98]) ódjí (S, N); ódí (S)		
Kopffederband aus feinen grauen Federchen: lüwjí (N)		
Diadem (Band mit senkrechten Federn): dölidó (N); ödidá (N)		
Diadem: warakureõã (E)		
Diadem mit wenigen langen Ararafedern: dölidóll (N); ändädádú (N)		
Stabdiadem mit kleinen Federchen: [99]) ódjí (N)		
Federhelm, ohne Federn: [99]) lädëníná (N)		
—, mit Federn: [100]) laá (N); tatenera (E)		

[96]) Vergl. Tanzgürtel; Penisschnur.
[97]) Vergl. C: tacou — vêtements.
[98]) — Federreif, Stirnfedern, Stabdiadem. Alle werden um den Kopf gebunden.
[99]) — Haar-Gürtel.
[99]) Vergl. Gürtel.
[99]) Vergl. Augenschirm.
[99]) Vergl. Tanzmasken.
[100]) Vergl. E: Zylinderhut: ina.

	♂	♀
Federraupe: dadũ|á (N)		
Hinterkopffedern, senkrecht getragen:		
[101]) lahidõ (N)		
uãiktamaru (E)		
Hinterhauptsrad aus Federn: lahidõ (S, N);		
ahetõ (E)		
—, Bastwulst dazu: [102]) ããik|orõ (N)		
[103]) khãwõ (N)		
[103]) lahidõ|ahũnã		
—, Scheibe dazu (Holz, geflochten):		
[104]) khã-wõ (N)		
[104]) ahedõ|ã|inõ (N); dõ|ahũ-nãní (N)		
—, Stirnband dazu, aus Bast, mit Flaumfederchen besetzt: [105]) idũ|á (S)		
[105]) ãmbũ|ótã (S)		
— —, aus schwarzer Baumwolle: [106]) wõitõ-dãkãn (S, N); õdãideõã (E)		
—, Stirnfedern, über das Stirnband gebunden:		
[107]) (k)ödãũlũkũ-wãdjiõ (N)		
Schopffedern: wãiwãidẽlohí (N)		
Nackenfedern: [108]) djazõ-lahẽdõ (S)		
Nackenquasten, rote: [109]) nõhõzã (S)		
[110]) nõhõzã-zõ (S)		
wõanihõ (N)		
—, schwarze: nõhõzã (S, N)		nõhõzã (N)
Ohrstab: dõhõ (S, N)		dõhõ (N)
— aus schwarzem Holz: dõhõ-dẽbẽ (S)		
— mit flacher Federrosette: [111]) dõhõdũẽ (S);		
ãohoruã (E)		

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[101]) Vergl. Hinterhauptsrad.
[102]) Vergl. Scheibe dazu } vielleicht verwechselt?
[103]) Vergl. Bastwulst dazu }
[104]) Vergl. Frauenbastbinde.
[105]) Zu dakan vergl. Gürtel.
[106]) ödãũlũkũ — Eule.
[107]) Zu-djazõ vergl. Tanzmaske idjazõ; lahẽdõ — Hinterhauptsrad.
[108]) Von nõõ — Penis abgeleitet? Vergl. auch schwarze Nackenquasten.
[109]) Zu zõ vergl. Ton: zõũ; rote Tonerde: zũzõ.
[110]) Vielleicht verhört für: dõhõ-lũã — dõhõ-Auge. So wurde die Perlmutterscheibe im Innern der Rosette genannt; vergl. die Šavajá.
[111]) Vergl. Zierring für Bogenschuß.

♂	♀
Ohrstab, mit Federtulpe: [112]) küädjú (S, N)	küädjú (N)
Ohrstabscheibe aus Kürbisschale, bemalt: ändöhö-maḷí (N)	
Lippenloch: [113]) ıdjärülänó (S)	
Lippenpflock, aus Knochen: [114]) ıdjé (N); waõai (C)	
— —, Brüllaffenknochen als Material dazu: [115]) äzödí (S)	
—, aus Muschel: [116]) ıdjé (N); idzä (E)	
—, aus Holz: ödü(h)ó (S, N); anõäo (E) kazoé (N)	
—, aus Stein: [117]) mänädeḷó (S); manutérë (E)	
Halskette aus blauweißlichen Früchten: ïsürá (S); ïsüḷädúkë (N)	ïsïkuläädú (N)
—, Früchte dazu:	ïsïkuḷaní (S)
—, aus Thevetiafrüchten: maḷání (N)	maḷání (N)
—, aus Glasperlen: (ï)ïsuḷá (S); ïsïura (E)	ïsïkuḷá (S)
Halsanhänger, Delphinknochen: [118]) bühä-naüní (N)	
Oberarmschmuck, schwarze Schnüre mit Quasten: [119]) ḍoḷú (S, N); wa-uõ (E)	ḍoḷú (N)
—, schwarze geflochtene Bänder, mit langen Tressen: loḷú (N)	
—, Federband: dërögí (S, N); dërögmá (S, N); deoõanä (E)	
[119]) loḷú (S)	
—, mit Fransen: [120]) dëäí (S)	
—, mit Federn in Nüssen: [120]) deäí (S)	
—, mit Früchten: [121]) maḷání (S)	
—, mit Schnecken: boḷäí (S)	

[112]) Von kü(w)á — Kapivara; djüú — Zahn. Im Innern der Tulpe erhebt sich ein Kapivarazahn; vergl. auch Säugling.
[113]) Von ıdjé — Lippenpflock, oder von djärüté — Kinn.
[114]) Vergl. Muschelpflock; zweispitzige Muschel.
[115]) äzö — Brüllaffe; tí — Knochen.
[116]) Vergl. zweispitzige Muschel.
[117]) Vergl. Bergkristall.
[118]) bühä — Delphin.
[119]) Vergl. Oberarmschmuck: Federband, Rasselband; Tanzgürtel; Tragtasche.
[120]) Vergl. Armtulpe.
[121]) Vergl. Thevetiafrucht.

	♂	♀
Oberarmschmuck, Band mit Rasseln (Klauen):		
[119]) lolú (S)		
[120]) ñiáwí (N)		
Unterarmschmuck, rote Schnurgehänge:		
[120]) kodeší (N)		
—, schwarze Schnüre mit Quasten:		
[120]) dëëdëbé (S)		
—, mit Federn: [120]) (dí)-deší (S, N)		deëidé (N)
Handgelenkschmuck: zweiteilige Wülste mit Fransen: [120]) wodeší (N)		wëkodeší (N)
Armstulpen (Abzeichen der Ledigen):		
[121]) dëší (S); deší (E)		
wadeoutai (C)		
Fingerring aus Schwanzringen der Eidechse:		
dëbó (N)		dëbó (N)
Wadenbänder (Abzeichen der Ledigen): [120]) dëobuší (S, N); wa-hedëobuší (E)		dëkobudí (S)
Wadenschmuck, Schnüre aus schwarzer Baumwolle, mit langen Quasten: [120]) ëljáú (N)		
—, Bände aus schwarzen Baumwollschnüren, für Kinder: [121]) dëobudí (S, N)		deobudí (S)
—, geflochtene und gequastelte Bänder, mit Fransen: [121]) deobudí (N)		
		[120]) wëlaëlí (S)
[120]) (k)ülaũwó, (k)ëdjaú (N)		
—, zweiteilige Wülste mit Fransen:		
[120]) wëjaidí (N)		
[120]) kulaũbó (S)		
Knöchelbänder, rot (Abzeichen der Ledigen):		
wajaú (S); wararu (E)		wajaú (S)
deobudí (N)		dëkojudí (S)
Wundkratzer: ladjí (S)		
ãaũra (E)		
—, Gebiß dazu:		kuikdjú (S)
Genipapomatrize: ülmó (N)		

[119]) Von iki — Schwein; wí — Fuß.
[120]) Von deší — Armstulpe; dëbé — schwarz.
[120]) Vergl. allen übrigen Unterarmschmuck.
[120]) Vergl. Unterarm, übrigen Wadenschmuck, Knöchelbänder.
[120]) Vergl. übrigen Wadenschmuck.

	♂	♀
Genipapomatrize, Schlangenlinienmuster:	[197]) nãũẽklĕlágĩ (S)	
	wõdẽnõ (N)	
	büḷtĩ (S)	
—, Halbkreismuster:	[197]) nãũẽklĕlágĩ (S)	
Harz, wohlriechendes, zum Einreiben:	ãndṭḷá (S, N); andgiura (E)	
Haaröl:	taḷĩ (S, N)	
	[198]) hẽḷú (S, N)	
Ölnuß:	ahã(n)dẽlẽ (S)	
Ölcuye:	[199]) taḷĩ-lũkú (N)	
Kamm:	ʒihõ (S, N); θehõ (E); sio'o (Co)	ʒihõ (N)
Seife:	sabão do matto: wãbãká (S)	
—: Baumbast:	dõũ (S)	

V. Haus, Hausgerät und Werkzeug.

Dorf:	ɪsõ (S)	
	mahaṅdu (E)	
	awaso (C); taoua (Co)	
Haus:	hãtõ (S, N); hetõ (E); aẽto (C); ééto (Co)	hãtõkú (N); betoku (E)
Sonnenschutz, dachförmig:	wãdõ (N)	
—, Mattenwand:	wãdõ, wãʒõ (N)	
	[200]) büḷẽ (N)	bükũḷẽ (N)
—, Blätterwand:	[201]) nõbõ (N)	nõbõ (N)
Vorratsgestell:	õdẽdũ (N)	
Schemel:	kõḷtsũ (S, N); kauriõã (E)	
—, Federquasten daran:	kõḷtsũlãbẽdõsĩ (N)	
Matte aus Burityfaser (Schlaf- und Sitzmatte):	büḷẽ (N)	biḷẽ (N)
	[202]) bülẽ-ḷtõḷẽ (N)	
	erina (C)	
—, Material dazu:	[203]) ãdẽbõ (N)	

[197]) nãũẽkĩ — Strauß; ʒʒĩ — Scheiteistutz.
[198]) — Tukumnuß.
[199]) Zu lukũ vergl. Vollcuye.
[200]) Vergl. Matte.
[201]) Vergl. Flechtstreifen aus Palmeirafieder.
[202]) — kleine Matte.
[203]) Vergl. Burityfrucht.

	♂	♀
Herdsteine, aus Spitzen von Termitenhaufen:	ã(n)dõ(N)	
	[184]) kẽdõ (N)	
— aus Topfböden:	[185]) wãdjɪwɪũjã (N)	
Herd:	éoti déco (Co)	
Bratrost (moquem):	kõbɪãdõ (S), [186]) kõbɪã (S), õbɪdõ (S)	
Feuer (Herdfeuer):	hãõtẽ (S); heautõ (E); eaotou (C); éoti (Co)	hãkõtĩ (S); hekautõ (E)
Rauchsäule (von Campbrand):	wũõhõ (S); uõõ (E)	
Brennholz:	hãã (N); hã-hã (E)	hãã (N)
Feuerbast:	hãõdẽ (S)	
Glimmholz:	hãdẽkẽ (S)	
Feuerfächer:	kõjĩ (S, N)	
Mörser:	[187]) kõwõ (S, N)	
Mörserkeule:	haõ (S, N)	
Mandiokareibholz:	kõjaná (S); õjaná (N); àrana (E)	õjaná (N)
Mandiokapresse (Stäbchensieb):	[188]) bũjẽɪdjũ, brẽɪdjũ, brẽdɪũ (N); ble(ɪ)djẽ (S)	
Siebkorb:	wãjɪjɪsĩ (N); wãrirí (E)	
Siebschale:	ũɪtjũ ódãmõdĩ (N)	
—, modern:	ũɪtjõnã (S)	
Reiber aus Pirarucugaumen:	[189]) b'dõdẽkẽ (N)	
Rührlöffel:	hãjãdãõ (S)	
Cuyenlöffel:	[190]) ẽã-ɪɪõjẽ (S)	
Muschellöffel:	[191]) kãdãjã(-jɪõjẽ) (N); katara (E) brwũ (N)	(wãlãbõ-)kãdajã (S)
Frühstücken (Frühstück):	[192]) ãndõjdõhõ (S)	
Abendbrot(essen):	[193]) ɪɪrõẽĩk (S)	
Fischjacuba:	[194]) djũdẽã (S)	
Tabakblätter, gerollt:	ɪjũjãũ (S)	
—, geflochten:	kõ(ũ)ʒã (S)	

[184]) — Termitenhaufen.
[185]) Vergl. Topf.
[186]) Vergl. Holz.
[187]) Vergl. Pirarucu.
[188]) Vergl. Muschel, zweispitzige.
[189]) Vergl. auch landen und T, V, 13.
[190]) Vergl. essen.
[191]) Vergl. Piranha.
[192]) Vergl. braten.
[193]) Vergl. Matte.
[194]) ɪɪã — Cuye, ɪɪõjẽ — klein.

	♂	♀
Tabakspfeife aus Jequitibafrucht:	wälïöná (S, N) wälïkökó (S, N); arikoko (E); ouricoco (Co)	wälïkökó (S, N)
—, Frucht dafür:	(w)älïkökó (S, N) konietë (E)	
—, aus Ton:	wälïkökó (S)	
Tabakskörbchen:	mõdí (S)	
Tabakstäschchen:	sahú (S)	šaäkú (N)
Bogen:	wä-š(ï)nhätë (S, N); šuahëtë (E); assouatai (C); oua tsi' até (Co)	
Bogensehne:	[146]) änzúk (S) mbaú (S) mahúga (E)	
Bogenholz:	ölotó (S) wöalüó (S)	
Pfeil:	üëhú (S); üöhú (S, N); wëhë (E); ou-eue (C) bououru (Co)	
Pfeil, mit Bambusblattspitze:	üäzá (N); dï(ü)adá (N)	
—, mit glatter Holzspitze:	dälú (N)	
—, mit gekerbter Holzspitze:	(h)adëdë (N); hädübïradädá (N)	
— für Vogeljagd, mit zugespitztem Rohrschaft:	malöl (S)	
— —, mit stumpfer Spitze:	ïälüëlë (S)	
Pfeilrohr:	b'dolé (N); betaurä (E)	
Knochenspitze am Fischpfeil, aus Affenknochen:	hadjú (S) ahïdó, nhïdó (S) dürölönïdï (N)	
Holz für Spitzenstiel des Pfeiles:	üöhü-hünï (S, N); ühä-hünï (S)	
Rote Fadenverzierung am Spitzenstiel:	[146]) ïdjäwëhá (N)	
Kerbe am Pfeil:	dönäwüdülöná (N)	
Zierring aus Bast:	wäšïölolé (N) [147]) äšïklolé (N)	
Keule:	göhö(r)dé (S, N); háte (káte) (E); cooati (C)	göhördé (N)
Keulenholz:	wöalüó (S)	

[146]) Vergl. Imbauvafaser.
[146]) wëhá wohl — Pfeil?
[147]) Vergl. Bastwulst für Hinterhauptsrad.

♂ ♀

Instrument zum Riefeln der Keulen:
[148]) hau̯ulıdjú (S)
Lanze: dönǫlí (S, N); tonàri (E)
Pfeilschleuder: aübí (S, N); kàobi (E)
öbırú (S)
Pfeil dazu: köhuǫlá (S); kâura (E)
Kugelbogen: bödökē (S)
Steinschleuder: [149]) nērüdí (S)
Vogelfalle: dǫhēdú (N); büdǫlēkú (S)
Vogelkäfig: [150]) hölēlú (N)
Angelhaken: wäší (S, N); waši (E); oua'si, wäší (N)
ouachi (Co)
Angelschnur: wäšıšá (N)
Angelstock: wäši-däó (S, N)
Köder: wäšıdó (S)
Harpune: wöhunú (S)
Fischnetz aus Baumwollstrick: hädēké (N)
— aus Embirastrick: lodé (N)
— zum Piraruculang: däǫläǫ́ú (S, N); deaurirö (E)
— zum Carilang: händükú(šī) (N)
Fischsperrzaun: lıkǫ́ó (N)
Pflanz- und Grabstock: [151]) mäü-ǫ́é (N)
Steinbeil: [152]) maná (S)
[153]) Idǫalöá (S)
[154]) üömá (S)
Klopfstein zum Nußöffnen: [155]) mäná (N)
Messer aus Stein: [156]) mänädjú (S)
Nähnadel aus Knochen: [157]) wädšīdí (N)
Kanu: (h)awó (S, N); auhö (E); awo (C); ǫoun'o (Co)
Bootsstange: (h)ödjú (S, N); oodjou (C)
wälötó (S)
Ruder: nalīhí (S, N); nahērē (E); narii (C); naarli (Co) nälīhí (N)
Tragband aus Embira: [157]) öänä (N)

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[148]) hau̯ıt — Cutia; djüü — Zahn. Ein Cutiazahn ist an einem Holzstab montiert.
[149]) Vergl. lerüdí — Kinnschnur an Federhaube.
[150]) Vergl. Flechtstreifen aus Palmeirafieder.
[151]) Vergl. Messer, Iscão.
[152]) — Stein.
[153]) Bezeichnet wohl die Gesteinsart.
[154]) — Beil aus Eisen.
[155]) — Stein — Zahn.
[156]) wati — Hirsch; ıī — Knochen.
[157]) — Embira, blauschwarz gefärbte.

	♂	♀
Kiepe:	bĕhuḷé (N); ubehárã (E)	
Rundkorb:	wãḷıḷí (S, N)	
	rorã (E); irouou (Co)	
Spitzovaler Korb:	[188]) dalīdún (S); dalīdõná (N)	
Kahnförmiger Korb:	ḷaḷá, dadá (S); rarã (E)	
Dehnbarer Korb:	mõdí (N); moti (E)	
Korbschale:	mõdí (N)	
Transportsack aus Burityfaser:		
	mãší (N); manãi (E)	bãší (N); mãší (N)
	[188]) dãlīdõná (N)	
Lange Tragtasche aus Palmwedeln:	ḷoḷú (S);	
	ḷoũḷé (N)	
Länglicher Spankorb mit Deckel:	wrabáhi (S);	
	warabehã (E)	
Korbflechtnadel aus Jaburufederkiel:		
	wãḷıšīlūdósõnã (S)	
Vollcuye:	ũaḷú (N)	ũlãkú (N)
	ḷõkó (N)	
	kãšédí (N)	
—, mit Hängeband:	wãlãbũkú (N); oua'labocon = calebasse (Co)	
—, in schwarzem Baumwollgeflecht:	wãlãbũkú (S)	
—, in Bastneß:	[188]) dãlıḷıkú (S)	
Halbcuye:	ıšá (S, N); i-ıšã (E); kã-ıšó, [189]) šã-ıdīõḷé (N)	[189]) (ı)šã-ıīkjõḷé (S); ıšã (E)
	ũaḷú (N)	
	[188]) dahīũkú (N)	
Tontopf:	wãtıwí (S); wãdjīwí (N); wãdžīwí (S); watihui (S)	
	oua'si'sa (Co)	
Tonschüssel:	wãdjīwí (S, N)	beõã (E)
Dreibeiniger Tontopf:	wãdjīwí (N)	
Tongefäß, ○gestaltet:	kõīkã (N)	
Tonteller:	bãgá (S)	
	[190]) wãlãbũkú (S)	beõã (E)
Töpferton:	gõũ (S, N); sou-ou, soru (C)	

[188]) Zu dalī vergl. dalī-ıkú — Vollcuye in Bastneß; Halbcuye; Cuye für Haaröl. ıškõ — Vollcuye; tã-ī — Haaröl. Zu dīn, dõnã vergl. Häkelnadel.
[189]) — kleine Halbcuye; su ıšã vergl. icha — Kürbisbaum (Co).
[190]) Vergl. Vollcuye.

	♂	♀
Töpfertonzusatz, Baumblüte:	[161]) adēnā (S)	
—, Gebilde an Zweigen im Wasser:	mañzī (N)	
Rote Erde zur Topfbemalung:	zū-zō (S, N) zōū(-bulē) (N)	
Roh-Baumwolle:	ãsõtã (N); ãdoñarã (E)	ãsõntãk' (S); ãdoñkura (E)
Bogen zum Baumwollzupfen:	[162]) wãših(ũ)ãtã (N)	
Gezupfte Baumwolle:	ãsõtã (N)	
Spindel:	ãsõ (S, N) ãsõtã (S); ãdoñdãa (E)	ãzõ (N)
Spindelstab:		ãsõntã (S)
Spindelscheibe aus Tartarugaknochen:	[163]) (kũ)dãwã (S)	dãwã (S)
—, aus Ton:	kũ-dãwã (S)	
—, aus weißem Stein:	[164]) maũlẽ (N)	mãnakũlã (N)
Baumwollfaden:	ãzõtãkẽ (N)	
—, weiß:	[165]) ãzõ-lũã (N)	
—, schwarz:	[166]) ãzõ-dẽbẽ (S); -lõbũ (N); ãdoñ-ẽebũ (E)	
Knäuel aus Baumwollfaden:	ãsõwã (S) [167]) lũã (S)	
Häkelnadel:	[168]) dẽšī-dũnã (S, N); dẽši-tan (E)	
—, umflochtener Stiel:	dẽšīdũnã dãolīdī (S)	
—, Fadenumwicklung am Stiel:	dãrũhã (S)	
Flechtfaser aus Buritybast:	[169]) (l)ãdẽhõ (S); lãdẽhõ (N) lãdẽhõwũ (S) lãdẽhõdẽhẽ (N)	lãdẽhõ (N)
—, feine abgezogene Haut:	lũ (N)	
Schnur aus Bast:	[170]) ãdãõwũ (N)	
— aus Imbauvafaser:	[171]) wãšihũãdẽ (N)	
Imbauvafaser:	[172]) anzũ (N)	

[161]) bãdẽnã — Genipapo.
[162]) Vergl. Kreisel.
[163]) Zu lãã vergl. weiß.
[164]) Vergl. Bogen.
[165]) Vergl. weiße Erde.
[166]) Zu dẽbẽ, lõbũ vergl. schwarz.
[167]) Wohl weil für rũõ verwendet?
[168]) dẽšī — Armstulpe. Zu dũnã vergl. spitzovaler Korb, Transportsack.
[169]) Vergl. E: atãhõ — Buritypalme.
[170]) Von lãdẽhõ — Buritybast?
[171]) Offenbar als Sehne für Bogen bestimmt, daher Verwendung angegeben, nicht Name der Schnur.
[172]) Vergl. Bogensehne.

	♂	♀
Embira, rötlich:	dõdé (S);	ɵõõã (E) = Waimbe
—, schwarz:	dõdé (S, N)	
—, blauschwarz gefärbt:	aãwú, ɵuná (S)	
Flechtstreifen aus Fiedern der Palmeira:	hölélá (S, N) nõmbó (S)	
— für Hüte:	[178]) hãlú, halunú (S)	
— —, vierzeilig:	dõltjá (S)	
Angefangenes Tanzgürtelgeflecht auf Flechtrahmen:	dõbõlá (N)	
Weiße Erdfarbe:	mãnã-ũlá (S, N)	
Schwarzer Lehm zum Baumwollfärben:	gõũblũlú (S)	
Rote Harzfarbe:	daũmãlé, domalé (S); dõmãlé (N)	
Schwarze Harzfarbe:	dõwõdalã (S)	

VI. Spielzeug, Musik, Tanz, Medizin.

Boot aus Kürbisschale:	[179]) ñã (N)	
— aus Palmblattscheide:	elũdãzí (N)	
Tontöpfchen:	bãũdí (S)	[178]) bẽzẽ-ĩkjĩolé (S)
	[178]) wãdjtwí (N)	
Körbchen:	[177]) wãlilí (S)	
Kleines Fischnetz:	lahõlé (N)	
Puppe aus Holz:	[178]) kõwãkõwã (N)	
— aus Ton, Karajá darstellend:	l(j)ĩkõkó (S, N); r(l)ikoko (E) l(j)tõhó (N) lthõkũnĩmã (N)	l(j)ĩkõkó (S, N)
— aus Ton, Kayapó darstellend:	klãlaũ (S)	
— —, Stamm am Rio das Mortes darstellend:	dõbãí (S)	
— —, Mann darstellend:	[179]) mó (N)	
— aus Wachs, Mann darstellend:	mó (N)	
— —, Jüngling darstellend:	[180]) nũlĩtbó (N)	
— —, Frau darstellend:	ãdõbõlá (S)	bĩdãdó (N)

[178]) Vergl. Tukumnuß.
[179]) — kleiner Teller.
[177]) — Rundkorb.
[178]) Vergl. Leute.
[179]) Vergl. Halbcuye.
[178]) — Tontopf.
[179]) Vergl. Holz.
[180]) — Jüngling.

♂ ♀

Gewehrnachbildung: [181]) mähã̃ñá (N)
Kreisel: [182]) kũdaũẽ (S, N); kotauã (E)
dĩwã́ (N)
Brummkreisel: [183]) ĩnãũĩnã́ (S)
Signaltrompete aus Bambus: ũhũhṹk (S)
—, Flöte mit Kürbisresonanz: [184]) ã(n)djaĵõnã́ (N);
adžĩuranẽ (E)
— aus Horn: ãndũĩõn (S)
Pfeife aus Kürbis: ĩãkṹ (S)
wõĩawṹk (S)
— aus Blatt: ãdjaĵõnã́ (N)
Rassel aus Kürbis: [185]) ũĩĵṹ (S, N); uãrõ (E) ũĩĵṹ (S)
— aus Affenschädel: [186]) kraõbĩ (N)
Surrscheibe: (žɪ-)žadẽkẽ́ (S)
Schwirrholz: nõĩnõĩĩ (S)
Kraĵer aus Schildkrötenschale: [187]) kõdṹ (S)
hũĩĩhũĩĩ (S)
Gesänge: djaĵhení (N)
djãũĩ (S)
dšõwẽĩã́ (N)
hɪdãhõ̃ (N)
ɪdjãĵõ (S, N)
ĩkõnã́ (N)
ɪõbẽĵõ (N)
makandĩtã (S)
ũĩjṹ (S)
wõrĩĵõ (N)
Vexierschniĵerei aus Rohr: [188]) b'dõĵẽ (N)
Fadenspiel: ĩĩĵṹ (S)
Ball aus Maisblättern: dõkĩ (S)
Gott: kmõãĩwẽ (S); sambeoa (C)
Maskenhütte: [189]) hãdõkrẽ (S)
Tanzgürtel: [190]) wãdãkãnã (S, N); watakanã (E)
[191]) ĩõĵṹ (S)

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[181]) Vergl. Gewehr.
[182]) Vergl. Spindelscheibe.
[183]) Vergl. Tanzmasken.
[184]) Vergl. Mundharmonika. C: singen: adjuro. Co: Flöte: tourono.
[185]) Vergl. Vollcuye.
[186]) — Affe.
[187]) — Tracaja.
[188]) hãtõ — Haus.
[189]) Vergl. Pfeilrohr (Schaft).
[190]) Vergl. Mädchengürtel.
[191]) Vergl. Oberarmschmuck.

♂ ♀

Tanzhüftschurz: [196]) ɪdjäʒõ-dëkẽ (S)
Tanzmaske aus Palmblatt: dïlëní (S)
Tanzmasken: a) dakõhí (S)
— b) (ĩ)djaĺhení (S)
— c) dẽewëlïá (S)
— d) halïdí (N)
— e) ɪdjäʒõ (S, N); hãũnũ-ɪdjäʒõ (N)
— f) ɪdõdeʒẽ (N)
— g) ɪkõná
— h) ɪnaũmí (S, N)
— i) [198]) (ĩ)oõní (N)
— k) ɪnjaũ (S)
— l) ɪrãbũĺẽ (S)
— m) ɪrhäkú (N)
— n) jadí (S)
— o) jäkrɪrí (S); jäkrín (S)
bemalter Bastschurz dazu: aũëkrɪdjäʒõ (S)
— p) kõdũní (N)
— q) lädění (S, N)
Tanzmaske eines Knaben: dĩhõdẽ (N) dĩhõdí (N)
Fischtanz: ũĩjú (S)
Cascudotanz: ĩhú (S)
Alter Tanz: wõrɪʒõ (N)
Ringfest: ãnärkán (S)
[199]) ɪdjĩʒõ (S)
Husten: wadõ (S); wato (E); coua'ato (Co)
Schnupfen: wadõwẽ (S)
Geisteskrank: ɪdjõdẽ (S); ɪticouité — verrückt (Co)
Tobsucht: ĩhĩhã (S)
Eiternde Beinwunden (Verletzungen): [200]) kudjú (S)
Rinde zum Auswaschen der Wunden: ödũdëwõ (N)
Knochen zum Ausbrennen der Wunden: [199]) deí (S); [197]) wõlïsõ-tí (S)

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[196]) Vergl. Tanzmaske; dĩkẽ — Hemd.
[198]) Ist vielleicht mit Maske h identisch.
[199]) Vergl. bester Ringer.
[200]) Vergl. E: kuidzi — Ausschlag.
[197]) — Unterschenkel.
[197]) ti — Knochen.

♂ ♀

Heilmittel gegen Schlangenbiß: dõähĩ (S)
— gegen Zahnschmerz, kleine Frucht: sĩbarẽ (S)
— —, para tudo: kũsĩ (S)
— gegen Fieber: kõdulágĩ (S)
— für den Magen: b(ũ)dõdu|ẽ (S)
— —, a) bedĩ (N)
b) dĩlũãkõgẽ (N)
— gegen Leibschmerz: mõ̃ná (S)
Purgiermittel: a) hãmbũladõõ (S)
b) ã|ãhĩnõ (N)
Heilmittel für den Leib, süß: [199]) brãkẽ (N)
— gegen Bleichsucht: dõwĩlĩgá (S)
Ipipokamabrechpulver: hãdĩõ (S)
Heilmittel gegen Pocken: a) nãũẽklõdĩgũ (S)
b) sindãkáländõ (S)
c) k|ak|ú (S)
d) lo|ũõ (S)
Rute zum Schmerzlindern: [199]) köwo|ú (S)
Zauberei, allgemein: lõbũní (S)
Regenzauber, Einzelrute: [200]) köwo|ú (S)
hũ|ã|ãhõdõ (S)
—, 2 Rohrstäbchen: trwá (S); [201]) hẽtjrwá (S)
—, Doppelrute: schwarze: kuõ|uní (S)
weiße: nõhõdãmũdá (S)
Geflochtener Affenpenis als Zauber:
[202]) nõõkraõbẽ (S, N)
Zauberpfeil (mit Rochenstachelspitze):
[203]) bõ|õhẽ (S); lõbũná (S)
Zitteraal: [204]) kuõ|uní (S)
hẽtjrwá (S)

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[199]) Vergl. E: ibrãke — süß; süßes gegorenes Getränk aus Mais und Manduka.
[200]) Dieselbe wie Regenzauber: Einzelrute.
[201]) Vergl. Holz.
[202]) — Canna brava (Uba?); vgl. auch Zitteraal-Zauber.
[203]) — Penis-Affe.
[204]) bõ|ẽ — Rochen; vielleicht — bõ|õhẽã — schwarzer Rochen?
[204]) Siehe auch Regenzauber, Doppelrute: schwarze Rute.

VII. Adjektiva, Adverbia, Pronomina.

	♂	♀
groß:	tʒã (S)	
	[206]) hãkán (N)	
	l-rarlĕ (E)	
klein:	(t)ĩtoj̃ẽ (S)	ĩkjtoj̃ẽ (S, N)
	l-oßatõ (E)	
schön:	[207]) hãũ(ĩ)tĕtĕ (S, N); auiture (E); awitori (C); aouineiété ourina (Co)	
gut = ja (sta bom):	ĕmwfĩã (S); hãũwfĩĩ (N); ndãnĕhũ, dããwfĩĩ(ĕ) (T); ahuire (E) tawitoo (C)	
schlecht:	ĩbmã (N); aibina (E); ibine (Co) djoucou (C)	
sehr schlecht:	[208]): ĩbmãĩĩ (N)	
böse (bravo):	dãbũrã (N)	
viele:	[209]) sõĕdĩdĩ (S); tõĕ-ĩĩĩ-ĩĩ (N); soetoti (C); son'é toutouré (Co)	
sehr:	tĕdẽ (S)	
wenig:	ĩbũdẽ (S)	
warm, heiß:	[209]) djudõkĕrẽ (S) dõ̃dĕkẽ (S, N)	
kalt:	k(ĕ)rẽ (S)	
	[210]) djudĕdõ (N)	
leer:	[211]) mã (S)	
naß:	hudãdũ (S)	
müde:	[212]) desĩnjẽjẽ (S) da-ou-say (C) = ermüden	
feig:	bjãbũ (N)	
schmutzig:	beší (S)	
geizig:	[213]) ahadjĩĩõjẽ (N)	

[206]) Vergl. E: berõ haka — Araguaya (nach Moraes Jardin: Berocan — Rio Grande).

[207]) Vorsilbe hãũ bei allen Worten der Bedeutung gut, schön usw. Vergl. auch Frau. tĕtĕ — sehr. Vergl. Co: gut — aouitouroure (Co)

[208]) Zu ĩĩ als Steigerung vergl. viele.

[209]) ĩĩĩĩ — sehr; zu ĩĩ als weitere Steigerung siehe: sehr schlecht.

[209]) djũ — Sonne? dõkĕrẽ wohl — dõdĕkẽ.

[210]) djũ — Sonne? [211]) Vergl. es ist zu Ende.

[212]) Vergl. E: nehoruãérure tahumãre — sie sind sehr faul.

[213]) -ĩõjẽ — klein?

♂ ♀

schwarz: käš-hädüĵá (N)
[816]) i-take-ɓebö (E); toroljobo = nègre (C)
idabouré = mulâtre (C)
rot: [818]) boĵö-nõ (S)
kaš-ürükú (N)
i-iɓo; i-take-iɓö (E)
weiß: [816]) ïüdı-üĵá (S); i-ura (E)
taroité (C)
ich: dëäná (S); deára (E)
béoté (Co)
ja: hã (S); hã (E)
ndé (S); endö (E)
kúknë (S); kjá (N); kiáki (E) kiá (N)
ãã (T); siehe auch gut (sta bom)
nein: dähájë (S); daháre (E) = ich will nicht
joncon (Co)
nicht: kónë (T); kö, kon (E)
es ist zu Ende: ïüá, ïüĩĵá (S); itoä, itoära (E)
Ausdrücke des Erstaunens: köbé, bäbá (N)
— der Bestürzung: kwé (N) kwé (N)
— des Mißfallens: bw (N)
Gruß an alle, bei Ankunft: daĩšé (S); tašö, tažö (E); taĩ'sé araraĩne (Co)
—, bei Abschied: [817]) aĵälínö (S); ararine (E)
taĩ'sé (Co)

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[816]) In Zusammensetzungen werden genannt: d(j)übá; vergl.
schwarze Haut: haüö-dübú-ñ (N)
schwarzer Fremder: tö|ı-djübú (N)
schwarzer Baumwollladen: ãzö-dëbé (S)
ãzö-iöbú (N)
schwarzer Lehm: zöü-b|u|ú (S)
schwarze Henne: idëbú (S)
[818]) Vergl. in Zusammensetzungen: rote Erdfarbe: zöü-bu|é (S)
roter Schmetterling: ü|á köduiá (S)
[816]) In Zusammensetzungen: weiße Haut: haüö-düiá-iö (N)
weißer Fremder: tö|ı-üná (N)
weißer Stein: mänä-ü|á (S, N)
weißer Baumwollladen: ãzö-iüá (N)
weiße Henne: iüná (S)
vergl. auch Leute (Karajá), Frauenbastschurz, Mandioka.
[817]) Vergl. kommen, gehen.

	♂	♀
Gruß an einen, bei Ankunft:	[219]) kai̯ bëhé (S); kai behë (E)	
	[219]) kátë|më (S)	
—, dessen Antwort:	dëaná (S); deara (E)	
	[220]) á|ä|më (S)	
—, abends beim Schlafengehen:	[221]) änänákrë (N)	
danke sehr:	[222]) djönódökë (T)	
fort:	-bëhë, -hë (T)	
am anderen Ufer:	kömä(lä) (T)	
wiederum, nochmals:	ändëkán (T)	

VIII. Verba.

gehen:	[223]) dj-ol-(l)ta (N)	ilsötra (N)
geh fort:	bol-ïk|éwïšë (N); coïké (Co) = ich gehe fort	
	[224]) hänäkré (S)	
	[225]) la|á (N)	
kommen:	la|ä|ï (T); iroranaréré (Co) = ich bin gekommen	
komm herein:	maló (T)	
komm her!:	änák|ë (S); mänákrë (N); manáka (E); manaca (Co)	
ich komme schon:	[226]) la|éïï (N)	
Mensch, der in Karriere läuft:	kaköïú|önë (S)	
sich setzen:	b(ë)dünä (S) aron-aine (E); raanhan (C)	
setz dich hierher:	b(ë)dïröb(ë)dü (S); bädünä (N); bedäi (E)	
ausruhen:	hë|ë|... (T)	
schlafen:	än-|ü|ü-k (S); än-önó-k|ë (N); an-rörökrë (E); arourou-cré (C); ronrocré (Co)	känönökiékanë (N)

[219]) kai — du (E). Vergl. Co: guten Abend — calbé'á.
[219]) Wurde übersetzt mit: como passou?
[220]) Wurde übersetzt als Antwort mit: bem!
[221]) Vergl. gehen, schlafen.
[222]) Bei Rückgabe von Streichhölzern, die ich ihnen zum Pfeifenanzünden geborgt hatte, sagten sie: ïä|ü (N)
[223]) Wurzel: (l)ol, (b)ol (T, IV, 20).
[224]) Vergl. komm her!
[225]) Vergl. kommen.
[226]) Vergl. kommen.

	♂	♀
schlafen:	[227]) djoĩdǫ̃õ (N) tauhi (C)	
schnarchen:	delõ(ẽ)tẽkẽ (N) ra-oron-rõm-re (E)	delõ(ẽ)kutẽkẽ (N)
lachen:	adjuã (N) routinénanéri (Co)	adjuwã (N)
weinen (schreien):	hẽbǫ̃ũ (N); ıbǫ̃ũ (N) ro-bûrere (E); rabouraré (C); robouréri (Co)	hẽbǫ̃ũ (N); i-berõ (E)
sprechen:	lubá (S); i-robeõire (E, 3. pl.); iroubé-tira (C); na-rubé-tira (E, 3. pl.)	
pfeifen:	jõgí (N)	ĩkõgí (N)
niesen:	ãdıgũ (N); hatiãi (E)	adıẽũ (N)
spucken:	kũlrwãkũ (N) rubeãi (E) rébéchuelaonan (Co)	kũlrwãkũ (N)
rülpsen:	l'doõ (N)	kiãhĩdoĩk (N)
pissen:	ãdẽgẽ (N) ari-ỡu-iñ (E); areceu (C) = Urin	kãĩĩdĩkũn (N); kari-ỡu-kre (E)
kacken:	ahıǫ̃ã (N) ari-ku-iñ (E, 1. sgl.); ari-ku-kre (E) = ich will k.	kãĩĩkũĩkũn (N); kari-ko-kre (E) = ich will k.
coitieren:	hõõ (N) ar-auhuẽnĩ (E)	kõõ (N)
kämmen:	[228]) sthõnẽ (T)	
Haarabschneiden:	[229]) ą̃abũdeãĩtẽkẽ. (N)	
schneiden (Schnitt):	ĩkõhẽ (T)	
essen:	dõõĩ (N); rõõi (E); loosi (C); rerochique (Co)	ĩãkuãĩ (N); rokuãi (E)
trinken:	[230]) bã-mõmõ (N); beai (C) arioñ (E); beã-m-arioñ-krẽ = ich will Wasser trinken	[231]) bã-mĩnũ-kĩ-ãĩ-ĩõnũ (N)
braten:	köbĩũnẽ (T); cobiyou'i (Co)	
töten:	bẽrbõn (T); bãre bona (E) rabou (C); ribonara (Co)	
landen:	dõlõ, dõhõ (T)	

[227]) djõĩd — gehen; õĩõ — schlafen.
[228]) sthõ — Kamm; nẽ — Verbalsuffix.
[229]) ĩą̃ã — Kopf; ãĩtẽkẽ — Spiegel.
[230]) Zu bã vergl. Wasser.
[231]) ãĩ — ari — ich (E); Wurzel für trinken: (b)ĩõn (T, IV, 17).

	♂	♀
lügen:	háĵü (S); arouiré (Co)	
bei Streit:	mentira:	ãlóídëhëk (S)
Antwort:	esse mesmo:	söóídëhëk (S)
suchen, holen:	máĵkã (T)	
schweig:	[227]) ĵübãkõ (S);	iroubecoin (Co) = schweigen
	ereboõã (E)	
wie heißt du?	mõãnĩ (N);	amoïnë (E)
warte:	jökĵén, jökĵé (N)	
	dżonimbiauráo (E)	
gib her!	kĩãunĩbĩdĩõ (N)	
gib mir:	Kapitän gib mir:	djúnĩãtë kãpĩtjõkë (N)
—, gib mir Tapirfleisch:	[228]) kõĩĩ haĩĩõ (N)	
—, gib mir Ochsenfleisch:	[229]) bölo|ení haĩĩõ (N)	
ich will:	doánälë (S)	
ich will nicht:	dähájë (S)	
Aufforderung, vamo:	ĩákã, ĩákó, kö (T, III, 2, 5)	
—, Partikeln der:	kĩ (T, I, 5)	
	[230]) kĵë (T, I, 4)	

IX. Einige Sätze und Aussprüche.

tĵuú dọdëké tëdé (S): die Sonne ist sehr heiß [wörtlich: Sonne heiß sehr], vergl. E: tiu tàkoõã, tiu totókere = die Sonne ist heiß.
bëãbesí (S) = schmutziges Wasser.
nãuëkĩë ũãhá (S) = Straußenzehe [wörtlich: Straußenfuß].
ködüní ĩĵú (N) = Spur der Schildkröte.
ködünĩzí ĩdãuwó (N) = Abdruck der Schildkröte in Sand und Ei [wörtlich: Schildkrötenei — . . .].
kãpĩtã kaí-tatë (N) = bist du der Häuptling? [wörtlich: Häuptling du —].
djĩãnáĩĩwëkĵë (N) = ich will töten [wörtlich: ich bin im Begriff, zu —? (ĩĩwë = ?)]

X. Zahlworte.

	♂	♀
1.	söhödí, göhödí (S); göóhí (N); soodi (Co)	öohodźi (E) göhodí (S, N)
	wadewo (C)	

[227]) ĵübã — sprechen; kõ — nicht (E). [228]) kõĩĩ — Tapir.
[229]) Vergl. Ochse: boronne, boroleni (C); bororéné (Co).
[230]) kĵë hat auch noch die Bedeutung: im Begriff sein, etwas zu tun (E); vergl. T, I. 4.

	♂	♀
2.	(ĩ)nat(j)ĩ (S, N); inati (E); naati (Co)	inat(j)ĩ (S, N)
	wadebothoa (C)	
3.	nãdõ̞ (S); (ĩ)nadã̃ (S, N); inatan, inatã, inatau (E); naatan (Co)	inadã̃ (S); inãdãnu (N)
	wadeboaheodo (C)	
4.	inãmbĩõ̞ (S); inambio, imanbio(E); inanoubioa (Co)	imãkubĩkõ̞ (S)
		inãkubĩkõ̞ (N)
	nõdĩã̃ (S); nãnĩõ̞ (N)	
	wadebojeodo (C)	
5.	irikri, ĩĩnk(ĩ)ĩẽ̃, [289]) irukúrẽ (S); ouroucouré (Co)	ĩĩnkĩjẽ (S)
	[287]) dẽbõĩtũã̃ (S); dẽwõĩtúrẽ (N); ẽebõ itoã (E)	dẽwõĩtĩjurẽ (N)
6.	[288]) dẽbõ̞ zõhõdĩ (S); wa-ẽebõ ẽohadẽi héura (E); wadewa sori (C)	
	lẽnĩjõ̞ (S); dendõ̞ (N); leiouroma (Co)	lekãjõ̞ã (S); lekãõ̞ (N)
7.	[289]) dẽbõ̞ inatĩ (S); wa-ẽebõ inati héura (E)	
	[240]) inãtĩ (S)	natĩĩ (S)
	[241]) debo leõnõ̞ (N)	debõkõlekjõnõ̞ (N)
	natiroclay (C)	
	inatirémo (Co)	
8.	[242]) dẽbõ̞ inãdã̃ (S); wa-ẽebõ inatã héura (E)	
	[243]) inãdã̃ (S); naton (C)	inãdãn(ũ) (S)
	[244]) dẽbõĩtũẽ (N)	dẽbõĩtũẽ (N)
	nateureuroma (Co)	
9.	[245]) dẽbõĩ inãmbĩõ̞ (S); wa-ẽebõ inambio (E)	
	[246]) naoubio (C)	imãkubĩkõ̞ (S)
	[247]) dẽbõlãhõ̞ (N)	
	[248]) débaltoé (Co)	
10.	[249]) dẽbõĩtũã̃ (S); wa-ẽebõ ibotuma itoã (E)	dẽwõĩ ĩtũã̃ (N)
	[250]) dẽbõlãhũ̃ (N)	dẽwõlãhũ̃ (N)
	dobossoodite (Co)	
11.	[251]) wãhã̃ zõhõdĩ (S); inawa-yuhú ẽedõ héura (E)	

[286]) kurẽ — beide (E).
[287]) — Hand — 1.
[288]) — 2.
[289]) — Hand — 3.
[240]) — Hand zu Ende. Wohl falsch.
[241]) — 4.
[242]) — Hand zu Ende.
[243]) — Fuß — 1.
[244]) dẽbõ̞ — Hand; ĩtũã̃ — ist zu Ende.
[245]) — Hand — 2.
[246]) Vergl. 6.
[247]) — 3.
[248]) — Hand — 4.
[249]) Vergl. 10.
[250]) Vergl. 9.

♂ ♀

ũãulédõ (S)
wawaro-coulgo (C)
12. [281]) wähá inatí, ũãuinadí (S); wawa inati héura (E)
nati (C)
13. [282]) wähá inádí, ũãuinadõ (S); wa-wa inatari héura (E)
14. [283]) wähá inámbíó, ũãuimándiá (S); wa-wa inambio héura (E)
15. [284]) wähãi irúkúrẽ (S)
[285]) ũãi ik'lédõ (S)
[286]) wa-wa itoã (E)
16. wãuwó gõhódí (S); ina-wakure ðohodgi héura (E)
[287]) ũãũ sódélédõ (S)
17. wãuwó inatí (S); ina-wa inati héura (E)
[288]) nádji ledó (S)
18. wãuwó inádí (S); ina-wa inatah héura (E)
nádãuníjõ (S)
ina-wa heðedo héura (E)
19. wãuwó inámbíó (S); ũãmámbiólí (S)
ina-wa koko ðedo héura (E)
20. [289]) wãitiá, ũãidõé (S)
ina-wa reko itoã (E)

XI. Eigennamen, Völkernamen.

Personennamen.

Knaben: S: [290]) maũgí
N: kjũmajé
ãnãtũmá
djodoĩnó
idjãhũjí.
šawaná
djnãõ

Antonio: [291]) bãnegóẽ, [292]) ãnãniõã, dẽwãsí, ðhãldóã

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[281]) Fuß — 2.
[282]) — Fuß — 4.
[283]) Vergl. 11.
[284]) — Fuß zu Ende.
[285]) — Fuß — 3.
[286]) Vergl. 5.
[287]) — Fuß zu Ende.
[288]) Vergl. Töpfertonzusatz.
[289]) Namen in einer Zeile sind verschiedene Namen derselben Person.
[290]) Vergl. Jaguar, Katze.

Manoel: wälätárũ, ãĩkĩĩjé, hãjalĩá
Jünglinge: S: maũdĩhí
N: deãĩbrá
ĩbĕtĩkrá
Männer: S: kãbĩĩá
ku(ũ)jĩ
mãnĕkokó
Pedro: dĩmãnjú, [501]) ãlũkgí
N: Ilk: ĩĩlk, sãkrũwá
wobĕtó
kõrũmãré
atĩkũjé
Mädchen: N: oĩsãjú
dĩkuĩtá
kabıoá
mãntjĩwĩdá
mãhıtú
Frauen: S: noãhá
dĩwakí
Tapirapémädchen: S: djũnõmbí, hãũngá

Namen aus Sagen (S)[502]).

Personennamen: 2 Brüder: 1. hãũnĕkũbãdú (B)
2. ĩãhán (B)
Ihre Mutter: ãĩĩkĕrũ (B)
Ihr Vater: ãmbuõlã (B)
Alte Frau: kraõtĕ (= Frosch) (B)
Der 3. Bruder: ũjá (= weiß) (B)
Dessen Großvater: sabũgá (B)
Der Mann im Loch: hõkumájĩ, õkũmarĕ (B)
Ein Knabe: kĕnããrwĕ (M); vgl. Gott, Echo

Tiernamen: 2 Gaviões: dĕnĩdĕnĩ (B)
Schlange: uohú (B)

Sachnamen: Medizin: wãwĕní (B)
Zauberapparat: õbtrú (B); vgl. Wurfholz
—: dĕtĩrwá (B); vgl. Canna brava, Regenzauber

Dorfnamen: Dorf an Mündung des Rio Vermelho: [503]) ãlãmãdó (S)
Dorf unterhalb Mündung des Rio de Peixe: [504]) ãlá (S)
Dorf in São José: aũwí (S)

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[501]) Vergl. Jaguar. [502]) B — Brüllaffensage; M — Mutumsage.
[503]) Vergl. nächstes Dorf, dessen Filiale es ist.
[504]) Nach einem Baum genannt, der sehr gute Früchte gibt.

Dorf des Häuptlings Ilk, unterhalb von S. Isabel do Morro: ãndãlábẽ (S)

Flußnamen: Rio Vermelho: [865]) ãidadeõ (S)
Rio Araguaya: [866]) berõ (S); berõ haka (E)
Rio Crixa: iwũ (S); hankiwõ berõ (E)
Rio Cristallino: [867]) kjalãhũ berõ (S)
mañriuã-berõ (E)
Rio das Mortes: enaĩdjõ (S)
inãũ (S)
iuã-berõ (E)
Rio Tapirapé: [868]) bẽrõ mãnã (S); mana-bẽro (E)
[869]) nhũbẽrõ (S)

Seenamen: Lago de montaria: ãnĩkirĩ (S)

Inselnamen: Insel Bananal: [870]) bẽrobẽ(ow)ã (S)

Gebirgsnamen: Berg an Tapirapémündung: awã-lõ (S)
Gebirge bei Dorf Nr. 20, im W: hawã-ldjõ-ĩl (N)
— —, im NW: hãwã-djõ (N)
— —, im N: hawã-djõ-lĩsã (N)

Völkernamen.

Karajá: bei sich selbst: [871]) mã (S)
bei den Šavajé: mõ (N)
[872]) berẽhõkũwãndũ (S)
šũšũmãdõ (S)
bei den Chavante: wãrãnõrõ (S)

Šavajé: ĩãwãjõ (N)
[873]) ĩãndjũ (N); ĩãã(n)dĩwãndũ (S, N)
[874]) berõbeõ (S)

Tapirapé: [875]) uõhũ (S, N); uohu (E)

Kayapó: kĩãjaũ (S, N); kayabus (E)

Chavante: kĩ(o)ũgã (N, S); kĩtũgã (N); kũãtõgã (N); kũĩtgã (S)

Cherente: inõlõũ (S)

Canoeiros: ũãbẽgã (S)

Volk am Rio das Mortes: dõbãĩ (S)

Volk im Osten: [876]) ĩãwũndãhõ (N)

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[865]) Von brasil. cidade — Stadt? — der von der Stadt (Goyaz) kommt?
[866]) — Fluß.
[867]) — Felsenfluß.
[868]) — Fluß der Kayapó.
[869]) — Fluß der Tapirapé.
[870]) Bei E. berõ beauã — Furo.
[871]) Vergl. Lesão.
[872]) berẽhõkũ vielleicht — großer Fluß (Araguaya). Zu wãndũ siehe Šavajé, Volk im Osten.
[873]) Ĩã von Halbcuye oder von Schwein? Zu wãndũ siehe Karajá.
[874]) Siehe Insel Bananal.
[875]) — Fluß.
[876]) Vielleicht identisch mit den Šavajé.

XII. Europäische Sachen.

	♂	♀
Hemd:	dĕkẽ (N); doukon (Co)	
Strohhut:	ãpeõ (S)	
Spiegel:	ĩnĕkẽ (S) ĩtérénan (Co)	
Streichholz:	[277]) hãõdẽ (N); éotou (Co)	
Eiserner Kochtopf:	bõtĩ (S)	
Beil:	ũomã (S, N); uomã (E); ooma (Co)	
Messer:	ma(h)ũ (S); mahau (E); maeu, maou, maldeal (C); [278]) marĩ'oré (Co) = Messer; maou (Co) = kleines Messer	mak (E)
Facão:	mãũlehẽ (S)	
Foice:	mãũlabũ (S, N)	
Hacke:	bĩnĩẽ (S, N)	
Schere:	ĩõĩĩsõnã, kõkĩĩsunã (N) ouaré'sina (Co)	kõkĩĩsunã (N)
Nähnadel:	dĕkũnĩãnĩ (S); kũnũnẽõ (N); toucou-rourénan (Co)	dãkjãũnjanã (S)
Gewehr:	mãhõũã (N); bakawa (C); macaoua (Co)	mãkaũwã löbölowõ (N)
Revolver:	ĩkrĩãõ (N)	
Geschoß:	ĩtõkõ (N); mokawaka (C); manaoutou (Co)	
Mundharmonika:	adjũõnã (N)	
Trillerpfeife:	õmãdĩ (S)	
Photographie, Bild:	ĩtãĩĩnã (S)	

XIII. Aussprache brasilianischer Worte.

N: Facão = pãcõ
chifre = ãĩprẽ

N: Farinha = pãrĩnjã
facer = pãsẽr.

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[277]) Vergl. Feuerbast.

[278]) Die beiden Ausdrücke Coudreaus für Messer und kleines Messer sind ganz offenbar vertauscht.

B. Šavajé.

Wörterverzeichnis.

(Nur Worte der Männersprache wurden notiert.)

Tierreich.

Tapir: bölöḷé
Großer weißer Vogel (Art Adler): ndäḷá
Rotköpfiger Geier: ködjté
Caracara: idá
junges Huhn: dënldëní
Federn, blaugelbe Arara: bizá
Federn, gelbe Arara: bizá
—, Gavião: (ä)ndaḷé
—, Feine rote Federchen (Flügeldeckfedern des Löffelreihers): wäḷaḷá
Hundsfisch: lädá

Pflanzenreich.

Mais: djtülaïdjé
— gelb: šilaïdjé
Mandioka: hädji(ü)ḷá
Mandiokaspeise: inäḷü
Tabak: kotí
Jatobafrucht: kuwá
Rotharz: dömaḷé
Schwarzharz: göbädäla

Kleidung und Schmuck.

Frauenbastbinde, weiß: häblödá
—, rot: häblödá
Mädchengürtel aus schwarzer Baumwolle: wädäkäná
Mädchenrock aus schwarzen langen Schnüren: güöhí
Netzdecke: rrü
Federhaube: dölldolí
Federreif mit Stutz aus blauschwarzen Araraledern: hänäná
Gesichtsreif, mit zwei schwarzen Federstutzen: wäldöhé
Gesichtsreif, mit roten Araraledern als Stutzen: ködlülnkünadlió
Federschopfstutz: wäldöhé
Federkranz auf hufeisenförmigem Gestell, für Hinterkopf: lolmá
Hinterhauptsrad aus Federn: lahldó
Nackenquasten, für Männer: lortzá, lortzá
— für Kinder, schwarz: wadjtkhdjá
Ohrstab: döhó, döhó
Ohrstab mit flacher Federrosette: döhá, döhodhé

Ohrstab mit Federtulpe: guedjú
Lippenpflock aus Muschel: ādjé
— aus Holz: ōdōó
Halskette aus blauweißen Früchten: āmlaĩtādí
Oberarmschmuck, schwarze Schnüre mit Quasten: dōlú
Unterarmschmuck, schwarze Schnüre mit Quasten: dōlú
— zweiteilige Wülste mit Fransen, rot, hinter den Armstulpen getragen: deālādāzí
Armstulpen: deāí

Fingerring aus Eidechsenschwanz: dībó
Wadenbänder (Abzeichen der Ledigen): deobidá
Wadenschmuck, geflochtene und gequastelte Bänder mit Fransen, rot, für Jünglinge: hūdjaũwú
— dsgl. schwarz, für Kinder: deāhalá
Knöchelbänder (Abzeichen der Ledigen): walalú, wālālí
Wundenkratzer: lādedjú
Kamm: gihó

Haus, Hausgerät und Werkzeug.

Mörser: koó
Mörserkeule: hāãũ
Mandiokareibholz: wōlānākīa, kōlaná (? kōlanākīā)
Mandiokapresse (Stäbchensieb): brādjé, bredjé
Rührlöffel: nalīhí
Tabakspfeife: wālīoná
Bogen: djuhādé
Pfeil: wōhú
— mit Holzknaufspitze: dōbōlá
Keule: gōhōrdé
Instrument zum Rieleln der Keulen: hãũlīdjú
Lanze: dōnōlí, dōnōlí
Wurfholz: hasōbí
Eiserne Schildkrötenangel: ibīalūkú
Steinbeil: ūōmādūé, ūōmādú
Klopfstein zum Nußöffnen: maná
Ruder: nalīhí
Kiepe: bāh(ī)nlá

Rundkorb: wālilí
Lange Korbtasche: dadá
Transportsack aus Burityfasern: mānāí
— aus Palmblatt: lolí
Tragtasche aus Palmblatt, schräg verflochten: lolí
Länglicher Spankorb mit Deckel: wālābāhí
Affenfeiltasche: djūlení
Langes Kürbisgefäß (für Wassertransport): rūkú
Halbcuye: wādú
Tontopf, rot: wādjīwí
Tonschale, rot: wādjīwāūdá
Spindel: ãgōdāó
Baumwollfaden, schwarz: ãgōdēbé
Knäuel aus Baumwollfaden, weiß: ãgó
Häkelnadel: deāīdūná
Schwarze Embira: dōdá

Spielzeug, Musik, Tanz.

Tonschälchen: wadjīwí hōlé
Wachsfigur, eine Jungfrau darstellend: jīkōkó

Flechtfiguren aus Palmblatt, Nachbildung des Lippenpflocks?: kāhōhú

Flechtfiguren, Tabakspfeife: wälïoná
—, Klapperschlange: ämödädá
—, Vogel: büdöé
—, Bienenwabe: domálïïk, bědïdöhákïě
—, Zweispitz (Urubu?): dalá, ködïě
—, Vierspitz: djedá, gedá
—, bewegliche Figur: ködodá
—, verschiedene unbekannter Deutung: ïïemá, ïdjölalé, ïnäümí
Flöte aus Kürbis: lökú, ädjüloná
Flöte mit Cuyenresonanz: ädjuloná
Pfeife aus Palmblatt: dülěhé
Rassel aus Kürbis: wäljú

Tanzgürtel: wädäkäná
Tanzarmband mit weißen Federn: döjú
Grasschurz für Masken (Gesichtsdeckung): ïdjazóhěbědó, wädäkäná
Tanzmaske: ïdjägó
Nachbildungen von Tanzmasken: (ï)djalhení
ïädění
ämbüäwädïä
Namen von Gesängen der Šavajé [1]): (ï)djalhení (N)
děsöï děsöï (N)

Eigennamen.

Name eines Hundes: wälïhú.

[1]) Bei den Karajá erfahren.

[pp. 461-468 not processed]

VII. Verschiedenes.

heiraten: bäĩ prönõ õlömã . . . . . E: naruma oprõm boi
seß dich: márĩnjë . . . . . E: ba-niuñ, ba-idéiuñ = sich seßen
es ist zu Ende: ãĩkatí . . . . . E: marĩkatia (Uéĩkring)
Fremde Stammesnamen: kãĩsã
ũãĩkrí
görötirõ
Eigennamen von Männern: tũkũ
tãrĩkũ
föntóra
bõb'óra
kögdjórötĩ
boĩbõĩdjĩ.

D. Tapirapéworte,

von Karajáindianern mitgeteilt.

Tabak: bãdúmã
Uruku: kãã
Penisstulp: höölã
Kamm: küwã
Keule: rwurã
Cuye: Vollcuye, Cuyenflasche: küttã
—, Halbcuye: kãsödĩ
Puppe aus weißem Stein, eine Jungfrau darstellend: dlöhõ
Name eines Gesanges der Tapirapé: ãkjtĩ.

[p. 470 is blank]

Anhang II.

A. Texte der Karajá.

Im nachfolgenden will ich einige Texte wiedergeben, für die ich die Übersetzungen erhalten habe. Kuriši erzählte sie mir vor São José, während er einen Korb dabei flocht. Jeder Satz wurde von mir so lange nachgesprochen, bis ich das zu seiner Zufriedenheit tat; erst dann notierte ich ihn und ließ mir die brasilianische Übersetzung geben. Nachstehend setze ich diese seine brasilianische Übersetzung dazu, sowie eine Erläuterung der einzelnen Worte, soweit mir diese zu geben möglich ist. Ich möchte das Ganze nur als Materialmitteilung betrachten.

Charakteristisch ist Inhalt und Form dieser Texte. Sie stellen kleine Erzählungen dar, die Kuriši zum Teil selbst erfand in dem Augenblick, als er sie mir sagen sollte. Meist geben sie Szenen aus dem täglichen Leben der Indianer in Rede und Gegenrede wieder und gewähren so einen guten Einblick in das Denken und Handeln dieser Leute. Einer dieser Texte (VII) gibt eine Sage wieder. Kuriši hatte sie erst brasilianisch erzählt; ich bat ihn darauf, mir sie auf karajá zu erzählen. Daraufhin teilte er mir diese wenigen Worte mit. Sie geben ein ganz knappes Gerüst der Sage ab, das vielleicht überliefert wird und den Indianern als Anhalt beim Erzählen der Sage dient.

Erzählungen.

I. 1. bdolokerõ[1]) 2. ãnakĮẽ 3. dérbũn 4. ĩkõhẽklõ
cassar Pirarucu. você mattou? mattei. vamo cortar carne
5. kĩkóbĩũn 6. lõũ(w)ã 7. kĩzã
moquea o carne. sta moqueado. vamo tirar carne do fogo (para comer).
8. ĩtõã
acabou.

II. 1. bẽdẽdõmãĮkã 2. dãwã 3. ããunflẽwũ 4. mẽnãũn
Honigsuchen. tirar mel. sta gordo. tem muito samorro.
5. kãõzẽdĩ(w)ũ 6. ihõkónẽ(wẽ) 7. ãã 8. ĩtõã
pedacinho de mel. não tem a bea. é. acabou.

[1]) Die gesperrten Ausdrücke stellen eine Art Überschrift dar.

III. 1. lähädómälkä 2. läkä 3. ŋjöndë 4. ĩwölkónë
Wespenhonigsuchen. vamo. tem. sta magro, não tem mel.
5. läkóbëhë
vamo embarcar.

IV. 1. küölúmälkä 2. érüdëtë 3. ĩrömbëdä
vamo na roça. tem raiz? Tem. tira mandioca mansa tambem.
4. ĩäũwé 5. kóbëhë 6. ĩütjlë 7. äã 8. heĺéĺkĩhün
deu (?). vamo embora. sta pesado. é. vamo descansar.
9. hëlëdéhünälk 10. äã 11. läkä 12. ködüĺánberbön
descanso, vamo embora. é. vamo (sta na canoa). matta um peixe.
13. lkóĺö 14. lëkĩsóklë 15. kĩrösĩ
eu mattei; vamo encostar, comer peixe. assa. comer.
16. dähëdü 17. läkĩü 18. kötsóklö 19. läkähë
incheu. vamo beber aqua. vamo pitar vamo embora.
20. loĩlleĩ 21. ĩnärsĩhón 22. deĩlhütä
chegou? cheguei. agora eu quero pentear Você. agora sta pronto.
23. ĩüermúbtön 24. heĩtjämümä 25. dähämánündáĩwä 26. maló.
toma cauim. vai buscar lenha. cheguei. Você entra.
27. möhöl(önk)ë kĩädjĩ
agora Você dorme.

V. 1. m̧ömbólaĺäĺĩ 2. debó 3. kömälälelĩhü 4. kämälähödjúläně
lá vem um canoa. cade elle? lá no outro lado. sta singando.
5. kömälanälthĩnälelĩ 6. dädäĩlämbö
quando chega lá na beirada do matto, sta remando. agora chegeu; salvo.
7. (n)äĺäĺĩnĩ 8. ĩnrwërúbiü 9. ndäněhü 10. djönódokë
salvo. dê cauim, vai comer. sta bom. multo agradecido.
11. ĩäroĩklëhë 12. b(o)oĩ 13. känälëwĩdjĩ ĩändëkándolokĺën
agora eu vai. elle vai. agora sta incostando outra vez.
14. dïäwĩlĩë 15. ĩwüerán ĩändëkáalĩĺalen
sta bom. eu guardo alguma cousa por Você.

VI. 1. ĩtjĩädömänläkĺën 2. üürdélëhë
lá vem canoa da moça só. não tem pai, não mai.
3. dëwäsölänĩ 4. kätjflaĺänĩ
cade sua gente? não, vem mesma só viajante. gente vem atraz.
5. dïäwĩlĩ 6. kaĩwótäbe ekówündoĩtë 7. boĩböhë
sta bom. Você lá vem adiante. sta bom, vou.
8. änoéĺäklëhë 9. käkënübolaĺäĺĩ 10. tsöhökënä
Você vai indo. elles lá vem. deixe elles vem.
11. kuäkĩlölĩdöhökĺë 12. lüdjëbülähämänälélĩkĺĩ
elles sta incostando por almoçar. elles chegam amanhã.
13. loĩdél(e)ĩwëĩë 14. ähädjĩdúĺälä 15. drudéblähän
elles sta ahi ainda. elle já foi. elles foi madrugada, sem ver.

Die Mutumsage.

VII. 1. kẽnãšiwẽ rapaz. 2. dalãhĩrwẽ mutum. 3. hãĩdjãĩa|ã Você busca lenha. 4. dãĩdi|ĩ dexou.
5. ũõhũ mãlešiwẽ flechase no dedo de perna. 6. bũ ĩidãhãn mutum toma chuva, entra na casa.
7. ĩĩhĩdãhãn rapaz sahiu no mutum. 8. šĩbĩ|ãhĩdẽhõ mutum foi no matto outra vez. 9. ĩtuã acabou.

Gesänge.

1. õlãdõ menino ãnãrkãnũ, brincam ãnãrkãnũ wĩrõtẽ wĩrõtẽ ajuntar.
2. õtĩkã|ã|õ, para comer õtĩkã|ã|õ, ĩĩkõhã ĩĩkõhã, a cortaria hãũẽkẽ hũã|ĩõ mulher comer.
3. ãntũẽdjã tãm mulher sta casando homen; homen de outra qualidade foi com ella.

B. Erklärungen und Anmerkungen zu den Texten.

Erzählungen.

I. 1. bdõlẽkẽ = Pirarucu; -ra = Verbalsuffix (E).
2. anakre (E) = kommen (E). Vgl. geh fort! komm her! also wohl: ich komme.
3. wohl verhört für berbõn = töten (T); vgl. IV, 12[1]). töten (E): bãre bona; (C): rabou.
4. ĩĩkõhẽ = schneiden. Vgl. Gesänge 2; siehe oben.
k|ẽ = 1. im Begriff sein, etwas zu tun (E); vgl. I, 2; V, 11, 13; VI, 1, 8, 11, 12. 2. Suffix bei Imperativen (T); vgl. IV, 14.
5. kõbĩũ = braten (E);
-ne = Verbalsuffix (E).
kĩ = Suffix bei Imperativ (T); vgl. I, 7; IV, 8, 15, 18, 27.
6. -wã vielleicht = -ra = Suffix des eingetretenen Zustandes (E).
7. kĩ siehe I, 5.
8. ĩtõã = es ist zu Ende. Schlußwort fast aller Erzählungen.

II. 1. bẽ̃d̃ẽ̃d̃õ. Honig: bẽdõ; beõãwũ (E).
mãĩkã = suchen, holen (T); vgl. III, 1; IV, 1.
2. Vgl. dazu: dãwã = Wachskreisel; kũdãwã = Spindelscheibe (Ton, Knochen, wohl auch solche aus Wachs). Wachs dagegen: tãbõ|ã.

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[1]) Diese Hinweise beziehen sich auf die betreffenden Sätze der Texte.

3. ãaũn: vgl. II, 4. Beidemal Begriff der Menge (dabei Begriff des Erwünschten) (T). Vgl. IV, 4; V, 14; VI, 5; sowie schön, gut. ãã = ja; II, 7.
-ilë: vgl. II, 4: nrë-; II, 5: -rwũ; II, 6: ihö-; III, 4. In allen Fällen handelt es sich um Honig oder Bienen (T).
4. Vgl. II, 3.
5. käögëd-fwũ. käögëd = ?; zu fwũ vgl. II, 3.
6. ihö-: vgl. II, 3; -könë vgl. E: koñ = nicht; vgl. III, 4. -wë = ?
7. ãã = ja. Zustimmender Ausruf (T). Vgl. auch dã-ã-wíllë: V, 14; VI, 5.
8. Vgl. I, 8.

III. 1. lähädö = Wespenhonig? (T). mälkä vgl. II, 1.
2. läkä = Aufforderung: gehen wir (T). Vgl. III, 5; IV, 11, 17, 19.
3. = ntjö-ndé? ndé = Bejahung. ntjö = ?
4. Vgl. II, 6.
5. Zu läkó vgl. III, 2;
-bëhé = fort (embora) (T), oft nur hë; vgl. IV, 5, 19; V, 11; VI, 7, 8. In der Übersetzung ist embarcar vielleicht verhört für embora. Aber auch im Ausdruck einschiffen liegt der Begriff des Fortgehens.

IV. 1. küölú- = ? mälka vgl. II, 1.
2. Zu êru vgl. IV, 3: nrö; beide wohl = n(t)ú = Alpim.
detë = tede = sehr? Also = sehr viel Alpim.
3. Zu nrö vgl. IV, 2, ërü.
m- = Imperativpräfix (E).
bëdä = herausziehen?
4. ãaũwé = Bejahung. Vgl. V, 14; VI, 5.
5. Vgl. III, 5.
6. = es ist schwer?
7. Vgl. II, 7.
8. heḷël- = ausruhen (T).
kï = Aufforderung; vgl. I, 5.
hun: entweder zu heḷël gehörig (vgl. IV, 9) oder besondere Silbe unbekannter Bedeutung, vgl. IV, 9; V, 3, 9.
9. Vgl. IV, 8. -alk = unbekannter Bedeutung.
10. Vgl. II, 7.
11. Die beiden haben sich ins Boot begeben zur Heimfahrt. Vgl. III, 2.
12. ködüḷá = kädoḷá = Fisch.
n = m = Imperativpräfix.
bërbön = töten. Vgl. I, 3.

13. = lăkó-|ö; lăkó = Aufforderung: gehen wir; vgl. III, 5, 2.
|ö vielleicht = |öăĭ = essen, also: laß uns essen.
14. klĕ = Suffix bei Imperativen, vgl. I, 4.
kĭ = Imperativpartikel, vgl. I, 5; hier eingeschoben?
lĕ-sŏ = rösten?
15. kĭ = Imperativpartikel, vgl. I, 5;
|ŏăĭ = essen.
16. dĂhĕdŭ = ich bin satt.
17. lăkfŭ. lăk(a) = Aufforderung, vgl. III, 2.
rŭ = trinken; vgl. IV, 23; V, 8; E: beă-m-arioh-krĕ: beă = Wasser; m = Imperativpartikel; ar = ich; ioh = trinken; -kre.
18. ki = Aufforderung; vgl. I, 5.
kŏ̰tŏŏ = Pfeife rauchen; von kŏ̰tĭ = Tabak.
19. gehen wir; vgl. III, 2; zu hĕ vgl. III, 5.
20. Begrüßung zu Haus. Die Frau fragt: bist du gekommen? Antwort: ich bin gekommen.
loĭ, von gehen: ∂ĭ (T); vgl. V, 11, 12; VI, 6, 7, 8, 13.
Vgl. auch gehen: ♂ djoĭ(ĭ)ta (N), ♀ I-k-óĭ-rä (N); geh fort: boĭĭ-k|é-wĭŏĕ (N).
leĭĭ = rere (?) = Gegenwartssuffix (E).
21. an = ? = dich? (vgl. V, 8).
ar = ich (E).
sihó = Kamm.
-ne = Verbalsuffix (E).
22. de = ?
ŏĭhu, von sihó = Kamm.
-tä = ra (?) = eingetretener Zustand (E).
23. ĭüĕrmŭ, von ĭüĂrŭk = Mandiokaspeise. m = Imperativpartikel, hier eingeschoben.
bĭön = trinken; vgl. V, 8; IV, 17.
24. heĭtjĂmŭmä. Zu heĭtjĂ vgl. hĂĭdjĂ in VII, 3 = Brennholz? Brennholz: hĂĂ; Feuerbast: hĂödé.
mŭmä = ?
25. dĂhĂmÁnŭndÁĭtwä = ? Kommt zurück vom Holzholen, meldet sich an.
26. malŏ = tritt ein. m = Imperativpräfix (IV, 3). alŏ, Zusammenhang mit lăĭĂĭĭ (?) = kommen (T).
27. m = Imperativpräfix (IV, 3).
ŏhölönkĕ, vielleicht verhört für änönŏkĭĕ = schlafen.
kĭ = Partikel bei Imperativen, vgl. I, 5.
ädjĭ = ?

V. 1. mõmbõ = ? Boot = ãwõ.
la|ĀĪ = kommen (T); vgl. V, 3, 5, 7; VI, 3, 4, 9, 12. Vgl. ich komme schon: |ā|ēĪ (N).
2. dębõ = wo ist es? dē- = wo (E). bõ = ?
3. kõmã(lã) vgl. V, 4, 5. Die Endsilbe -la kann auch zu lēĪ gehören (V, 5): lālelĪ = kommen; jedenfalls bedeutet kõmã(lã) am anderen Ufer (T).
(lã)|elĪ = kommen.
hũ = ? Vgl. V, 9.
4. kãmã-lã, vgl. V, 3.
hõdjõ = Bootsstange. -lã = -ra (?) = eingetretener Zustand (E); -nẽ = Verbalsuffix (E).
5. kõmã-lã, vgl. V, 3.
nãlihĪ = Ruder. -nã = Verbalsuffix (E).
lelĪ: entweder = rere (?) = Gegenwartssuffix (E), oder mit la- zusammen = kommen (vgl. V, 1).
6. dãdÃĪĪãmbõ, vielleicht verhört für lā|ÃĪ = kommen; ãmbõ = ?
7. = Gruß. Zusammenhang mit la|ĀĪ = kommen?
8. ãn = ? = dich? vgl. IV, 21.
ĩwẽrũ von mĀrũk = Mandiokaspeise.
brũ = trinken; IV, 23, 17.
9. ndã = ja. -ne = ? hũ = ?, vgl. V, 3. Das ganze = Bejahung: gut (sta bom): V, 14; VI, 5.
10. = danke sehr (?)
11. ar = ich (E); o͡l = gehen, vgl. IV, 20. klẽ = im Begriff sein (E). -hẽ = ?, vielleicht verkürzt für -bẽhẽ = fort, vgl. III, 5.
12. b(o)o͡l: o͡l = gehen, vgl. IV, 20.
13. kãnãlẽwĩdjĪ (verhört für kõmãlã? = am anderen Ufer, V, 3) = ? ãndẽkãn = wiederum, nochmals? (T).
dõlõ = landen (T), vgl. VI, 11. -k|ẽn = im Begriff sein (E).
14. dã = ja, vgl. V, 9. dã-ãwĩhẽ, -ã͡ũwĩhẽ = gut (Bejahung); vgl. VI, 5; vgl. gut.
15. ĩwũẽrã = ?
ãndẽkã = wiederum; vgl. V, 13.
alĪ = ich (E); |a|en = ? = rare? = Perfektpartikel (E), oder von la|ĀĪ = kommen?

VI. 1. ĩtjĩãdõmã von jãdõmã = Jungfrau.
niã- von la|ĀĪ = kommen, vgl. V, 1.
k|ẽn = im Begriff sein (E).
2. Zu delẽ vgl. VI, 13.
3. de = wo? (E). ĩknĪ von la|ĀĪ = kommen? Vgl. V, 1.

4. kätjĭ = ? laḷānī = kommen, vgl. V, 1.
5. Vgl. V, 14.
6. kal = du (E).
wötäbē = ?
ekōwünd = ?
ōlnē von ōl = gehen, vgl. IV, 20.
7. bōl von ōl = gehen, vgl. IV, 20.
böhe = bēhē (?) = fort, vgl. III, 5.
8. entweder: ar = ich; o von ōl = gehen; era = gleich (E); kḷe = im Begriff sein (E); hē = fort (vgl. III, 5).
oder: ar = ich; oē = ōl = gehen; -ra = Partikel bei intransitiven (E); kḷōhē wie oben.
9. käkēnūbō = ? laḷālī = kommen; vgl. V, 1.
10. = ?
11. kūäkīlōḷī = ?
dōhōkḷē: entweder = dōlō = landen (T), vgl. V, 13,
oder von ändōḷdōhō = Frühstück. In diesem Wort kann aber der Begriff des Landens wohl enthalten sein, da man zum Frühstücken an Land gehen muß. Auf den Bootsreisen der Indianer spielt das Landen zum Frühstücken und zum Übernachten eine große Rolle.
12. lüdjēbū = E. rudžebū = morgen.
lähä = ?
ma = Futurpräfix (E).
nälölī = laḷäḷī (?) = kommen; vgl. V, 1.
kḷē = im Begriff sein (E).
13. loī von ōl = gehen; vgl. IV, 20.
delē = ? vgl. VI, 2.
ī-wēšē = ? vgl. geh fort: boīl-klé-wīšē (N), von: bōll = gehen; kḷē = im Begriff sein.
14. ähädjīdū = ?
ḷälä = räre? = Perfektpartikel (E).
15. drudē = ?
b-lähän = läḷän?, von ḷäḷäḷī = kommen; vgl. V, 1.

Die Mutumsage.

VII. 1. = Name des Knaben = Echo = Gott.
2. dälähīlrwē = ?
3. hälīdjä = heitjä = Brennholz? Vgl. IV, 24.
-la = Verbalsuffix?
-ḷä = ?

4. — ?
5. ööhú — Pfeil.
mäleirwé — ? Ilwé auch in kénäiwé (VII, 1).
6. biú — Regen.
ñdähän — jemand treffen, auf etwas fallen, stürzen usw. (I), vgl. 7.
7. ñhidähán.
8. — ?
9. — es ist zu Ende.

Gesänge.

1. ölädö vgl. ödädú — Knabe.
ínärkánü: ínärkán — Ringfest; wohl Spiel überhaupt. -nü — nö (?) — Verbalsuffix (E).
wirotö — ? (sich vereinigen).
2. öñkaläló — ?
ñkohá — schneiden.
háũèké — Frau.
hüläló — ?
3. antjüédá — ?
tüm — ?

C. Deutsche Übersetzung der Texte.

(Die in Klammern beigefügten Übersetzungen sind die ins Deutsche übertragenen brasilianischen Angaben der Indianer. Wo sich keine andere Übersetzung findet, konnten diese Angaben nicht weiter geprüft werden.)

Erzählungen.

I. 1. (Piraruculischen) Piraruculischen.
2. (Hast du ihn getötet?) ich komme (?)
3. (Ich habe ihn getötet). Töten (1. Sgl.?).
4. (Wir wollen das Fleisch zerschneiden). Wir wollen schneiden.
5. (Brate das Fleisch). Brate!
6. (Es ist gebraten).
7. (Wir wollen das Fleisch vom Feuer wegnehmen, um zu essen).
8. (Es ist zu Ende). Es ist zu Ende.

II. 1. (Honigsuchen). Honigsuchen.
2. (Honig herausholen).
3. (Es gibt viel; eig. er ist dick).
4. (Es gibt viel junge Bienen).
5. (Aber nur wenig Honig).

6. (Es gibt keine Biene).
7. (ja). ja.
8. (es ist zu Ende). es ist zu Ende.

III. 1. (Wespenhonig suchen).
2. (gehen wir!). gehen wir!
3. (es gibt welchen, oder ein Nest). ja, . . .
4. (ist gering [mager], es gibt keinen Honig). Honig (?) nicht.
5. (Laß uns einschiffen). Gehen wir fort!

IV. 1. (Gehen wir in die Pflanzung).
2. (Gibt's Wurzeln? Ja). Sehr viel Alpim.
3. (Ziehe auch Alpimwurzeln heraus). Ziehe heraus (?) Alpim.
4. Bejahung, Zustimmung.
5. (Laß uns fortgehen). Gehen wir fort!
6. (Es ist schwer).
7. (ja). ja.
8. (Laß uns ausruhen). Laß uns ausruhen.
9. (Ich habe ausgeruht, laß uns fortgehen). Ich habe ausgeruht (?)
10. (ja). ja.
11. (Los). Fahren wir ab (als sie im Boot sind).
12. (töte einen Fisch). töte einen Fisch.
13. (ich tötete einen; laß uns landen, um Fisch zu essen). laß uns essen?
14. (brate!)
15. (essen). iß!
16. (ich bin voll).
17. (laß uns Wasser trinken). laß uns trinken!
18. (laß uns rauchen). laß uns rauchen (?)
19. (laß uns fortgehen). gehen wir fort!
20. (Bist du gekommen? Ich bin gekommen). ich bin gekommen (?)
21. (jetzt will ich dich kämmen). ich (will) [dich?] kämmen.
22. (jetzt ist es fertig). gekämmt (?)
23. (trink Cauim). Trink Mandiokabrei!
24. (gehe Brennholz suchen).
25. (ich bin gekommen).
26. (tritt ein).
27. (jetzt schlafe!)

V. 1. (Dort kommt ein Boot). Kommt . . . .
2. (Wo ist es?) Wo . . .
3. (Dort auf der andern Seite). es kommt am andern Ufer (?)
4. (Es fährt mit der Bootsstange). am anderen Ufer fährt es mit der Bootsstange.

5. (Wenn es dort ans Waldufer kommt, rudert es). am andern Ufer rudert es . . .
6. (jetzt ist es angekommen; Gruß).
7. (Gruß). Gruß.
8. (Gib Cauim; komm zum Essen). Mandiokabreitrinken.
9. (gut). ja.
10. (danke sehr). danke sehr.
11. (jetzt gehe ich). ich bin im Begriff fortzugehen.
12. (er geht). gehen.
13. (jetzt landete er noch einmal). am andern Ufer(?) ist sie im Begriff, nochmal zu landen.
14. (gut). ja.
15. (ich bewahre etwas für dich). . . . . ich bin wieder gekommen?

VI. 1. (Dort kommt ein Boot mit nur einer Jungfrau). Eine Jungfrau kommt.
2. (sie hat keinen Vater, keine Mutter).
3. (Wo sind ihre Leute? Nein, sie kommt ganz allein gereist). Wo kommt . . .
4. (Die Leute kommen hinterher). . . . kommen.
5. (gut). ja.
6. (Du kommst vornweg). Du . . . . gehen.
7. (gut, ich komme [ich gehe]). gehen.
8. (Du bist im Begriff zu gehen). Ich bin im Begriff gleich fortzugehen.
9. (Dort kommen sie). . . . kommen.
10. (Laß sie kommen).
11. (Sie landen, um zu frühstücken). . . . . im Begriff zu landen.
12. (Sie kommen morgen). morgen . . . . im Begriff sein, zu kommen.
13. (Sie sind immer noch dort). gehen . . .
14. (ist schon weg).
15. (sie kommen morgen, ohne [sie] zu sehen). . . . kommen.

Die Mutumsage.

VII. 1. (Knabe). Name des Knaben.
2. (Mutum).
3. (Du gehst Brennholz suchen).
4. —
5. (verwundet sich mit dem Pfeil am Finger des Fußes). Pfeil . . .
6. (Der Mutum bekommt Regen ab, kommt in die Hütte). Regen . . .
7. (Der Knabe stürzte auf den Mutum).
8. (Der Mutum war wiederum im Walde).
9. (Es ist zu Ende). Es ist zu Ende.

Als Sinn dieser Sage erzählte mir Kuriší folgende Geschichte auf brasilianisch.

1. Der Knabe (kēnāñiwē[1]) lebte im Hause seiner Großmutter.

6. Ein großer Regen fiel, der Mutum kam in die Hütte, ganz naß.

7. Der Knabe packte den Mutum, warf ihn zur Tür hinaus und sagte: hier hast du nichts zu tun.

3. Anderen Tags ging die Großmutter in den Wald, um Brennholz zu holen. Der Knabe schwärzte sich Gesicht und Körper mit Kohle, schlich ihr nach, vergewaltigte sie, nahm ihr die Bastschürze ab und lief schnell nach Haus.

5. Die Großmutter kam nach Hause und erzählte ihr Erlebnis. Der Knabe sagte, er wolle den Übeltäter bestrafen. Er ging in den Wald, verletzte sich mit dem Pfeil an allen Zehen, kam zurück und zeigte der Großmutter seine Wunden. Diese setzte sich hin und klagte laut.

Der Mutum kam, hatte alles im Walde gesehen, machte mm, mm und begann, es der Großmutter zu erzählen. Der Knabe nahm die Trompete und blies, damit die Großmutter es nicht hören sollte. Auf den Klang der Trompete hin kam die Jungmannschaft des Dorfes herbei, nahm die Trompete weg und verhaute ihn wegen seiner Übeltat, die der Mutum erzählte.

Gesänge.

1. (Kinder spielen zusammen). Kinder sollen zusammen spielen.
2. (um zu essen; Schnitt; Frau; essen). Frau hat sich (in den Finger) geschnitten (beim Essen zubereiten?).
3. (Eine Frau wollte einen Mann heiraten; ein anderer Mann war mit ihr).
4. Gesang eines Knaben (10—14 Jahre alt): (Die Matte ist ausgebreitet; die Frau legt sich hin und der Mann darauf).

Um einen Einblick in die Art ihrer Ausdrucksweise auf brasilianisch zu gewähren[2]), will ich im folgenden die Brüllaffensage in der gekürzten Form (vgl. S. 349 f.) wiedergeben. Ich schreibe dabei die Worte so, wie sie der Indianer aussprach, mit sämtlichen Fehlern behaftet. Bemerken möchte ich, daß dieser Indianer (kuriší) einer von denen war, die sich am besten auf brasilianisch verständlich machen konnten.

Primeira foi os macacos. Macacos tinha frecha. Matto o irmão. Depois ficou irmão pequininho, muito feio. Depois a mai de elle jogou

[1]) — Gott; Echo.

[2]) Siehe auch oben die brasilianische Übersetzung der Texte.

por avo, porque não queria mais; o avo criou elle. Depois o menino foi cassar passarino e a frecha caiu a porta do homem. Homem tratou de criar menino. Dahi as filhas do homem não queria de tudo, sò um queria. Ahi homem frego menino (com medizina) e manda lavar. Sahiu meia dia de agua, donna frigar. Ahi donna na agua outra vez cedinho. Quando sahiu assi de agua, quasi meia dia, ja era homem. Ahi botou infeitado, dêsî, cabello, genipapo, dõhó. Mandou par avo delle, quando chegou, mamai queria tomar o trem delle, não quer dar. Ahi avo sahiu, dê por elle. Ahi mamai trouze comida por elle, não queria comer. Ahi avo trouze comida ruina, sò as spinhas de peixes e restas de mandioca e aqui comeu. E amanhã sahiu par cobrar o irmão. Ahi homem fallou por menino: no caminho vai encontrar uma mulher velha, chamase sapo; ahi mulher vai pedir uma passagem; ahi deve fazer, ahi vai em ella. Dahi mandou par cobrar irmão. Ahi chega jogar um macaco primeira, não acerta; ahi joga elle com ôbîrú, acerta, matta. Ahi torna jogar; ahi torna outra vez acertar. Ahi acabou de matar macaco. Ahi vai na agua par cobrar irmão; ahi battou na agua, tóũ, tóũ. Ahi chegon gavião per mattar rapaziata; ahi pegou no mão. Ahi chegou outro; ahi matta na mesma cousa. Ahi acaba de mattar, ahi sahiu, chega na casa do homem. Ahi homem disse: da o trem par mamai; ahi você vai, sua mai vem, você da sua trem por ella. Ahi chegou na casa de mamai, outra mulher pedei per casar com ella; ahi casou logo. Ahi fez vento com hedjîwá; ahi voltou rapaz, ahi vem vento. Ahi o vento trouze o mel, a cobra, veado, cechada. Ahi a cobra recolheu endentro de hedjîwá. Ahi amanhã rapaziata foi no matto. Ahi menino pegou no hedjîwá, fez vento tambem. Ahi menino não sabe, cobra vem e acabou com tuda gente. Ahi rapaz viu o vento e imaginou, como menino fez isso. E ahi cobra chegou, mordeu em elle, mattou, acabou. Não tem mais gente.

5:Krause SP9 Caraja

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Karajá.

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2. Zielring.
3a—c. Kreiselstöcke.
4a—c. Kleine Tragkürbisse.
5. Karajáboot auf Arbeitsgerüst.

„ 87. 1—2. Kiepen.
3. Runder Tragkorb mit Stirnband.
4. Tragtasche.
5—6. Tragkörbe.
7. Spitzovaler Korb.
8—11. Körbe mit quadratischem Boden und runder Öffnung.
12—13. Längliche Körbe, aus einer Blattfieder geflochten.
14—15. Korbschale und Korb, aus zwei Fiedern geflochten.
16. Doppelspankorb, geöffnet.
17. Doppelspankorb geschlossen.

„ 88. 1a—b. Töpferinnenzeug.
2. Topfboden mit Stäbchenstehstruktur.
3a—c. Federcrayon.
4a. Imbauba-Faserbündel.
4b. Buritu-Faserbündel.
5. Korbflechtprobe.
6. Spindel mit gezupftem Baumwollband.
7. Baumwollknäuel.
8a—b. Aufbewahrungsarten von Federn.
9. Bambustrompete.
10a—b. Affenschädelrasseln.
11. Totenurne.

Bananal.

„ 89. 1. Armwickel mit drei Schnurquasten.
2. Beinbinde mit Franzenbehang, gequastet.
3. Kleine Netzhaube.
4. Injiná-Schmuck.
5. Federreif mit Stab.

6—7. Stirnfedern.
8—9. Armbänder.
10—11. Federhauben.
12. Baumwollgürtel mit Behang.

Tafel 60. 1—2. Hinterhauptsfederräder der Šavajé.

" 61. 1. Röthers der Šavajé.
2. Tabakstasche aus Affenfell.
3. Tragsack, aus einem Palmwedel geflochten.
4. Baumwollspfbogen.
5. Spindeln: a. Wachswirtel,
b Wirtel aus ungebranntem Ton,
c—d. Wirtel aus gebranntem Ton.

Kanapé.

" 62. 1. Alte Frau; Krieger mit Keule. Kanapé.
2. Kanapé-Männer und -Frauen.

" 63. 1. Kanapéhütte
2. Kanapéhütte mit Vorraingerüst.
3. Einen Hof bildende Kanapéhütten.

" 64. 1. Federkrone.
2. Schlaf- und Sitzmatte.
3. Mädchenschärpe.
4. Knabenschurze: a. aus Bast,
b. aus Baumwolle.
5. Hinterhauptsscheibe.
6. Hinterhauptsdiadem.
7. Kopfband.
8. Schlafmatte.

" 65. 1. Diadem
2—6. Hinterhauptsfedern.
2. Geierfedern mit kleinem Federchen am Kiel.
3. Zwei Araufedern mit Deck- und Endfedern.
4. Sechs lange Araufedern.
5. Araufedern mit weißen Endfedern, nach der Mitte zu länger werdend.
6. Von hinterher durchgeschobene Deckschicht andersfarbiger Federn.

" 66. 1a—b, 2. Hinterhauptsfedern.
3a—b. Nackenfedern.
4, 5a—c. Geftielte Nackenfedern.
6. Nackenschmuck.

" 67. 1—2. Nackengeflechte.
3. Armgehänge aus Bast.
4. Muschelscheibenhalsband.
5—7. Halsfederquasten.
8. Federarmband.
9. Klauengürtel.

" 68. 1. Kamm.
2. Bemalungsmatrize.
3. Feuerfächer.
4. Manbiokapresse.
5. Kiepe.
6. Runder Tragkorb.
7—9. Umhängetaschen.

Tapirapé.

" 69. 1. Kamm.
2. Dolcerze.

5: Krause SP9 Caraja

3—4. Halbcuye.
5. Kiepe.
6—8. Rechteckige Transportkästchen.
9. Elastische Transportkasche.

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Kartenbeilagen.

1. Übersichtskarte. Maßstab 1 : 20'000 000.
2. Karte des Rio Araguaya. Maßstab 1 : 2'000 000.

Bemerkungen zu den Karten.

Für die Übersichtskarte wurden unsere deutschen Atlanten zugrunde gelegt; die Einzeichnung des Landweges und des Araguaya erfolgte aber auf Grund meiner Aufnahmen, die mit Kompaß und Uhr vorgenommen wurden.

Für den Landweg von Araguaya bis Leopoldina ergeben sich dabei wesentliche Abweichungen von unseren deutschen Karten, während meine Aufnahme mit der brasilianischen Karte der Companhia Mogyana (S. Paulo, 1905) besser übereinstimmt. Besonders er

heblich sind die von mir vorgenommenen Änderungen auf der Strecke Araguaya bis Caldas Novas.

Die Flußaufnahme erfolgte von Leopoldina bis Dorf 16 von Süden aus, von da bis Conceição von Norden aus.

Sie ergibt wesentliche Abweichungen gegen unsere Atlanten. Die Entfernungen erscheinen von Rio das Mortes an nordwärts zu groß; außerdem weicht die Flußrichtung von da an nach Osten ab. Um meine Aufnahme in die Übersichtskarte einzupassen, mußte die Strecke von Rio das Mortes bis Conceição um 1/8 gekürzt und außerdem um etwa 9,5° nach Westen gedreht werden. In der Spezialkarte des Flusses habe ich diese Korrekturen nicht vorgenommen. Am engsten schließt sich meine Aufnahme in den Längenmaßen an Ehrenreichs Karte (Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin, Bd. 27, Blatt 3) an.

Bemerken möchte ich, daß auf unseren Karten der untere Araguaya vom Nordende der Insel Bananal bis zum Zusammenfluß mit dem Tocantins in seinen Längenverhältnissen recht verschieden dargestellt wird, von der Ehrenreichschen Karte, die auf der in Goyaz existierenden Karte von Moraes Jardim beruht, stark abweicht und sich mehr an Coudreaus Karte anlehnt. Coudreau hat aber den Fluß unter abnormen Verhältnissen — außergewöhnlich starke Hochflut — befahren.

Register.

(Abkürzungen: Kj. — Karajá; Kp. — Kayapó; S. — Šavajé; T. — Tapirapé.)

Abende: 23, 32, 33, 37, 83, 162.
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Abmagerung: Kj. 58, 70, 149, 155, 184.
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  Indianer: 109, 111, 113, 129, 146, 153, 159.
Aborte: 200.
Abzeichenschmuck:
  Armstulpen: Kj. 226, 275, 298; S. 356.
  Beinschmuck: Kj. 226—227, 298; S. 356.
  Knabenschurz: Kp. 379, 399.
  Lippenschmuck: Kj. 52, 53, 56, 63, 134, 220—24, 279, 282; S. 141, 355; Kp. 98, 376—378, 383; T. 404.
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Weben s. Flechten.

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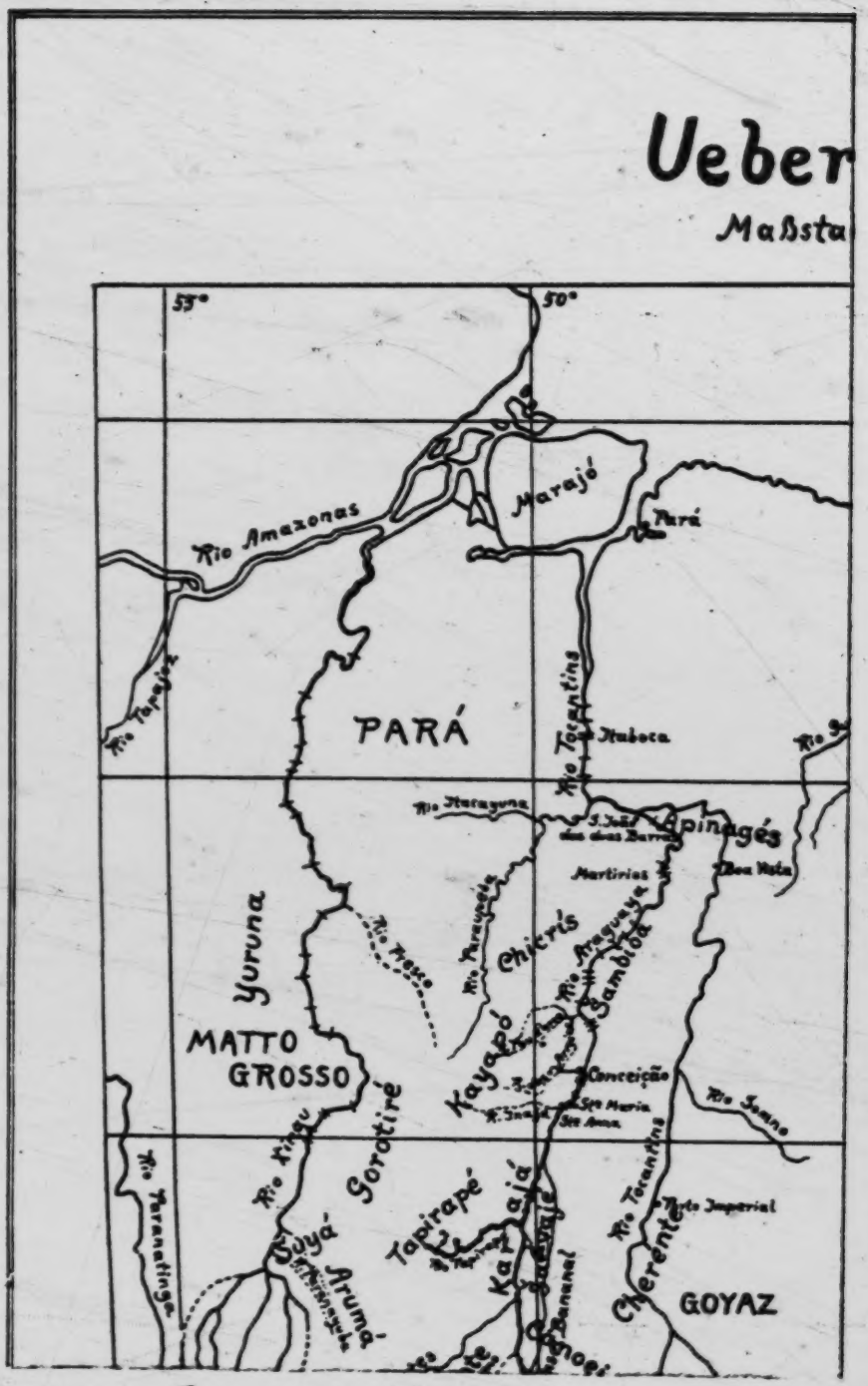
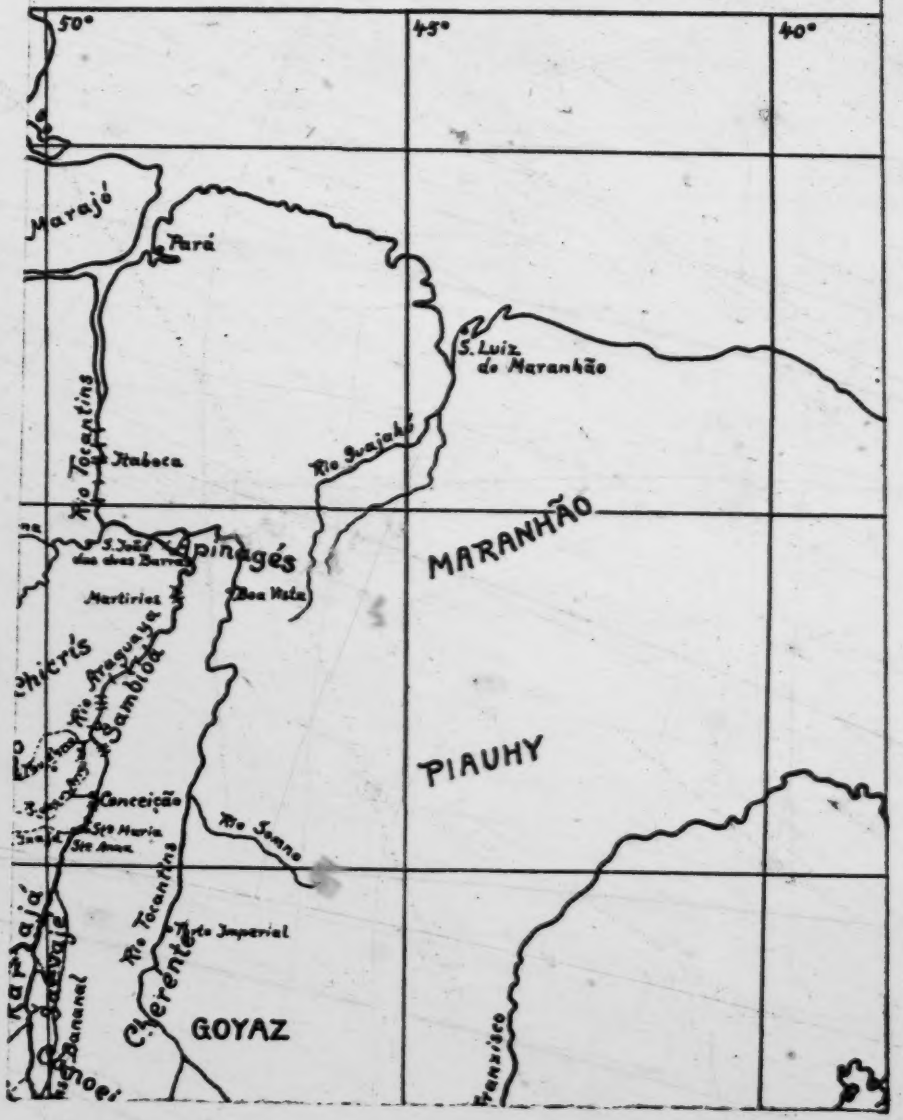

Ueber
Maßsta
55°
50°
Marajó
Rio Amazonas
Pará
Rio Tapajoz
PARÁ
Rio Tocantins
Rio Araguaya
Martirios
Yuruna
Rio Xingu
Rio Tocantins
Rio Jamino
Rio Paranatinga
Sorotiré
Tapirapé
Kayapó
Chicris
Sambioá
Conceição
Sta Maria
Sta Anna
Rio Tocantins
Porto Imperial
Cherente
GOYAZ
Rio Araguaya
Rio Paranatinga
Suyá
Aruma
Kayapó
Rio Xingu
MATTO GROSSO

[End Map A-1]

Uebersichtskarte

Maßstab 1 : 20'000 000.



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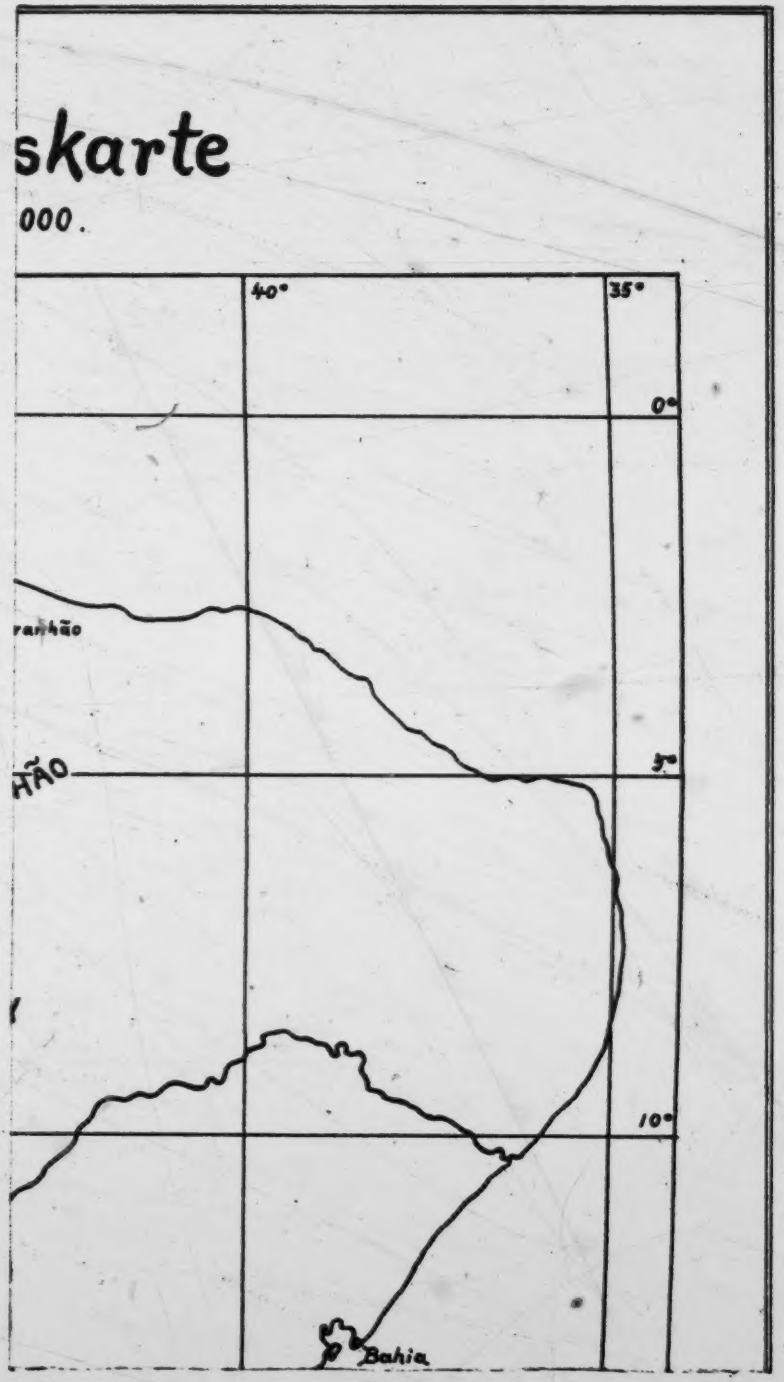

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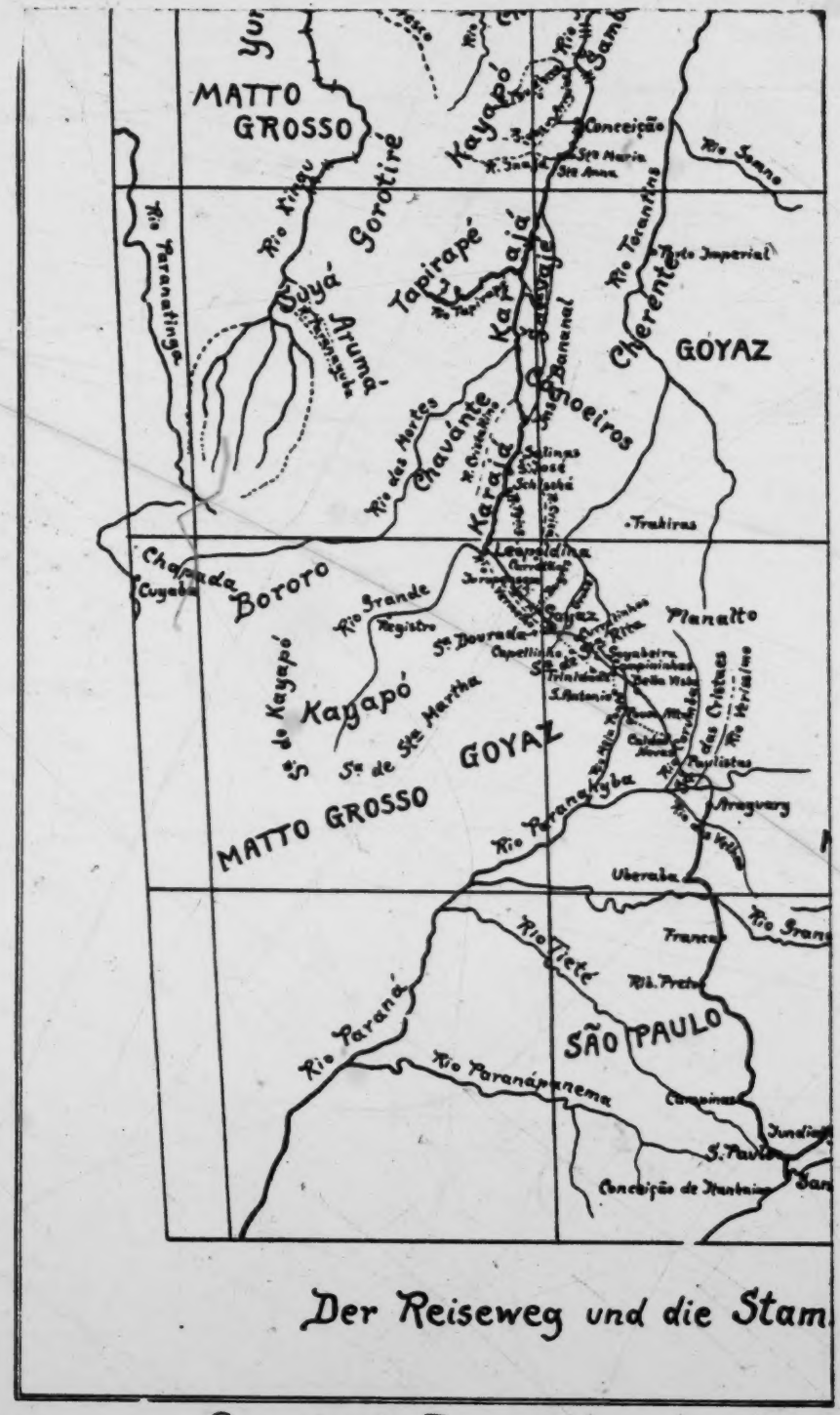

Der Reiseweg und die Stam

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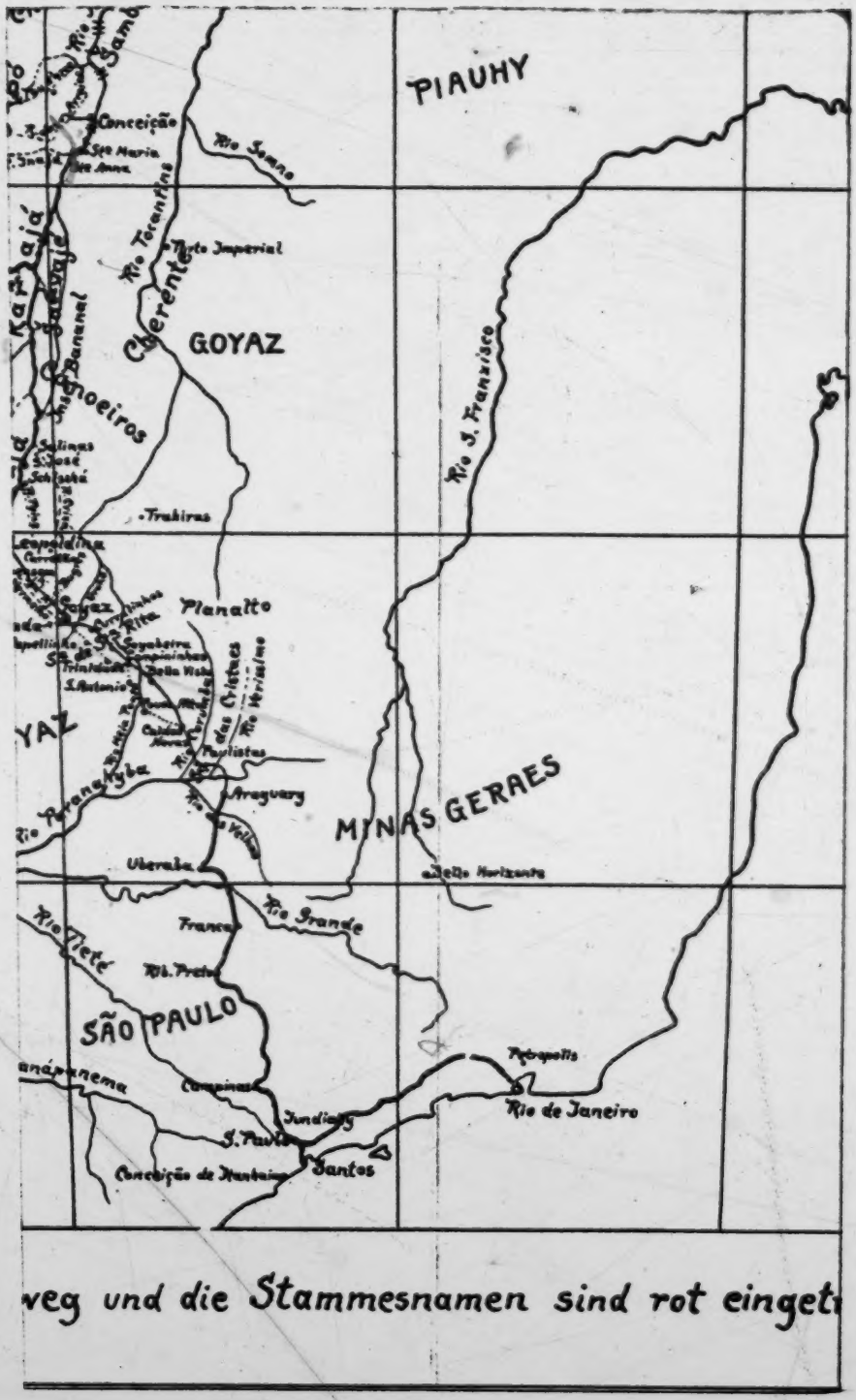
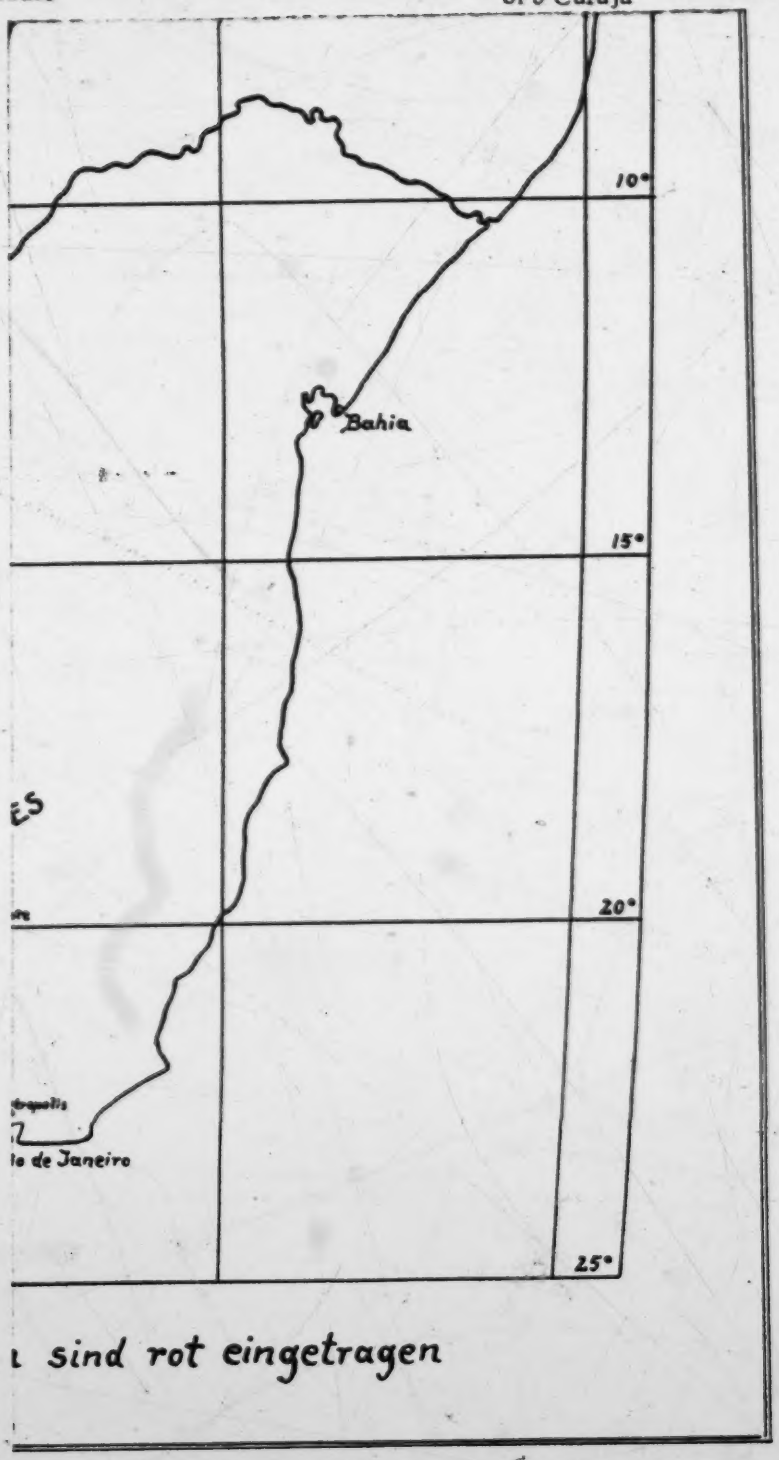

PIAUHY
Conceição
Rio Tocantins
Porto Imperial
Rio Cherente
GOYAZ
Rio S. Francisco
Trahiras
Planalto
Rio das Velhas
Rio Verissimo
Paulistas
Araguary
MINAS GERAES
Uberaba
Rio Grande
Rio Tieté
SÃO PAULO
Campinas
Jundiaiy
S. Paulo
Santos
Rio de Janeiro
veg und die Stammesnamen sind rot eingeti

[End Map A-5]



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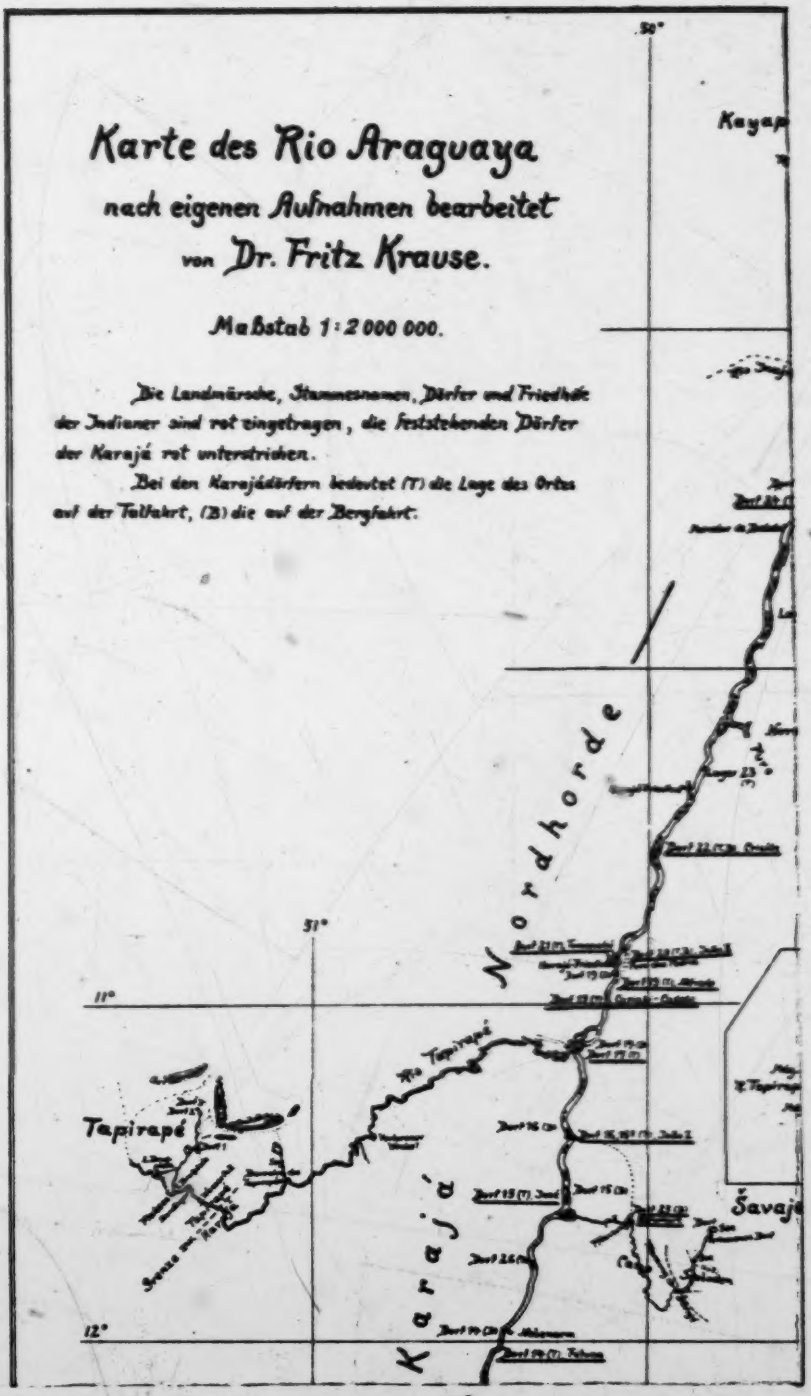
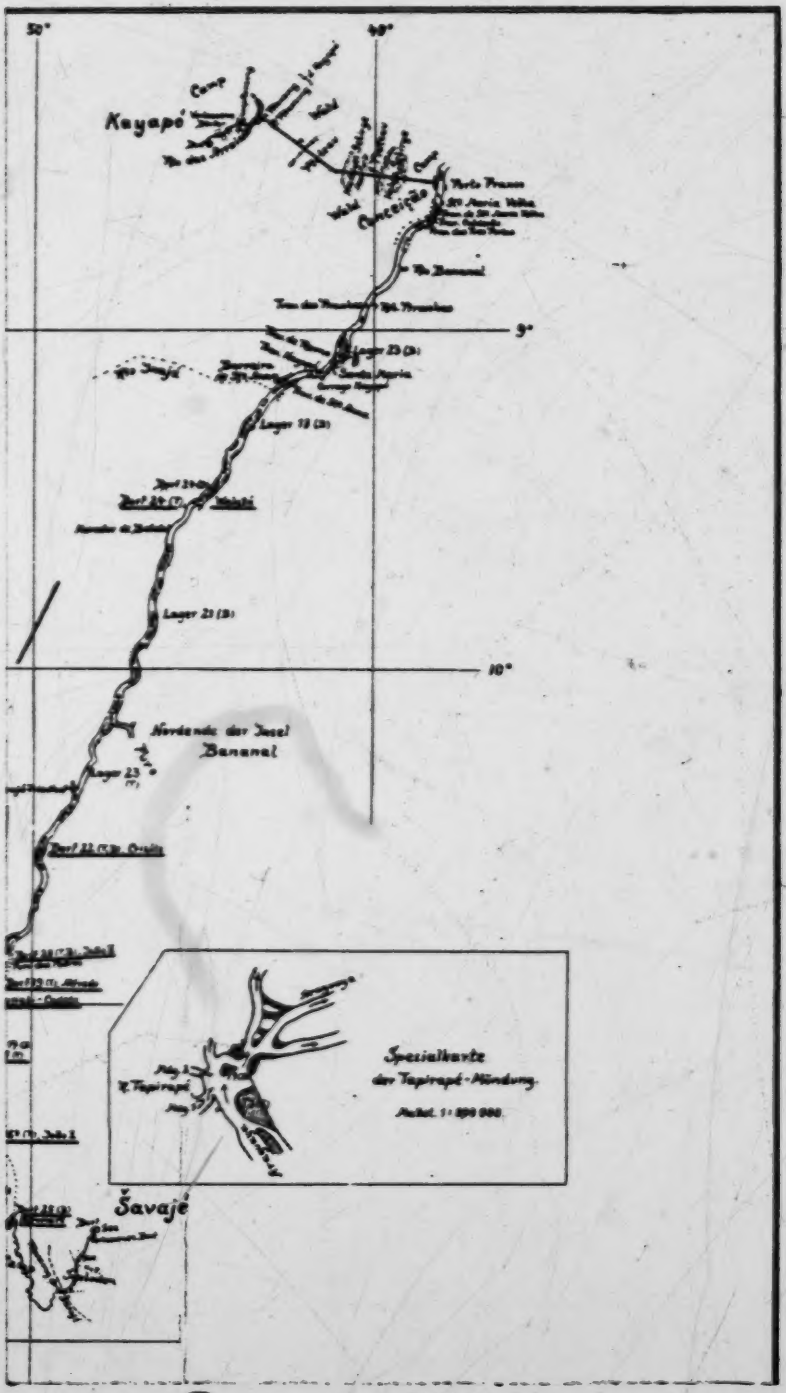
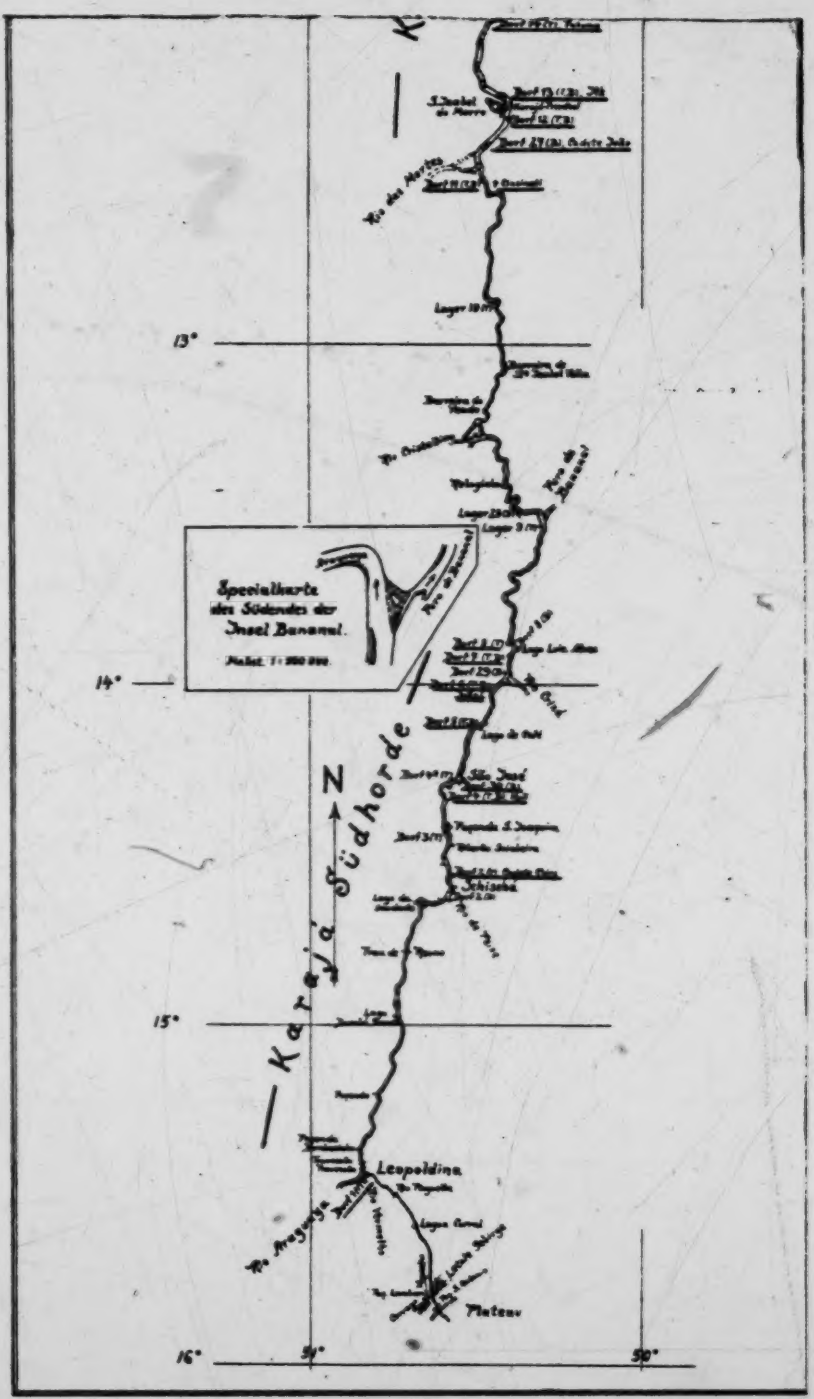

Karte des Rio Araguaya
nach eigenen Aufnahmen bearbeitet
von Dr. Fritz Krause.
Maßstab 1:2 000 000.
Die Landmärsche, Stammesnamen, Dörfer und Friedhöfe der Indianer sind rot eingetragen, die feststehenden Dörfer der Karajá rot unterstrichen.
Bei den Karajádörfern bedeutet (T) die Lage des Ortes auf der Talfahrt, (B) die auf der Bergfahrt.
Kayap
Nordhorde
Tapirapé
Tapirapé
Šavaj
Karajá
50°
51°
11°
12°

[End Map B-1]


50°
40°
Kayapó
Conceição
9°
10°
Nordende der Insel
Bananal
Spezialkarte
der Tapirapé-Mündung
Šavaje

[End Map B-2]


13°
14°
15°
16°
N
Karaja Südhorde
Specialkarte des Südendes der Insel Bananal.
Leopoldina
Plateau

[End Map B-3]

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

Through The Wildernesses Of BRAZIL

By Horse, Canoe and Float

BY

WILLIAM AZEL COOK

[Title Page]

AMERICAN TRACT SOCIETY
150 NASSAU ST. NEW YORK

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CHAPTER VI.

PRIMITIVE MAN.—CANOEING ON THE ARAGUAYA.—PARADISE OF ANIMATE LIFE.—GARDENS OF EDEN.—MANIOC, THE BREAD OF THE LAND.

000 A VAST territory of perhaps two and one-half million square miles in the heart of South America, remains to this day virtually unknown to the Christian world, and but little known to the scientific world. This boundless, unexplored world is peopled by hundreds of savage tribes speaking a multitude of languages and dialects that have never been reduced to writing. They live just as they have lived from time immemorial. Millenniums have come and gone without apparently any change having occurred in their social condition. They all exist in a state of virtually absolute nudity, the dwellers of cold, barren, storm-smitten Tierre del Fuego not excepted, and maintain the struggle for existence largely by hunting and fishing and by the spontaneous productions of Nature. Excepting where they have come into touch with the higher races, they are without metal instruments, lacking which man can cultivate the soil but little. They represent what science calls "the stone age"—the pre-metal age—the childhood of man. They are as "babes in the woods," lost in the forests of ignorance, dense and morally more malarious than Stanley's forests of Urêga.

They are an example, on a great scale, rather of the retrogression than the evolution of man, of degeneration instead of regeneration. These unnumbered and degenerate hordes seem like widely dispersed fragments of the wreckage from a mighty universal catastrophe and upheaval of mankind—

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derelects, drifting for ages on the ocean of time. Physically, 000
they have developed splendidly, and approach closely the completeness that the Creator has ordained for man; they are fine animals. Mentally, they have scarcely advanced one step, and they fall immeasurably below the standard of intellectual completeness that the Supreme Mind has beneficiently ordained that all mankind should strive to attain and to enjoy. Morally, or spiritually, they have not developed at all, but instead, have shrivelled fearfully, and every day they fail more and more of the glorious standard of perfect manhood and soul development that God, the Supreme Soul, has established, and ardently desires that all men should attain to, until they are almost infinitely removed from God. What a fearful *mis*-fortune it is that men should so utterly miss the prize of the high-calling of God.

For many of the facts herein presented regarding the 127
Karayá tribe, of the Araguaya, I am indebted to that valuable work on South American Ethnology, *Beitrage zur Völkerkunde Brazilicus*, by Dr. Paul Ehrenreich.

The Brazilian government once maintained a school at 48
Leopoldina to "civilize" the Karayá who live in several vil- (31)
lages, or clusters of huts, scattered along the Araguaya a thousand miles. Much money was expended in this venture, but like many similar government enterprises, it ended without any desirable results having been achieved. Though a sincere effort may have been made to teach a few of the arts of civilization to these children of the wilds, yet the heart, or conscience, remained untouched by any elevating influences. Moreover, the moral influences that did exist, were positively bad, for the "civilization" that operated on these primitive people was immoral, degenerate. Therefore the savage pupils readily absorbed the vices of their teachers and examples, which were positive, but were not so apt to acquire their virtues, which were at best merely neutral. So they graduated from the school of "civilization" in a worse plight, morally and socially, than when they "matriculated."

To establish a school to "civilize" the children of the

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648 forest, the course usually adopted, whether the work is done by "secular" agents, or by friars paid by the government, is to select a site within fifty or one hundred miles of the villages of the tribe, and erect the desired buildings. Then, when all is ready, the agents repair to the villages and try to secure a number of boys, either by making presents of knives and beads to the parents, or by kidnapping the children. This latter method was pursued with the Karayá, [593] for the parents refused to part with their children for any consideration. The friars are opposed to having the entire families of the Indians live near their schools. But, on the other hand, they do desire the mixed Portuguese speaking multitude—the ignorant, superstitious, immoral, rum-drinking people—called "the civilized ones," to "live at their feet." These people are more profitable to the friar than the Indians, for they give him much money to perform various priestly functions. But the primitive people have no money; nor have they learned to value these priestly services. Therefore, when the "school" is organized, the young savage, besides hearing the doctrine taught, has ample opportunity to see it exemplified.

122 I stayed with a private family at Leopoldina while waiting
000 to descend the river. In the meantime, I occupied myself going among the people, reading God's message to them and talking with them. I had many interesting and enjoyable experiences. I heard, long afterward, that the village blacksmith, with whom I had talked and left a Bible, was reading, or having it read to him daily, and was literally devouring it. It was the joy of his life. He would often exclaim with emotion as he listened to the reading. "Great is Jehovah!" Perhaps few who read these lines can understand the great worth of this Book to this sincere man in his declining years, dwelling at this remote, forsaken and forgotten spot, rarely reached by the fewest printed lines of any kind.

Another man, a visitor from up the river, was ill, and wished me to suggest a remedy for him. I thought that if he would forsake his vices, he would probably regain his

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000
[192]
[302]

A Karaja.

A Patagonian Indian Chief.

Suni in the Streets of Bahia.

[facing P. 60]

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
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health. So I gave him a Bible and had a long talk with him. He said to me, "I am a Catholic, not a Republican," and displayed the coat of arms of the Brazilian monarchy tattooed on one wrist, a heart thrust with arrows on the other, and the initials of the heir to the throne over the spot where he thought his heart should be. Though steeped in vice, he thought himself a good man and an heir of heaven. He was astonished when I read to him some verses from God's Word; especially when I read Gal. V. 19-21, for he crossed himself in alarm. Once, he said he did not believe there was a Devil, or a hell—that the man himself was the Devil. I replied that this might be true in some cases.

I found the people of Leopoldina extremely poor. One of the leading men, who was intelligent and industrious, got a Bible from me. Days having passed without his handing me the thirty cents asked for the book, the fact was disclosed that he did not possess even this much money, but had hoped to get it in payment for somework. Failing to get it, he returned the book; but I, apprised of the situation, made him retain the book. Scarcely any currency was in circulation. So they bartered: any one needing rice traded beans for it, or gave a fishhook in exchange for some line. They tried to sell me old jewelry and other junk in order to realize some cash.

One day, I went fishing on the Araguaya with the Cherentes in a big canoe. It was an experience which afforded me keen pleasure, and of which I shall always cherish lively memories. Everything was strange and wonderful to me;—my unusual companions and our boat; the great, red torrent of the river into which many streams were vomiting logs, brush heaps and other débris, that, falling into line, moved down the river in a long, solemn procession; the tropical surroundings of the river; the angling for large fish; the many great beasts that I saw sporting in the water, and lastly, the flocks of birds of flaming plumage that stocked the air.

At length, the day came to begin our long, strange voyage down the river. We had secured for the purpose three canoes.

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The largest, which carried the bulk of our effects, was made by heating a big dugout over the fire, spreading it, then building side planks on this foundation, and roofing the stern half with palm-branches. The second canoe was merely a big dugout; while the third was a small dugout with which to run about and fish. It required much skill to stow our voluminous baggage in the canoes.

The embarkation was a regal event to the people of Leopoldina. The entire population, dressed in festal attire, came down to the river to see us off. I thought my companions would never get through leave-taking; there was almost no end of conversing and embracing. Our party consisted of the teacher and her son, her black cook and half-breed Chavante attendant, the five Cherentes, and myself. We had also twelve dogs and pups which some one fancied we would need. Some days later, we added to our crew two black men and three Karayá Indians. We had no need of so many men; but they assisted mightily to devour our limited supply of provisions.

At last, all was ready for the pomp and pageantry of the embarkation; and pushing off, we swung out into the current in the presence of a numerous company, amid the firing of guns, the bursting of dynamite rockets, the blowing of bugles and horns, the yelling and cheering of the people, and the barking and yelping of the dogs. This is a characteristic Brazilian way of doing things. Considering the character and conduct of our company, we were very far from being a missionary party, I much regret to confess. Moreover, I saw with dismay, after we had cast off, that the canoe men had been supplied with *cachaca*, the native rum, and were intoxicated; worse, that there was a demijohn of the brutalizing liquid in the second canoe. So, the navigating we did was scarcely more intelligent than that of a rotten log. The alcoholized men paddled and splashed wildly about, yelling continually in mad glee; while our cargo of dogs, appearing to really understand the seriousness of the situation, howled a dirge. We were in great danger of being thrown upon the rocks and

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca.1900) 1909
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wrecked. Meanwhile, we were borne swiftly onward in the embrace of the mighty, silent river, amid ever-changing pictures painted by the hand of God—of Nature arrayed in her gorgeous new robes of spring and solemnly adoring her Creator. Finally, a thunderstorm burst upon us; and after floundering about for a time, we landed at a cattle ranch on the Matto Grosso side of the river, where we remained until the next day.

This region is almost a Garden of Eden. All kinds of live-stock can be raised without other expense than a minimum of labor. The soil is so rich that a vast variety of fruits, such as oranges, lemons, bananas and the like, can be produced with little care; while many wild fruit and nut bearing trees could be transplanted to a spot within reach of the dwelling where they would continue to bear five, ten or one hundred years without cultivation. Wild game, such as deer, pigs, pacas and tapirs, abound in the neighboring forests, while the river teems with many kinds of fish. A comfortable dwelling can be erected without other expense than a small outlay of labor; and little clothing is needed. The sun is hot, it is true, but the breezes are refreshing and the nights are cool. Truly, God has made this a wonderful world, and there is no limit to the good things He has prepared to promote the happiness of His creatures.

The second day of our voyage was delightful. Earth and sky united to produce enchanting scenes. The river, placid as a sea of glass, reflected like a mirror the primeval forests that adorned its banks and seemed like a path of glory; while at mid-day, a solemn and awe-inspiring hush prevailed. As no trace of human life was visible for many hours, we could imagine ourselves the first arrivals at a new world.

Having paddled several hours and being at the same time swept onward by the current, we landed to visit two huts near the river where dwelt Brazilian families. At the first, we were treated to excellent coffee, and given a watermelon—a fruit I had not thought of finding here. It grows in the sand on the river bottoms without cultivation beyond plant-

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca.1900) 1909
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000 ing the seed. I gave our kind host a Testament, which was gratefully received. The second family gave us permission to levy upon their patch of melons and pumpkins further down the river. This was a valuable addition to our scant supply of food. At evening, we landed at a rude abode where we were to take on a dozen or more sacks of manioc meal for food while passing through the savage world. This dwelling was merely a roof of palm branches supported upon four posts planted in the ground with one corner fenced off as a "private apartment" for the family.

What a remarkable scene was presented as our little flotilla arrived! Everything animate came out, apparently, to greet us;—men, women and children—the color of the ground—and dogs, pigs and fowls. Our contingent of dogs, added to the resident animals, constituted a menagerie of no mean proportions. As the evening meal—dinner—was being prepared, the squeels and yelps of hungry pigs and dogs, as they fought, and were kicked for attempting to devour our food while it was cooking, caused a continual uproar.

114 We delayed here three days while our men helped to prepare the manioc or cassava meal. The manioc is a large root almost entirely starch, with a woody fibre running through it. Two kinds are commonly met with in Brazil, the domestic and the "wild," though both are cultivated. It is propagated by planting small sections of the trunk of the little tree that grows from the root. The "wild" variety grows much the largest, becoming two feet long and five or six inches thick when it can grow throughout the year uninjured by frost. This kind is deadly poison; but when the sap, or liquid, is pressed out the poison seems to go with it. The "domestic" kind contains no poison, and may be boiled and eaten like ordinary potatoes. To make the manioc meal, the black skin, or bark, is scraped off, then the root is grated, like horse-radish, into a wooden trough; next the juice is removed by subjecting the mass to a heavy pressure, and it is finally kiln dried. The contrivance used to press out the liquid is very rude. The grated manioc is put into a

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large dugout trough near a tree, then a rough slab of wood, 114
fitting loosely into the trough, is placed upon the manioc, and upon this again still other large blocks of wood are built up, all of which become the fulcrum for a heavy beam, the base of which is secured in a mortice in the before mentioned tree; and lastly, heavy weights are piled upon the outer end of the beam. The meal is dried by placing thin layers of it upon an elevated surface, like a huge griddle, under which is a light fire, then stirring it with a wooden hoe.

I saw here, near the dwelling, a valuable fruit tree with 136
hollow limbs in which five or six species of wild honey bees had established themselves. There are a great many kinds of wild bees in Brazil, but none of them, I understand, has [000]
a sting; and what is still more remarkable, all, or nearly all, make acid honey—or *sour* honey, as we commonly say. It is used as a drink, which is much prized, by mixing one part honey to five or six parts water and sweetening it with sugar. The expression, "sweet as honey," would be meaningless to many Brazilians. That honey needs to be sweetened with common sugar appears strange indeed.

At length, all the manioc meal we needed, or could carry, 114
was made and stowed into the canoes, and we resumed our voyage. I was astonished at the great quantity of this food stuff we were taking with us. Our canoes were loaded to the water's edge with it, and we seemed to have sufficient to feed half a dozen horses a month. But as we journeyed, [261]
and I saw the tremendous eating capacity of our Cherente, Karayá and Brazilian canoe men, I was convinced that we had none too much of the meal. These men seemed never to reach their limit—if they had a limit—for they always continued to eat as long as there was anything to levy upon. Their common dinner "plate"—or trough—was a large pan with a capacity of over half a bushel. Around this they all squatted, as it rested upon the ground, and devoured, a few with iron spoons, and the others with nature's five-tyned forks, gathering the food into large balls and tossing it into their mouths. One day, a large, fish-eating bird, called a [136]
manguary,

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca.1900) 1909
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114 manguary, was shot, which filled our largest pot while cooking. When it was done, our men filled their bushel "plate" half full of manioc meal and poured the pot of game, with the liquid, over it. Just as they finished devouring this mountain of food, two of our party, who had gone fishing, returned with two very large fish; and "to save the fish from spoiling," they at once prepared and boiled a big pot of it, poured the mess over another half bushel of manioc meal, and soon this second heap of food disappeared also.

Fortunately for us, the annual rise of the river was late this year, therefore the *praias*—extensive sand bars—were still exposed. We needed these places to camp upon at night, as it was difficult or dangerous to sleep in the forest on the main land because of insects, reptiles and wild beasts. The [135] mosquito tribes are highly developed in the tropics, for they have the whole of every year in which to perfect themselves. Some varieties, called "powder" by the Brazilians, are mere specks and can fly through ordinary mosquito netting.

136 Many large and interesting creatures live in the Araguaya river. The *lontra* is the king of the river. It is a kind of river dog, or fresh-water seal. Its body is about five feet in length and it has four very short legs. It subsists entirely upon fish; but it lands on the beach to wander about, and bears its young in a hole which it digs in the bank of the river. When it pokes its head above water while in the river, it appears to be an enormous bull dog. I must confess that I was not a little startled when the head of one appeared above the water close to where I was about to go in bathing, as I had never seen the creature, nor knew of its existence.

Another interesting creature is the fresh-water dolphin, called a *bouto*—stub nose. It is a slate-colored carnivorous mammal which attains a length of ten feet, and a weight of six hundred or a thousand pounds. Its head resembles that of the hippopotamus; but it has no legs, and cannot leave the water. These beasts are very numerous in the Araguaya, or where fish are abundant, for I have seen as many as three pairs

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
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within fifty or one hundred yards of our canoe diving for fish and rising to the surface every moment to blow, whale-like. They can be captured only with a harpoon, but are rarely killed voluntarily by either the civilized or savage natives, though their fat is known to yield an excellent oil for lamps, for there is no animal in the Amazon region that is the subject of so many fables as this creature. The superstitious people believe that blindness would result from the use of this oil in lamps. One fable represents the *bouto* as a kind of mermaid, or siren; and is to the effect that it once had the habit of assuming the form of a beautiful woman with hair hanging loose to her heels, and coming ashore at night and walking through the streets of a village to entice the young men down to the water. If any one was so much smitten as to follow her to the water's edge, she grasped him around the waist and plunged beneath the waves with a triumphant cry. A man told me that if a human being were drowning in the river and a *bouto* should be near, it would succor him and bear him to land. 136 825

Fresh-water turtles exist in vast numbers in the Amazon region. They reach a great size in the upper Amazon, a full-grown specimen measuring nearly three feet in length by two in breadth. Its flesh is prized by both the "civilized" and the savage peoples living by the river. The eggs also are valued, scores of millions of which are gathered each season. Oil is extracted from these eggs, tens of thousands of gallons of which have been exported annually. Each turtle produces about one hundred twenty eggs every year. They issue from the river at the dead of night, when all is still, and making excavations two or three feet deep in the sand, turtle after turtle deposits its eggs in the same pit until it is full. The eggs are slightly larger than a hen's egg, are perfectly round, and have a flexible, leathery shell. To prepare them for eating, Brazilians boil them thirty minutes, then mix them with corn meal. 136 825

Alligators also infest in vast numbers the Amazon system of rivers. Indeed, they exist in myriads in some streams so 136

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136 that "it is scarcely an exaggeration to say that the waters of the Solimoens are as well stocked with large alligators in the dry season, as a ditch in England is in summer with tadpoles."

The anaconda, (eunecetes murinus) or great water serpent, is another interesting creature. It has been known to reach a length of forty-two feet, and to girt four feet. Its greatest thickness is about half way between its head and tail, from which point it gradually tapers both ways. Some Brazilians eat the flesh of this creature.

A fish that interested me is the sting-ray, which looks like a huge, animated pancake. It is ten or twelve inches broad, three inches thick, and almost entirely limbless. Its nose projects only slightly, and it has a stub tail about three inches long armed with a poisonous spine. There are two holes on the upper side of the pancake for eyes, while the mouth is a slit on the under side. It swims very rapidly by an undulating motion of its rim. Near evening every day, these fish bury themselves in large numbers in the half floating mud near the edge of the water to feed, apparently; and if a bather should tread upon one, it will plunge its spur into his ankle instantly, causing a painful wound, difficult to heal. The Brazilians call the fish *lightning*. Its flesh is coarse and tough, and unfit for human food. It is very annoying to a fisherman when it bites his hook, for it seems to be endowed with nine lives, requiring a long time to die, and he dare not handle it because of the spur.

Another small, but dangerous fish, is the *piranha*. These fish exist in shoals in deep spots in the river sheltered from the current. They are never more than a foot in length, have a fearful array of sharp teeth, and are terribly voracious. A line dropped where they are, baited with a bit of meat, will have scarcely touched the water when a whirring sound will be heard and one of them will be on the hook and thousands more trying to get on. No one ventures to bathe where they are, for he might be fearfuly lacerated before escaping from the water.

Brazil.

The largest fish in the river are eight or ten feet in length 136
and encased in an armor of big scales. Still other fish will be mentioned later.

After a five o'clock dinner one afternoon, we cast off again 000
in order to take advantage of the current during the early part of the night. How strangely beautiful and romantic were the scenes that encircled us as we were borne quietly along on the bosom of the mighty, silent, placid flood and the shadows of night, pursuing the fleeing day, stole slowly over us! The boundless forest on both sides of the river, standing, or kneeling down into the water, seemed a vast guard of honor presenting arms, or two grand armies standing at attention. At length, calm and solemn night enveloped us in her sombre mantle. Two hours later, the full moon arose like a Queen of Glory in all her splendor, and radiated a flood of brilliant, delicious light that glorified river and forest and transfigured the savage world through which we were silently moving like spectres. I felt like exclaiming in the words of the Psalmist, "Praise ye him, sun and moon: Praise him all ye stars of light!"

Soon, we reached a little hamlet called São José, that at [361]
the time of our visit, was in an advanced state of decay. This was the last outpost of "civilization," and the few people who lived here were cut off from the rest of the world and barely managed to eke out an existence. As I was sitting in our canoe one evening while we tarried here, some large fish heads that had been lying on the beach were thrown into the water; and the instant they struck the water, several fish one to two or more feet in length shot out of the water in the vicinity and glided, or ricochetted over the surface in every direction. They were frightened, apparently, by the large heads. We bought a fat cow here for three dollars and fifty cents and salted the meat down; but as the curing was not properly done, we finally lost the meat. 123

We found a small group of the Karayá living at São José. [162]
We met the Karayá for the first time just before arriving here. They interested me greatly. Doubtless I appeared no

123 less strange to them than they did to me. Charles Darwin describes the deep feelings he experienced when he found himself face to face for the first time with primitive man. I, too, can never forget the hour when I first gazed upon man in his primitive state. The memory of it will ever remain vivid, and as one of the most interesting experiences of my life. One could easily imagine, at first, that he belonged to a lower order of creatures than the *homo sapien*. If so, better acquaintance soon revealed him to be truly a man in every respect—a true human soul, though far from God in the jungles of ignorance and superstition—one of the lost ones whom Christ came to seek and to save.

291 [302] The men were entirely nude, and painted from head to foot a dull, yellowish red with a mixture of fish oil and the fruit of the burity-palm. The women were painted like the men, but wore an item of covering made of a strip of inner bark eight feet long and ten inches broad. It is passed around the body and between the legs, and hangs down in front like an apron. At a distance, it resembles a strip of brown canvas. It is beaten and worked, when taken from the tree, until it has some degree of flexibility. Nevertheless, it must be uncomfortable to wear.

764 A Karayá died while we were detained at São José. We were made aware of the event by the incessant howling, wailing and loud lamentations of the female relatives of the deceased. Visiting the hut of mourning at dawn, we found the family busy decorating the corpse for burial by gumming rings of white feathers around the limbs, wailing and chanting as they worked. Afterward, the body was rolled in the palm-leaf mat which had been the bed of the deceased during life, placed in a canoe, and taken down the river to the tribal cemetery. Karayá funerals will be more fully described in future pages.

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Chapter VII.

LIFE IN THE SAVAGE WORLD.—JUNGLE DINNERS.—SYLVAN DORMITORIES.—MIDNIGHT ADVENTURES.

Leaving São José, we entered an altogether savage world, 114
encountering not a vestige of "civilization" again for six or seven hundred miles. We often journeyed part or all of the night, allowing ourselves to be borne along by the current. But I soon found traveling by night very dangerous, especially while we were in the upper part of the river, for there were many obstructions in the river; and the pilot, who was supposed to keep a sharp lookout so as to arouse the oarsmen when danger threatened, often fell asleep, with the result that both our lives and our property were imperiled. Frequently, as we floated quietly onward in the darkness and stillness of the night, we were suddenly thrown into intense excitement because threatened with destruction. But, we never suffered any harm. An unseen Power was caring for us, notwithstanding the carelessness of our canoe men.

As our beef spoiled, we had to depend upon fish and game 114
for our meat, which we never lacked, usually having an 136
abundance. As regards fish, it was much to our advantage that the river was still low. When it rises above its banks and submerges the contiguous country, which it does in places many miles inland, it is difficult to catch fish; one reason being that the fish now find a great abundance of food. We fished every day with hook and line as we floated along with the current, and usually caught very large fish—so

114 large, indeed, that one was sometimes sufficient to make two
136 meals for our entire party, notwithstanding our enormous eating capacity.

000 One day, I witnessed a new use for tobacco. A large fish having been hooked, and played until nearly exhausted, was drawn gradually alongside the canoe; then the angler, having masticated a big lump of tobacco, injected it into the mouth of the fish, causing it to stiffen instantly, with the tail slightly curved, in which condition, it was easily drawn into the canoe. If tobacco will paralyze a fish, can it fail to injure the human consumer?

114 As there were many kinds of water and tree fowls along
136 the river, we dined frequently upon game. At other times, wishing a still greater assortment of food, and to enjoy the chase, we disembarked for a few hours to hunt deer, pigs,
000 tapirs and the like. One morning, a nice pig having been taken in the thicket near the edge of the river, we landed on the first sand-bar for breakfast. Getting ashore, a few of our men set to work at once to prepare the pig, while the others watched the operation, each one evidently thinking of making a good meal, and the part he would select for his portion. The repulsive turkey-buzzards—the scavengers of South America—getting wind promptly of what was occurring, came to observe with an anxious, give-us-the-tripe look, and flopped and jumped about awkwardly, like sack racers, their constantly increasing numbers forming a black ring around us. Our colony of dogs, also, stole quietly about seeking an opportunity to levy upon something. Soon, the pig was cleaned and each of us chose his favorite part. The scene presented was amusing: One man, having roasted the liver at the camp fire, was eating it with a relish; another was stewing the heart; two others were roasting the hams with much solicitude, thinking of the feast they would have slicing and eating from them momentarily during the rest of the day and evening as they paddled, or floated onward in the canoes. The little, old Karayá captain, recently added to our crew as a pilot, had cheated the buzzards of the tripe[1] and

[1] [i.e., Pig Tripe--Analyst]

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The House of the Fairies, Water Lily, the Victoria Regia. Each plant is six feet broad and will bear a weight of twenty-five pounds.

[facing p. 72]

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was baking it; a Cherente had chopped up the head and was stewing it, his appetite gaining in strength every moment. I contented myself with two slices of steak which I empaled on a spit and broiled.

These pigs subsist entirely upon wild fruits and vegetables, and the meat is excellent, especially if the animal is young. They have no layer of fat under the skin, as does the domestic pig. Some varieties roam about singly, while others go in herds of one or two hundred.

When an enemy approaches one of these herds, the alarm is given and they instantly arrange themselves in the form of a crescent, so Brazilian hunters say, and advance to the attack tossing their tusks constantly from side to side, grunting and snuffing, and emiting a disgusting odor. If the enemy does not quickly make his escape, he will be mangled. Jaguars always skulk near these swine bands, for they have but to steal up and seize a pig whenever they wish to dine. It is said that these great cats know well the danger of an attack by the pigs, so act discreetly. When one is hungry for pork, he conceals himself close to the line of march of the swine, lying in wait until the entire herd files past; then, as the last pig is passing, he springs suddenly upon it, breaks its neck, drops it, and scrambles up a tree. The unfortunate pig of course utters a squeel of alarm when seized, so its companions at once form in battle array and advance upon the foe. Soon, they encircle the spot where the victim lies dead, but seeing no enemy, they again form into line and move on. The jaguar, then descends and enjoys a quiet meal.

As we journeyed, we passed splendid grazing lands that appeared like beautiful meadows; next, we saw what resembled pretty apple orchards; then charming parks; then groves of shade trees where we almost expected to see a farmer's house; and finally, tracts of dense forest where the branches of the huge, spreading trees were heavily and elegantly draped and festooned with enormous masses of climbing vines. One of the many things that attracts one's attention in the Brazilian forest is the great extension of the branches of the trees,

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137 for they frequently appear to reach out from the trunk seventy or eighty feet.

114 We often disembarked at some charming arboreal palace to prepare and eat our food, for, on the sand-bars, we could not always obtain fuel, and were, moreover, exposed to the blistering heat of the sun. At such times, when we were not troubled by insects, we enjoyed a delightful picnic, with which our jungle banquet was in keeping. Occasionally, we were forced to pass the night in the forest. Late one afternoon, we disembarked in the forest for dinner; but before we had finished our repast, a storm broke and darkness closed in quickly upon us—darkness, too, that could almost be felt, obliging us, finally, to grope our way among the trees as if we were blind. It was unsafe to reembark, so we hastily pitched our tents while we could still see a little. I swung my hammock in my tent, and our motley company of canoe men stretched themselves side by side on the ground, forming a human carpet, over which I was suspended, like judgment. The dripping of the rain on our canvas house, the moaning and sighing of the wind through the forest, and the incessant rumble and boom of the thunder, were the only sounds. Soon, the strata of humanity on the ground was snoring loudly, undisturbed even by the bats that bled them on the toes. Some time after high night, because of the stillness, I gradually became conscious of the fact that the storm had ceased, then that the snoring also had ceased, succeeded by a continual slapping, for the mosquitoes had come in clouds and filled our tent, now that there was no rain or wind. "Let us go outside!" exclaimed Sépé, the Cherente, to his companions, and the tent was promptly vacated by all but myself. They imagined they would be free from the little pests in the open air, for, having filled a tent or a house, they torment the occupants all night long, whereas, in the open air, they are in motion but a short time. This time, however, there were myriads of mosquitoes outside the tent as well as in; and again Sépé called out, addressing me, "Shall we not go away from here at once?" I replied in the affirmative,

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for to sleep was impossible; and though the darkness was still so gross that we had to feel our way down to the river, we struck camp, tumbled everything into the canoes, then casting ourselves into the arms of the great, silent flood, were swept rapidly away. 114

We saw the tracks of the tapir everywhere, but did not have the good fortune to capture one while on the Araguaya. They always make for the water at full speed when alarmed, remaining below the surface a surprising length of time. When the jaguar springs upon the back of the tapir and tries to break its neck, he sometimes fails, for its neck is short, very thick and strong. It rushes madly toward the river at such times, dashing among the trees and through the dense underbrush, bolting under fallen trunks and bumping against some in a manner most unpleasant for its ferocious rider, so that he is usually glad to seize the first opportunity to dismount. The jaguar is known to have been killed in one of these wild stampedes, its neck being broken in collision with a tree. I have heard of such a horse and rider tearing through an encampment and among hammocks occupied by sleeping men. 136

We were often entertained at dawn by monkeys roaring their morning anthem. The great volume of sound seemed to indicate that there were a dozen of these vocalists and that they were a mile distant from us, when, in truth, there were but two and they only a quarter or half a mile distant. There are thirty or forty varieties of monkeys in the Brazilian forests, most of which will doubtless never be seen in zoological parks, for they cannot live in captivity, not even in their native land. We frequently saw colonies of one kind or another climbing about among the tree-tops, or sitting on their haunches observing us.

One day, we sighted far down the river in advance of us, what appeared to be two lines of soldiers drawn up at the water's edge. Studying the objects with a field glass, we found them to be a line of giant storks standing at the margin of the river waiting to seize their breakfast of fish.

Brazil.

136 They are as tall as a man, and, standing in line, their uniform black heads, white breasts and long, black legs, gave them a decidedly military appearance. The reflection in the water gave the illusion of a double line. I believe this is the largest bird that flies. It must have a long, clear space or it cannot rise. From standing humped up, like a goose on a cold day, it takes a few hesitating steps, then several determined strides, then breaks into a run, followed by a long series of big jumps and flapping of its huge wings, until, finally, it gets clear of the ground.

114 As we were borne along at night where the river was broad and deep and free of obstructions, all slept, or tried to sleep, excepting one or two watchers. My improvised bed in our large canoe was made of a large, square tin can, the side of a big tin wash-basin and the half of a gourd shell. My companions reclined on similar beds.

609 One obscure night, as we moved silently onward, like a giant phantom, we descried a light some distance ahead and heard Karayá shouting to us from a sand island. Fearing that they might not be friendly, and because of the darkness, our first thought was to pass on and not land where they [226] were. But a moment later, we discovered that they were a friendly fishing party: so we went ashore. As we drew [533] near to land, our Karayá pilot, Pedro Monco, sang one of their familiar tribal songs. It was of a joyful strain, though extremely peculiar, suggesting, somewhat, the running and bleating of a deer. tI is usually sung for the purpose of announcing to those on shore that visitors are arriving, that they are friendly, and that they are happy to meet their friends on land. Our trumpets were also sounded, and I played a hymn on the cornet. Our arrival appeared to give the fishing party much pleasure. The first thing they asked for was manioc meal and fish hooks. They were all in nature's dress, except the captain of the band, who wore a blanket.

262 Soon after we disembarked, which was past midnight, a [252] Karayá appeared with what resembled a skinned cat, and placed it over the fire to broil. "What is this?" I inquired.

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"Monkey."
"What are you going to do with him?"
"Eat him—me like him much." [224]
"How did you catch him?"
"Me shoot him with an arrow."

Continuing our voyage at dawn, we encountered before 609
noon another cluster of Karayá huts on a sand island. Before [361]
we could get to shore, the natives ran out into the water [439]
to meet us, and surrounding our canoes, eagerly offered us balls of black beeswax and pottery in trade for what they supposed we had. It was amusing to see a Karayá couple trying to make a trade with our only woman voyager for a man's gauze undershirt. I could not but think of how the poor savage would appear with only that shirt on. He wanted it, [291] he motioned, to shield himself from the cold at night, and from the flies by day.

We passed the next night at another group of huts on [361] the sand. These Karayá who were very cordial, were expecting us for the news of our approach had preceded us; so they gave us a royal welcome. The *mayor of the city*— [622] the chief of the local horde—appeared arrayed in a complete [292] suit of civilian's clothes, consisting of white linen trousers and vest, black coat and hat. These he wore merely as decorations, not as a covering, for these people consider themselves fully and properly dressed without any such apparel. It was a remarkable sight indeed to us to descry in the gloaming, as we approached the land, what appeared to be a well-dressed representative of advanced civilization entirely alone in a remote, howling wilderness, surrounded by nude and painted savages. He had obtained these garments somewhere from a trading boat. We were escorted in state to a large hut [526] where were assembled all the human inhabitants of the island; and after the reception, we witnessed the wrestling game of which the Karayá are very fond, which will be described fully in future pages.

The same night, as I was sleeping soundly in the open 123
air in my hammock, which was swung between two stakes

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set in the sand with a ridge pole bound to them to hold them in position, I was rudely awakened with, "Arise, Mr. William! It is raining!" Truly, it was raining. So I draped my tent over the ridge pole above the hammock, but having no pins, I could fasten it open only slightly by piling sand on the edges. Wishing to protect our canoe men from the weather, I remarked to one or two that they might lie down inside, under the hammock. My back was turned for a moment, and when I again looked in under my canvas, I found the place packed with Karayá, Cherentes, Africans and Brazilians. This mass of humanity so contaminated the air that I finally slept with my head partly outside. 123

The Karayá hovered about us in their canoes most of the time as we traveled. When possible, we avoided eating our meals at their encampments as we would have to share our food more or less with them, and our supply of rice and manioc meal was scarcely sufficient for our own requirements. Nevertheless a few of them usually contrived to appear among us while we were preparing our food. Late one afternoon as we disembarked for dinner, a cold, drizzling rain was falling and no Karayá were in sight. But, they soon began to appear in twos and threes, as if they had scented us miles away, until finally, a dozen or more were standing around eyeing our boiling pots with hungry looks. The next object that attracted their curious attention after contemplating our dinner, was the young Karayá that had joined us as a paddler at São José. He took very kindly to the shirt and trousers given him, though he would slip out of them most unceremoniously when he wished to drop into the water to secure an oar, for example, that had fallen overboard. At length, he was given a military overcoat with a hood, which he wore when there was rain. Therefore on the occasion just mentioned, he stood near the fire as the twilight deepened, wearing the coat fully buttoned and having the hood drawn over his head, partly obscuring his face. The arriving Karayá seemed at a loss, at first, to determine just what *it* really was, except that a suspicious pair of brown feet and ankles pro- 609

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truded below the coat. They eyed it carefully from head to foot, riveting their gaze for a moment on the feet, then slyly opened the hood a little to peer in; and when they saw the physiognomy of their savage brother with nearly all the paint wore off, grinning at them from away back in the dark, they were highly amused.

A Karayá village we visited near the mouth of the Rio das Mortes—River of the Deaths—is so remote and out of touch with civilization that the inhabitants understand scarcely anything of the Brazilian language. Nor are they cordial to strangers, regarding them, instead, with suspicion, for the reason that they are subject to attacks by the Chavante Indians who live up the Rio das Mortes. While we were calling here, one of the women sought to obtain a shirt from me for her young son. To make me understand what she wanted, she used the sign language, imitating one's movements when a mosquito bites one on the shoulder and he crushes it, the drawing on of a shirt, and the feeling of contentment that "mosquito no bite more."

My umbrella aroused the curiosity of the savages wherever we went. Knowing that it opened somehow, one of them took it once and stood it point downward, apparently expecting it to open. As it did not do so, he passed it to me to show him and his companions how it worked. As I opened it suddenly and it spread its wings, like some old, black goblin about to fly on an evil errand, the women uttered a low scream of fear and surprise. They often felt of my linen coat and trousers, and my shirt, then made signs to me that these articles were very good to protect one from the flies and mosquitoes. They evidently thought that this was my only reason for wearing clothes. They also fingered my hat and boots, and pulled my mustache to ascertain if it were real, or false, and gazed at me as I wrote my journals for writing was a mystery to them. To many of them I was a freak well worth going a long way to see.

The Christmas season occurred while we were in the savage world of the Araguaya. What an extraordinary Christ-

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mas it was to me! How almost infinitely removed it was from the situations and environments of former Christmas days! I seemed to be a wanderer in a world wholly different from that which I had formerly known. The afternoon of Christmas day, we passed the principal mouth of the Rio das Mortes—a river with an uncanny name because of a sombre history. It takes its name, I believe, from the fact that a party of explorers, while navigating the Araguaya in canoes long ago, were slain here by the savages. It is a great river, though almost unknown to the world, and drains a vast region that is almost wholly unexplored. While passing the outlet of this mysterious river, a storm burst upon us, and our large canoe, becoming unmanageable, was finally driven ashore. Darkness closing in rapidly we prepared and ate our Christmas dinner in the wind and rain at the edge of the forest. We had no expectation that Santa Claus would penetrate the unknown, mysterious wildernesses that enveloped us to fill our stockings; though a few of our party did fear that the tiger might come to us for *his* Christmas dinner. So we all slept under a large tree close around the fire.

The next day, we visited a Karayá cemetery on top of a hill. As we entered the cemetery, I saw one of our Karayá canoe men, who had preceded us, standing over a nice watermelon that had grown there. I wondered why he did not eat it at once as they are fond of this fruit. But he would not touch it, nor would any of the Karayá, because it was a product of the cemetery, and intended, perhaps, as food for those who had gone to the shadow land. Two of our party did eat it, however, one of whom was myself. But I must acknowledge that it tasted unpleasantly like a Karayá smells. Our woman voyager declared that we had eaten the flesh of a defunct Karayá. Broken pottery was lying about in the cemetery together with skulls and other human bones; while sunk into the ground or standing on the surface were large clay urns containing the osseous remains of dead Karayá. Pumpkins also were growing in the cemetery as well as melons.

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Returning to our canoes, we saw a wild fruit tree growing close to the water—its habitat—the fruit of which the Brazilians call *arása*. It resembles a reddish plum, but has a double stone and is very acid. But it is a very wholesome fruit and would make, I imagine, an excellent sauce. The tree appears to be partly a climber, for the limbs, which are one or two inches thick, maintain a uniform size throughout their length, and coil around one another, serpent like. The river was now a mile or more broad and the navigation very open; so, wishing to take advantage of the current as much as possible, we reembarked after a five o'clock dinner one day and floated along quietly hour after hour in the obscurity until past midnight. Then, desiring to find a sandbar on which to sleep until morning, we at last descried a gray outline and pulled for it. Happening to enter shallow water, we grounded before getting close to shore, and lost a pike overboard. But just as we were getting afloat again, we suddenly heard a shuffling sound coming from the shore close by; and looking that way, our hearts stood still as we beheld the dusky forms of thirty or forty naked and painted savages rushing down upon us fully armed with long war lances and heavy killing clubs, ready to scatter our brains on the beach. We now discovered that we were innocently attempting to land just above a portable Karayá village, the existence of which, at this place, was not known even to our pilot, Pedro Monco. Our creeping up here at the dead of night without giving any signals announcing who we were, and if we were friends or foes, had convinced the villagers that we were enemies.

The situation in which we found ourselves was extremely critical for a few minutes. But the natives, seeing who we were, paused briefly, which gave us an opportunity to communicate with them and explain matters, and also to make them some presents to pacify them. Our large canoe only was involved in this midnight adventure, the other having pulled up elsewhere for the night; so our party was small. Our canoe was drawn up on the sand, and the savage band stood

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123 about us, fully armed, maintaining silence and appearing bellicose. At length, the entire band drew off about fifty yards, then began to discharge volleys of blood-curdling yells, such as only wild men or maniacs can utter. Though we had [536] heard these yells before, we did not know if it was "the shout of war," or only a challenge to the wrestling game. Greatly to our relief, it was the latter. We now knew that we were in no immediate danger; though we had felt that as they had not attacked us at first, they would now be loathe to do so openly. After the wrestling game, the savages gradually became friendly to us, and began, at last, to retire to their huts in twos and threes until only a few were near us. The hour was now three A. M., so wrapping my blanket about me, I stretched myself on the sand to sleep a little, though we could not feel sure that we would not be attacked for the sake of our baggage. A party of six Brazilians who were [609] descending the Araguaya some months previous to the time of our trip, were clubbed to death near this place for their baggage.

This was a night of experiences that we shall not soon forget. When we were first surrounded, one of our party, especially, acted very imprudently, though with good intentions: He blew a bugle endeavoring to call to our aid the other canoes which were really far distant from us. This calling for help could accomplish nothing, and but served to excite greater suspicion in the minds of the savages and precipitate an attack. I think I was as much frightened as any one, yet I saw that to retain self-command was far the wisest course to pursue.

513 The sleep of these children of Nature is more like that of 721 the other wild creatures of the woods than of human beings. The night is much the same as the day to them. They are up and down during the night, just as during the day, ever vigilant, and living in constant expectancy of the sudden appearance of an enemy. It is almost impossible to approach their encampment without their knowledge, though one move never so stealthily.

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Morning having come, the remainder of our flotilla soon appeared, and the Karayá became more and more friendly. We induced a few of them to go to their little cornfield across the river to get us some green corn and pumpkins. While awaiting their return, we were entertained by another exciting event. One of two or three Karayá men who were insane and haunted the wilds distant from the village, which they made an unwelcome visit to from time to time, suddenly appeared. Nearly all the men of the village were absent, having scattered off to hunt and fish, as is their custom. When the lunatic burst suddenly into view, the women and children were instantly stricken with panic. Amid wild shouting and screaming, chattering and jabbering, a grand rush was made for the canoes, of which there is one for each family; and as the women ran they caught up the children that were too young to care for themselves, and also grabbed up clay pots and other destructible objects, tumbled everybody and everything into the dugouts, then paddled frantically out into the stream. Soon, the mad savage came into the encampment, armed with a large bow and arrows and a heavy killing club; and amused himself by entering the huts and emerging through the roof; or, entering by breaking through the roof and passing out through the established opening. And while going from hut to hut, he shattered clay pots and pans with a heavy blow from his club, besides slaying parrots and macaws in the same manner. As he took turns around the village, he shot his arrow again and again high in the air in advance, taking it up each time as he arrived where it fell. Seeing him doing this, and fearing that we might become a target for his archery, we followed the example of our savage brethren and pushed out into the stream. But he did not appear to take any notice of us, nor of any one, and seemed to be continually muttering and moaning. He did not stay long in the village but was soon swallowed up again in the forest, and the chattering, jabbering, excited horde in the canoes returned to shore.

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Chapter VIII.

THE KARAYÁ.—RECEIVING STRANGERS.—PERSONAL ADORNMENT.—DOMICILES.—MENAGERIES.—FISHING AND HUNTING.—HUSBANDRY.—FOODS.

101 [161] The Karayá tribe is divided into three great divisions, or separate tribes, called the Yavahé, the Karayáhy and the Sambiõa, numbering in all about four thousand. Little is 131 known of the Yavahé division except that they dwell in three 162 villages, or encampments, by a large lake, or lagoon, in the unknown interior of the great Isle of Bananal, which is between three and four hundred miles long and nearly one hundred miles broad, being formed by the two arms of the 133 Araguaya river. The Yavahé lake has an outlet into the [114] eastern arm of the Araguaya. In our descent of the Araguaya, we followed the western arm.

177 The Yavahé, though hostile to civilized men, and de- 186 termined to avoid all contact with "civilization," much desire, neverthless, to obtain the steel implements, such as axes, knives and grubbing hoes, which civilization alone can furnish them. Neither does the Sambiõa branch wish to have any direct contact with "civilization" because they see plainly that their brethren of the Karayáhy division, who live in touch with the "civilization" that exists in the interior of Brazil, and which we know to be semi-barbarous, immoral and superstitious, are in a worse plight, morally, socially and physically than they themselves are—that they are extremely poor and demoralized, and suffer from various diseases, contracted from "civilization," with which they themselves are

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not afflicted. Therefore, they have hidden their villages far 177
away from the slimy trail of the only "civilization" they 186
know, and do not wish to reveal their location. But they, too, well know the great superiority of steel implements over their stone utensils, so desire to obtain them, which they do indirectly through the Karayáhy. They are not unwise in their generation. They do not desire to receive, in its entirety, the "civilization" available to them, for it has been demonstrated to them that its evils outweigh its blessings. Therefore they try to catspaw civilization's good things and leave its evil things. What a pity it is that a civilization, which is the best fruit of the Gospel of Christ, should not have reached the Karayá!

The Sambiõa live in much larger, cleaner, and more or- 511
derly villages than the Karayáhy, and are better fed. They 184
also build better huts than the Karayáhy, and arrange them in regular streets. They have four large villages, located be- 361
tween Pau de Arco and the falls of S. Miguel. They trade 439
hammocks, vegetables, fruits, fowls, and other produce for 241
such articles made by civilized men as they desire. As regards agriculture, they are but little behind the semi-barbarous Brazilians of the far interior. They have many slaves, 727
which are women and children stolen from other tribes with whom they were at war.

Only the inhabitants of the second Sambiõa village are 609
hostile to strangers. When such appear at their port, the women and children are sent to a safe place, while the warriors, fully armed, assemble at the water's edge and assume a threatening attitude. It is necessary to be cautious in approaching them, though they dare not attack a large canoe full of men armed with repeating rifles. They greatly fear these weapons, believing that the rifleman can continue to fire indefinitely without reloading. The villages are always [361]
situated distant from the landing-place; and though they will allow the traveler to visit them, he must be on his guard.

The reception at the landing is interesting and exciting. The naked, bronze-bodied men are assembled in force. Many

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609 of them are painted black and red, and have their faces daubed Many
[302] with a thick layer of black soot; others wear upon their heads
[301] crowns made of beautiful feathers; while others again, have
[237] their hair braided and decorated with the brilliant crimson
[411] and gold feathers of the macaw. All are armed with spears beautifully decorated with feathers, and with bows and arrows and heavy killing clubs. They present quite a military spectacle.

Disembarking, the first thing the visitors do is to show the savages their arms, especially the repeating rifles, which fill them with awe. The chief now hastens to declare that he and his people are friends of the white man, saying: "The Karayá is the friend of the white man; there is no lie with us," repeating this twice. Confidence established, some trading may be done without difficulty. Small children, and particularly, young girls, are very shy of the strangers, and usually creep into their huts and cover their faces with their hands. The visitor is never troubled by beggars, and rarely has anything stolen from him.

131 The Karayáhy division live along the main stream of the
162 Araguaya between São José and Santa Maria in twelve or
[648] fifteen villages or encampments, one of which, near Santa Maria, was completely wiped out in 1881 by the Kayapó
361 tribe. Their villages are not so clean as those of the Sambiõa, nor are the huts so well constructed.

191 Observing the speech of the Karayá, one can scarcely notice any movement of the lips; nor do they seem able to repeat exactly a sentence just uttered. They have many sounds which they produce with the tongue and swallow the
192 last syllable. Apparently, their speech is not related to any Brazilian aboriginal language. The most remarkable thing about it is that they have one dialect for the men and another for the women; though only a few words are entirely different, and with most of them there is but a slight, unimportant change.

142 Physically, the Karayá are one of the finest of the aboriginal races of Brazil. They are of medium size, slender and

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graceful, and their limbs are well balanced. Their proud 142
bearing makes them appear larger than they really are. Their
great muscular power, elasticity, and quickness of movement, 142
is displayed to advantage in their wrestling games, which 147
are their most loved sport. The muscles of the shoulders, [526]
especially, are highly developed in both sexes, because they [482]
have been trained from childhood to carry heavy weights
on their backs, supported by a band which passes over the
forehead. The eye-brow ridge is flat, giving the appearance 142
of an open face, and the eyes are but slightly almond-shaped.
The women are much smaller than the men, are well proportioned, and have pretty hands and feet. The bust of the younger individuals is perfect, but they soon lose their beauty of form. It is difficult to determine at first just what the color of their skin is. Living, as they do, in the glowing heat of the sun on the sand-bars, their skin, which is really a clear, yellow-brown color, is turned into a dark copper-brown. This clear yellow-brown is found only under their heavy armlets, wristlets and leglets.

Many paint, or, more correctly, grease themselves from 302
head to foot a red or black color, or both; while others prefer brown, red and black. Sometimes a young warrior has himself painted in such a fashion, that seen at a short distance, he appears to be wearing a black European cutaway coat buttoned at the top with one button; while another has black rings painted around his brown body from his shoulders to just above the knees, giving him the appearance of being dressed in a bathing suit. Others, again, paint their faces black. But they like, best of all, to paint black lines on the faces and the extremities. The painting is done with a bit of wood, or with the fingers. Both sexes chop the hair off straight across over the forehead, leaving it in the form of "bangs," and allow it to drop down behind over the
shoulders. It is straight, black and coarse, like a horse's [142]
tail. Many of the young men, corresponding to what we call "dudes," clip a path, an inch wide, like a very wide part from the forehead back to the crown, and cut the hair of the

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302 crown, leaving it two inches long and standing erect, pompa-
237 dour fashion; while the back hair is braided neatly in a single braid, with a bunch of brilliant feathers fastened at the point, or it may be folded up in three or four folds and tied at the base of the head with a cotton string, to which is secured a bunch of long, bright feathers.

301 The ears of both sexes are pierced in infancy, and they
304 wear in them a reed six or eight inches in length and as large as a lead pencil, the greater length of which protudes toward the front and terminates in a bit of shell set in a rosette of crimson feathers.

304 The males, and they only, have the lower lip bored. This is done in childhood, and is probably the initiation ceremony into the rights of citizenship or membership in the tribe, just as a civilian is initiated into a lodge, or a child of Roman Catholic parents ceases to be a "pagan" and becomes a "christian" by reason of the baptismal ceremony. A plug,
301 or spile of piuva wood is inserted into this opening in the lip, which is made larger and larger as the individual grows, until it will admit the thumb. The elderly men who have ceased to care much for display, usually wear nothing in the lip but a plug, cut off short; but the "smart" young men wear an ornament some eight inches in length, flattened like a blade just below the lip. The small boys wear a flat piece of shell an inch or two long, and in the form of a T, the cross-bar of the T holding the ornament in position. A much prized lip ornament, which is worn only on festal occasions, and at other times kept wrapped in cotton and securely laid away, is a long, heavy piece of rose-colored quartz. The lip end of this also is T, or dagger-shaped, so that it may not fall out. It is seven inches in length, and conical at the lower
[439] end. The Karayá do not make these, but get them in trade from the Tupí. This ornament is, of course, very heavy, and one wonders how it is possible to wear it; for even the lightest of these lip ornaments cause the lip to hang down in a very ugly fashion. To drink when the plug is out, the opening must be closed with the fingers.

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Market Day in an Interior Village.

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The Bamboo Grove in the Zoological Garden at Rio de Janeiro.

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Brazil.

Both sexes have a blue ring tattooed under the eye, forming a deep ugly scar, which is the special distinguishing mark of the tribe. 304 619

The Karayá take good care of the body, bathing many times each day—though this is more to cool and refresh themselves, and for sport—keep the hair well combed, and pull out the sparse beard. They formerly used the teeth of the piránha fish as a kind of saw with which to cut the hair, but they now have scissors. 515 302 412 237

As already stated, the men wear no clothing, or covering whatever. The sash, or apron, worn by the women, is made of the inner bark of the jangáda tree. It is prepared for use by first soaking it a day or two in water, then pounding it with flat stones, and finally drying it. When the wearer of this primitive apron sits, she passes it back between the limbs and sits upon it. Besides this costume, both sexes wear various armlets, wristlets and leglets, as ornaments, which are peculiar to each division of the tribe. Soon after birth, the child's wrists and legs below the knees, are adorned with broad bands made by weaving together cotton cordage on the limbs themselves; while a black cotton band girts the body as a bandage. When the infant is a few months old, these articles are removed, and broad cotton wristlets, leglets and anklets are woven on the limbs, a tassel of cotton cords being attached to the leglets. The boys wear the leglets, or garterlets, until the lip is pierced, while the girls wear them until married. The wristlets worn by adults, cover nearly the whole forearm. They are not put aside until after marriage, and many females wear them until the first child is born. When one of the couple dies, the survivor puts the wristlets on again. This custom has come down from the ancients. As the wristlets and leglets are usually woven on the limbs themselves, they cannot be removed without being cut off. For this reason, they are never removed, nor washed until finally thrown aside. But I found the Karayá quite ready to cut these articles off and give them to me in exchange for some articles I had which took their fancy. 291 [287] 301 [184] [283] [286] [439] [439]

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301 [286] fancy. Sometimes, however, these ornaments are woven on a wooden form.

292 513 Another article of dress, which is peculiar to the Karayá, is the *hammock*. It is made of cotton cords. Strange to say, it is never used as a hammock; nor can it even be swung up, as it is not provided with any cords for this purpose. It is only the body of a hammock. During the day, it is used as a kind of cloak, and is hooked over the head so as to cover the shoulders and back; and at night, it is used as a mat to sleep upon, *on the ground*. Both adults and children may be seen going about during the day with these huge, half-open-pea-pod like objects hooked over them. It reminds one of a snail with its shell on its back. Even clay dolls have this hammock cloak. It is, however, occasionally fastened up [354] like a hammock in order that it may be used as a cradle for an infant.

513 171 This *hammock* is of great ethnological interest, because the primitive races of Brazil are classified ethnographically according to whether they sleep in a hammock or do not. It is [352] known that all the tribes occupying the eastern half of Brazil, which includes the Karayá, sleep on the ground, or on slightly raised platforms made of poles; while those that are really hammock using tribes—that sleep in hammocks—make their hammocks of cordage twisted from cotton and palm-leaf fibre. But the Karayá *hammock* is made of cotton only; moreover, it is not a complete hammock and is not used to sleep in. This proves that the Karayá are not to be classified as one [177] of the hammock tribes. We are to understand, therefore, that they got the idea of the hammock comparatively recently from some other people, probably from the "civilized" Brazilians, who make them of cotton only; and though they value them, they are yet unwilling to give up their old custom of sleeping on the ground. A certain Brazilian explorer asserts that [286] he taught the Karayá to make a simple loom and how to weave.

293 Another article of dress used by the Karayá, is a kind of eye-shade, called an eye-umbrella. It is used to protect the

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eyes from the strong reflection of the sun on the sand-bars. 293
When trading with travelers, they are eager to get blue or [439]
smoked glasses, or goggles.

The Karayá live in a more advanced state than do some 162
of the other tribes of the Amazon basin, especially the rough, 361
nomadic peoples, who exist in small groups of a few families.
They prefer to live in large groups containing hundreds of
individuals, and in permanent habitations, constituting fixed
villages or encampments. True, the Karayá living near San
José, rove about somewhat in small parties during the dry [221]
season; but farther down the Araguaya, the encampments
are more permanent and populous, numbering one hundred
fifty to two hundred souls. During the rainless season when 361
the river is low, they live on the sandy river bottoms, called
praias. Here they set up their easily portable huts, in order
to be convenient to their canoes and to the fishing grounds,
and also to be more free from troublesome insects.

The *villages* of the Karayáhy division, in common with
those of all other primitive peoples, are merely clusters or
groups of huts, huddled together in complete disorder. Each 342
hut is constructed by planting in the sand, fifteen or twenty
feet apart, two parallel rows of saplings, then bending over
each pair of opposites and tying them together. To these ribs
are bound bamboo rods in a horizontal position, *sipo*—creepers [283]
—being used as cordage; and upright poles are planted at the
gables. Over this frame-work is bound the skin, or covering, [324]
which consists of giant, feather-like palm-branches. Sometimes
plates, resting on forked posts, are used to further strengthen
the frame. This dwelling, when completed, is shaped like
the bottom of an inverted barge, and looks like a very squatty,
ancient haystack, with a hole—the door—eaten in one end
by cattle.

Garbage, such as watermelon rinds pumpkin skins, green 364
corn cobs, and other fruit and vegetable refuse, is dumped
just outside the hut. Here, the mass festers and stinks in
the fierce rays of a tropical sun, and attracts swarms of [361]
insects, especially sand flies, that torment the nude savages

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361 beyond endurance, compelling them, finally, to pull down
[364] their huts and move to a new site, perhaps to some other sand-bar. This is a case of moving the residence instead of the garbage. During the rainy season, or when the sand bottoms are submerged, which may not occur until two or three months after the rains begin, the Karayá dwell on the
[342] high banks of the mainland. Here, the huts are much better constructed, resembling the dwellings of "civilized" Brazilians.

342 It is seldom one sees among primitive peoples, such sub-
184 stantially constructed huts as those of the Sambiõa division. Here is seen the greater industry, the greater activity, and the better condition in every respect of the free, unmolested sons of the wilderness in comparison with their "tame" brethren who exist in more destitute circumstances, though in contact with, and under the influence of the "civilized" people—the semi-barbarous Brazilians. The dwellings of
342 the Sambiõa are not placed in disorder, but are arranged in
363 long rows, forming regular streets. "They make a favorable impression upon the visitor, because the streets appear clean and the huts orderly, comfortable and inviting." The four
361 Sambiõa villages each contain sixty, thirty, forty-five and
162 ninety huts, respectively, and each hut is occupied by one or
592 two, or more, families.

352 The furniture in these primitive abodes is very simple.
The floor, which is bare earth, is covered with matting made
[285] by braiding together the long, slender leaves of the burity-
[513] palm. The occupants sleep on this matting without any other bedding whatever, save a round billet of wood for a pillow upon which the neck rests, but not the head, Japanese
353 fashion. From the plates, or roof supports, hang baskets of various forms and sizes, in which are kept the bright feathers that are used in decorative work and ornament making. Finished ornaments and decorations made of brilliant feathers, pieces of regalia, bows and arrows in a finished and unfinished state, spear-throwing sticks and various small articles are also seen stuck into or suspended from the roof; while

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clubs and lances, various kinds of clay pots and pans and 353
gourd-shell vessels occupy the corners of the hut.

A short distance from the encampment is the "Casa do 346
Bicho," or medicine hut; or better yet, the Demon Hut. It is roofed and closed in on three sides only. The side facing away from the village is always left entirely open. The [562]
women of the tribe are not allowed to go near this hut, or to look into it. In front of two Sambiõa villages, two dead 825
kingfishers were secured to the top of a high pole, for the purpose, probably, of keeping away the demons.

The Karayá have a few domestic, or domesticated crea- 231
tures. These are considered members of the family, and live 825
in and out of the family hut, and on equal terms generally with the people. These children of Nature are evidently lovers of Nature, and their mode of life can scarcely be conceived of without these creatures. The way they treat them indicates the idea they entertain regarding them and their doings—that they look upon them as their companions and equals. The feeling of companionship—even of relationship—
with the animal world, is characteristic of the Karayá, and [538]
is evidenced by the way the animals are spoken of in their tribal legends, and by the fact that they have quite a treasury of animal fables. Although these people are successful 231
in taming wild creatures, they have never made any economic use of them as have the civilized people. They are captured while still young, and reared, but for no purpose, in most cases, other than to be kept as pets and esteemed members of the families of their captors, where their presence seems to give much pleasure. They are seldom thought of as regards
any material benefits they may confer. The only economic [237]
use that is made of any of these creatures, is of those that have bright-colored plumage, which is used in the making of the many feathered adornments that are so much admired by these primitive people. Nor are these animals permitted to multiply themselves, if this can be avoided. Some poultry 235
is kept, which was obtained originally from the "civilized" [197]
Brazilians, and these, of course, multiply rapidly. But even

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BUT even

235 these birds are regarded as members of the family, and no
[262] use is made of their flesh, nor even of their eggs. In recent
[237] years, however, the savages have begun to use them as an
231 article of trade with passing canoes. The most important domestic animals possessed by the Karayá besides fowls, are dogs and cats, which are widely distributed. They have no pigs. This animal is raised by the Kaiapó tribe, who obtained it originally from the civilized people, and use it as an article of trade. A veritable menagerie, in which the various bird families figure prominently, may always be seen around the largest Sambiôa villages. Many proud, magnificently plumaged, and ever-watchful macaws are always seen clinging to the tops of bare poles near the huts like watchers in their towers, or roosting on the roof of the hut; and if anything strange should approach, be it man or beast, they give warning in deafening screams—especially when civilized men—men wearing clothes—appear. Dogs, also, where they have such, bark fiercely when civilized men appear. This kind of man seems so extraordinary to them. Our dogs, in turn, make a fearful fuss when they see savage men for the first time—not only because of their exceedingly strange appearance, but also because of their odor.

235 Other birds kept by the Karayá in order to get their feathers to make ornaments, are the military bird, small storks, black-headed giant storks, cranes, the glittering white ardea, the beautiful, pink-feathered spoon bill, various wild ducks such as the canoe beak, rheas, or emus, which are the South American ostrich, and wild chickens. Birds that do not become so much attached to the family that they would not fly away, are held captive by having their wings clipped, or a few feathers plucked out. Many of these birds are decorated artificially. Those having white feathers are dyed red, while others have small bunches of bright feathers attached to their wings.

232 Some of the Brazilian Indians have a curious art by which they make nature change the color of the feathers of many of their captive birds. They jerk out the feathers they wish

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to color, then inject into the wounds a milky secretion taken from the skin of small frogs or toads. Therefore, when the new feathers grow out, they are of a brilliant yellow or orange color, without any mixture of blue or green, the natural color of the bird. It is said that when this new plumage is plucked, the next growth will still retain the new colors without further treatment. 232

Many of the mammals captured by the Karayá in infancy, become very tame. They are raised successfully, nursed either by a slut, or at the human breast. These tamed animals include various kinds of monkeys, the capibára, a rodent which becomes as large as a six-month old pig, agutís, picárres and tapirs. Of reptiles, the Karayá keep turtles, large lizards and alligators, the last named of which lie in pools of water on the sand bottoms, held captive by a cord around the body. The Karayáhy division has comparatively few domesticated creatures. 231 [184]

Like most of the South American tribes, the Karayá are primarily fishermen, obtaining their flesh food more from the river than from the forest. A few tribes, however, that do not live near streams of any importance, are compelled to rely almost wholly upon the chase for their meat, and so become more expert hunters than fishermen. As elsewhere stated, all the aborigines of South America, except the nomadic tribes, engage in agriculture to some extent, though to a very limited degree, except where they have obtained axes, grubbing-hoes and large knives from the civilized people. 433

The best time to fish along the Araguaya is during the rainless months from May to November, when the water is low, for when it rises, the fish are much more difficult to catch. During low water, the larger fish seek out the deep places in the river, where they may be easily taken. These places, which are well known to the natives, are above the smaller rapids, and also where there are certain rock formations which make deep holes, called poços by the Brazilians. 221 226

The fish of the Araguaya have the same characteristics as those of the Amazon valley in general. The giant pire, 226 136

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226 which attains a length of ten feet, occurs very frequently;
[136] also the electric eel, and the thick-bodied pirarára which is encased in an armor of strong, bony plates; the voracious piránha, the jahú, a scaleless fish nearly as large as a man; the pintado, or spotted fish, which reaches a length of six or seven feet; various pacús, besides many other kinds of fish. All of these are suitable for human consumption.
[267] There are certain scaleless fish which are not used by the Karayá. Neither will they eat the dolphin; but they are quite fond of the turtle and its eggs.

During the time of high water when fish are not easily caught in the yellow, earth-charged flood, the Karayá secure their fish from the lagoons along the river, which they make into great, natural traps for the larger fish by cutting off their retreat. This is accomplished by blocking the outlet of the lagoon with a basket-work of poles and heavy climbing
[198] vines. In former times, fish were taken exclusively by means
[237] of the bow and arrow, but the Karayá now use the hook and line, which is obtained in trade from passing canoes. It is for the most part impossible to fish in the Araguaya with a net because the piránha cut it to pieces, and also because of the many large creatures that infest the river.

224 Hunting is not so important an occupation with the Karayá as fishing, hence they are more expert anglers than hunters; nor do they display much skill in the chase. This may appear strange to persons who believe that all Indians
[262] are hunters, par excellence. South America is not so rich in large game as Africa; moreover, some superstition, the taboo, doubtless, prevents the savages from eating the flesh of some species of game which are most numerous. For this reason, the Karayá do not hunt the tapir, which abounds along the Araguaya, though the meat is excellent, being much like beef, yet richer. Deer also, of which there are many varieties, exist in great numbers; yet few, if any, of the savage tribes touch these animals. The Karayá never hunt large game, confining themselves to monkeys, which are abun-

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dant, and to the pecari, the aguti, the musk duck which is 224
found in ponds, and similar small game.

Agriculture among the Sambiõa is highly developed—re- 241
markably so, in fact, for a people living in a state of sav-
agery—and is even more advanced in some respects than that
of the "civilized" Brazilians living near their territory. A
large assortment of vegetable foodstuffs are raised. They [198]
now have the same agricultural implements as the "civilized"
Brazilians, having relegated to oblivion their rude tools of
ancient times, with which they could not till the soil but to
a very limited extent, and that only with excessive toil. The
high agricultural development reached by these savages is
very interesting and important, proving conclusively that the
primitive man, far from being incapable of anything but to
wander over a wide territory, living from hand to mouth by
hunting and fishing, is capable of becoming an agriculturist
of no mean order. The plant most extensively cultivated by
the Sambiõa is the manioc. They raise both kinds, the
"wild" and the "tame." Next to this in importance is corn.
But this is used more to make a fermented drink than for [273]
food. Sugar-cane is also cultivated on the low, alluvial soil
along the river, which is well adapted to this purpose. But
the natives have no suitable contrivance for extracting the
juice from the cane. Several varieties of small, brown beans,
brought from Pará, and which are a staple food among civ- [262]
ilized Brazilians, are also raised. So also, the white and [177]
violet Brazilian *cará*, a kind of potato. Besides these food- 222
stuffs, which were obtained originally from civilized Bra- 262
zilians, the Karayá gather from forest and jungle, many
kinds of wild fruits and vegetables, which introduce a pleas-
ing change in their aliment. A few such are the cajú, a
yellow, olive-shaped plum, which grows on a very large tree;
the jábádacába, a plum which grows clinging to the trunks
of a tree resembling the elm; the morisy, a large yellow
cherry, groves of which may be seen growing on the up-
lands; mongába, the fruit of a kind of upland rubber tree,
which I have elsewhere called a natural baked apple; and

Brazil.

the genipapa or wine fruit, a very soggy, tough fruit as large as a pear. It looks and tastes something like a fig soaked in vinegar, but is much prized by the natives. But, as elsewhere mentioned, the palm is the never-failing friend of the children of Nature. One or another of its multitudinous varieties will have a little food of some kind for them every day in the year, such as nuts, fruits and vegetables; and besides, will furnish them the material for their huts, and for bows, arrows and cordage. Though all else should fail, these trees will remain as a tree of life to them. It seems strange that they have no oranges. This fruit will flourish in this region, even doing well without any care, once it has been given a good start. The absence of this tree is the more remarkable because the Karayá are very fond of oranges, and undertake journeys lasting weeks to obtain them. Wild honey is also a much prized article of food, as it is among most South American savages. They make the wax into black balls, or discs about one inch thick, to be used as a glue.

The Karayá have also a kind of tobacco, which contains but a slight percentage of nicotine. The dried leaves are kept in large, square packages covered with palm-leaves. To prepare it for use, it is pulverized between the hands, then smoked in a pipe that looks like a funnel-shaped plug. The pipe most used is one fashioned by Nature herself. It is a certain kind of fruit-shell, or pod, which is funnel-shaped and hollow. Failing this, a pipe is made of a kind of hard wood. The bowl and stem are one straight piece; therefore, when in use, the cavity is in a horizontal position, and not held upright, like the civilized (?) man's flue. The part that enters the mouth is so large that the lips are greatly distended in closing around it, hereby increasing the already ugly appearance of the mouth caused by the repulsive ornament in the lower lip. I have seen the front teeth hollowed somewhat to fit around this huge plug.

No less interesting than the kind of food used by these people, is the means whereby it is prepared for eating. In

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the open air, just in front of the entrance to each hut, is 252
the cooking place, which is surrounded by a slightly raised platform of sticks on which the manioc meal is evaporated. Large earthen pots are seen resting upon stands over the fire; while the ground around is littered with garbage, which, as previously mentioned, ferments, and attracts and breeds swarms of pestiferous flies. The women are as busy as bees, 462
and toil untiringly throughout the whole of each and every [252]
day, gathering fruits and vegetables from forest and field, going many miles distant and returning, staggering under heavy burdens, gathering firewood, preparing manioc meal, pulverizing corn in wooden mortars, splitting the small cocoa nuts, and attending to the cooking. Dr. Ehrenreich says of the Karayá wife, that though her raw materials are limited, she, nevertheless, succeeds in producing a good assortment of food. Among all savage and semi-barbarous peoples, the females labor more assiduously than the males, and the burden of providing for the family seems to fall more upon them than upon the males. Here again, we observe the similarity between these children of Nature and the wild creatures, upon the female of whom falls the burden of providing for the brood.

The Karayá have no matches, or any of the appliances 372
of civilization for kindling a fire, but still adhere to the ancient method. Fire is produced by means of two sticks of wood, one, which is of urucú, being secured to the ground. This is grooved and morticed in such a way that by setting the point of the second piece, which is a taquára reed, into the groove and causing it to spin rapidly by rolling it between the palms, glowing dust issues from the side of the first piece, with which a fire is kindled. Punk is not used; the piece of wood that is bored takes the place of punk. With this glowing dust, strips of palm-leaves are ignited after being daubed with easily inflammable red resin. But the primitive housekeepers seldom have to resort to this method of producing fire as they do not allow their camp-fires to die out. When on a journey, they carry fire-brands, or glowing coals, which are kept alive at times by being buried in the sand.

Brazil.

252 Fish and game are sometimes prepared for eating by cooking in a clay pot; but the usual method is to impale the meat on a stake which is set up in the ground by the camp-fire and inclined over it; or else to place it upon glowing coals and allow it to remain there until the outside is burned to a crisp. As a portion of this crisp part is naturally reduced [263] to ashes, a saline substance is produced, which, mingling with the juice, flavors the meat. Various root foods, and also ears of corn, are prepared for eating by roasting over the fire.

317 Besides the ash salts just mentioned, the Karayá contrive to extract a little sodium chloride from certain earth banks [263] which contain a small percentage of this substance. It is only recently that they have begun to use salt obtained from the civilized world. Banks of saline earth are easy to locate as the wild beasts frequent these places to "lick." In the cattle-raising regions, a herdsman is much pleased to have one or more of these briny spots in his territory so that his cattle may thereby obtain salt.

184 "The poor tame brothers" of the Sambiõa, the Karayáhy [241] branch of the family, though they are supplied to a limited extent with axes and grubbing hoes, do very little planting. [231] Neither have they many domesticated creatures. Those they do have are largely birds of the parrot family, which they regard with affection, though their feathers are plucked to be used in ornament making.

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
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Chapter IX.

KARAYÁ ACTIVITIES.—CANOE MAKING.—WEAPONS.—NATURE MADE UTENSILS.—ORNAMENT MAKING.—FAMILY LIFE.—PRIMITIVE ETHICS.—MARRIAGES.—CHILDREN.—GOVERNMENT.

The industrial activities of the Karayá now make a better showing than in former times, for their primitive tools are now more and more replaced by tools introduced from the civilized world. The old stone-axes have disappeared, and little is known of them. Ancient inscriptions and figures upon the rocks represent men with stone-axes in their hands, but these drawings belong to a remote period. 412 177 [172]

To-day, the only primitive implements of the Karayá are those that Nature furnishes them ready for use. Their scraping tools, for instance, are sharp-edged shells; their chisel-like instruments are the teeth of certain powerful rodents; and smooth, flat stones, formed by the action of the water, are used as discs upon which to beat and prepare the web of bark which is their cloth. 412 [237]

It cannot be said of the Karayá that their primitive industries have fallen, in any degree, into decay because they have begun to use the tools of civilized men. Adaptability, beauty of form, and carefulness of execution, is evident in all their workmanship. Canoe building among them, for instance, has reached a high degree of perfection, though the method of constructing them is very crude. These canoes, which are all dugouts, are long and slim, and taper gradually to a point at both bow and stern. This form is perhaps best 461 396 501

501 suited to their purpose owing to the many shallow places in the river, and because it facilitates landing and pushing off. 396 The tree selected to be transformed into a canoe is an ipiúba [824] or a jatóba, which must be very straight. Strange to say, the butt of the tree becomes the bow of the canoe; therefore, the finished canoe is broader at the bow than at the stern. As these children of Nature are preeminently imitators of Nature, it seems quite probable that in constructing their canoes, they have in mind the form of the fish, which always goes big end first.

The log is first hewn into the form of a canoe, then hollowed out with axes and with fire. It is not broadened amidships, therefore, when finished, it is no wider than was the 501 original tree. As it is thus very narrow and tapers gradually and uniformly high above the water at both bow and stern, it tips over very easily. Great care is taken to make it perfectly smooth outside and in. No seats are provided, but sticks are placed across the bottom to keep both the occupants and the freight out of any water that may leak in. As every family has a canoe, quite a fleet of them may be seen in front of every village. These canoes are propelled by paddles five feet in length, half of which is blade, the point [531] terminating like a lance. They are made with great care and labor, and are often nicely ornamented. When canoeing, the 502 pilot is always seen perched in a squatting position on the extreme point of the stern with his knees drawn up to his chin.

411 The weapons of the Karayá are as of old—there has [178] been no change whatever. In common with other Brazilian tribes, the length and stiffness of their bow is according to the height and strength of its owner. Some bows are seven feet in length, while a boy's bow is two and a half or three [824] feet long. They are made of the wood of a certain palm-tree [171] which the Brazilians call *pau de arco*—bow wood—which is the wood used by all the tribes of central and North Brazil for their bows. The bow is made flat inside, and the extremities taper to a point. Several lengths of string, carried

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
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as a reserve, are kept wound around the bow. The Karayá take great pride in their bows, ornamenting them beautifully with tassels of brilliant feathers. 411 [531]

They use several different styles of arrows. Some are harpoon-like for fishing purposes; others are made with broad blades for hunting; while still others are for use in war. They are all made with the utmost care, as much as one or two days being consumed in the making of but one. Two or three different kinds of wood are always used in constructing a single arrow, one kind being for the spear, or lance part, another kind—heavy palm wood—for the middle staff, and light bamboo wood for the base, and all are spliced and bound together with the greatest nicety by means of long, narrow strips of bark taken from certain climbers, and finally, the weapon is burnished. It is about four feet in length. [461] [824] [284]

The weapons used for fighting at close quarters, which is the method of warfare liked best, are heavy clubs and lances. The clubs are of two kinds—first, shovel-like clubs and round clubs, resembling base-ball bats, varying in length from three to four and a half feet. The lances are nine or ten feet in length, the shaft being of palm wood, and the point, the shin-bone of the spotted *onca*—jaguar—or of a deer. A beautiful, basket-like work of black and white wooden strips is woven, or braided, tightly over the shaft of the spear, and to this is attached tassels of brilliant plumage. The Karayá have spear-throwing sticks, but I understand they are no longer used in war, but for sport only. The contrivance is a long strip of wood so formed that it can be used, sling-like to hurl a spear. In common with all the savage tribes of South America, the weapons, implements, ornaments and ceremonial instruments are all made by the men of the Karayá, while the women make only the household utensils. [726] [824] [837] [531] 462 171

The Karayá housewife, therefore, makes several styles of pots and pans; but pottery has not yet reached a very high degree of perfection with this tribe for the forms are simple and crude. They do not make pots in the form of natural objects as do the tribes of the Xingú river. Utility, and this 323

323 only, is sought. The Karayá once more like all the South American tribes, form the pots without the use of the potter's wheel, the work being done by building up rings of clay, stroking and shaping, first with the hands, then with bones and shells until the vessel reaches the desired form and strength. The ashes of certain plants are mixed with the clay to give it greater firmness.

To secure an oven in which to bake the pots, these children of Nature again look to their common Mother. In the large, dome-shaped ant-hills which abound in their world, they find a nearly complete natural oven. They further prepare this oven for use by carving a hole in one side and starting a fire in it. This done, they put the pot, previously sun-baked into the kiln; then open a second hole on another side of the ant-hill to communicate with the first, by which to feed the fire. A draft is secured by opening a vent in the top of the natural oven. The women make clay spoons as well as pots. Though a few of these clay vessels are provided with legs, none of them have handles, except as cords are secured around them to serve as handles.

415 824 Besides these manufactured vessels, Nature again comes to the aid of these primitive people and furnishes them jugs, bottles, basins and pans of a great variety of shapes and sizes from calabash or gourd-shells. These vegetable vessels are not only as hard as wood, but very durable, though they 534 824 cannot, of course, be placed over the fire. Large rattles for ceremonial purposes are also made from the gourd by replacing the seeds with pebbles, and attaching handles of wood.

285 Nature has supplied the Karayá with such a rich and varied material that braid-work is the principal household industry, a product notable for its utility and variety of form. The long, [824] slender leaves of the oaguasse, or burity-palm, are braided together diagonally into mats to serve as flooring for the huts, and even for roofing. The flooring mats, being so easily produced, are made only as wanted. The finest grades of matting are made to sleep upon and to roof the hut. For this work,

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Harvesting Coffee.

[facing P. 104]

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For this work,- 285
large, fan-like palm leaves are slit into narrow strips, skeins or bundles of which are kept always on hand ready for use. [824]
A very small mat is made especially for the fisherman to stand upon to protect his feet when he has to remain a long time at one spot on the hot sand.

A great variety of beautiful baskets are also made of braid-work. These are made of sipós—climbing vines—reeds, split [824]
stems and the like. Large baskets, resembling sacks, are made of very coarse palm-leaves for use in carrying heavy loads of food material gathered from the forest. The smaller baskets are made not only of fine materials of various colors, but are braided into nice patterns. They are of many sizes and shapes and used for numerous purposes. Some are hand or shoulder bags in which to carry small articles; many others of various sizes may be seen hanging from the roof of the hut which serve as receptacles for numerous small household articles or personal effects; others are double, or covered baskets, like telescope traveling bags, in which much-prized feather ornaments are carefully guarded; while still others are canoe-shaped hanging baskets, beautifully designed. Nearly all these baskets are flexible, and some are even elastic, bottle-shaped baskets. To carry the tobacco when on a journey, a square basket is used, to which is attached a bark shoulder strap. A large, basket-work disc, finely and closely braided, is used as a sieve, or colander. As the civilized [191]
Brazilians everywhere have the same kind of utensil, it may be inferred that it has come down to them from their aboriginal South American ancestors.

The "textile industry" of the Karayá is nothing more 283
than braid-work. Natural resources once again furnish them an unlimited supply of material nearly ready for use. The [824]
burity-palm once more manifests its unfailing utility, yielding a splendid fibre which can be readily stripped from its long leaves. Another kind of fibre, which possesses great adhesive qualities, is obtained from the inner bark of the mallow tree. The finest threads are *spun* by rolling a number of single fibres together between the moistened hands, or

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
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283 between the hand and the leg above the knee. These fine strands, again, are rolled together into cords. This is accomplished by each strand being skillfully rolled independently on the leg as the hand is passed rapidly over them all before they are permitted to come together and twist themselves around each other into a single cord. The same [171] method of making cordage is seen among the "civilized" Brazilians of the far interior, and is probably another relic of their aboriginal ancestry.

286 The Karayá also make fish-nets by means of large wooden needles; small nets, shaped like hand-bags, in which to carry small objects; queer-looking net caps that may be drawn together with cotton strings, and which are embellished with 283 brilliant feathers. Cotton is also used by the Karayá. It is spun by means of a rude spindle of bone or baked clay, which is revolved between the hands.

286 The *loom*, or contrivance for braiding—or weaving—by means of which the hammocks already described are woven, is very simple. The warping is wound over two small posts which are planted upright in the ground a foot or two apart. The weaving is done by working the woof thread in by hand over and under the warping threads by means of a long needle, then pressing it back tightly by using a wooden blade instead of the reed employed by more advanced peoples. It is extremely slow work. Various colored warps and woofs are used making stripes in the finished work. On this same framework is woven the strong bands used in carrying heavy baskets; also the forehead bands and the body bands for infants. Armlets and leglets are either knitted or crochetted with a hook-like needle over a cone-shaped block of wood, or are made on the limb itself.

301 Most of the ornaments of the Karayá, as of other tribes, 237 are made of brilliant plumage. They take pleasure in making these articles; and exercise such good taste and introduce so much variety, that they are not excelled by any of the primitive peoples of South America. The work, however, lacks durability; but as they have always an abundance of suitable

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
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feathers on hand, they can replace worn-out pieces at any 301
moment. Many of these ornaments are beautiful. One, 237
made of white feathers and secured around the head as a band, looks like a halo encircling the head when seen from a distance when the wind is blowing. These ornaments are worn principally on festal occasions, or when visitors are present. Three styles of a peculiar feather hood are also made. The foundation is a net hood of three different sized meshes, one of which is very closely woven. The stems of the feathers are worked in between the meshes. This is worn at the dance festival.

The ear and arm ornaments have already been described. A dancing belt is made of strong black and white braiding embellished with tassels of beautiful feathers with shell rattles. The legs and ankles of the dancers are also decorated with feather tassels and shell rattles. Sometimes the savages "tar and feather" themselves, besmearing the body with gum, then putting on a thick layer of white down. In former times they wore necklaces of animal teeth, bones, and shell discs. But these have now been replaced by the glass beads ob- [439]
tained in trade.

The Karayá are very fond of black and white beads, and 301
may often be seen wearing a number of strings around the neck, to the lowest one of which is attached little chains terminating in fruit shells, or tiny bunches of feathers.

The only, though much used, article of toilet of the Karayá 412
is the comb, which is made in various sizes, the largest being fourteen inches wide and of equal length. The teeth are flat, slender pieces of palm wood or taquara, which are secured between two small blocks of wood. The spacing between the teeth is made by passing yarn between them. This comb is ornamented with small tassels of bright feathers.

The ornamental work of the Karayá consists of patterns 531
of zig-zag lines, crosses, or lizard-shaped forms, dots, diamond shapes, and peculiar broken, irregular lines; while squares and triangles occur only to fill out, and circles are entirely wanting. The patterns seem to be chosen at random, nevertheless ooo

Brazil.

The patterns seem to be chosen at random, nevertheless
532 the artificers have clear ideas of what they wish to make. These designs are an attempt to represent the forms of natural objects about them. For example, the colored markings on the canoe, represent fish; so also the feather mosaic work. The wasp, or hornets' nest is represented in the decoration of combs; and figures of bats with outstretched wings, and snakes, are also made. The tribes of the Xingú river and some others make drawings of men and animals in the sand.

It is difficult for a Karayá to sketch anything with a lead-
[322] pencil. They do very little wood-carving. The most important work of art among them is the fashioning of human forms
[439] with wax or clay. Figures, apparently children's dolls, are offered in trade to travelers in large numbers. The execution of this work shows that they have ideas of form, and that they observe nature. Their best pieces are as well made as those of the old American civilization. The lower extremities of the human form, though, are made too large and out of proportion with the rest of the body. But the face is natural with no trace of hideousness.

534 About the only instrument of *music* possessed by the Karayá, is a sort of trumpet, called by the civilized Brazilians a *buzzina*. It is, in truth, a kind of combination of the flute and drum. The flute part is a section of a bamboo or taquara cane, eighteen inches in length, with the mouth-piece, of course, in the side. To the outer end of this base flute is glued, with wax, the neck of a large, bottle-shaped gourd-shell, six inches in diameter, in the big end of which a large opening is made. Of course, a tune cannot be played on this uncouth instrument, for but one note can be produced with it. But these nature folk seem well pleased with this one roaring, booming note, for, like all savages, their musical tastes appear quite satisfied with hideous, discordant sounds and charivari noises.

000 As previously mentioned, the primitive peoples of South America, and indeed, of every other part of the world, have been degraded both morally and socially wherever they have come under the influence of the civilized races, excepting

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where that influence has been genuinely and positively Christian. It is humiliating to admit this; but the most overwhelming evidences of it are found everywhere. How very many sad examples there are that the representatives of even Christian civilizations have imposed a curse instead of conferring a blessing upon their poor, ignorant, primitive brethren! All too frequently, the "civilized" world which first comes into contact with savagery, is of the world, worldly. Its vices are prominent and positive, while its virtues are negative and obscure. Naturally, the uncultured savage acquires the vices without effort, but knows nothing of the virtues, if there be any; and his own virtues, or wholesome customs, become more or less overshadowed and broken down; for the savage man, in common with other men of every race and social grade, is a more apt scholar in the school of vice than in the school of virtue. The influence of the Christ life, on the other hand, is positively and powerfully virtuous. It purifies and transforms the inner man, and exalts and beautifies the whole outward expression of his life, at the same time, preserving and ennobling all that he had formerly that was good.

Many people think that savages, living in a state of nature, intermingle as promiscuously as swine, and without any restraints to their passions. This is very far from the truth, for they have customs, usages and traditions that are rigidly observed; and within certain limits, the inviolability of womanhood is guaranteed; while vicious propensities are so restrained or regulated that the tribe is safeguarded against physical impairment. Unfortunately, this can scarcely be said of many of the civilized people of South America.

For a savage people, human life among the Karayá is valued and protected; and family ties are strong—between husband and wife as well as between parents and children. The mother, instead of the father, appears to be the head of the family, for the following reasons:

The husband does not eat with his family, but instead,

Brazil.

593 the husband does not eat with his family, but instead
[964] with the family of his married sister, and is considered a member of his sister's family. Secondly, his share of the pro-
[768] ceeds of the day's hunting and fishing, does not go to his own hut, but to that of his sister; and, lastly, if his wife should die leaving dependent children, they are taken in charge by her parents and the widower again becomes one of the bachelors.

582 A Karayá woman is not permitted to marry an alien, unless
648 he will become adopted, or naturalized, into the tribe, and will consent to reside permanently at the wife's native village.
593 The Karayá wife appears to be considered the equal of her husband in many respects, for he never takes any important step in life without first consulting her. Even the village chief divides his honors with his wife. Furthermore, the wife as
[962] well as the husband, has an important part to perform, not only in the family, but in the social economy of the village; though her part is to do the heavy, laborious work, while her man does the light and fancy-work; his only heavy work being to hunt and fish.

595 The men usually have but one wife, though a few have
582 two. One reason for having two wives seems to be owing to the custom prevailing among nearly all South American tribes that the young men marry the older women, and the old men marry the young women. Therefore, when the first wife becomes old, her young husband takes to himself a youth-
163 ful wife. Perhaps this custom of the young men marrying the
[582] older women will account in part for the small number of
[862] children born to these primitive races; though another reason may be that children are allowed to nurse until they are six
171 or seven years of age. The custom of aged men marrying girls fourteen or fifteen years of age is common among the
847 civilized people of Brazil. Abortion among the Karayá is practiced only when the husband demands it. Whenever a
586 couple cannot live together harmoniously, the husband is al-
587 lowed to trade his wife for another woman. If he should drive her away, he will not be permitted to marry another
000 woman, though he may take a concubine. The adulterous

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The adulterous
woman is punished by her husband either by flogging, or by 684
torturing with fire brands. It is said that she is sometimes even burned to death. The adulterous man is punished by the nearest relatives of his wife. But among these people as, unfortunately, among the higher races, far greater license is allowed the man than the woman.

The Karayá seem to cherish an earnest desire to preserve 593
the integrity of the family, and to guard it against disturbing influences of every kind. Children are reared with strictness 834
and maidenhood is respected; and any transgression of the tribal laws regarding the relations of the sexes is severely punished—even with death, in some cases. But children born 848
out of wedlock are not put to death, as is usually done among savage peoples, but instead, are, like other orphans, reared by the chief of the village as his own children.

The unmarried individuals, who are distinguished from the 589
married by the previously described wristlets and armlets, are not required to support themselves, but are provided for by the community as a whole. The bachelors and widowers live together in a sort of "bachelors' hall"—a separate hut—and participate in the hunting and fishing and other occupations of the tribe only as they feel inclined. But the unmarried women, while, like the single men, not required to work, are not segregated, for they dwell in the huts of their nearest relatives. These females are allowed certain liberties 836
with the unmarried men in order that they may not perturb 548
the married men and their families. They are the village prostitutes. By this arrangement the single men, on the other hand, are kept from endangering family life. Women [727]
taken captive from the enemy in intertribal wars, are retained as prostitutes and semi-slaves. These unhappy females are the common property of all the men, the married as well as the single. Captive female children share the same sad fate; and probably also the children born of captive parents.

We see in these customs, the dualism of the "ethics" of 577
the savage. They are moral, if we may use this term, only when their own well-being is at stake—when it is a question

577 of preserving their own health and the perpetuity of their tribe. With them, the abstaining from or checking of vice, is not a question of conscience, or ethics. They do not regard vice, and evil generally, as wrong in a moral sense, but in a physical and utilitarian sense—because they see that it injures them physically and materially. Right and wrong, virtue and vice mean to them simply material well-being or damage—a question of expediency only. Their perception of moral principles is very dim. They possess the innate ideas of right and wrong, as do all human beings, but seemingly in a blind, instinctive, unintelligent sense only, like a child. [626] Though the taboo, or belief that dire calamities will be visited upon them if they should transgress the will of their divinities, exercises a powerful influence on their conduct.

584 Matrimony is consummated by the man in question making known his wishes to the parents of the maiden of his choice. These in turn ask their daughter if she gives her consent. If 585 she is willing, her affianced delivers to her all his weapons. He then conducts her to the domicile of one of his relatives, as he, of course, has no house of his own. Here they both remain four days as guests of the family. The fifth day, the bride is led back to the hut of her parents, following which, she returns to the bridegroom his weapons. As if to prove that he is competent to care for a family, the groom goes on a few days' hunt, returning when he has secured a quantity of game. The marriage ceremony terminates with a bacchanalian feast, given by the bride's parents, which corresponds to the wedding supper of civilized people. The couple may now live together, and a hut is built for them.

855 The Karayá love their children and treat them kindly, though they are stoical and make no display of their affections. This is true of most of the South American tribes. 854 Very young children are carried about constantly by the mother, and cared for untiringly; and are coated with colored grease and decorated with bright feathers with the same pride and solicitude that the most civilized mothers care 000 for and dress their children. The older children are left to

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The older children are left to
occupy and amuse themselves entirely as they may feel in- 857
clined. Nevertheless, they show a natural good behavior. [855]
But in observing them, the idea is somehow suggested to one that they are, to some extent at least, creatures of instinct, like irrational nature about them. In common with the brutes, they seem not inclined to go beyond limits whereby they might suffer injury. Just as the wild creature, left to itself, does not need to be governed or restrained by anything apart from itself for its well-being, neither do these wild children, apparently, need the oversight of their parents. There seems to be no danger that they will harm themselves, or get into trouble. They play naturally in a very quiet and restrained manner as if to avoid all possibility of attracting the attention of enemies. To sell children to traders, as is done in some parts of Brazil, particularly on the Amazon river, is unknown among the Karayá.

While still at a tender age, the children begin to imitate the doings of their elders. The boys amuse themselves with archery, and by fishing and swimming; and the girls aid their mothers in the household duties. Children's toys are 524
clay figures, small tops, miniature canoes, and even little cooking utensils, corresponding to the "tea sets" of civilized children. An amusement of which even adults are fond, is to play with a ball made of corn cobs and feathers, and a ring. Another, is a game known to many of us as "cat's cradle," which is the looping of a cord over the hands held some distance apart, and relooping and crossing it over the fingers from hand to hand so as to make it represent the figures of various animals. This game is common among the Indians [171]
of North America.

There appears to be clans among the Karayá. Each vil- 621
lage considers itself one large family—a paternal communistic society—possessing a distinct name, and having a certain district for its own peculiar hunting and fishing ground. The [423]
cultivated land—the little village plantation—is owned in com- [476]
mon, is tilled by all, and the products are divided systematically to each family. A similar arrangement existed among

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621 the Incas, and is met with to-day in Russia and elsewhere.
496 The hunting and fishing is participated in by all the men at the same time, and the proceeds of the day's chase are lumped together, then divided proportionately to all the families of the village; and those who have had "no luck" share equally with those who have been successful. To-day, they all go hunting at the command of their chief; to-morrow, they fish in the same way; and the next day, they all work on the village plantation. But in every case, the combined results of their efforts are divided equally according to the mouths
622 to be filled. All the doings of the village are directed by the chief. He holds in trust all the property of the local horde, and is supported by the community. Consequently, it is his
[597] duty to adopt all the orphans of the village, including the sons of warriors who fall in battle. It is not necessary, however, that he should excel in military skill. There are other qualifications that are considered more essential and of far more practical every-day value to one who would succeed as a chief. He must have sufficient experience, energy and diplomatic skill to enable him to deal harmoniously and successfully with civilized men. Therefore, a man who did not originally belong to the tribe but was adopted into it from some other, may become chief if he should excel in these particulars. He lays out all the work, plans the hunting and fishing expeditions, indicates the camping places and selects the ground to be planted. When the forest covering the land to be tilled has been cut down, allowed to dry and then burned, he stakes out the plot for each family composing the
627 village. He has also a very important duty to perform as a
628 sort of justice of the peace, and in enforcing the tribal laws. If two men quarrel, he adjusts the difference; while his wife adjusts differences between the women. He must also bring all culprits to justice, though he is not allowed to execute the sentence of the law. Custom demands that this shall be done by the wronged person. Murder and personal injury is avenged immediately, and without much ceremony, by the relatives of the victim. When the chief is informed of a rob-

Brazil.

When the chief is informed of a robbery, he at once steps just outside of his domicile, and in a 622
stentorian voice that can be clearly heard by every person in 627
the encampment, demands of the thief, whoever he may be, 685
that the stolen articles be returned immediately. Usually, this has the desired effect; the stolen objects are secretly deposited in the place from which they were taken, and the affair is closed. If the articles are not returned, the chief is empowered to institute a search. If suspicion should fall upon a certain individual, the plaintiff may take from him any object he desires, to be held as security until the return of the stolen goods. If the culprit is discovered, his victim is expected to see to it that he is abundantly reimbursed for any loss suffered. If a chief should prove incompetent, or the people 622
cannot get along harmoniously with him, they simply ignore him and choose another.

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CHAPTER X.

KARAYÁ SPORTS.—FUNERALS.—CARNIVALS.—RELIGION.

526 THE young men love to wrestle on the sand on bright, moonlight nights. The chief object of the contest appears to be to cause the opponent to fall by tripping him. It is an exceedingly interesting sport. The Karayá of one village cannot pass another without stopping to indulge in the "struggle," as it is called. In all such cases where a visiting team is pitted against a home team of equal numbers, it seems to be more of a ceremony, or a performance, than a test of championship. The visitors, on arrival, do not go about the village nor mingle with their hosts, until after the struggle. Instead, they crouch in the sand by their canoes, their knees drawn up to their chins, their heads hanging down, and do not speak, except to reply in as few words as possible to the questions put to them. When the ceremony of the struggle is over, refreshments are set before them, and they may go about the encampment at will. On the occasion of my visit, the night was rather dark; and when the time came for the match, the home team, accompanied by every soul in the encampment, moved out to a broad, open space on the sand, there to await the approach of the visiting team. As the latter were coming up, a series of maniacal, blood-chilling war yells were exchanged by the teams as challenges. There was something about the performance that suggested cockfighting. Or is this "struggle" an imitation of a fight between rival tigers, who, having first challenged each other with terrifying roars, finally lock in deadly combat? The

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teams having lined up—there were four men to a side—they approached each other waltzing, zig-zag fashion, back and forth from one side of the ring to the other in a series of very rapid, stiff-legged, turkey-steps, the second man of each pair being close behind his partner and executing, lock-step, precisely the same movements in perfect unison with him; at the same time, the arms of all were extended in front, legs spread wide apart, bodies inclined forward and slightly squatting, and the entire anatomy of each rigid as if frozen stiff. As they worked gradually toward each other, they emitted fiendish challenges in the form of long-drawn-out yells. Finally, they came together and clinched, and the yelling ceased. The "first round" terminated quickly with four of the combatants sprawling upon the sand. For the second round, they jerked themselves out to one another in single pairs; while for the third round, a single individual, only, came out, first from one side then from the other, prancing like game cocks right up to the opponents' line. 526 628

Dr. Ehrenreich describes a war dance he saw at one of the Sambiña villages. Eight warriors, fully armed with spears, clubs, and bows and arrows, and decorated with feathers executed the dance, led by a sort of dancing master, before whom they were arranged in the form of a crescent. They moved but little from one spot—merely a few steps forward and backward—hopping rapidly and artistically on one leg and waving their weapons in perfect unison, guided by the measured beats of their leader. Every movement was executed with the nicest precision. It is said that the Karayá learned this dance from the Kaiapó tribe. 535 [177]

When a Karayá dies, all his tools, weapons and ornaments are burned, accompanied by a loud crying, wailing and lamentation by the surviving relatives and friends, among whom, because of having participated in the obsequies, will be distributed whatever articles belonging to the deceased that were not consigned to the flames. There is, therefore, some inducement to be a mourner. The death dance around the corpse is next in order. First, the body is ornamented by 764 [768]

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764 gumming feathers onto it, then a pole nine feet long is laid upon it, lengthwise, as it lies upon its back, and the whole is enwrapped in the palm-leaf mat which had served as the bed of the deceased during life, and wound with long strips of bark. The purpose of this pole is that the remains may hang sus-
764 pended from it in the grave. The group that dances and wails
535 as it moves around the corpse, is led by a kind of precentor,
533 who is relieved from time to time as he grows weary. As the performers dance, they hold their arms extended in front with the fingers of one hand placed upon the backs of the fingers of the other hand, thus forming a bow. The singing is alternate and responsive. The chorus asks the deceased where he has gone and how he fares, and the leader of the chorus responds for the corpse. The chorus wails, "He lives no more! It is all over with him! Think no more of him! He is hanging from the bar!" Then the leader, speaking for the departed, responds hopefully, "I am in a beautiful land! Give me some tobacco! Did you put the plug"—the tobacco pipe—"between my lips? I am in need of nothing! But, be sure to place water at the grave!" The chorus now repeats but one question, and answers in a doleful voice: "It is all over with him! It is all over!" Very frequently these ceremonies begin before the subject is even dead.

764 Interment occurs the next day after death except where death has taken place very early in the morning, in which event it is the same day, at evening. The singing, wailing,
[765] lamentations, dancing and other lugubrious festivities continue three or four days, during which time all work is abandoned. The Karayá cemeteries are always located on top of a high hill near the river. The civilized Brazilians, imitating, perhaps, their savage ancestors, also place their cemeteries on the highest ground near the town, where it often endangers the health of the living.

A Karayá grave is a hole in the ground nearly seven feet in length, three feet wide and thirty inches deep. The body is hung horizontally into this excavation so that it swings freely from the already mentioned pole, each end of which

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rests on top of the ground. Beneath the corpse, which swings 764
eight or ten inches above the bottom of the grave, is placed a clay pan filled with food for the shade of the departed. Next, a number of poles are placed beside the first one supporting the body so that they cover completely the mouth of the grave; and over these, in turn, is placed a palm-leaf mat, upon which is heaped about ten inches of earth. The grave is further marked and decorated by setting up at the head and foot two stakes some three feet high, each terminating in a fork at the upper end, and embellished with a tassel of feathers, besides other adornments. These decorations are for the purpose of frightening away trespassing demons or ghosts. At the center of each post is a ring on which is carved the [602]
insignia or emblem of the family of the deceased, which, for example, may be a lizard. A strong cord is stretched between the stakes resting in the forked tops, over which, with the outer edges touching the ground, are placed two palm-leaf mats to form a miniature hut over the grave. This is intended as the domicile of the deceased. Calabash shell ves- [775]
sels containing food and drink for the soul, are placed upon the grave inside this mortuary hut, for the disconsolate shade is believed to linger near its discarded body for a time. Later, 765
if the surviving relatives demand it, the bones are exhumed and deposited in a large clay urn, which is either sunk into the ground near the grave, or allowed to stand upon the surface of the ground.

The memory of the departed is cherished. Even long after the death of an individual, the surviving relatives give expression to their grief by loud and stormy outbreaks of feeling when any occurrence revives the memory of him. The occasion may be the arrival at the village of some one who was a near relative or an intimate friend of the departed, whose appearance recalls the memory of him; or it may be the revealing of some memento of the deceased. Dr. Ehrenreich says that when he was looking through the baskets in one of the huts for curios, he brought to light some memorials of deceased parents or children. Instantly, the women in the hut—

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca.1900) 1909
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765 it is always the women—broke out into loud lamentations and wailings, which did not cease until the objects were again hidden from view. He says that he witnessed at a Sambiõa village a very pathetic mourning scene when the news came that a certain resident of the village had died in Pará, whither he had gone as a paddler in one of the trading boats descending the river. The mother and the wife of the deceased paced up and down the bank of the river near the village during two entire days, uttering continually loud and solemn cries of mourning. In their hands, they carried his ornaments and waved them constantly in the direction of the place where he had died. With the assistance of other women, the wailing was continued throughout the night. But whatever may be the real sentiments of the relatives, lamentations and wailing must not be omitted.

164 The Karayá have not suffered as much from smallpox and goitre as other primitive peoples. But tuberculosis is increasing among them, and they know that it is infectious. "Is there any catarrh where you hail from?" is the first question they ask a stranger before he is allowed to enter their huts. Intermittent fevers exist among them only in certain
753 low regions. They use but little medicine, for all sickness and disease is looked upon as demon possession, or the result
755 of witch-craft. Therefore, they trust to their conjurers, or tribal priests, to relieve illness. These men seek to remove the fancied poison or disturbing element by sucking the part of the body where the pain is located, or to expel the evil spirits by performing enchantments, or practicing black arts.
757 One of the most noted medicaments of the Karayá, is the resin of the almecegëira tree, which is mixed with cocoa-nut oil and taken in the form of snuff for headache, and also rubbed on the abdomen to cure stomach-ache.

000 Bates, in his valuable work, "The Naturalist on the Amazon," says: "No one could live long among the Indians of the Upper Amazon without being struck with their constitutional dislike for heat. Europeans certainly withstand the high temperature better than the original inhabitants of the

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country. Their skin is always hot to the touch, and they 000
perspire but little." (This may be owing, in some degree, to the clogging of the pores of the body with the gummy, red grease with which they keep themselves constantly besmeared.) * * * "They bathe many times each day, but do not plunge into the water, taking merely a sitz bath, as dogs may be seen doing in hot climates, to cool the lower parts of the body. The women and children who have remained at home while the men are away fishing and hunting, generally find some excuse for trooping off to the shade of the forest during the hot hours of the afternoon. They appear restless and discontented in fine, dry weather, but cheerful in cool days, when the rain is pouring down on their naked backs. When suffering from fever, nothing but strict watching can prevent them from going to bathe in the river, or eating immoderate quantities of juicy fruits, although these indulgences are frequently the cause of death. They are much subject to disorders of the liver, dysentery, and other ills of hot climates; and when any epidemic is about, they take it quicker, and suffer more than negroes, or even whites. How different all this is with the negro, the true child of tropical climes! The impression gradually forced itself upon my mind that the Indian lives as a stranger or immigrant in these hot regions, and that his constitution was not originally adapted, and has not since become perfectly adapted to the climate."

The Karayá possess some knowledge of surgery. They 752
know how to open arteries on the temple; how to bleed a patient; how to stop the flow of blood from a wound by binding the artery; understand the efficiency of sprinkling powdered charcoal upon wounds; have knowledge to bind on splints in setting broken bones, and know how to extract thorns from the flesh, which is done by means of sharp fish teeth. To empty the stomach by vomiting, they tickle the 757
throat with the burnt end of a reed.

They make use of a scarification, or bleeding instrument, [413]
which is a block or pad set full, and bristling, with the long, [237]
lance-like teeth of the piranha fish. It resembles a curry-

[75] [413] [237] comb with very long, sharp teeth. With this barbarous tool, the primitive surgeon rakes and tears the back of the patient, who holds himself immovable by firmly grasping a post or tree. The blood is caught and removed on palm-leaves. When sufficient blood has been drawn, sand, and finally pepper, is rubbed into the wounds. Even when a Karayá is not sick, he submits to this very painful operation, believing that it will be beneficial to his health. The bleeding of persons on the back is practiced by low-class civilized Brazilians.

[71] Not much is known concerning the religious belief of the Karayá. But it is fully established that they entertain an animistic conception of the world, which is the lowest form of religious belief and practice; and it expresses itself with them in the same way that it does with the better known South American tribes. Their observation hourly suggests to them [811] the idea that every effect has an intelligent cause; for, whenever they are able to trace an effect to its cause, as, for instance, in the doings of men and animals, that cause appears to be psychical rather than material; an intangible, incomprehensible something that we call Mind. Therefore, they firmly believe that Minds, intelligence, or invisible, immaterial Personalities, dwell, as an Ego, or as Genii, in every material object, animate or inanimate, such as animals, trees and mountains, and direct all the operations of Nature; and that brutes are differentiated from men only by their bodily form, every creature being alike a duality—having a psychical as well as a physical Self. Moreover, the phenomena of the half-[772] life in sleep, together with dreams and visions, and the cessation of all vital activities at death, furnish to their minds clear and positive proofs of the existence of a spirit world that pervades, or lies beyond the world comprehended by the senses. They believe that in sleep and dreams, the Ego, or [774] Shade, or second Self, steals away from the body of the sleeper to roam about and to associate with other shadowy personalities or spirits. They are convinced, furthermore, that their [754] priests, or conjurers, are endowed with some supernatural, or mysterious powers which enable them to put themselves

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
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at will into a trance or semi-death, in which state their souls, or doubles, explore the occult, or what is hidden from men in a normal state. They also believe that these conjurers can transform themselves at pleasure into animals—into the form of a witch-wolf, for example, in order to terrify, injure and domineer over men; and, in brief, can do all things whereby shamanism—primitive priestcraft—secures and maintains its influence over the tribe. They have no images or idols, nor even fetiches, for the reason that they have not yet advanced to this more complex belief, if advancement it may be called.

The ghosts or spirits of the dead, which, as previously stated, are believed to tarry for a time in the vicinity of the graves where hang the bodies they were forced to abandon because they had fallen so into disrepair, take delight, in after time, in returning to haunt the places of their habitation during the days of their flesh; moreover, it is believed that they appear to their relatives, especially on wild and stormy nights: When the darkness is inky black, illumined only by the ceaseless play of the terrifying lightnings, and the thunders crash and boom as if the unseen Powers were engaged in mighty conflict, while the winds moan and shriek in the forest, then the old folk think of their dear departed; and by loud lamentations and wailings, put themselves into a state of ecstacy whereby their inflamed imagination creates every wished-for phantasm.

This animistic religion is without any ethical foundation. It has not in this stage attained to a conception of a higher or ruling Spirit upon whom man feels himself dependent for rewards and punishments for his deeds; and as just stated, lacks everything which connects man externally with divinity, such as images, the paraphernalia of worship, ritual, and the like. But we find among the Karayá those ceremonials from which apparently everywhere throughout the world the higher and more elaborate forms of worship have come, that is, the mystery rites.

Mask dances occupy an important place in Karayá life. The prominent rôle which these masquerades play among

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Brazil.

535 171 North American races is well known; but thus far, surprisingly little has been learned of similar customs that prevail among South American tribes. Only the mask dances of the Tequna, the Zuñi and the Uaupé races are mentioned casually in literature. The temples and idols alluded to by the old Jesuit missionaries are often nothing but medicine huts, or flute players' houses where are kept the mysterious mask costumes. These mask dances are of peculiar interest because of their striking similarity to those of the Melanesians as regards the forms of the mask and other customs of the dance.

535 532 The Dance Masks represent animals only; but the representation of animal forms is not carried so far among the Karayá as it is in the case of the masks of the North American aborigines and the Tequna, as the particular animal sought to be represented is indicated only by some of its most striking characteristics and not by the form of the mask outfit; or certain parts of the paraphernalia may suggest what animal is being represented.

The masquerade outfits are used singly or in pairs, and are divided, according to their forms, into three classes. The first, are suits and head gears of simple or plain braided palm-leaves. The second class is a cylindrical dance hood which looks like a sheaf of wild hay inverted over the head, which it completely obscures, while the upper part of the sheaf tapers to a point about two feet above the head, and is overlaid with beautiful feather mosiacs, patterned to suggest the creatures the primitive masqueraders desire to represent, such as certain fish or birds. The third class does not bear any representations or emblems of animals. To this class belongs what is called the black-bird mask, though this is a human face, made from a large calabash shell. The lower part is black and the upper is red, while the mouth is furnished with wax lips and wooden teeth. Between the small eye-holes, is a nose of wax placed unnaturally high, and a hanger of black and brown feathers falls down behind; while long, slender palm-leaves, hung from a belt, or girdle, form a skirt which covers the body of the masquerader. But these three classes

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
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But these three classes
of masks do not include all the modifications used by the tribe, 535 532
for each village has its own particular kind, and many medicine [184]
huts are crammed with the most diverse types.

If a hunting or fishing expedition has been successful, and 527
there is an abundance of food on hand, the chief of the village 535
may determine to hold a masquerade festival, which shall continue as long as provisions hold out; whereupon the entire village hums with activity for many days preparing for the celebration. The women busy themselves making ready meat and drink, employing all their culinary skill; while the men, if not hunting and fishing, are occupied with the preparation of the dance costumes. One dance is distinguished from another by being performed exclusively by some one person or [533] family, and handed down from father to son; and each one is executed to the accompaniment of songs which are apparently in an antiquated form of speech, unintelligible to the rest of the people. Each animal represented is indicated by the constant repetition in the songs of the peculiar note or sound characteristic of that animal. For example, the paca cries, "Heyon hey! Heyon hey!" The alligator, "Huu! Huu!" and another beast, "Too koo! Too koo! Too-hoo-oo-oo-oo!"

The women and children are merely spectators at these masquerades, and are never permitted, under any circumstances, to see the masquerade outfit, save when an individual is regaled in it, for they must be kept in the belief that the creatures represented, or rather, their shades, are really materialized before them, and that the garb and the being inside of it are one and inseparable, for of course the outfit always covers the entire body of the dancer. Occasionally, however, the old women are let into the secret. This indicates [000] that the secret societies existing everywhere among civilized peoples, admitting men only to their membership and excluding women forever, and who take the most absurd and monstrous oaths to guard their childish secrets from other men, and from their own wives, sisters and mothers, are of savage origin in principle.

The carnival begins with a procession of the masqueraders

527 through the encampment, who, having previously stolen away
535 to the jungle and secretly donned their uncouth regalia, suddenly appear; and with a loud cry—"Han hm! Han hm!" rush toward the village, while all the villagers ejaculate loudly, in reply, "Nakum rare! Nakum rare!"—Here they come! Here they come! The procession is almost riotous, for the men throw billets of wood about in every direction. The parade over, all these imitation birds, bugs and beasts, or the materialization of their ghosts, retire again to the thicket, remove their gear, and becoming real men once more, quietly, reënter the village, and the savage banquet is brought on.

After some hours of "eating and drinking and making merry," the masqueraders again rush forth from the woods to begin the dancing. It consists of a peculiar hopping, turkey-step, and rocking the body from side to side. The dancer must not, under any circumstances, permit his real identity to be-
[688] come known to the spectators. He must not speak, nor cough, nor sneeze; and above all, he must not allow himself to stumble and fall, for if he does, he will be immediately put to death. If he should be compelled to cough or sneeze, as frequently happens because of the dust and the suffocating heat under his mask, he springs into the group of men standing near, all of whom begin instantly to cough, and thus contrive to drown his voice.

The various dances follow each other according to a programme arranged beforehand by the chief of the encampment, who presides over the ceremonies and festivities.

535 If a woman of the tribe should enter one of the secret
567 mystery huts, or should avail herself of an opportunity to look
688 upon a masquerade outfit when not in use, she will be punished with death. It is usual, in such cases, for the other women to intercede with the chief for her life, and he will exercise mercy in her behalf if she will promise silence and will undertake some work of expiation, such as to weave a *hammock*, or braid a large, palm-leaf mat. If she should refuse to do this, or her work should prove unsatisfactory, she will

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
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be ordered to appear at a designated spot in the woods when the sun reaches a certain position in the heavens, and here she will be compelled to submit herself to the assembled men. If she should fail to appear as ordered, the men may slay her wherever they find her and sink her body in the river. But if she should flee to the mystery hut, no one will enter to take her for this is an asylum of refuge. If a man should betray the secret of the masquerade to a woman of the tribe, he may, nevertheless, be allowed to go unmolested. But these barbarous customs do not appear to be so strictly observed to-day as in former times. It is related that owing to an accident, all the women of a certain village, caught sight at the same moment of the masquerade outfit when not in use. In this case, of course, nothing could be done but to pardon them all and make known to them the whole secret. It is said that among the Sambiõa, these masquerades are falling somewhat into disuse. Nevertheless, they would not allow Dr. Ehrenreich and his party to bring away the masquerade outfits that they had stumbled upon at a spot in the woods where they had been thrown at the termination of a festival, as they feared that some of their women might be in the vicinity and see them. To get permission to take them, the men of the party had to dress in them. Though these customs may be less strictly observed to-day than formerly, nevertheless, the women cherish a profound respect for these supposed creatures of the forest and their mysterious hiding-places.

535 562 688 [178] 535 [178] [126]

The masquerade outfits seem to be thrown away, or burned, at the conclusion of a festival, the feather decorations having first been removed.

Of the real significance of these masquerades, little or nothing is known, or perhaps ever will be known. It is doubtful if even the savages themselves are fully conscious of their significance. But we may get some light upon the subject from our knowledge of the customs and beliefs of other primitive peoples.

It is certain that the "make up"—the creature, animated [825]

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535 object, or apparition, that rushes forth from the forest to
805 parade and dance—is supposed to be the materialization of the spirit, or double, of the creature indicated. The animals represented are always either game animals, or those that play a certain rôle in the tribal legends, such as the stork, the alligator and the electric eel. In accordance with a similar idea, [171] the aborigines of North America were accustomed to hold buffalo and bear dances for the purpose of inducing the spirits of these particular animals to send their own kind to earth in abundance.

The Karayá have other dances, which are held in honor of animals regarded as ancestors, or to which some mythological significance is attributed. There may be similar reasons for the masquerades. The Karayá may believe, moreover, that by these festivities, they are cultivating the favor of the game animals.

535 When the men are asked why they keep from their women
562 the secret of the real character of the masqueraders, they always, without exception, reply that the women are not allowed to see and know everything because they talk too much. The belief that the authority and superiority of the men over the women must be maintained and fortified, is quite evident wherever the mystery festivals are held.

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CARAJÁ COSMOGRAPHY

By William Lipkind

101 The Carajá are an isolated people inhabiting a large territory slightly
114 north of the geographical center of Brazil. During 1938 and 1939 I lived
131 with the Carajá and collected a large body of textual material which forms the basis of the generalized presentation of Carajá world-view which follows.[1]

772 The Carajá universe is very small. Their own territory (Bananal), an island formed by a large fork of the Araguaya river is its center. To the west the great Chavante plateau stretches out to the huge river in which
[82] the sun goes down. All night the sun moves through the underworld and in the morning he comes up out of another river which is the eastern boundary of the world. If you paddle many days downriver, you will come to a village of the transformer Kanashiwe, the world's northern limit. An equal journey upstream will take you to its southern limit, another village of Kanashiwe.

[823] The Carajá are perfectly acquainted with the middle portion of this parallelogram. Every beach, high bank, wood and lake along the Araguaya, every body of water and distinctive patch of ground within Bananal, is known and has a name. The tributaries are known in less detail and only up to a few days' journey from their mouths. Inland from the rivers their knowledge peters out after a short distance and you are soon in mythical country.

[715] To the Carajá this world seems very large. The journey to its northern and southern limits is the initiation journey of the dead. No man since legendary times has gone very far toward the eastern and western boundaries, and, besides, there are two other dimensions, the underworld and the sky.

772 In the underworld, the original home of the Carajá, there was neither
703 sickness nor death. As the emergence myth states, "More people kept being born. Nobody died. There wasn't room enough. When a man got old, he sat there in one place without moving. Kaboi couldn't add any more houses to the village. It was full. A new father was lying on the mat. It was time to eat honey. He went off hunting honey. While he was hunting he heard a *seriema* (Portuguese name of a bird) sing. He scooped a hole toward it and came out. He found fruit at once and decided to return. When he got back he gave his folk the fruit to taste. They found it very good and wanted to come out. They invited the others to come with them. Wobedu sent his folk out first and he went first among them. Kaboi came

[122] [1] The work was financed by Columbia University.

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among the last. He got stuck in the hole. His belly was too big. He decided 772
to go back. It was a dead leaf that he spied. He spoke to his wife, 'Let's go 773
back. There is death there.' They went back again. Those that had come out were very happy. They were all happy. Then one of them climbed a tree. It was a child that climbed. He fell and died. They all mourned. Suddenly they got cheerful again. For this reason they were angry, his mother and father. His brother and sister, married to each other, were angry. For this reason there was keening. They say that there in the depths of the water there was no death."

In addition to being the original home of the Carajá, the underworld is 772
also the home of the dead. Those who die a quiet death and are properly 775
buried live there much in the same fashion as they lived on earth. But they are always a bit crazed and dangerous to the living. They must be placated [772] [845]
by offerings and ceremonial observances. Otherwise they assume the form of poisonous snakes and bite those who neglect them. Those who die a 766
violent death, who are clubbed or torn by beasts, become violent unappeasable ghosts. They are buried in the woods without arms or fire, in a posi- 772
tion contrary to the traditional position in order to disorient them. A 775
woman's girdle is tied about their eyes to blind them. Their desire is to kill, and especially to kill their closest kin. Their afterlife is extremely unpleasant. They wander about in a perpetual rage and feed on little birds which they eat raw.

The other dimension of the Carajá universe is the sky. Only the south- 772
eastern quadrant of the sky interests the Carajá. The rest is uninhabited 756
forest. Starting at the Southern Cross virtually every star and constella- 776
tion visible in the east is a named supernatural. The Milky Way is the 821
shaman's road. When the shaman falls into his trance he goes up the shaman's road into one of the villages of the sky supernaturals. There he receives his power and knowledge and, if he has not eaten or drunk, there- [754]
after is a curer. If he has, he becomes a sorcerer and killer. The good shaman after his death goes to live in the sky. He squats up there in the [775]
heat of the sun with his inexhaustible pot of food and gourd of water in front of him and his shamanistic rattle in his hand, held up to shade his eyes from the glare of the sun. At night he dances with the supernaturals. This is considered the happiest afterlife.

The earth and underworld are also inhabited by supernaturals. Every 772
pool, every deep spot in the river, every bit of forest or savannah, has its 776
supernatural owners. These are of two kinds. Many are amiable and beau- 823
tiful beings who have friendly relations with humans. They are invited [535]
to feasts and impersonated in the masked dances. The others are ugly and dangerous monsters who cannot be placated. Their woods are avoided and nobody fishes in their pools.

The sorcerer has a wide variety of techniques at his disposal. He may 754

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754 request a ghost to do his killing. In this case the ghost takes the form of a wild beast, usually a leopard. He may request a supernatural either to enter the body of his victim, or to turn loose on the victim his subject animals,
756 particularly the alligator and piranha. The curing shaman sucks out the intrusive supernatural or persuades the ghosts or supernaturals to withhold their attack.

776 The dichotomy of ghosts and supernaturals is quite clear in Carajá re-
769 ligion. Ghosts are placated by calendrical feasts, run by a hereditary priest.
796 Supernaturals are invited to the masked dances by a shaman who takes
[756] complete charge of this cult. There is little relationship between the two cults. There is a momentary appearance of masks during the Big-house Feast of the ghost cult, and an occasional offering to ancestors during the mask cult ceremonies.

795 What is of special interest is that there are many maleficent supernaturals
796 who cannot be approached at all. There is no technique for handling them except keeping out of their way. The violent ghosts really fall in the same category as far as their relation to humans is concerned. And yet they are chiefly the best men of the Carajá who have fallen in battle against their
[154] enemies. In this curious bit of fantasy there seems to be a projection of the fear and aggression which are overtly present in the social life.

171 In recent years a few Carajá have been able to visit Rio and Belém. They
772 have brought back a somewhat different picture of the extent of the world,
577 a picture with which many Carajá are now familiar. It never intrudes into Carajá life. It is reserved solely for discourse with outsiders. No contradiction is felt because the two conceptions are never brought into the same universe of discourse. I was not able to detect any signs of skepticism. The Carajá is perfectly sure that he has a clear view of the true character of the world. The peculiar beliefs of outsiders are in keeping with their quaint behavior and lack of good breeding. A Carajá will not dispute about such things. He listens to the opinions of others with courtesy and curiosity but cannot be induced to take them seriously. It is much easier to pretend to
[747] agree. If you are a missionary, you will give him presents. Later he may have the additional pleasure of expounding your fantastic ideas to his fellows.

182 Two factors seem to me to contribute largely to the maintainance of this
772 attitude. In the first place, the old way of life is still intact. When a man is
773 able to find full occupation and joy in his activities, it is difficult to get him to doubt the premises on which they are founded. Secondly, every important feature of life is validated by mythical tales which are the Carajá history. The emergence myth, given above in its simplest and shortest variant, is one of many. I can do no more than mention some of the most important here. The full form of the emergence myth gives the names of all the ancestors who emerged and the precise social divisions which they

7:Lipkind E-5 (1938-1939) 1940
SP9 Caraja SP9

began. There are numerous tales of the transformer, recounting how every beast got his present form. There are accounts explaining the origin of other peoples. There is a myth validating the men's cult. Others explain the origin of the staples of life, manioc and corn. There is a myth accounting for the behavior of the sun and the moon. This body of history lends depth to the Carajá picture of the world. He feels that he knows more clearly how things are disposed because he knows where they came from or, at least, how they were arranged at an earlier time.

In conclusion, I should like to mention another curious point. The Carajá, who, after hundreds of years of contact with white culture and nearly a century of close contact, cling so resolutely to their beliefs, are not a bit fussy about details. The stories are told differently by almost every teller. The amount of variation in important details is enormous. A single example must suffice here. I heard two versions of the emergence myth quite different from the brief one given above. In one a woman detected the presence of death in the upper world and in her resentment at not being listened to shut the hole to the underworld, thus locking the others out when they tried to return. In the other Kaboi did not let them back again because he feared they might bring death in with them. A Carajá who travelled with me from village to village heard all sorts of variants of this kind and accepted them all with almost equal confidence. It was not that he did not see the discrepancies. They did not matter to him. A similar laxity is found in all Carajá religious observances. The pattern of a ceremony is more or less definite but every performance varies greatly. Such flexibility would seem to invite the penetration of foreign matter and yet I can detect the presence of little that may be considered borrowing from white culture. It will be of interest to compare the beliefs of the Carajá with those of other Brazilian tribes with whom they may be supposed to have had fairly recent contacts.

Columbia University.

8:Gow-Smith T-5 (no date)1925
SP9 Caraja SP9

INDIAN NOTES

PUBLISHED QUARTERLY IN THE INTEREST OF THE
MUSEUM OF THE AMERICAN INDIAN,
HEYE FOUNDATION

VOLUME II

NEW YORK
1925

[Title Page]

8:Gow-Smith T-5 (no date)1925
SP9 Caraja SP9

THE ARAWANA, OR FISH DANCE, OF THE CARAJA INDIANS OF MATTO GROSSO, BRAZIL

535 825 Of all the dances of the Caraja, the *Arawana* is the most important. It takes its name from a fish found in the tributaries of the Amazon, particularly the River Araguaya. This fish, the *arawana* [276] or *iraco*, is thought by the natives to be semi-human and is much venerated.

535 The dance, a cross between a turkey-step and a [533] foxtrot, accompanied by weird songs, is performed by two Indian men representing the male and the female fish. Both are dressed alike, except that there is hidden in the headgear of the male representative a cluster of threaded nuts from the palm tree, which rattle as the dancers move.

The dress consists of long slender palm-leaves hanging from the waist to the knees like a skirt. A similar kilt arrangement of leaves covers the body from neck to waist. The head-dress is made from palm-leaves closely braided together in the form of a hood, with coarse grass hanging loose at the bottom, obscuring the face. The upper part tapers almost to a point about two feet above the head and is overlaid with beautiful feather mosaics patterned to suggest the *arawana*. Two "horns" made of grass top the headdress. (Fig. 43.)

8:Gow-Smith T-5 (no date)1925
SP9 Caraja SP9

535 [344] These costumes are made and kept guarded in a wigwam at some distance from the village, and at the conclusion of the [411] [531] festivities are destroyed. Covering the entire body as it does, the masquerade completely conceals the identity of the dancer, who must not under any circumstances reveal his identity to the women onlookers.

535 562 [258] Women and children are merely spectators and are never permitted to view the dress except when it encases the form of the dancer. The women of the tribe apparently cherish a profound respect for

FIG. 43.—A personator in the Fish Dance.

8:Gow-Smith T-5 (no date)1925
SP9 Caraja SP9

535 this ritual and never seek to penetrate its mysteries.
562 At any rate they seemed to keep at a distance from
[346] the sacred wigwam where the men ate and drank in tribute to the sacred fish.

535 Should a woman, however, so far forget her posi-
562 tion as to enter this mysterious hut or should avail
627 herself of an opportunity to look at this mystery dress, she may be punished by death. Executive clemency is granted by the chief, at the request of the women of the tribe, providing she will promise silence and expiate her crime by some appointed work. If she should refuse, she will be ordered to appear at a designated spot in the woods, at a certain height of the sun, where she will find assembled a group of warriors. Failing to comply with their desires, she may be killed and the body thrown into the river. Should she flee to the
[346] sacred wigwam, however, this being sanctuary, she goes free at the termination of the festivities to resume her place in society.

126 Wishing to preserve the costumes as a memento
535 of my visit among them, I asked the chief if I might take them with me. Reluctantly he consented, and ordered his men under cover of darkness to take them in a canoe down the river and await my coming. It was by this means that the costumes ultimately came in possession of the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation.

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In answer to the query of why the Arawana dance was veiled in such secrecy, the chief replied that women are not allowed to know everything, as they talk too much. These Indians believe that the authority and superiority of man must be maintained, and that these festivals impress the woman with her inferiority.

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[For a description of the special dress used in the Arawana or fish dance, see category 535.]

9:Gow-Smith T-5 (no date) 1925
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Cayapo

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[Title Page]

9:Gow-Smith T-5 (no date) 1925
SP9 Caraja SP9
Cayapo SP11

CARAJA AND CAYAPÓ ARTIFACTS FROM BRAZIL

C
Co 101
126
119

BEAUTIFULLY fashioned feather head-dresses, ingenious and terrible weapons, strange little images, implements and ornaments that characterize the lives and customs of the Caraja and Cayapó Indians, hitherto little known tribes that live in Matto Grosso and Para, the hinterland of Brazil, have been brought to the Museum by the writer, who has spent more than four years in this little-known region of South America.

Co
301
237

The Cayapó maidens wear narrow fillets of reed upon which are bound the short, curved feathers from the breasts of parrots, with short quills protruding in front. Some are of red and some of yellow feathers, the latter resembling fluffy halos. Occasionally the Cayapó find feathers of mixed red and yellow, not unlike striped tulips of those colors, and with these the women make fillets of exquisite beauty (fig. 95). Others are made by binding a number of short pieces of polished bamboo to a reed, topping them with iridescent feathers, and adding a long gray-white

9:Gow-Smith T-5 (no date) 1925
SP9 Caraja SP
Cayapo SP

Co 301 237

plume from the South American ostrich (fig. 96). One especially striking piece of headgear is a Cayapó cap fashioned of a network of pliable grass, vaguely reminiscent of a woman's hairnet (fig. 97). It has a shock of small yellow quills fastened to the center of the crown and surrounded

Co 292 237 [824]

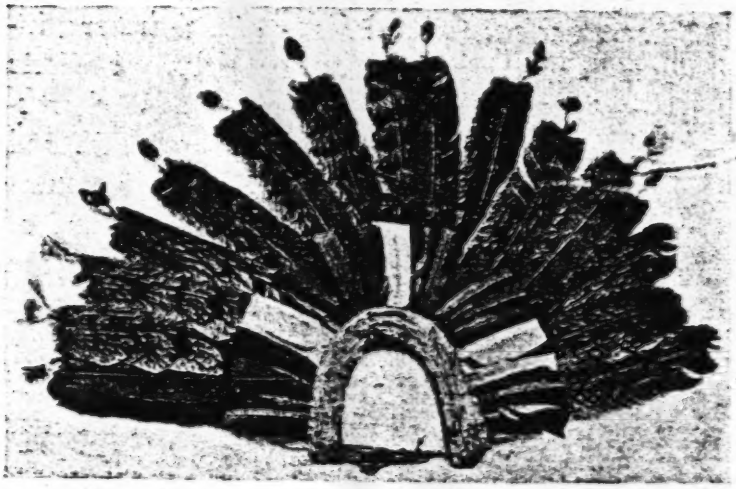

FIG. 95.—Cayapó head-dress

by several rows of small red feathers grouped together to form flowers, with small knots of grass for centers.

C 411

Picturesque and very effective are the seven- and eight-foot spears with which the Caraja go on the warpath (fig. 98). The spear-heads are made of the thigh-bone of the jaguar, and pointed;

C [237]

[text continues on p. 222]

9:Gow-Smith T-5 (no date) 1925
SP9 Caraja
Cayapo SP11

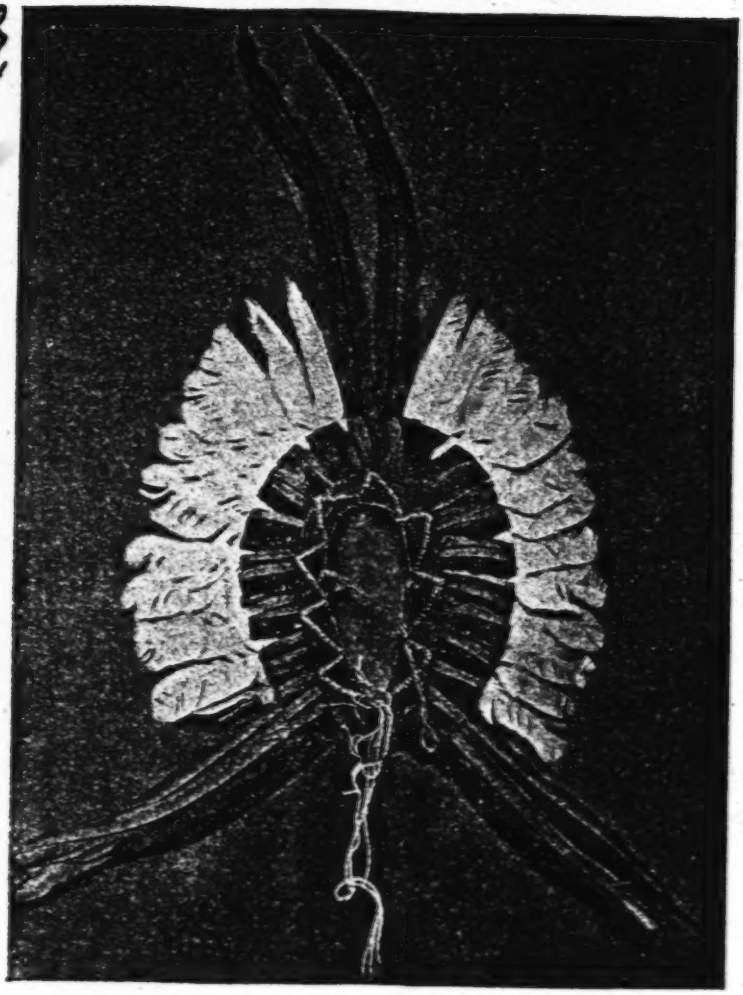

FIG. 96.—Cayapó head-dress

9:Gow-Smith T-5 (no date) 1925
SP9 Caraja SP9
Cayapo SP11

C 411 237 C 411 531

a cluster of feathers hanging below the point guides the spear unerringly when flung at its victim. The spear-shafts are beautifully decorated with a covering of black and white cane-work woven in intricate designs. No two of these woven handles are of the same pattern, but they all represent the various markings of snakes.

Co 292 237 C Co 411 C Co 224 283

FIG. 97.—Cayapó head-dress

The bow and arrow are a favorite weapon with both the Cayapó and the Caraja. The bows, six feet long, are stoutly made of palm-wood, and are strung with the strong hand-spun cord of wild cotton, with the ends cunningly wrapped to the bow so that the string can be lengthened or mended according to the hunter's needs. Arrows are of wide variety and are used for many purposes, but all of them have long bamboo shafts

C Co 224

9:Gow-Smith T-5 (no date) 1925
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skilfully feathered at the end. The arrowheads are fastened to eighteen-inch foreshafts

C
264
531
411
501

of hard-wood tipped with bone, fitted in three- to four-foot bamboo shafts and bound in place with the strong cord that the native women spin from wild cotton.

C
Co
314

The binding is firmly cemented with a kind of resin.

C
Co
411
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223

Long needle-like arrows tipped with hard-wood are for shooting birds; the sharp bamboo tips curved hollowly are for deer and jaguars, for they permit the wounded animal

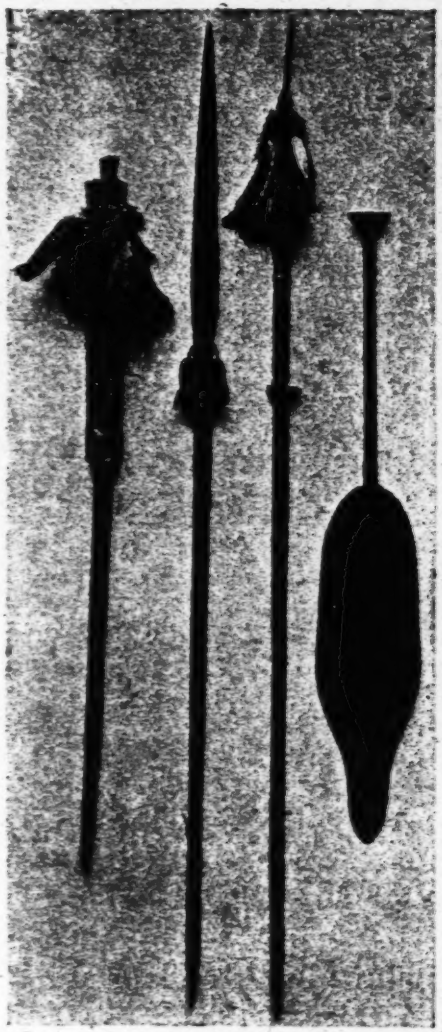

FIG. 98.—Caraja objects (grave-post, two spears, and a paddle)

9:Gow-Smith T-5 (no date) 1925
SP9 Caraja SP9
Cayapo SP11

C Co 411 224 [226] [237]

to bleed freely in order that it will weaken before it can travel far. Barbed arrows are used for killing monkeys and shooting fish. The tail of the sting-ray is also used for tipping arrows.

C 411 [227] [688] 888

Co [534] [531]

Fig. 99.—Cayapó rattle

C [531]

Formidable objects are the clubs that the Caraja tribesmen use to kill captives, as well as members of their own tribe who have broken taboo or who are too old to make the periodic migrations. These clubs vaguely resemble a baseball bat, except that they are heavier and a trifle thicker at the end. They are made of hard-wood, the long handle decorated with a beautiful covering of black and white woven canework in designs similar to those of the spears, and the heavy end is stained a sinister red with the juice of the urucú-berry and the blood of its victim.

C [386]

Co 411

The Cayapó clubs are of the same heavy wood,

9:Gow-Smith T-5 (no date) 1925
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Co 411 [531] and have similar woven cane-covered handles, but are for more specialized use. Instead of a blunt round end, the club has a flat triangular wooden blade pointed at the end with sharp sides and stained with urucú. It is used, in the manner of a great ax, for decapitation.

C 524 [501] Toy canoes (fig. 100), with which the Caraja youngsters play, are models in miniature of those their elders use, which are made from hollowed or

FIG. 100.—Toy canoes of the Caraja. (Length, 19 in. and 26 in.)

C [531] [3P] burnt-out logs. They are decorated with designs colored with a black stain from the genepapa fruit and the urucú. Paddles (fig. 98) are of regulation length, but some have unusually wide blades often decorated in red and black designs.

C 532 Most curious of the collection are the little clay dolls (fig. 101), which may have some connection with magic or with religious observances. They vary in size from two to twelve

C [171] inches, and are similar in workmanship and even

9:Gow-Smith T-5 (no date) 1925
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Cayapo

532 171 in spirit to little clay images from excavations in Crete and Asia Minor. They are male and 532 female figures, the latter made with exaggerated hips and lower limbs. Though the little faces

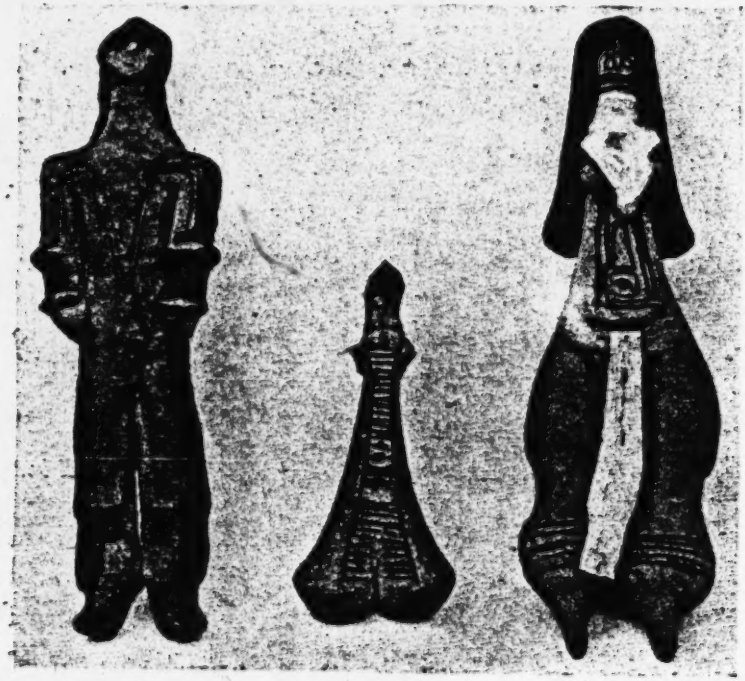

FIG. 101.—Caraja images

of the figures are crudely modeled, the head-dress and the manner of wearing the hair are faith- [171] fully reproduced. In some instances the hair-dressing is identical in style with that of the little images found in the Old World.

9:Gow-Smith T-5 (no date) 1925
SP9 Caraja SP9
Cayapo

images found in the Old World. Though the 532
little figures are usually nude, occasionally one
is adorned with bits of red-colored home-made [283]
cotton twine.

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[P. 227]

/2 cont./

126 1. (cont.)
and representations by the Karajá, I
[101] have also dealt with some by the Šavajé,
a tribe which in language and culture is
very closely related to the Karajá.

121 In view of the interest which ethnologists, psychologists, art historians, and cultivated circles in general display today with respect to primitive art, I felt that the exceedingly abundant material collected by me should be published separately, apart from the other results of my expedition, among which it would have fallen too far into the background.

121 I am reproducing the material as such, arranged only ac-
128 cording to certain points of view, which can be seen from the "Table of Contents," and provided with the most important explanations about the maker, the method of production, the purpose and significance of the object or figure. I hope that the individual things are defined so precisely by this means that no doubts and misinterpretations can arise, so that, in other words, anyone, whatever his position on particular theories about the development of primitive art, can work with this material on a secure basis. The article is meant simply as a straightforward publication of material. I believe that research is better served in this way than if I myself, ay an analysis of my results, had tried to assume a position on the great controversies about the development of primitive art which are being argued at the present time.

128 To make the material still more useful I am giving in the appendix /untranslated; see the foreign text, pp. 30-31/ a general view of the share which the two related tribes, the Karajá and Šavajé, have in it, and then also a general view of the distribution of the sketchbook drawings among the individual artists, arranged according to their ages, and finally a systematic listing of all the objects represented.

126 The objects discussed are all to be found in the Museum für
128 Völkerkunde at Leipzig. On occasion reference has been made to the objects acquired by Ehrenreich in 1888 on the Araguaia and

●121 /43/ Three years ago G. P. Murdock published his "World Ethnographic Sample." It goes without saying that an endeavor of this scope can only be incomplete. Now, as far as the Carajá, one of the nine tribes classified under the heading "Eastern Brazil," are concerned, the set of 30 characteristic features of this society in Murdock's attempt displays significant gaps and serious inaccuracies. It is my intention, here and now, to remedy this state of affairs as well as possible, in order to contribute from my side, while concerning myself with only one case among 565, to a fairer calculation of the human probabilities.

114 To accomplish this task I shall use as a base the data that [122] I was able to collect personally, in the company of my wife [101] and aided by the National Swiss Foundation for Scientific Re- [127] search, during the rainy season of 1954 to 1955 among the Carajá of the south, as well as, naturally, on the information from our predecessors in the field, Ehrenreich, Krause, Baldus, and Lipkind above all. I am using this opportunity to express the great regret that I feel every time I think of the fact that the rich materials collected by Lipkind have never been published in a satisfactory fashion. The Carajá, although they have been known for a long time, are basically misunderstood. To be fair, it must be added that they themselves do not make the task of investigators easy, and it goes without saying that under these circumstances my own contribution must remain fairly fragmentary in view of the too short period of our stay among them.

121 On the other hand I am convinced that the presentation of facts alone — allegedly pure facts — does not help us to become better acquainted with the human condition, and the second aim of my article is to present to you a first attempt at interpretation of the data concerning the Carajá kinship system, which, not without reason, was left blank in Murdock's attempt.

128 To facilitate the comparison I shall follow the framework of the columns of the "World Ethnographic Sample." The 433 Carajá cultivate primarily tropical tubercles, although maize 39 is not lacking; true domesticated animals are absent. 462 [231]

/44 cont./

59 so great, and there are, besides the linear families or nonnamed minimal lineages, some independent families (i.e., rather Ll, often Ss and In, instead of Ee; column 7), which agrees with the fact that, besides the customary matrilocal marriage, "neolocal" residence is found (Mn, instead of Mm; column 8) in the dry season on the one hand, and, on the other hand, as a possible
595 nucleus of a new extended family. Polygyny is neither frequent
583 nor favored, whereas it is true that material considerations are absent on the occasion of marriage (thus Mo or To rather than Lo; column 9).

611 We shall now take up the most confused aspect of Carajá
[121] ethnography. The Handbook of South American Indians speaks
615 correctly of double descent. I have shown elsewhere that be-
[114] cause of some inattention in the editing of the famous manual, an incorrect idea of the real nature of this coexistence of patrilineal and matrilineal groupings has arisen. It is a matter, not of moieties, but of three large, named, patrilineal groups, which are primarily the men's affair, in their ceremonial and political life, but nevertheless are concerned with women in the sense of an endogamous tendency. Thus it is not a matter of true parallel descent, and, on the other hand, it is by no
[621] means a question of exogamy, and still less of moieties. At the most one may speak of nonexogamy or agamy as in the case of the villages, which are themselves matrilineal groupings on account of the matrilocal rule of the domestic group just men-
613 tioned. In a strict sense only the small extended family,
596 which can be described as a non-named, minimal, matrilineal
582 lineage, seems to be exogamous. Marriage is permitted with any cousin, parallel or cross, and the matrilateral preference reported by Lipkind (incidentally without any indication of whether it is a matter of parallel or cross cousins!) seems to be only the normative expression of matrilocal marriage, whereas the slight patrilateral preference ascertained by myself is equally in agreement with the rule of endogamy of the patrilineal groups.
[601] In reality, since the relatives are usually "brother" and "sister" with regard to each other, being male and female cousin, as we

/46 cont./

551 wish to infer at the outset a marriage, formerly prescribed,
601 with the matrilateral female cross-cousin. One must remember,
[183] however, that the present state characterized by a great degree of freedom, in other words, by a degree of "information" or of greater entropy, is also found in the performance of ceremonies, such as in the narration of myths and legends, these expressions of the spiritual life of the Carajá which allow great freedom of variation around a principal theme stubbornly preserved. — Finally teknonymy guides the reciprocal terms of grandparents and grandchildren, so that the grandparents, designated according to their sex, reply by the same word, even if the grandchild is of the opposite sex.

561 Before finishing my article, I must quickly touch on the
554 last two columns of Murdock's attempt. The Carajá distinguish,
615 by speech and by ornaments, age grades. At the same time, an idea of stratification is outlined in the fact that political and religious roles are the heritage of only one of the three patrilineal groups with an endogamous tendency. It is tempting to think
[567] of the classes or castes of the Guaycurú /Guaicuru/, for example, and since there are reports which speak of temporary slaves, Murdock's information in this direction must be corrected (A1, with a tendency towards C1, instead of O; column 14). The
628 villages are politically autonomous, but the Carajá themselves
621 unite some villages in amphictyonies for the performance of
622 certain ceremonies. The hereditary succession of the chiefs
621 goes in the patrilineal line, a grandson being chosen as the candidate, or, if one is lacking, a granddaughter. Consequent-
[178] ly, there is a temporary matrilineal succession in the heart of the patrilineal group, for which there is reserved the role of the chief, who, incidentally, is on the way to complete disappearance (thus: Pp and m, for the Carajá themselves, Ap and m for the Javahé and Chambioá /Shambioa/; column 15).

●121 You would not wish me to end on this melancholy note.
[178] I repeat: a people small in number and too little known, despite appearances, is in the process of losing at least its traditional aspect, which would have been fascinating for comparative sociology as well as for the history of the South American Indians.

/46 cont./

121 sociology as well as for the history of the South American Indians. I hope, however, that my material can be useful in the discussion on the social structures of central Brazil recently started by Lévi-Strauss and Maybury-Lewis, even if it is not yet the right moment for me to enter into it from my side.

113 /47/ Bibliography

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Discussion

184 Professor H. Baldus emphasizes the necessity of considering geographical differences in the study of the social organization of the Carajá of the north and of the south.

/1/

I. The Karaya /Caraja/ Tribes on the Araguaia River (Goyaz) /pp. 4-97 /.

II. Concerning several Peoples on the Purus River (Amazonas) /untranslated/.

/Page 2 is blank. /

/3/

Foreword

C 114 12 The ethnological material communicated in the following is the result of a journey through little-known regions of the interior of Brazil, undertaken in connection with the second Xingu expedition of Dr. Carl von der Steinen, which set out at the beginning of the year 1887 in order to subject to closer study the wild tribes still living on a pre-Columbian level of culture in the source area of this river.

CI 12 174 One of the most important results of this expedition was the final solution of the Karaib /Carib/ question. That the original home of the Karaib tribes, whose ethnographic position had been so unclear up to now, was not to be sought in northeastern South America, but in the central regions of the continent was made sufficiently certain by the discovery of two large Karaib peoples in the Xingu source region, the Bakairi /Bacairi/ and Nahuqua, the more detailed investigation of their languages, and the fortunate discovery of the traditions concerning their migrations. It was then a matter of following the traces of those ancient displacements of peoples, of finding Karaib tribes which formed the connecting link between the two widely separated groups of this large family of peoples. Certain observations permitted the assumption that the Karaya (1) of the lower Xingu and the middle Araguaia

C 104

1. The spelling Karaya, instead of Caraja or Karaža, was chosen because the sound j in the mouths of the people themselves sounds like a German j (phonetic y). The soft sibilant ž occurs in their language only in the combination dž.

/4 cont./

Ar 101

1. (cont.)
the Apiaka /Apiaca/ of the upper and middle Tapajós, a true Tupi tribe. Externally they are distinguished from the latter by their tribal tattooing. Among the Apiaka of the Tapajós, the mouth region is tattooed black; those of the Tocantins are characterized by a blue line drawn from the outer corner of the eye to the corner of the mouth.

Ar [302]

Ar 167 [101] [97]

I met only civilized individuals, live farther in the interior. They actually proved to be the connecting link sought. They are a true Karaib tribe, closely related linguistically and somatically to the Bakairi, but only a ~~relatively~~ short time ago, about the middle of this century migrated from the upper Xingu or Tapajós region to the lower Tocantins. If migrations of such dimensions have taken place in recent times, their possibility at least cannot be ruled out for earlier periods.

C 114

From Manáos I undertook in the middle of December, 1888, a three-month trip to the primeval forest regions of the middle Purus, during which I became acquainted with three of the most important tribes of these regions. Because of unfavorable conditions, the yield in collection specimens was relatively small here. The exhaustion of my means, but in particular the poor health of my two companions, prevented extending the trip to the upper Purus regions and necessitated our return as early as the end of February. Nevertheless, this journey did contribute something toward the clarification of the distribution of peoples in these regions. Almost all the tribes there belong to the large Maipure of Nu-Aruak group (v.d. Steinen) and form the connecting link between the Nu tribes of Guiana and Colombia and those of Bolivia and Mato Grosso. Ascertaining this fact has substantially simplified the confused ethnographic picture of central South America.

C 121

C [101]

C 128

The following presentation is therefore devoted to the Karaya and the Purus tribes of the Yamamadi, Ipurina, and Paumari /Paumary/. All the other ethnological observations and inquiries, as well as all of the linguistic and anthropological material, will be reserved for special publications.

/34/

775 The souls of the dead, which, as mentioned above, are thought of as remaining for a while in the vicinity of the grave, later like to return to their former home. They appear to their relatives especially on stormy nights. When the rain streams [787] down and lightning brightens the darkness, the old people remember their dead relatives and attempt by loud lamentations and singing to put themselves in a state of artificial ecstasy, which finally conjures up in their aroused imaginations any desired phantom.

771 The animistic "religion," if one wishes to call it this, still lacks any ethical basis. It has not elevated itself to the acceptance of a higher, omnipotent spirit upon which man feels dependent in the expectation of punishment and reward for his actions. Thus there is also lacking anything which would indicate the external relationships of man to the godhead, idols, cult performances, prayers, etc. There are among them, however, those ceremonies from which apparently the higher cult forms have come everywhere in the world, the mysterious

535 Masked dances. The important role which such masked
121 dances play among the North American tribes is known everywhere. Until now remarkably little was known about the analogous customs on the southern continent. Only the dances of the Tekuna, Juri, and Uaupē tribes are mentioned in passing in the literature. The "temples" and "idols" which the oldest missionary reports mention are obviously nothing other than the "medicine huts" or "flute houses" with the fantastic mask costumes stored in them.

Only recently has the wealth of mask material brought back by the two Xingu expeditions again directed attention to these festive dances which are so important for an understanding of Indian life. Observations made later among the Karaya supplied a desirable supplement to this.

Their masked dances are of quite special interest ethnologically on account of the remarkable analogies which they exhibit in the form of the masks, as well as in other festive customs, with those of Melanesia. This correspondence goes into such

/34 cont./

535 detail that Kleinschmidt's description of the duck-duck festival
121 of New Britain would also fit mutatis mutandis the animal dances of the Karaya.

535 Castelnau, who first mentions them, obtained one of these
114 masks with great difficulty (1), but it was later lost, along with

1. Castelnau, op. cit., p. 441.

all the other collections, in the cataracts of the Tocantins. The depiction of a dance given by him on Plate IX of his Vues et scenes /Views and Scenes/ (Paris, 1852) is incorrect inasmuch as the lower trunk and legs of the dancers are not uncovered, as the illustration shows, but are hidden under long buriti hangings. Also the height of the headdresses seems exaggerated.

Later Spinola (2) published something about them and also

2. Op. cit., p. 45.

obtained some mask costumes for the anthropological exhibition in Rio (1882), which, however, never reached their destination, but were lost in Goyaz.

126 That I was successful in luckily bringing home some of the
535 most interesting masks I owe to the intervention of the chief Pedro
532 Manco, without whose intercession the superstitious mistrust of
[123] his fellow tribesmen could hardly have been overcome. These
[178] sacred objects had already been unwisely profaned several times by travelers, in particular by Spinola himself. Contrary to expecta-
532 tion, the most beautiful specimens were found among the
535 Karayahi, whose villages alone exhibit the above-described
184 "medicine huts." Smaller camps had, instead of them, simple semicircular compartments, open at the top and back, as Castelnau depicts them, whereas the huts are completely absent among the Šambioa. Probably in this case they had already been torn down again after the conclusion of the festivities. The palm-straw costumes collected there lay thrown in a heap in the nearby forest and are for that reason somewhat defective.

/iii/ Foreword

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[122] I undertook an ethnographic research expedition into central Brazil, the purpose of which was the scientific investigation, with the most modern methods and instruments, of the Indian tribes visited, as well as the salvaging of visible examples of their cultural life for the Leipzig Museum für Völkerkunde. Its
[101] goal was the region of the middle Araguaya /Araguaia/, between the 15th and 9th degrees, southern latitude, with the Indian tribes of the Karajá /Caraja/, Šavajé /Javahe/, Tapirapé, and Kayapó /Cayapo/.

114 The expedition set out on 29 January 1908 and returned to Leipzig on 7 February 1909. The program was, by and large, carried out; only the proposed advance to the west had to be cut short because of insurmountable geographical difficulties.

126 Abundant material in the form of observations of all kinds, photographs and phonographic recordings, sketchbook drawings, etc. was brought back. The ethnographic collection, containing more than 1,100 specimens, has been handed over to the Museum
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128 All the rest of the material is now to be presented to the public here.

As a first part, and before the actual results, I am giving a report on the expedition /the first part is omitted in the translation/. I regard this as very important; for the findings of the expedition can be properly evaluated only if one knows how they were obtained, in other words, the conditions under which the studies were made. Thus, the travel report gives the external course

128 /iv/ of the journey and, above all, deals in detail with life with the Indians, for it is only from this description that the research possibilities may be noted, especially the manifold restrictions to which one is subject, much against one's will. A brief cultural survey of the individual Indian tribes will be given, as well as all kinds of psychological and other material of general interest, which could not have been handled in this detailed and directly effective manner in the second part. I trust that I have thereby succeeded in delineating as faithful a picture of the life and ideas of these Indians as is possible. The report then, in brief outline, will include a survey of the geographical conditions of the areas traveled through, the method of travel, the cultural condition of the country, and will thus probably be able to offer all kinds of new things and give future travelers important pointers.

The second part, which deals with the findings, is thought of more as a reference work. I regard as most important the presentation of the material by means of illustrations and the addition of the necessary notes, examined and worked on from the scientific point of view and compared with the material from this region hitherto available. This has resulted in a strict division into those points that were personally observed, several times or only once, and those based merely on information. In my opinion, this division cannot be applied strictly enough if errors are not to creep in, which will then continue to be passed on. I have dealt with some data, which seemed very uncertain to me, in footnotes, in order to give subsequent researchers hints for further investigation. I believe that I am serving scholarship best by publishing the material by itself and only as such. For, in this way, it remains permanently utilizable. To be sure, this method, which makes no effort to solve problems and to prove far-reaching relationships, is regarded by some people as "antiquated," but I regard it as the only proper one, in order to determine the scientific value of every statement and thus provide sound material, which alone makes it possible for us to
121 further our knowledge. For this reason I am merely skirting the
128 question of the position of the Karajá with regard to the rest of the Indian tribes; in order to solve this major problem,

/iv cont./

121 comprehensive preliminary studies are required, since almost
128 all comparative studies in South American ethnography are as yet lacking. It will therefore be reserved for a later publication. I know that with this kind of self-limitation I am certain to have the approval of many of my colleagues.

122 Wherever I was, here at home or over in Brazil, the expedition found extensive help and support among people willing to assist us, /v/ and I do not wish to fail to express my warmest thanks to all of them. This thanks is owed first of all to the Council of the City of Leipzig and to the Leipzig City Council Board for the willingness with which they put at my disposal the means for the expedition, as well as to Herr Consul Dr. Herrmann Meyer, who was kind enough to make available a large sum for the enterprise to insure its subsequent successful completion and to assist me in an advisory and an active capacity with regard to the equipment. I owe equal thanks to Herr Prof. Dr. Weule and Herr W. v. d. Steinen for assistance and advice in working out the plan and assembling the scientific and personal equipment, and also to Herr Privy Councilor Prof. Dr. Hans Meyer for the use of instruments and rifles. No less effective was the assistance which my expedition found in Brazil itself. First of all, thanks are owed to the Imperial German authorities, especially to the Ambassador, Baron v. Reichenau, then to the gentlemen of the Consulate in Rio de Janeiro and to the Councilor of the Embassy Flügel in S. Paulo. They all gave me their assistance and procured for me extensive privileges from the Brazilian central government as well as the governments of the individual states, for which I should also like to express here my profound gratitude to these governments. Equal thanks are owed to our German countrymen, Herr Marxsen of Rio, Herr Naschold of S. Paulo, and Herr Ockinghaus of Goyaz /Goiás/, who, in an unselfish and devoted manner, supported me in every way and gave me the most valuable pointers which alone made it possible for me to carry out my entire journey according to schedule. And finally, but no less cordially, I must thank my camaradas who so willingly took upon themselves all the strain and effort, the German Adam, the

1:Lipkind E-5 (1937) 1948 SP9 Caraja SP9

THE CARAJÁ[1]

By William Lipkind

TRIBAL DIVISIONS AND TERRITORY

The *Carajá* are a river people who since pre-Columbian times have held as the central portion of their territory the inland Island of Bananal, which is formed by the great fork of the Araguaya River (lat. 8°–17° S., long. 48°–52° W., map 1, *No. 1*; see Volume 1, map 7). They must be regarded as an independent linguistic family for the present; their language displays no convincing similarities to any other recorded South American language.

The term *"Carajá"* is used to designate the entire people as well as the largest of the three tribal divisions; the other two are the *Shambioá* and the *Javahé*. The *Carajá* proper have 20 villages on the western or main branch of the Araguaya River, widely spread from Leopoldina south of Bananal clear down to the end of the Island. The *Shambioá*, now nearly extinct, have only two villages left, a little way below Conceição. The eight villages of the *Javahé* lie on the eastern or minor branch of the Araguaya River and on the small streams within Bananal. The general location and the relative sizes of the three groups have remained the same since the earliest times.

The native names give some notion of intergroup attitudes. All three groups regard themselves as a single people and use a name meaning "we" to distinguish themselves from other tribes. The *Carajá* proper are called the "great people" by the other two groups. The *Shambioá* are the "companion people." The *Javahé* are called by a name which is used generally to mean "Indian" and bears the pejorative connotation "backwoodsman" or "hick." There is a possible analysis which makes it the "old people" but, even if this etymology is correct, the word no longer has that meaning.

Dialectical differences are slight and other differences not very great, with the *Shambioá* occupying a middle position culturally between the other two groups. This account is based on field work with the *Carajá* proper and refers to the other groups only where they exhibit important differences.

[1] The present description of the *Carajá* is based on the author's field work during 1937, done under the auspices of the Department of Anthropology, Columbia University.

/1/ Preface

114 In the following I am publishing the material in the field of art which I collected on my expedition to the interior of Brazil. In 1908 I undertook an ethnographic research trip for the [101] [122] Leipzig Museum für Völkerkunde to the Araguaia River (Goiás Province), in the course of which I became acquainted with the Karajá /Caraja/, Šavajé /Javahe/, and Kayapó /Cayapo/ (1)

[104] [113] 1. For the transcription of the Indian names I use the sound-notation given by Meinhof in: Neumayer, Anleitung zu wissenschaftlichen Beobachtungen auf Reisen /Introduction to Scientific Observations on Journeys/, 3rd edition, p. 484.

Indian tribes settled there. Whereas the visit among the latter two tribes was limited to only a few days, I was in constant contact with the Karajá for a full five months, so that I was able to penetrate more deeply into the culture and thought world of this people.

126 In addition to the easily acquired ethnographic objects and most important ethnographic facts, I was also able, by means of an ever deeper intimacy with these Indians, to obtain all kinds of objects and information otherwise difficult to procure. In this way I was able, above all, to collect considerable material which permits us insight into the artistic creativity of the Indians, and thus into an important area of their spiritual life. And, moreover, this is not only drawings, which are already available from several Indian tribes, but above all a great many plastic representations (plaited, wax, and clay figures), which arouse our interest all the more since we possess only a few of these from South America. Again, among the drawings, in addition to figure representations, /2/ the manifold plaiting patterns are particularly important, since they will provide a valuable contribution on the question of ornamentation (1).

[101] 1. In the following, in addition to drawings

121 /43/ Three years ago G. P. Murdock published his "World Ethnographic Sample." It goes without saying that an endeavor of this scope can only be incomplete. Now, as far as the Carajá, one of the nine tribes classified under the heading "Eastern Brazil," are concerned, the set of 30 characteristic features of this society in Murdock's attempt displays significant gaps and serious inaccuracies. It is my intention, here and now, to remedy this state of affairs as well as possible, in order to contribute from my side, while concerning myself with only one case among 565, to a fairer calculation of the human probabilities.

114 To accomplish this task I shall use as a base the data that [122] I was able to collect personally, in the company of my wife [101] and aided by the National Swiss Foundation for Scientific Re- [127] search, during the rainy season of 1954 to 1955 among the Carajá of the south, as well as, naturally, on the information from our predecessors in the field, Ehrenreich, Krause, Baldus, and Lipkind above all. I am using this opportunity to express the great regret that I feel every time I think of the fact that the rich materials collected by Lipkind have never been published in a satisfactory fashion. The Carajá, although they have been known for a long time, are basically misunderstood. To be fair, it must be added that they themselves do not make the task of investigators easy, and it goes without saying that under these circumstances my own contribution must remain fairly fragmentary in view of the too short period of our stay among them.

121 On the other hand I am convinced that the presentation of facts alone — allegedly pure facts — does not help us to become better acquainted with the human condition, and the second aim of my article is to present to you a first attempt at interpretation of the data concerning the Carajá kinship system, which, not without reason, was left blank in Murdock's attempt.

128 To facilitate the comparison I shall follow the framework of the columns of the "World Ethnographic Sample." The 433 Carajá cultivate primarily tropical tubercles, although maize 19 is not lacking; true domesticated animals are absent. 462 [231]

/iii/ Foreword

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/v cont./

122 Brazilian Antonio, the Indians Pedro the Faithful, Benedicto the Merry, and the many other Indians who gladly and willingly helped me after the initial mistrust had vanished, and who, since I regarded myself as one of them, rewarded my confidence in them with equal confidence.

The printing costs were in part defrayed by the budget of the Museum für Völkerkunde with the participation of the Vereins für Völkerkunde zu Leipzig. To both bodies I should also like to express here my gratitude for this assistance.

Leipzig, May 1911 The Author.

000 /vi/

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6:Cook M-3,4 (ca.1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

648 forest, the course usually adopted, whether the work is done by "secular" agents, or by friars paid by the government, is to select a site within fifty or one hundred miles of the villages of the tribe, and erect the desired buildings. Then, when all is ready, the agents repair to the villages and try to secure a number of boys, either by making presents of knives and beads to the parents, or by kidnapping the children. This latter method was pursued with the Karayá, [593] for the parents refused to part with their children for any consideration. The friars are opposed to having the entire families of the Indians live near their schools. But, on the other hand, they do desire the mixed Portuguese speaking multitude—the ignorant, superstitious, immoral, rum-drinking people—called "the civilized ones," to "live at their feet." These people are more profitable to the friar than the Indians, for they give him much money to perform various priestly functions. But the primitive people have no money; nor have they learned to value these priestly services. Therefore, when the "school" is organized, the young savage, besides hearing the doctrine taught, has ample opportunity to see it exemplified.

122 I stayed with a private family at Leopoldina while waiting
000 to descend the river. In the meantime, I occupied myself going among the people, reading God's message to them and talking with them. I had many interesting and enjoyable experiences. I heard, long afterward, that the village blacksmith, with whom I had talked and left a Bible, was reading, or having it read to him daily, and was literally devouring it. It was the joy of his life. He would often exclaim with emotion as he listened to the reading. "Great is Jehovah!" Perhaps few who read these lines can understand the great worth of this Book to this sincere man in his declining years, dwelling at this remote, forsaken and forgotten spot, rarely reached by the fewest printed lines of any kind.

Another man, a visitor from up the river, was ill, and wished me to suggest a remedy for him. I thought that if he would forsake his vices, he would probably regain his

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

health. So I gave him a Bible and had a long talk with him. He said to me, "I am a Catholic, not a Republican," and displayed the coat of arms of the Brazilian monarchy tattooed on one wrist, a heart thrust with arrows on the other, and the initials of the heir to the throne over the spot where he thought his heart should be. Though steeped in vice, he thought himself a good man and an heir of heaven. He was astonished when I read to him some verses from God's Word; especially when I read Gal. V. 19-21, for he crossed himself in alarm. Once, he said he did not believe there was a Devil, or a hell—that the man himself was the Devil. I replied that this might be true in some cases.

I found the people of Leopoldina extremely poor. One of the leading men, who was intelligent and industrious, got a Bible from me. Days having passed without his handing me the thirty cents asked for the book, the fact was disclosed that he did not possess even this much money, but had hoped to get it in payment for somework. Failing to get it, he returned the book; but I, apprised of the situation, made him retain the book. Scarcely any currency was in circulation. So they bartered: any one needing rice traded beans for it, or gave a fishhook in exchange for some line. They tried to sell me old jewelry and other junk in order to realize some cash.

One day, I went fishing on the Araguaya with the Cherentes in a big canoe. It was an experience which afforded me keen pleasure, and of which I shall always cherish lively memories. Everything was strange and wonderful to me;—my unusual companions and our boat; the great, red torrent of the river into which many streams were vomiting logs, brush heaps and other débris, that, falling into line, moved down the river in a long, solemn procession; the tropical surroundings of the river; the angling for large fish; the many great beasts that I saw sporting in the water, and lastly, the flocks of birds of flaming plumage that stocked the air.

At length, the day came to begin our long, strange voyage down the river. We had secured for the purpose three canoes.

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

122 The largest, which carried the bulk of our effects, was made by heating a big dugout over the fire, spreading it, then building side planks on this foundation, and roofing the stern half with palm-branches. The second canoe was merely a big dugout; while the third was a small dugout with which to run about and fish. It required much skill to stow our voluminous baggage in the canoes.

The embarkation was a regal event to the people of Leopoldina. The entire population, dressed in festal attire, came down to the river to see us off. I thought my companions would never get through leave-taking; there was almost no end of conversing and embracing. Our party consisted of the teacher and her son, her black cook and half-breed Chavante attendant, the five Cherentes, and myself. We had also twelve dogs and pups which some one fancied we would need. Some days later, we added to our crew two black men and three Karayá Indians. We had no need of so many men; but they assisted mightily to devour our limited supply of provisions.

000 At last, all was ready for the pomp and pageantry of the embarkation; and pushing off, we swung out into the current in the presence of a numerous company, amid the firing of guns, the bursting of dynamite rockets, the blowing of bugles and horns, the yelling and cheering of the people, and the barking and yelping of the dogs. This is a characteristic Brazilian way of doing things. Considering the character and conduct of our company, we were very far from being a missionary party, I much regret to confess. Moreover, I saw with dismay, after we had cast off, that the canoe men had been supplied with *cachaça*, the native rum, and were intoxicated; worse, that there was a demijohn of the brutalizing liquid in the second canoe. So, the navigating we did was scarcely more intelligent than that of a rotten log. The alcoholized men paddled and splashed wildly about, yelling continually in mad glee; while our cargo of dogs, appearing to really understand the seriousness of the situation, howled a dirge. We were in great danger of being thrown upon the rocks and

7:Lipkind E-5 (1938-1939) 1940
SP9 Caraja SP9

CARAJÁ COSMOGRAPHY

By William Lipkind

The Carajá are an isolated people inhabiting a large territory slightly north of the geographical center of Brazil. During 1938 and 1939 I lived with the Carajá and collected a large body of textual material which forms the basis of the generalized presentation of Carajá world-view which follows.[1]

The Carajá universe is very small. Their own territory (Bananal), an island formed by a large fork of the Araguaya river is its center. To the west the great Chavante plateau stretches out to the huge river in which the sun goes down. All night the sun moves through the underworld and in the morning he comes up out of another river which is the eastern boundary of the world. If you paddle many days downriver, you will come to a village of the transformer Kanashiwe, the world's northern limit. An equal journey upstream will take you to its southern limit, another village of Kanashiwe.

The Carajá are perfectly acquainted with the middle portion of this parallelogram. Every beach, high bank, wood and lake along the Araguaya, every body of water and distinctive patch of ground within Bananal, is known and has a name. The tributaries are known in less detail and only up to a few days' journey from their mouths. Inland from the rivers their knowledge peters out after a short distance and you are soon in mythical country.

To the Carajá this world seems very large. The journey to its northern and southern limits is the initiation journey of the dead. No man since legendary times has gone very far toward the eastern and western boundaries, and, besides, there are two other dimensions, the underworld and the sky.

In the underworld, the original home of the Carajá, there was neither sickness nor death. As the emergence myth states, "More people kept being born. Nobody died. There wasn't room enough. When a man got old, he sat there in one place without moving. Kaboi couldn't add any more houses to the village. It was full. A new father was lying on the mat. It was time to eat honey. He went off hunting honey. While he was hunting he heard a *seriema* (Portuguese name of a bird) sing. He scooped a hole toward it and came out. He found fruit at once and decided to return. When he got back he gave his folk the fruit to taste. They found it very good and wanted to come out. They invited the others to come with them. Wobedu sent his folk out first and he went first among them. Kaboi came

[1] The work was financed by Columbia University.

/3 cont./

a) Plaiting with Oaguassu Pinnae

(Plate I) 1

*532 285 In plaiting the form is most strongly dependent on the material, which during the plaiting makes all kinds of bends and angles, and these are adapted only with difficulty to the form to be represented. The artist cannot create so freely as, for example, in clay or wax. Therefore if a figure coming very close to the natural form is achieved with plaiting, this must be acknowledged as very high artistic skill.

The Karajá Indians are basically good plaiters; all their baskets, mats, and the plaiting around objects are neatly and tastefully executed. It is therefore not surprising that they have also reached a high level in plaiting figures. It is to be noted in [462] this connection that the /4/ plaiting of figures is practiced only by the male sex, just as only the objects plaited by men show patterns, whereas all the plaited work produced by women is unpatterned.

*532 285 123 The plaited figures described below were made by boys and youths as a pastime, in part before my eyes and on their own initiative. Thus, for example, I obtained those of the Šavajé when we were holding a conversation hour in the evening by the mask hut, and I, in order to stimulate the people, pulled a leaf pinna from my sitting-mat and began to plait. Scarcely had I begun than the young people immediately followed my example and produced for me a great number of interesting figures.

*532 285 [171] The method of plaiting is in part the one customary among us. For example, figures such as the small basket (Fig. 1 /see p. 47 /) and the honeycombs (Fig. 2 /see p.47 /) are also made in our kindergartens.

The reproductions of the rattlesnake (Fig. 3 /see p.47/), the tobacco pipe (Fig. 4 /see p.47 /), and the very accomplished representations of birds (Fig. 5 a and b /see p.47 /), however, are already more complicated.

1 [see p. 47--Analyst]

/10 cont./

d) Wax Figures

(Plates IV-VI)

*532 Boys and youths very much like to make wax figures for fun. [232] [574] Wax pigs in particular could be encountered in the hands of small boys almost everywhere. I found an occasional one of another shape here and there in the baskets; all the others were made [123] spontaneously before my eyes when the Indians had seen my interest in such figures, and indeed of their own free judgment, not at my request. Thus these figures show the activity of spontaneous free creation by these Indians. There were skillful and un- [463] skillful modelers among them; one boy and one youth in particular distinguished themselves by lively reproductions.

The wax figures represent human beings and animals. [184] They all stem from the northern horde of the Karajá; I found none among the southern horde. The three best representations of human figures come from the Šavajé.

/11/ The human forms show many correspondences with the stylized forms of the clay dolls; only five of them stand out due to their true-to-life representation.

*532 I obtained five specimens of male figures from the Karajá, 126 one of which (Fig. 63 /see p. 50 /) represents a Šavajé youth. Of the nine female examples six come from the Karajá and three from the Šavajé. Three examples from the Karajá represented Karajá women (Figs. 60, 61 /see p.50 /); the three others, which, as an exception, were made by a woman, represented Tapirapé women (Fig. 62 /see p50 /). These two groups remind one much more strongly of the clay figures, whereas the three figures from the Šavajé (Figs. 65 and 66 /see p. 50 /) represent the most accomplished forms.

*532 The primitively made human-figures look like clay figures covered with wax.

Fig. 57 /see p. 50 / has legs of type 1 of the clay dolls and arms attached at the sides. Head and hair form a triangle pointed toward the top.

/34 cont./

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114 masks with great difficulty (1), but it was later lost, along with

1. Castelnau, op. cit., p. 441.

all the other collections, in the cataracts of the Tocantins. The depiction of a dance given by him on Plate IX of his Vues et scenes /Views and Scenes/ (Paris, 1852) is incorrect inasmuch as the lower trunk and legs of the dancers are not uncovered, as the illustration shows, but are hidden under long buriti hangings. Also the height of the headdresses seems exaggerated.

Later Spinola (2) published something about them and also

2. Op. cit., p. 45.

obtained some mask costumes for the anthropological exhibition in Rio (1882), which, however, never reached their destination, but were lost in Goyaz.

126 That I was successful in luckily bringing home some of the
535 most interesting masks I owe to the intervention of the chief Pedro
532 Manco, without whose intercession the superstitious mistrust of
[123] his fellow tribesmen could hardly have been overcome. These
[1178] sacred objects had already been unwisely profaned several times by travelers, in particular by Spinola himself. Contrary to expecta-
532 tion, the most beautiful specimens were found among the
535 Karayahi, whose villages alone exhibit the above-described
184 "medicine huts." Smaller camps had, instead of them, simple semicircular compartments, open at the top and back, as Castelnau depicts them, whereas the huts are completely absent among the Šambioa. Probably in this case they had already been torn down again after the conclusion of the festivities. The palm-straw costumes collected there lay thrown in a heap in the nearby forest and are for that reason somewhat defective.

/358 cont./

301 Dance belts (wǎdǎkǎnǎ) of the male youth are not as elaborate as those of the Karajá, but are kept essentially simpler. One specimen is striped black and white lengthwise; on its lower edge, on a separate string, hang two bunches of Thevetia fruits and one to three feather rods, alternately. The other one, coming from Schischá, in addition to the lengthwise stripes, exhibits a cross-striping; on its lower edge, directly alternating, are fastened at each place two pairs of Thevetia fruits and one feather rod (Pl. 59, Ill. 12).

262 6. Food. The Šavajé, like the Karajá, live on the fish that they catch and the yield from their plantings. The lake
136 on which they live is extremely rich in fish, in spite of its shallow depth (0.75 to one meter); there were even pirarucús
311 in it. The planting lay far from the village, about six or seven hours away, on the edge of the rainy-season lake. It was growing extremely well and so thickly that one could scarcely follow the path in it. Close beside the new planting there was an older one.
482 Here and there filled back-baskets lay by the wayside, waiting to be picked up.

252 The manioc is pounded in a knee-high mortar (kōŏ) which
[912] has an approximately finger-thick wall, with a pestle (hāáû) of reddish wood 1.6 meters long and 0.10 meters thick, or it is rubbed on a wooden grater (wōlānǎkiǎ), /359/ picked over on the rod-sieve (brēdjě), and pressed in it. Then this meal is
262 mixed with water and cooked. Such manioc mush (ĩũãlŭ) also constitutes the chief food of the Šavajé. In addition, I also saw yellow mush and green vegetables as festive foods.

286 Fishing was done by the young people with bows and arrows. Early in the morning they would already go out on the
• [123] lake and soon return with a good yield. I received my share of everything, even of the huge pirarucú which was caught on the second forenoon. The lucky fisherman took out the entrails of the animal and then cut out the sides of the belly, which were distributed by the chief and placed on different piles. Then the rib pieces of three ribs each were chopped out and likewise distributed. Every family received its share; I, too, was given some.

/359 cont./

Ill. 194.
Braided tobacco.

of monkey skin (djūlēnĭ; Pl. 61, Ill. 2). The tobacco pipes (wăliōnă) are made of jequitiba fruit; they all bear the groove around the front opening and are colored reddish.

The Savajé seem to keep supplies at home only in small quantities. /360/ On the second day they were already asking me to depart, since they had nothing more to eat. The food for my five Karajá, in addition to whom there appeared four more from Korumaré's village, had depleted their stores; in view of my presence, however, they hesitated to leave the village, so that I was finally obliged to yield to their wishes.

7. Concerning the weapons, there is likewise nothing new to report. The bows (djūhădĕ) are either undecorated or bear white wrappings, a maize leaf, and a feather tassel, like the Karajá bow (Ill. 110). It is handled in such a way that the left hand grasps the bow in the center, so that the arrow goes between the second and third finger; the second to fifth finger of the right hand draws the bow string; the arrow lies between the second and third finger.

Ill. 195 a-c.
Savajé arrows.
a) Lashing at the point of attachment.
b) Feathering.
c) Wooden-knob tip.

As for arrows (wōhŭ), I encountered

/365 cont./

534 11. Musical instruments are also very rare among the Šavajé. I did not see flutes with gourd resonance; on the other hand, there were flutes made of gourds themselves. The bottle-shaped gourd has a round opening on the broad end, a rectangular one laterally on the narrow end (Ill. 208). This flute is called ǎdjũlõnǎ. The other flute, also called lõkũ, consists of a long gourd open on both sides. On one opening there are traces of wax, as though a special mouthpiece had

Ill. 208.
Gourd flute.

been attached there. Perhaps a taquara flute had been attached there, as is customary among the Kayapó. Whistles made of leaf plaiting with a reed are also present here (dũlĕhĕ). The chief instrument among the Šavajé, too, is the gourd rattle (wã̄lũ), which was usually undecorated. Only one specimen bears a few feathers on the upper handle end.

[184] In their artistic activity the Šavajé follow in the footsteps of the Karajá. In this connection I refer to my article: "Die Kunst der Karajáindianer /The Art of the Caraja Indians/."

622 12. Political and Social. The chief seems to play a considerable
123 role among the Šavajé. In the village that I visited there was none; a man who was probably appointed for this instance represented his office. He put me up in his house, along with my men. He remained by my side the whole time. In purchases he acted as intermediary, finally led me through all the houses, told the people my wishes, and helped to determine the purchase price. When we left the village, he accompanied us across the lake and several hundred meters farther into the campo before he took his leave.

574 The reception ceremony was strange. Even before arriving in the village, my Karajá had made themselves a black band across the

/366 cont./

526 The wrestling was very similar to that of the Karajá. If
574 one bout were not accepted, the challengers made a gesture of rejection with their arms, turned around, and went back to their row. Then one of them walked forward again, assumed the position of rest in the center, with his back to the opponents, and
[516] shouted until one of the latter accepted. The resting position was
[184] identical with that of the Karajá: they stood with the upper part of the body bent over and rested the arms on the knee. The victor performed a dance in front of the loser, shouting loudly; upon walking away, he moved his left hand over the head of the defeated one. Here, too, the chief stood on the side of the guests.

574 Only after the return from the wrestling match was food put before the Karajá; only now were they regarded as accepted and permitted to disperse into the individual houses.

843 Upon my departure from the village a strange ceremony took
628 place, the meaning of which, I believe, is that a girl made
123 pregnant during previous visits of Karajá was sent along with the Karajá to await the birth among them; whether she would then return could not be definitely ascertained; perhaps she went to the Karajá as a village prostitute. Shortly before departure, the chief took me by the hand and led me into the neighboring house. Here an obviously pregnant girl was sitting and /367/ spinning. She had to get up and lay her work aside; the chief's wife took off her neck ornament (I had already bought her leg bands from her in the morning). The girl then had to take a second bast apron and her net covering and go with us to the boat. Apparently this was very little to the girl's liking, for she wept bitterly and only gradually calmed down. The chief then made long speeches to me, the meaning of which, however, I could not understand. On the way, the girl was under the special charge of my Indian guide, who allegedly was her cousin. He was very gallant to her, carried her covering, brought food on a plate, etc. The girl always walked closely in front and behind him.

535 The masked dance that I saw among the Šavajé was a Īdjăzŏ
[184] dance and very similar to that of the Karajá. It took place on the first evening. The two masks stood side by side in front of the hut,

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca.1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

The largest fish in the river are eight or ten feet in length 136
and encased in an armor of big scales. Still other fish will be mentioned later.

After a five o'clock dinner one afternoon, we cast off again 000
in order to take advantage of the current during the early part of the night. How strangely beautiful and romantic were the scenes that encircled us as we were borne quietly along on the bosom of the mighty, silent, placid flood and the shadows of night, pursuing the fleeing day, stole slowly over us! The boundless forest on both sides of the river, standing, or kneeling down into the water, seemed a vast guard of honor presenting arms, or two grand armies standing at attention. At length, calm and solemn night enveloped us in her sombre mantle. Two hours later, the full moon arose like a Queen of Glory in all her splendor, and radiated a flood of brilliant, delicious light that glorified river and forest and transfigured the savage world through which we were silently moving like spectres. I felt like exclaiming in the words of the Psalmist, "Praise ye him, sun and moon: Praise him all ye stars of light!"

Soon, we reached a little hamlet called São José, that at [361]
the time of our visit, was in an advanced state of decay. This was the last outpost of "civilization," and the few people who lived here were cut off from the rest of the world and barely managed to eke out an existence. As I was sitting in our canoe one evening while we tarried here, some large fish heads that had been lying on the beach were thrown into the water; and the instant they struck the water, several fish one to two or more feet in length shot out of the water in the vicinity and glided, or ricochetted over the surface in every direction. They were frightened, apparently, by the large heads. We bought a fat cow here for three dollars and fifty cents and salted the meat down; but as the curing was not properly done, we finally lost the meat. 123

We found a small group of the Karayá living at São José. [162]
We met the Karayá for the first time just before arriving here. They interested me greatly. Doubtless I appeared no

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

123 less strange to them than they did to me. Charles Darwin describes the deep feelings he experienced when he found himself face to face for the first time with primitive man. I, too, can never forget the hour when I first gazed upon man in his primitive state. The memory of it will ever remain vivid, and as one of the most interesting experiences of my life. One could easily imagine, at first, that he belonged to a lower order of creatures than the *homo sapiens*. If so, better acquaintance soon revealed him to be truly a man in every respect—a true human soul, though far from God in the jungles of ignorance and superstition—one of the lost ones whom Christ came to seek and to save.

291 [302] The men were entirely nude, and painted from head to foot a dull, yellowish red with a mixture of fish oil and the fruit of the burity-palm. The women were painted like the men, but wore an item of covering made of a strip of inner bark eight feet long and ten inches broad. It is passed around the body and between the legs, and hangs down in front like an apron. At a distance, it resembles a strip of brown canvas. It is beaten and worked, when taken from the tree, until it has some degree of flexibility. Nevertheless, it must be uncomfortable to wear.

764 A Karayá died while we were detained at São José. We were made aware of the event by the incessant howling, wailing and loud lamentations of the female relatives of the deceased. Visiting the hut of mourning at dawn, we found the family busy decorating the corpse for burial by gumming rings of white feathers around the limbs, wailing and chanting as they worked. Afterward, the body was rolled in the palm-leaf mat which had been the bed of the deceased during life, placed in a canoe, and taken down the river to the tribal cemetery. Karayá funerals will be more fully described in future pages.

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

262

"Monkey."
"What are you going to do with him?"
"Eat him—me like him much." [224]
"How did you catch him?"
"Me shoot him with an arrow."

Continuing our voyage at dawn, we encountered before 609
noon another cluster of Karayá huts on a sand island. Before [361]
we could get to shore, the natives ran out into the water [439]
to meet us, and surrounding our canoes, eagerly offered us balls of black beeswax and pottery in trade for what they supposed we had. It was amusing to see a Karayá couple trying to make a trade with our only woman voyager for a man's gauze undershirt. I could not but think of how the poor savage would appear with only that shirt on. He wanted it, [291] he motioned, to shield himself from the cold at night, and from the flies by day.

We passed the next night at another group of huts on [361] the sand. These Karayá who were very cordial, were expecting us for the news of our approach had preceded us; so they gave us a royal welcome. The *mayor of the city*— [222] the chief of the local horde—appeared arrayed in a complete [292] suit of civilian's clothes, consisting of white linen trousers and vest, black coat and hat. These he wore merely as decorations, not as a covering, for these people consider themselves fully and properly dressed without any such apparel. It was a remarkable sight indeed to us to descry in the gloaming, as we approached the land, what appeared to be a well-dressed representative of advanced civilization entirely alone in a remote, howling wilderness, surrounded by nude and painted savages. He had obtained these garments somewhere from a trading boat. We were escorted in state to a large hut where were assembled all the human inhabitants of the [526] island; and after the reception, we witnessed the wrestling game of which the Karayá are very fond, which will be described fully in future pages.

The same night, as I was sleeping soundly in the open 123
air in my hammock, which was swung between two stakes

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca.1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

set in the sand with a ridge pole bound to them to hold them in position, I was rudely awakened with, "Arise, Mr. William! It is raining!" Truly, it was raining. So I draped my tent over the ridge pole above the hammock, but having no pins, I could fasten it open only slightly by piling sand on the edges. Wishing to protect our canoe men from the weather, I remarked to one or two that they might lie down inside, under the hammock. My back was turned for a moment, and when I again looked in under my canvas, I found the place packed with Karayá, Cherentes, Africans and Brazilians. This mass of humanity so contaminated the air that I finally slept with my head partly outside. 123

The Karayá hovered about us in their canoes most of the time as we traveled. When possible, we avoided eating our meals at their encampments as we would have to share our food more or less with them, and our supply of rice and manioc meal was scarcely sufficient for our own requirements. Nevertheless a few of them usually contrived to appear among us while we were preparing our food. Late one afternoon as we disembarked for dinner, a cold, drizzling rain was falling and no Karayá were in sight. But, they soon began to appear in twos and threes, as if they had scented us miles away, until finally, a dozen or more were standing around eyeing our boiling pots with hungry looks. The next object that attracted their curious attention after contemplating our dinner, was the young Karayá that had joined us as a paddler at São José. He took very kindly to the shirt and trousers given him, though he would slip out of them most unceremoniously when he wished to drop into the water to secure an oar, for example, that had fallen overboard. At length, he was given a military overcoat with a hood, which he wore when there was rain. Therefore on the occasion just mentioned, he stood near the fire as the twilight deepened, wearing the coat fully buttoned and having the hood drawn over his head, partly obscuring his face. The arriving Karayá seemed at a loss, at first, to determine just what *it* really was, except that a suspicious pair of brown feet and ankles pro- 609

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

truded below the coat. They eyed it carefully from head 609
to foot, riveting their gaze for a moment on the feet, then slyly opened the hood a little to peer in; and when they saw the physiognomy of their savage brother with nearly all the paint wore off, grinning at them from away back in the dark, they were highly amused.

A Karayá village we visited near the mouth of the Rio das 36
Mortes—River of the Deaths—is so remote and out of touch [19]
with civilization that the inhabitants understand scarcely anything of the Brazilian language. Nor are they cordial to 609
strangers, regarding them, instead, with suspicion, for the [72]
reason that they are subject to attacks by the Chavante Indians who live up the Rio das Mortes. While we were 123
calling here, one of the women sought to obtain a shirt from [29]
me for her young son. To make me understand what she [20]
wanted, she used the sign language, imitating one's movements when a mosquito bites one on the shoulder and he crushes it, the drawing on of a shirt, and the feeling of contentment that "mosquito no bite more."

My umbrella aroused the curiosity of the savages wherever we went. Knowing that it opened somehow, one of them took it once and stood it point downward, apparently expecting it to open. As it did not do so, he passed it to me to show him and his companions how it worked. As I opened it suddenly and it spread its wings, like some old, black goblin about to fly on an evil errand, the women uttered a low scream of fear and surprise. They often felt of my linen coat and trousers, and my shirt, then made signs to me that these articles were very good to protect one from the flies and mosquitoes. They evidently thought that this was my only reason for wearing clothes. They also fingered my hat and boots, and pulled my mustache to ascertain if it were real, or false, and gazed at me as I wrote my journals for writing was a mystery to them. To many of them I was a freak well worth going a long way to see.

The Christmas season occurred while we were in the sav- 600
age world of the Araguaya. What an extraordinary Christ-

Brazil.

Returning to our canoes, we saw a wild fruit tree growing close to the water—its habitat—the fruit of which the Brazilians call *orásu*. It resembles a reddish plum, but has a double stone and is very acid. But it is a very wholesome fruit and would make, I imagine, an excellent sauce. The tree appears to be partly a climber, for the limbs, which are one or two inches thick, maintain a uniform size throughout their length, and coil around one another, serpent like. 137

The river was now a mile or more broad and the navigation very open; so, wishing to take advantage of the current as much as possible, we reembarked after a five o'clock dinner one day and floated along quietly hour after hour in the obscurity until past midnight. Then, desiring to find a sandbar on which to sleep until morning, we at last descried a gray outline and pulled for it. Happening to enter shallow water, we grounded before getting close to shore, and lost a pike overboard. But just as we were getting afloat again, we suddenly heard a shuffling sound coming from the shore close by; and looking that way, our hearts stood still as we beheld the dusky forms of thirty or forty naked and painted savages rushing down upon us fully armed with long war lances and heavy killing clubs, ready to scatter our brains on the beach. We now discovered that we were innocently attempting to land just above a portable Karayá village, the existence of which, at this place, was not known even to our pilot, Pedro Monco. Our creeping up here at the dead of night without giving any signals announcing who we were, and if we were friends or foes, had convinced the villagers that we were enemies. 114 123 721 [411] [361] [596]

The situation in which we found ourselves was extremely critical for a few minutes. But the natives, seeing who we were, paused briefly, which gave us an opportunity to communicate with them and explain matters, and also to make them some presents to pacify them. Our large canoe only was involved in this midnight adventure, the other having pulled up elsewhere for the night; so our party was small. Our canoe was drawn up on the sand, and the savage band stood 123

123 about us, fully armed, maintaining silence and appearing bellicose. At length, the entire band drew off about fifty yards, then began to discharge volleys of blood-curdling yells, such as only wild men or maniacs can utter. Though we had [526] heard these yells before, we did not know if it was "the shout of war," or only a challenge to the wrestling game. Greatly to our relief, it was the latter. We now knew that we were in no immediate danger; though we had felt that as they had not attacked us at first, they would now be loathe to do so openly. After the wrestling game, the savages gradually became friendly to us, and began, at last, to retire to their huts in twos and threes until only a few were near us. The hour was now three A. M., so wrapping my blanket about me, I stretched myself on the sand to sleep a little, though we could not feel sure that we would not be attacked for the sake of our baggage. A party of six Brazilians who were [609] descending the Araguaya some months previous to the time of our trip, were clubbed to death near this place for their baggage.

This was a night of experiences that we shall not soon forget. When we were first surrounded, one of our party, especially, acted very imprudently, though with good intentions: He blew a bugle endeavoring to call to our aid the other canoes which were really far distant from us. This calling for help could accomplish nothing, and but served to excite greater suspicion in the minds of the savages and precipitate an attack. I think I was as much frightened as any one, yet I saw that to retain self-command was far the wisest course to pursue.

513 The sleep of these children of Nature is more like that of 721 the other wild creatures of the woods than of human beings. The night is much the same as the day to them. They are up and down during the night, just as during the day, ever vigilant, and living in constant expectancy of the sudden appearance of an enemy. It is almost impossible to approach their encampment without their knowledge, though one move never so stealthily.

/274 cont./

411 [177] of a native word for the instrument at least leads to the conclusion that the implement, too, is not native.

Note. By way of supplement, I must here discuss two implements about which the Indians gave me information that could not be checked at all. It was my principle to inquire [125] systematically about everything that might possibly occur; and where the description was not adequate, I made models. Thus, I demonstrated a stone sling to the Indians. They then told me, in agreement in various villages, that this instrument (nĕrŭdĭ) was familiar to them, but that they did not use it because of a scarcity of stones. Allegedly they had taken it over from the [177] Brazilians. It /275/ was impossible for me to induce the Indians to make such an instrument.

Even more dubious are the statements about the boomerang. My informant Kurišĭ, whom, on the basis of my other experiences, I must regard as trustworthy, told me: his mother told him in his childhood that the Karajá of the north horde had a stick (ĭādĕzĕ) that came back when it was thrown. He had not seen such an implement; it must therefore have fallen into disuse long ago, I was unable to gain confirmation of these two statements; I am therefore repeating them here with all reservations.

411 714 The Indians do not have defensive weapons. Against blows they protect themselves merely with the hand and the arm. They ward off flying arrows with the club; they do not know how to divert them with the spear, with bow or arrow. They have no real protection against the recoil of the bowstring; the recoil is even said to be very painful. It is somewhat mitigated by the arm cuff (dĕši); a person who does not wear cuffs, like the married men, wraps bast around his lower arm; this apparently occurs only in war, however, for I did not notice anything of the kind for fishing.

714 Amulets are lacking; they use only a charm against arrow 715 shooting; a disk ten centimeters in diameter and made out of scraped pieces of the bowstring is glued on both sides of the chest with resin. They believe that no arrow can then hit the chest.

/1/ Preface

114 In the following I am publishing the material in the field of art which I collected on my expedition to the interior of Brazil. In 1908 I undertook an ethnographic research trip for the [101] [122] Leipzig Museum für Völkerkunde to the Araguaia River (Goiás Province), in the course of which I became acquainted with the Karajá /Caraja/, Šavajé /Javahe/, and Kayapó /Cayapo/ (1)

[104] [113]

1. For the transcription of the Indian names I use the sound-notation given by Meinhof in: Neumayer, Anleitung zu wissenschaftlichen Beobachtungen auf Reisen /Introduction to Scientific Observations on Journeys/, 3rd edition, p. 484.

Indian tribes settled there. Whereas the visit among the latter two tribes was limited to only a few days, I was in constant contact with the Karajá for a full five months, so that I was able to penetrate more deeply into the culture and thought world of this people.

• 126 In addition to the easily acquired ethnographic objects and most important ethnographic facts, I was also able, by means of an ever deeper intimacy with these Indians, to obtain all kinds of objects and information otherwise difficult to procure. In this way I was able, above all, to collect considerable material which permits us insight into the artistic creativity of the Indians, and thus into an important area of their spiritual life. And, moreover, this is not only drawings, which are already available from several Indian tribes, but above all a great many plastic representations (plaited, wax, and clay figures), which arouse our interest all the more since we possess only a few of these from South America. Again, among the drawings, in addition to figure representations, /2/ the manifold plaiting patterns are particularly important, since they will provide a valuable contribution on the question of ornamentation (1).

[101] 1. In the following, in addition to drawings

/2 cont./

126 [101]

1. (cont.)
and representations by the Karajá, I have also dealt with some by the Šavajé, a tribe which in language and culture is very closely related to the Karajá.

121 In view of the interest which ethnologists, psychologists, art historians, and cultivated circles in general display today with respect to primitive art, I felt that the exceedingly abundant material collected by me should be published separately, apart from the other results of my expedition, among which it would have fallen too far into the background.

121 128 I am reproducing the material as such, arranged only according to certain points of view, which can be seen from the "Table of Contents," and provided with the most important explanations about the maker, the method of production, the purpose and significance of the object or figure. I hope that the individual things are defined so precisely by this means that no doubts and misinterpretations can arise, so that, in other words, anyone, whatever his position on particular theories about the development of primitive art, can work with this material on a secure basis. The article is meant simply as a straightforward publication of material. I believe that research is better served in this way than if I myself, ay an analysis of my results, had tried to assume a position on the great controversies about the development of primitive art which are being argued at the present time.

128 To make the material still more useful I am giving in the appendix /untranslated; see the foreign text, pp. 30-31/ a general view of the share which the two related tribes, the Karajá and Šavajé, have in it, and then also a general view of the distribution of the sketchbook drawings among the individual artists, arranged according to their ages, and finally a systematic listing of all the objects represented.

126 128 The objects discussed are all to be found in the Museum für Völkerkunde at Leipzig. On occasion reference has been made to the objects acquired by Ehrenreich in 1888 on the Araguaia and

/2 cont./

128 126 now in the Berlin Museum für Völkerkunde (2). I have not gone

[113]

2. Published in: Ehrenreich, "Beiträge zur Völkerkunde Brasiliens /Contributions to the Ethnography of Brazil/," Veröffentlichungen aus dem Kgl. Museum für Völkerkunde, Vol. II, Nos. 1/2, Berlin, 1891.

into any detailed comparison of my material with that brought back from the Xingu by the Von den Steinen cousins and from the Rio Negro territory by Koch-Grünberg. A general comparison [53] shows the interesting fact that the Karajá are on a significantly higher level of development artistically than those primitive tribes.

/3/

Introduction

*532 531 The artistic activity of the Karajá is limited to interior art. This is divided into free (representative) art and decorative art.

Free art here is concerned with the representation of the forms of living creatures and objects, which it reproduces in full form (plastic) or superficially (in drawings); decorative art, the adornment of objects with geometric patterns.

*532 128 In representative art we pursue the reproduction of forms plastically in different materials, whereby we pass from the most brittle (plaiting with leaves) through fairly hard (clay and wood) to the most pliable (wax). In representation by drawing we consider first the types familiar to the Indian, in sand and on gourd utensils /Cuyen/, and only then the method of reproduction in a sketchbook, foreign to him until now. Each time the development from the simplest to the most accomplished form is shown, but it is not known whether this is really the course of the development, or whether simpler forms might perhaps represent stylizations which arose at later stages, whereas the most accomplished forms are only the result of particularly high personal talent.

/5 cont./ Then later

*532 on a tree in the forest near the Šavajé settlement, I saw the adjacent
831 relief of the female sexual organs (Fig. 15 /see p. 7/) driven in with an ax. It had been hewed there previously by a Karajá accompanying me.

c) Clay Figures (lĭkŏkŏ)

(Plates II-IV)

*532 [524] [462] Clay is much more pliable; in it forms can be reproduced true to nature. The clay figures, which are made by the women and serve as toys for the girls, include only representations of human figures of both sexes and of all ages; they represent the following tribes: Karajá, Šavajé, Kayapó, and finally the Dōbāĭ on the Rio das Mortes. Such clay figures were present in large numbers in all villages and were offered to me everywhere. Wherever the stock [126] was exhausted, some were quickly made for me, which, however, I seldom bought because they showed exactly the same typical forms as the figures on hand, that is to say, they showed no personal influence of any kind. Only once did I receive a portrait, the representation of the grandmother bent with age (Plate III, Fig. 42 /see p.49 /). Now it is very striking to observe that these representations are completely stylized. To be sure, several levels can be distinguished here, but only in the case of a few examples is a reasonably accurate reproduction of the shape of the human body achieved.

*532 323 Before I discuss the forms themselves, I wish to report briefly on the method used to produce these figures. Bodies, legs, and head are made from a lump of clay. The fat buttocks and the penis are put on separately; the navel is bored in with a wooden stick. Then the lines for the later painting are pressed in with a slender bamboo rod by drawing the rod lightly over the soft clay and at the same time exerting light pressure at regular intervals. In this way lines with small holes strung along in a row like beads are produced. When the figure is prepared to this extent, it is put in σσσ the sun to dry; the figures are only very rarely fired. Then the next stage

/10 cont./

*532 on the other hand, breasts are attached and the hair roll extends down very far on both sides.

6. Three other clay figures are very peculiar.

Fig. 54 /see p. 50 / is evidently a male figure with legs of type 1. The head is pointed and surrounded by a small wax cap. There is a small mouth-hole in the face. Arms are lacking. The torso shows a hollow extending from top to bottom, the edges of which jut out somewhat over the rest of the body.

Fig. 55 /see p. 50 /: īnǒ, i.e., human being. It is made of gray clay, has legs of type 1, arms, penis, and cylinder-shaped body, to which is attached a large head with a huge nose, wide-open mouth, and slit eyes.

Fig. 56 /see p. 50 /. This female figure is made of white earth; legs are missing, the body is spherically fashioned and is covered by a long black string-skirt.

Ehrenreich in his "Beiträge" shows in Figure 1 on Plate XI an illustration of a primitive clay figure which is not represented in my collection. It is pointed at the top and bottom and has a navel hole and a mouth hole. I should like to remark that I [126] tried to collect all the types present so that my collection would exhaust the types encountered by me among the Karajá and Šavajé, but I did not see this form. The mouth hole alone, on the other hand, is sometimes found (Figs. 34, 42 /see p. 49 /; Dōbāi, Figs. 50, 52 /see p. 50 /; Fig. 54). In the same way [127] the accomplished forms (Ehrenreich, "Beiträge," Plate XI, Figs. 7, 8, 10) with their arms drawn up against their breasts, which come from the Šambioá /Shambioa/, were not to be found among the Karajá and Šavajé. Should this lack be no accident, *532 then we would be confronted by a striking phenomenon. The 184 lack of the most primitive stage seems to prove that the Indians 178 in the last 20 years have grown beyond this stage, whereas the lack of individual accomplished types shows that the Karajá and Šavajé have even today not yet caught up with the Šambioá.

[128] I brought no dolls back with me from the Šavajé; they only had a few and they were completely identical with those of the Karajá.

/10 cont./

d) Wax Figures

(Plates IV-VI)

*532 Boys and youths very much like to make wax figures for fun.
[232] Wax pigs in particular could be encountered in the hands of small
[524] boys almost everywhere. I found an occational one of another
shape here and there in the baskets; all the others were made
[123] spontaneously before my eyes when the Indians had seen my inter-
est in such figures, and indeed of their own free judgment, not
at my request. Thus these figures show the activity of instantane-
ous free creation by these Indians. There were skillful and un-
[463] skillful modelers among them; one boy and one youth in par-
ticular distinguished themselves by lively reproductions.

The wax figures represent human beings and animals.
[189] They all stem from the northern horde of the Karajá; I found
none among the southern horde. The three best representations
of human figures come from the Šavajé.

/11/ The human forms show many correspondences with the stylized forms of the clay dolls; only five of them stand out due to their true-to-life representation.

*532 I obtained five specimens of male figures from the Karajá,
● 126 one of which (Fig. 63 /see p. 50 /) represents a Šavajé youth.
Of the nine female examples six come from the Karajá and three from the Šavajé. Three examples from the Karajá represented Karajá women (Figs. 60, 61 /see p.50 /); the three others, which, as an exception, were made by a woman, represented Tapirapé women (Fig. 62 /see p50 /). These two groups remind one much more strongly of the clay figures, whereas the three figures from the Šavajé (Figs. 65 and 66 /see p. 50 /) represent the most accomplished forms.

*532 The primitively made human-figures look like clay figures covered with wax.

Fig. 57 /see p. 50 / has legs of type 1 of the clay dolls and arms attached at the sides. Head and hair form a triangle pointed toward the top.

/14 cont./

*532 2. Surface Representations = Drawings (1)

[114] 1. All of the examples of surface representations published in the following come only from the Karajá.

Representations of this kind are found in sand as well as on gourd utensils; in addition the Indians gave me considerable material in [126] my sketchbook.

*532
535

Fig. 96. Iadení masked dancers.

Fig. 97. Sand drawing of the Iadení mask.

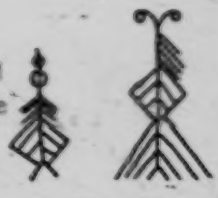

Fig. 95. Sand drawing of the idjazõ mask.

/14 cont./

a) Sand drawings 832*

were often made for explanations during our conversations; first the wavy sand of the sandbanks was simply smoothed by hand and then lines were drawn with the index finger. More delicate drawings, such as animal tracks, were made with the help of a knife or small sticks. In addition to these indented outline drawings, there are also

Fig. 98. Track of the giant anteater.

Fig. 99. Track of the desio.

Fig. 100. Track of the jabiru.

Fig. 101. Track of the duck.

Fig. 102. Woman.

Fig. 103. Crocodile.

bas-reliefs which are produced by letting sand run out of the closed hand in a fine stream. I once saw such figures in relief being made for fun, but I was told that larger sand pictures of this kind /Figs. 95 and 97 appear here/ were also executed with sand colored red and black in or near the mask hut. I received this information from only one source and was unable to confirm it through other informants or from my own observation, not the latter in particular because I traveled through the Indian territory outside of the proper dancing season. [128]

I was able to record these drawings only by means of sketches copying them, since they were usually made in the evening or at night so that photographic records were out of the question. [126]

Fig. 104. Stag hunt.

In indented figures I saw two masked dancers, ĩdjăẋŏ and lădẽnĩ. [535]

* /15 cont./
532 I was able to observe two sand pictures in relief, which were also made by Manoel.

Fig. 102 /see p. 26/ represents a woman. The sexual parts were marked out by a small stone.

Fig. 103 /see p. 26/ is a crocodile. It could just as well be any other long-tailed animal.

b) Gourd drawings

[415] are found on gourd containers for oil. They are made by taking off the top layer with a knife. The figures are a kind of silhouette, since they stand out in darker color against the light background. /Fig. 104 appears here./

Fig. 104 /see p. 26/ represents an entire stag hunt. This is the only representation of a scene that I found among the Karajá. The figures are, in order, dog, stag, rider, dog, man.

[534] A lādēni mask carved on the gourd rattle (Plate VI, Fig. 105 /see p.52 /) does not differ much from the sand drawing of the same mask (Fig. 97 /see p. 25/).

*532 /16/
126
153

c) Sketchbook Drawings
(Plate VI-VII)

While these types of representations were familiar to the Indians, at first they did not know how to begin with the pencil and sketchbook. I first had to show them this manipulation; then they would try, always timidly at first, to see whether the pencil left a line behind it, but then went courageously to work with sure strokes. There were some who set about it very clumsily, whereas others were very skillful at it (1). Many

1. For the distribution of sketches among individual artists, see Appendix 2 /not translated; see the foreign text/.

/16 cont./

*532 could not create anything on their own initiative, but had to
•126 have assignments set by me; others (and they were in the majority)
153 filled page after page with ever new figures as they happened to occur to them. In the following those drawn on demand are marked by •).

In this way I obtained representations of human beings, animals, birds, fish, reptiles, insects, trees, objects, constellations, and other things. They claimed unanimously that they could not draw human beings, but finally provided me with pictures when I asked for a portrait of myself. Of animals they liked best to draw birds and fish. Pictures of trees are very rare. They usually only produced objects on request. They liked most of all to produce patterns (see decorations /pp.42 ff./).

[419] Drawings were made only by the male sex, usually in bed
[517] by candlelight in the evenings. The significance of individual figures was immediately ascertained through questions and written down next to each figure.

*532 We distinguish between three kinds of drawings:

1. Simple line drawing, 2. outline drawing, 3. filled-in figures.

The relationship of the simple line drawing to the other kinds has not yet been determined because of the lack of comparative material. I should like to discuss it here first of all. With regard to the other two kinds, it is certain that the filled-in figures represent a higher stage than the outline drawings (2).

[113] 2. Cf. Dr. S. Levinstein, Kinderzeichnungen bis zum 14. Lebensjahr /Children's Drawings up to the 14th Year/, R. Voigtländer's Publishing House, Leipzig, 1905.

Almost two-thirds of all the drawings are filled-in figures, whereas simple line drawings make up only one quarter, outline drawings only one seventh of the material. The Karajá therefore stand on a very high level artistically.

The line drawings are all made with a pencil, the outline drawings with pencil and colored crayon, the filled-in figures

Cariban Indians SR7
Cayapo SP11
Amanaye SQ2
Arara SQ4

CI /3 cont./
121 were such a "missing link"; from even a short word-list this could
174 be assumed with complete certainty in the case of a tribe on the left bank of the lower Tocantins, the Apiaka /Apiaca (Arara)/, which has only recently become well-known. When our expedition disbanded in May, 1888, after finishing its work, I decided to contribute to the solution of this question by a trip down the Araguaia and Tocantins to Pará.

C After an overland journey of two months, I arrived in Goyaz
119 in July, 1888, boarded ship on August 21 at Leopoldina on the
101 Araguaia, and reached Pará on November 2 of the same year.

C Of the large Indian population of the region traversed, only
101 the Karaya could be investigated in detail. They proved to be a nation sui generis, which is related to no other, in particular not with the Karaib, still defies any classification, and is unique in language, customs, and physical form, isolated in the midst of the large well-characterized Gês /Ge/ nations surrounding them.

C The collection of ethnological specimens acquired here by
126 me can, despite a number of gaps, be designated as the first which gives a fairly true picture of the culture and living conditions of this important people, almost unknown up to now.

CO Also the most important Gês tribe, that of the Kayapo /Cayapo/,
126 is represented in it by certain objects, which as the first to reach Europe from the free, northern hordes of this great people, command special interest.

Am The unpretentious objects of the Anambê, a pure Tupi people
101 on the lower Tocantins, among whom the Brazilian Couto
126 Magelhães wrote down the Tupi legends printed in the work O selvagem /The savage/, are important only because they are the
Am the first and at the same time the last objects that have come to us
[173] from a people that is now reduced to four individuals as the result
[161] of a devastating smallpox epidemic.

Ar /4/ As neighbors of the Anambê, the Apiaka (1), ofwhom
101

1. Whether this is their national name or was given to them by the Brazilians is uncertain. In any case, they should not be confused, as often happens, with

/5 cont./

175 came in contact with the Karaya (4) as early as 1863 on a short

4. In the no longer extant Aldeamento da Estiva near Salinas, where Chavante and Karaya were settled in the care of an Italian missionary. Cf. Peterm. Mitth., 1876, p. 222.

[113]

trip to S. José, but later traveled the whole river on repeated occasions, had the most opportunity to become acquainted with this remarkable people. He did not publish anything in connection with this, however. Some scattered notes are to be found in his first travel report of 1863 and in the work O Selvagem (Rio de Janeiro, 1874).

[113]

/6/ In 1879 the engineer Moraes Jardim investigated the navigable stretch of the Araguaia from Leopoldina to Santa Maria. Appended to his report (1) is a description of the Karayahi villages

[113]

1. O rio Araguaya, relatorio de sua exploração /The Araguaia River, an Account of Its Exploration/. Rio de Janeiro, 1880.

written by his companion, Dr. Spinola, which is, on the whole, correct.

Also the travel account of the former president of Goyaz, Dr. Joaquim Leite Moraes (1882), contains some interesting material about the Karaya. The first fairly complete collection of ethnological objects was made by this traveler on his way to São Paulo. It is now scattered, but I succeeded in acquiring for the Royal Museum two of the best pieces from the owner, the war clubs of the well-known Sambioa chiefs, Roco and Ambura.

[126]

Territorial Distribution

131 101 Whereas until a few years ago only the Karaya on the Araguaia were known, the existence of other hordes of the same nation on the right bank of the middle and lower Xingu was proved by the first Xingu expedition.

/7 cont./

36 Their northernmost settlement near S. Maria was attacked and
[648] completely destroyed in 1881 by the Kayapo of the left bank.
Since then they have not ventured far beyond the northernmost tip
of Bananal Island with their settlements. Their farthest excursions
go below S. Maria to the rapids of Joncon (i.e., it is at an end).

439 They perform important services for the traffic on the river by
felling wood for the steamers. As payment they receive axes and
knives, which they on their part trade to other tribes, such as the
[177] Yavahẽ and Tapirapé. Understandably, when steamboat transportation was established, care was taken from the first to stay on good terms with the savages. The merit for introducing this excellent relationship and maintaining it for 20 years belongs to the courageous commander of the steamer, Sebastião de Freitas, who served so well in exploring the Araguaia. It is thanks to his unselfish, kind work that perhaps /8/ nowhere else in Brazil are the relations between the native population and the settlers so good as here.

To be sure, for the Karayahi the contact with "civilization"
[184] has not been without consequences. In comparison with the independent Šambioa, a certain lack of order and cleanliness in their villages and less care and taste in their artifacts are noticeable. On the other hand, a wealth of most interesting ethnological ob-
[126] jects are still present among them. The most important pieces in the collection were acquired from them.

311 Their material position cannot be described as especially favorable. The lower riverbanks of their region are so exposed to floods that they can practice agriculture only to a limited extent. They
[648] venture onto the higher left bank only temporarily, out of fear of their worst enemies, the Akuã and Kayapo.

13 The third large Karaya horde is that of the Šambioa, about
[101] whom Castelnau brought back the first more detailed reports.
[361] They possess four rather large villages between the Pau d'arco rapids
[224] and the great Cachoeira de S. Miguel. Their hunting expeditions, however, extend beyond the Cachoeira grande, in former times up to the region of the Apinagẽs, near the present São Vincente, from
[172] where increasing settlement has scared them away. The rock sculptures of the so-called Martirios Island between the Carreira

/8 cont./

609 Nevertheless, caution must be used in dealing with the Sambioa. To be sure, they will hardly dare to attack well-manned and armed boats, but, in view of the great distance from the landing place to the villages, the traveler who unarmed -- only in this way is he admitted -- visits their huts can get into a very dangerous situation in case of a sudden quarrel.

The reception at the landing places usually makes a most picturesque scene. The naked brown forms stream by in groups, [301] many adventurously painted black and red, the face often daubed [302] with a thick layer of soot, some with a decorative feather diadem on their heads, others with hair hanging down in a long braid and decorated with bunches of arara feathers fluttering in the wind. All [411] are armed with long spears decorated with feathers, clubs, bows, and arrows. The discussion is held in dignified quiet, without wild shouting, the new arrivals first showing the savages their firearms, and expressly any breechloaders /9/ or revolvers, which never fail to make a deep impression. The chief asserts time after time: Karaya amigo tori, ahi mentira não tem! The Karaya is a friend of the White (tori), here there are no lies! And the bartering begins immediately (Pl. IV /see p. 106/, 2).

Once one has won their confidence, the dealings become quite unconstrained, especially with the men and boys. The small children, and especially the young girls, are very shy and usually crawl into a corner of their hut, nervously covering their faces with their hands. A stranger is never troubled by beggars. Thefts, too, are exceedingly rare.

Language.

126 A rather extensive vocabulary, as well as a number of short sentences, was written down, from which, however, little of the grammatical structure of this idiom is evident. The extremely 194 unclear diction of the people, who hardly make any perceptible 126 movement of their lips, their inability to repeat exactly what was said, and finally the swallowing of the final syllables, favored by the abundance of vowels and lingual sounds, make linguistic reception uncommonly difficult.

/18 cont./

411 The form of the arrows (uehẽ) is very manifold.

The shaft of the arrow consists of two pieces, a lower one of cane and the one inserted in it of wood. The latter bears either a special tip or, sharpened and correspondingly shaped, serves in some way as one itself.

In general the length of the cane shaft amounts to two-thirds of the length of the whole arrow, and that of the wooden shaft one-third.

411 The feathers of the lower cane-end are always placed so
239 that their uppermost tip, wound around itself, lies at the level of the notch. The quill describes a 1/8 to 1/4 turn around the shaft. The heavy arrows, especially those provided with a broad cane tip, usually have a heavier winding of feathers.

Through the twisting of the feather tip, the outer feathers of the quill are sharply bent outward. The inner feathers are cut off short in order to lie closer to the shaft.

In the case of many arrows the lowest piece, which bears the notches and feathering, is separately inserted into the cane shaft. Probably the original arrow end was split here during the cutting or bending the bow and was supplemented by an insert.

411 The feathers are tied with black cotton strings, between
239 which are usually placed small red and yellow decorative feathers.
[531] The attached pieces are held together by waimbẽ (Philodendron
[531] sp.) bast bands. The feathered part of the cane end often has
[534] crossbands touched up with red lacquer (tamararu).

The following arrow types are represented in the collection:

411 1. War arrows, with point made from the tail-spine of a
[126] thornback, 150-180 centimeters long, two-thirds of which makes up the cane shaft. The spine, six to eight centimeters long and supplied on both sides with countless small barbs, is tied to the wooden shaft with thread and wax in such a way that the lower part projects as a long barb. The wooden shaft itself is painted with red lines, wavy lines, and dots (Pl.VI/see p.108 /, 8).

2. War arrows with cane tip cut in the shape of a knife, related to the Bororo arrows in their form. Total length 140-160 centimeters, of which the cane shaft takes up only one-third. On the upper end of the 3/4 centimeter thick wooden shaft made

/19 cont./

411 Of the three specimens the largest has a total length of 72.5 centimeters, of which 14.5 make up the handle (Pl. VI /see p. 108/, 6). Moreover, there is a children's throwing board 38.5 centimeters long.

[824] The arrows thrown (kâura) are 150-180 centimeters long, unfeathered cane pieces made of uba (Gynerium saccharoides) with inserted, 12-20 centimeter long end-knobs of palm wood, which are covered with a thick layer of wax. Thus they should be considered only as sporting equipment. That tradition still knows them as weapons, however, is shown by the legend given on p. 85 (Pl. VI /see p. 108/, 7).

323 Ceramics. The art of making pots, practiced exclusively by the women, is not especially developed. Although the technique leaves little to be desired, the forms are rather simple. [517] An artistic desire to reproduce natural objects, animal shapes, etc., as among the Xingu tribes, is not expressed in them. Everything is reckoned more in terms of the practical.

As almost everywhere in South America, the vessels are made without a wheel by putting rolls of clay over one other circularly or spirally. By patting with the dampened hand and continuous smoothing with pieces of bone and mussel shell, the pot finally reaches the desired shape and strength.

[113] According to Couto Magelhães (Archiv. do museu nac. Rio, p. 77) the ash of certain vines is mixed with the clay; their silica content makes it more resistant.

According to further information from the above observer, the firing of the pots is done, after superficial drying, in a peculiar manner. A hole is made in the side of an earth termite nest, and it is heated. The vessel is put in, and under it there is made a second opening communicating with the first one, with a fire maintained in it. A third opening at the top serves as a chimney.

415 The collection shows the most important, but not the largest 106 types of vessels that occur (Fig. 5 /see p. 38/).

/30 cont./

764 One such verse might be reproduced in translation, at least
535 the sense of it.
539 Chorus: džoiri koniko -- hidžohoho (repeated 4-5 times) otohoniko -- kudžã beboniko, i.e.: He lives no more, it is over for him, do not think of him any more, he hangs on the pole (kudžã).

The deceased: roniro nira -- koti uaidžã uaniro bioko nero -- aidžodžã biowa, i.e.: I am in a beautiful country, bring me tobacco (koti), have you put the lip plug on me? Further: I lack nothing, but bring water to the grave, etc.

Between times the chorus repeats over and over the muted: haidžã hã hã hãṅ -- hã hãṅ -- hã hãṅ, i.e.: It is all over.

764 /31/ The burial takes place the next day, or, when death has occurred in the morning, in the evening of the same day.
[765] The ceremonies, songs, and dances are then continued for three or four more days, during which time no one works.

The burial places are always close to the river on higher
• [126] ground. Two of them, one near S. José, the other somewhat above the mouth of the Rio das Mortes on the right bank, were more closely investigated by me and some skeletons exhumed.

The grave (Fig. 16 a-d /see p. 63/) is a rectangular pit two meters long, one meter wide, and 50-70 centimeters deep, over which some poles are placed in the long direction. The corpse, wrapped in buriti mats, hangs in a horizontal position, swinging free, on the centermost pole (1) (a). A container filled with food

[119]

1. Castelnau's statement, op. cit., I, p. 446, that the deceased stands vertically in the grave (la tête fait une saillie au dessus du sol /the head projects above the ground/) is probably based on confusion with the method of burial in a squatting position customary among the Kayapo.

/Fig. 16 appears here/ stands under it on the ground. The pit is covered with a mat, over which lies a foot-high layer of earth (b).

/34 cont./

535 detail that Kleinschmidt's description of the duck-duck festival
121 of New Britain would also fit mutatis mutandis the animal dances of the Karaya.

535 Castelnau, who first mentions them, obtained one of these
114 masks with great difficulty (1), but it was later lost, along with

1. Castelnau, op. cit., p. 441.

all the other collections, in the cataracts of the Tocantins. The depiction of a dance given by him on Plate IX of his Vues et scenes /Views and Scenes/ (Paris, 1852) is incorrect inasmuch as the lower trunk and legs of the dancers are not uncovered, as the illustration shows, but are hidden under long buriti hangings. Also the height of the headdresses seems exaggerated.

Later Spinola (2) published something about them and also

2. Op. cit., p. 45.

obtained some mask costumes for the anthropological exhibition in Rio (1882), which, however, never reached their destination, but were lost in Goyaz.

126 That I was successful in luckily bringing home some of the
535 most interesting masks I owe to the intervention of the chief Pedro
532 Manco, without whose intercession the superstitious mistrust of
[123] his fellow tribesmen could hardly have been overcome. These
[178] sacred objects had already been unwisely profaned several times by travelers, in particular by Spinola himself. Contrary to expecta-
532 tion, the most beautiful specimens were found among the
535 Karayahi, whose villages alone exhibit the above-described
184 "medicine huts." Smaller camps had, instead of them, simple semicircular compartments, open at the top and back, as Castelnau depicts them, whereas the huts are completely absent among the Šambioa. Probably in this case they had already been torn down again after the conclusion of the festivities. The palm-straw costumes collected there lay thrown in a heap in the nearby forest and are for that reason somewhat defective.

/38 cont./

535 of abstraction (1). Insofar as these animal spirits are supposed to
532
776
825

1. Im Thurn, op. cit., p. 370.

be influenced in a way favorable to human beings, the first trace of a cult appears in these dances.

535 If one asks the Indians themselves why they keep the secret
532 from the women, they answer without exception that the women
562 are not permitted to see everything, they talk too much.

The need to maintain the authority of the men over the women appears wherever such mysterious festivals are current. The same thing is known from Greek and Oriental antiquity. It is possible that in this effort, which may often appear to the civilized man as a brutal tyranny over the weaker sex, one of the most ancient "folk ideas" belonging to all mankind finds its expression.

The whizzing stick does not seem to be in use among the Karaya; at least nothing could be learned about it.

Legends and Folklore

126 In the last days of our stay in S. Maria old Pedro Manco
[115 dictated a number of legends, which, given the paucity of
773] such materials from South America and despite their simplicity and poverty of ideas, as well as the in part garbled form, nevertheless command some interest. Unfortunately because of the lack of time, they could not be written down in the original language, and in particular working out an interlinear translation met insuperable difficulties.

773 Whether these traditions have remained completely free of
177 foreign influence can be decided with certainty only when someone is successful in drawing on other informants as a check. The chances, to be sure, are very slight. For the present nothing opposes the presumption that we are actually dealing here with genuine products of the Indian folk-spirit.

773 These myths differ neither in form nor in content from those otherwise from America. The very saga which is most

/iii/ Foreword

121 In the year 1908, under the auspices of the city of Leipzig,
[122] I undertook an ethnographic research expedition into central Brazil, the purpose of which was the scientific investigation, with the most modern methods and instruments, of the Indian tribes visited, as well as the salvaging of visible examples of their cultural life for the Leipzig Museum für Völkerkunde. Its
[101] goal was the region of the middle Araguaya /Araguaia/, between the 15th and 9th degrees, southern latitude, with the Indian tribes of the Karajá /Caraja/, Šavajé /Javahe/, Tapirapé, and Kayapó /Cayapo/.

114 The expedition set out on 29 January 1908 and returned to Leipzig on 7 February 1909. The program was, by and large, carried out; only the proposed advance to the west had to be cut short because of insurmountable geographical difficulties.

126 Abundant material in the form of observations of all kinds, photographs and phonographic recordings, sketchbook drawings, etc. was brought back. The ethnographic collection, containing more than 1,100 specimens, has been handed over to the Museum
113 für Völkerkunde zu Leipzig. Of my findings I have published up
126 to now only reproductions of the dance masks of the Karajá Indians, in connection with a description of the use of masks by this tribe (in the Jahrbuch des Museums für Völkerkunde zu Leipzig, Volume 3, Leipzig, 1910), as well as a study of the art of the Karajá Indians (in the Bässler-Archiv, Vol. 2, No. 1, Berlin, 1911), in which the material collected by me on the artistic activities of the Indians in the plastic arts and drawing was reproduced.

128 All the rest of the material is now to be presented to the public here.

As a first part, and before the actual results, I am giving a report on the expedition /the first part is omitted in the translation/. I regard this as very important; for the findings of the expedition can be properly evaluated only if one knows how they were obtained, in other words, the conditions under which the studies were made. Thus, the travel report gives the external course

/179 cont./

101 Castelnau's report (1844). He says that the Carajás often stay in
175 Salinas on visits, whereas the Carajahís live on the western arm
[119] in three or four villages. Rufino in 1846/47 finally brings clarity as the first to navigate the western arm again. He calls the
[361] Indians living here in nine villages Carajás, in other words, restores the old name, while he does not mention the name Carajahí. From then on they are again called Carajás generally, as by Magalhães in 1863, Spinola in 1879; in 1874, however, Magalhães also mentions Carajahís, besides Carajás and Chambioás, without /180/ making clear their mutual relationship. In 1888 Ehrenreich uses the name Carayahí for all Karajá Indians on the Araguaya, west and south of Bananal Island, and Cavalcanti (1895) joins him in this; this name, however, has not
101 become customary in Brazil. Coudreau (1896) again calls them Carajás, and I, too, find it necessary to retain this name, and, to be sure, with the spelling Karajá. I repeatedly asked the Indians about the name Carayahí, and they always declared that they did not know it. They call themselves only Karajá, and among the Brazilian population, too, they are only called by this name.

I admit that the name Carayahí is very practical for distinguishing this horde from the entire tribe of the Karajá, and that detailed explanations are sometimes required in order to make clear whether by Karajá one means the whole tribe or only the southern group; in my opinion, however, one does better to go to the slight trouble of making this explanation with a few additional words rather than to use a nonexistent name.

I. The Karajá.

1. Anthropological Data.

•126 Direct anthropological measurements were taken by me only with respect to height and color of skin. All other data are based on observations or were taken from the examination of photographs
000 taken by me. For comparison I used Ehrenreich, Anthropologische

/181 cont./

142 observed by me in the south horde. Perhaps there is an influence
[141] of alien tribes (Tapirapé, Kayapó, Canoeiros, etc.) here.

The figures of the Indians, men as well as women, are well proportioned, and they probably belong among the best built Indian tribes in general. They may be described as medium-sized, robust figures. We are troubled by the occasional athletic development of their musculature, which is probably to be traced back to the rowing, the pounding of maize in the mortars, and other causes.

The head is high and long in shape; the face is oval, especially among youthful persons (Pl. 17;Pl.38, Ill. 1; Pl. 42, Ill. 2; Pl. 44, Ill. 2). The forehead rises straight up and is sufficiently high; except that it generally appears to be low because of the hair combed down to the eyes. The orbital ridges are only slightly developed, the eye opening is slit-shaped (Pl. 14); almond-shaped eyes, such as Ehrenreich notes, are relatively rare. The iris is dark brown. The root of the nose is usually very much sunken; the bridge is prominent and straight; the alae are very wide and usually curved, so that the nostrils are somewhat visible from the front. The drooping, bent tip of the nose is characteristic. The mouth is wide, the lips are full and bowed, the teeth on the whole good; only old people show many gaps in their teeth as a result of teeth falling out. Children show prognathism, but this peculiarity seems to disappear in later years (Pl. 12, Ill. 2; Pl. 42, Ill. 3). The chin is wide and not very prominent. The ears could not be observed on account of the long hair. Ehrenreich (pp. 82, 94, 95) believes that a uniform facial type is to be found among the Karajá, and, to be sure, a more refined form, whereas the rest, such as Sambioá, etc., present a crude type by comparison. I found that even among the Karajá there are several facial types, and, to be sure, besides the more refined one and a cruder one, there is a third, seeming completely alien, which was to be found only in the large villages from the Tapirapé mouth on northward, especially among the women, but even here only rarely. Un-
[126] fortunately, I was unable to photograph any of these women.

/186 cont./

131 Apparently there are Karajá living outside of the river valley. The first German Xingu-expedition, on the lower Xingu in the regions of the Yuruna, everywhere came across traces of struggles
171 with alien Indians who were called Karajá by the Yuruna. The
[126] objects brought back that the Yuruna designated as coming from the Karajá, which are in the Museum für Völkerkunde in Berlin, reveal a culture reminiscent of that of the Karajá and that of the Kayapó (1). Thus, they might well have belonged to a splintered-off

1. The clubs, Nos. 1596 and 1597, have handles similar to those of the Šambioá clubs and oars (3979, e, d). Club 1597 is again similar to the one brought back by Herrmann Meyer from the Kayapó of the Paranayuba (4466), but, on the other hand, completely different from my Kayapó and Karajá clubs, whose handles are identical with those of the Šavajé and others of the Šambioá (3983). The diadem, 1595, is identical with a Karajá diadem brought back by Ehrenreich, as well as two of my Kayapó diadems. The arrow, 1598, is like the Ehrenreich Karajá arrows. -- The numbers of the objects refer to the Berlin catalogue.

Karajá tribe, whose culture, altered by its sojourn among
101 Kayapó tribes, became similar to that of the Kayapó. The tribe of the Karajá proper did not, according to my investigations,
173 know anything about any fellow tribesmen on the Xingu. It
[115] was only below Santa Maria that I learned from a Brazilian settler, who seemed to be acquainted with conditions among the Šambioá, that the branching off of the Xingu Karajá is explained by them in the following way: A Šambioá chief (Roca?; cf. Coudreau, p. 123) kidnapped a white woman; his son fell in love with her and wanted to take her away from his father. There was a fight in which the father proved to be the weaker, so he was obliged to depart with his followers; he turned westward toward the Xingu. How much of this story is credible we do not know as yet.

/186 cont./

173 At any rate, it shows that the Xingu Karajá are brought into
[101] closer relationship with the Šambioá than with the Karajá; in view of the geographical conditions and the above statements about the club handles, probably an acceptable opinion.

171 In the source region of the Xingu, the second German Xingu-
[126] expedition heard about an Arumá tribe. Objects from this tribe, which were acquired among other tribes, show the same middle
[101] position between Karajá and Kayapó culture (2). They therefore

2. The four arrows, Berlin 3874 a-d, have, in part, been given new shafts with Bakairí /Bacairi/ feathering; the old shafts, however, show traces of a feathering which is very similar to that of the Karajá, and the points are the same, except for one of the Karajá arrows. The grooved front end of a club (Berlin 2990) could have come from the Karajá or from the Kayapó.

belong to the same ethnographic /187/ province as the Karajá. Now Meyer (1) calls the Arumá Caribs (Bakairí-Apiaká

[113] 1. Cf. Meyer, Zeitschrift f. Ethnol., Berlin, Vol. 30, 1898, p. 258.

173 /Bacairi-Apiaca/). Perhaps the cultural change in the direction of the Bakairí goes back to the influence of the Šavajé. According to statements of the Karajá, the Šavajé split up about 20-30 years ago at the place called Barreira de Santa Izabel Velha, one part continued to live on Bananal, the other moved west across the Araguaya and has since then disappeared. Perhaps this part of the Šavajé went southwest to the Xingu and affected the cultures there in the manner indicated.

101 Of the above-named three tribes, I studied the Šavajé briefly, the Karajá during a lengthy stay.

/318 cont./

534 used, are very rare. I came across only two of these specimens
[237] (Pl. 58, Ill. 10 a, b). Otherwise gourds (ŭãlŭ) are commonly used
[824] as the bodies of rattles, which are usually 12-15.5 centimeters long and 5.5-13 centimeters thick (a small rattle is 6.5 centimeters
[531] long and 6 centimeters thick). Most of these gourd rattles are carved with the customary designs (1); many bear feather ornaments

[113] 1. See my article on "Die Kunst der Karajá-indianer," Bässler Archiv, Vol. II, No. 1.

on the stem end projecting out of the gourd at the top (Ill. 181 a, b). These rattles are swung rhythmically in the hand by the masked dancers.

533 Singing plays a considerably larger role. Only the men sing; it is only during the period of mourning that the women, like the men, intone monotonous songs of lament in a high pitch. The singing is one-part singing; mass singing seldom occurs. Only once did I hear a cappella singing. During dances two men simultaneously sing the same thing; otherwise they sing individually, especially when fishing. Apparently the Karajá are very musical;
[196] they sing gladly and well. Most of their songs are masked-dance songs, but it seems as though certain people invented and handed down specific songs. It was often said to me: this is the song of this boy or of that youth. Certain dances and songs seem to be transmitted through tradition only in certain families; others are quite familiar with them, but do not sing them. In 1908 Chief Ilk in Village 13 just below Izabel do Morro knew most of the songs. He was almost inexhaustible. The wŏrĭzŏ dance and song were handed down in his family. He knew not only Karajá songs, but also sang songs of the Šavajé and Tapirapé. He was known as a singer in all the villages, and everywhere people requested me to
● 126 play back the phonograms recorded with him. In all I recorded
533 phonographically 44 cylinders of songs. The Indians liked to sing
152 into the apparatus, as soon as the initial shyness had been overcome. To do this I used European music, which amazed them very much. They laughed aloud in astonishment, and many held

/318 cont./

126 533 152 their outspread hand in front of their faces; the women usually clicked their tongues in astonishment. Above all, the spoken announcement preceding the songs and pieces of music caused merriment. They were completely unaccustomed to instrumental music; they recognized bird voices as such; they preferred to listen to songs and were delighted with the volume of tone, especially in the case of women's voices. With that their timidity was overcome; usually they themselves pressed forward to be recorded. For this I first used the horn, but later the tube, into which they sang with less constraint. If several Indians were present, they first consulted for a long time as to who should sing, then they all considered the text, first sang the song softly /319/ to themselves for practice, and only then did the chosen one settle down in front of the apparatus. Even Ilk always memorized the song concerned before making the recording. After the recording I immediately played back the song. To hear their own voice at first always provoked great merriment, then they regularly sang along softly to check it, and finally laughed, extremely satisfied because everything agreed perfectly. Even when songs from other villages were played, the text and melody were meticulously checked. It was remarkable that Ilk's songs were always recognized, even when I had not previously mentioned his name and even though he also sang songs which I had heard elsewhere, which were therefore not his alone. The Indians could not figure out the phonograph. When their songs were played back, they always looked into the horn, "to see who is singing in it." After one recording Ilk kept on talking into the apparatus for a long time; when I questioned him, he replied that he was talking to the Ilk who was in there.

533 [126] Unfortunately, the cylinders became distorted through the influence of the humidity and heat, so that they became oval at one end; work on them has therefore not yet succeeded. As for the melodies, I can only say the following: "The song that is sung every day" starts with high head tones, then in a few tones it descends and ends in a long phrase of deep chest tones. The high head tones and the shift of the voice do not sound good,

/319 cont./

533 especially among older men, whereas the tones were purely sung by boys and young men. This song was sung particularly upon returning from fishing. Then at certain places the names of the fish caught were inserted. In some songs, animal sounds are imitated, for example, the tones which the pirarara makes when it is pulled out of the water. This song always evoked general merriment.

126 533 I obtained only a few texts; see Appendix II, "Texts" /untranslated; see foreign text, pp. 471-482/. They were not given to me from dance songs as long as women were present. Also, in view of the Indians' slight knowledge of the Brazilian language, the translation came up against the greatest difficulties.

In addition, I obtained the following songs:

Masked-dance songs of the Karajá: aruana (1) (S, N) 2

1. In Karaja: ĩdjãzõ. Included in this is: "The song that is sung every day."

djãlhẽnĩ (N)
dẽwẽlĩã (N)
ĩdjãzõ (S, N)
ĩkonã (N)
ũĩjũ (S)
wõrĩzõ (N), 5 songs, as well as 9 dance songs without a name, and the mask-cry: kjũ.

/320/ Songs of the Karajá: djauhi (S)
hidãhõ (N)
ĩobẽzẽ (N)
makanditã (S)
Paku song (N)
Pirarara song (S, N)

as well as 10 songs without names.

Dance songs of the Šavaje: ĩdjãlhẽnĩ (N)

Song of the Šavajé: dẽsoĩ, dẽsoĩ (N), allegedly sung when a jaguar is killed.

Song of the Tapirapé: ãklĩlĩ (N).

The Tapirapé also know a djãlhẽnĩ mask-song, it is said.

2 [The (S) and (N) here and below refer to the "South" and "North" hordes respectively--Analyst]

/329 cont./

000 go fishing, but loitered around me in the camp). Children obey
593 their parents implicitly, and even adults still unquestioningly follow the advice of their mothers. Thus, Pedro's mother gave him the following good advice on his journey (Pedro was a widower with three children): Do not lend money (Pedro therefore flatly refused the attempts to borrow on the part of other comrades, with the argument that his mother had forbidden it); do not bring back a wife (in this respect, too, Pedro obeyed his mother and refused several attempts at matchmaking); men who run after women grow lean, but a person who eats a great deal grows fat.

Legally, too, parents, especially the mother, seem to retain authority over their grown sons. For I was obliged to conduct with his mother the final negotiations about Pedro's taking his children along. I did not negotiate at all with Pedro himself.

859 The result of this rearing is that the children are never ill-behaved and seldom quarrel among themselves; they are merry and gay and soon trusting toward the stranger, without being guilty of rude familiarity.

576 In general, great value is put on dignified and polite behavior. In the huts, the members of the family were separately
[126] introduced to me. When, in the evening beside the fire, I wanted to write down their information, they blew upon a chunk of wood and held it up to me in order to give me light. When they were looking for honey on the way, they always brought me part of it in a piece of tree bark.

514 Modesty is part of the Indians' good behavior. Defecation takes place far outside the village, if possible hidden from the
[291] glances of others. When a girl about eight years old was supposed to sell me her string belt, she ran behind the nearest mat wall, put on a new one there, and then brought me the old one. It is only in fasting that they are somewhat more negligent. Loud sounds are greeted with laughter or accompanied by dog-barks. In some places this seemed actually to be good form, and one would outdo the other. On the other hand, foul smells were taken amiss; they would all glance indignantly at the presumed offender and would give expression to their annoyance with disapproving bw̄ and hm̄ sounds.

/342 cont./

829 lip-disks. He said one could get to them by way of the Tapirapé.
648 When I asked for more details, he wrapped himself in silence. Perhaps through the Tapirapé he had obtained some knowledge of the tribes living to the west.

17. The Language.

126 To make records of the language among the Karajá is very
[194] difficult, because these Indians speak their language, which is rich in nasal forms, most indistinctly. The women speak considerably more clearly than the men.

The words asked for were willingly said; the Indians were indefatigable in pronouncing them for me until I could repeat them correctly. For transcribing them I used the Meinhof transcription in Neumayer's /343/ Anleitung zu wissenschaftlichen Beobachtungen auf Reisen /Introduction to Scientific Observations on Journeys/, 3rd ed., page 484. Determining the strange diphthongs which are peculiar to the language was often difficult and is to be regarded as merely approximated.

I tried to obtain the same words in as many localities as possible. Thus, for the words of the south horde (S) I have 21 informants, for those of the north horde (N) 29. I did not obtain
192 all the words in both groups. Comparison shows that most words
184 are the same in both groups, but that a number of deviations also occur. In my opinion, however, these do not justify our assuming separate dialects, since they do not show any laws, and since it is not certain how many are due to misunderstanding. Some of
[194] them are to be explained only by the omission of vowels in rapid speech, lighter or darker vowel formation, stronger emphasis of one or another character in the diphthongs (l or r in the case of l, etc.). It is noteworthy that the words obtained in the village of José, who had migrated from the south horde to the north horde, still clearly show the greater relationship with the south horde, whereas those of Chief Korumaré, who had migrated into the interior of Bananal, are more closely linked with those of the

/343 cont./

192 north horde. With Ehrenreich's Karajá words and Castelnau's
184 Sambioá words and Coudreau's Karajá words my records show
[114] correspondences as well as differences. The latter probably go back in part to misunderstandings on both sides, as may be definitely proved in a few cases. With regard to the Šavajé language, there are several very striking differences, the reason for which is as yet unknown.

197 The language of the Karajá, for the time being, is still to be regarded as isolated; the few agreements with Ge languages do not, for the present, justify our counting it among these.

192 From the beginning I followed up the differences between
●186 the men's dialect and the women's dialect, which Ehrenreich (1)
562

[113]

1. "Materialien zur Sprachenkunde Brasiliens /Materials for Brazilian Linguistics/": I. Die Sprache der Caraya (Goyaz) /The Language of the Caraja (Goiáz)/. Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, Vol. 26, 1894, p. 23.

discovered, and in this way obtained a great number of women's words. Those from the south horde were obtained directly from women, those from the north horde from men. The latter were able to say many words immediately; often, however, they reflected a long time before they found the word. It is doubtful whether they always gave the proper word; in any case, the women's words from the north horde should be taken with some
[191] caution. The men described the language of the women as ibinãli = very poor. They maintained that the two sexes did not understand all of each other's expressions, but that there were words which were foreign to the other sex. My records have so
194 far not confirmed this assertion. The chief difference is that in
562 the women's language a k is inserted where, among the men two vowels stand next to each other; the initial k of the women is omitted among the men. Ehrenreich gives a few further

/344 cont./

191 general, they pronounce Brazilian words badly; they seldom succeed in pronouncing f correctly, usually they say p for it (pǎcõ̆ for facão, žíprĕ for chifre, pǎrīnǎ for farinha, pǎsḗr for facer).

126 For the list of words and texts recorded by me, along with the translations, see the appendix I and II /untranslated: see the foreign text, pp. 415-482/.

18. Myths.

793 Myths were told me by two persons: Chief Cadete Chico of
126 Schischá told me the creation myth; I obtained a second version
115 of this, as well as all the rest, from Kuriší. Usually he told them the most vividly and in the greatest detail the first time, and considerably more simply in repetitions. Some features had to be verified by much questioning, if they were overlooked in the first notation. When questioned, Kuriší said that he was telling the myths as his mother had told them to him. According to this, the myth seems to be handed down through the mother among the Karajá. To me it was surprising that he professed not to know any of the myths reported by Ehrenreich /345/ ("Beiträge," pp. 39-44), with the exception of the howling monkey myth. Apparently they were truly unfamiliar to him. This is all the more surprising since he is the grandson of Pedro Manco, Ehrenreich's informant, and thus should have known about the store of myths preserved in this family.

793 The Karajá regard the Furo das Pedras as their original home.
[619] There the ancient Karajá lived under water. They regard the
Šavajé and Šambioá as their tribal kinsmen. Animals are regarded
[825] as beings like human beings, so that transformations of human beings into animals and the reverse play an important role. They
[821] think of the stars as inhabited by creatures who temporarily came to the earth and there came into contact with human beings.

/367 cont./

535 but turned toward each other, and sang a verse with gourd-rattle accompaniment. They then danced forward together toward the village and back again. This was repeated several times. The
533 dance ended with lively bows at the village. At night the young men sat in front of the mask hut and sang dance songs with the
[184] rattle accompaniment. These songs, too, were very similar to
532 those of the Karajá. The Šavajé did not permit photographing
535 the masks on the next day, so I was obliged to resort to sketching.
126 The masks were cylinder masks with a feather-mosaic covering. Black-dyed leaf-aprons for hips and shoulders served as body coverings.

In Schischá I acquired copies of masks, and, to be sure, of the ĭdjālhēnĭ mask, the ăm̆bŭšāwādiă mask, and the lăděnĭ mask. Of these, ĭdjālhēnĭ seems to be a typical Šavajé mask, for the songs of this mask which I was able to record phonographically among the Karajá were always designated by the latter as Šavajé
[533] songs. Of other Šavajé songs I obtained phonographically děsoĭ děsoĭ, a song that they sing after slaying a jaguar.

For further data on the masks of the Šavajé, see my article,
[113] "Tanzmaskennachbildungen vom mittleren Araguaya /Dance Mask Reproductions from the Middle Araguaia/," Jahrbuch des Museums für Völkerkunde zu Leipzig, Volume 3, Leipzig, 1910.

197 Their language, according to my data, seems to be identical with that of the Karajá. It does contain some completely different words; see tapir, gavião, maize, red and black neck tassels, lower-arm ornament of two pads with fringe hangings, calf ornament with tassels, leaf pipe; caracara is divergent.

A comparison shows that the south horde of the Karajá is linguistically somewhat closer to the Šavajé than the north horde, undoubtedly a result of the migrations of the Šavajé to the south horde. /Section III, "Die Kayapó (The Cayapo)," pp. 368-402, with Plates 62-68 and Ills. 209-261, is omitted in the translation./

T /404 cont./
105 center stripe. Their women also make pottery. Their language
C differs from that of the Karajá; the two peoples do not understand
[197] each other. The relationship between the Karajá and the Tapirapé
C seems to have been peaceful in former times. With iron goods the
648 Karajá bartered for net coverings, bows, araras, stone lip-plugs,
[439] food, etc. The meeting place was a sandbank in the Rio Tapirapé,
opposite a high steep bank, slightly below the place to which the
C Karajá ordinarily extend their annual fishing expeditions. The
[721] Karajá had taken advantage of this opportunity to abduct in secret
the women and children in the places stripped of men. As has
been mentioned above (p. 263), because of this there was finally
a hostile clash between the two tribes about six or seven years ago;
C since then the Karajá avoid this spot, they no longer go so far
[727] upstream. The abducted women are used by the Karajá as slave
women for work, as well as village prostitutes; the children are
taken into the tribe. /Pl. 69 appears here./ /405/ /Ills. 262 and
263 appear here./

C 3. Observations in Karajá villages. In the villages of the
162 Karajá I saw a total of two women, three maidens, and two boys
T from the Tapirapé. They were smaller and more delicate than
[142] /Ills. 264 and 265 appear here/ the Karajá. The women wore black
T incised tattooing on the chins and on the cheeks (see Ill. 262 a, b
304 /see p. 339/). One girl was painted red on the face (Ill. 263).
302

C In the way of objects that were supposed to come from the
T Tapirapé, I acquired the following in the Karajá villages near
439 the Tapirapé mouth: the comb (kŭwaã; Pl. 69, Ill. 1); its method
126 of construction is identical with that of the Karajá, but the very
T regular plaiting pattern is different from that of the Karajá. The
303 spindle (Ill. 264) with the double-conical wax whorl does not differ
T in any way from those of the Karajá.
283

The club (ĩwŭrã, Ill. 265) is identical in form with the round
T clubs of the Karajá. One side of the front half of the club is grooved
411 and flanked on either side by a raised strip which bears groups of
cross-lines. The cylinder on the handle has three grooves; the
handle is grooved and likewise has two strips with cross-lines and
depressions.

[Text continues on p. 339]

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca.1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

be ordered to appear at a designated spot in the woods when the sun reaches a certain position in the heavens, and here she will be compelled to submit herself to the assembled men. If she should fail to appear as ordered, the men may slay her wherever they find her and sink her body in the river. But if she should flee to the mystery hut, no one will enter to take her for this is an asylum of refuge. If a man should betray the secret of the masquerade to a woman of the tribe, he may, nevertheless, be allowed to go unmolested. But these barbarous customs do not appear to be so strictly observed to-day as in former times. It is related that owing to an accident, all the women of a certain village, caught sight at the same moment of the masquerade outfit when not in use. In this case, of course, nothing could be done but to pardon them all and make known to them the whole secret. It is said that among the Sambiõa, these masquerades are falling somewhat into disuse. Nevertheless, they would not allow Dr. Ehrenreich and his party to bring away the masquerade outfits that they had stumbled upon at a spot in the woods where they had been thrown at the termination of a festival, as they feared that some of their women might be in the vicinity and see them. To get permission to take them, the men of the party had to dress in them. Though these customs may be less strictly observed to-day than formerly, nevertheless, the women cherish a profound respect for these supposed creatures of the forest and their mysterious hiding-places.

535 562 688 [178] 535 [178] [126]

The masquerade outfits seem to be thrown away, or burned, at the conclusion of a festival, the feather decorations having first been removed.

Of the real significance of these masquerades, little or nothing is known, or perhaps ever will be known. It is doubtful if even the savages themselves are fully conscious of their significance. But we may get some light upon the subject from our knowledge of the customs and beliefs of other primitive peoples.

It is certain that the "make up"—the creature, animated [825]

8:Gow-Smith T-5 (no date)1925
SP9 Caraja SP9

535 562 [346] this ritual and never seek to penetrate its mysteries. At any rate they seemed to keep at a distance from the sacred wigwam where the men ate and drank in tribute to the sacred fish.

535 562 627 Should a woman, however, so far forget her position as to enter this mysterious hut or should avail herself of an opportunity to look at this mystery dress, she may be punished by death. Executive clemency is granted by the chief, at the request of the women of the tribe, providing she will promise silence and expiate her crime by some appointed work. If she should refuse, she will be ordered to appear at a designated spot in the woods, at a certain height of the sun, where she will find assembled a group of warriors. Failing to comply with their desires, she may be killed and the body thrown into the river. Should she flee to the [346] sacred wigwam, however, this being sanctuary, she goes free at the termination of the festivities to resume her place in society.

• 126 535 Wishing to preserve the costumes as a memento of my visit among them, I asked the chief if I might take them with me. Reluctantly he consented, and ordered his men under cover of darkness to take them in a canoe down the river and await my coming. It was by this means that the costumes ultimately came in possession of the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation.

9:Gow-Smith T-5 (no date) 1925
SP9 Caraja SP9
Cayapo SP11

CARAJA AND CAYAPÓ ARTIFACTS FROM BRAZIL

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BEAUTIFULLY fashioned feather head-dresses, ingenious and terrible weapons, strange little images, implements and ornaments that characterize the lives and customs of the Caraja and Cayapó Indians, hitherto little known tribes that live in Matto Grosso and Para, the hinterland of Brazil, have been brought to the Museum by the writer, who has spent more than four years in this little-known region of South America.

Co
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237

The Cayapó maidens wear narrow fillets of reed upon which are bound the short, curved feathers from the breasts of parrots, with short quills protruding in front. Some are of red and some of yellow feathers, the latter resembling fluffy halos. Occasionally the Cayapó find feathers of mixed red and yellow, not unlike striped tulips of those colors, and with these the women make fillets of exquisite beauty (fig. 95). Others are made by binding a number of short pieces of polished bamboo to a reed, topping them with iridescent feathers, and adding a long gray-white

121 /43/ Three years ago G. P. Murdock published his "World Ethnographic Sample." It goes without saying that an endeavor of this scope can only be incomplete. Now, as far as the Carajá, one of the nine tribes classified under the heading "Eastern Brazil," are concerned, the set of 30 characteristic features of this society in Murdock's attempt displays significant gaps and serious inaccuracies. It is my intention, here and now, to remedy this state of affairs as well as possible, in order to contribute from my side, while concerning myself with only one case among 565, to a fairer calculation of the human probabilities.

114 [122] [101] [127] To accomplish this task I shall use as a base the data that I was able to collect personally, in the company of my wife and aided by the National Swiss Foundation for Scientific Research, during the rainy season of 1954 to 1955 among the Carajá of the south, as well as, naturally, on the information from our predecessors in the field, Ehrenreich, Krause, Baldus, and Lipkind above all. I am using this opportunity to express the great regret that I feel every time I think of the fact that the rich materials collected by Lipkind have never been published in a satisfactory fashion. The Carajá, although they have been known for a long time, are basically misunderstood. To be fair, it must be added that they themselves do not make the task of investigators easy, and it goes without saying that under these circumstances my own contribution must remain fairly fragmentary in view of the too short period of our stay among them.

121 On the other hand I am convinced that the presentation of facts alone — allegedly pure facts — does not help us to become better acquainted with the human condition, and the second aim of my article is to present to you a first attempt at interpretation of the data concerning the Carajá kinship system, which, not without reason, was left blank in Murdock's attempt.

128 To facilitate the comparison I shall follow the framework of the columns of the "World Ethnographic Sample." The 433 [121] 462 [231] Carajá cultivate primarily tropical tubercles, although maize is not lacking; true domesticated animals are absent.

●127 /180 cont./ For comparison I used Ehrenreich, Anthropologische
113 Studien über die Urbewohner Brasiliens /Anthropological Studies of the Brazilian Aborigines/, Brunswick, 1897.

141 Height. Ehrenreich gives (p. 108) the average body height of the men of the Carayahí as 168.2, of the women as 152.8 centimeters; thus, according to his measurements, the women are significantly (15.4 centimeters) smaller than the men. In gen-
[114] eral this proportion is correct, but there are considerable individual deviations.

141 The southern horde on the whole seems to be taller than the
142 northern horde; this is probably attributable to the admixture of Savajé blood, for the Savajé are distinguished from the Karajá by their greater height. In the southern horde there were many men who were as tall as I and a few who were taller (I measured 167 centimeters barefoot), but the tallest probably did not exceed 170 centimeters. For the southern horde one may probably assume 166 centimeters to be the average. The women of the southern horde were also in part quite tall, but in general they remained behind the men in the same proportion as in the northern horde.

Among the latter there was no one who exceeded me in height, and only a few who equaled me, and such tall figures were very rare (Pl. 37, Ill. 1). The great majority of the men were considerably shorter than I; they might be 160-162 centimeters tall on the average. Their height varies by half a head. The women are considerably smaller; /Pl. 36 appears here/ /181/ they remain about half a head behind the men; thus Ehrenreich's average could be assumed for them (Pl. 17).

Besides this, however, there are elements of the population which one must definitely call short. One should compare the two small youths in Illustration 1, Plate 37, who are a full head shorter than the tallest ones (these are about 165 centimeters tall), so that they approach Pygmy measurements (140-145 centimeters). The same is true for two other youths on Plate 44, Illustration 1. Most striking is the appearance of the dwarf woman on Plate 17, who reaches just to the shoulders of the man standing next to her, who is about 164 centimeters tall. I often encountered such small, but fully grown persons in the north horde (compare also the Savajé), whereas it was not

[Text continues on p. 48]

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

derelects, drifting for ages on the ocean of time. Physically, 000
they have developed splendidly, and approach closely the completeness that the Creator has ordained for man; they are fine animals. Mentally, they have scarcely advanced one step, and they fall immeasurably below the standard of intellectual completeness that the Supreme Mind has beneficiently ordained that all mankind should strive to attain and to enjoy. Morally, or spiritually, they have not developed at all, but instead, have shrivelled fearfully, and every day they fail more and more of the glorious standard of perfect manhood and soul development that God, the Supreme Soul, has established, and ardently desires that all men should attain to, until they are almost infinitely removed from God. What a fearful *mis*-fortune it is that men should so utterly miss the prize of the high-calling of God.

For many of the facts herein presented regarding the 127
Karayá tribe, of the Araguaya, I am indebted to that valuable work on South American Ethnology, *Beitrage zur Völkerkunde Brasiliens*, by Dr. Paul Ehrenreich.

The Brazilian government once maintained a school at 148
Leopoldina to "civilize" the Karayá who live in several vil- [131]
lages, or clusters of huts, scattered along the Araguaya a thousand miles. Much money was expended in this venture, but like many similar government enterprises, it ended without any desirable results having been achieved. Though a sincere effort may have been made to teach a few of the arts of civilization to these children of the wilds, yet the heart, or conscience, remained untouched by any elevating influences. Moreover, the moral influences that did exist, were positively bad, for the "civilization" that operated on these primitive people was immoral, degenerate. Therefore the savage pupils readily absorbed the vices of their teachers and examples, which were positive, but were not so apt to acquire their virtues, which were at best merely neutral. So they graduated from the school of "civilization" in a worse plight, morally and socially, than when they "matriculated."

To establish a school to "civilize" the children of the

/2 cont./

126 1. (cont.)
and representations by the Karajá, I
[101] have also dealt with some by the Šavajé,
a tribe which in language and culture is
very closely related to the Karajá.

121 In view of the interest which ethnologists, psychologists, art historians, and cultivated circles in general display today with respect to primitive art, I felt that the exceedingly abundant material collected by me should be published separately, apart from the other results of my expedition, among which it would have fallen too far into the background.

121 I am reproducing the material as such, arranged only ac-
128 cording to certain points of view, which can be seen from the "Table of Contents," and provided with the most important explanations about the maker, the method of production, the purpose and significance of the object or figure. I hope that the individual things are defined so precisely by this means that no doubts and misinterpretations can arise, so that, in other words, anyone, whatever his position on particular theories about the development of primitive art, can work with this material on a secure basis. The article is meant simply as a straightforward publication of material. I believe that research is better served in this way than if I myself, ay an analysis of my results, had tried to assume a position on the great controversies about the development of primitive art which are being argued at the present time.

128 To make the material still more useful I am giving in the appendix /untranslated; see the foreign text, pp. 30-31/ a general view of the share which the two related tribes, the Karajá and Šavajé, have in it, and then also a general view of the distribution of the sketchbook drawings among the individual artists, arranged according to their ages, and finally a systematic listing of all the objects represented.

126 The objects discussed are all to be found in the Museum für
128 Völkerkunde at Leipzig. On occasion reference has been made to the objects acquired by Ehrenreich in 1888 on the Araguaia and

/2 cont./

128 126 now in the Berlin Museum für Völkerkunde (2). I have not gone

[113]

2. Published in: Ehrenreich, "Beiträge zur Völkerkunde Brasiliens /Contributions to the Ethnography of Brazil/," Veröffentlichungen aus dem Kgl. Museum für Völkerkunde, Vol. II, Nos. 1/2, Berlin, 1891.

into any detailed comparison of my material with that brought back from the Xingu by the Von den Steinen cousins and from
[53] the Rio Negro territory by Koch-Grünberg. A general comparison shows the interesting fact that the Karajá are on a significantly higher level of development artistically than those primitive tribes.

/3/

Introduction

*532 531 The artistic activity of the Karajá is limited to interior art. This is divided into free (representative) art and decorative art.

Free art here is concerned with the representation of the forms of living creatures and objects, which it reproduces in full form (plastic) or superficially (in drawings); decorative art, the adornment of objects with geometric patterns.

*532 128 In representative art we pursue the reproduction of forms plastically in different materials, whereby we pass from the most brittle (plaiting with leaves) through fairly hard (clay and wood) to the most pliable (wax). In representation by drawing we consider first the types familiar to the Indian, in sand and on gourd utensils /Cuyen/, and only then the method of reproduction in a sketchbook, foreign to him until now. Each time the development from the simplest to the most accomplished form is shown, but it is not known whether this is really the course of the development, or whether simpler forms might perhaps represent stylizations which arose at later stages, whereas the most accomplished forms are only the result of particularly high personal talent.

/3 cont./

000 forms are only the result of particularly high personal talent.

531 128 Decorative art is limited to the application of geometric patterns. These patterns, which are usually interpreted as animals, are borrowed from the plaiting technique. We shall therefore first of all look at the decorations borrowed from the plaiting technique which are on the plaited work itself, then at their transference in carving on gourd utensils, and at the same time we shall take into consideration the great number of such patterns which the Indians drew in the sketchbook for me. Only then will the other decorations, ordinarily in carving and poker work, be dealt with.

531 462 Decorative artistic activity is limited solely to the men; only they know how to execute the patterns. I have seen only a few clay tobacco pipes, two spindle whorls, some modern clay bowls, a doll's apron, and a mat which had been decorated by women. These objects show completely different patterns, though [172] it must be noted that they have apparently taken over the clay tobacco pipes and clay bowls only very recently from the Brazilians. *532 462 So here the woman stands completely behind the man. It is the same in free art. There only the stylized clay figures are made by the women, whereas the more lively figures in other material and the drawings are produced by the men. So here, too, we find 184 462 the striking pre-eminence of the man over the woman. Thus it seems as though among the Karajá the man is more artistically inclined than the woman, whereas in technical skills the two sexes are probably equal.

A. Representative Art

1. Plastic Art

*532 [524] Plastic representations are encountered frequently; they are produced only for play or as toys.

/14 cont./

a) Sand drawings 532*

were often made for explanations during our conversations; first the wavy sand of the sandbanks was simply smoothed by hand and then lines were drawn with the index finger. More delicate drawings, such as animal tracks, were made with the help of a knife or small sticks. In addition to these indented outline drawings, there are also

Fig. 98. Track of the giant anteater.

Fig. 99. Track of the dešio.

Fig. 100. Track of the jabiru.

Fig. 101. Track of the duck.

Fig. 102. Woman.

Fig. 103. Crocodile.

bas-reliefs which are produced by letting sand run out of the closed hand in a fine stream. I once saw such figures in relief being made for fun, but I was told that larger sand pictures of this kind /Figs. 95 and 97 appear here/ were also executed with sand colored red and black in or near the mask hut. I received this information from only one source and was unable to confirm it through other informants or from my own observation, not the latter in particular because I traveled through the Indian territory outside of the proper dancing season. [128]

I was able to record these drawings only by means of sketches copying them, since they were usually made in the evening or at night so that photographic records were out of the question. [126]

Fig. 104. Stag hunt.

In indented figures I saw two masked dancers, īdjăzŏ and lădēnĭ. [535]

/23 cont./

531 In some patterns I was successful in separating pattern and back-
[128] ground from each other; others still await satisfactory investiga-
tion.

531 These patterns are made in the following manner. On
285 baskets, fans, etc., they are produced simply through different,
diagonal plaiting of the leaf pinnae. For plaiting around some-
thing with yellow cane and black embira, the black embira is
plaited horizontally in spirals through the strips of cane hanging
531 down vertically. Carved decorations are made with the knife;
322 the latter is then held almost vertically to the surface to be
carved, and /24/ in this way small pieces of the upper layer are
chipped off broadside with the point. Finer and deeper lines are
carved out naturally. In poker work a splinter of cane is used
as the cautery, which is made to glow on an adjacent block of
wood and then quickly pressed on the spot concerned. This is,
[42] of course, very slow work, which is practiced almost exclusively
[517] by the male sex, apparently only for fun.

531 The Indians always drew the patterns in the sketchbook on
[153] their own initiative. When they had barely drawn some figures,
they would already go over to the patterns. Many refused to draw
figures altogether, but just treated themselves to making patterns.
531 Now it was extremely interesting to observe how the people ar-
151 ranged the patterns. As an example I shall take the one in Fig.
199 (Plate X /see p. 56 /). First of all the space was divided up
by four vertical lines according to exact calculation. The Indians
sitting nearby already knew which decoration the artist wanted to
draw, without the latter saying anything. Then each new line to
be drawn was discussed in detail beforehand, criticized afterwards.
Thus, the sketch was put together as a common task. During this
the lines, once the people were completely clear about direction
and length, were drawn with a quick sure stroke. It should further
531 be noted that the Indians had observed how I wrote my remarks
151 about artist and pattern on the edge of the page, and now on
153 their own initiative they left a narrow margin free on one side, as
I ascertained through questions, so that I could write on it. They

121 /43/ Three years ago G. P. Murdock published his "World Ethnographic Sample." It goes without saying that an endeavor of this scope can only be incomplete. Now, as far as the Carajá, one of the nine tribes classified under the heading "Eastern Brazil," are concerned, the set of 30 characteristic features of this society in Murdock's attempt displays significant gaps and serious inaccuracies. It is my intention, here and now, to remedy this state of affairs as well as possible, in order to contribute from my side, while concerning myself with only one case among 565, to a fairer calculation of the human probabilities.

114 [122] [101] [127] To accomplish this task I shall use as a base the data that I was able to collect personally, in the company of my wife and aided by the National Swiss Foundation for Scientific Research, during the rainy season of 1954 to 1955 among the Carajá of the south, as well as, naturally, on the information from our predecessors in the field, Ehrenreich, Krause, Baldus, and Lipkind above all. I am using this opportunity to express the great regret that I feel every time I think of the fact that the rich materials collected by Lipkind have never been published in a satisfactory fashion. The Carajá, although they have been known for a long time, are basically misunderstood. To be fair, it must be added that they themselves do not make the task of investigators easy, and it goes without saying that under these circumstances my own contribution must remain fairly fragmentary in view of the too short period of our stay among them.

121 On the other hand I am convinced that the presentation of facts alone — allegedly pure facts — does not help us to become better acquainted with the human condition, and the second aim of my article is to present to you a first attempt at interpretation of the data concerning the Carajá kinship system, which, not without reason, was left blank in Murdock's attempt.

128 To facilitate the comparison I shall follow the framework of the columns of the "World Ethnographic Sample." The 433 [14] 462 [231] Carajá cultivate primarily tropical tubercles, although maize is not lacking; true domesticated animals are absent.

/44 cont./

582 shall presently see, the difference does not have much explicative value. In the light of what has been said, it is therefore [616] necessary to correct the categories set up by Murdock, taking [615] into account the fact that his category "agamous (nonexogamous) [114] moieties" should be completed by "agamous phratries" (thus: Pa or Na, La, Da; columns 10-12).

601 The kinship system of the Carajá must now be set forth for the first time, albeit briefly. Murdock left the pertinent [114] column completely blank. /45/ With regard to male and female cousins, the terminology is of the "Hawaii" type, that is to say, my own generation contains only brothers and sisters. •128 Before continuing, permit me to remind you that we have been able to speak of principles which govern kinship systems. In order not to fall into the trap of "verbalism" decried by Murdock, I hasten to add that it is not a question of causes, but rather of logical principles likely to operate in view of a given situation, whether these be circumstances pertaining to the environment, demography, or the fundamental type of social communication which is involved in each case. Now we could pair up these principles by forming contrasts in the manner of the linguists, contrasts whose terms exclude each other when it is a question of particular relations, but which can alternatively be combined into a whole system of kinship relations. Perhaps it would be preferable to formulate only opposite contrasts, but for the moment I will be satisfied, except in the first case, with contrasts which are clearly contradictory, and thus easier to handle, for that will suffice to attain our immediate goal of elucidating 601 the kinship system of the Carajá. There is contradiction between the classified unity of the generation and the unity of the line of filiation, there is contradiction between differentiation and nondifferentiation of the sexes, as well as of respective ages, between reciprocity and nonreciprocity of terms, finally between classificatory unity and nonunity of brothers and sisters — classificatory unity which, by the way, is not to be confused with the unity of the group of brothers and sisters classified together, nor with a denominative unity.

/4 cont./

Ar 101

1. (cont.)
the Apiaka /Apiaca/ of the upper and middle Tapajós, a true Tupi tribe. Externally they are distinguished from the latter by their tribal tattooing. Among the Apiaka of the Tapajós, the mouth region is tattooed black; those of the Tocantins are characterized by a blue line drawn from the outer corner of the eye to the corner of the mouth.

Ar [302]

Ar 167 [101] [97]

I met only civilized individuals, live farther in the interior. They actually proved to be the connecting link sought. They are a true Karaib tribe, closely related linguistically and somatically to the Bakairi, but only a ~~relatively~~ short time ago, about the middle of this century migrated from the upper Xingu or Tapajós region to the lower Tocantins. If migrations of such dimensions have taken place in recent times, their possibility at least cannot be ruled out for earlier periods.

C 114

From Manáos I undertook in the middle of December, 1888, a three-month trip to the primeval forest regions of the middle Purus, during which I became acquainted with three of the most important tribes of these regions. Because of unfavorable conditions, the yield in collection specimens was relatively small here. The exhaustion of my means, but in particular the poor health of my two companions, prevented extending the trip to the upper Purus regions and necessitated our return as early as the end of February. Nevertheless, this journey did contribute something toward the clarification of the distribution of peoples in these regions. Almost all the tribes there belong to the large Maipure or Nu-Aruak group (v.d. Steinen) and form the connecting link between the Nu tribes of Guiana and Colombia and those of Bolivia and Mato Grosso. Ascertaining this fact has substantially simplified the confused ethnographic picture of central South America.

C 121

C [101]

C 128

The following presentation is therefore devoted to the Karaya and the Purus tribes of the Yamamadi, Ipurina, and Paumari /Paumary/. All the other ethnological observations and inquiries, as well as all of the linguistic and anthropological material, will be reserved for special publications.

/iii/ Foreword

121 In the year 1908, under the auspices of the city of Leipzig,
[122] I undertook an ethnographic research expedition into central Brazil, the purpose of which was the scientific investigation, with the most modern methods and instruments, of the Indian tribes visited, as well as the salvaging of visible examples of their cultural life for the Leipzig Museum für Völkerkunde. Its
[101] goal was the region of the middle Araguaya /Araguaia/, between the 15th and 9th degrees, southern latitude, with the Indian tribes of the Karajá /Caraja/, Šavajé /Javahe/, Tapirapé, and Kayapó /Cayapo/.

114 The expedition set out on 29 January 1908 and returned to Leipzig on 7 February 1909. The program was, by and large, carried out; only the proposed advance to the west had to be cut short because of insurmountable geographical difficulties.

126 Abundant material in the form of observations of all kinds, photographs and phonographic recordings, sketchbook drawings, etc. was brought back. The ethnographic collection, containing more than 1,100 specimens, has been handed over to the Museum
113 für Völkerkunde zu Leipzig. Of my findings I have published up
126 to now only reproductions of the dance masks of the Karajá Indians, in connection with a description of the use of masks by this tribe (in the Jahrbuch des Museums für Völkerkunde zu Leipzig, Volume 3, Leipzig, 1910), as well as a study of the art of the Karajá Indians (in the Bässler-Archiv, Vol. 2, No. 1, Berlin, 1911), in which the material collected by me on the artistic activities of the Indians in the plastic arts and drawing was reproduced.

●128 All the rest of the material is now to be presented to the public here.

As a first part, and before the actual results, I am giving a report on the expedition /the first part is omitted in the translation/. I regard this as very important; for the findings of the expedition can be properly evaluated only if one knows how they were obtained, in other words, the conditions under which the studies were made. Thus, the travel report gives the external course

128/iv/ of the journey and, above all, deals in detail with life with the Indians, for it is only from this description that the research possibilities may be noted, especially the manifold restrictions to which one is subject, much against one's will. A brief cultural survey of the individual Indian tribes will be given, as well as all kinds of psychological and other material of general interest, which could not have been handled in this detailed and directly effective manner in the second part. I trust that I have thereby succeeded in delineating as faithful a picture of the life and ideas of these Indians as is possible. The report then, in brief outline, will include a survey of the geographical conditions of the areas traveled through, the method of travel, the cultural condition of the country, and will thus probably be able to offer all kinds of new things and give future travelers important pointers.

The second part, which deals with the findings, is thought of more as a reference work. I regard as most important the presentation of the material by means of illustrations and the addition of the necessary notes, examined and worked on from the scientific point of view and compared with the material from this region hitherto available. This has resulted in a strict division into those points that were personally observed, several times or only once, and those based merely on information. In my opinion, this division cannot be applied strictly enough if errors are not to creep in, which will then continue to be passed on. I have dealt with some data, which seemed very uncertain to me, in footnotes, in order to give subsequent researchers hints for further investigation. I believe that I am serving scholarship best by publishing the material by itself and only as such. For, in this way it remains permanently utilizable. To be sure, this method, which makes no effort to solve problems and to prove far-reaching relationships, is regarded by some people as "antiquated," but I regard it as the only proper one, in order to determine the scientific value of every statement and thus provide sound material, which alone makes it possible for us to
121 further our knowledge. For this reason I am merely skirting the
128 question of the position of the Karajá with regard to the rest of the Indian tribes; in order to solve this major problem,

/iv cont./

121 comprehensive preliminary studies are required, since almost
128 all comparative studies in South American ethnography are as yet lacking. It will therefore be reserved for a later publication. I know that with this kind of self-limitation I am certain to have the approval of many of my colleagues.

122 Wherever I was, here at home or over in Brazil, the expedition found extensive help and support among people willing to assist us, /v/ and I do not wish to fail to express my warmest thanks to all of them. This thanks is owed first of all to the Council of the City of Leipzig and to the Leipzig City Council Board for the willingness with which they put at my disposal the means for the expedition, as well as to Herr Consul Dr. Herrmann Meyer, who was kind enough to make available a large sum for the enterprise to insure its subsequent successful completion and to assist me in an advisory and an active capacity with regard to the equipment. I owe equal thanks to Herr Prof. Dr. Weule and Herr W. v. d. Steinen for assistance and advice in working out the plan and assembling the scientific and personal equipment, and also to Herr Privy Councilor Prof. Dr. Hans Meyer for the use of instruments and rifles. No less effective was the assistance which my expedition found in Brazil itself. First of all, thanks are owed to the Imperial German authorities, especially to the Ambassador, Baron v. Reichenau, then to the gentlemen of the Consulate in Rio de Janeiro and to the Councilor of the Embassy Flügel in S. Paulo. They all gave me their assistance and procured for me extensive privileges from the Brazilian central government as well as the governments of the individual states, for which I should also like to express here my profound gratitude to these governments. Equal thanks are owed to our German countrymen, Herr Marxsen of Rio, Herr Naschold of S. Paulo, and Herr Öckinghaus of Goyaz /Goiás/, who, in an unselfish and devoted manner, supported me in every way and gave me the most valuable pointers which alone made it possible for me to carry out my entire journey according to schedule. And finally, but no less cordially, I must thank my camaradas who so willingly took upon themselves all the strain and effort, the German Adam, the

/261 cont./

7. Weapons for War, Hunting, Fishing.

128 In order not to disrupt the survey of the manifold forms of these implements by arranging them subordinately into individual groups according to use, I shall discuss them together here. This has already been referred to above under hunting and fishing. A brief survey of the distribution according to purpose might come first.

411 Clubs, as well as bows and arrows with bamboo blade points, serve as weapons of war. Lances and bows and arrows with wooden points and with bamboo blade points serve for hunting. For fishing, bows and arrows with small bone points added on are used exclusively. Sport is practiced with bows and arrows and the throwing board with arrows. Other, perhaps previously customary weapons are the pellet-bow /Kugelbogen/, the sling (?), the boomerang (?). Thus, bows and arrows play the chief role. Everything else is far behind them.

/262/ Bow [w(ã)ʔ(i)uhãdẽ] and arrow (ũohũ) are usually made by each one for himself. They are always taken along on boat trips, and, indeed, the most diverse kinds of arrows (war, hunting, and fishing arrows) are taken along.

For shooting, the bow is held vertically (Pl. 56, Ill. 1). The arrow rests on the bow between it and the second finger of the left hand, on the bowstring between the first and second fingers of the right hand, while the rest of the fingers draw the bowstring back. In the stretching, the arrow is drawn against the shoulder.

411 526 Shooting from the feet is done as a sport. I did not observe it myself; it was described to me as follows. The men lie on the ground and stretch their feet up close together. The bow lies across the soles of the feet; the bowstring is drawn with the hands toward the chest. Thus they shoot upward. The bow, of course, likewise flies off their feet; the recoiling bowstring is said to cause sharp pain in the feet (1).

[191 13]

1. In this connection cf. the same custom among

/336 cont./

164 I saw an umbilical hernia only once, in the case of a boy.

757 I did not learn anything about bloodletting, which Ehrenreich reports.

304 Scarification is very common; almost all Indians bear the scratch scars from it on upper arms and thighs. I was unable to observe anything about the procedure, which Ehrenreich ("Beiträge," p. 33) describes. Concerning the apparatus used for this, see above, page 109, Ill. 51.

[752] ← 164 Of illnesses for which the cure is not known to me, I saw a blind girl, a man blind in one eye, and a boy with dropsy, as well as a man whose legs were atrophied up to his knees and who was able to move forward only by crawling on hands and knees.

757 Ehrenreich reports ("Beiträge," page 32) that in the morning they induce vomiting by inserting a charred taquara rod

Ill. 187.
Bone for cauterizing wounds.

into their throats, in order to empty the stomach in this way. He even brought back such sticks (Berlin 3964). I never observed [846] this custom, but, as related above, simply heard that husbands induce vomiting artificially during the couvade (see page 273).

● 128 In the following I shall discuss the other illnesses, insofar as I obtained information about them; I shall stress in particular observed cases of illness.

752 In case of snake bite the affected limb is tied up and some pounded dõãhĩ root is put on it.

757 There are very many remedies for indigestion and intestinal 824 disorders. For indigestion three different roots are used. Either one pounds the mõnã root (in Brazilian allegedly muriẓí), mix

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

Brazil.

Morning having come, the remainder of our flotilla soon appeared, and the Karayá became more and more friendly. We induced a few of them to go to their little cornfield across the river to get us some green corn and pumpkins. While awaiting their return, we were entertained by another exciting event. One of two or three Karayá men who were insane and haunted the wilds distant from the village, which they made an unwelcome visit to from time to time, suddenly appeared. Nearly all the men of the village were absent, having scattered off to hunt and fish, as is their custom. When the lunatic burst suddenly into view, the women and children were instantly stricken with panic. Amid wild shouting and screaming, chattering and jabbering, a grand rush was made for the canoes, of which there is one for each family; and as the women ran they caught up the children that were too young to care for themselves, and also grabbed up clay pots and other destructible objects, tumbled everybody and everything into the dugouts, then paddled frantically out into the stream. Soon, the mad savage came into the encampment, armed with a large bow and arrows and a heavy killing club; and amused himself by entering the huts and emerging through the roof; or, entering by breaking through the roof and passing out through the established opening. And while going from hut to hut, he shattered clay pots and pans with a heavy blow from his club, besides slaying parrots and macaws in the same manner. As he took turns around the village, he shot his arrow again and again high in the air in advance, taking it up each time as he arrived where it fell. Seeing him doing this, and fearing that we might become a target for his archery, we followed the example of our savage brethren and pushed out into the stream. But he did not appear to take any notice of us, nor of any one, and seemed to be continually muttering and moaning. He did not stay long in the village but was soon swallowed up again in the forest, and the chattering, jabbering, excited horde in the canoes returned to shore.

[241]
158

1:Lipkind E-5 (1937) 1948 SP9 Caraja SP9

THE CARAJÁ[1]

By William Lipkind

TRIBAL DIVISIONS AND TERRITORY

The *Carajá* are a river people who since pre-Columbian times have held as the central portion of their territory the inland Island of Bananal, which is formed by the great fork of the Araguaya River (lat. 8°–17° S., long. 48°–52° W., map 1, *No. 1*; see Volume 1, map 7). They must be regarded as an independent linguistic family for the present; their language displays no convincing similarities to any other recorded South American language.

The term "*Carajá*" is used to designate the entire people as well as the largest of the three tribal divisions; the other two are the *Shambioá* and the *Javahé*. The *Carajá* proper have 20 villages on the western or main branch of the Araguaya River, widely spread from Leopoldina south of Bananal clear down to the end of the Island. The *Shambioá*, now nearly extinct, have only two villages left, a little way below Conceiclo. The eight villages of the *Javahé* lie on the eastern or minor branch of the Araguaya River and on the small streams within Bananal. The general location and the relative sizes of the three groups have remained the same since the earliest times.

The native names give some notion of intergroup attitudes. All three groups regard themselves as a single people and use a name meaning "we" to distinguish themselves from other tribes. The *Carajá* proper are called the "great people" by the other two groups. The *Shambioá* are the "companion people." The *Javahé* are called by a name which is used generally to mean "Indian" and bears the pejorative connotation "backwoodsman" or "hick." There is a possible analysis which makes it the "old people" but, even if this etymology is correct, the word no longer has that meaning.

Dialectical differences are slight and other differences not very great, with the *Shambioá* occupying a middle position culturally between the other two groups. This account is based on field work with the *Carajá* proper and refers to the other groups only where they exhibit important differences.

[1] The present description of the *Carajá* is based on the author's field work during 1937, done under the auspices of the Department of Anthropology, Columbia University.

/4 cont./

I. The Karaya Tribes on the Araguaia River (Goyaz).

Historical.

175 The Karaya are mentioned for the first time on the occasion of that well-known raid which the Paulista gang-leader Antonio Pires Campos (2) undertook around the year 1684 from Cuyaba down

2. According to others, Manuel Pires Campos.

the Rio das Mortes to the Araguaia. It was at that time that the gold mines of the "Martirios," which play so important a role in modern Brazilian folk-tales, were discovered: they were later lost again and are still most eagerly sought to the present day. [131] On his return Pires Campos visited the "Ilha dos Carajas," the large island now called Bananal or Ilha da Santa Anna, which the [177] Araguaia forms between 13 1/2° and 10 1/2° south latitude. Numerous captives were dragged off from here to São Paulo as slaves.

In the forties of the previous century the son of the above, who had been called on by the Goyans for assistance against the hostile Kayapo, organized a second slave hunt along the Araguaia from Goyaz.

There is detailed information about this expedition in the report of the alferes José Pinto da Fonseca (3), who visited the river

[113] 3. Rev. trim., Vol. 8, pp. 376 ff.

in 1775 on the orders of the then commander-in chief of Goyaz, José Almeida de Vasconcellos, in order to establish friendly relations with the wild tribes there, since the need to open the principal rivers of the province to navigation was making itself felt more and more. In June of the year concerned he and his troop reached the southern tip of Bananal Island and were soon able to win over the Karaya living there.

/5/

175 At first he was met with distrust, since everyone was still
199 under the influence of the horrible deeds which Pires Campos had committed there 25 years earlier. Soon, however, by means of his intelligent, kind behavior, Pinto succeeded in getting the savages to put themselves under the protection of the governor of
[48] Goyaz. Their chief, Abeonona, swore an oath of fealty to the king of Portugal, the exact words of which are communicated in the above-mentioned letter.

175 The description of the Karaya which Pinto presents corresponds completely to present-day conditions. Through him we receive
[131] the first information about the large lake in the northern part of Bananal Island, not yet visited by any traveler, on the shores of
[16] which live the Yavahẽ /Javahe/. Pinto estimates the number of
[36] the Karaya at 9,000 souls in nine large villages, three of which belong to the Yavahẽ.

A second expedition left in the following year to lay out near the largest of the Indian villages on the island a military post which was given the name of Colonia da nova beira.

Later other such posts were established on the Araguaia, and some in the region of the Šambioa /Shambioa/. Under the prevailing mismanagement, however, these cultural centers very
[67] soon fell to ruin (1). Already in 1782 it was necessary to transport
[64]

1. Cazal, Corogr. bras. /Chorography of Brazil/,
[113] I, p. 340. — Cunha Mattos, Corogr. de Goyaz."
Rev. trim., Vol. 37, I, p. 393.

800 Karaya to S. José de Mossamedes in Goyaz, and in 1786 other bands were settled at Carretão, which, however, after a short time fell victim to an epidemic of measles. The colony of Mossamedes, too, did not prosper. Pohl found the place in the most wretched condition in the twenties of our century. Every trace of the earlier colonizing activities soon disappeared on the Araguaia. The island of Bananal in particular is as unknown today as at the time of its discovery.

/5 cont./

175 Nevertheless, the relationship of the Karaya to the immigrant
177 population remained rather good. On various occasions individuals of this people reached Pará on trading ships. In 1791 the chief, Aribedu, gave the then governor of this province information about the currents of the Araguaia. The trading expedition which traveled along the Tocantins and Araguaia in 1792 also brought many Karaya from the interior.

On the other hand, in the beginning of this century serious
[721] hostilities broke out. The newly established post of Santa Maria
[648] was completely destroyed in 1813 by the Karaya and the Akuã (Chavante) allied with them (2).

[113] 2. Rev. trim., Vol. 25, II, p. 91.

175 Then for a long time the reports are silent; the Karaya are mentioned by Martius, Pohl, and Aug. St. Hilaire only in passing.

We do not get more detailed information again until the great expedition of Castelnau in 1844. Since the French traveler did not travel on the left arm of the river, now navigated exclusively, but rather on the right one, east of Bananal Island, he did not become acquainted with the Karayahi. He also saw no Yavahẽ. He erroneously designates the island as uninhabited. On the other hand, he spent several days in the large Šambioa villages. He
[635] wrote down the first word-list and above all, described the strange dance masks, whose true significance, however, remained hidden from him. Unfortunately his whole collection was lost in the cataracts of the lower Tocantins.

Three years later the Brazilian official, Dr. Rufino Theotonio
[31] Segurado, came upstream from Pará. His excellent travel report contains notes on the Šambioa whom he encountered just above the rapids Carreira comprida. He also visited the Karayahi (3).

[113] 3. Rev. trim, Vol. 5, pp. 178 ff.

Of other Brazilian travelers, General Couto Magelhães, who did so much for Araguaia shipping and who, as president of Goyaz,

/5 cont./

175 came in contact with the Karaya (4) as early as 1863 on a short

4. In the no longer extant Aldeamento da Estiva near Salinas, where Chavante and Karaya were settled in the care of an Italian missionary. Cf. Peterm. Mitth., 1876, p. 222.

[113]

trip to S. José, but later traveled the whole river on repeated occasions, had the most opportunity to become acquainted with this remarkable people. He did not publish anything in connection with this, however. Some scattered notes are to be found in his first travel report of 1863 and in the work O Selvagem (Rio de Janeiro, 1874).

[113]

/6/ In 1879 the engineer Moraes Jardim investigated the navigable stretch of the Araguaia from Leopoldina to Santa Maria. Appended to his report (1) is a description of the Karayahi villages

[113]

1. O rio Araguaya, relatorio de sua exploração /The Araguaia River, an Account of Its Exploration/. Rio de Janeiro, 1880.

written by his companion, Dr. Spinola, which is, on the whole, correct.

Also the travel account of the former president of Goyaz, Dr. Joaquim Leite Moraes (1882), contains some interesting material about the Karaya. The first fairly complete collection of ethnological objects was made by this traveler on his way to São Paulo. It is now scattered, but I succeeded in acquiring for the Royal Museum two of the best pieces from the owner, the war clubs of the well-known Sambioa chiefs, Roco and Ambura.

[126]

Territorial Distribution

131 101 Whereas until a few years ago only the Karaya on the Araguaia were known, the existence of other hordes of the same nation on the right bank of the middle and lower Xingu was proved by the first Xingu expedition.

/6 cont./

000 648 Xingu expedition. Their relationship to the neighboring tribes and to the Brazilian settlers of the rubber districts is, however, completely hostile here, so that up to now any approach was impossible. The Yuruna suffer most from their attacks. Traces of battles, devastated dwelling places, and the like were found everywhere by the first expedition of v. d. Steinen.

101 Some ethnographic objects from these tribes, acquired among the Yuruna, leave no doubt but that we are dealing with true Karaya here.

The likelihood that there is a still further extension of these Karaya into the upper region of the river was discovered by the

171 second Xingu expedition. Objects acquired among the Kamayura /Camayura/ (below 12° south latitude) allegedly came from a tribe known there under the name of Aruma: a broken club, various arrows, feather headdresses, which are completely identical with those of the Karaya. Also, the tribe neighboring the Kamayura, the Trumai, had much in common with the Karaya, for example, the men's custom of tying the foreskin over the glans with a cotton thread, the bast aprons of the women, which are, however, much narrower and shorter than those of the Karaya women, the feather headdresses, and the form of the arrow-thrower. The languages of the two tribes, however, show no relationship.

101 The Karaya of the Araguaia are no longer connected with those of the Xingu. The two are separated from each other by the great warlike Gês nations of the Kayapo and Akuã (Chavante), who pushed in between them a long time ago.

● 131 Their dwelling sites lie along the middle course of the Araguaia

133 between the mouth of the Rio Crixas and the first great rapids, S.

361 Miguel, where the river breaks through or flows around the mountain ranges which border the northern slope of the great plateau of interior Brazil.

133 Already below 15° south latitude it enters a broad plain filled with alluvial materials, which in general has the same character

[137] about as far as S. Maria (9° 30'). Flat, densely overgrown islands in the river, the banks bordered by sand dunes, behind which rises on higher ground a luxuriant strip of forest which, however, as

/7 cont./

132 The life of the inhabitants is determined by the sharp division of the seasons. The rainless period lasts from May to the end of September, and farther north even until far into October. Then broad sandbanks (praias) are exposed everywhere, with the sun [221] beating down on them day after day. For the Indians this is the real period of river life. Fishing then governs all interests. With the beginning of November the rainy season has usually already set [133] in with strength; in December and January the river is highest, ten to twelve meters above the low level. From bank to bank, without interruption, a tremendous mass of water fills the bed, flooding the neighboring low plains for some distance.

136 Swarms of annoying insects, mosquitoes and pium /a very 221 small mosquito/, which are completely absent in the dry season, now fill the air. The Indian is forced to retreat to higher ground, where he then attends to cultivating the fields and, if need be, [226] hunts. Fishing can be carried on only in the lagoons at this time.

133 When the water lowers, bad fevers are not uncommon on the 164 middle Araguaia, where extensive swamps accompany the river.

Hordes. The Karaya of the Araguaia are divided into the 101 three large tribes of the Yavahẽ, Karayahi, and Šambioa, which [161] together may number about 4,000 persons. The first inhabit the [131] interior of the still completely unknown Bananal Island. We know [361] only this much about it, that in its northern part there is a large lake near which the three villages of the Yavahẽ are located. It has an outlet into the eastern arm (furo) of the Araguaia, at the mouth of which some of these savages were spoken to for the last 177 time in April, 1888. In the meantime no one has sought them out here, although they have indicated several times their desire to trade with the colonists. They badly need iron tools, which now come to them only rarely through the agency of the Karayahi. In the villages of the latter one sometimes meets some Yavahẽ. They do not like to leave their hiding place in large numbers, since they justifiably fear importing epidemic diseases.

361 The Karayahi live in 12-15 villages of various size on the west arm of the Araguaia in the region of the navigable stretch from S. José below the mouth of the Crixas to the region of S. Maria.

/7 cont./

36 Their northernmost settlement near S. Maria was attacked and
[48] completely destroyed in 1881 by the Kayapo of the left bank.
Since then they have not ventured far beyond the northernmost tip of Bananal Island with their settlements. Their farthest excursions go below S. Maria to the rapids of Joncon (i.e., it is at an end).

439 They perform important services for the traffic on the river by felling wood for the steamers. As payment they receive axes and knives, which they on their part trade to other tribes, such as the
177 Yavahé and Tapirapé. Understandably, when steamboat transportation was established, care was taken from the first to stay on good terms with the savages. The merit for introducing this excellent relationship and maintaining it for 20 years belongs to the courageous commander of the steamer, Sebastião de Freitas, who served so well in exploring the Araguaia. It is thanks to his unselfish, kind work that perhaps /8/ nowhere else in Brazil are the relations between the native population and the settlers so good as here.

To be sure, for the Karayahi the contact with "civilization"
[184] has not been without consequences. In comparison with the independent Šambioa, a certain lack of order and cleanliness in their villages and less care and taste in their artifacts are noticeable. On the other hand, a wealth of most interesting ethnological ob-
[126] jects are still present among them. The most important pieces in the collection were acquired from them.

311 Their material position cannot be described as especially favorable. The lower riverbanks of their region are so exposed to floods that they can practice agriculture only to a limited extent. They
[48] venture onto the higher left bank only temporarily, out of fear of their worst enemies, the Akuã and Kayapo.

13 The third large Karaya horde is that of the Šambioa, about
[101] whom Castelnau brought back the first more detailed reports.
[361] They possess four rather large villages between the Pau d'arco rapids
[324] and the great Cachoeira de S. Miguel. Their hunting expeditions, however, extend beyond the Cachoeira grande, in former times up to the region of the Apinagés, near the present São Vincente, from
[172] where increasing settlement has scared them away. The rock sculptures of the so-called Martirios Island between the Carreira

/8 cont./

131 comprida and Cachoeira grande are in any case the work of their
172 ancestors. Since the first Araguaia travelers already mention these "inscriptions" as documents of great age, the Karaya must have lived in these regions at least since the sixteenth century (see pp. 91 ff.).

439 Within the Šambioa region, where the river is no longer
[162] navigable for ships, there are no Brazilian settlements at present. The savages are therefore completely dependent on the barter trade with the few larger rowboats passing by four to six times annually or the small vessels which maintain communication with São Vincente. They deliver mainly hammocks, field produce,
[648] and chickens to the travelers, but have otherwise kept their full
433 independence. Living under far better conditions of existence than the Karayahi, they stand, as far as agriculture is concerned, on a higher level than even the civilized river-dwellers.

648 They live in most bitter enmity with the Kayapo tribes of the left bank, the Kradahõ /Cradaho/, Ušikrin, and others. Many
[729] abducted women and children of the latter are found in their villages. On the whole, however, they are well treated, the children even adopted into the tribe without further ado.

The relationship of the Šambioa to the settlers has not always been peaceful. Nevertheless, Castelnau was already able to substantiate that these Indians did not deserve the bad reputation which they had among the Goyans at the time. The main guilt for the misdeeds which occurred is in any case to be sought on the side of the foreigners.

609 Their behavior was decidedly hostile in the seventies when the notorious Chief Roco attacked travelers on several occasions and massacred them.

Today it is only the inhabitants of the second village who receive strangers with hostility. Women and children are taken to
[411] safety, the warriors stand threateningly on the shore, armed with bows, spears, and clubs, and hardly condescend to barter. In the other villages our reception left little to be desired, once the fleeing women were successfully persuaded to return.

/45 cont. /

87 192 Shooting stars are very aptly compared to a hook cast out and the bait on it.

The rainbow is the "electric eel" (koadžī, the trem-trem of the Brazilians).

During eclipses of the moon it is said: ahañdō roro, the moon wishes to die. Pedro Manco denied that noise is made to avert this disaster.

The Petroglyphs of Martirios Island

133 [131] About midway between the two great river rapids, the Carreira comprida and the Cachoeira grande, a narrow rock island about one kilometer long lies close to the right river bank, the Ilha dos Martirios (6° 22' south latitude), which rises gradually from south to north. Flooded to a large extent during high water, it is connected to the neighboring bank at low water. Its western edge then falls in steep walls from 8-10 meters high down to the surface of the river. Heavily eroded, they are riddled by countless potholes and broken up into groups of columns, pyramids, and arches. The predominant stone is a coarse-grained, horizontally-layered quartz schist which splits into huge blocks. The opposite bank has the same formation. The river runs here as though in a natural channel 150 meters wide with a very slight drop.

192 On the north end of the island, in part at its highest elevation (about 15 meters above low water), in part somewhat lower in the region of the high water line, there are visible on the stone blocks on the ground a large number of rock sculptures which are among the most remarkable on the continent and have become the center of a whole series of tales.

Only a few travelers have seen them; no one has investigated them in detail or copied them. Quite early they attracted the attention and stirred the imagination of the first Paulista bands of Pires Campos and the notorious Anhanguera (Bartholomeo Bueno the Elder), who visited the island at the end of the seventeenth century on their expedition to the Araes and their rich goldmines,

/48 cont./

172 present petroglyphs inasmuch as the rock drawings are completely lacking precisely at the cataracts of the Araguaia; rather, Martirios Island lies in an absolutely clear and quiet stretch. Nevertheless, it is a most important place for the Karaya. It [131] [648] forms the northern boundary of their territory and it is here that the hordes of the Kayapo hostile to them frequently come to the river. Many a battle may have taken place in this region between the two nations.

The interpretation of the rock sculptures as memorials or border markers, to which perhaps family insignia of prominent leaders have been added, seems to be the most acceptable according to the prevailing conditions. /The remainder of p. 48 and pp. 49-77 are not translated./

/78/

Explanation of the Plates [1]

142 291 302 Pl. I. Karaya. Men and Women (of the fourth village of the Šambioa).

[296] [411] [301] 1. Warriors. The man on the left /sic/ with parted hair, the tobacco pipe (Fig. 4 /see p. 28/) in his mouth, holding his weapons in his hand. The one on the right /sic/ shows the hair put in a braid with the feather decoration ušiktamaru (see p. 16) and the national wrapping of the foreskin (see p. 17).

2. Woman and girl with the bast aprons, whose front end is drawn to the rear since both individuals have just got up from [285] the ground (see p. 17). One of the large buriti-fiber mats mentioned on pp. 38 and 39 forms the background for both groups.

Pl. II. Karaya. Men (of the fourth of the village of the Šambioa).

[301] [304] 1 a and b. Portrait of a young Šambioa man with ear sticks and wooden lip-plug, widely parted hair, and clearly recognizable tribal tattooing on the cheeks.

[1] [Plates appear on pp. 103-115--Analyst]

/174/

175 In 1772 José Machado undertook a military expedition by
177 land from Trahiras to the Araguaya; he succeeded in establishing amicable relations with the Carajás, but otherwise his expedition was without success (7).

7. Rev. trim. 12, p. 457; 37, p. 362, note 84.

In 1773 José Pinto da Fonseca succeeded, as the first, in remaining in peaceable contact with the Karajá for a longer time. His large military expedition seems to have come to the Araguaya by land. At a place that he called Corôa, he met
[131] the Carajás Indians (the Karajá proper). The place seems to have been located on the eastern arm of the Araguaya, approximately in the center of the lengthwise extension of Bananal Island. He succeeded in establishing amicable relations with the Karajá. Later, the Javaês /Javahe/ (first mention of this tribe) from Bananal Island, which he called Ilha de Santa Anna,
[648] came on a visit. After an initial military expedition against the hostile Chavantes, a protective alliance was concluded with the Carajás. The report ends with a reference to undertaking a second expedition against the Chavantes. More did not become known. He had heard of the Tapirapés with whom the Carajás
[114] live in peace. In this report, Fonseca gives the first cultural description of the Karajá; in the following I have often referred to his good observations, still pertinent today (8).

[113] 8. Copia da carta, que o alferes José Pinto da Fonseca escreveu ao Exm. General de Goyazès, dando-lhe conta do descobrimento de duas nações de indios, dirigida do sitio onde portou. 2. Agosto 1775. /Copy of the letter that the alferes José Pinto da Fonseca wrote to the Exm. General de Goyazes, giving him an account of the discovery of the two parties of Indians, addressed from the place at which he arrived. 2 August 1775./ Rev. trim. 8 (1846, 2nd edition, 1867), pp. 376-390.

/175 cont./

175 There now followed a series of expeditions, the purpose of which was to make navigation on the Araguaya possible, above all, therefore, to establish communication between Goyaz and Pará.

In 1792-93 Thomaz de Souza Villa Real undertook the first journey down the Araguaya, from Goyaz to Pará by way of the eastern arm of Bananal, at the expense of a number of traders interested in shipping. He gives information about the [131] Carajás (the Šambioá are meant) and the Pinagés; he also met a few Carajás (probably Karajá proper, just below the north end of Bananal Island (13).

[113] 13. Viagem de Thomaz de Souza Villa Real pelos rios Tocantins, Araguaya e Vermelho: accompanhada de importantes documentos officiaes relativos á mesma navegação. /Voyage of Thomaz de Souza Villa Real by way of the Tocantins, Araguaia, and Vermelho rivers; accompanied by important official documents concerning the same navigation./

[361] In 1793 he traveled up the Tocantins and Araguaya as far as the lowest village of the Šambiaó (called Carajás by him). He also mentions the Carajahi (first mention of this name) and Tapirasse (13) /see footnote 13 above/.

These expeditions resulted in a little boat traffic on the Araguaya; a place on the Rio Vermelho or on the Rio de Peixe served as harbor for Goyaz. Difficulty was caused by the fact that only few boatmen were available for such journeys, and there was a lack of points where fresh provisions could be obtained along the way.

Further expeditions followed. In 1800, the new governor of Goyaz, João Manoel de Menezes, traveled from Pará up the

/176 cont./

175 In 1812 Padre Luiz Antonio da Silva e Souza wrote his
[113] work: Memoria sobre o descobrimento, governo, população, e cousas mais notaveis da capitania de Goyaz /Memoir on the discovery, government, population, and other notable things about the province of Goiás/, in which he gives good historical data about all the journeys of exploration since the discovery of the province (18).

18. Rev. trim. 12 (2nd series, 5), 1849, pp. 429-510.

[113] In the second large work: Chorographia historica da Provincia de Goyaz /Historical Chorography of the Province of Goiás/, 1842, Raymundo José da Cunha Mattos studied old documents and brought out a great deal of information about the Indians; however, he occasionally combines and thus confuses
175 the ethnic picture. According to him, the Carajás live in a vil-
101 lage on the Furo do Bananal and in three villages in the cataract
●131 region of the river (identical with our present-day Šambioá vil-
[361] lages); they prevent passage through the Furo. The Carajahís live on the left bank of the Araguaya and occasionally appear on Bananal. The Javaés on Bananal are almost extinct; the Xambiuás live on Bananal and then again on the river shore, and they prevent passage through the west arm of the Araguaya. He also mentions that the Tapirapés occasionally visited Bananal Island (19).

19. Rev. trim. 37 and 38.

175 It is only Castelnau, in the year 1844, who again brings more clarity. This French explorer traveled from Goyaz to the Rio de Peixe, embarked here, traveled down this river to where it empties into the Araguaya, traveled down the Araguaya through the eastern arm of Bananal, reached the entrance into the Tocantins, and, traveling up this river, returned to Goyaz. Along

/176 cont./ Along

175 the Araguaya he met only the Chambioá, of whose cultural
[131] possessions he made a collection, which, however, was lost in a shipwreck on the Tocantins. He was the first to describe the use of masks by these Indians. He, too, reports only hearsay about the Carajás, Carajahís, Javahais, and Tapirapés (20).

[113] 20. F. de Castelnau, Expedition dans les parties centrales de l'Amerique du Sud /Expedition into the Central Parts of South America/, 1843-47. Paris, 1850, Vols. 1 and 2. The same, Vue et scenes /Survey and scenes/. Paris, 1853.

We owe complete clarity, however, to the expedition of Dr. Rufino Theotonio Segurado, who traveled upstream from Pará
[101] in 1846/47. He first visited the Chambioás, who, he said, were a tribe of the Carajás, then tried to travel up the eastern arm of Bananal, but was obliged to give up the plan because the river was too shallow, then traveled up the western arm of the Araguaya, as the first explorer, and visited the Carajás Indians living here. He extended his trip as far as the Rio Vermelho on which he traveled upstream for eleven days, in order to reach Goyaz then by land. To him we therefore owe the first more exact information about the dwelling sites of the Karajá (21).

[113] 21. Viagem de Goyaz ao Pará em 1846 e 1847, Roteiro do Dr. Rufino Theotonio Segurado /Voyage from Goiás to Pará in 1846 and 1847, Logbook of Dr. Rufino Theotonio Segurado./ Rev. trim. 10 (2nd series, Vol. 3), pp. 178-212.

/177/ I unfortunately have not been able to find the report of Dr. Eduardo Olympio Machado from the year 1850, which Moraes Jardim mentions in the introduction of his work, O Rio Araguaya.

/177 cont./

175 At the same time the Presidio de Santa Izabel (now Capoeira de Santa Izabel Velha) existed on Bananal Island: it was later transferred to near the mouth of the Rio das Mortes (Santa Izabel do Morro, now Karajá cemetery), but then given up (22).

22. Moraes Jardim, O Rio Araguaya, foreword.

We owe the first brief, more recent ethnographic description of the Karajá to Dr. Couto de Magalhães, who in 1863 traveled down the Rio Vermelho, founded the town of São José, and visited the subsequently abandoned Aldea da Estiva, one league north of Salinas, in which Chavantés and Carajás lived (23).

[113] 23. Viagem ao Araguaya /Voyage to the Araguaia/. Goyaz, 1863, pp. 124 ff.

[101] [16] [36] [131] In another work (24) he reports that the Chambioás, Carajás,

[113] 24. Dr. C. Magalhães, Região e raças selvagens do Brasil /The Country and Savage Races of Brazil/. Rio de Janeiro, 1874.

Carajahís, and Javaés form a nation and live, 7-8000 souls strong, in 70-80 villages along the Rio Araguaya from Furo to Intaipabas.

[648] The same, in 1871, founded the settlement of Dumbasinho with the Collegio Izabel, two leagues below Leopoldina on the west bank (Leopoldina was founded in 1852), for the purpose of training and educating young Indians (Karajá, Kayapó, and Tapirapé) as colonists. The Collegio was given up at the beginning of the nineties.

175 114 The next detailed report about the Carajás was furnished by Dr. Spinola, who in 1879 accompanied Moraes Jardim on his Araguaya journey from Leopoldina to Santa Maria, which was undertaken for the purpose of making a map of the river. His

/178 cont./

175 Since then we have remained without any information on this area; no explorer again reports on the tribes along the Araguaya. Meanwhile steamer traffic expanded further, and new Brazilian settlements arose, especially the mission station Conceição among the Kayapó in the north. At the beginning of the twentieth century, the Bishop of Goyaz, accompanied by the steamer contractor Adolofo Guedes, undertook a journey on the Araguaya. According to the personal account of the [361] latter, they traveled, at high water, up the eastern arm of [197] Bananal from the north, came across a huge village of Šavajé, landed, but were quickly obliged to turn back in the face of resistance by the many Indians who were frightened by the 70 armed Brazilians. After that the wildest rumors swept through the land about the hostility and the great number of the Šavajé.

114 Such were the circumstances when I traveled on the [101] Araguaya in 1908. I navigated it from Leopoldina to Conceição, visited the Karajá, undertook side trips on foot to the Kayapó at Conceição and to the Šavajé on Bananal, and traveled up the Rio Tapirapé to the source region, where I came across the deserted villages of the Tapirapé Indians.

101 By way of supplement, a few statements about how the designations of the tribes have changed in the course of time might follow.

[13] I distinguish the following three hordes of the Karajá: the Šambioá in the stretch of the rapids, the Šavajé on Bananal Island, the Karajá proper on the Araguaya, west and south of Bananal.

101 The Šambioá are called Carajás by the first discoverers 175 (Antonio Pires de Campos in 1746, Souza Villa Real in 1792/93; Cunha Mattos also calls them this in his Chorographia de Goyaz, 1824). The name /179/ Šambioá appears for the first time in Cunha Mattos for a tribe which, roving about, sometimes visits Bananal Island, sometimes dwells on the Rio Cuyaba, and blocks passage through the western arm of the Araguaya (29). It is not

29. Rev. trim. 37, p. 393; 38, p. 20.

/179 cont./

101 known how Cunha Mattos arrived at this strange localization.
175 The present Šambioá are called by this name for the first time by Castelnau in 1844, then Rufino in 1846, and Ehrenreich in 1888. This name is now the one commonly used; only Coudreau again calls them Carajá. This name, given to them by the Karajá, should be retained to distinguish them from the other hordes.

The Šavajé are mentioned for the first time as Javaes and Javahes in 1773 by Fonseca, who met them as visitors among the Karajá. (I do not know whether Pinto de Gaia mentions them.) Since then they have continued to be known under this name. They are mentioned again by Vasconcellos-Fonseca in 1774, Cunha Mattos in 1824, Castelnau in 1844, Spinola in 1879, Ehrenreich in 1888, and Coudreau in 1896/97, though none of them, except the first, again came into close contact with them.

The horde of the Karajá proper is mentioned for the first time by José Machado in 1772, and, to be sure, under the name of Carajás. They continued to be known under this name and were described by Fonseca and Vasconcellos in 1773 and 1774. They were not visited again after that; reports about them become confused, especially through the occurrence of the name Carajahí for a horde whose sites cannot be precisely located. Souza Villa Real, in 1793, is the first to mention the Carajahí: they had four chiefs. The authors of the two large historical
101 works from the beginning of the nineteenth century confuse the
114 picture completely. Silva e Souza reports (1812) that the Carajá
175 and Carajahí occupy seven villages on the Araguaya, and that
[36] the Carajahí came to Salinas in order to make peace, but, since they were badly treated, they set out for their villages
[131] again. Cunha Mattos reports in 1824 that the Carajás live on the Furo and in the rapids region (see under Šambioá), and that the Carajahís occupy the left bank of the Araguaya and only occasionally come to Bananal Island. In Rev. trim. 37, page 363, he reports further that the Carajás come to Salinas to beg for iron implements. From these reports no clear picture is to be gained about the relationships between Carajá, Carajahí, and Šambioá. The picture remains just as confused after

/185 cont./

142 the other hand, only four times (Pl. 11, Ill. 4; 38, Ill. 1; 44, Ill. 2). The color of the hair is black, with a reddish shimmer [302] in an oblique light. Beard hair is sparse and is plucked out. Underarm hair is present, though not thick; it is sometimes pulled out, sometimes left. Pubic hair is heavily developed among the male sex; it does not extend much beyond the pubic bone and is not removed. I was unable to observe among the Indians any fine skin hair on the rest of the body; their skin is completely smooth. They, on the contrary, were astonished to see hair on my arms, hands, and fingers, the white sheen of which on my sunburned [302] skin did indeed look peculiar. Eyebrows and lashes are plucked out.

164 Pathological formations on bodies were only rarely observed; I saw only one umbilical rupture in the case of a boy of about 12. Chief Ilk apparently suffered from an inguinal hernia 142 (Pl. 36, Ills. 1 and 2, right). Signs of past pregnancies were less noticeable on the body than on the breast.

The general picture of the Karajá is thus the following: Small to medium height, brown in color, with straight, sometimes curly hair; broad-shouldered, wide-chested, narrow-hipped figures with long lower arms and short hands and feet. Well- [146] nourished, extremely muscular human beings. The women lag behind the men in every respect.

/186/ 2. Dwelling Sites, Arrangement, Number.

101 131 One large Indian nation, that of the Karajá, inhabits the banks of the Araguaya from 15 1/4-7° southern latitude. It is divided into the three tribes of the Šambioá, Savajé, and Karajá. The Šambioá inhabit the stretch of rapids between 7° and 8° southern latitude, the Šavaje the middle section of the river, island of Bananal, between 11° and 12° southern latitude, while the settlements of the Karajá proper extend along the rapids-free course of the river from 10° 12' to 15° 15' southern latitude.

/186 cont./

131 Apparently there are Karajá living outside of the river valley. The first German Xingu-expedition, on the lower Xingu in the regions of the Yuruna, everywhere came across traces of struggles with alien Indians who were called Karajá by the Yuruna. The 171 [126] objects brought back that the Yuruna designated as coming from the Karajá, which are in the Museum für Völkerkunde in Berlin, reveal a culture reminiscent of that of the Karajá and that of the Kayapó (1). Thus, they might well have belonged to a splintered-off

1. The clubs, Nos. 1596 and 1597, have handles similar to those of the Šambioá clubs and oars (3979, e, d). Club 1597 is again similar to the one brought back by Herrmann Meyer from the Kayapó of the Paranayuba (4466), but, on the other hand, completely different from my Kayapó and Karajá clubs, whose handles are identical with those of the Šavajé and others of the Šambioá (3983). The diadem, 1595, is identical with a Karajá diadem brought back by Ehrenreich, as well as two of my Kayapó diadems. The arrow, 1598, is like the Ehrenreich Karajá arrows. -- The numbers of the objects refer to the Berlin catalogue.

Karajá tribe, whose culture, altered by its sojourn among 101 Kayapó tribes, became similar to that of the Kayapó. The tribe of the Karajá proper did not, according to my investigations, know anything about any fellow tribesmen on the Xingu. It 173 [115] was only below Santa Maria that I learned from a Brazilian settler, who seemed to be acquainted with conditions among the Šambioá, that the branching off of the Xingu Karajá is explained by them in the following way: A Šambioá chief (Roca?; cf. Coudreau, p. 123) kidnapped a white woman; his son fell in love with her and wanted to take her away from his father. There was a fight in which the father proved to be the weaker, so he was obliged to depart with his followers; he turned westward toward the Xingu. How much of this story is credible we do not know as yet.

/187 cont./

101 The Karajá proper (2). They call themselves: kărăjă̆,

2. As explained above, I mean by Karajá the Indians called Carayahí by Ehrenreich. In
[104] accordance with the rather sharp J sound, which was often pronounced like dj, I was obliged to change the spelling to Karajá.

karadjă̆, or krădjă̆. In addition, ĩnă̆ and ĩnaûlă̧ were given as designations for themselves. They are called Karayá by the Brazilians. Among the Šavajé, according to their own statement, they are called šŭšomădŏ or bĕrĕhŏkŭwăndŭ, among the
● 131 Cherénte wārăšūtŏrŏ̆. They inhabit the middle course of the
[437] Araguaya, at present from 15° 15' to 10° 12' south latitude; their boundaries are thus the mouth of the Rio Vermelho in the south, a place between the north end of Bananal Island and Santa Anna in the north; only occasionally do they undertake trade voyages to Santa Maria and Conceição. In general they
[648] are confined to the banks of the river and its immediate hinterland, and they inhabit both shores equally; today, at any rate, there can no longer be any talk of the habit of avoiding the
484 west bank out of fear of enemies (3). They also extend their
[437]

[113] 3. Moraes Jardim, O Rio Araguaya; Ehrenreich, "Südamerikanische Stromfahrten," p. 38.

fishing and trading expeditions over large stretches on either side. In the east they visit the Šavajé in the interior of Bananal, but avoid going there in small numbers. In the west they navigate
[361] the large tributaries. In the Rio das Mortes, 15 leagues above the mouth, there is supposed to be a small Karajá village; they allegedly do not go farther upstream here. They travel
[225] up the Rio Cristallino for a stretch to fish for turtles. On the
131 Rio Tapirapé they go just below the waterfall; a tree with two bullet-tracks, a fire area, and the remains of utensils mark the boundary here against the Tapirapé Indians.

/190/

161 Without the Šavajé of the south horde, the total figure
[162] thus comes to 815; with the Šavajé, 831 persons. Therefore, on the average, there are seven to eight persons in one house.

•[131] For the large area that the Karajá inhabit (about 800 kilometers in length), the population is thus very small. It is indeed possible that it was once larger, though the huge figures
162 of earlier reports seem greatly exaggerated. The small number
164 of youths and maidens is striking. Perhaps maidens were kept hidden from me; perhaps, however, very many young persons were in fact victims of the measles epidemic which, according to statements by the Indians, raged terribly among the young people in 1906 or 1907 (1). For the present, no retrogression is

1. In 1908 very good health conditions seemed to prevail among the Karajá. It was only in the village on the mouth of the Tapirapé that many small children were suffering from a kind of whooping cough. From July to the end of October, as far as I know, only one child and two old men died. I did not observe any births, but obviously several were imminent in a short time.

163 to be seen. The number of children seems appropriate for the
589 conditions, about three children to a family. There were a few
581 middle-aged bachelors; their influence on the male youth is not good. They preach the ideal of bachelorhood, which the young try to emulate, and all the more since, with marriage, they are obliged to undertake hard daily work (fishing, laying out plantings). More than one told me that he did not want to marry, because then he would have to work so much. The parents seem to work against this, however.

175 If we look more closely at the relationship of the south
167 horde to the north horde, it seems that the south horde originated only within the course of the last hundred years. The Karajá thus seem to be in the process of migrating to the south. We have the following information about the dwelling sites of the Karajá.

/190 cont./

175 In 1772 José Machado meets Karajá, apparently on Bananal
167 Island. In 1773 Fonseca visits the Karajá north of the southern tip
[162] of Bananal; they occupied nine villages with 9,000 inhabitants, three villages of which belonged to the Šavajé.

175 Transplantings to the south, into aldeamendos, took place
167 from 1782 on. In this year 700 Karajá were transplanted to São
648 José de Mossamedes near Goyaz, where they gradually perished.
[164] In 1786 Carretão was founded for Chavánte and Šavajé; most of
[165] the Indians succumbed to a measles epidemic, and the survivors were taken to Salinas in 1788, where they likewise gradually
[131] perished. A removal of the Indians to the south near these "centers of civilization" did not take place at that time, however, for in 1792 Souza Villa Real, when he traveled downstream from the Rio Vermelho out of the Araguay, did not find any Indians as
[484] far as the south end of Bananal. It was only at the beginning of the nineteenth century that the Karajá seem to have come to Salinas occasionally to visit their fellow tribesmen settled there. Thus, Silva Souza reports that between 1809 and /191/ 1812 they came to Salinas in order to submit peaceably, but that they moved back to their villages on the river as a result of a dispute; unfortunately, it is not said where these villages were. Cunha
[439] Mattos reports in 1824 that the Karajá at times came to Salinas
[172] in order to buy iron implements there (1). These conditions

1. Rev. trim. 37, p. 363.

lasted for many decades, for Castelnau reports in 1844 that the Karajá occasionally came from the Araguaya to Salinas, in part to visit their fellow tribesmen, in part to plunder the plantations
175 of the Brazilians (2). He himself did not come across any villages
131
36

2. Vol. 1, pp. 372, 377, 383.

from the mouth of the Rio Crixá to the southern end of Bananal, but reports that the fixed settlements start only after the division, and, to be sure, on the western arm, and that up to the Rio das

/191 cont./

175 Mortes there are three villages, the first of which lies 38 leagues,
131 the second 30 leagues, and the third directly above the Rio das
361 Mortes (3). Rufino, too, in 1846/47 found Karajá villages (nine)

3. Vol. 1, p. 395; Vol. 2, p. 114.

only along Bananal Island, the most southerly of which lay nine
175 days below the southern end of Bananal. In 1863 Couto de
167 Magalhães made a new attempt to settle Chavánte and Karajá
648 in a village near Salinas, in order to introduce them to civiliza-
361 tion here. It was this settlement, in connection with the further advance of Brazilian civilization toward the west, that seems to have led the Karajá to settle south of Bananal Island. Thus, Moraes Jardim and Spinola in 1880 mention the first village of the Karajá from the south as near São José, then a second village at the mouth of the Rio Crixá. There follow 18 villages on Bananal, beginning on the Lago dos Chavántes and with a village
[162] near Santa Maria at the end. These 21 villages were said to have about 600 inhabitants.

175 Ehrenreich mentions the following villages in 1888: Between
361 Leopoldina and the Rio Crixá a camp with a few tents was found.
[162] Near Schischá there was a village of about 30 persons on a sand-
[321] bank. He found the ranchos near São José, which were inhabited by the Indians during the rainy season, deserted in August. There was another village on the Rio Crixá. North of the southern tip of Bananal he lists the following villages: Above the Rio das Mortes three villages, near Izabel do Morro four villages, from there to the mouth of the Tapirapé six villages, and below the Tapirapé mouth six more villages, the last of which lay isolated
[721] on the north end of Bananal. The formerly northernmost settlement near Santa Maria was, according to his account, attacked by the Kayapó in 1881 (in 1859, according to Coudreau, p. 136), destroyed, and, as a consequence, definitely given up by the
[162] Karajá. The north horde, therefore, according to him, occupied 19 villages, whereas the south horde occupied two to four villages. Cavalcanti in 1895 gives the following villages for the south horde:

/193 cont./

162 Thus, the migration southward seems to continue to this day,
166 and it seems to have affected the Šavajé as well. Apparently the south horde has a bit of Šavajé blood in it, which is noticeable above all in the taller build. Today only about one-fifth of the Karajá live south of Bananal; the majority still live in the north horde, but we have seen that in it, too, a trend toward the south is making itself noticeable (4).

[361] 4. A migration from the south horde to the north horde took place long ago: people emigrated from Schischá and settled on the Corrego; this is the village of José (six men, eight women).

174 Whether this migration to the south is a continuation of an older migration which brought the Karajá to the Araguaya I should like to leave undecided. As is well known, Ehrenreich pointed out many similarities between the Karajá and the Indians of Guiana.
171 Without wishing to pursue these cultural connections further at present, I should like to state, from a comparison of Karajá and Kayapó culture, that the Karajá show very many cultural traits related to the Kayapó, but also harbor a large percentage of foreign /174/ elements that seem to point to the north or northwest. It will remain for later investigations to pursue these cul-
174 tural problems further. The present-day distribution of the Karajá,
● 13 their confinement to the river valley in a narrow band beyond 8 1/2
648 degrees of latitude in the midst of hostile tribes, especially those
[101] of the Ges /Ge/ family, seems to point to the fact that the Karajá migrated up the Araguaya from the north, breaking up the tribes
648 living here. So far the Karajá have not yet come to an amicable relationship with the neighboring tribes. Efforts to bring this about
[797] were undertaken at Conceição by the mission, but they failed after initial success (1).

[115] 1. The reports, for which I am indebted to a Brazilian near Santa Maria, that the Kayapó and Šambioá meet annually at a particular place on

/351/

II. The Šavajé.

175 1. Historical.

Up to the present time the Šavajé /Javahe/ have been known almost only by name. The first to see the entire island of Bananal was Diogo Pinto da Gaia in 1720; I was unable to obtain his report, however, so I cannot say whether he encountered the Šavajé. We have the oldest report by José Pinto da Fonseca, who in 1773 navigated the Araguaya and pacified the Karajá. [62] He reported (Rev. trim. 8, pp. 376 ff.) that they lived in three [31] villages on the island of Bananal. He says that in the interior of the island there was a large lake abounding in fish (1).

1. Ibid., p. 389.--This report does not show that the Šavajé lived on this lake, as subsequent investigators construed (Ehrenreich, "Beiträge," pp. 5, 7).

[574] During his sojourn among the Karajá, the latter were visited by the Šavajé; wrestling took place as a greeting. According to his statements, the two peoples lived in peace. The Šavajé came riding up in large numbers in boats; they bore feather ornaments on their heads and lances adorned with feathers in their hands and blew on trumpets.

In 1774 Vasconcellos was on the Araguaya with Fonseca; he established a presidio and the aldeamendo Nova Beira on the east arm of Bananal where he settled Karajá and Šavajé. He [103] named the three villages of the Šavajé Cunha, Mello, and Ponte de Lima (Rev. trim. 37, p. 393). The presidio and aldeamendo soon ceased to exist: in 1782 the Indians of the aldeamendo were resettled in the new aldea of São José de Mossamedes, where they gradually perished. It is not absolutely certain whether there were Šavajé also at the aldea Pedro III (Carretão). In 1786 Miguel de Arrudo e Sá received the order to make war on the Chavánte and establish an aldea for them. He

/351 cont./

175 settled 3,500 Indians in Carretão. Souza e Silva, in 1812, speaks only of Chavánte who were housed there, whereas Cunha Mattos also ascribes this fate to the Šavajé. An epidemic of measles destroyed almost all the Indians; the rest were transferred in 1788 to the aldea Salinas. After that the Šavajé disappear from view; they gradually become a savage, feared people, about
175 which nothing more specific is known. In 1824 Cunha Mattos
131 (Rev. trim. 38, p. 20) reports only that they live on Bananal Island, are very light and almost extinct. In 1844 Castelnau describes the island as uninhabited; according to him, /352/ the Šavajé live about 30-40 miles above the northern end of Bananal Island and three to four days' journey east of the Furo,
[114] in the territory of the Chavanté. Obviously this information rests on misunderstood stories of his boatmen (Vol. 2, p. 115). In the work, O Rio Araguaya, by Moraes Jardim, dated 1880, it is reported that near a Karajá village there is a lake that is connected with the large lake in the interior of Bananal Island, and that from this a canal leads over to the Furo near a Šavajé village. It is said in a later note that all the villages of the Šavajé are supposed to lie on the Furo. Ehrenreich repeats Fonseca's statements ("Beiträge," pp. 5 and 7); at the same time he reports that the Šavajé lived in three villages on the lake and had last been spoken to, in 1888, at the mouth of the lake's outlet into the Furo. They are generally regarded as a tribe linguistically related to the Karajá. In 1896, Coudreau, finally, states only (Araguaya-Tocantins, p. 110) that they lived on Bananal and were but little known, but that they were the strongest of the Karajá tribes.

175 In Goyaz I learned that during the first years of the twentieth century the Bishop of Goyaz navigated the Araguaya
[361] with a steamboat. On this occasion the Brazilians entered the Furo from the north and came across a huge village of the Šavajé at the entrance of a brook. An avenue of bananas led from the river to the village. Since they came in large numbers (approximately 70 men) and all armed, the Šavajé soon

/352 cont./

175 forced them to retreat, with a Šavajé walking on either side of each Brazilian. When the steamer whistled upon departure, many Šavajé, out of terror, leaped from their canoes into the river. In any case, from then on great fear prevailed among the Brazilian population concerning the more powerful Šavajé.

361 2. Dwelling sites. On the basis of my inquiries among the
[162] Karajá, the Šavajé live in the interior of Bananal Island in three
[131] to five villages which are distributed over a long stretch of territory. The northernmost small village is said to lie in the interior, three to four days above the north end of Bananal Island. The main village lies, in the dry season, about eight days above the mouth of the Furo on a sandbank at the entrance of a brook (outlet of the inland lake?). In the middle of August it is moved into the interior. It is said to be very large, "like a city"; Pedro drew six rows, each with 20-25 houses, in the sand. The bachelors
[346] are said to sleep in the mask house, located apart. Farther south, one to two days (?), one or two small villages lie in the interior
[114] of Bananal. I visited one of them from Karajá Village No. 15,
[487] from which it is located quite directly east. One reaches it by a well arranged route: after half a day's march, one comes to the Karajá village of Korumaré on a river. Either one travels up the river for one and a half days in a boat, describing a large arc to the south and east, or one walks for a day across the campo eastward to the harbor, from which it is another three to four hours' march to
[162] the village. The village, which contains five houses with approximately 100-150 /Pl. 59 appears here/ /353/ inhabitants, lies on a lake; it is moved several times in the course of the dry season.
[132] In the rainy season the entire region is inundated with water; apparently this lake then forms a part of the large lake that Fonseca mentions. I was unable to find out where the village is moved to during the rainy season. Finally, there is said to be a fifth small village still farther south, but the accounts about it vary.

131 This is the one branch of the Šavajé. A second one lives
162 near the south horde of the Karajá, and, indeed, in the two
101 southernmost villages: Schischá and near Leopoldina. They
361 migrated here in the last generation but one, for Chief Chico in
166

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 312]

5: Krause

SP9 Caraja SP9
Tapirape SP22

C
T
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133
361

Sec. 1 /p. 366/
Sec. 2 /p. 367/
Sec. 3 /p. 368/

Chart of Positions of End Map A.
[Facing p. 365]

5:Krause--366 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9 ●
Tapirape SP22

CT
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●131
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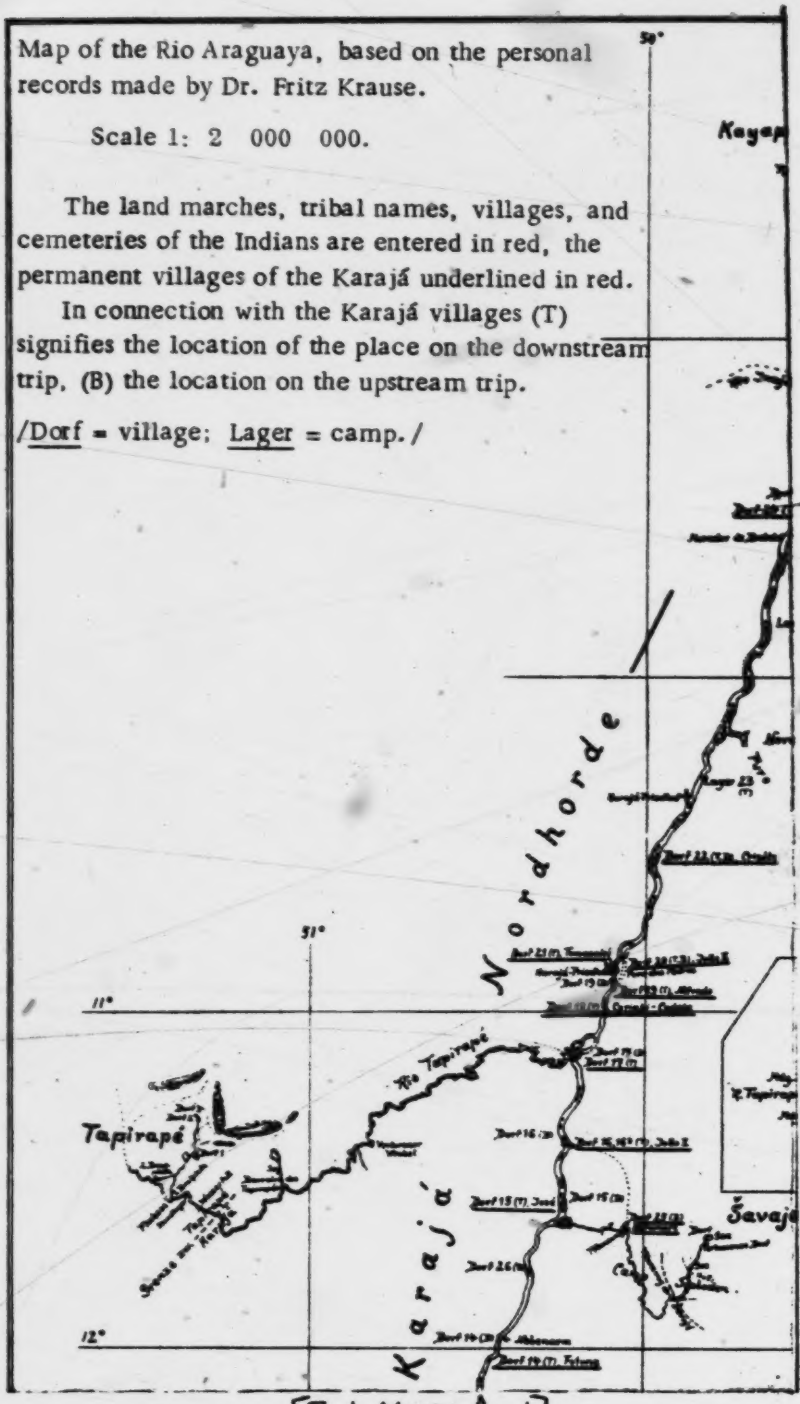
Map of the Rio Araguaya, based on the personal records made by Dr. Fritz Krause.

Scale 1: 2 000 000.

The land marches, tribal names, villages, and cemeteries of the Indians are entered in red, the permanent villages of the Karajá underlined in red.

In connection with the Karajá villages (T) signifies the location of the place on the downstream trip, (B) the location on the upstream trip.

/Dorf = village; Lager = camp./



[End Map A-1]

5: Krause--367 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9 ●
Tapirape SP22

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●131
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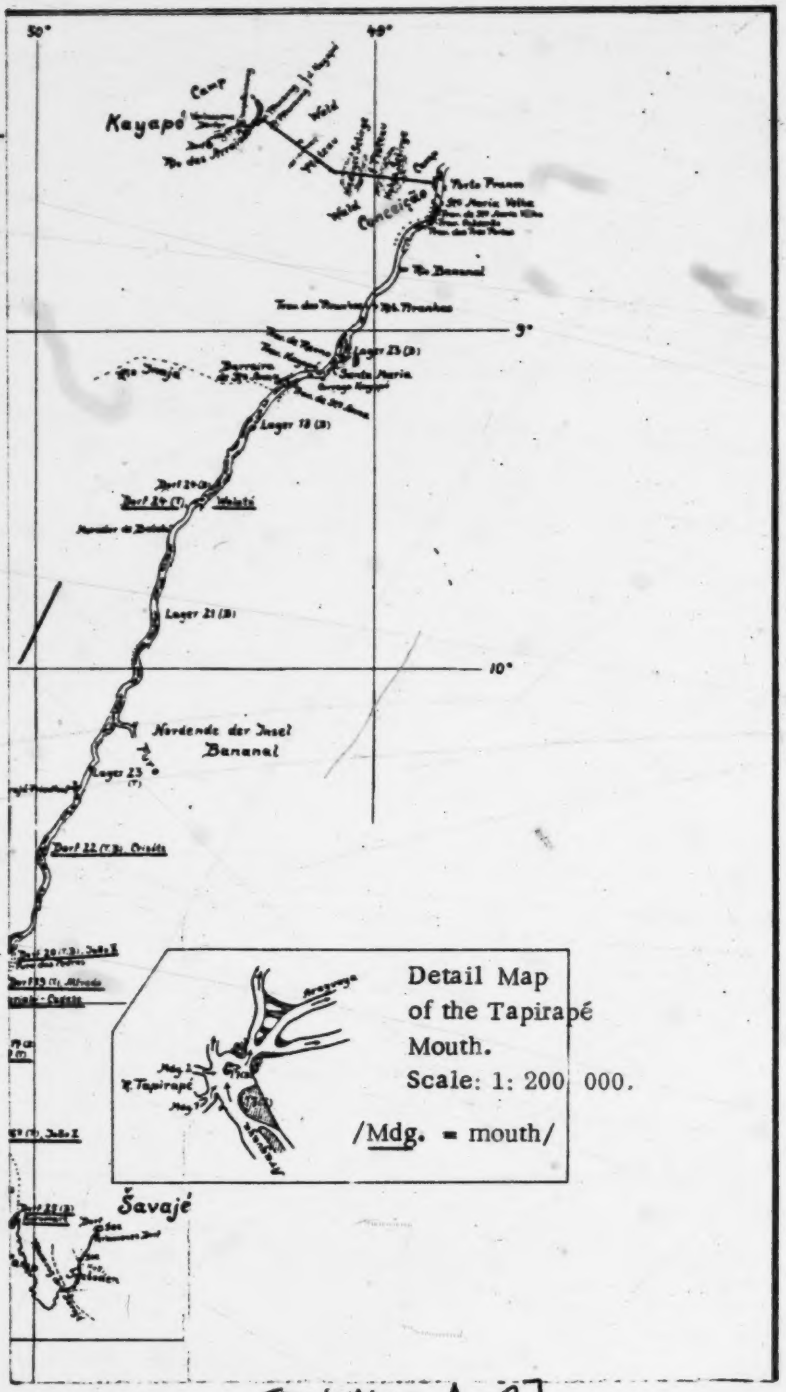
361



[End Map A-2]

5: Krause--368 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9 Tapirape SP82

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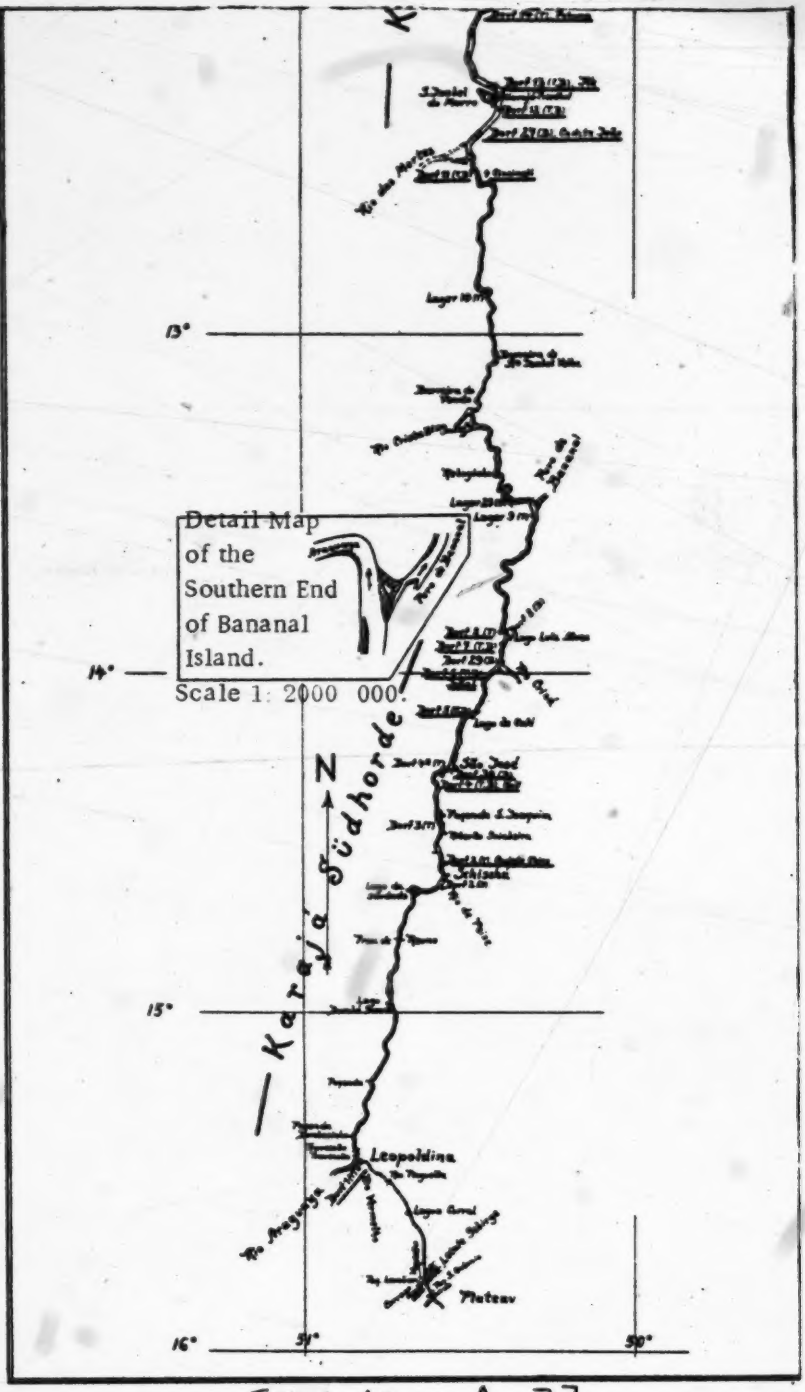
361



[End Map A-3]

5: Krause

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103
131
133

SP9 Caraja SP9
Bororo SP8
Tapirape SP22

Sec. 1 /p. 369/	Sec. 2 /p. 370/	Sec. 3 /p. 371/
Sec. 4 /p. 372/	Sec. 5 /p. 373/	Sec. 6 /p. 374/

Chart of Positions of End Map B.
/Facing p. 368/

5: Krause--369 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9
Bororo SP8
Tapirape SP22

BCT
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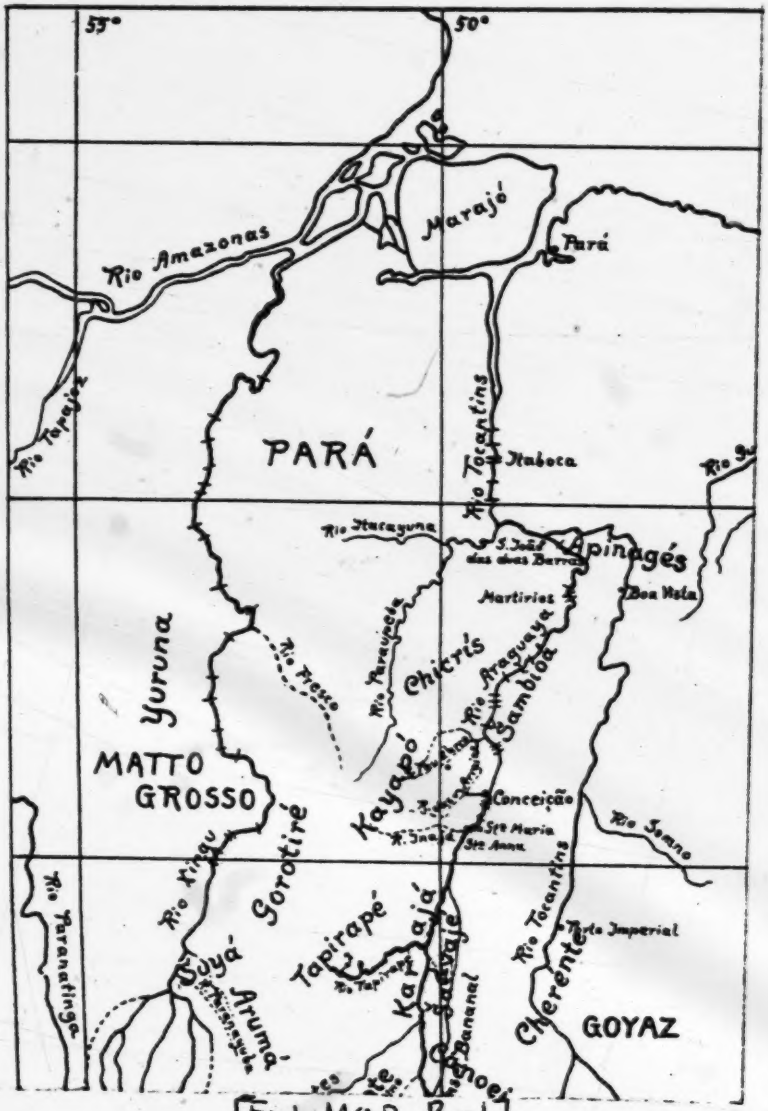
133

Survey Map

Scale 1: 20'000 000.



[End Map B-1]

5: Krause--370 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9 Bororo SP8 Tapirape SP 22

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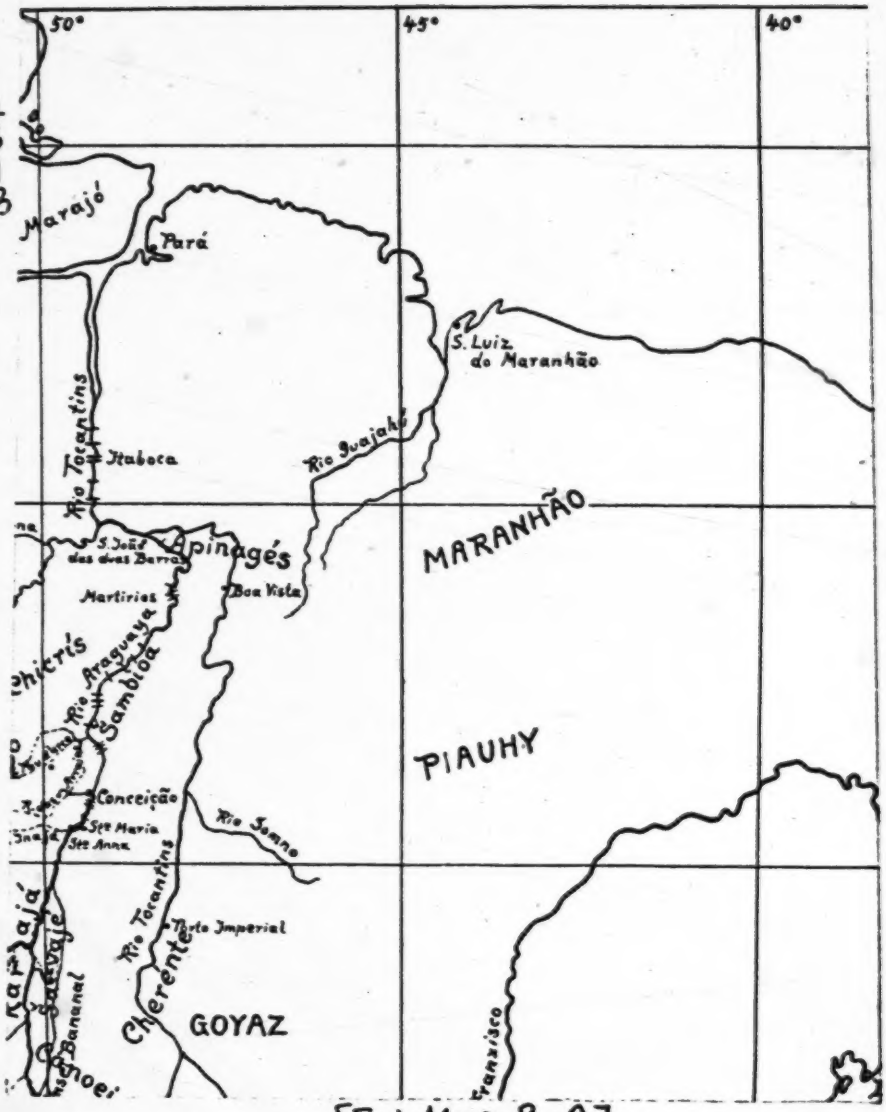

[End Map B-2]

5: Krause--371 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9
Bororo SP8
Tapirape SP22

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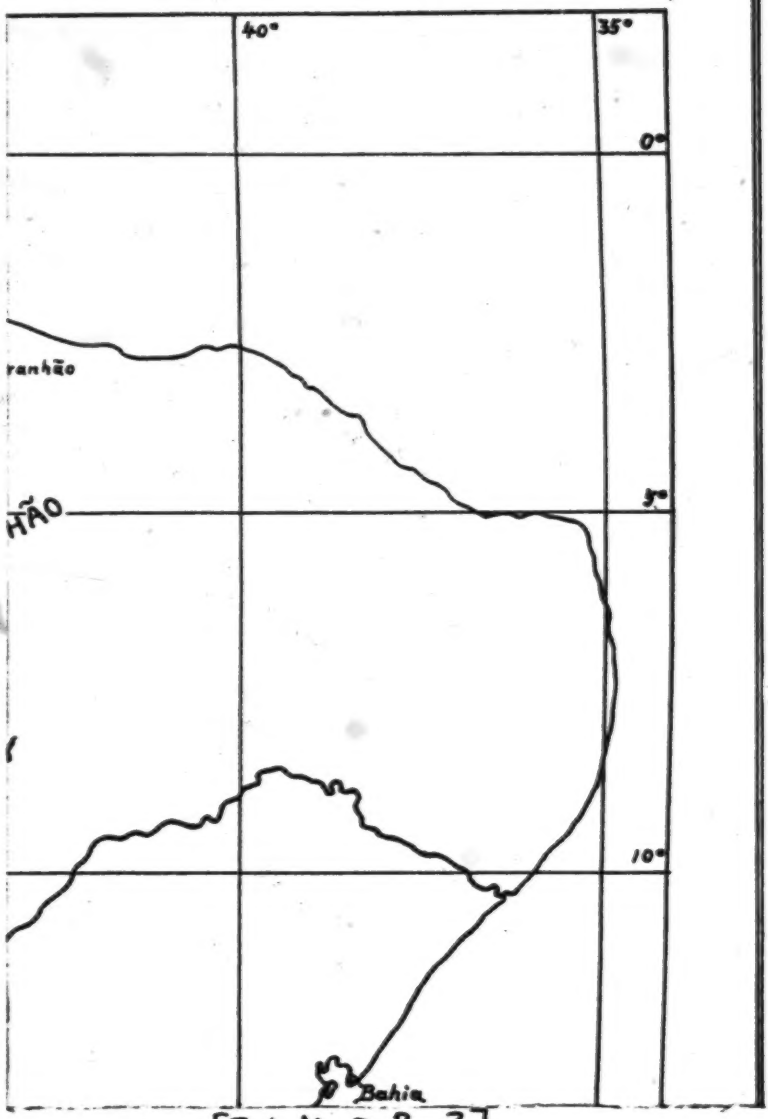
133



[End Map B-3]

BOROROO SP8
Tapirape SP22

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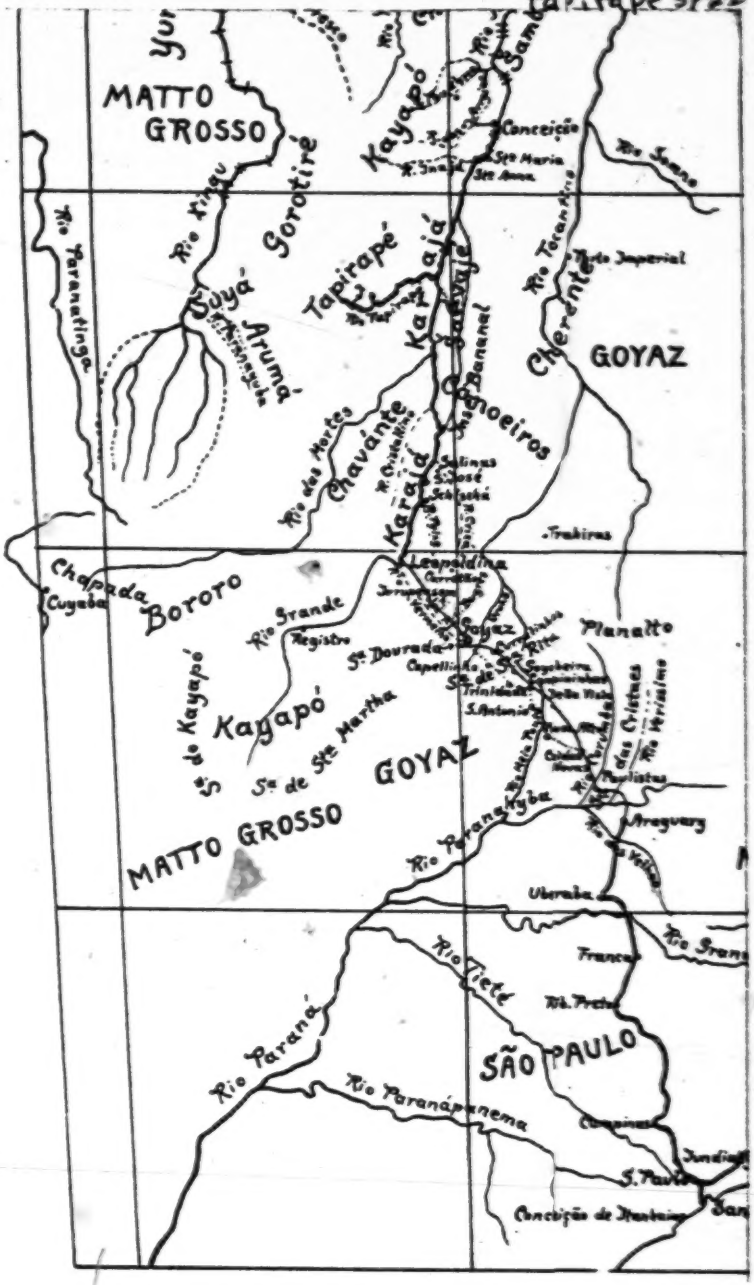
133



The travel route and the tribal names are entered in red.

[End Map B-4]

5: Krause--373 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9 ●
Bororo SP8
Tapirape SP22

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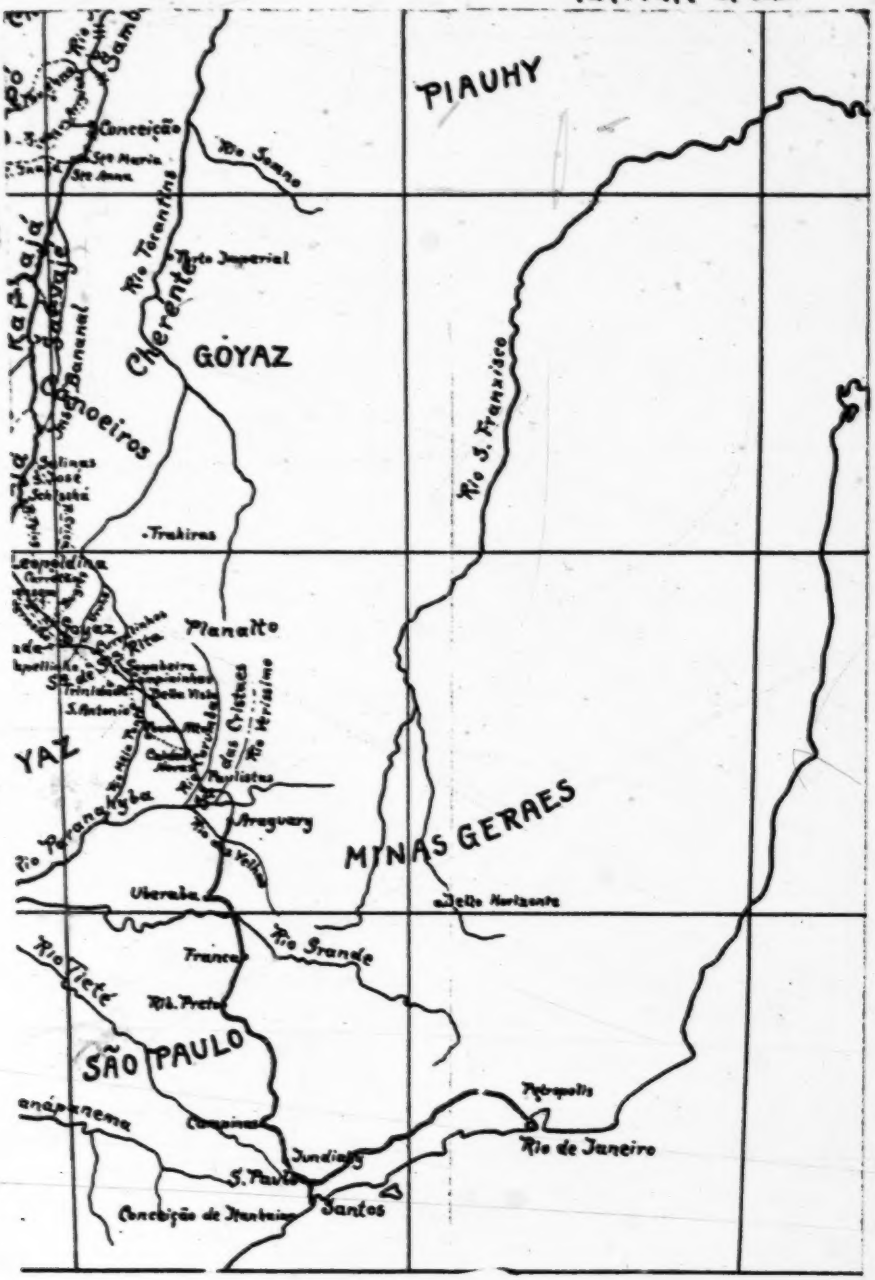

[End Map B-5]

5: Krause--374 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9
Bororo SP8
Tapirape SP22

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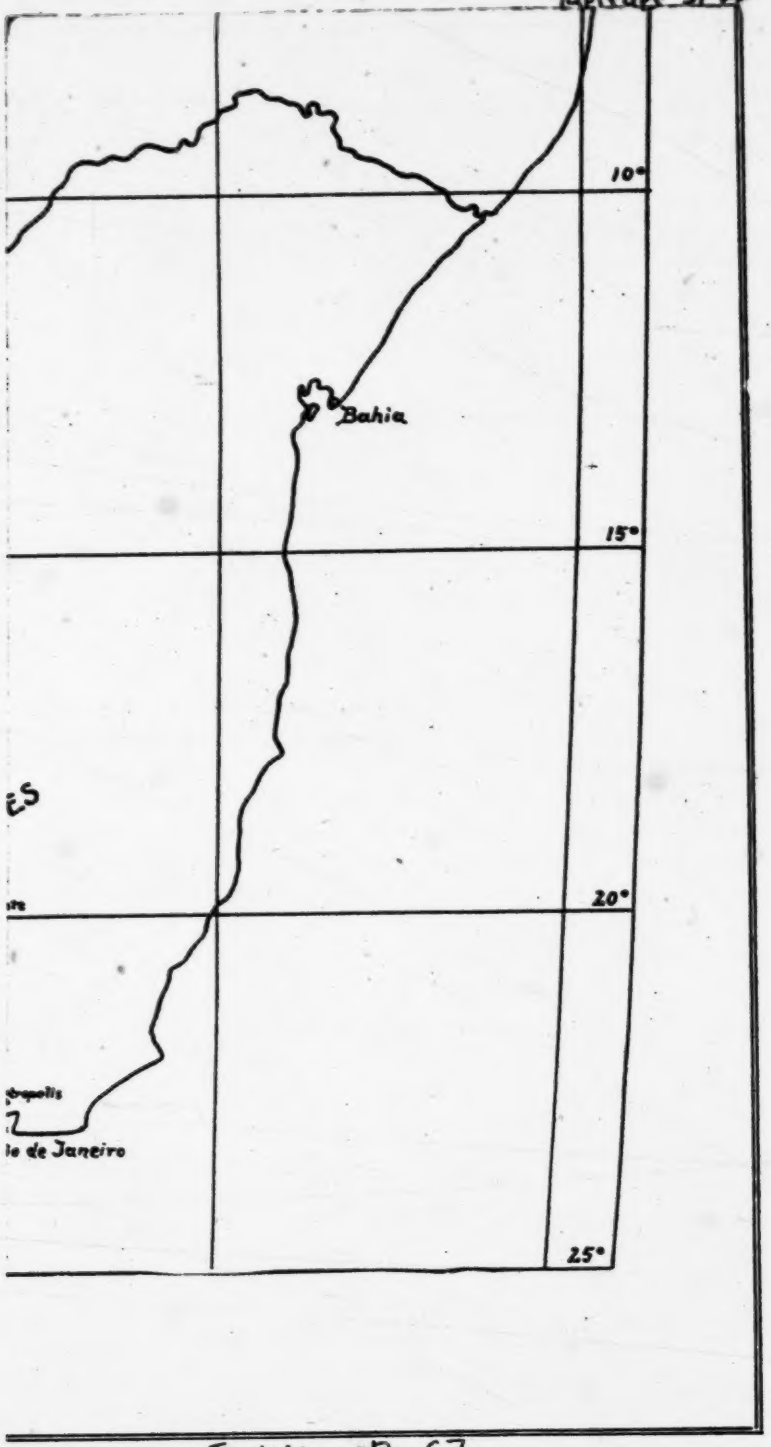
133



[End Map B-6]

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

derelects, drifting for ages on the ocean of time. Physically, 000
they have developed splendidly, and approach closely the completeness that the Creator has ordained for man; they are fine animals. Mentally, they have scarcely advanced one step, and they fall immeasurably below the standard of intellectual completeness that the Supreme Mind has beneficiently ordained that all mankind should strive to attain and to enjoy. Morally, or spiritually, they have not developed at all, but instead, have shrivelled fearfully, and every day they fail more and more of the glorious standard of perfect manhood and soul development that God, the Supreme Soul, has established, and ardently desires that all men should attain to, until they are almost infinitely removed from God. What a fearful *mis*-fortune it is that men should so utterly miss the prize of the high-calling of God.

For many of the facts herein presented regarding the 127
Karayá tribe, of the Araguaya, I am indebted to that valuable work on South American Ethnology, *Beitrage zur Völkerkunde Brasiliens*, by Dr. Paul Ehrenreich.

The Brazilian government once maintained a school at 148
Leopoldina to "civilize" the Karayá who live in several vil- [131]
lages, or clusters of huts, scattered along the Araguaya a thousand miles. Much money was expended in this venture, but like many similar government enterprises, it ended without any desirable results having been achieved. Though a sincere effort may have been made to teach a few of the arts of civilization to these children of the wilds, yet the heart, or conscience, remained untouched by any elevating influences. Moreover, the moral influences that did exist, were positively bad, for the "civilization" that operated on these primitive people was immoral, degenerate. Therefore the savage pupils readily absorbed the vices of their teachers and examples, which were positive, but were not so apt to acquire their virtues, which were at best merely neutral. So they graduated from the school of "civilization" in a worse plight, morally and socially, than when they "matriculated."

To establish a school to "civilize" the children of the

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca.1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

CHAPTER VIII.

THE KARAYÁ.—RECEIVING STRANGERS.—PERSONAL ADORNMENT.—DOMICILES.—MENAGERIES.—FISHING AND HUNTING.—HUSBANDRY.—FOODS.

101 [161] THE Karayá tribe is divided into three great divisions, or separate tribes, called the Yavahé, the Karayáhy and the Sambiôa, numbering in all about four thousand. Little is 131 known of the Yavahé division except that they dwell in three 162 villages, or encampments, by a large lake, or lagoon, in the unknown interior of the great Isle of Bananal, which is between three and four hundred miles long and nearly one hundred miles broad, being formed by the two arms of the 133 Araguaya river. The Yavahé lake has an outlet into the [114] eastern arm of the Araguaya. In our descent of the Araguaya, we followed the western arm.

177 186 The Yavahé, though hostile to civilized men, and determined to avoid all contact with "civilization," much desire, neverthless, to obtain the steel implements, such as axes, knives and grubbing hoes, which civilization alone can furnish them. Neither does the Sambiôa branch wish to have any direct contact with "civilization" because they see plainly that their brethren of the Karayáhy division, who live in touch with the "civilization" that exists in the interior of Brazil, and which we know to be semi-barbarous, immoral and superstitious, are in a worse plight, morally, socially and physically than they themselves are—that they are extremely poor and demoralized, and suffer from various diseases, contracted from "civilization," with which they themselves are

609 of them are painted black and red, and have their faces daubed Many
[302] with a thick layer of black soot; others wear upon their heads
[301] crowns made of beautiful feathers; while others again, have
[357] their hair braided and decorated with the brilliant crimson
[411] and gold feathers of the macaw. All are armed with spears beautifully decorated with feathers, and with bows and arrows and heavy killing clubs. They present quite a military spectacle.

Disembarking, the first thing the visitors do is to show the savages their arms, especially the repeating rifles, which fill them with awe. The chief now hastens to declare that he and his people are friends of the white man, saying: "The Karayá is the friend of the white man; there is no lie with us," repeating this twice. Confidence established, some trading may be done without difficulty. Small children, and particularly, young girls, are very shy of the strangers, and usually creep into their huts and cover their faces with their hands. The visitor is never troubled by beggars, and rarely has anything stolen from him.

13 The Karayáhy division live along the main stream of the
162 Araguaya between São José and Santa Maria in twelve or
[648] fifteen villages or encampments, one of which, near Santa Maria, was completely wiped out in 1881 by the Kayapó
361 tribe. Their villages are not so clean as those of the Sambiõa, nor are the huts so well constructed.

191 Observing the speech of the Karayá, one can scarcely notice any movement of the lips; nor do they seem able to repeat exactly a sentence just uttered. They have many sounds which they produce with the tongue and swallow the
192 last syllable. Apparently, their speech is not related to any Brazilian aboriginal language. The most remarkable thing about it is that they have one dialect for the men and another for the women; though only a few words are entirely different, and with most of them there is but a slight, unimportant change.

142 Physically, the Karayá are one of the finest of the aboriginal races of Brazil. They are of medium size, slender and

CARAJÁ COSMOGRAPHY

By William Lipkind

The Carajá are an isolated people inhabiting a large territory slightly north of the geographical center of Brazil. During 1938 and 1939 I lived with the Carajá and collected a large body of textual material which forms the basis of the generalized presentation of Carajá world-view which follows.[1]

The Carajá universe is very small. Their own territory (Bananal), an island formed by a large fork of the Araguaya river is its center. To the west the great Chavante plateau stretches out to the huge river in which the sun goes down. All night the sun moves through the underworld and in the morning he comes up out of another river which is the eastern boundary of the world. If you paddle many days downriver, you will come to a village of the transformer Kanashiwe, the world's northern limit. An equal journey upstream will take you to its southern limit, another village of Kanashiwe.

The Carajá are perfectly acquainted with the middle portion of this parallelogram. Every beach, high bank, wood and lake along the Araguaya, every body of water and distinctive patch of ground within Bananal, is known and has a name. The tributaries are known in less detail and only up to a few days' journey from their mouths. Inland from the rivers their knowledge peters out after a short distance and you are soon in mythical country.

To the Carajá this world seems very large. The journey to its northern and southern limits is the initiation journey of the dead. No man since legendary times has gone very far toward the eastern and western boundaries, and, besides, there are two other dimensions, the underworld and the sky.

In the underworld, the original home of the Carajá, there was neither sickness nor death. As the emergence myth states, "More people kept being born. Nobody died. There wasn't room enough. When a man got old, he sat there in one place without moving. Kaboi couldn't add any more houses to the village. It was full. A new father was lying on the mat. It was time to eat honey. He went off hunting honey. While he was hunting he heard a *seriema* (Portuguese name of a bird) sing. He scooped a hole toward it and came out. He found fruit at once and decided to return. When he got back he gave his folk the fruit to taste. They found it very good and wanted to come out. They invited the others to come with them. Wobedu sent his folk out first and he went first among them. Kaboi came

[1] The work was financed by Columbia University.

/11 cont./

*532 on the nose slightly in relief. The tattooing is cut in as a small circle. The apron is reproduced in bast. The necklaces on two are made of bast, on the third of cotton. All three wear cuffs of cotton thread, which is wound around the arm between two raised rolls of wax. Likewise, all three wear ear rods. The shapes are thus reproduced fairly proportionately. The fashioning of the chin, the arms and legs, hands and feet is particularly good. Gentle reminders of the schematic representation of the clay figures are found in the formation of the fat buttocks and the stomach plate.

Other human figures are a rider and a gourd figure.

The rider (Fig. 67 /see p. 51 /) is represented very true to life. On the horse the head and tail /12/ are depicted, the legs supplied by long sticks. The rider has long cylindrical arms and legs; hands and feet are lacking; the head is offset. The lower body and legs are wrapped with raw cotton as trousers. At his belt he carries a sword and revolver, in both arms the gun ready to fire, all fashioned in wax.

The gourd figure (Fig. 68 /see p. 51 /), which represents a youth, is formed in most peculiar fashion. The torso consists [824] of a small round gourd, on the top of which a well-fashioned wax head is placed. On the head are attached a topknot, a braid wound with red thread, ear rosettes, and necklaces of cotton thread. /Figs. 69 and 70 appear here./ 2/A

*532 535 I would like to add here the reproduction of masked dancers. Masked dances resting on an animistic foundation take place ● [532] among the Karajá particularly in the rainy season (from October to April). Dance masks are used for this, and for the most part they represent animals. These masks are either plaited out of [225] [224] palm leaves and conceal the whole form of the dancer, or they [537] consist of a cane cylinder with a brightly colored mosaic of feathers stuck on, which is put on the head. The face is concealed by a covering attached to the lower edge of the cylinder; a leaf covering is tied around the shoulders and hips, so that of the dancer only the feet and the hands with the dance rattle are

2/1 [see p. 21 -- Analyst]

/7 cont./

132 The life of the inhabitants is determined by the sharp division of the seasons. The rainless period lasts from May to the end of September, and farther north even until far into October. Then broad sandbanks (praias) are exposed everywhere, with the sun [221] beating down on them day after day. For the Indians this is the real period of river life. Fishing then governs all interests. With the beginning of November the rainy season has usually already set [133] in with strength; in December and January the river is highest, ten to twelve meters above the low level. From bank to bank, without interruption, a tremendous mass of water fills the bed, flooding the neighboring low plains for some distance.

136 Swarms of annoying insects, mosquitoes and pium /a very 221 small mosquito/, which are completely absent in the dry season, now fill the air. The Indian is forced to retreat to higher ground, where he then attends to cultivating the fields and, if need be, [226] hunts. Fishing can be carried on only in the lagoons at this time.

133 When the water lowers, bad fevers are not uncommon on the 164 middle Araguaia, where extensive swamps accompany the river.

Hordes. The Karaya of the Araguaia are divided into the 101 three large tribes of the Yavahē, Karayahi, and Šambioa, which [161] together may number about 4,000 persons. The first inhabit the [131] interior of the still completely unknown Bananal Island. We know [361] only this much about it, that in its northern part there is a large lake near which the three villages of the Yavahē are located. It has an outlet into the eastern arm (furo) of the Araguaia, at the mouth of which some of these savages were spoken to for the last 177 time in April, 1888. In the meantime no one has sought them out here, although they have indicated several times their desire to trade with the colonists. They badly need iron tools, which now come to them only rarely through the agency of the Karayahi. In the villages of the latter one sometimes meets some Yavahē. They do not like to leave their hiding place in large numbers, since they justifiably fear importing epidemic diseases.

361 The Karayahi live in 12-15 villages of various size on the west arm of the Araguaia in the region of the navigable stretch from S. José below the mouth of the Crixas to the region of S. Maria.

/189 cont./

361 about five years; it is inhabited by civilized Indians who prefer
621 the advantages of civilization (tobacco, salt) to living together in the tribe.

162 Between the two hordes there is an intervening space of
22 a six and a half days' boat-trip (calculated downstream). As the
[361] reason for the unhabited state of this intervening area the Indians
[132] told me that they lived here on the high banks only during the rainy
[136] season, that in the dry season only a few and poor sandbanks were exposed and there were a great many mosquitoes; two facts which I am able to confirm. As a transit area, however, it is busily used; on both the journey upstream and downstream I came across migratory villages here in both directions.

361 Thus we come to 23 fixed villages.

The size of the villages varies greatly. In the north horde there were villages with one to eight houses; altogether I counted about 80 houses, so that on the average there were five to six houses to a village. In the south horde there were villages with one to four houses. Altogether I counted about 20 houses, so that on the average there were two to three houses to a village. The number of houses in both hordes together is therefore only about 100.

162 The number of inhabitants likewise varies. There were:
621

	North Horde	Koru-mare's Village	South Horde	Total	Immi-grant Šavajé	Total
Men:						
Adults	114	–	27	141	3	144
Youths	57	–	15	72	1	73
Boys (1-12 years old)	141	–	28	169	1	170
Total	312	ca. 20	70	402	5	407
Women:						
Adults	164	–	38	202	7	209
Maidens	22	–	12	34	3	37
Girls (1-12 years old)	129	–	28	157	1	158
Total	315	ca. 20	78	413	11	424
Total for both sexes	627	ca. 40	148	815	16	831

/277 cont./

501 [509] The boat is pushed over shallow places; to get over exposed sandbanks extending crosswise, wooden rollers are laid down on which the boat is rolled across (Ill. 9).

There are no anchors for securing the boat; stones with plaiting around them serve only as anchors for the bottom tackle for turtles. The boats are easily pulled up on the bank, and the boat pole is stuck into the sand through the loop; this is the whole mooring.

[415] Half-gourds are used to scoop out the water that enters.

[532] [484] [211] I saw decorated boats only in Village No. 20. Here, on the inner wall of a boat, there were light-colored human figures; another boat had 36 notches on the edge, which were said to be the number of nights required for a journey to the Sambioá.

484 Such trips lasting for weeks are usually undertaken in a large company; often the entire village sets out in a great number of boats packed high. By themselves the Indians only make [242] journeys of one or two days. By way of /278/ provisions they take only a little with them: manioc, maize, and the cooking pot; the fish are caught on the way twice a day. Rower and helmsman change places daily on longer journeys, especially if only two men are traveling in the boat.

502 132 Shipwrecks sometimes occur, especially while crossing the river in a storm. Such accidents, in which Indians lost their lives and of which several examples were recounted to me, are easily explainable in view of the high waves which storms create on the river and the narrow, low boats of the Indians. In fact, I myself with my boats (dugouts with one or two side planks set on them) was often forced to seek refuge from wind and waves for hours on high banks or on sandbanks.

The Indians endure bad weather on the journey rather simply. They quickly build themselves small sheltering walls out of poles and prepared palm leaves, which they always carry with them on longer journeys, or they pull the boat on land, turn it upside down, and lie down under it wrapped in their coverings beside a fire which they light in the center. They spend the worst nights of storm and rain in this manner.

/352 cont./

175 forced them to retreat, with a Šavajé walking on either side of each Brazilian. When the steamer whistled upon departure, many Šavajé, out of terror, leaped from their canoes into the river. In any case, from then on great fear prevailed among the Brazilian population concerning the more powerful Šavajé.

2. Dwelling sites. On the basis of my inquiries among the
361 Karajá, the Šavajé live in the interior of Bananal Island in three
[162] to five villages which are distributed over a long stretch of terri-
[131] tory. The northernmost small village is said to lie in the interior, three to four days above the north end of Bananal Island. The main village lies, in the dry season, about eight days above the mouth of the Furo on a sandbank at the entrance of a brook (outlet of the inland lake?). In the middle of August it is moved into the interior. It is said to be very large, "like a city"; Pedro drew six rows, each with 20-25 houses, in the sand. The bachelors
[346] are said to sleep in the mask house, located apart. Farther south, one to two days (?), one or two small villages lie in the interior
[114] of Bananal. I visited one of them from Karajá Village No. 15, from which it is located quite directly east. One reaches it by
[487] a well arranged route: after half a day's march, one comes to the Karajá village of Korumaré on a river. Either one travels up the river for one and a half days in a boat, describing a large arc to the south and east, or one walks for a day across the campo eastward to the harbor, from which it is another three to four hours' march to
[162] the village. The village, which contains five houses with approximately 100-150 /Pl. 59 appears here/ /353/ inhabitants, lies on a lake; it is moved several times in the course of the dry season.
[132] In the rainy season the entire region is inundated with water; apparently this lake then forms a part of the large lake that Fonseca mentions. I was unable to find out where the village is moved to during the rainy season. Finally, there is said to be a fifth small village still farther south, but the accounts about it vary.

131 This is the one branch of the Šavajé. A second one lives
162 near the south horde of the Karajá, and, indeed, in the two
101 southernmost villages: Schischá and near Leopoldina. They
361 migrated here in the last generation but one, for Chief Chico in
166

[Text continues on p. 312]

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca.1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

000 mas it was to me! How almost infinitely removed it was from the situations and environments of former Christmas days! I seemed to be a wanderer in a world wholly different from
133 that which I had formerly known. The afternoon of Christ-
[103] mas day, we passed the principal mouth of the Rio das Mortes—a river with an uncanny name because of a sombre history. It takes its name, I believe, from the fact that a party of explorers, while navigating the Araguaya in canoes long ago, were slain here by the savages. It is a great river, though almost unknown to the world, and drains a vast region
114 that is almost wholly unexplored. While passing the outlet of this mysterious river, a storm burst upon us, and our
[132] large canoe, becoming unmanageable, was finally driven ashore. Darkness closing in rapidly we prepared and ate our Christmas dinner in the wind and rain at the edge of the
000 forest. We had no expectation that Santa Claus would penetrate the unknown, mysterious wildernesses that enveloped us to fill our stockings; though a few of our party did fear that the tiger might come to us for *his* Christmas dinner. So we all slept under a large tree close around the fire.

764 The next day, we visited a Karayá cemetery on top of a hill. As we entered the cemetery, I saw one of our Karayá canoe men, who had preceded us, standing over a nice water-
[262] melon that had grown there. I wondered why he did not eat it at once as they are fond of this fruit. But he would not touch it, nor would any of the Karayá, because it was a product of the cemetery, and intended, perhaps, as food for those who had gone to the shadow land. Two of our party did eat it, however, one of whom was myself. But I must acknowledge that it tasted unpleasantly like a Karayá smells. Our woman voyager declared that we had eaten the flesh of a defunct Karayá. Broken pottery was lying about in the cemetery together with skulls and other human bones; while sunk into the ground or standing on the surface were large clay urns containing the osseous remains of dead Karayá. Pumpkins also were growing in the cemetery as well as melons.

/6 cont./

000 648 Xingu expedition. Their relationship to the neighboring tribes and to the Brazilian settlers of the rubber districts is, however, completely hostile here, so that up to now any approach was impossible. The Yuruna suffer most from their attacks. Traces of battles, devastated dwelling places, and the like were found everywhere by the first expedition of v. d. Steinen.

101 Some ethnographic objects from these tribes, acquired among the Yuruna, leave no doubt but that we are dealing with true Karaya here.

The likelihood that there is a still further extension of these Karaya into the upper region of the river was discovered by the 171 second Xingu expedition. Objects acquired among the Kamayura /Camayura/ (below 12° south latitude) allegedly came from a tribe known there under the name of Aruma: a broken club, various arrows, feather headdresses, which are completely identical with those of the Karaya. Also, the tribe neighboring the Kamayura, the Trumai, had much in common with the Karaya, for example, the men's custom of tying the foreskin over the glans with a cotton thread, the bast aprons of the women, which are, however, much narrower and shorter than those of the Karaya women, the feather headdresses, and the form of the arrow-thrower. The languages of the two tribes, however, show no relationship.

101 The Karaya of the Araguaia are no longer connected with those of the Xingu. The two are separated from each other by the great warlike Gẽs nations of the Kayapo and Akuã (Chavante), who pushed in between them a long time ago.

131 Their dwelling sites lie along the middle course of the Araguaia 133 between the mouth of the Rio Crixas and the first great rapids, S. 361 Miguel, where the river breaks through or flows around the mountain ranges which border the northern slope of the great plateau of interior Brazil.

133 Already below 15° south latitude it enters a broad plain filled with alluvial materials, which in general has the same character [137] about as far as S. Maria (9° 30'). Flat, densely overgrown islands in the river, the banks bordered by sand dunes, behind which rises on higher ground a luxuriant strip of forest which, however, as

/6 cont./

133 everywhere in the zone of the "campos," is narrow in width and
137 soon gives way to dry campland covered with stunted trees or to the broad, swampy plains of the so-called pantanaes /marshy places/, flooded during periods of high water. Innumerable lagoons, communicating with the river by way of narrow furos /natural communication between rivers or river and lake/ and likewise bordered by forest and swamps, accompany it.

133 The most remarkable hydrographic formation which characterizes the Araguaia is its division below 13° 25' south latitude, where its two arms enclose the great, flat Bananal Island extending across three degrees of latitude. From Itacaiu, 50 kilometers above the mouth of Rio Vermelho, to S. Maria, about 140 kilometers below the reuniting of the two arms, the river is navigable for small steamers at any season. The first of them, which at present is the only one still in use was brought in 1869 by Couto Magelhães overland from the upper São Lourenço to the Araguaia.

Mountain ranges come close to the river on the left bank only below 11° 15' south latitude at the mouth of the Tapirapé. /7/ A twin-peaked conical mountain important in the mythology of the surrounding tribes rises here. Downstream from the presidio of S. Maria both banks become higher. A rocky substratum appears. Stone barriers break into the river at various points, but without making its bed considerably deeper. Across from S. Maria on the left bank at a distance of about 20 kilometers lies the extended Serra dos Cayapos. Finally, the river enters the mountain region near the Cachoeira de S. Miguel with a definite dip. Besides the above-mentioned rapids it forms here the Carreira comprida and Cachoeira grande, through which it is again led to flatter terrain until finally, after receiving the Tocantins from the right, it winds over the last and greatest plateau-scarp through the violent chain of cataracts Tauiri grande and Itaboca.

137 Up to the mouth of the Tocantins the whole landscape around
134 the river has the character of campos throughout. Cultivable land is found only on the watercourses, most extensively, of course, on the main stream itself, whose luxuriant gallery forest presents a wealth of valuable useful plants and fertile soil for various kinds of cultivation. The higher bank regions below S. Maria are especially well suited for maize and the manioc root.

/7 cont./

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/45 cont./

87 Shooting stars are very aptly compared to a hook cast out
192 and the bait on it.

The rainbow is the "electric eel" (koadžī, the trem-trem of the Brazilians).

During eclipses of the moon it is said: ahañdō roro, the moon wishes to die. Pedro Manco denied that noise is made to avert this disaster.

The Petroglyphs of Martirios Island

133 About midway between the two great river rapids, the
[131] Carreira comprida and the Cachoeira grande, a narrow rock island about one kilometer long lies close to the right river bank, the Ilha dos Martirios (6° 22' south latitude), which rises gradually from south to north. Flooded to a large extent during high water, it is connected to the neighboring bank at low water. Its western edge then falls in steep walls from 8-10 meters high down to the surface of the river. Heavily eroded, they are riddled by countless potholes and broken up into groups of columns, pyramids, and arches. The predominant stone is a coarse-grained, horizontally-layered quartz schist which splits into huge blocks. The opposite bank has the same formation. The river runs here as though in a natural channel 150 meters wide with a very slight drop.

192 On the north end of the island, in part at its highest elevation (about 15 meters above low water), in part somewhat lower in the region of the high water line, there are visible on the stone blocks on the ground a large number of rock sculptures which are among the most remarkable on the continent and have become the center of a whole series of tales.

Only a few travelers have seen them; no one has investigated them in detail or copied them. Quite early they attracted the attention and stirred the imagination of the first Paulista bands of Pires Campos and the notorious Anhanguera (Bartholomeo Bueno the Elder), who visited the island at the end of the seventeenth century on their expedition to the Araes and their rich goldmines,

/78 cont./ [Plate II. Karaya. (cont'd)]

142 2. Two Šambioa warriors en face. The man on the left with
291 the feather diadem lurina on the back of the head (see p. 44),
301 bow, arrows, and club in his hand, the one on the right with the
302 small wreath-diadem (Pl. IX /see p. /, 6) and strings of glass
411 beads wound tightly around the neck. The large lower-arm cuffs identify him as unmarried.

Pl. III. Karaya. Karayahi Groups (taken in the last "summer camp" on a river island above the northern tip of Bananal Island).

1. Men, two of which wear arm-cuffs and knee-bands. One has the small feather rosettes with a central disk of mother-of-pearl in his ears (see. p. 46). Face painting with soot is recognizable. The straw hat of the older man sitting in front is not the one mentioned on p. 20, but a model directly borrowed
[501] from the settlers. In the background two long canoes and farther to the left in the distance the small Araguaia steamer.

342 2. Women, children, and young people sitting on the
361 ground in front of the tent-roofs of the summer camp, which are
516 made of mats. Two araras on the pole to the right, at the left on the bank a jabiru (black-headed stork).

Pl. IV. Karaya. Villages.

133
342 1. Full view of the first village of the Šambioa.
361 2. Reception scene in the third village of the Šambioa.
574

Pl. V. Karaya. Chief's hut (fourth village of the Šambioa).

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351
354 Group at the cooking place in front of the entrance.
415

Pl. VI. Karaya. Weapons.

411

1. Bow with wound bowstring and feather tassel (1/8).

4: Ehrenreich--106 E-5 (1888) 1891 SP9 Caraja SP9

Plate IV

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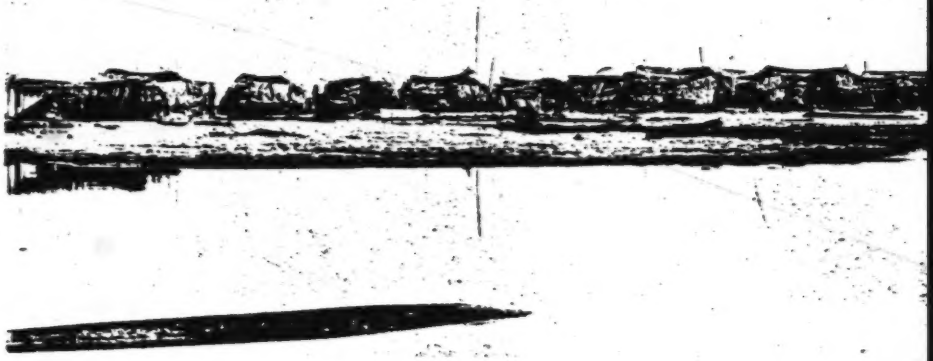

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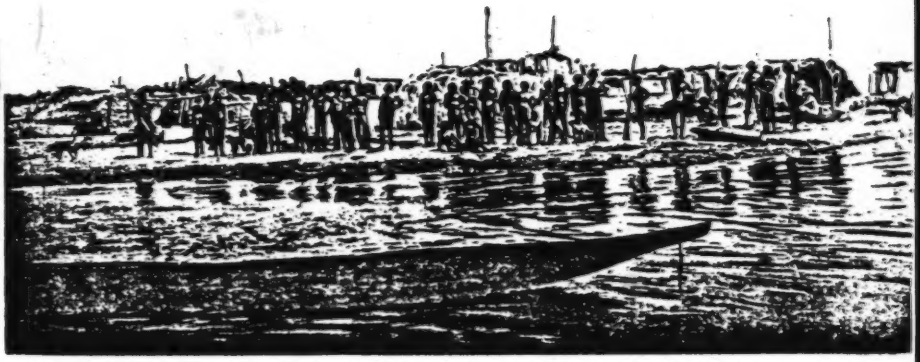

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Plate 10

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[340]

1. Karajá family under mat shelter. Near Leopoldina.

2. Steep bank with scrub woods. Araguaya River.

3. Swampy wooded bank.

4. Cluster of palms on the bank.

/Plate 10 faces p. 48./

Plate 13

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1. Mat camp of migrant Karayá Indians.

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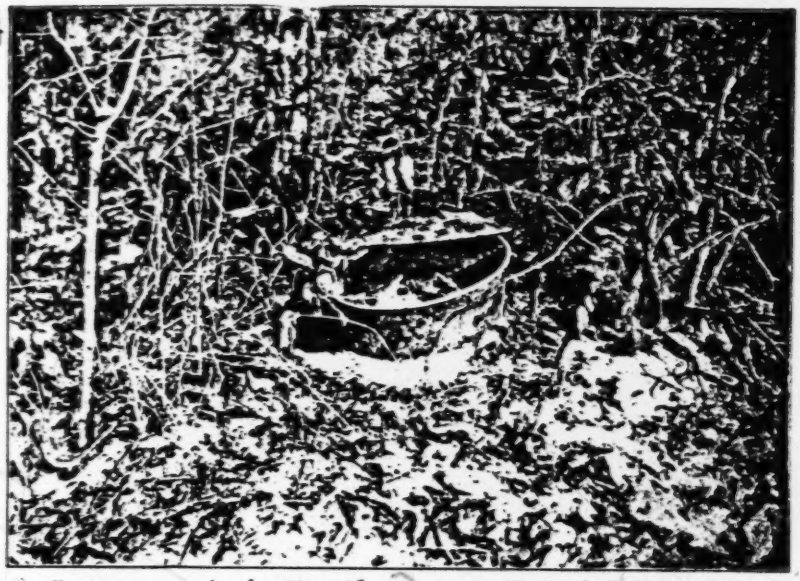


2. Funerary urn in the Karajá cemetery, S. Izabel do Morro.

/Pl. 13 faces p. 60. /

5: Krause--27 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9

133
137
501
504

Ill. 9. A place to which the Karajá push their canoes. Interior of Bananal. (Drawn from a photograph.)

/Ill. 9 appears on p. 136./

Plate 41

133
231
291
342

1. Shade roof, mat wall behind it.

133
342
361

2. Unfinished village: mat-wall camp beside newly built hut.

5: Krause

SP9 Caraja SP9 ●
Tapirape SP22

C
T
101
102
103
131
● 133
361

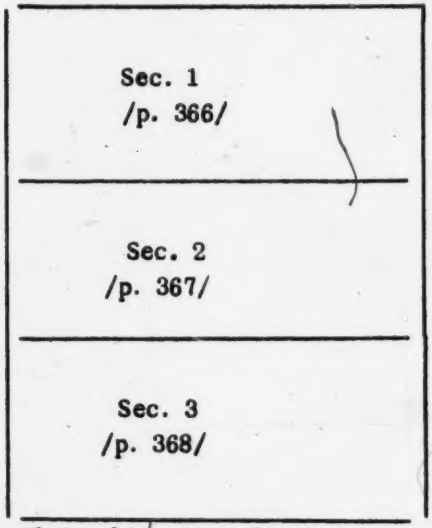


Chart of Positions of End Map A.
[Facing p. 365]

5:Krause--366 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9
Tapirape SP22

C
T
101
102
103
131
●133
361

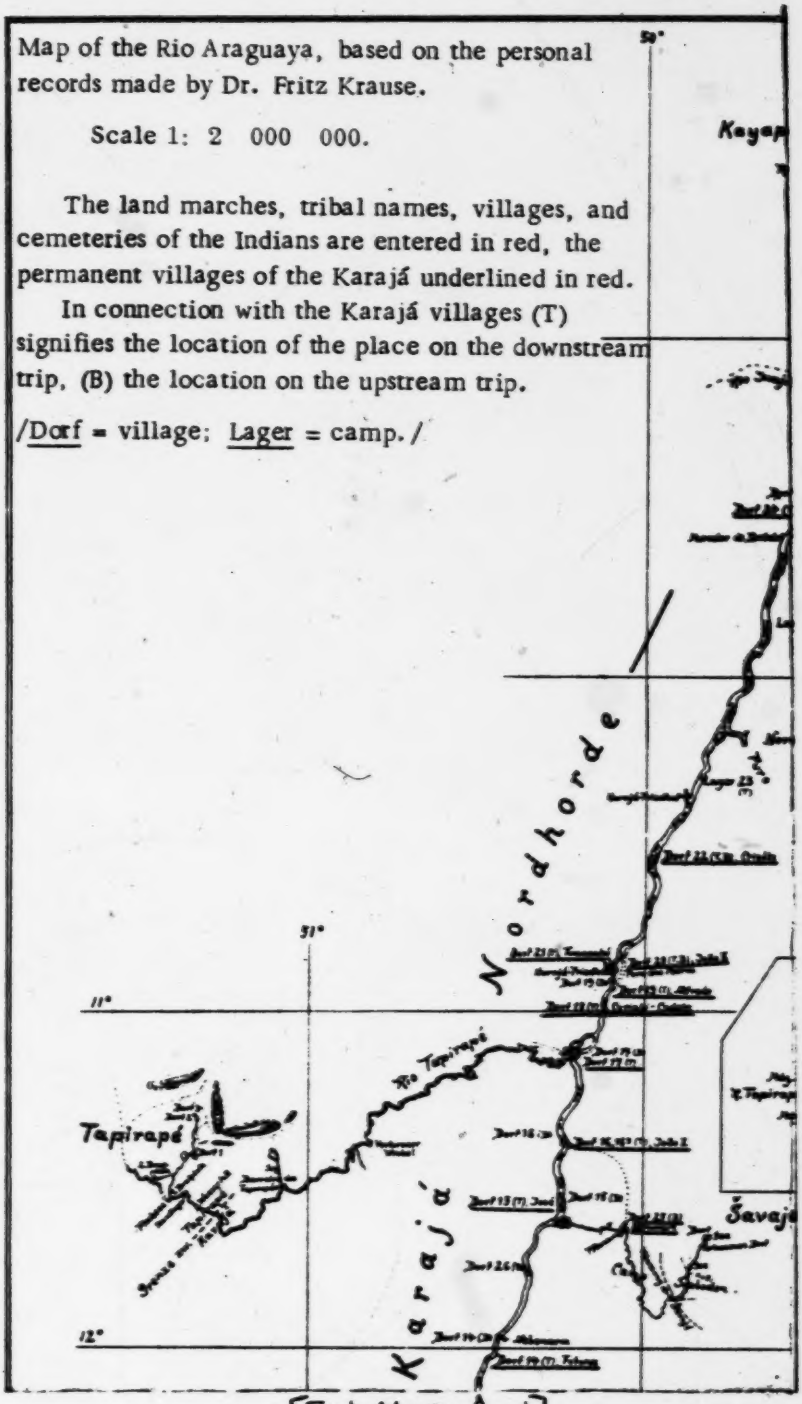
Map of the Rio Araguaya, based on the personal records made by Dr. Fritz Krause.

Scale 1: 2 000 000.

The land marches, tribal names, villages, and cemeteries of the Indians are entered in red, the permanent villages of the Karajá underlined in red.

In connection with the Karajá villages (T) signifies the location of the place on the downstream trip, (B) the location on the upstream trip.

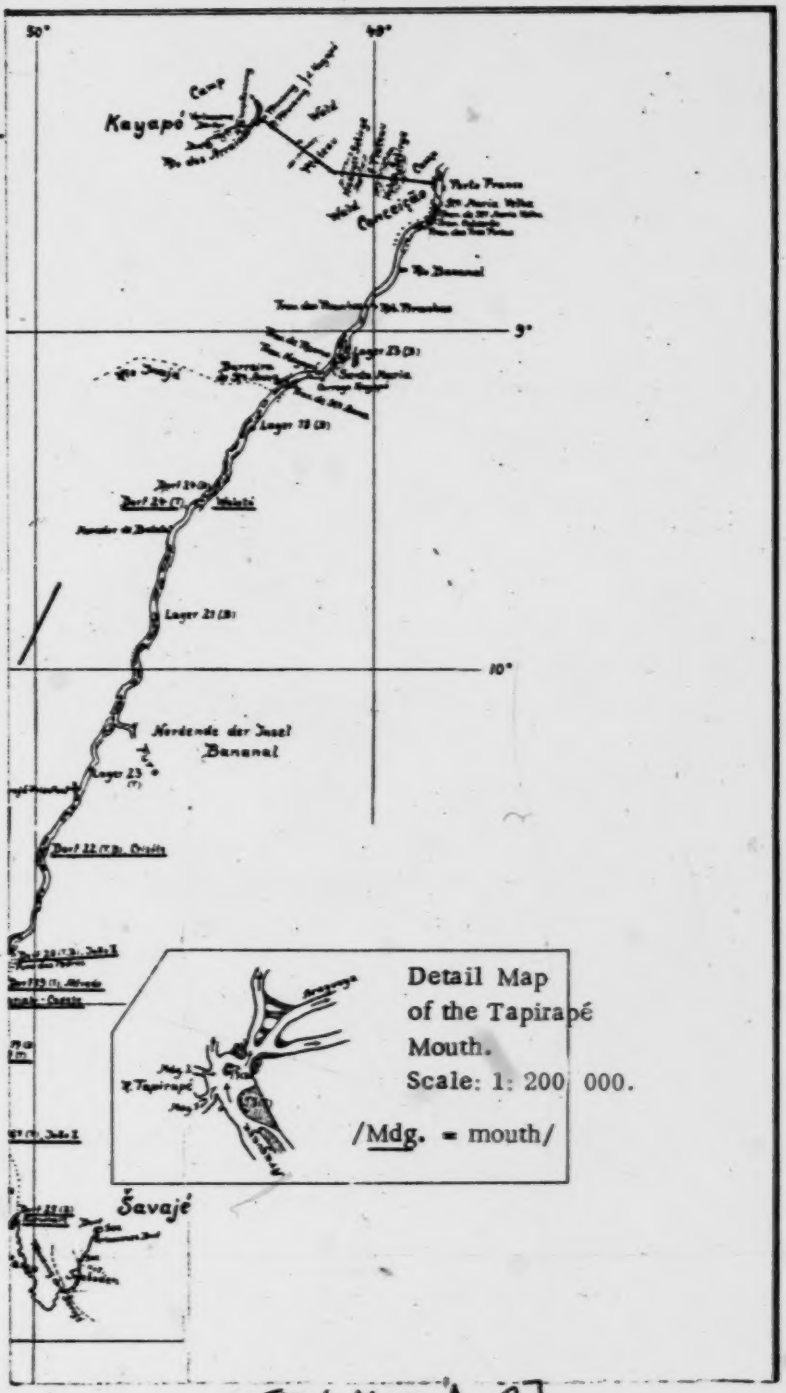
/Dorf = village; Lager = camp./



[End Map A-1]

5: Krause--367 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9 ●
Tapirape SP22

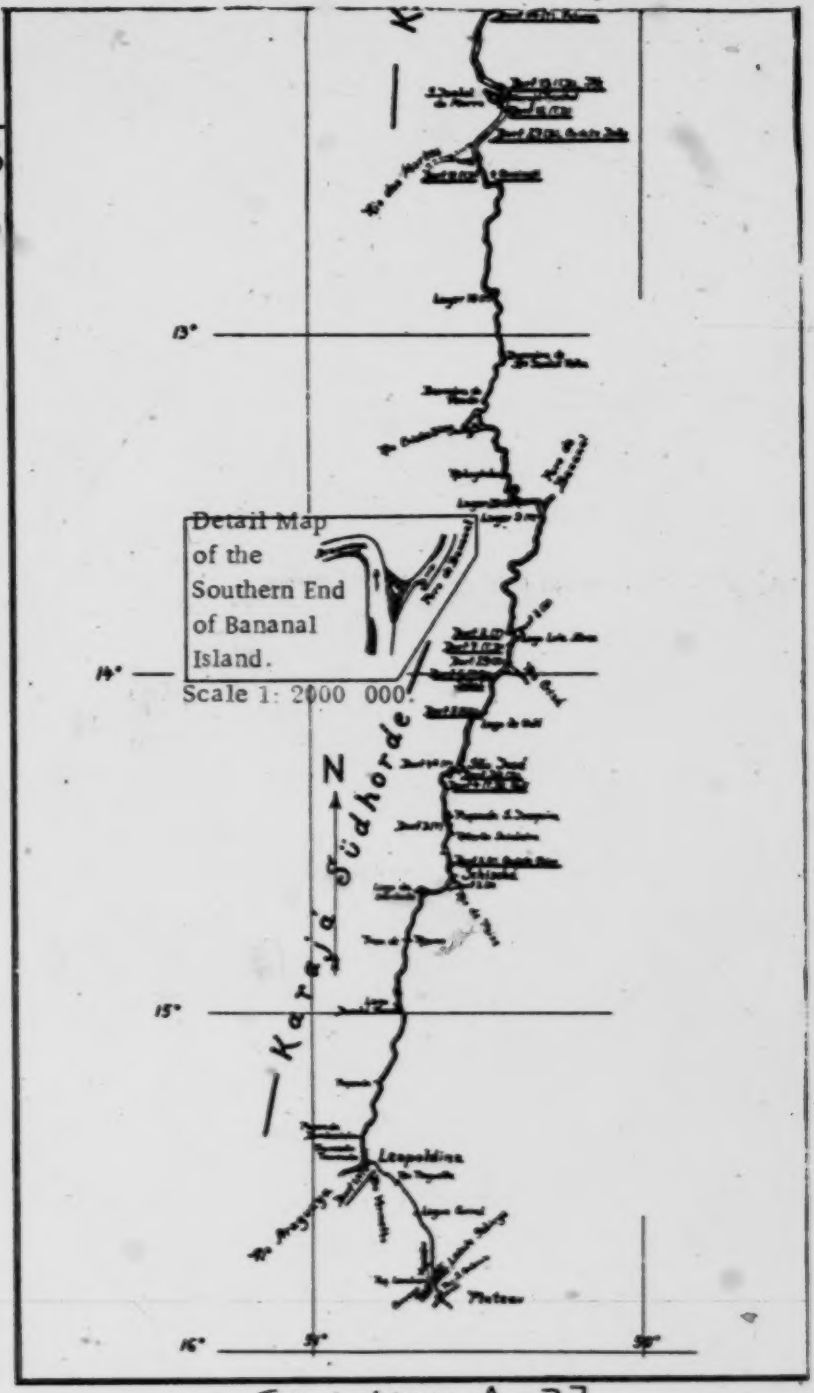
C
T
101
102
103
131
●133
361



[End Map A-2]

5: Krause--368 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9 Tapirape SP82

C
T
101
102
103
131
133
361



[End Map A-3]

5: Krause

B
C
T
102
101
103
131
133

SP9 Caraja SP9
Bororo SP8
Tapirape SP22

Sec. 1 /p. 369/	Sec. 2 /p. 370/	Sec. 3 /p. 371/
Sec. 4 /p. 372/	Sec. 5 /p. 373/	Sec. 6 /p. 374/

Chart of Positions of End Map B.
/Facing p. 368/

5: Krause--369 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9
Bororo SP8
Tapirape SP22

BCT
101
102
103
131
133

Survey Map

Scale 1: 20'000 000.

[End Map B-1]

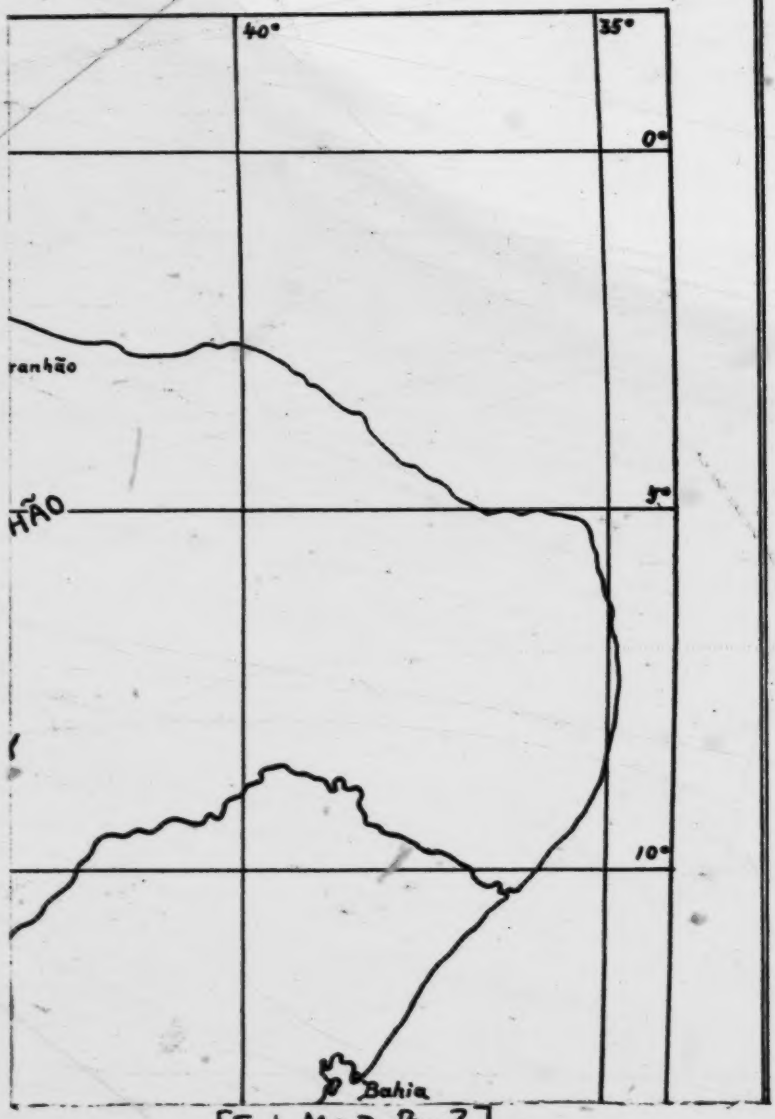
5: Krause--370 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9
Bororó SP8
Tapirape SP 22

B
C
101
102
103
131
133

[End Map B-2]

5: Krause--371 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9
Bororo SP8
Tapirape SP22

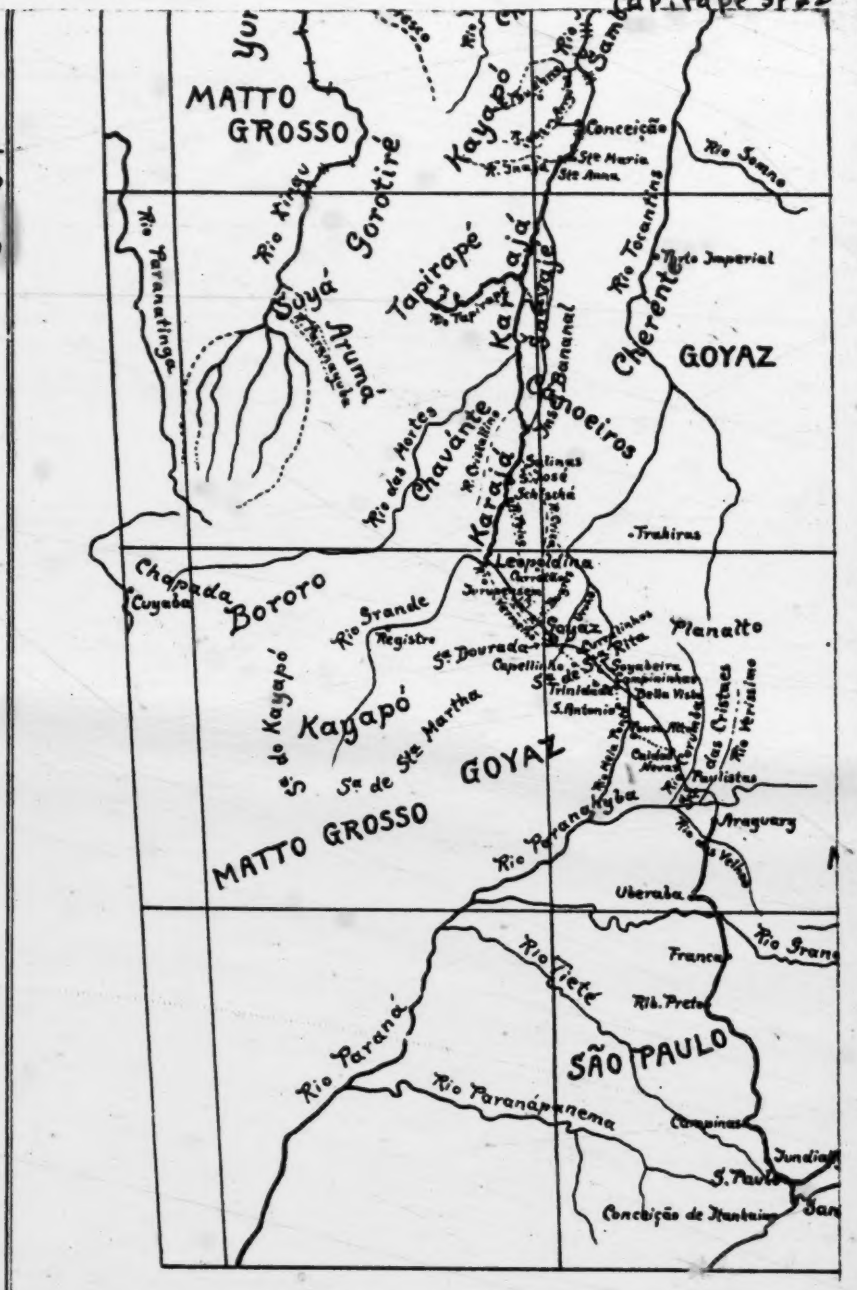
BCT
101
102
103
131
133



[End Map B-3]

5: Krause--372 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9 Bororo SP8 Tapirape SP22

B
C
T
101
102
103
131
133

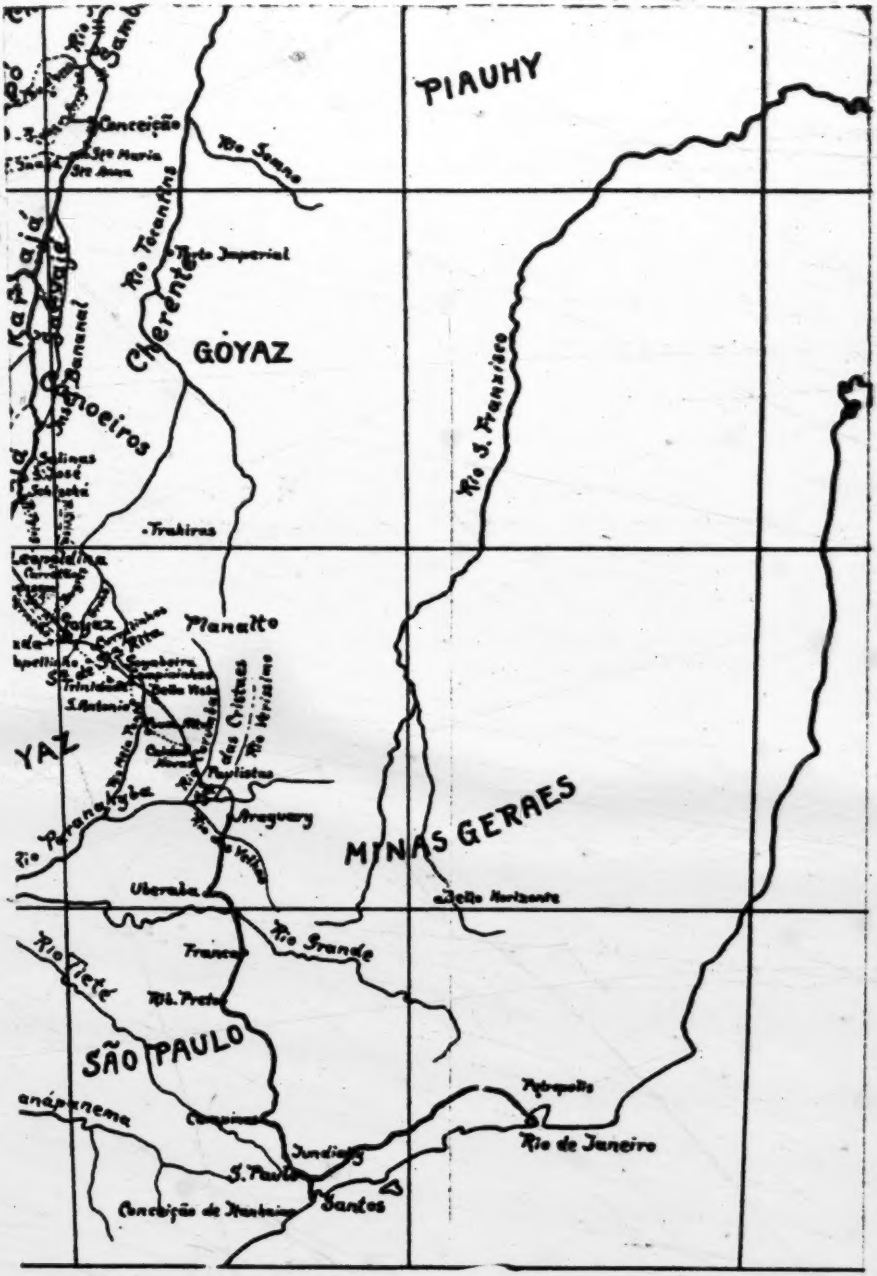


The travel route and the tribal names are entered in red.

[End Map B-4]

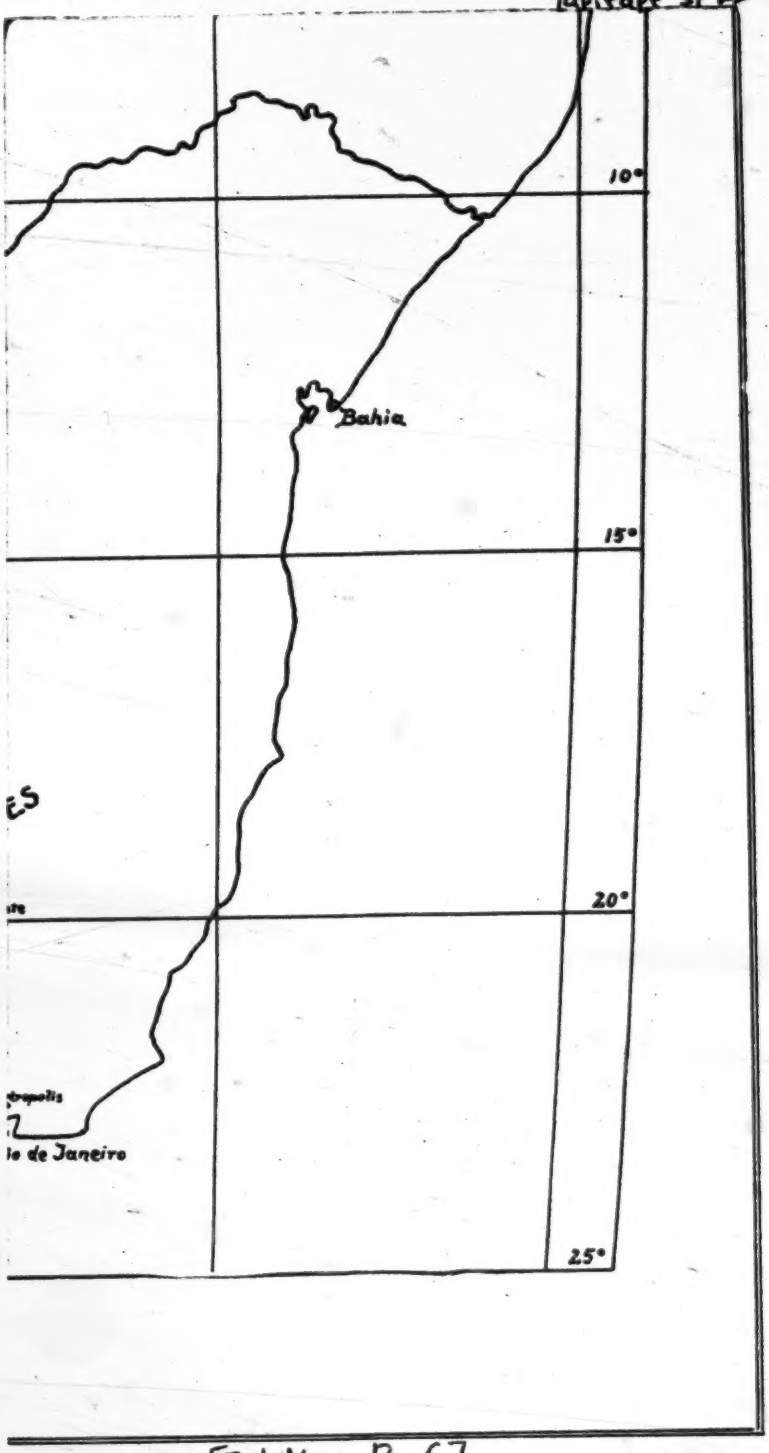
5: Krause--373 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9
Bororo SP8
Tapirape SP22

BCT
101
102
103
131
133



[End Map B-5]

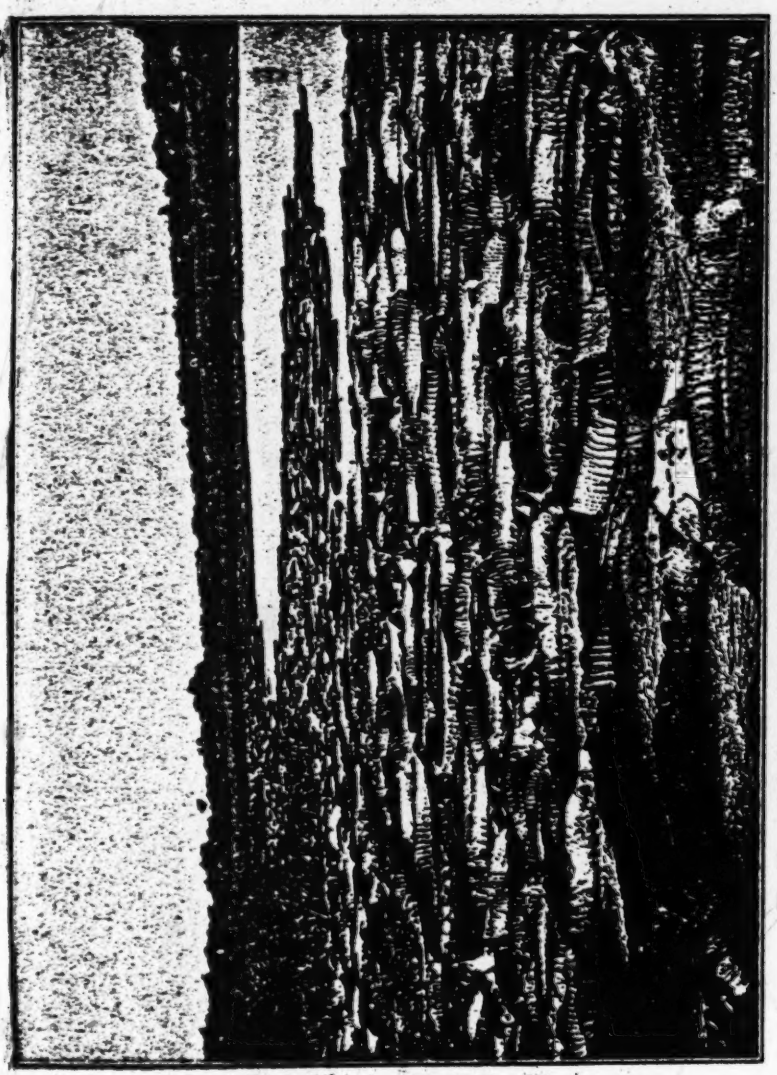
5: Krause--374 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9
Bororo SP8
Tapirapé SP 22



[End Map B-6]

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

133
137



The Home of the Famous Water Lily, the Victoria Regia. Each plant is six feet broad and will float a weight of twenty-five pounds.

[facing p. 72]

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

mas it was to me! How almost infinitely removed it was from the situations and environments of former Christmas days! I seemed to be a wanderer in a world wholly different from that which I had formerly known. The afternoon of Christmas day, we passed the principal mouth of the Rio das Mortes—a river with an uncanny name because of a sombre history. It takes its name, I believe, from the fact that a party of explorers, while navigating the Araguaya in canoes long ago, were slain here by the savages. It is a great river, though almost unknown to the world, and drains a vast region that is almost wholly unexplored. While passing the outlet of this mysterious river, a storm burst upon us, and our large canoe, becoming unmanageable, was finally driven ashore. Darkness closing in rapidly we prepared and ate our Christmas dinner in the wind and rain at the edge of the forest. We had no expectation that Santa Claus would penetrate the unknown, mysterious wildernesses that enveloped us to fill our stockings; though a few of our party did fear that the tiger might come to us for *his* Christmas dinner. So we all slept under a large tree close around the fire.

The next day, we visited a Karayá cemetery on top of a hill. As we entered the cemetery, I saw one of our Karayá canoe men, who had preceded us, standing over a nice watermelon that had grown there. I wondered why he did not eat it at once as they are fond of this fruit. But he would not touch it, nor would any of the Karayá, because it was a product of the cemetery, and intended, perhaps, as food for those who had gone to the shadow land. Two of our party did eat it, however, one of whom was myself. But I must acknowledge that it tasted unpleasantly like a Karayá smells. Our woman voyager declared that we had eaten the flesh of a defunct Karayá. Broken pottery was lying about in the cemetery together with skulls and other human bones; while sunk into the ground or standing on the surface were large clay urns containing the osseous remains of dead Karayá. Pumpkins also were growing in the cemetery as well as melons.

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca.1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

CHAPTER VIII.

THE KARAYÁ.—RECEIVING STRANGERS.—PERSONAL ADORNMENT.—DOMICILES.—MENAGERIES.—FISHING AND HUNTING.—HUSBANDRY.—FOODS.

101 [161] THE Karayá tribe is divided into three great divisions, or separate tribes, called the Yavahé, the Karayáhy and the Sambiõa, numbering in all about four thousand. Little is 131 known of the Yavahé division except that they dwell in three 162 villages, or encampments, by a large lake, or lagoon, in the unknown interior of the great Isle of Bananal, which is between three and four hundred miles long and nearly one hundred miles broad, being formed by the two arms of the 133 Araguaya river. The Yavahé lake has an outlet into the [114] eastern arm of the Araguaya. In our descent of the Araguaya, we followed the western arm.

177 The Yavahé, though hostile to civilized men, and de- 186 termined to avoid all contact with "civilization," much desire, neverthless, to obtain the steel implements, such as axes, knives and grubbing hoes, which civilization alone can furnish them. Neither does the Sambiõa branch wish to have any direct contact with "civilization" because they see plainly that their brethren of the Karayáhy division, who live in touch with the "civilization" that exists in the interior of Brazil, and which we know to be semi-barbarous, immoral and superstitious, are in a worse plight, morally, socially and physically than they themselves are—that they are extremely poor and demoralized, and suffer from various diseases, contracted from "civilization," with which they themselves are

/6 cont./

133 everywhere in the zone of the "campos," is narrow in width and
137 soon gives way to dry campland covered with stunted trees or to the broad, swampy plains of the so-called pantanaes /marshy places/, flooded during periods of high water. Innumerable lagoons, communicating with the river by way of narrow furos /natural communication between rivers or river and lake/ and likewise bordered by forest and swamps, accompany it.

133 The most remarkable hydrographic formation which characterizes the Araguaia is its division below 13° 25' south latitude, where its two arms enclose the great, flat Bananal Island extending across three degrees of latitude. From Itacaiu, 50 kilometers above the mouth of Rio Vermelho, to S. Maria, about 140 kilometers below the reuniting of the two arms, the river is navigable for small steamers at any season. The first of them, which at present is the only one still in use was brought in 1869 by Couto Magelhães overland from the upper São Lourenço to the Araguaia.

Mountain ranges come close to the river on the left bank only below 11° 15' south latitude at the mouth of the Tapirapé. /7/ A twin-peaked conical mountain important in the mythology of the surrounding tribes rises here. Downstream from the presidio of S. Maria both banks become higher. A rocky substratum appears. Stone barriers break into the river at various points, but without making its bed considerably deeper. Across from S. Maria on the left bank at a distance of about 20 kilometers lies the extended Serra dos Cayapos. Finally, the river enters the mountain region near the Cachoeira de S. Miguel with a definite dip. Besides the above-mentioned rapids it forms here the Carreira comprida and Cachoeira grande, through which it is again led to flatter terrain until finally, after receiving the Tocantins from the right, it winds over the last and greatest plateau-scarp through the violent chain of cataracts Tauiri grande and Itaboca.

137 Up to the mouth of the Tocantins the whole landscape around
● 134 the river has the character of campos throughout. Cultivable land is found only on the watercourses, most extensively, of course, on the main stream itself, whose luxuriant gallery forest presents a wealth of valuable useful plants and fertile soil for various kinds of cultivation. The higher bank regions below S. Maria are especially well suited for maize and the manioc root.

/10 cont./

302 The bristly or wavy black hair of both sexes is cut off straight above the eyebrows and hangs down in back over the neck. Dandies
[301] wear a part about three centimeters wide up to the crown /Fig. 1 appears here/, let the short crown-hair stick up like a brush, and with cotton strings tie the part hanging down in back into a braid, at the roots of which the men sometimes tie a decoration of blue arara or black mutum /curassow/ feathers (ušiktamaru).

301 In the pierced ear-lobes both sexes wear sticks of cane 15-20
[304] centimeters long for everyday.

The plug in the lower lip (anʒōō) is used only by the men. It
[824] consists of the light, flaky wood of the piuva tree and is either cut obliquely with a short point or runs out into a long, thin lamina hanging down on the chest (Fig. 2, b /see p. 18 /).

Boys primarily wear, instead of this, small T-shaped pieces of shell (idžă) (Fig. 2, d /see p. 18 /).

The most precious lip ornament, which is worn only on festive occasions, but otherwise is kept carefully wrapped in cotton, is a long, heavy, stone plug (manuterĕ) of hyaline or rose-colored quartz, the T-shaped end of which is stuck through the lower lip while the conical button hangs down (Fig. 2, a /see p. 18 /). Of the four specimens in the collection the largest is 17.5 centimeters long.

301 /11/ These lip stones, of which only a few have reached
439 European collections, are not made by the Karaya themselves, but are bartered from the Tapirapé, the Tupi people on the like-
● [135] named left tributary of the Araguaia. The mountain chains of the left riverbank, such as the Serra dos Cayapos, are rich in this material. A Kayapo stone plug acquired in S. Maria is shorter and runs out to a tapered, blunt end (Fig. 2, c /see p. 18 /).

304 Tattooing is limited to the tribal badge which both sexes
619 wear on their cheeks: a blue ring 10-15 millimeters in diameter (auʒamanurĕ) just under the lower edge of the orbit.

515 On the whole the Karaya are distinguished by scrupulous care of the body. They bathe several times a day. Their hair is
302 always carefully combed. All the hair on the face and body is
[412] plucked out. Shears are now commonly used for hair cutting,
[231] whereas formerly piranha teeth were used for this.

/281 cont./

412 Brazilian inhabitants, to be noted. This shows us how tenaciously
178 the Karajá cling to their nationality, in spite of long association with their civilized neighbors.

311 C. The exploitation of the natural kingdom varies in intensity; the mineral kingdom is exploited least, the vegetable kingdom, which can, of course offer the Indian the most abundant resources, the most.

135 The mineral kingdom is as yet little utilized. Stones are rare in the alluvial valley of the Araguaya; at most there is small rubble on a few sandbanks; otherwise fine sand covers the river valley. On the steep vertical banks there is canga, a ferrous sandstone which cannot be utilized except perhaps in larger pieces which, with plaiting around them, serve as anchors for turtle tackle. Stones are found only north of the Tapirapé, and all of the few stone implements that were present came from there.

317 More frequently used is the gray clay which is embedded in
323 narrow layers in the sandstone of the high banks. It is used for pottery. This art, however, in its technique and form, is still very primitive; ornamentation is entirely lacking. The vessels are shaped according to their practical use; they are made by
562 the women. Apparently the women are more practical and less artistically endowed than the men, for we find everywhere that the things made by the women are simple and practical, those by the men, by contrast, show pleasing forms and ornamentation.

317 Earths are also but little utilized as colors.

237 The animal kingdom is utilized somewhat more intensively for technical purposes by the Indians. Bones and teeth of mammals are worked into tools and ornaments; mussel shells serve as implements. The bird kingdom is most abundantly drawn upon: their brilliant feathers are used for magnificent ornaments such as
235 scarcely any other Indian tribe displays in this abundance. In order to have the material for this always at hand, the Indians keep young birds, taken from the nest, tamed in their huts in order to
237 pluck them from time to time. The wax of bees plays an important role as gluing material.

/7 cont./

132 The life of the inhabitants is determined by the sharp division of the seasons. The rainless period lasts from May to the end of September, and farther north even until far into October. Then broad sandbanks (praias) are exposed everywhere, with the sun [221] beating down on them day after day. For the Indians this is the real period of river life. Fishing then governs all interests. With the beginning of November the rainy season has usually already set [133] in with strength; in December and January the river is highest, ten to twelve meters above the low level. From bank to bank, without interruption, a tremendous mass of water fills the bed, flooding the neighboring low plains for some distance.

136 Swarms of annoying insects, mosquitoes and pium /a very 221 small mosquito/, which are completely absent in the dry season, now fill the air. The Indian is forced to retreat to higher ground, where he then attends to cultivating the fields and, if need be, [226] hunts. Fishing can be carried on only in the lagoons at this time.

133 When the water lowers, bad fevers are not uncommon on the 164 middle Araguaia, where extensive swamps accompany the river.

Hordes. The Karaya of the Araguaia are divided into the 101 three large tribes of the Yavahē, Karayahi, and Šambioa, which [161] together may number about 4,000 persons. The first inhabit the [131] interior of the still completely unknown Bananal Island. We know [361] only this much about it, that in its northern part there is a large lake near which the three villages of the Yavahē are located. It has an outlet into the eastern arm (furo) of the Araguaia, at the mouth of which some of these savages were spoken to for the last 177 time in April, 1888. In the meantime no one has sought them out here, although they have indicated several times their desire to trade with the colonists. They badly need iron tools, which now come to them only rarely through the agency of the Karayahi. In the villages of the latter one sometimes meets some Yavahē. They do not like to leave their hiding place in large numbers, since they justifiably fear importing epidemic diseases.

361 The Karayahi live in 12-15 villages of various size on the west arm of the Araguaia in the region of the navigable stretch from S. José below the mouth of the Crixas to the region of S. Maria.

/12 cont./

342 Only rarely does one see among them the characteristic solid
184 house-construction of the Šambioa and then only in smaller
351 dimensions, without any particular care in the construction. Since
364 all the scraps are simply strewn on the ground, the refuse gradually
[136] becomes unbearable. The vermin multiplying in large numbers,
especially the sand fleas, finally force them to abandon the place.
342 In the rainy season the Karayahi move into stronger, buriti-leaf
[361] covered, open ranchos on the high bank, which do not in other
respects differ in form from those customary among the Brazilian
population.

/13/ The "summer huts" of the Šambioa are very much more
[184] carefully and neatly built. Here the greater diligence, industri-
ousness, and the comfortable well-being of the free son of the
wilderness are manifest, in contrast to his "tame" tribal brother
vegetating in oppressive conditions and dependent on civilization.
[361] Not in disorder, but in long rows, forming real streets, these
houses with their impeccable cleanliness make an uncommonly
friendly and comfortable impression (Pl. IV /see p.106/, 1, and
Pl. V /see p. 107/).

621 In the first Šambioa village we counted 60 huts, in the
second 30, in the third 45, and in the fourth 90, each of which is
inhabited by one or two families.

The individual villages are distinguished by special names.
342 The basic form of the house is rectangular; the narrow side
with the door faces the street. The frame consists of three or four
[335] flexible poles on each side carried over forked supports and held
together with those on the opposite side by means of cipos, thus
/Fig. 3 appears here/ forming a boat-like, arched roof, which is further
supported by some vertical poles set in the ground in the long
direction (Fig. 3 /see p. 22 /). These, as well as the forked
supports, are connected with one another by as many strong hori-
zontal poles as are necessary. Thin laths are placed lengthwise
[824] and parallel to one another on the outside over the ribs of the roof
and serve as supports for the strong pinnate leaves of the uaguassú
palm (Attalea spectabilis), which, in several layers, form a fairly
waterproof roof. Their leaf pinnae are also entwined with one
another into a very solid plaited work. These plaitings serve

/16 cont./

276 824 (arikoko). One specimen in the collection is carved out of wood in its natural form (Fig. 4 and Pl. I /see p. 103/, 1).

252 Preparation of food. Directly in front of the house door is found the cooking place, surrounded by low pole frames on which the squeezed manioc is dried. Large earthen pots stand on stones [364] or clay supports over the fire. The ground around is littered with scraps. These heaps are the breeding places of annoying gray flies [136] (the so-called mosca da aldeia), which sting badly and, when they get out of hand, necessitate abandoning the place.

[462] Untiringly the women are busy throughout the day with dragging in the field produce and firewood, the preparation of manioc, pounding maize, opening palm nuts, and the careful supervision of all the culinary processes, in which the Indian housewife, despite the simplicity of the materials, knows how to achieve a relatively great diversity.

[876]

Fig. 4. Tobacco pipe (1/4).

372 824 Fire is still made wholly in the original way by means of the drill (hădă). It consists of two sticks. The thicker one, wood of the urucú plant, is fixed on the ground after a shallow cavity provided with a deep cut at the side is made near one end. Then the point of the second, thinner stick of taquara /Chusquea sp./ is set in this and is twirled between the palms with strong pressure until a hollow is formed at this point, out of which the glowing dust flows through the notch at the side and can be collected. Thus the procedure is precisely the one illustrated and described by Im Thurn (op. cit., p. 258). As in the method used by the Warrau /Warao/, no special tinder is needed. The pulverized wood itself supplies it. To kindle a livelier flame, dry strips of palm leaf are mixed with the easily flammable red resin (tamararu), which is like sealing wax, and then lighted.

/189 cont./

361 about five years; it is inhabited by civilized Indians who prefer
62 the advantages of civilization (tobacco, salt) to living together in the tribe.

162 Between the two hordes there is an intervening space of
22 a six and a half days' boat-trip (calculated downstream). As the
[361] reason for the unhabited state of this intervening area the Indians
[132] told me that they lived here on the high banks only during the rainy
[136] season, that in the dry season only a few and poor sandbanks were exposed and there were a great many mosquitoes; two facts which I am able to confirm. As a transit area, however, it is busily used; on both the journey upstream and downstream I came across migratory villages here in both directions.

361 Thus we come to 23 fixed villages.

The size of the villages varies greatly. In the north horde there were villages with one to eight houses; altogether I counted about 80 houses, so that on the average there were five to six houses to a village. In the south horde there were villages with one to four houses. Altogether I counted about 20 houses, so that on the average there were two to three houses to a village. The number of houses in both hordes together is therefore only about 100.

162 The number of inhabitants likewise varies. There were:
621

	North Horde	Koru-mare's Village	South Horde	Total	Immi-grant Šavajé	Total
Men:						
Adults	114	-	27	141	3	144
Youths	57	-	15	72	1	73
Boys (1-12 years old)	141	-	28	169	1	170
Total	312	ca. 20	70	402	5	407
Women:						
Adults	164	-	38	202	7	209
Maidens	22	-	12	34	3	37
Girls (1-12 years old)	129	-	28	157	1	158
Total	315	ca. 20	78	413	11	424
Total for both sexes	627	ca. 40	148	815	16	831

/199 cont./

417 Outside the houses, on the other hand, there are special storage racks (ŏdēdŭ). They consist of four forked sticks about one and a quarter meters high, which are set up in the form of a square and joined together by two crossbeams and many longitudi-
[251] nal beams. On these racks lie supplies of all kinds, manioc roots, unused implements and weapons kept on hand, as well as raw materials of all kinds; hung on them are gourds and baskets full
[287] of maize and feathers; the bast aprons of the women are also often hung here to dry (Ill. 24).

[225] For drying the lines used to fish for turtles, special racks made of two long vertical poles joined at the top by a cross-pole are used. The line, hanging far down, is hung on this to dry (Ill. 25).

Ill. 23.
Arrow-stand in the house.

[824] /200/ Fresh gourds are stuck on sticks to dry; near each house one sees groups of such staked gourds. Later, they are preferably stored by tying a whole number together on a stake (Ill. 26a and b).

354 Other household equipment is lacking. The hearth is outside
184 the house, in contrast to the Šavajé, among whom it is located in the round structures (see "Food" /see pp. 165 ff./); it was only in the modified houses in Schischá at the end of October that cooking was also done in the house. /Ills. 24 and 25 appear here./

364 House and environs are not very clean; food remains such as fish bones, nut shells, and bones, as well as wood, tools, etc., lie about everywhere. While it is dangerous just to come near the
[136] villages and houses with bare feet, the vast number of flies and other insects that gather in masses on the refuse is an obstacle to remaining outside the houses.

/200 cont./

to remaining outside the houses. In addition, there are the sand flies, /Ill. 26 appears here/ which, according to Ehrenreich, become so rampant that the Indians are forced to change their place of residence often (see below under "Village" /see p. 85 /).

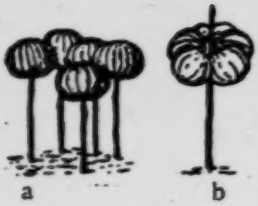
417

[225]

Ill. 24.
Storage rack. Drawn from a photograph.

Ill. 25.
Rack for drying the turtle fishlines.

[824]



Ill. 26.
a) Drying gourds.
b) Storing gourds.

514 There are no privies. To attend to their needs, the Indians go to a depression in the sandbank, behind the nearest bush, or into the woods. To clean themselves they use three small sticks which they break from a bush and then place parallel over the excrement. The urubus, which [136] live in great numbers near the settlements, quickly take care of cleaning the place. In order to piss the men go to the river. Here they go into

/241 cont./

136 yields. The country is also relatively poor in useful animals, and [224] almost all of the few animal species that can be hunted are not [262] eaten by the Indians, with the exception, to be sure, of the wild pig. The birds are very numerous; with the exception of the [223] mutum, however, the Indians do not seem to hunt any other bird. Thus, the water must supply the principal food. The river is extremely rich in fish and turtles; everywhere, in shallow places, in the depths, in lakes, but above all in the tributaries, one comes [226] across a quite startling abundance of fish. But even this abundance [262] is not fully exploited, since a few types of fish are not eaten.

A. The Acquisition of Plant Food.

462 The women essentially are responsible for the gathering of wild plants and fruits, while the men engage above all in pro-222 curing animal food (1). The following come under consideration:

> 1. This division of labor is ancient. In the myth, "How the Karajá acquired manioc," it is said of the father that he would not notice the theft of maize because he only knows fishing (see there /see pp. 302-303/).

the small oitŭ fruits, which are gathered in the forest during the first half of October; the pikĭ fruits (lămă), which ripen during the second half of October; the watermelon (kūblăkĕ), which grows on the sandbanks at the place where the banks are connected with the shore. The Indians know exactly those sandbanks on which the melons grow and gather them as early as the end of October when 222 the fruit is not yet quite ripe. Of palm fruits the following are 262 eaten: the seeds of the tucum palm (hăḷŭ), of the so-called coceiro (āhăndĕtĕ), and of the oaguassu palm (haûlēnĭ), the roasted seeds of which are called haûlēnĭdŏ. The fruits of the jatobá tree (kūwā) and of the genipap (bădēnă) are likewise eaten. Another fruit, from which a black dish is prepared, was called ādómo; it is

/244 cont./

527 Regular harvest festivals probably do not take place; the time of the ripening of the food plants, that is to say, the time when they have a great deal to eat, is their chief festival time, however.

B. The Acquisition of Animal Food.

433 The acquisition of animal food is as yet limited to the appropriative form; the Indians have not arrived at animal breeding.

231 To be sure, they keep a great many animals in their
825 houses, but do not use them for food, nor do they mate them,
[262] but rather, after loss, they catch young specimens again to tame these anew. This pleasure in animals arises from the belief that animals are related to man, are the same in essence; they believe that animals speak and act like human beings, only in a different form. And so they surround themselves with them in
[235] order to divert themselves by their behavior. Only birds are kept for practical purposes, namely, as suppliers of feathers; they are repreatedly robbed of their feathers, which are then made into ornaments. Tamed quadrupeds, as well as chickens, usually run around free; birds have their wings clipped or they are tied to a pole on the roof, in the house, or under a special protective
[438] roof (Plate 54, Ill. 1). Apparently there is a trade in birds, for several times I observed wandering Indians who carried little birds with them in small gourds, in order to sell them in other places. /Plate 53 appears here./

231 /245/ Of such domestic animals, I observed the following:
[136] Of foreign, imported animals there were: chickens [(h)ănĭ(k)ĕ], pigs [(ī)šā(nĕ)], dogs (kjŏ[ŏz̆ā), cats [(găh)ănlōĕnĕ]. These
[262] animals are not eaten; the Indians are not even acquainted with the eating of chicken eggs (hănĭkĕsĭ). Pigs are very rare; I saw only one large domestic pig, which was quite obviously kept only out of curiosity.

[Text continues on p. 155]

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223 until the uppermost one, finally, closed the opening of the little pyramid. Strings ran down along the edges, were fastened to the lowest rods, and crossed at the top on the surface; they barely held the whole construction together. The type of release is clearly shown in the sketch, Ill. 84.

[198] To lure birds and game the Indians use specific calls which differ according to the particular species of animal, as they know how to imitate animal sounds masterfully.

Birds must be plucked on the spot; they may not be brought to the village unplucked ("otherwise the chief will be angry"). While plucking, the fingertips are dipped in wood ashes.

223 224 [538] It is said that there are no magic devices for making the hunt productive; on the other hand, the Indians are fond of telling one another hunting stories, and, in doing so, they like to exaggerate and tell improbable things.

Ill. 84.
Construction of the bird trap.

226 262 Fishing supplies by far the largest portion of the meat food; the subsistence of the Indians is to a large extent based on it.

136 The Araguaya is extremely rich in fish (kǎdõlǎ); still richer, however, are the tributaries, especially the Rio Tapirapé and the many lakes that accompany these rivers on either side.

In the deep water of the lakes and on the high, steep banks, especially where fallen trees lie in the water, live the pirarucú (b'dõlěkě; Sudis gigas), three to four meters long, and the pirarara (dõlě; Phractocephalus discolor), which is equipped with strong bone armor and is up to two meters long. Upon being [533] [825] pulled out of the water, it emits air with strange sounds; the humorous Indian likes to imitate these sounds in his songs. Furthermore, the dogfish (lãdǎ), with its powerful teeth, lives here, and above all the worst predatory fish, the piranha. Various

/248 cont./

136 kinds are distinguished: the small yellowish one with a black circle on its cheeks, the whitish-red one (dũĕtã, kjũĕtã), and the huge black, red-eyed piranha (dũũlĭ), the largest specimens of which reach a length of 48 centimeters. The piranhas are vicious predators. When they scent wounded animals or fish, they hasten to them in droves and in a few minutes reduce a whole animal to a skeleton. They leap high out of the water in their greed, so that at such places huge eddies of water and fish are produced and gradually collapse again. It even happens that they injure
206 and devour each other. They live in vast numbers and huge specimens in the Tapirapé especially, and even the Karajá were /Plates 54 and 55 appear here/ /249/ astonished when a dogfish, hit in the head by a vertical shot from the boat, was pulled up after a few minutes as a mere skeleton on the arrow. The meat of the piranha is very tasty; but since the animals seldom come to the surface and can be caught only with the fishhook, they play only a minor role in the economy of the Indians. The latter, however, prize them and, whenever they can, seek to obtain possession of strong fishhooks that can withstand the strong teeth of the animal, and similarly tin to surround the part of the fishline around the hook like a mantle and thus protect it from being bitten through. In spite of this, a number of hooks thus equipped are regularly lost.

The pintado (Pimelodus sorulum), which is up to two meters long and has good yellowish meat, lives in shallow water, where the Indian can hunt better with bow and arrow, I saw matrincham, tokunaré, pacú (ãĭwã) caught relatively rarely. The carí fish lives in the caves of the steep banks and may be pulled out by the tail: it is an extremely tasty fish, which, however, has only a little meat in its armor.

136 Many fish, especially scaleless ones, such as aruana (ĩdjãzõ)
262 and others, are not eaten. Similarly the giant dolphin (boto: bũhã) is not utilized; its droll movements and its puffing merely afford the Indian occasion for mirth and humorous imitation.

[Text continues on p. 163]

/358 cont./

301 Dance belts (wăděkănă) of the male youth are not as elaborate as those of the Karajá, but are kept essentially simpler. One specimen is striped black and white lengthwise; on its lower edge, on a separate string, hang two bunches of Thevetia fruits and one to three feather rods, alternately. The other one, coming from Schischá, in addition to the lengthwise stripes, exhibits a cross-striping; on its lower edge, directly alternating, are fastened at each place two pairs of Thevetia fruits and one feather rod (Pl. 59, Ill. 12).

262 6. Food. The Šavajé, like the Karajá, live on the fish that they catch and the yield from their plantings. The lake
● 136 on which they live is extremely rich in fish, in spite of its shallow depth (0.75 to one meter); there were even pirarucús
311 in it. The planting lay far from the village, about six or seven hours away, on the edge of the rainy-season lake. It was growing extremely well and so thickly that one could scarcely follow the path in it. Close beside the new planting there was an older one.
482 Here and there filled back-baskets lay by the wayside, waiting to be picked up.

252 The manioc is pounded in a knee-high mortar (kōŏ) which
[912] has an approximately finger-thick wall, with a pestle (hāâù) of reddish wood 1.6 meters long and 0.10 meters thick, or it is rubbed on a wooden grater (wōlānăkĭă), /359/ picked over on the rod-sieve (brēdjĕ), and pressed in it. Then this meal is
262 mixed with water and cooked. Such manioc mush (iūālŭ) also constitutes the chief food of the Šavajé. In addition, I also saw yellow mush and green vegetables as festive foods.

226 Fishing was done by the young people with bows and arrows. Early in the morning they would already go out on the
[123] lake and soon return with a good yield. I received my share of everything, even of the huge pirarucú which was caught on the second forenoon. The lucky fisherman took out the entrails of the animal and then cut out the sides of the belly, which were distributed by the chief and placed on different piles. Then the rib pieces of three ribs each were chopped out and likewise distributed. Every family received its share; I, too, was given some.

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large dugout trough near a tree, then a rough slab of wood, 114
fitting loosely into the trough, is placed upon the manioc, and upon this again still other large blocks of wood are built up, all of which become the fulcrum for a heavy beam, the base of which is secured in a mortice in the before mentioned tree; and lastly, heavy weights are piled upon the outer end of the beam. The meal is dried by placing thin layers of it upon an elevated surface, like a huge griddle, under which is a light fire, then stirring it with a wooden hoe.

I saw here, near the dwelling, a valuable fruit tree with 136
hollow limbs in which five or six species of wild honey bees had established themselves. There are a great many kinds of wild bees in Brazil, but none of them, I understand, has [000]
a sting; and what is still more remarkable, all, or nearly all, make acid honey—or *sour* honey, as we commonly say. It is used as a drink, which is much prized, by mixing one part honey to five or six parts water and sweetening it with sugar. The expression, "sweet as honey," would be meaningless to many Brazilians. That honey needs to be sweetened with common sugar appears strange indeed.

At length, all the manioc meal we needed, or could carry, 114
was made and stowed into the canoes, and we resumed our voyage. I was astonished at the great quantity of this food stuff we were taking with us. Our canoes were loaded to the water's edge with it, and we seemed to have sufficient to feed half a dozen horses a month. But as we journeyed, [261]
and I saw the tremendous eating capacity of our Cherente, Karayá and Brazilian canoe men, I was convinced that we had none too much of the meal. These men seemed never to reach their limit—if they had a limit—for they always continued to eat as long as there was anything to levy upon. Their common dinner "plate"—or trough—was a large pan with a capacity of over half a bushel. Around this they all squatted, as it rested upon the ground, and devoured, a few with iron spoons, and the others with nature's five-tyned forks, gathering the food into large balls and tossing it into their mouths. One day, a large, fish-eating bird, called a [136]
manguary,

114 manguary, was shot, which filled our largest pot while cooking. When it was done, our men filled their bushel "plate" half full of manioc meal and poured the pot of game, with the liquid, over it. Just as they finished devouring this mountain of food, two of our party, who had gone fishing, returned with two very large fish; and "to save the fish from spoiling," they at once prepared and boiled a big pot of it, poured the mess over another half bushel of manioc meal, and soon this second heap of food disappeared also.

Fortunately for us, the annual rise of the river was late this year, therefore the *praias*—extensive sand bars—were still exposed. We needed these places to camp upon at night, as it was difficult or dangerous to sleep in the forest on the main land because of insects, reptiles and wild beasts. The [136] mosquito tribes are highly developed in the tropics, for they have the whole of every year in which to perfect themselves. Some varieties, called "powder" by the Brazilians, are mere specks and can fly through ordinary mosquito netting.

136 Many large and interesting creatures live in the Araguaya river. The *lontra* is the king of the river. It is a kind of river dog, or fresh-water seal. Its body is about five feet in length and it has four very short legs. It subsists entirely upon fish; but it lands on the beach to wander about, and bears its young in a hole which it digs in the bank of the river. When it pokes its head above water while in the river, it appears to be an enormous bull dog. I must confess that I was not a little startled when the head of one appeared above the water close to where I was about to go in bathing, as I had never seen the creature, nor knew of its existence.

Another interesting creature is the fresh-water dolphin, called a *bouto*—stub nose. It is a slate-colored carnivorous mammal which attains a length of ten feet, and a weight of six hundred or a thousand pounds. Its head resembles that of the hippopotamus; but it has no legs, and cannot leave the water. These beasts are very numerous in the Araguaya, or where fish are abundant, for I have seen as many as three pairs

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within fifty or one hundred yards of our canoe diving for fish and rising to the surface every moment to blow, whale-like. They can be captured only with a harpoon, but are rarely killed voluntarily by either the civilized or savage natives, though their fat is known to yield an excellent oil for lamps, for there is no animal in the Amazon region that is the subject of so many fables as this creature. The superstitious people believe that blindness would result from the use of this oil in lamps. One fable represents the *bouto* as a kind of mermaid, or siren; and is to the effect that it once had the habit of assuming the form of a beautiful woman with hair hanging loose to her heels, and coming ashore at night and walking through the streets of a village to entice the young men down to the water. If any one was so much smitten as to follow her to the water's edge, she grasped him around the waist and plunged beneath the waves with a triumphant cry. A man told me that if a human being were drowning in the river and a *bouto* should be near, it would succor him and bear him to land.

136 825

Fresh-water turtles exist in vast numbers in the Amazon region. They reach a great size in the upper Amazon, a full-grown specimen measuring nearly three feet in length by two in breadth. Its flesh is prized by both the "civilized" and the savage peoples living by the river. The eggs also are valued, scores of millions of which are gathered each season. Oil is extracted from these eggs, tens of thousands of gallons of which have been exported annually. Each turtle produces about one hundred twenty eggs every year. They issue from the river at the dead of night, when all is still, and making excavations two or three feet deep in the sand, turtle after turtle deposits its eggs in the same pit until it is full. The eggs are slightly larger than a hen's egg, are perfectly round, and have a flexible, leathery shell. To prepare them for eating, Brazilians boil them thirty minutes, then mix them with corn meal.

136 825

Alligators also infest in vast numbers the Amazon system of rivers. Indeed, they exist in myriads in some streams so

136

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136 that "it is scarcely an exaggeration to say that the waters of the Solimoens are as well stocked with large alligators in the dry season, as a ditch in England is in summer with tadpoles."

The anaconda, (eunecetes murinus) or great water serpent, is another interesting creature. It has been known to reach a length of forty-two feet, and to girt four feet. Its greatest thickness is about half way between its head and tail, from which point it gradually tapers both ways. Some Brazilians eat the flesh of this creature.

A fish that interested me is the sting-ray, which looks like a huge, animated pancake. It is ten or twelve inches broad, three inches thick, and almost entirely limbless. Its nose projects only slightly, and it has a stub tail about three inches long armed with a poisonous spine. There are two holes on the upper side of the pancake for eyes, while the mouth is a slit on the under side. It swims very rapidly by an undulating motion of its rim. Near evening every day, these fish bury themselves in large numbers in the half floating mud near the edge of the water to feed, apparently; and if a bather should tread upon one, it will plunge its spur into his ankle instantly, causing a painful wound, difficult to heal. The Brazilians call the fish *lightning*. Its flesh is coarse and tough, and unfit for human food. It is very annoying to a fisherman when it bites his hook, for it seems to be endowed with nine lives, requiring a long time to die, and he dare not handle it because of the spur.

Another small, but dangerous fish, is the *piranha*. These fish exist in shoals in deep spots in the river sheltered from the current. They are never more than a foot in length, have a fearful array of sharp teeth, and are terribly voracious. A line dropped where they are, baited with a bit of meat, will have scarcely touched the water when a whirring sound will be heard and one of them will be on the hook and thousands more trying to get on. No one ventures to bathe where they are, for he might be fearfuly lacerated before escaping from the water.

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The largest fish in the river are eight or ten feet in length 136
and encased in an armor of big scales. Still other fish will be mentioned later.

After a five o'clock dinner one afternoon, we cast off again 000
in order to take advantage of the current during the early part of the night. How strangely beautiful and romantic were the scenes that encircled us as we were borne quietly along on the bosom of the mighty, silent, placid flood and the shadows of night, pursuing the fleeing day, stole slowly over us! The boundless forest on both sides of the river, standing, or kneeling down into the water, seemed a vast guard of honor presenting arms, or two grand armies standing at attention. At length, calm and solemn night enveloped us in her sombre mantle. Two hours later, the full moon arose like a Queen of Glory in all her splendor, and radiated a flood of brilliant, delicious light that glorified river and forest and transfigured the savage world through which we were silently moving like spectres. I felt like exclaiming in the words of the Psalmist, "Praise ye him, sun and moon: Praise him all ye stars of light!"

Soon, we reached a little hamlet called São José, that at [361]
the time of our visit, was in an advanced state of decay. This was the last outpost of "civilization," and the few people who lived here were cut off from the rest of the world and barely managed to eke out an existence. As I was sitting in our canoe one evening while we tarried here, some large fish heads that had been lying on the beach were thrown into the water; and the instant they struck the water, several fish one to two or more feet in length shot out of the water in the vicinity and glided, or ricochetted over the surface in every direction. They were frightened, apparently, by the large heads. We bought a fat cow here for three dollars and fifty cents and salted the meat down; but as the curing was not properly done, we finally lost the meat. 123

We found a small group of the Karayá living at São José. [162]
We met the Karayá for the first time just before arriving here. They interested me greatly. Doubtless I appeared no

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Chapter VII.

LIFE IN THE SAVAGE WORLD.—JUNGLE DINNERS.—SYLVAN DORMITORIES.—MIDNIGHT ADVENTURES.

Leaving São José, we entered an altogether savage world, 114
encountering not a vestige of "civilization" again for six or seven hundred miles. We often journeyed part or all of the night, allowing ourselves to be borne along by the current. But I soon found traveling by night very dangerous, especially while we were in the upper part of the river, for there were many obstructions in the river; and the pilot, who was supposed to keep a sharp lookout so as to arouse the oarsmen when danger threatened, often fell asleep, with the result that both our lives and our property were imperiled. Frequently, as we floated quietly onward in the darkness and stillness of the night, we were suddenly thrown into intense excitement because threatened with destruction. But, we never suffered any harm. An unseen Power was caring for us, notwithstanding the carelessness of our canoe men.

As our beef spoiled, we had to depend upon fish and game 114
for our meat, which we never lacked, usually having an 136
abundance. As regards fish, it was much to our advantage that the river was still low. When it rises above its banks and submerges the contiguous country, which it does in places many miles inland, it is difficult to catch fish; one reason being that the fish now find a great abundance of food. We fished every day with hook and line as we floated along with the current, and usually caught very large fish—so

Brazil.

114 large, indeed, that one was sometimes sufficient to make two
136 meals for our entire party, notwithstanding our enormous eating capacity.

000 One day, I witnessed a new use for tobacco. A large fish having been hooked, and played until nearly exhausted, was drawn gradually alongside the canoe; then the angler, having masticated a big lump of tobacco, injected it into the mouth of the fish, causing it to stiffen instantly, with the tail slightly curved, in which condition, it was easily drawn into the canoe. If tobacco will paralyze a fish, can it fail to injure the human consumer?

114 As there were many kinds of water and tree fowls along
136 the river, we dined frequently upon game. At other times, wishing a still greater assortment of food, and to enjoy the chase, we disembarked for a few hours to hunt deer, pigs,
000 tapirs and the like. One morning, a nice pig having been taken in the thicket near the edge of the river, we landed on the first sand-bar for breakfast. Getting ashore, a few of our men set to work at once to prepare the pig, while the others watched the operation, each one evidently thinking of making a good meal, and the part he would select for his portion. The repulsive turkey-buzzards—the scavengers of South America—getting wind promptly of what was occurring, came to observe with an anxious, give-us-the-tripe look, and flopped and jumped about awkwardly, like sack racers, their constantly increasing numbers forming a black ring around us. Our colony of dogs, also, stole quietly about seeking an opportunity to levy upon something. Soon, the pig was cleaned and each of us chose his favorite part. The scene presented was amusing: One man, having roasted the liver at the camp fire, was eating it with a relish; another was stewing the heart; two others were roasting the hams with much solicitude, thinking of the feast they would have slicing and eating from them momentarily during the rest of the day and evening as they paddled, or floated onward in the canoes. The little, old Karayá captain, recently added to our crew as a pilot, had cheated the buzzards of the tripe and

[i.e., Pig Tripe--Analyst]

was baking it; a Cherente had chopped up the head and was stewing it, his appetite gaining in strength every moment. I contented myself with two slices of steak which I empaled on a spit and broiled.

These pigs subsist entirely upon wild fruits and vegetables, and the meat is excellent, especially if the animal is young. They have no layer of fat under the skin, as does the domestic pig. Some varieties roam about singly, while others go in herds of one or two hundred.

When an enemy approaches one of these herds, the alarm is given and they instantly arrange themselves in the form of a crescent, so Brazilian hunters say, and advance to the attack tossing their tusks constantly from side to side, grunting and snuffing, and emiting a disgusting odor. If the enemy does not quickly make his escape, he will be mangled. Jaguars always skulk near these swine bands, for they have but to steal up and seize a pig whenever they wish to dine. It is said that these great cats know well the danger of an attack by the pigs, so act discreetly. When one is hungry for pork, he conceals himself close to the line of march of the swine, lying in wait until the entire herd files past; then, as the last pig is passing, he springs suddenly upon it, breaks its neck, drops it, and scrambles up a tree. The unfortunate pig of course utters a squeel of alarm when seized, so its companions at once form in battle array and advance upon the foe. Soon, they encircle the spot where the victim lies dead, but seeing no enemy, they again form into line and move on. The jaguar, then descends and enjoys a quiet meal.

As we journeyed, we passed splendid grazing lands that appeared like beautiful meadows; next, we saw what resembled pretty apple orchards; then charming parks; then groves of shade trees where we almost expected to see a farmer's house; and finally, tracts of dense forest where the branches of the huge, spreading trees were heavily and elegantly draped and festooned with enormous masses of climbing vines. One of the many things that attracts one's attention in the Brazilian forest is the great extension of the branches of the trees,

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137 for they frequently appear to reach out from the trunk seventy or eighty feet.

114 We often disembarked at some charming arboreal palace to prepare and eat our food, for, on the sand-bars, we could not always obtain fuel, and were, moreover, exposed to the blistering heat of the sun. At such times, when we were not troubled by insects, we enjoyed a delightful picnic, with which our jungle banquet was in keeping. Occasionally, we were forced to pass the night in the forest. Late one afternoon, we disembarked in the forest for dinner; but before we had finished our repast, a storm broke and darkness closed in quickly upon us—darkness, too, that could almost be felt, obliging us, finally, to grope our way among the trees as if we were blind. It was unsafe to reembark, so we hastily pitched our tents while we could still see a little. I swung my hammock in my tent, and our motley company of canoe men stretched themselves side by side on the ground, forming a human carpet, over which I was suspended, like judgment. The dripping of the rain on our canvas house, the moaning and sighing of the wind through the forest, and the incessant rumble and boom of the thunder, were the only sounds. Soon, the strata of humanity on the ground was snoring loudly, undisturbed even by the bats that bled them on the toes. Some time after high night, because of the still-
[136] ness, I gradually became conscious of the fact that the storm had ceased, then that the snoring also had ceased, succeeded by a continual slapping, for the mosquitoes had come in clouds and filled our tent, now that there was no rain or wind. "Let us go outside!" exclaimed Sépé, the Cherente, to his companions, and the tent was promptly vacated by all but myself. They imagined they would be free from the little pests in the open air, for, having filled a tent or a house, they torment the occupants all night long, whereas, in the open air, they are in motion but a short time. This time, however, there were myriads of mosquitoes outside the tent as well as in; and again Sépé called out, addressing me, "Shall we not go away from here at once?" I replied in the affirmative,

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for to sleep was impossible; and though the darkness was still so gross that we had to feel our way down to the river, we struck camp, tumbled everything into the canoes, then casting ourselves into the arms of the great, silent flood, were swept rapidly away. 114

We saw the tracks of the tapir everywhere, but did not have the good fortune to capture one while on the Araguaya. They always make for the water at full speed when alarmed, remaining below the surface a surprising length of time. When the jaguar springs upon the back of the tapir and tries to break its neck, he sometimes fails, for its neck is short, very thick and strong. It rushes madly toward the river at such times, dashing among the trees and through the dense underbrush, bolting under fallen trunks and bumping against some in a manner most unpleasant for its ferocious rider, so that he is usually glad to seize the first opportunity to dismount. The jaguar is known to have been killed in one of these wild stampedes, its neck being broken in collision with a tree. I have heard of such a horse and rider tearing through an encampment and among hammocks occupied by sleeping men. 136

We were often entertained at dawn by monkeys roaring their morning anthem. The great volume of sound seemed to indicate that there were a dozen of these vocalists and that they were a mile distant from us, when, in truth, there were but two and they only a quarter or half a mile distant. There are thirty or forty varieties of monkeys in the Brazilian forests, most of which will doubtless never be seen in zoological parks, for they cannot live in captivity, not even in their native land. We frequently saw colonies of one kind or another climbing about among the tree-tops, or sitting on their haunches observing us.

One day, we sighted far down the river in advance of us, what appeared to be two lines of soldiers drawn up at the water's edge. Studying the objects with a field glass, we found them to be a line of giant storks standing at the margin of the river waiting to seize their breakfast of fish.

Brazil.

136 They are as tall as a man, and, standing in line, their uniform black heads, white breasts and long, black legs, gave them a decidedly military appearance. The reflection in the water gave the illusion of a double line. I believe this is the largest bird that flies. It must have a long, clear space or it cannot rise. From standing humped up, like a goose on a cold day, it takes a few hesitating steps, then several determined strides, then breaks into a run, followed by a long series of big jumps and flapping of its huge wings, until, finally, it gets clear of the ground.

114 As we were borne along at night where the river was broad and deep and free of obstructions, all slept, or tried to sleep, excepting one or two watchers. My improvised bed in our large canoe was made of a large, square tin can, the side of a big tin wash-basin and the half of a gourd shell. My companions reclined on similar beds.

609 One obscure night, as we moved silently onward, like a giant phantom, we descried a light some distance ahead and heard Karayá shouting to us from a sand island. Fearing that they might not be friendly, and because of the darkness, our first thought was to pass on and not land where they [226] were. But a moment later, we discovered that they were a friendly fishing party; so we went ashore. As we drew [533] near to land, our Karayá pilot, Pedro Monco, sang one of their familiar tribal songs. It was of a joyful strain, though extremely peculiar, suggesting, somewhat, the running and bleating of a deer. tI is usually sung for the purpose of announcing to those on shore that visitors are arriving, that they are friendly, and that they are happy to meet their friends on land. Our trumpets were also sounded, and I played a hymn on the cornet. Our arrival appeared to give the fishing party much pleasure. The first thing they asked for was manioc meal and fish hooks. They were all in nature's dress, except the captain of the band, who wore a blanket.

262 Soon after we disembarked, which was past midnight, a [252] Karayá appeared with what resembled a skinned cat, and placed it over the fire to broil. "What is this?" I inquired.

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

to color, then inject into the wounds a milky secretion taken 232
from the skin of small frogs or toads. Therefore, when the new feathers grow out, they are of a brilliant yellow or orange color, without any mixture of blue or green, the natural color of the bird. It is said that when this new plumage is plucked, the next growth will still retain the new colors without further treatment.

Many of the mammals captured by the Karayá in in- 231
fancy, become very tame. They are raised successfully, nursed either by a slut, or at the human breast. These tamed animals include various kinds of monkeys, the capibára, a rodent which becomes as large as a six-month old pig, agutís, picárres and tapirs. Of reptiles, the Karayá keep turtles, large lizards and alligators, the last named of which lie in pools of water on the sand bottoms, held captive by a cord around the body. The Karayáhy division has comparatively [184]
few domesticated creatures.

Like most of the South American tribes, the Karayá are 433
primarily fishermen, obtaining their flesh food more from the river than from the forest. A few tribes, however, that do not live near streams of any importance, are compelled to rely almost wholly upon the chase for their meat, and so become more expert hunters than fishermen. As elsewhere stated, all the aborigines of South America, except the nomadic tribes, engage in agriculture to some extent, though to a very limited degree, except where they have obtained axes, grubbing-hoes and large knives from the civilized people.

The best time to fish along the Araguaya is during the 221
rainless months from May to November, when the water is 226
low, for when it rises, the fish are much more difficult to catch. During low water, the larger fish seek out the deep places in the river, where they may be easily taken. These places, which are well known to the natives, are above the smaller rapids, and also where there are certain rock formations which make deep holes, called *poços* by the Brazilians.

The fish of the Araguaya have the same characteristics 226
as those of the Amazon valley in general. The giant pire, 136

226 which attains a length of ten feet, occurs very frequently;
[136] also the electric ell, and the thick-bodied pirarára which is encased in an armor of strong, bony plates; the voracious piránha, the jahú, a scaleless fish nearly as large as a man; the pintado, or spotted fish, which reaches a length of six or seven feet; various pacús, besides many other kinds of fish. All of these are suitable for human consumption.
[262] There are certain scaleless fish which are not used by the Karayá. Neither will they eat the dolphin; but they are quite fond of the turtle and its eggs.

During the time of high water when fish are not easily caught in the yellow, earth-charged flood, the Karayá secure their fish from the lagoons along the river, which they make into great, natural traps for the larger fish by cutting off their retreat. This is accomplished by blocking the outlet of the lagoon with a basket-work of poles and heavy climbing
[178] vines. In former times, fish were taken exclusively by means
[431] of the bow and arrow, but the Karayá now use the hook and line, which is obtained in trade from passing canoes. It is for the most part impossible to fish in the Araguaya with a net because the piránha cut it to pieces, and also because of the many large creatures that infest the river.

224 Hunting is not so important an occupation with the Karayá as fishing, hence they are more expert anglers than hunters; nor do they display much skill in the chase. This may appear strange to persons who believe that all Indians
[262] are hunters, par excellence. South America is not so rich in large game as Africa; moreover, some superstition, the taboo, doubtless, prevents the savages from eating the flesh of some species of game which are most numerous. For this reason, the Karayá do not hunt the tapir, which abounds along the Araguaya, though the meat is excellent, being much like beef, yet richer. Deer also, of which there are many varieties, exist in great numbers; yet few, if any, of the savage tribes touch these animals. The Karayá never hunt large game, confining themselves to monkeys, which are abun-

/6 cont./

000 648 Xingu expedition. Their relationship to the neighboring tribes and to the Brazilian settlers of the rubber districts is, however, completely hostile here, so that up to now any approach was impossible. The Yuruna suffer most from their attacks. Traces of battles, devastated dwelling places, and the like were found everywhere by the first expedition of v. d. Steinen.

101 Some ethnographic objects from these tribes, acquired among the Yuruna, leave no doubt but that we are dealing with true Karaya here.

The likelihood that there is a still further extension of these Karaya into the upper region of the river was discovered by the 171 second Xingu expedition. Objects acquired among the Kamayura /Camayura/ (below 12° south latitude) allegedly came from a tribe known there under the name of Aruma: a broken club, various arrows, feather headdresses, which are completely identical with those of the Karaya. Also, the tribe neighboring the Kamayura, the Trumai, had much in common with the Karaya, for example, the men's custom of tying the foreskin over the glans with a cotton thread, the bast aprons of the women, which are, however, much narrower and shorter than those of the Karaya women, the feather headdresses, and the form of the arrow-thrower. The languages of the two tribes, however, show no relationship.

101 The Karaya of the Araguaia are no longer connected with those of the Xingu. The two are separated from each other by the great warlike Gês nations of the Kayapo and Akuã (Chavante), who pushed in between them a long time ago.

131 Their dwelling sites lie along the middle course of the Araguaia 133 between the mouth of the Rio Crixas and the first great rapids, S. 361 Miguel, where the river breaks through or flows around the mountain ranges which border the northern slope of the great plateau of interior Brazil.

133 Already below 15° south latitude it enters a broad plain filled with alluvial materials, which in general has the same character [139] about as far as S. Maria (9° 30'). Flat, densely overgrown islands in the river, the banks bordered by sand dunes, behind which rises on higher ground a luxuriant strip of forest which, however, as

/6 cont./

133 everywhere in the zone of the "campos," is narrow in width and
137 soon gives way to dry campland covered with stunted trees or to the broad, swampy plains of the so-called pantanaes /marshy places/, flooded during periods of high water. Innumerable lagoons, communicating with the river by way of narrow furos /natural communication between rivers or river and lake/ and likewise bordered by forest and swamps, accompany it.

133 The most remarkable hydrographic formation which characterizes the Araguaia is its division below 13° 25' south latitude, where its two arms enclose the great, flat Bananal Island extending across three degrees of latitude. From Itacaiu, 50 kilometers above the mouth of Rio Vermelho, to S. Maria, about 140 kilometers below the reuniting of the two arms, the river is navigable for small steamers at any season. The first of them, which at present is the only one still in use was brought in 1869 by Couto Magelhães overland from the upper São Lourenço to the Araguaia.

Mountain ranges come close to the river on the left bank only below 11° 15' south latitude at the mouth of the Tapirapé. /7/ A twin-peaked conical mountain important in the mythology of the surrounding tribes rises here. Downstream from the presidio of S. Maria both banks become higher. A rocky substratum appears. Stone barriers break into the river at various points, but without making its bed considerably deeper. Across from S. Maria on the left bank at a distance of about 20 kilometers lies the extended Serra dos Cayapos. Finally, the river enters the mountain region near the Cachoeira de S. Miguel with a definite dip. Besides the above-mentioned rapids it forms here the Carreira comprida and Cachoeira grande, through which it is again led to flatter terrain until finally, after receiving the Tocantins from the right, it winds over the last and greatest plateau-scarp through the violent chain of cataracts Tauiri grande and Itaboca.

137 Up to the mouth of the Tocantins the whole landscape around
134 the river has the character of campos throughout. Cultivable land is found only on the watercourses, most extensively, of course, on the main stream itself, whose luxuriant gallery forest presents a wealth of valuable useful plants and fertile soil for various kinds of cultivation. The higher bank regions below S. Maria are especially well suited for maize and the manioc root.

Plate 10

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[342]

1. Karajá family under mat shelter. Near Leopoldina.

2. Steep bank with scrub woods. Araguaya River.

3. Swampy wooded bank.

4. Cluster of palms on the bank.

/Plate 10 faces p. 48./

5: Krause--27 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9

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Ill. 9. A place to which the Karajá push their canoes. Interior of Bananal. (Drawn from a photograph.)

/Ill. 9 appears on p. 136./

5: Krause--30 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9

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/Ill. 12 appears on p. 145./

Ill. 12. Planting of the Karajá on Bananal. Drawn from a photograph.

/240 cont./

*301 of Ill. 1 is quite primitive. It consists of a few feather rods,
*237 Thevetia pendants, and the rattle of a rattlesnake.

I did not see the belts made entirely of Thevetia fruits mentioned by Ehrenreich (but cf. the Kayapó /untranslated/).

As leg ornamentation Ehrenreich mentions ("Beiträge," p. 24) bindings with strands of rattles and clusters of feathers; the strands are spaced by little horizontal rods, which are covered with down (ibid., Pl. X, Fig. 4). I have never seen such dance ornaments.

Ill. 82.
Ostrich feather belt.

6. Food.

433 The subsistence of the Karajá Indians is based on the cultivation of food plants and fishing. The gathering of wild
[231] plants and hunting, on the other hand, are of less importance, and the breeding of domestic animals for food is wholly absent, since animals are kept only to furnish feathers or for entertainment.

272 Wild plants for food occur on the campo and in the forest
137 /Plates 51 and 52 appear here/ /241/ only in limited numbers, whereas the plantings on the high banks usually provide good yields.

[Text continues on p. 148]

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

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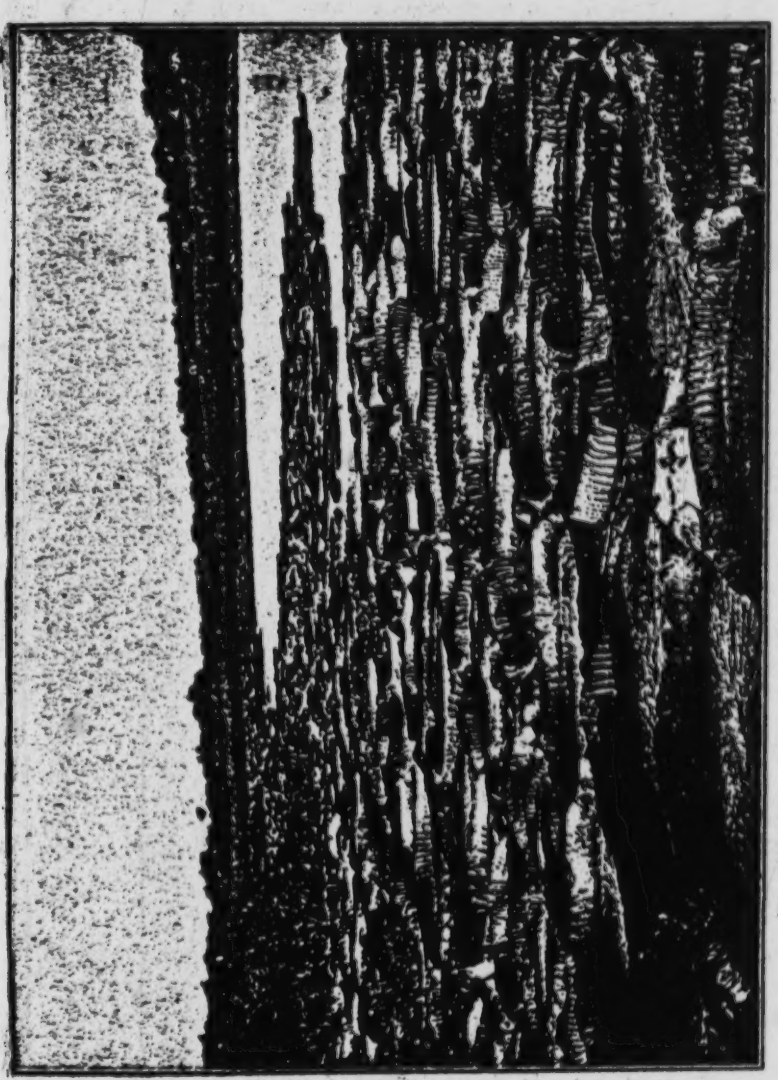

The Home of the Princess Water Lily, the Victoria Regia. Each plant is six feet broad and will bear a weight of twenty-five pounds.

[facing p. 72]

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

was baking it; a Cherente had chopped up the head and was stewing it, his appetite gaining in strength every moment. I contented myself with two slices of steak which I empaled on a spit and broiled.

These pigs subsist entirely upon wild fruits and vegetables, and the meat is excellent, especially if the animal is young. They have no layer of fat under the skin, as does the domestic pig. Some varieties roam about singly, while others go in herds of one or two hundred.

When an enemy approaches one of these herds, the alarm is given and they instantly arrange themselves in the form of a crescent, so Brazilian hunters say, and advance to the attack tossing their tusks constantly from side to side, grunting and snuffing, and emiting a disgusting odor. If the enemy does not quickly make his escape, he will be mangled. Jaguars always skulk near these swine bands, for they have but to steal up and seize a pig whenever they wish to dine. It is said that these great cats know well the danger of an attack by the pigs, so act discreetly. When one is hungry for pork, he conceals himself close to the line of march of the swine, lying in wait until the entire herd files past; then, as the last pig is passing, he springs suddenly upon it, breaks its neck, drops it, and scrambles up a tree. The unfortunate pig of course utters a squeel of alarm when seized, so its companions at once form in battle array and advance upon the foe. Soon, they encircle the spot where the victim lies dead, but seeing no enemy, they again form into line and move on. The jaguar, then descends and enjoys a quiet meal.

As we journeyed, we passed splendid grazing lands that appeared like beautiful meadows; next, we saw what resembled pretty apple orchards; then charming parks; then groves of shade trees where we almost expected to see a farmer's house; and finally, tracts of dense forest where the branches of the huge, spreading trees were heavily and elegantly draped and festooned with enormous masses of climbing vines. One of the many things that attracts one's attention in the Brazilian forest is the great extension of the branches of the trees,

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

137 for they frequently appear to reach out from the trunk seventy or eighty feet.

114 We often disembarked at some charming arboreal palace to prepare and eat our food, for, on the sand-bars, we could not always obtain fuel, and were, moreover, exposed to the blistering heat of the sun. At such times, when we were not troubled by insects, we enjoyed a delightful picnic, with which our jungle banquet was in keeping. Occasionally, we were forced to pass the night in the forest. Late one afternoon, we disembarked in the forest for dinner; but before we had finished our repast, a storm broke and darkness closed in quickly upon us—darkness, too, that could almost be felt, obliging us, finally, to grope our way among the trees as if we were blind. It was unsafe to reembark, so we hastily pitched our tents while we could still see a little. I swung my hammock in my tent, and our motley company of canoe men stretched themselves side by side on the ground, forming a human carpet, over which I was suspended, like judgment. The dripping of the rain on our canvas house, the moaning and sighing of the wind through the forest, and the incessant rumble and boom of the thunder, were the only sounds. Soon, the strata of humanity on the ground was snoring loudly, undisturbed even by the bats that bled them on the toes. Some time after high night, because of the stillness, I gradually became conscious of the fact that the storm had ceased, then that the snoring also had ceased, succeeded by a continual slapping, for the mosquitoes had come in clouds and filled our tent, now that there was no rain or wind. "Let us go outside!" exclaimed Sépé, the Cherente, to his companions, and the tent was promptly vacated by all but myself. They imagined they would be free from the little pests in the open air, for, having filled a tent or a house, they torment the occupants all night long, whereas, in the open air, they are in motion but a short time. This time, however, there were myriads of mosquitoes outside the tent as well as in; and again Sépé called out, addressing me, "Shall we not go away from here at once?" I replied in the affirmative,

[136]

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

Returning to our canoes, we saw a wild fruit tree growing close to the water—its habitat—the fruit of which the Brazilians call *arása*. It resembles a reddish plum, but has a double stone and is very acid. But it is a very wholesome fruit and would make, I imagine, an excellent sauce. The tree appears to be partly a climber, for the limbs, which are one or two inches thick, maintain a uniform size throughout their length, and coil around one another, serpent like. The river was now a mile or more broad and the navigation very open; so, wishing to take advantage of the current as much as possible, we reembarked after a five o'clock dinner one day and floated along quietly hour after hour in the obscurity until past midnight. Then, desiring to find a sandbar on which to sleep until morning, we at last descried a gray outline and pulled for it. Happening to enter shallow water, we grounded before getting close to shore, and lost a pike overboard. But just as we were getting afloat again, we suddenly heard a shuffling sound coming from the shore close by; and looking that way, our hearts stood still as we beheld the dusky forms of thirty or forty naked and painted savages rushing down upon us fully armed with long war lances and heavy killing clubs, ready to scatter our brains on the beach. We now discovered that we were innocently attempting to land just above a portable Karayá village, the existence of which, at this place, was not known even to our pilot, Pedro Monco. Our creeping up here at the dead of night without giving any signals announcing who we were, and if we were friends or foes, had convinced the villagers that we were enemies.

The situation in which we found ourselves was extremely critical for a few minutes. But the natives, seeing who we were, paused briefly, which gave us an opportunity to communicate with them and explain matters, and also to make them some presents to pacify them. Our large canoe only was involved in this midnight adventure, the other having pulled up elsewhere for the night; so our party was small. Our canoe was drawn up on the sand, and the savage band stood

/9 cont./

000 reception uncommonly difficult. It is certain that this language
199 is related to no other Brazilian language known up to now, although odd word-similarities with Gẽs dialects do occur.

198 Its noteworthy peculiarity is the existence of separate men's and women's languages, as is found in like manner among the Guaicuru and Chiquitanos. Only a few words, however, are completely different; for most of them the form is merely modified unimportantly. For instance, where two vowels come one after the other in the men's dialect, a k comes between the two in the women's dialect. Thus:

rain ♂ biũ, ♀ bikũ, maize ♂ mahĩ, ♀ makĩ.

At times the women's word merely has one more syllable at the end, etc. Probably the women have merely retained an older
104 form of the language. The native words printed in italics in the text are accented on the final syllable where something different is not expressly noted.

External Appearance, Clothing, Adornment.

142 According to their physical appearance, the Karaya represent one of the handsomer types among the tribes of Brazil. They are not particularly robust in stature, but rather are medium-sized and gracile; however, the slender body, the regularity of their limbs, the proud mien make them seem bigger than they really are. Their
[526] impressive muscular power, the elasticity and agility of their movements come to the fore especially in boxing matches, their
[482] most popular sport. The neck musculature is very strongly developed, as among all Indians, which makes them capable of carrying enormous loads with a forehead-tumpline.

•[141] The form of the skull is consistently hypsidolichocephalic, without especially prominent prognathism. The absence of eyebrow ridges make the face somewhat open. The eyelid, horizontal or slightly slanted, is remarkably small, but nevertheless does not lend the face a really Mongoloid appearance, because of the always very prominently projecting nose. The nose itself starts very far down.

127 /180 cont./ For comparison I used Ehrenreich, Anthropologische
113 Studien über die Urbewohner Brasiliens /Anthropological Studies of the Brazilian Aborigines/, Brunswick, 1897.

141 Height. Ehrenreich gives (p. 108) the average body height of the men of the Carayahí as 168.2, of the women as 152.8 centimeters; thus, according to his measurements, the women are significantly (15.4 centimeters) smaller than the men. In gen-
[114] eral this proportion is correct, but there are considerable individual deviations.

141 The southern horde on the whole seems to be taller than the
142 northern horde; this is probably attributable to the admixture of Savajé blood, for the Savajé are distinguished from the Karajá by their greater height. In the southern horde there were many men who were as tall as I and a few who were taller (I measured 167 centimeters barefoot), but the tallest probably did not exceed 170 centimeters. For the southern horde one may probably assume 166 centimeters to be the average. The women of the southern horde were also in part quite tall, but in general they remained behind the men in the same proportion as in the northern horde.

Among the latter there was no one who exceeded me in height, and only a few who equaled me, and such tall figures were very rare (Pl. 37, Ill. 1). The great majority of the men were considerably shorter than I; they might be 160-162 centimeters tall on the average. Their height varies by half a head. The women are considerably smaller; /Pl. 36 appears here/ /181/ they remain about half a head behind the men; thus Ehrenreich's average could be assumed for them (Pl. 17).

Besides this, however, there are elements of the population which one must definitely call short. One should compare the two small youths in Illustration 1, Plate 37, who are a full head shorter than the tallest ones (these are about 165 centimeters tall), so that they approach Pygmy measurements (140-145 centimeters). The same is true for two other youths on Plate 44, Illustration 1. Most striking is the appearance of the dwarf woman on Plate 17, who reaches just to the shoulders of the man standing next to her, who is about 164 centimeters tall. I often encountered such small, but fully grown persons in the north horde (compare also the Šavajé), whereas it was not

[Text continues on P. 48]

/181 cont./

142 observed by me in the south horde. Perhaps there is an influence
[141] of alien tribes (Tapirapé, Kayapó, Canoeiros, etc.) here.

The figures of the Indians, men as well as women, are well proportioned, and they probably belong among the best built Indian tribes in general. They may be described as medium-sized, robust figures. We are troubled by the occasional athletic development of their musculature, which is probably to be traced back to the rowing, the pounding of maize in the mortars, and other causes.

The head is high and long in shape; the face is oval, especially among youthful persons (Pl. 17;Pl38, Ill. 1; Pl. 42, Ill. 2; Pl. 44, Ill. 2). The forehead rises straight up and is sufficiently high; except that it generally appears to be low because of the hair combed down to the eyes. The orbital ridges are only slightly developed, the eye opening is slit-shaped (Pl. 14); almond-shaped eyes, such as Ehrenreich notes, are relatively rare. The iris is dark brown. The root of the nose is usually very much sunken; the bridge is prominent and straight; the alae are very wide and usually curved, so that the nostrils are somewhat visible from the front. The drooping, bent tip of the nose is characteristic. The mouth is wide, the lips are full and bowed, the teeth on the whole good; only old people show many gaps in their teeth as a result of teeth falling out. Children show prognathism, but this peculiarity seems to disappear in later years (Pl. 12, Ill. 2; Pl. 42, Ill. 3). The chin is wide and not very prominent. The ears could not be observed on account of the long hair. Ehrenreich (pp. 82, 94, 95) believes that a uniform facial type is to be found among the Karajá, and, to be sure, a more refined form, whereas the rest, such as Šambioá, etc., present a crude type by comparison. I found that even among the Karajá there are several facial types, and, to be sure, besides the more refined one and a cruder one, there is a third, seeming completely alien, which was to be found only in the large villages from the Tapirapé mouth on northward, especially among the women, but even here only rarely. Un-
[126] fortunately, I was unable to photograph any of these women.

1:Lipkind E-5 (1937) 1948 SP9 Caraja SP9

PLATE 20.—**Carajá house and physical types.** *Top:* House. (Courtesy University Museum, Philadelphia.) *Bottom, left:* Warriors. *Bottom, right:* Girls. (After Ehrenreich, 1891 b.)

[Facing P.186]

1:Lipkind E-5 (1937) 1948 SP9 Caraja SP9

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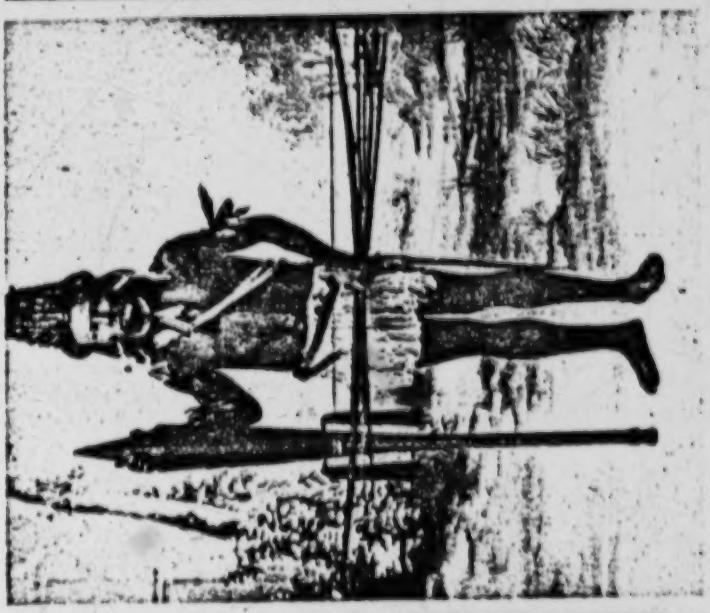

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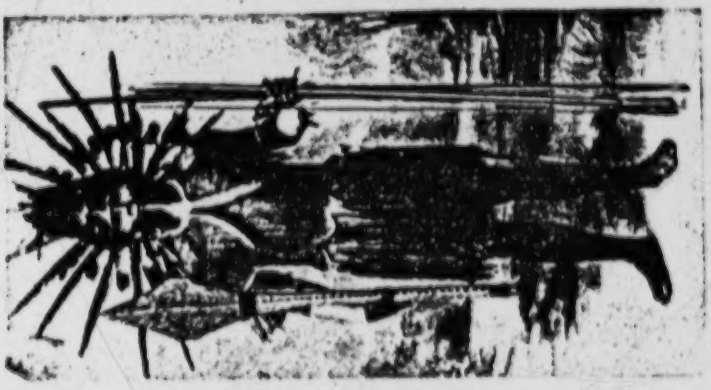

PLATE 21.—Carajá types. (Courtesy University Museum, Philadelphia.)

[End Plate 1]

/6 cont./

*532 the rolls there is put on, with a strong lacing, a second spherical roll, which runs out into a point at the bottom (Figs. 18, 21, 22, 23 /see p.48 /, Fig. 45 /see p.49 /) or in an attached foot (Fig. 24 /see p.48 /, Figs. 28 and 34 /see p.49 /). The feet come in all forms from the short stump to the fully fashioned foot (Fig. 28 /see p. 49 /). Worthy of note is the great exaggeration of the calves, thighs, and hips in the case of the second and third forms, /7/ and parallel with it goes the formation of /Fig. 29 appears here/ 1/A buttocks often assuming enormous dimensions (Figs. 23, 24b /see p.48 /, Figs. 28b, 30, 34b /see p.49 /), two phenomena which are lacking in the first form. They are explicable by a comparison with the body shapes of the Indians (Fig. 29 a and b [142] /see p. 12/). They possess extremely strong musculature on the [301] thighs, the calves stand out prominently because of the tightly tied calf-bands of the young people, and even the cushion of fat on the seat is exceedingly strongly developed. The ideal of the [826] Indians is the strongest possible development of these phenomena and this ideal is apparently represented in the figures.

Only one figure falls outside of these three types (Fig. 30); it probably arose out of an extension of the second form. Stretching downward from the upper projections there are two long cylinders which remain uniformly thick to the bottom and are cut off horizontally.

The torso shows nothing remarkable in the case of the male figures. It has the deeply bored navel which is surrounded by indented painting. On the other hand, the torso of the female figures is singularly formed in that it juts out into a plate, sometimes projecting out quite far, on which the navel is found. The apron is [142] attached below this plate. This phenomenon probably goes back [291] to the protrusion of the belly caused by the tightly drawn bast apron, as was sometimes to be seen (Fig. 31 /see p. 12/).

An equally difficult subject is the representation of the arms and breasts; I must deal with them together, since it is not immediately obvious which of the two is represented.

1/A [see p. 12--Analyst]

/7 cont./

*532 Both are completely lacking on some male and female figures (Fig. 32 /see p. 49 /). [142] [301] [302] On one female figure, a bulge is marked only by a small roll (Fig. 33 /see p. 49 /). These would, therefore, fall outside of our considerations.

The male figures show the following types:

a) Only one figure has fully formed arms and, in addition, small breasts (Fig. 18 /see p.48 /).

Fig. 29 a and b. Painted Karajá maiden.

b) Side protuberances from the upper body, which clearly signify arms, are present on a fairly large number of dolls (Figs. 28, 30 /see p.49 /).

Now follow three types on which it is at first not clear whether arms or breasts are represented.

c) On the upper body, in front, there is attached a transverse roll which ends in two breast-like cones on the sides (Figs. 16, 17, 19 /see p.48 /).

[142] [291] d) This roll is somewhat idented in the middle, so that the cones even more approximate a breast form (Fig. 36 /see p. 49 /).

Fig. 31. Protrusion of the belly of Karajá women in front and on the sides because of the tightly drawn bast-belt.

/9 cont./

*532 reaching down to the small of the back. These braids are narrow (Fig. 19a /see p. 48 /) or wide (Fig. 23 /see p. 48 /), bear a ribbon (Fig. 16b /see p. 48 /), or are completely entwined in string (Fig. 36 /see p. 49 /) and correspond to the braids woven round [302] with bast or entwined in red-dyed cotton string, which the young people customarily wear (Fig. 37).

Of specially formed dolls of this type the following should be mentioned:

[142] [302] 1. Representations of children (Fig. 32 /see p. 49 /). These dolls have legs of type 1 and hair of type 1. Arms, breasts, eyes,

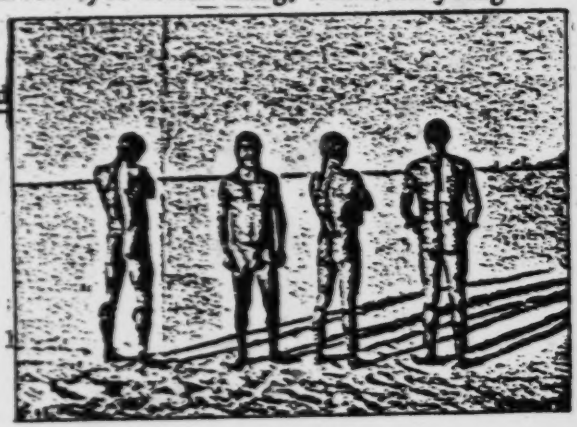

Fig. 37. Youths with long braids.

tattooing, navel, and stomach plate are missing. The male figures are characterized by a small penis, the female ones by a black string belt. Some wear necklaces, others neck-tassels and ear rosettes.

2. Seated figures (Fig. 21 /see p. 48 /, Fig. 38 /see p. 49 /). The upper body leans far back.

3. Bulky figures (Figs. 39, 40 /see p. 49/) represent pregnant women. The bulky abdomen is put on separately. On Fig. 40 it had broken off while drying and was stuck on again with wax.

I also obtained a male figure (Fig. 41 /see p. 49/) which is [84] made in similar fashion. When I asked what the bulky abdomen meant, they said: a child. Unfortunately I was unable to acquire further information on this, which might perhaps have thrown light on the origin of the custom of the male childbed.

4. Portrait of the old grandmother walking in a bent position (Fig. 42 /see p. 49 /). The figure is made like all the other female dolls; the upper body is bent very far forward. When I asked what this figure meant, the mother pointed, amidst the joyful shouts of her children, to the age-enfeebled grandmother, who was lying under a mat by the hearth fire.

/9 cont./

199 reception uncommonly difficult. It is certain that this language is related to no other Brazilian language known up to now, although odd word-similarities with Gês dialects do occur.

198 Its noteworthy peculiarity is the existence of separate men's and women's languages, as is found in like manner among the Guaicuru and Chiquitanos. Only a few words, however, are completely different; for most of them the form is merely modified unimportantly. For instance, where two vowels come one after the other in the men's dialect, a k comes between the two in the women's dialect. Thus:

rain ♂ biū, ♀ bikū, maize ♂ mahī, ♀ makī.

At times the women's word merely has one more syllable at the end, etc. Probably the women have merely retained an older
104 form of the language. The native words printed in italics in the text are accented on the final syllable where something different is not expressly noted.

External Appearance, Clothing, Adornment.

142 According to their physical appearance, the Karaya represent one of the handsomer types among the tribes of Brazil. They are not particularly robust in stature, but rather are medium-sized and gracile; however, the slender body, the regularity of their limbs, the proud mien make them seem bigger than they really are. Their
[526] impressive muscular power, the elasticity and agility of their movements come to the fore especially in boxing matches, their
[482] most popular sport. The neck musculature is very strongly developed, as among all Indians, which makes them capable of carrying enormous loads with a forehead-tumpline.

[141] The form of the skull is consistently hypsidolichocephalic, without especially prominent prognathism. The absence of eyebrow ridges make the face somewhat open. The eyelid, horizontal or slightly slanted, is remarkably small, but nevertheless does not lend the face a really Mongoloid appearance, because of the always very prominently projecting nose. The nose itself starts very far down.

/9 cont./

•142 The bridge is narrow, markedly convex with a somewhat pendulous tip. The alae are usually somewhat drawn up, so that the round nostrils seem to be directed toward the front.

In size the women stand significantly behind the men, but are just as well proportioned. Their figures tend to be somewhat full in their youth. Almost all the younger individuals have uncommonly delicate hands and feet and a perfect form of the bust, but, like [853] all Indian women, they lose their charms very early; in particular the long breast-feeding causes excessive lengthening of the [481] breasts. In the case of older women, the weak development of the lower extremities and the waddling gait of the inwardly turned feet make an unpleasant impression.

The real skin-color of the Karaya is difficult to determine at first glance. Staying on the sun-scorched praias changes the bright yellow-brown of their complexions, which one can still confirm only under their large cotton cuffs and knee-bands, into a dark copper-
302 brown. Even this is not easy to see in the case of many individuals because of the /10/ body painting used to the broadest extent (Fig. 1 /see p. 17 /). People painted black or red from head to foot are not rare. Others combine the black or red color into patterns which almost give the impression of European clothing. Black line-drawings on the face and extremities are the most popular.

302 Used for body painting are:
386 1. Urucú (uarerió). Paste made from the red berries of Bixa
[824] orellana.

[824] 2. The blue-black dye (beðena) obtained from the seeds of the genipa (Genipa brasiliensis).

3. Soot. This is either simply scraped from the cooking pots and rubbed into the face or, mixed with genipa, it serves for diffuse painting of the whole body.

302 The line-decoration is put on with the fingers or little wooden
413 sticks, the diffuse coloring with a rag.

/48 cont./

172 present petroglyphs inasmuch as the rock drawings are completely lacking precisely at the cataracts of the Araguaia; rather, Martirios Island lies in an absolutely clear and quiet stretch. Nevertheless, it is a most important place for the Karaya. It [131] forms the northern boundary of their territory and it is here that [648] the hordes of the Kayapo hostile to them frequently come to the river. Many a battle may have taken place in this region between the two nations.

The interpretation of the rock sculptures as memorials or border markers, to which perhaps family insignia of prominent leaders have been added, seems to be the most acceptable according to the prevailing conditions. /The remainder of p. 48 and pp. 49-77 are not translated./

/78/

Explanation of the Plates [2]

•192 291 302 Pl. I. Karaya. Men and Women (of the fourth village of the Šambioa).

[276] [411] [301] 1. Warriors. The man on the left /sic/ with parted hair, the tobacco pipe (Fig. 4 /see p. 28/) in his mouth, holding his weapons in his hand. The one on the right /sic/ shows the hair put in a braid with the feather decoration ušiktamaru (see p. 16) and the national wrapping of the foreskin (see p. 17).

2. Woman and girl with the bast aprons, whose front end is drawn to the rear since both individuals have just got up from [285] the ground (see p. 17). One of the large buriti-fiber mats mentioned on pp. 38 and 39 forms the background for both groups.

Pl. II. Karaya. Men (of the fourth of the village of the Šambioa).

[301] [304] 1 a and b. Portrait of a young Šambioa man with ear sticks and wooden lip-plug, widely parted hair, and clearly recognizable tribal tattooing on the cheeks.

[2] [Plates appear on pp. 103-115--Analyst]

/78 cont./ [Plate II. Karaya. (cont'd)]

142 2. Two Šambioa warriors en face. The man on the left with
291 the feather diadem lurina on the back of the head (see p. 44),
301 bow, arrows, and club in his hand, the one on the right with the
302 small wreath-diadem (Pl. IX /see p. /, 6) and strings of glass
411 beads wound tightly around the neck. The large lower-arm cuffs identify him as unmarried.

Pl. III. Karaya. Karayahi Groups (taken in the last "summer camp" on a river island above the northern tip of Bananal Island).

1. Men, two of which wear arm-cuffs and knee-bands. One has the small feather rosettes with a central disk of mother-of-pearl in his ears (see. p. 46). Face painting with soot is recognizable. The straw hat of the older man sitting in front is not the one mentioned on p. 20, but a model directly borrowed
[501] from the settlers. In the background two long canoes and farther to the left in the distance the small Araguaia steamer.

342 2. Women, children, and young people sitting on the
361 ground in front of the tent-roofs of the summer camp, which are
516 made of mats. Two araras on the pole to the right, at the left on the bank a jabiru (black-headed stork).

Pl. IV. Karaya. Villages.

133
342 1. Full view of the first village of the Sambioa.
361 2. Reception scene in the third village of the Sambioa.
574

Pl. V. Karaya. Chief's hut (fourth village of the Šambioa).

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354 Group at the cooking place in front of the entrance.
415

Pl. VI. Karaya. Weapons.

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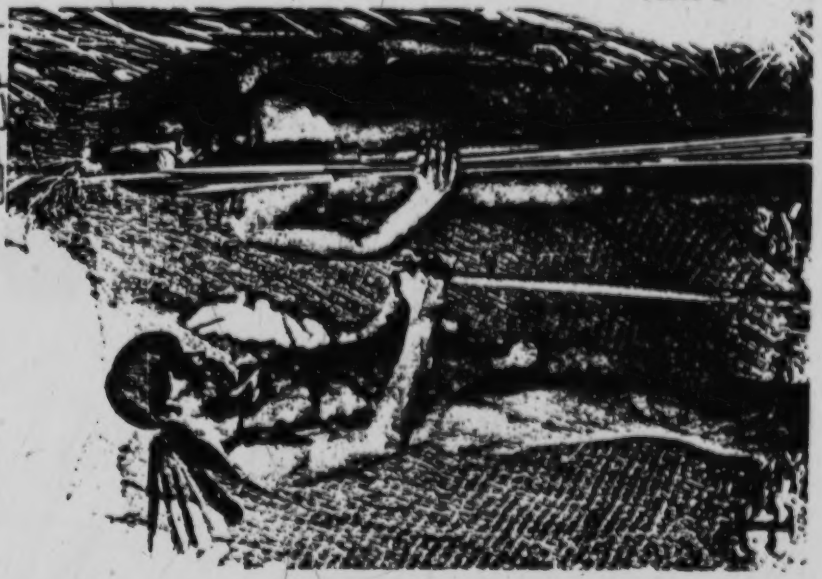
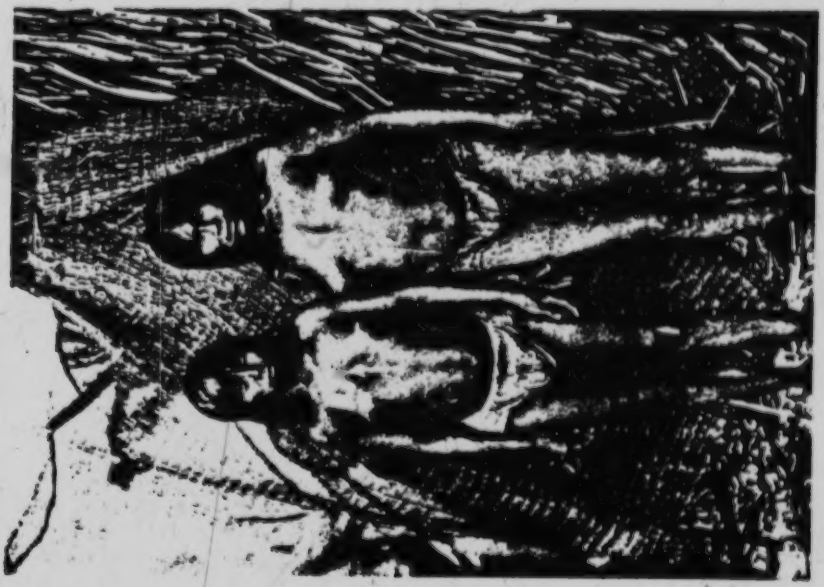
1. Bow with wound bowstring and feather tassel (1/8).

4. Ehrenreich--103 E-5 (1888) 1891 SP9 Cara ja SP9

Plate I





4: Ehrenreich--104 E-5 (1888) 1891 SP9 Caraja SP9

Plate II

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4: Ehrenreich--105 E-5 (1888) 1891 SP9 Caraja SP9

Plate III

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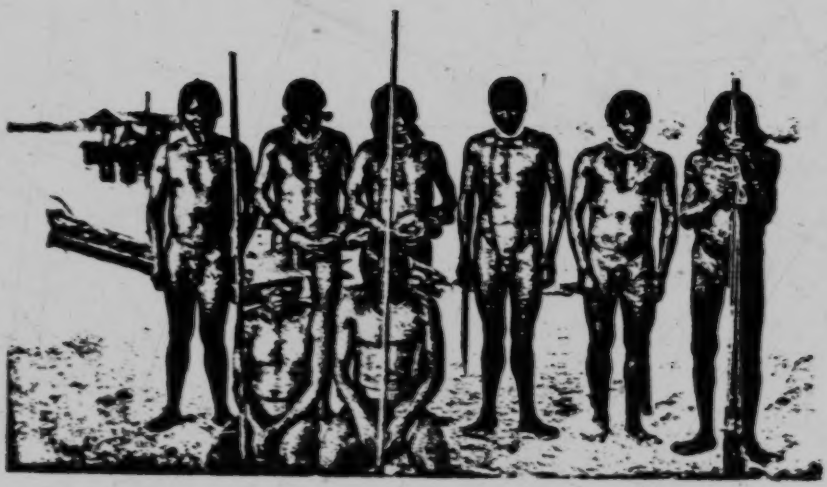

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Plate 11

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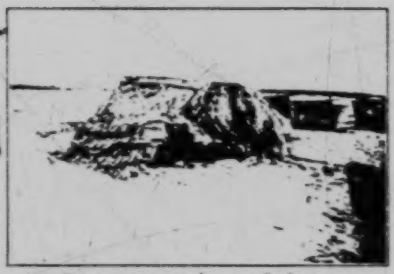

1. Dry-season hut of the Karajá.

2. Karajá village.

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3. Karajá women smoking.

4. Karajá siblings.

/Pl. 11 faces p. 52./

Plate 12

1. Cooking place of the Karaja Indians.

3. Mask hut in Village 7 (South Horde).

2. Karajá boys.

4. Karajá women and girls.

/Plate 12 faces p. 56. /

5: Krause--8 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9

Plate 14

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Facial expressions of Chief Ilk.

/Pl. 14 faces p. 64. /

Plate 15

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[482]
→

1. Youth in full ornamentation. Karajá.

3. Back-basket carrier. Karajá.

2. A Karajá youth's braid wrapped in bast.

4a. Youths with braids wrapped in red cotton cord.

4b. The same youths from the front.

/Pl. 15 faces p. 68./

5: Krause--10 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9

Plate 16

142
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Painted Karajá maiden.

/Pl. 16 faces p. 72./

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Plate 17

Karajá Indians.

(Pl. 17 faces p. 76.)

5: Krause--11 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9

5: Krause--19 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9 Javahe

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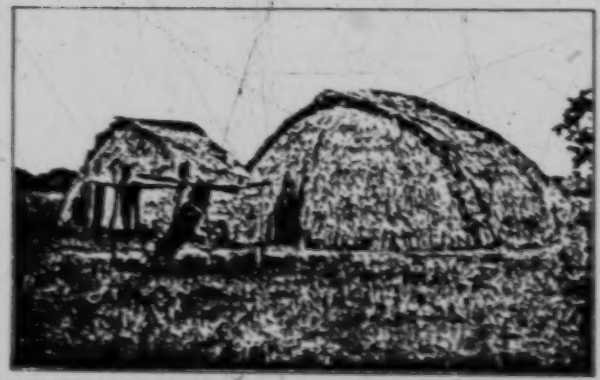
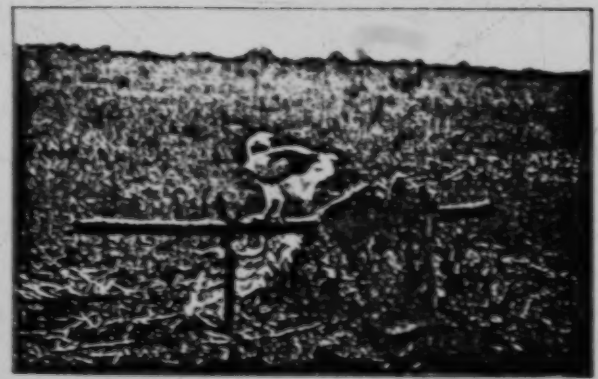
Plate 30



1. Houses of the Šavajé on Banana1.



2. Village bird of the Šavajé.

/Pl. 30 faces p. 136./

3. Šavajé women and children.

4. Šavajé men and youths.

127 /180 cont./ For comparison I used Ehrenreich, Anthropologische
113 Studien über die Urbewohner Brasiliens /Anthropological Studies of the Brazilian Aborigines/, Brunswick, 1897.

141 Height. Ehrenreich gives (p. 108) the average body height of the men of the Carayahí as 168.2, of the women as 152.8 centimeters; thus, according to his measurements, the women are significantly (15.4 centimeters) smaller than the men. In gen-
[114] eral this proportion is correct, but there are considerable individual deviations.

141 The southern horde on the whole seems to be taller than the
142 northern horde; this is probably attributable to the admixture of Savajé blood, for the Šavajé are distinguished from the Karajá by their greater height. In the southern horde there were many men who were as tall as I and a few who were taller (I measured 167 centimeters barefoot), but the tallest probably did not exceed 170 centimeters. For the southern horde one may probably assume 166 centimeters to be the average. The women of the southern horde were also in part quite tall, but in general they remained behind the men in the same proportion as in the northern horde.

Among the latter there was no one who exceeded me in height, and only a few who equaled me, and such tall figures were very rare (Pl. 37, Ill. 1). The great majority of the men were considerably shorter than I; they might be 160-162 centimeters tall on the average. Their height varies by half a head. The women are considerably smaller; /Pl. 36 appears here/ /181/ they remain about half a head behind the men; thus Ehrenreich's average could be assumed for them (Pl. 17).

Besides this, however, there are elements of the population which one must definitely call short. One should compare the two small youths in Illustration 1, Plate 37, who are a full head shorter than the tallest ones (these are about 165 centimeters tall), so that they approach Pygmy measurements (140-145 centimeters). The same is true for two other youths on Plate 44, Illustration 1. Most striking is the appearance of the dwarf woman on Plate 17, who reaches just to the shoulders of the man standing next to her, who is about 164 centimeters tall. I often encountered such small, but fully grown persons in the north horde (compare also the Šavajé), whereas it was not

[Text continues on p. 48]

5: Krause--47 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9

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Plate 36

1. Three Karajá men.

2. Youth, boy, man. Karajá.

/181 cont./

142 [141] observed by me in the south horde. Perhaps there is an influence of alien tribes (Tapirapé, Kayapó, Canoeiros, etc.) here.

The figures of the Indians, men as well as women, are well proportioned, and they probably belong among the best built Indian tribes in general. They may be described as medium-sized, robust figures. We are troubled by the occasional athletic development of their musculature, which is probably to be traced back to the rowing, the pounding of maize in the mortars, and other causes.

The head is high and long in shape; the face is oval, especially among youthful persons (Pl. 17;Pl.38, Ill. 1; Pl. 42, Ill. 2; Pl. 44, Ill. 2). The forehead rises straight up and is sufficiently high; except that it generally appears to be low because of the hair combed down to the eyes. The orbital ridges are only slightly developed, the eye opening is slit-shaped (Pl. 14); almond-shaped eyes, such as Ehrenreich notes, are relatively rare. The iris is dark brown. The root of the nose is usually very much sunken; the bridge is prominent and straight; the alae are very wide and usually curved, so that the nostrils are somewhat visible from the front. The drooping, bent tip of the nose is characteristic. The mouth is wide, the lips are full and bowed, the teeth on the whole good; only old people show many gaps in their teeth as a result of teeth falling out. Children show prognathism, but this peculiarity seems to disappear in later years (Pl. 12, Ill. 2; Pl. 42, Ill. 3). The chin is wide and not very prominent. The ears could not be observed on account of the long hair. Ehrenreich (pp. 82, 94, 95) believes that a uniform facial type is to be found among the Karajá, and, to be sure, a more refined form, whereas the rest, such as Sambioá, etc., present a crude type by comparison. I found that even among the Karajá there are several facial types, and, to be sure, besides the more refined one and a cruder one, there is a third, seeming completely alien, which was to be found only in the large villages from the Tapirapé mouth on northward, especially among the women, but even here only rarely. Unfortunately, I was unable to photograph any of these women. [126]

/181 cont./

142 The shoulders among the men and women seem to me to be generally /182/ normal in their development, but there are quite a number of persons, mostly of the male sex, among whom they are markedly developed, and not only among the men (Pl. 36; Pl. 38, Ill. 1), but also among youths and boys (Pl. 44, Ill. 1; Pl. 49, Ill. 1). Probably this tremendous breadth-development of the bones of the shoulder girdle and the muscles attached to it, especially the Latissimus dorsi (Pl. 15, Ill. 4a), [114] is a result of rowing. I saw only a few actually narrow-shouldered people, in contrast to Ehrenreich, who (p. 118) describes the Karajá as of slight shoulder-breadth and gracile body build. I must, however, agree with his statement that generally the women are inferior to the men in shoulder breadth, and quite significantly.

The thorax is well-rounded among men and women. One must call the Indians broad-chested, as Ehrenreich (p. 119) does (Pl. 16; Pl. 36; Pl. 43, Ill. 3). In addition, among the men there is the tremendous development of the chest musculature, especially the Pectoralis major (Pl. 15, Ill. 3; Pl. 43, Ill. 2), which in combination with the powerful shoulder musculature, makes the upper half of the body completely outweigh the lower. This powerful development causes first of all a prominence of the breasts, which among some men take on a female shape (Pl. 36), and the formation of a trough-like depression between the points of attachment of the chest muscles to the breast bone [145] (Pl. 14, Ill. 3). The breasts of the women apparently develop slowly; thus, the maiden (Pl. 16) does not yet have fully developed breasts. In youth they show taut forms (Pl. 16; Pl. 17), whereas after births they soon become pendulous (Pl. 37, Ill. 2; Pl. 42, Ill. 1), and in old age they hang down limply Pl. 11, Ill. 4). In shape they are hemispherical and conical, seldom plate-shaped. The nipple areola is usually prominent (Pl. 17, Pl. 42, Ill. 1).

/182 cont./

[142] [162] Very distended abdomens, probably a result of the predominantly vegetable diet, are not a rarity, especially among the male sex; almost throughout the children of both sexes have a drumlike distended abdomen (Pl. 11, Ill. 4; Pl. 12, Ill. 2; Pl. 43, Ill. 2; Pl. 51, Ill. 2). The musculature of the abdomen among the men is usually so well developed that its individual parts are visible under the skin (Pl. 36; 38, Ill. 1). The pelvis is narrow; girls and maidens in particular have pelves that are no broader than those of the male sex, and even those of the women are not essentially broader than those of the men. The strikingly broad pelvis of one woman observed by me is an exception, contrary to Ehrenreich, who describes them as figures tending toward broadness (1). Hand in hand with this slight development in the breadth of the pelvis goes the almost total absence of a waist (Pl. 16; 17; 42, Ill. 1), which is occasionally clearly present only among women /183/ (Pl. 42, Ill. 3). Peculiar to the male sex is the often strongly prominent inguinal line (Pl. 36; 44, Ill. 1).

1. Page 119. On page 101, however, he describes the hips of the women as relatively narrow.

The paddings of fat over the glutei are generally normal. Where they are more strongly developed (Pl. 16), the accumulation of fat appears more in the lower parts. A well-developed padding of fat is part of the Indians' ideal of beauty. [826] [832]

The Arms. As far as the length of the upper and lower arms is concerned, the upper arm seems to be proportioned like ours; the lower arm, on the other hand, seems long in relation to the upper arm (Pl. 43, Ill. 1), and the female sex has proportionately longer lower arms than the male (Pl. 17). The musculature of the upper arm is extraordinarily well developed among the men (Pl. 15, Ill. 1; 36; 43, Ill. 3); among young men and boys, as well as among the female sex, on the other hand, it is only slightly developed, so that one is obliged to call

/183 cont./

142 them thin-armed (Pl. 11, Ill. 4; 17; 38, Ill. 2; 47, Ill. 2).
[147] Quite obviously, the powerful development among the married men is the result of rowing and of tree-cutting for the planting. On the lower arm among the adult men, the stronger development of the inner muscle (toward the elbow) is striking (Pl. 36, Ill. 1; 49, Ill. 1); among the women, on the other hand, the outer muscle is more strongly developed (Pl. 17). Hands and fingers are small in comparison with ours.

The legs. The women, in comparison with the men, have shorter legs, whereas the proportion between thigh and calf does not differ essentially for the two sexes. The legs in general, especially in youth, are gracile. The individual bulges of the muscles on the thigh, however, are relatively prominent under the skin (Pl. 44, Ill. 1). A further phenomenon is restricted to the children and young people; in later years it gradually re-
[301] cedes and is only rarely visible. This is a marked prominence of stretches of skin on the inner side of the thigh, just above the knee joint, common among our children as well, which is probably caused by the strong pressure of the cotton bands worn around the calves as a sign of the unmarried state, which are crocheted directly on the body and are cut off and renewed only when they have become too tight and cut deeply into the leg (Pl. 11, Ill. 4; 12, Ill. 2; 38; 42, Ill. 1; 43, Ill. 1; 44, Ill. 1). This
[826] marked bulging of the parts above the knee is shown particularly
[832] among the clay dolls and is apparently regarded as beautiful (Pl. 8). The legs always grew straight; I never saw knock-knees, only two men showed bowlegs, namely, bowed lower legs (Pl. 15, Ill. 4b, and Pedro). The fetlocks are narrow (1); the foot

1. See under "Distinguishing Ornamentation" calf and ankle bands /see pp. 120 -123/.

is generally compact and well formed. The position of the foot, as among us, is outward, which is shown in the illustrations, and only rarely inward /184/ (Pl. 16; 42, Ill. 3; see Ehrenreich, p. 101). In walking they are likewise placed outward. I never

145 /184 cont. / In walking they are likewise placed outward. I never
[81] observed the frequently reported manner of walking, namely, that on the narrow paths one foot is placed in front of the other, although I conducted studies on this for days, walking behind different Indians on narrow Indian paths. Only if a tuft of grass interfered with the toes were these turned inward. Ehrenreich states that the second toe is the longest (p. 101) and that the fifth conspicuously recedes (p. 104). About the latter I did not observe anything, but in various cases I found that the great toe was considerably shorter than the second toe, as Steinen also observed on the Xingu. The great toe may shoot off far to one
[82] side. Apparently great individual differences must occur in foot formation, for the Indians recognize with certainty in the shape of the footprint in the sand (which probably also depends on the different way of stepping) the owner of the foot.

146 The bodies of the Indians generally give a well-nourished impression. It has already been noted above (p. 50) that a drum-like distended stomach is the rule among children, though the rest of the body does not by any means give an impression of weakness. Very well nourished persons (Pl. 44, Ill. 1) are regarded as the ideal of the Indians. Poorly nourished, positively emaciated persons are rare (Pl. 37, Ill. 1, the tallest). Thin women predominate by far, and such emaciation usually occurs in old age. In Villages 5 and 27 I saw a few very old people who were emaciated almost to skeletons (see also Ehrenreich, page 104).

147 Good nourishment gives the Indians good strength, which is hardened by rowing, work in the plantings, and practice in wrestling matches, so that even young people with slightly developed arm musculature have great endurance in rowing and often do surprisingly well in wrestling.

834 The sexual parts are visible only among the men. The foreskin of the penis in front of the glans is wound roll-like with a cotton thread; in this way the penis lies ball-shaped inside the skin, shortened, so that the entire male sexual organ, together with the testicles visible through the scrotum, gives the appearance of three balls (Pl. 36; 38, Ill. 2; 43, Ills. 1 and 3; 49, Ill. 1).

/184 cont./

● 142 The skin is thin and delicate and feels very soft, a regular tropical skin, such as the Whites in the tropics also have. A certain part of this may also be due to the oiling of the skin. The [302] color of the skin is difficult to determine, since the Indians mostly go about painted or even with an over-all coating of oil color. The hot sun, which shines with particular intensity on the sandbanks, burns the parts exposed to it the most, such as upper arms, chest, shoulders, belly, and thighs, so that here the skin is considerably darker (Nos. 26-28 on the Martin Chart, with a touch of violet) than on the protected parts of the body, such as the inner side of the upper arm, etc. (No. 25). The cheeks are strikingly light, mostly /Pl. 37 appears here/ /185/ only No. 21, and among many definitely sallow, yellowish (Nos. 18-19). Whether this is the result of pathological conditions I am unable to say, the phenomenon was frequent, especially among young people and girls. The actual skin-color can be seen only under the cotton bands, especially under the calf bands; here it is No. 17. The palms of the hands (Nos. 13-15) and soles of the feet (Nos. 10-16) are very light, almost as among us. The women [292] often seemed lighter than the men, undoubtedly a result of the fact that they live more in the shadows of the houses and, when they go out, generally put on their net coverings. My Indian rowers, too, in the course of months took on a lighter coloring 826 under the clothing. I did not see albinos. The ideal of the Karajá Indians is a skin as light as possible; they particularly appreciated my white skin color, and they themselves wanted to be entirely white (see the role of the Whites in the legends).

147 A particular body odor is probably characteristic of the Indians; it is rather strong and unpleasant to us. It cannot be [302] said, however, how much of it is due to the rancid oil on the skin and in the hair.

142 The hair. The head hair is generally straight; hair hanging down long, however, if it is not combed out for a long time, becomes wavy in the case of men and women (Pl. 17; 36; 42, [302] Ills. 1 and 3). If it is freshly combed and oiled, it hangs down smooth naturally. The formation of curls is relatively frequent; among men I observed it ten times; among women, on the

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 55]

142
291
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1. Karajá youths.

[854]

2. Karajá women and children.

/185 cont./

142 the other hand, only four times (Pl. 11, Ill. 4; 38, Ill. 1; 44, Ill. 2). The color of the hair is black, with a reddish shimmer [302] in an oblique light. Beard hair is sparse and is plucked out. Underarm hair is present, though not thick; it is sometimes pulled out, sometimes left. Pubic hair is heavily developed among the male sex; it does not extend much beyond the pubic bone and is not removed. I was unable to observe among the Indians any fine skin hair on the rest of the body; their skin is completely smooth. They, on the contrary, were astonished to see hair on my arms, hands, and fingers, the white sheen of which on my sunburned [302] skin did indeed look peculiar. Eyebrows and lashes are plucked out.

164 Pathological formations on bodies were only rarely observed; I saw only one umbilical rupture in the case of a boy of about 12. Chief Ilk apparently suffered from an inguinal hernia 142 (Pl. 36, Ills. 1 and 2, right). Signs of past pregnancies were less noticeable on the body than on the breast.

The general picture of the Karajá is thus the following: Small to medium height, brown in color, with straight, sometimes curly hair; broad-shouldered, wide-chested, narrow-hipped figures with long lower arms and short hands and feet. Well- [46] nourished, extremely muscular human beings. The women lag behind the men in every respect.

/186/ 2. Dwelling Sites, Arrangement, Number.

101 131 One large Indian nation, that of the Karajá, inhabits the banks of the Araguaya from 15 1/4-7° southern latitude. It is divided into the three tribes of the Šambioá, Savajé, and Karajá. The Šambioá inhabit the stretch of rapids between 7° and 8°. southern latitude, the Šavajé the middle section of the river island of Bananal, between 11° and 12° southern latitude, while the settlements of the Karajá proper extend along the rapids-free course of the river from 10° 12' to 15° 15' southern latitude.

Plate 38

1. Two men, a youth, two boys. Karajá.

2. Painted boy. Karajá.

Plate 42

142
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854

1. Women's clothing and hair style.

2. Karajá women and children.

3. Karajá women and children.

/211 cont./

303 are tossed in until there is no longer any liquid oil. For use, a
[302] tuft is pulled out, squeezed out between the hands, and the oil is rubbed into the hair, on the skin of the body, mixed with pigments, etc. The tuft is again tossed into the gourd vessel.

302 b) Body hair. The beard growth is little developed. When a
[142] small hair appears, it is plucked out. Cheek and chin hair allegedly does not grow at all among them; some, however, have short, faint /212/ mustache hairs. Since they find them ugly, however (they compared our mustaches with the long barbs of the
[535] pirarara), they pluck them out. On the other hand, they are supposed to wear artificial beards of human hair in the cascudo dance, according to their statements. The mustache-like beard is placed between the lower lip and the chin, pulled up toward the ears, and fastened in back of the head with strings (1).

[113] 1. See Jahrbuch des Museums für Völkerkunde zu Leipzig, Vol. 3, 1910, p. 114.

Eye hair. Eyebrows and lashes are removed, and, to be sure, pulled out with the fingers. For this purpose, the fingers are first dipped in ashes, probably so that they will not slip off the smooth hair. This plucking is said to be very painful; it is undertaken even in the case of small children and repeated when the hair has grown in again. As a reason for it they could only say that they did not want this hair to grow. Why they do not want this, they could not explain.

142 The rest of the body hair is usually only slightly developed.
302 The fine hairs of the skin were scarcely to be seen. Underarm hair, too, was only slightly developed; its removal is left to the discretion of the individual. The pubic hair was heavily developed; it was not removed, as far as I could see, at least among the men.

302 c) Body painting. For body painting, red, black, and white color is used.

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1. Youth in typical attire.

2. Boy with close-cropped hair and hair-wreath.

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3. Karajá men with straw hat and tobacco pipe.

5: Krause--102 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9

[292]

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Plate 44

1. Karajá youths.

2. Karajá youth and boy.

/353 cont./

142 3. Physically the Šavajé differ from the Karajá only in their greater height (Pl. 30, Ills. 3 and 4). The men are probably on the average four to five centimeters taller than those of the Karajá; the women, too, are taller than the Karajá women. Here, too, however, there are persons of small stature, especially of the female sex (Pl. 30, Ill. 3). For the rest, everything that was said about the Karajá is also true of the Šavajé.

184 /354/ In their culture as a whole the Šavajé are pure Karajá. They do, however, show a few differences from the latter, which, in turn, link them up more closely with the Šambioá. In the following I shall therefore state the differences only very briefly.

347 184 4. House and village. The construction of the house differs considerably from that of the Karajá and is similar to that of the Šambioá. I refer to my explanation above about the house [177] construction of the Karajá, where the modification of the Šavajé house as a result of Brazilian influence in the case /Ill. 188 appears here/ of the Šavajé living among the southern Karajá is described (pp. 75/77; Ills. 20, 21, Pl. 30, Ill. 1). [353] The cross beams of the posts supporting the roof have thin poles laid over them and form a sort of loft on which back-baskets, baskets, weapons, women's belts, plaiting material, etc. are [354] stored. In contrast to the Karajá, the cooking places are in the house, and, to be sure, in the circular structures, one on either side of the entrance, so that there are four hearths in the house. The circular structures serve at the same time as supply rooms for baskets, gourds, food, etc. On the lower parts of the house posts, all around the walls, all kinds of birds, such as vultures, etc., are tied up.

361 184 The village, like that of the Karajá, is laid out in one row parallel to the shore (see the plan, Ill. 188 /see p. 314/). The [346] mask house lies apart from the village. It corresponds to that of the Karajá, but has a ridge beam such as appears in the mask house of the southern Karajá.

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
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[142]
[302]

A Karajá.

A Patagonian Indian Chief.

Sons in the Streets of Bahia.

[facing p. 60]

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca.1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

609 of them are painted black and red, and have their faces daubed Many
[302] with a thick layer of black soot; others wear upon their heads
[301] crowns made of beautiful feathers; while others again, have
[239] their hair braided and decorated with the brilliant crimson
[411] and gold feathers of the macaw. All are armed with spears beautifully decorated with feathers, and with bows and arrows and heavy killing clubs. They present quite a military spectacle.

Disembarking, the first thing the visitors do is to show the savages their arms, especially the repeating rifles, which fill them with awe. The chief now hastens to declare that he and his people are friends of the white man, saying: "The Karayá is the friend of the white man; there is no lie with us," repeating this twice. Confidence established, some trading may be done without difficulty. Small children, and particularly, young girls, are very shy of the strangers, and usually creep into their huts and cover their faces with their hands. The visitor is never troubled by beggars, and rarely has anything stolen from him.

131 The Karayáhy division live along the main stream of the
162 Araguaya between São José and Santa Maria in twelve or
[648] fifteen villages or encampments, one of which, near Santa Maria, was completely wiped out in 1881 by the Kayapó
361 tribe. Their villages are not so clean as those of the Sambiõa, nor are the huts so well constructed.

191 Observing the speech of the Karayá, one can scarcely notice any movement of the lips; nor do they seem able to repeat exactly a sentence just uttered. They have many sounds which they produce with the tongue and swallow the
192 last syllable. Apparently, their speech is not related to any Brazilian aboriginal language. The most remarkable thing about it is that they have one dialect for the men and another for the women; though only a few words are entirely different, and with most of them there is but a slight, unimportant change.

142 Physically, the Karayá are one of the finest of the aboriginal races of Brazil. They are of medium size, slender and

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

graceful, and their limbs are well balanced. Their proud 142
bearing makes them appear larger than they really are. Their 142
great muscular power, elasticity, and quickness of movement, 47
is displayed to advantage in their wrestling games, which [526]
are their most loved sport. The muscles of the shoulders, [482]
especially, are highly developed in both sexes, because they
have been trained from childhood to carry heavy weights
on their backs, supported by a band which passes over the
forehead. The eye-brow ridge is flat, giving the appearance 142
of an open face, and the eyes are but slightly almond-shaped.
The women are much smaller than the men, are well proportioned, and have pretty hands and feet. The bust of the younger individuals is perfect, but they soon lose their beauty of form. It is difficult to determine at first just what the color of their skin is. Living, as they do, in the glowing heat of the sun on the sand-bars, their skin, which is really a clear, yellow-brown color, is turned into a dark copper-brown. This clear yellow-brown is found only under their heavy armlets, wristlets and leglets.

Many paint, or, more correctly, grease themselves from 302
head to foot a red or black color, or both; while others prefer brown, red and black. Sometimes a young warrior has himself painted in such a fashion, that seen at a short distance, he appears to be wearing a black European cutaway coat buttoned at the top with one button; while another has black rings painted around his brown body from his shoulders to just above the knees, giving him the appearance of being dressed in a bathing suit. Others, again, paint their faces black. But they like, best of all, to paint black lines on the faces and the extremities. The painting is done with a bit of wood, or with the fingers. Both sexes chop the hair off straight across over the forehead, leaving it in the form of "bangs," and allow it to drop down behind over the [142]
shoulders. It is straight, black and coarse, like a horse's tail. Many of the young men, corresponding to what we call "dudes," clip a path, an inch wide, like a very wide part from the forehead back to the crown, and cut the hair of the

113, 143

Chiriguano SF10
Choroti SK6
Mataco SI7
Tehuelche SH5
Caraja SP9
Tucano SQ19
Guarani SM4
Timbira SO8
Araucanians SG4
Paez SC15
Canari SD4
Jivaro SD9
Aymara SF5
Ona SH4
Yahgan SH6

/For information on genic locations based on Streng's diagram of co-ordinates of the blood groups of the natives of South America, see: 4: Hill et al., 8818 Warao, Category 116, pp. 107-114./

/181 cont./

142 The shoulders among the men and women seem to me to be generally /182/ normal in their development, but there are quite a number of persons, mostly of the male sex, among whom they are markedly developed, and not only among the men (Pl. 36; Pl. 38, Ill. 1), but also among youths and boys (Pl. 44, Ill. 1; Pl. 49, Ill. 1). Probably this tremendous breadth-development of the bones of the shoulder girdle and the muscles attached to it, especially the Latissimus dorsi (Pl. 15, Ill. 4a), [114] is a result of rowing. I saw only a few actually narrow-shouldered people, in contrast to Ehrenreich, who (p. 118) describes the Karajá as of slight shoulder-breadth and gracile body build. I must, however, agree with his statement that generally the women are inferior to the men in shoulder breadth, and quite significantly.

The thorax is well-rounded among men and women. One must call the Indians broad-chested, as Ehrenreich (p. 119) does (Pl. 16; Pl. 36; Pl. 43, Ill. 3). In addition, among the men there is the tremendous development of the chest musculature, especially the Pectoralis major (Pl. 15, Ill. 3; Pl. 43, Ill. 2), which in combination with the powerful shoulder musculature, makes the upper half of the body completely outweigh the lower. This powerful development causes first of all a prominence of the breasts, which among some men take on a female shape (Pl. 36), and the formation of a trough-like depression between the points of attachment of the chest muscles to the breast bone (Pl. 14, Ill. 3). [145] The breasts of the women apparently develop slowly; thus, the maiden (Pl. 16) does not yet have fully developed breasts. In youth they show taut forms (Pl. 16; Pl. 17), whereas after births they soon become pendulous (Pl. 37, Ill. 2; Pl. 42, Ill. 1), and in old age they hang down limply Pl. 11, Ill. 4). In shape they are hemispherical and conical, seldom plate-shaped. The nipple areola is usually prominent (Pl. 17; Pl. 42, Ill. 1).

147 /184 cont. / In walking they are likewise placed outward. I never
[981] observed the frequently reported manner of walking, namely, that on the narrow paths one foot is placed in front of the other, although I conducted studies on this for days, walking behind different Indians on narrow Indian paths. Only if a tuft of grass interfered with the toes were these turned inward. Ehrenreich states that the second toe is the longest (p. 101) and that the fifth conspicuously recedes (p. 104). About the latter I did not observe anything, but in various cases I found that the great toe was considerably shorter than the second toe, as Steinen also observed on the Xingu. The great toe may shoot off far to one side. Apparently great individual differences must occur in foot
[826] formation, for the Indians recognize with certainty in the shape of the footprint in the sand (which probably also depends on the different way of stepping) the owner of the foot.

146 The bodies of the Indians generally give a well-nourished impression. It has already been noted above (p. 50) that a drum-like distended stomach is the rule among children, though the rest of the body does not by any means give an impression of weakness. Very well nourished persons (Pl. 44, Ill. 1) are regarded as the ideal of the Indians. Poorly nourished, positively emaciated persons are rare (Pl. 37, Ill. 1, the tallest). Thin women predominate by far, and such emaciation usually occurs in old age. In Villages 5 and 27 I saw a few very old people who were emaciated almost to skeletons (see also Ehrenreich, page 104).

147 Good nourishment gives the Indians good strength, which is hardened by rowing, work in the plantings, and practice in wrestling matches, so that even young people with slightly developed arm musculature have great endurance in rowing and often do surprisingly well in wrestling.

834 The sexual parts are visible only among the men. The foreskin of the penis in front of the glans is wound roll-like with a cotton thread; in this way the penis lies ball-shaped inside the skin, shortened, so that the entire male sexual organ, together with the testicles visible through the scrotum, gives the appearance of three balls (Pl. 36; 38, Ill. 2; 43, Ills. 1 and 3; 49, Ill. 1).

/185 cont./

142 the other hand, only four times (Pl. 11, Ill. 4; 38, Ill. 1;
44, Ill. 2). The color of the hair is black, with a reddish shimmer
[302] in an oblique light. Beard hair is sparse and is plucked out. Under-
arm hair is present, though not thick; it is sometimes pulled out,
sometimes left. Pubic hair is heavily developed among the male
sex; it does not extend much beyond the pubic bone and is not
removed. I was unable to observe among the Indians any fine
skin hair on the rest of the body; their skin is completely smooth.
They, on the contrary, were astonished to see hair on my arms,
hands, and fingers, the white sheen of which on my sunburned
[302] skin did indeed look peculiar. Eyebrows and lashes are plucked
out.

164 Pathological formations on bodies were only rarely ob-
served; I saw only one umbilical rupture in the case of a boy of
about 12. Chief Ilk apparently suffered from an inguinal hernia
142 (Pl. 36, Ills. 1 and 2, right). Signs of past pregnancies were less
noticeable on the body than on the breast.

The general picture of the Karajá is thus the following:
Small to medium height, brown in color, with straight, some-
times curly hair; broad-shouldered, wide-chested, narrow-hipped
figures with long lower arms and short hands and feet. Well-
[46] nourished, extremely muscular human beings. The women lag
behind the men in every respect.

/186/ 2. Dwelling Sites, Arrangement, Number.

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131 One large Indian nation, that of the Karajá, inhabits the
banks of the Araguaya from 15 1/4-7° southern latitude. It is
divided into three tribes of the Šambioá, Savajé, and Karajá.
The Šambioá inhabit the stretch of rapids between 7° and 8°.
southern latitude, the Šavajé the middle section of the river
island of Bananal, between 11° and 12° southern latitude, while
the settlements of the Karajá proper extend along the rapids-free
course of the river from 10° 12' to 15° 15' southern latitude.

/183 cont./

142 them thin-armed (Pl. 11, Ill. 4; 17; 38, Ill. 2; 47, Ill. 2).
[147] Quite obviously, the powerful development among the married men is the result of rowing and of tree-cutting for the planting. On the lower arm among the adult men, the stronger development of the inner muscle (toward the elbow) is striking (Pl. 36, Ill. 1; 49, Ill. 1); among the women, on the other hand, the outer muscle is more strongly developed (Pl. 17). Hands and fingers are small in comparison with ours.

The legs. The women, in comparison with the men, have shorter legs, whereas the proportion between thigh and calf does not differ essentially for the two sexes. The legs in general, especially in youth, are gracile. The individual bulges of the muscles on the thigh, however, are relatively prominent under the skin (Pl. 44, Ill. 1). A further phenomenon is restricted to the children and young people; in later years it gradually recedes and is only rarely visible. This is a marked prominence
[301] of stretches of skin on the inner side of the thigh, just above the knee joint, common among our children as well, which is probably caused by the strong pressure of the cotton bands worn around the calves as a sign of the unmarried state, which are crocheted directly on the body and are cut off and renewed only when they have become too tight and cut deeply into the leg (Pl. 11, Ill. 4; 12, Ill. 2; 38; 42, Ill. 1; 43, Ill. 1; 44, Ill. 1). This
[826] marked bulging of the parts above the knee is shown particularly
[832] among the clay dolls and is apparently regarded as beautiful (Pl. 8). The legs always grew straight; I never saw knock-knees; only two men showed bowlegs, namely, bowed lower legs (Pl. 15, Ill. 4b, and Pedro). The fetlocks are narrow (1); the foot

1. See under "Distinguishing Ornamentation": calf and ankle bands /see pp. 120 -123/.

is generally compact and well formed. The position of the foot, as among us, is outward, which is shown in the illustrations, and only rarely inward /184/ (Pl. 16; 42, Ill. 3; see Ehrenreich, p. 101). In walking they are likewise placed outward. I never

142 /184 cont. /In walking they are likewise placed outward. I never
[481] observed the frequently reported manner of walking, namely, that on the narrow paths one foot is placed in front of the other, although I conducted studies on this for days, walking behind different Indians on narrow Indian paths. Only if a tuft of grass interfered with the toes were these turned inward. Ehrenreich states that the second toe is the longest (p. 101) and that the fifth conspicuously recedes (p. 104). About the latter I did not observe anything, but in various cases I found that the great toe was considerably shorter than the second toe, as Steinen also observed on the Xingu. The great toe may shoot off far to one side. Apparently great individual differences must occur in foot
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/184 cont./

142 The skin is thin and delicate and feels very soft, a regular tropical skin, such as the Whites in the tropics also have. A certain part of this may also be due to the oiling of the skin. The [302] color of the skin is difficult to determine, since the Indians mostly go about painted or even with an over-all coating of oil color. The hot sun, which shines with particular intensity on the sandbanks, burns the parts exposed to it the most, such as upper arms, chest, shoulders, belly, and thighs, so that here the skin is considerably darker (Nos. 26-28 on the Martin Chart, with a touch of violet) than on the protected parts of the body, such as the inner side of the upper arm, etc. (No. 25). The cheeks are strikingly light, mostly /Pl. 37 appears here/ /185/ only No. 21, and among many definitely sallow, yellowish (Nos. 18-19). Whether this is the result of pathological conditions I am unable to say; the phenomenon was frequent, especially among young people and girls. The actual skin-color can be seen only under the cotton bands, especially under the calf bands; here it is No. 17. The palms of the hands (Nos. 13-15) and soles of the feet (Nos. 10-16) are very light, almost as among us. The women [292] often seemed lighter than the men, undoubtedly a result of the fact that they live more in the shadows of the houses and, when they go out, generally put on their net coverings. My Indian rowers, too, in the course of months took on a lighter coloring 826 under the clothing. I did not see albinos. The ideal of the Karajá Indians is a skin as light as possible; they particularly appreciated my white skin color, and they themselves wanted to be entirely white (see the role of the Whites in the legends).

● 147 A particular body odor is probably characteristic of the Indians; it is rather strong and unpleasant to us. It cannot be [302] said, however, how much of it is due to the rancid oil on the skin and in the hair.

142 The hair. The head hair is generally straight; hair hanging down long, however, if it is not combed out for a long time, becomes wavy in the case of men and women (Pl. 17; 36; 42, [302] Ills. 1 and 3). If it is freshly combed and oiled, it hangs down smooth naturally. The formation of curls is relatively frequent; among men I observed it ten times; among women, on the

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 55]

/276 cont./

482 415 Smaller loads are carried in containers on a hand-strap, for example, in carrying sacks (masĭ; Pl. 57, Ills. 5 and 6), carrying bags (lōlŭ; Pl. 57, Ill. 4), two-piece baskets (wrăbăhĭ; Pl. 57, Ills. 16 and 17), small pouches (Pl. 55, Ill. 6 a-c), or in small gourd vessels, the perforated edges of which hold the carrying-bands or which are either plaited round with bast (dăllĭlĭkŭ) or are set into a net of black cotton plaiting (wălăbŭkŭ; Pl. 56, Ill. 4 a-c).

854 Children ride on the hip and are held there with the hand (Pl. 12, Ill. 4; Pl. 37, Ill. 2; Pl. 42, Ills. 2, 3).

501 [484] Their principal journeys take place by water in a boat. The boat (āwŏ), of which there is one or more in each family, consists of a dugout six to ten meters long and 40-60 meters wide. The two ends are greatly elongated and slope up from below, so that getting on and off the sandbanks is easily accomplished (Pl. 56, Ill. 5). The boats have no seats; one squats or sits on the narrow bottom. Sometimes cross-rods are put in, upon which the cargo is placed to protect it from the bilge water. In one place [372] in the boat there is often a layer of loam upon which lies the smoldering wood for transporting fire.

The boats are propelled with oars and poles; both are used in journeys upstream and downstream, the poles, of course, only in shallow water. The oars (nālĭhĭ) are manipulated freely as paddles, and, indeed, the rowers kneel or sit in the boat, their faces in the direction of travel. If the boat is propelled by one [502] man, he sits at the rear end and steers at the same time; with a crew of two men, one sits at the front end and one at the rear; several rowers distribute themselves over the entire boat. In the latter case, the rowing rhythm is entirely spontaneous, since the [533] ones in the rear must adjust to the man in front. The song which young people like to take up while rowing has nothing to do with the rhythmical rowing. There are various ways of working the oars: short strokes with pauses after each stroke; long, evenly spaced strokes; slow strokes with a lifting of the blade at the end, so that the water falls off the blade in a broad surge, are regarded [147] as a particularly elegant manner of rowing. The Indians have great endurance; they row for many hours without interruption.

/340 cont./

821 Shooting stars are called lẽšiwĩũlãn. They were explained to me by a half-civilized Karajá as change of place by the stars, whereas, according to Ehrenreich ("Beiträge," p. 45), they represent the tossed-out fishing gear with the bait. The Indians knew that in November many shooting stars appear.

823 [804] Geographical. The Karajá are very familiar with the course of the Araguaya. They calculate distances on the river according to steep banks and according to how often one must cross the river going upstream; greater distances according to overnight camps. They have special proper names for tributaries, lakes, steep banks, and mountains (see the word list /untranslated; see the foreign text, p. 456/).

On either side of the Araguaya their knowledge of the country extends somewhat beyond the boundaries of their territory. Thus, they are familiar with the waterfall of the Rio Tapirapé, which lies several hours above the present boundary. About the Furo /Port. furo, natural connection between two bodies of water/ (east arm of Bananal Island) they know that it dries up during the dry season, so that not even Indian boats can navigate it. A small furo is said to run across Bananal Island from the east branch to the west branch of the Araguaya.

• [147] They have endurance on land marches; they walk very rapidly. In order to find water on the barren campo, they hold their faces in the direction of the wind: if the wind is cool, it comes from a place where there is water; if it is hot, there is not likely to be any water in this direction. Before digging for water at a place, they pound a stick deep into the ground; if it is moist, 823 they start digging. On the way, they pay attention to all tracks, 151 and they are masters at drawing conclusions from them. When traveling down the Tapirapé, I reached the sandbank where we had had our first camp on the Tapirapé, my Karajá immediately recognized from the footprints precisely which of their relatives had been here, approximately how long /341/ they had stayed, where they had their boats lying, and about how long ago they had departed, all conjectures which later proved to come very close to the truth.

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
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bearing makes them appear larger than they really are. Their 142
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/16 cont./

*532 with only colored crayon. The type of reproduction thus seems to depend in part on the material. With a pencil, only a narrow line can be drawn, the filling in of larger surfaces is difficult, and thus only line and outline drawings are produced. The crayon leaves a wide mark, the filling in of surfaces is easy to accomplish, and added to this there is the color attraction, so that on the whole filled-in figures are drawn with it.

Distribution according to age is as follows: line and outline drawings are made by boys and men, filled-in figures by boys, youths, and men. No development, however, can be shown; the participation of the men in both of the first types is, in fact, fairly high.

The filling in of the figures extends over the whole body and is uniform everywhere. Characteristic filling-in is lacking; this higher stage has thus not yet been reached. We find hints of it in the outline drawing of the ray (Fig. 130 /see p. 35 /). The figures are further defined by the outlines and added characteristic features.

*532 /51 Special developmental stages, which play so large a role in the primitive drawings of primitive peoples and children, are almost totally lacking here. For example, the confusion of side and front views (the mixed profile) in facial representation is not found, probably because the faces are always colored in. Mixed body postures, however, occur in line drawings and filled-in figures three times altogether (Fig. 108d /see p. 32 /; Plate VI, Fig. 140 a and b /see p. 52 /).

/17/ The omission of parts of the body is very rare: the neck is in part missing on human beings in simple line drawings (Fig. 107 /see p. 32 /). Filled-in figures of mammals at one time have two legs (Plate VI, Fig. 154 /see p. 52 /) and at another time three (Plate VI, Fig. 153c /see p.52 /), with the third going up from the back.

There are no superfluous parts of the body; invisible parts are likewise not drawn in; only on plants are the roots sometimes represented.

*532 /17 cont./
151

The case of parts of the body being reproduced apart from the body occurs only once: in Fig. 169 /see p. 53 / of the ray (on Plate VII), the two eyes stand in front of the head.

So-called X-ray pictures are lacking. It is true that in the case of the birds the animal is first drawn with the wings, but then everything is filled in. The center line of the fish (Fig. 129 /see p.35 /) does not represent the spine, but rather a symmetry line, with the help of which the figures are produced, but which usually disappears again because of being painted over. The two center lines of the crocodile in Fig. 131 /see p. 35 / represent the dorsal ridge.

The side from which the figures are reproduced is always the most characteristic one.

Human beings are represented from the front in simple line drawing. Only one transition to the half profile occurs (Fig. 108d /see p. 32 /). Filled-in figures are reproduced from the front, in half and in full profile.

Animals are represented considerably better than human beings. The reproduction of animals in line and outline drawings is rare; the majority are represented as filled-in figures, the birds only in this fashion. Animals are drawn almost throughout from the side, only occasional ones, such as rays, crocodiles, and some fish, are interpreted from above.

From all this emerges the fact that the Karajá have reached a fairly high stage artistically.

*532

α) Simple Line Drawings

Human figures are all drawn from the front. The neck is in part missing, so that the head, which is represented as a button, sits directly on the body stroke, if it is not missing altogether. The arms and legs are put on separately, and, indeed, in the following four ways: both stick out diagonally from the body (Figs. 106, 108a /see p. 32/); the arms stick out at right

/19 cont./

*532 534 of the string, hurls the disk around himself so that the string twists together, pulls on the string, and lets it go loose again, then the disk will start rotating and produce a whirring noise. It is drawn by the Indians as a circle through which the string runs as a horizontal line.

*532 821 There follow representations of stars and constellations. Fig. 135 /see p. 35/ portrays the moon with the lunar mountains conceived as a toad. The small circles in Fig. 136a /see p. 35/ signify the Pleiades, which are interpreted as parakeets. I should like to add, although it does not strictly belong here, the further representation of two constellations: the jaguar leaping at the ostrich from the rear (Fig. 136 b and c /see p. 35/). The principal stars are shown by dots, the two frontmost stars of the ostrich correspond to α and β Centauri.

*532 Finally there is still the representation of an event to be added here, a sketch which, along with the representation of the stag hunt on the gourd (Fig. 104 /see p. 26/), stands quite alone among the Karajá drawings. From the lagoon the track of the tortoise leads over the sand to the spot where the eggs are laid. One egg is drawn in the nest (Fig. 137 /see p. 35/).

γ) Filled-in figures

represent by far the majority of all the drawings present. As already noted above, they are executed only in colored crayon, from which it is to be concluded that the broad stroke and surface covering thus made possible, together with the possibility of color effects, has brought about the transition from line and outline drawing to the surface figure. As we shall see later with regard [151] to the ornamentation, surface perception and just such representation is in general peculiar to the Karajá Indians. The drawings were executed in such a way that first of all a center line was drawn, with reference to this the outlines, and only then was the whole surface drawn in. The filling-in is simple and takes no account of characteristic coloring and drawing of the bodies to be represented.

/19 cont./

532 Human figures are well represented.

/20/ The en face representations, of which Fig. 138a*) /see p. 52/ is me, Fig. 138b*) /see p. 52/ my companion Adam, are good. Above all the reproduction of the feet, pointed forward and obliquely downward, is noteworthy. Fig. 139 /see p. 52/ is the self-portrait of an Indian with a double-peaked, Brazilian soldier's cap.

Fig. 140 a and b /see p. 52/ are reproduced in mixed profile [Fig. 140a*) is me, Fig. 140b*) is Adam], both drawn by the same artist. The bodies are en face, beards and feet portrayed in profile, and in fact in b) the feet are pointed to one side, in a) outward to both sides. The beards are put on sideways, "because otherwise there is no space"; a) wears a straw hat. The fashioning of the hands and feet is noteworthy. The hands are drawn as disks with the right number of fingers appended. The feet in b) are reproduced as lines with attached claw-like toes (four on each), in a) as disks, corresponding to the hands, with five lines attached on each one. /Figs. 144-145 and 148 appear here./ 1 The arrangement of both drawings is interesting. The artist drew a) starting from the feet and going toward the head, b) on the contrary starting from the head and going toward the feet.

Profile drawings are found in Figs. 141-143 /see p. 52/. The arms are both attached to one side of the body. The reproduction of the knees by thickenings is noteworthy in Figs. 141 and 142. The feet in all three are indicated by strokes added sideways. Figs. 142 and 143 each have three fingers twice, Fig. 141 has four and three fingers. Fig. 141*) portrays a youth with a braid, Fig. 142*) a woman with long hair. Fig. 143 is supposed to be me; the trunk-like nose is striking. It is remarkable that head, nose, and arms are drawn in red, the rest of the body in blue, so that the parts of the body burned red by the sun show the natural color. In general it is to be noted that as a result of the filling in of the faces the eyes, mouth, and nose are not reproduced. Details are always drawn in the right number, or too few, [151] as in the case of the fingers and toes, but never too many. Invisible parts of the body are never represented.

1 [see p. 38--Analyst]

/23 cont./

531 In some patterns I was successful in separating pattern and back-
[128] ground from each other; others still await satisfactory investiga-
tion.

531 These patterns are made in the following manner. On
285 baskets, fans, etc., they are produced simply through different,
diagonal plaiting of the leaf pinnae. For plaiting around some-
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531 down vertically. Carved decorations are made with the knife;
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carved, and /24/ in this way small pieces of the upper layer are
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[517] by the male sex, apparently only for fun.

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figures altogether, but just treated themselves to making patterns.
531 Now it was extremely interesting to observe how the people ar-
151 ranged the patterns. As an example I shall take the one in Fig.
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be drawn was discussed in detail beforehand, criticized afterwards.
Thus, the sketch was put together as a common task. During this
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I ascertained through questions, so that I could write on it. They

/24 cont./

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●/51 space. Of course, not all of them calculated so skillfully;
/53 there were some among them who were very clumsy, managed no straight line, and never quite succeeded with complicated patterns. (Plate XI /see p.57 /, Fig. 202b.)

53/ About the arrangement of the patterns, it is to be noted that on baskets and fans they are restricted to the middle zone, but on plaiting around something they extend over the whole plaiting. Half-gourds are almost always completely carved, usually with four vertical zones set off, which show patterns differing in part. The edge is set off by special patterns on only a very few examples. Whole gourds bear carved patterns, each according to its purpose; gourds for oil are decorated only on the upper part around the opening, gourds for feathers over the whole surface, rattles likewise, but in a vertical zone arrangement or in individual vertical stripes. Ear rods are decorated only on the front part. On half-gourds poker-work covers the edge, vertical or horizontal zones, or the whole curved upper surface; on whole gourds, the upper part, the whole surface, or two symmetrically positioned zones.

531 1. Patterns borrowed from the plaiting technique
285 (Plates VII-XI) 1

we know from all the plaited objects and objects with plaiting around them, then as they are transferred in carving to gourd utensils and gourd rattles, and finally as sketchbook drawings. The meaning of the patterns was obtained only with difficulty. Either the Indians called them hõdjũdjũ = plaiting, or they gave names for which a translation could not be obtained. Only for a few could they give the Brazilian term.

1. Horizontal zigzag lines; dũlẽhãlõkõ, the bat. As a carved pattern on gourds it was also called õdãbũlã (cf. Ehrenreich, "Beiträge," Fig. 11b). Found in plaiting, on combs (Fig. 184a

1 [see pp. 53-57 -- Analyst]

/340 cont./

821 Shooting stars are called lẽšiwĩŭlãn. They were explained to me by a half-civilized Karajá as change of place by the stars, whereas, according to Ehrenreich ("Beiträge," p. 45), they represent the tossed-out fishing gear with the bait. The Indians knew that in November many shooting stars appear.

823 [809] Geographical. The Karajá are very familiar with the course of the Araguaya. They calculate distances on the river according to steep banks and according to how often one must cross the river going upstream; greater distances according to overnight camps. They have special proper names for tributaries, lakes, steep banks, and mountains (see the word list /untranslated; see the foreign text, p. 456/).

On either side of the Araguaya their knowledge of the country extends somewhat beyond the boundaries of their territory. Thus, they are familiar with the waterfall of the Rio Tapirapé, which lies several hours above the present boundary. About the Furo /Port. furo, natural connection between two bodies of water/ (east arm of Bananal Island) they know that it dries up during the dry season, so that not even Indian boats can navigate it. A small furo is said to run across Bananal Island from the east branch to the west branch of the Araguaya.

[147] They have endurance on land marches; they walk very rapidly. In order to find water on the barren campo, they hold their faces in the direction of the wind: if the wind is cool, it comes from a place where there is water; if it is hot, there is not likely to be any water in this direction. Before digging for water at a place, they pound a stick deep into the ground; if it is moist, 823 they start digging. On the way, they pay attention to all tracks, 151 and they are masters at drawing conclusions from them. When traveling down the Tapirapé, I reached the sandbank where we had had our first camp on the Tapirapé, my Karajá immediately recognized from the footprints precisely which of their relatives had been here, approximately how long /341/ they had stayed, where they had their boats lying, and about how long ago they had departed, all conjectures which later proved to come very close to the truth.

/222 cont./

*301 painted and covered with rolls of wax, which apparently is supposed to represent such a painted lip-plug (Pl. 45, Ill. 7).

*301 184 This sequence was precisely observed everywhere. Only in the first village near Leopoldina were deviations found. Here the boy, as /223/ has just been mentioned, wore a wooden lamella, and later a wooden button, like his older brother and the [177] father. This family was civilized; they hesitated to walk around with long plugs in front of the Brazilians. On the whole, long [152] plugs are regarded as a sign of vanity, which is why older people, for example, can never wear them without making themselves ridiculous. The young people in the first village felt too superior to their savage fellow-tribesmen to wear such ridiculous things; hence they contented themselves with the dignified button of the old people.

*301 [324] The stone lip-plugs (mǎnǎ'dělě; mǎnǎ = stone, mǎnādērězo = rock crystal) are a special kind. They are cut to shape out of quartz, rock crystal, or /Ills. 61-63 appear here/ alabaster and then smoothed so that they look as though they were polished. The mouthpiece is greatly widened; the lower end runs out into a thickening (Ill. 62). Such lip plugs are worn only by unmarried men and only at special festivities. When they marry, they give it to a young relative. Since the stone lip-plugs are very thick, the lip hole must first be enlarged. This is done by the insertion of ever thicker wooden plugs. I saw only one specimen of such a lip plug, and, to be sure, in the south horde, but could not acquire it. I learned about a second specimen /224/ in the south [439] horde only long after we had left the village. They are not made by Karajá, but by the Tapirapé, with whom the Karajá of the [438] north horde barter for them. Those of the south horde again buy [435] them from those of the north horde, the price then allegedly amounting to a canoe, an ax, a pot, and a bush knife. In other words, they are very expensive and are therefore, and because they are very fragile, cautiously handled and kept carefully [648] wrapped in cloth. At the present time, when the Karajá have a feud with the Tapirapé and are therefore no longer able to buy stone lip-plugs, their value has naturally increased many times over.

/318 cont./

534 used, are very rare. I came across only two of these specimens
[237] (Pl. 58, Ill. 10 a, b). Otherwise gourds (ŭãlŭ) are commonly used
[824] as the bodies of rattles, which are usually 12-15.5 centimeters long and 5.5-13 centimeters thick (a small rattle is 6.5 centimeters
[531] long and 6 centimeters thick). Most of these gourd rattles are carved with the customary designs (1); many bear feather ornaments

[113] 1. See my article on "Die Kunst der Karajá-indianer," Bässler Archiv, Vol. II, No. 1.

on the stem end projecting out of the gourd at the top (Ill. 181 a, b). These rattles are swung rhythmically in the hand by the masked dancers.

533 Singing plays a considerably larger role. Only the men sing; it is only during the period of mourning that the women, like the men, intone monotonous songs of lament in a high pitch. The singing is one-part singing; mass singing seldom occurs. Only once did I hear a cappella singing. During dances two men simultaneously sing the same thing; otherwise they sing individually, especially when fishing. Apparently the Karajá are very musical;
[196] they sing gladly and well. Most of their songs are masked-dance songs, but it seems as though certain people invented and handed down specific songs. It was often said to me: this is the song of this boy or of that youth. Certain dances and songs seem to be transmitted through tradition only in certain families; others are quite familiar with them, but do not sing them. In 1908 Chief Ilk in Village 13 just below Izabel do Morro knew most of the songs. He was almost inexhaustible. The wŏrĭzŏ dance and song were handed down in his family. He knew not only Karajá songs, but also sang songs of the Šavajé and Tapirapé. He was known as a singer in all the villages, and everywhere people requested me to
126 play back the phonograms recorded with him. In all I recorded
533 phonographically 44 cylinders of songs. The Indians liked to sing
152 into the apparatus, as soon as the initial shyness had been overcome. To do this I used European music, which amazed them very much. They laughed aloud in astonishment, and many held

/318 cont./

126 their outspread hand in front of their faces; the women usually
533 clicked their tongues in astonishment. Above all, the spoken
152 announcement preceding the songs and pieces of music caused merriment. They were completely unaccustomed to instrumental music; they recognized bird voices as such; they preferred to listen to songs and were delighted with the volume of tone, especially in the case of women's voices. With that their timidity was overcome; usually they themselves pressed forward to be recorded. For this I first used the horn, but later the tube, into which they sang with less constraint. If several Indians were present, they first consulted for a long time as to who should sing, then they all considered the text, first sang the song softly /319/ to themselves for practice, and only then did the chosen one settle down in front of the apparatus. Even Ilk always memorized the song concerned before making the recording. After the recording I immediately played back the song. To hear their own voice at first always provoked great merriment, then they regularly sang along softly to check it, and finally laughed, extremely satisfied because everything agreed perfectly. Even when songs from other villages were played, the text and melody were meticulously checked. It was remarkable that Ilk's songs were always recognized, even when I had not previously mentioned his name and even though he also sang songs which I had heard elsewhere, which were therefore not his alone. The Indians could not figure out the phonograph. When their songs were played back, they always looked into the horn, "to see who is singing in it." After one recording Ilk kept on talking into the apparatus for a long time; when I questioned him, he replied that he was talking to the Ilk who was in there.

533 Unfortunately, the cylinders became distorted through the
[126] influence of the humidity and heat, so that they became oval at one end; work on them has therefore not yet succeeded. As for the melodies, I can only say the following: "The song that is sung every day" starts with high head tones, then in a few tones it descends and ends in a long phrase of deep chest tones. The high head tones and the shift of the voice do not sound good,

* /15 cont./
532 I was able to observe two sand pictures in relief, which were also made by Manoel.

Fig. 102 /see p. 26/ represents a woman. The sexual parts were marked out by a small stone.

Fig. 103 /see p. 26/ is a crocodile. It could just as well be any other long-tailed animal.

b) Gourd drawings

[415] are found on gourd containers for oil. They are made by taking off the top layer with a knife. The figures are a kind of silhouette, since they stand out in darker color against the light background. /Fig. 104 appears here./

Fig. 104 /see p. 26/ represents an entire stag hunt. This is the only representation of a scene that I found among the Karajá. The figures are, in order, dog, stag, rider, dog, man.

[534] A lǎdēnĭ mask carved on the gourd rattle (Plate VI, Fig. 105 /see p.52 /) does not differ much from the sand drawing of the same mask (Fig. 97 /see p. 25/).

* 532 /16/
126
153

c) Sketchbook Drawings
(Plate VI-VII)

While these types of representations were familiar to the Indians, at first they did not know how to begin with the pencil and sketchbook. I first had to show them this manipulation; then they would try, always timidly at first, to see whether the pencil left a line behind it, but then went courageously to work with sure strokes. There were some who set about it very clumsily, whereas others were very skillful at it (1). Many

1. For the distribution of sketches among individual artists, see Appendix 2 /not translated; see the foreign text/.

/16 cont./

*532 could not create anything on their own initiative, but had to
126 have assignments set by me; others (and they were in the majority)
153 filled page after page with ever new figures as they happened to occur to them. In the following those drawn on demand are marked by *).

In this way I obtained representations of human beings, animals, birds, fish, reptiles, insects, trees, objects, constellations, and other things. They claimed unanimously that they could not draw human beings, but finally provided me with pictures when I asked for a portrait of myself. Of animals they liked best to draw birds and fish. Pictures of trees are very rare. They usually only produced objects on request. They liked most of all to produce patterns (see decorations /pp.42 ff./).

[419] Drawings were made only by the male sex, usually in bed
[517] by candlelight in the evenings. The significance of individual figures was immediately ascertained through questions and written down next to each figure.

*532 We distinguish between three kinds of drawings:

1. Simple line drawing, 2. outline drawing, 3. filled-in figures.

The relationship of the simple line drawing to the other kinds has not yet been determined because of the lack of comparative material. I should like to discuss it here first of all. With regard to the other two kinds, it is certain that the filled-in figures represent a higher stage than the outline drawings (2).

[113] 2. Cf. Dr. S. Levinstein, Kinderzeichnungen bis zum 14. Lebensjahr /Children's Drawings up to the 14th Year/, R. Voigtländer's Publishing House, Leipzig, 1905.

Almost two-thirds of all the drawings are filled-in figures, whereas simple line drawings make up only one quarter, outline drawings only one seventh of the material. The Karajá therefore stand on a very high level artistically.

The line drawings are all made with a pencil, the outline drawings with pencil and colored crayon, the filled-in figures

/18 cont./

*532 Of other animals there are represented: the crudely depicted dolphin (Fig. 114 /see p. 34/), the snake (Fig. 115 /see p. 34/) well portrayed by a zigzag line, and the two small mosquitoes (Fig. 116a ãhẽ̆, Fig. 116b lãkõ̆ /see p. 34/), the latter with its fat body full of sucked blood. /Fig. 123 appears here./

Of plants there are found: the banana tree (Fig. 117 /see p. 34/) with leaves and fruit umbel, maize (Fig. 118 /see p. 34/), and manioc (Fig. 119 /see p. 34/), the latter with roots.

Of other representations we have the clay doll (Fig. 120 /see p. 34/); it is drawn from the front and reminds one of the representation of human beings. The pebbles in the sand (Fig. 121 /see p. 34/) are reproduced by small lines. The track of a bird (Fig. 122 /see p. 34/) is very characteristic. The Indians [153] very much enjoyed imitating handwriting; Fig. 123 /see p. 34/ gives examples of these attempt.

β) Outline Drawings

Human figures are lacking. Only representations of individual parts of the body are found, for example, the female [β31] sexual organs, which are reproduced in Fig. 124 /see p. 34/ individually and in detail with the anus, and in Fig. 125 /see p. 34/ fill the whole page of the sketchbook in schematic representation and manifold repetition. /Figs. 125-128 appear here./ [304] The tribal tattooing, which consists of a circle colored blue and cut into each cheek with the help of a stamp, is reproduced in Fig. 126 /see p. 34/. Here the Indians were faced with the problem of drawing a circle freehand; the illustration shows the success with which they did this. See also Fig. 133 below under "objects" /see p. 35 /.

Animals are likewise seldom represented by this method of portrayal. There are no quadrupeds at all. Fig. 127 /see p. 34/ represents a bird, probably a parrot. The animal is drawn from the side. Of unknown significance is the animal ŭẽmã́ in Fig.

[Text continues on p. 35.]

/18 cont./

*532

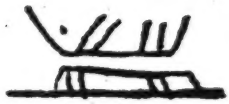

Fig. 112 a and b.

Fig. 113.

Fig. 114.

Fig. 116.

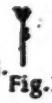

Fig. 118.

Fig. 121.

Fig. 115.

Fig. 117.

Fig. 119.

Fig. 120.

Fig. 122.

Fig. 112, large anteater; Fig. 113, mutum; Fig. 114, dolphin; Fig. 115, snake; Fig. 116, mosquitoes: a) abé, b) lakõ; Fig. 117, banana tree; Fig. 118, maize; Fig. 119, manioc; Fig. 120, doll; Fig. 121, pebbles in the sand; Fig. 122, track of a bird.

[153]

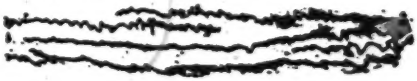

Fig. 123.
Imitation of handwriting.

[304]

[831]

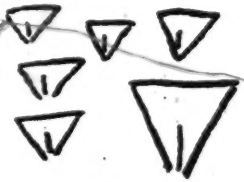

Fig. 125.
Schematic representation of the genitals. (A part of the sketch-book page.)

Fig. 126. Tribal tattooing.

Fig. 124.
Female genitals with anus.

Fig. 127. Bird.

Fig. 128.
nema.

/23 cont./

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[1] [see pp. 53-57 -- Analyst]

7:Lipkind E-5 (1938-1939) 1940
SP9 Caraja SP9

754 request a ghost to do his killing. In this case the ghost takes the form of a wild beast, usually a leopard. He may request a supernatural either to enter the body of his victim, or to turn loose on the victim his subject animals, 756 particularly the alligator and piranha. The curing shaman sucks out the intrusive supernatural or persuades the ghosts or supernaturals to withhold their attack.

776 The dichotomy of ghosts and supernaturals is quite clear in Carajá re-
769 ligion. Ghosts are placated by calendrical feasts, run by a hereditary priest.
746 Supernaturals are invited to the masked dances by a shaman who takes
[756] complete charge of this cult. There is little relationship between the two cults. There is a momentary appearance of masks during the Big-house Feast of the ghost cult, and an occasional offering to ancestors during the mask cult ceremonies.

775 What is of special interest is that there are many maleficent supernaturals
776 who cannot be approached at all. There is no technique for handling them except keeping out of their way. The violent ghosts really fall in the same category as far as their relation to humans is concerned. And yet they are chiefly the best men of the Carajá who have fallen in battle against their [154] enemies. In this curious bit of fantasy there seems to be a projection of the fear and aggression which are overtly present in the social life.

177 In recent years a few Carajá have been able to visit Rio and Belém. They
772 have brought back a somewhat different picture of the extent of the world,
577 a picture with which many Carajá are now familiar. It never intrudes into Carajá life. It is reserved solely for discourse with outsiders. No contradiction is felt because the two conceptions are never brought into the same universe of discourse. I was not able to detect any signs of skepticism. The Carajá is perfectly sure that he has a clear view of the true character of the world. The peculiar beliefs of outsiders are in keeping with their quaint behavior and lack of good breeding. A Carajá will not dispute about such things. He listens to the opinions of others with courtesy and curiosity but cannot be induced to take them seriously. It is much easier to pretend to [747] agree. If you are a missionary, you will give him presents. Later he may have the additional pleasure of expounding your fantastic ideas to his fellows.

182 Two factors seem to me to contribute largely to the maintainance of this
772 attitude. In the first place, the old way of life is still intact. When a man is
773 able to find full occupation and joy in his activities, it is difficult to get him to doubt the premises on which they are founded. Secondly, every important feature of life is validated by mythical tales which are the Carajá history. The emergence myth, given above in its simplest and shortest variant, is one of many. I can do no more than mention some of the most important here. The full form of the emergence myth gives the names of all the ancestors who emerged and the precise social divisions which they

/338 cont./

757 Venereal diseases are rare. The Karajá systematically
[164] avoid them in that infected Karajá, as long as they are not cured,
[834] are prohibited from intercourse with the women and possibly banished from the tribe altogether. Pedro I, who became infected in Conceição, said that if he went home that way he would be unable to remain there: he would then no longer be a Karajá. They seem to have a remedy for syphilis, but it is said to be effective only in the hands of a good doctor.

Persons with infectious diseases are left alone; even the doctor does not pay any attention to them. The people simply move away, but leave food behind for them. If they die, the
[153] others come and bury them. With death the disease, even an infectious one, is regarded as obliterated.

158 Mental illnesses seem to be very rare. I observed only one epileptic youth. Every month at the first quarter of the moon he is said to thrash about and walk around with his eyes closed. He had a strange look and his movements were heavy. For no reason
[828] that I could see, he was suddenly seized by the others, overpowered, and thrown down; after a time he was permitted to get up again and walk about freely, but he was always kept under control.

828 According to their view, mental illness (ĭdjõdĕ) is located in the small of the back.

Raving madness (ãhãhã) is incurable. During attacks the patient, by order of the chief, is bound at ankles and hands and laid on a mat in the shade.

158 In Schischá, on my return journey, I observed a strange custom, which probably goes back to a sadistic tendency. At night, the old bachelor, Maudĭhĭ, and Mãŭzĭ were sitting with me in the tent. Suddenly the bachelor leaped at Mauzi's throat and squeezed it, saying, I want to kill you, and then finally let go. Thereupon all /339/ three of them tried this on themselves. They threw their heads back, placed their hands around their throats from behind, and, holding the breath, squeezed the larynx together from both sides with their thumbs. After a while, they let go, swallowed a few times, and took a deep breath. Extreme satisfaction was reflected on their faces.

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

Brazil.

Morning having come, the remainder of our flotilla soon appeared, and the Karayá became more and more friendly. We induced a few of them to go to their little cornfield across the river to get us some green corn and pumpkins. While awaiting their return, we were entertained by another exciting event. One of two or three Karayá men who were insane and haunted the wilds distant from the village, which they made an unwelcome visit to from time to time, suddenly appeared. Nearly all the men of the village were absent, having scattered off to hunt and fish, as is their custom. When the lunatic burst suddenly into view, the women and children were instantly stricken with panic. Amid wild shouting and screaming, chattering and jabbering, a grand rush was made for the canoes, of which there is one for each family; and as the women ran they caught up the children that were too young to care for themselves, and also grabbed up clay pots and other destructible objects, tumbled everybody and everything into the dugouts, then paddled frantically out into the stream. Soon, the mad savage came into the encampment, armed with a large bow and arrows and a heavy killing club; and amused himself by entering the huts and emerging through the roof; or, entering by breaking through the roof and passing out through the established opening. And while going from hut to hut, he shattered clay pots and pans with a heavy blow from his club, besides slaying parrots and macaws in the same manner. As he took turns around the village, he shot his arrow again and again high in the air in advance, taking it up each time as he arrived where it fell. Seeing him doing this, and fearing that we might become a target for his archery, we followed the example of our savage brethren and pushed out into the stream. But he did not appear to take any notice of us, nor of any one, and seemed to be continually muttering and moaning. He did not stay long in the village but was soon swallowed up again in the forest, and the chattering, jabbering, excited horde in the canoes returned to shore.

1:Lipkind E-5 (1937) 1948 SP9 Caraja SP9

ARCHEOLOGY

172 Large circular hollows in the ground are found at various points in *Carajá* territory, always in the close vicinity of a stream. By tradition these are ancient cemeteries; of old, they say, people did not mourn at a funeral but held a feast in the hollow. One of these hollows located on the height above the river bank at Fontoura is 18 m. (about 58 ft.) long, 15 m. (about 50 ft.) wide, and 1½ m. (5 ft.) deep at its center. The mound forming the northern side was excavated, disclosing two lines of burials with associated pottery, bone labrets, and beads.

The pottery is very similar to modern *Carajá* pottery and the labrets are exactly like those now in the possession of the *Carajá*. The cemetery cannot, however, definitely be identified as *Carajá*. The present-day [764] *Carajá* cemetery is different in location and ground plan. There is now secondary urn burial, and in the first burial the bodies are laid at right angles to the river rather than parallel as were those disclosed by the excavation. Still, the remains show even less resemblance to the *Ge* and *Tupí* peoples in the neighborhood. The question must be left open for further archeological study.

HISTORY

648 175 Since the earliest times, the *Carajá* have been at war with their *Ge* and *Tupí* neighbors. The sole exception is the *Tapirapé*, with whom at one time the *Javahé* maintained close and friendly relations. The *Shambioá* were the first to come in contact with the Neo-Brazilians early in the 17th century. Contact with the *Carajá* proper must have begun shortly after the founding of Santa Anna by Bartholomeu Bueno in 1682. The *Carajá* are [439] on good terms with the Neo-Brazilians, trading skins and fish for clothing, beads, knives, axes, guns, sugar, and salt.

● 161 **Population.**—According to the census made by the author in 1939, the *Carajá* number 1,510, divided as follows: *Carajá* proper, 795; *Javahé*, 650; *Shambioá*, 65. These figures should be contrasted with Castelnau's (1850–59) count in 1845 of 2,000 *Shambioá* in four villages, and his estimate of a total of 100,000 *Carajá*, and with Krause's (1911) estimate of 10,000 *Carajá* in 1908.

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

241 **Farming.**—Clearings are made in the thick forest along the watercourses. Gardens must be so located as to be accessible by canoe in the dry season and yet not flooded in the rainy season. The scarcity of such land results in some of the plots being several miles distant from the village. Proximity to fishing grounds is generally held to be more important. The work of clearing is begun in May at the beginning of the dry season. Maize

/5/

175 At first he was met with distrust, since everyone was still
177 under the influence of the horrible deeds which Pires Campos had committed there 25 years earlier. Soon, however, by means of his intelligent, kind behavior, Pinto succeeded in getting the savages to put themselves under the protection of the governor of
[648] Goyaz. Their chief, Abeonona, swore an oath of fealty to the king of Portugal, the exact words of which are communicated in the above-mentioned letter.

175 The description of the Karaya which Pinto presents corresponds completely to present-day conditions. Through him we receive
[131] the first information about the large lake in the northern part of Bananal Island, not yet visited by any traveler, on the shores of
[161] which live the Yavahẽ /Javahe/. Pinto estimates the number of
[36] the Karaya at 9,000 souls in nine large villages, three of which belong to the Yavahẽ.

A second expedition left in the following year to lay out near the largest of the Indian villages on the island a military post which was given the name of Colonia da nova beira.

Later other such posts were established on the Araguaia, and some in the region of the Šambioa /Shambioa/. Under the prevailing mismanagement, however, these cultural centers very
[167] soon fell to ruin (1). Already in 1782 it was necessary to transport
[164]

[113] 1. Cazal, Corogr. bras. /Chorography of Brazil/, I, p. 340. -- Cunha Mattos, Corogr. de Goyaz." Rev. trim., Vol. 37, I, p. 393.

800 Karaya to S. José de Mossamedes in Goyaz, and in 1786 other bands were settled at Carretão, which, however, after a short time fell victim to an epidemic of measles. The colony of Mossamedes, too, did not prosper. Pohl found the place in the most wretched condition in the twenties of our century. Every trace of the earlier colonizing activities soon disappeared on the Araguaia. The island of Bananal in particular is as unknown today as at the time of its discovery.

/7 cont./

132 The life of the inhabitants is determined by the sharp division of the seasons. The rainless period lasts from May to the end of September, and farther north even until far into October. Then broad sandbanks (praias) are exposed everywhere, with the sun [221] beating down on them day after day. For the Indians this is the real period of river life. Fishing then governs all interests. With the beginning of November the rainy season has usually already set [133] in with strength; in December and January the river is highest, ten to twelve meters above the low level. From bank to bank, without interruption, a tremendous mass of water fills the bed, flooding the neighboring low plains for some distance.

136 Swarms of annoying insects, mosquitoes and pium /a very 221 small mosquito/, which are completely absent in the dry season, now fill the air. The Indian is forced to retreat to higher ground, where he then attends to cultivating the fields and, if need be, [226] hunts. Fishing can be carried on only in the lagoons at this time.

133 When the water lowers, bad fevers are not uncommon on the 164 middle Araguaia, where extensive swamps accompany the river.

Hordes. The Karaya of the Araguaia are divided into the 101 three large tribes of the Yavahẽ, Karayahi, and Šambioa, which [161] together may number about 4,000 persons. The first inhabit the [131] interior of the still completely unknown Bananal Island. We know [361] only this much about it, that in its northern part there is a large lake near which the three villages of the Yavahẽ are located. It has an outlet into the eastern arm (furo) of the Araguaia, at the mouth of which some of these savages were spoken to for the last 177 time in April, 1888. In the meantime no one has sought them out here, although they have indicated several times their desire to trade with the colonists. They badly need iron tools, which now come to them only rarely through the agency of the Karayahi. In the villages of the latter one sometimes meets some Yavahẽ. They do not like to leave their hiding place in large numbers, since they justifiably fear importing epidemic diseases.

361 The Karayahi live in 12-15 villages of various size on the west arm of the Araguaia in the region of the navigable stretch from S. José below the mouth of the Crixas to the region of S. Maria.

/177 cont./

175 At the same time the Presidio de Santa Izabel (now Capoeira de Santa Izabel Velha) existed on Bananal Island: it was later transferred to near the mouth of the Rio das Mortes (Santa Izabel do Morro, now Karajá cemetery), but then given up (22).

22. Moraes Jardim, O Rio Araguaya, foreword.

We owe the first brief, more recent ethnographic description of the Karajá to Dr. Couto de Magalhães, who in 1863 traveled down the Rio Vermelho, founded the town of São José, and visited the subsequently abandoned Aldea da Estiva, one league north of Salinas, in which Chavantés and Carajás lived (23).

[113] 23. Viagem ao Araguaya /Voyage to the Araguaia/. Goyaz, 1863, pp. 124 ff.

[101] [161] [36] [131] In another work (24) he reports that the Chambioás, Carajás,

[113] 24. Dr. C. Magalhães, Região e raças selvagens do Brasil /The Country and Savage Races of Brazil/. Rio de Janeiro, 1874.

Carajahís, and Javaés form a nation and live, 7-8000 souls strong, in 70-80 villages along the Rio Araguaya from Furo to Intaipabas.

[648] The same, in 1871, founded the settlement of Dumbasinho with the Collegio Izabel, two leagues below Leopoldina on the west bank (Leopoldina was founded in 1852), for the purpose of training and educating young Indians (Karajá, Kayapó, and Tapirapé) as colonists. The Collegio was given up at the beginning of the nineties.

175 114 The next detailed report about the Carajás was furnished by Dr. Spinola, who in 1879 accompanied Moraes Jardim on his Araguaya journey from Leopoldina to Santa Maria, which was undertaken for the purpose of making a map of the river. His

/190/

161 Without the Šavajé of the south horde, the total figure
[162] thus comes to 815; with the Šavajé, 831 persons. Therefore, on the average, there are seven to eight persons in one house.

[131] For the large area that the Karajá inhabit (about 800 kilometers in length), the population is thus very small. It is indeed possible that it was once larger, though the huge figures
162 of earlier reports seem greatly exaggerated. The small number
164 of youths and maidens is striking. Perhaps maidens were kept hidden from me; perhaps, however, very many young persons were in fact victims of the measles epidemic which, according to statements by the Indians, raged terribly among the young people in 1906 or 1907 (1). For the present, no retrogression is

1. In 1908 very good health conditions seemed to prevail among the Karajá. It was only in the village on the mouth of the Tapirapé that many small children were suffering from a kind of whooping cough. From July to the end of October, as far as I know, only one child and two old men died. I did not observe any births, but obviously several were imminent in a short time.

163 to be seen. The number of children seems appropriate for the
589 conditions, about three children to a family. There were a few
581 middle-aged bachelors; their influence on the male youth is not good. They preach the ideal of bachelorhood, which the young try to emulate, and all the more since, with marriage, they are obliged to undertake hard daily work (fishing, laying out plantings). More than one told me that he did not want to marry, because then he would have to work so much. The parents seem to work against this, however.

175 If we look more closely at the relationship of the south
167 horde to the north horde, it seems that the south horde originated only within the course of the last hundred years. The Karajá thus seem to be in the process of migrating to the south. We have the following information about the dwelling sites of the Karajá:

/353 cont./

166 Schischã, the deceased chief Pedro Manco, and Mother Joana from the migratory camp No. 9, people about 60-70 years old, are regarded as the children of the immigrant Šavajé. Recently, Šavajé again came from Bananal to Schischã; in October 1908 they lived in a separate house. These Šavajé, of course, entered into frequent alliances with the Karajá.

167 [101] A third branch is supposed to have separated from the Šavajé on Bananal, apparently in the previous generation. This horde crossed the Araguaya and moved toward the west; among the Karajá of the Araguaya they are regarded as lost. The separation took place in the region of the mouth of the Rio das Mortes or somewhat more to the south.

619 Before I enter into a discussion of the culture of the Šavajé, I should like to report very briefly what the Karajá told me about them: The Šavajé are their kinsmen; they speak the same lan-
628 guage and have the same tribal tattooing. They live in peaceful
[438] relations with the Karajá, they intermarry; above all, there is an active trade in which the Karajá trade to the Šavajé stone tools, which the Šavajé lack, as well as iron goods, fabrics, and chains of beads in exchange for urucũ, net coverings, araras, and
511 food. In clothing and ornamentation the Šavajé are supposed to be equal to the Karajá, but to have much more beautiful things. Among the Karajá, they are considered rich in ornaments and foodstuffs; hence, in times of hardship, the Karajá often migrate over to them. I found these statements to be generally true.

101 Phonetically the name of the people should be written Šăvăjé, in accordance with the pronunciation customary among the Karajá. The Karajá also call them: (ĭ)šăndjŭ, (ĭ)šă(n)dĭwăndŭ.
361 I cannot give their number, because I became acquainted with
[114] only a village of five huts. In any case, besides three or
[161] four such small villages, there seems to be a very large village, similar to those of the Šambioá, so that the number may perhaps
[162] be given as 800-1000. The Šavajé living among the southern Karajá perhaps reach 50 in number.

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
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CHAPTER VIII.

THE KARAYÁ.—RECEIVING STRANGERS.—PERSONAL ADORNMENT.—DOMICILES.—MENAGERIES.—FISHING AND HUNTING.—HUSBANDRY.—FOODS.

101 [161] THE Karayá tribe is divided into three great divisions, or separate tribes, called the Yavahé, the Karayáhy and the Sambiõa, numbering in all about four thousand. Little is 131 known of the Yavahé division except that they dwell in three 162 villages, or encampments, by a large lake, or lagoon, in the unknown interior of the great Isle of Bananal, which is between three and four hundred miles long and nearly one hundred miles broad, being formed by the two arms of the 133 Araguaya river. The Yavahé lake has an outlet into the [114] eastern arm of the Araguaya. In our descent of the Araguaya, we followed the western arm.

177 186 The Yavahé, though hostile to civilized men, and determined to avoid all contact with "civilization," much desire, neverthless, to obtain the steel implements, such as axes, knives and grubbing hoes, which civilization alone can furnish them. Neither does the Sambiõa branch wish to have any direct contact with "civilization" because they see plainly that their brethren of the Karayáhy division, who live in touch with the "civilization" that exists in the interior of Brazil, and which we know to be semi-barbarous, immoral and superstitious, are in a worse plight, morally, socially and physically than they themselves are—that they are extremely poor and demoralized, and suffer from various diseases, contracted from "civilization," with which they themselves are

/8 cont./

131 comprida and Cachoeira grande are in any case the work of their
172 ancestors. Since the first Araguaia travelers already mention these "inscriptions" as documents of great age, the Karaya must have lived in these regions at least since the sixteenth century (see pp. 91 ff.).

439 Within the Šambioa region, where the river is no longer
[162] navigable for ships, there are no Brazilian settlements at present. The savages are therefore completely dependent on the barter trade with the few larger rowboats passing by four to six times annually or the small vessels which maintain communication with
[648] São Vincente. They deliver mainly hammocks, field produce, and chickens to the travelers, but have otherwise kept their full
433 independence. Living under far better conditions of existence than the Karayahi, they stand, as far as agriculture is concerned, on a higher level than even the civilized river-dwellers.

648 They live in most bitter enmity with the Kayapo tribes of the left bank, the Kradahõ /Cradaho/, Ušikriṅ, and others. Many
[727] abducted women and children of the latter are found in their villages. On the whole, however, they are well treated, the children even adopted into the tribe without further ado.

The relationship of the Šambioa to the settlers has not always been peaceful. Nevertheless, Castelnau was already able to substantiate that these Indians did not deserve the bad reputation which they had among the Goyans at the time. The main guilt for the misdeeds which occurred is in any case to be sought on the side of the foreigners.

609 Their behavior was decidedly hostile in the seventies when the notorious Chief Roco attacked travelers on several occasions and massacred them.

Today it is only the inhabitants of the second village who
[411] receive strangers with hostility. Women and children are taken to safety, the warriors stand threateningly on the shore, armed with bows, spears, and clubs, and hardly condescend to barter. In the other villages our reception left little to be desired, once the fleeing women were successfully persuaded to return.

/187 cont./

101 Their neighbors are therefore the following:

In the south, Kayapó and Bororo, the latter known to the Karajá only by name.

/188/ In the west on the Rio das Mortes, the Chavãte, in Karajá: kḷĭũẓã́ (kĭlõẓã́, kũḷĭẓã́); on the Rio Tapirapé, the Tapirapé, ũõhṹ; from Santa Anna northward, the Kayapó, kḷã̄ḷãṹ.

In the east, on the upper Tocantins, the Cherente, ĭnõlã̄tũ; on the south end of Bananal, the so-called Canoeiros, tĭãbẽẓã́; in the middle of Bananal, the Šavajé, šã̄wãjẽ́, (ĭ)šã̄(n)dĭwãndṹ.

In the north, the Šambioá: šãmbĭõã́.

Of the tribes with whom they were unacquainted, the dõbã̄ĭ were mentioned on the Rio das Mortes in the east the ĭšã̄wũndãhṍ.

648 The Karajá live on a war footing with all these tribes, except for the related Šavajé and Šambioá; they show great fear
[439] of all of them. They formerly carried on trade with the Tapirapé, but for five or six years the two tribes have avoided each other as a result of a feud which flared up between them because of the
619 kidnapping of women by the Karajá. The Karajá show great respect even before the two tribes related to them. This is prob-
● [162] ably due to the fact that the Šavajé and Šambioá live in a few large villages, whereas the Karajá are scattered in many small settlements, and that they therefore, unaccustomed to great crowds of people, are afraid of the imposing number of armed men. Apparently, fear of other tribes is customary among the Indians generally.

162 The tribe of the Karajá is at present divided into two hordes:
361 The north horde lives from the northern end of Bananal
622 Island to the Rio das Mortes in the following 14 fixed villages (from north to south) (1): village of the chief Wãlãtã́, Crĭsõtẽ,

1. By fixed villages I mean those that are again established in their particular district after each rainy season with the move to the river sandbanks again.

/188 cont./

36 Tŭmănăkŭ (said to have died in September 1908), João III,
[162] Alfredo, Cyriāki-Cadete (Cyriāki moved to the mouth of the
[622] Tapirapé in September 1908), village on the mouth of the Tapirapé, village of the chief João II, José, Fŏtŭnă, Ilk, village on the Izabel Morro, Cadete João, village of the deceased Cincinati. The villages are divided into three groups and an
[484] outlying settlement: Walata lives four days' journey (the days'
[622] journeys are calculated for the descent in a rowboat) below
[578] Crisote, since he is hostile to all the Karajá and therefore is duly feared by them; in the fall of 1908, however, there seems to have been a reconciliation between them. Crisote also lives somewhat isolated, namely, a full day's journey below Tumanakŭ. From Tumanakŭ to José there is a string of villages; the average distance between them is a three hours' journey. Only the village on the mouth of the Tapirapé is a trip of four or five hours away from either of the two neighboring villages. Between José and Fotuna there is a distance of one and a half days' journey; then the villages again follow at shorter distances.

[622] A branch of the north horde is the Karajá village of Chief Kŏrŭmăré along the river on Bananal, located a day's march to the east from the village of José. /Pl. 38 appears here./

36 /189/ The south horde lives from the Rio Crixá to the Rio
[162] Vermelho in eight fixed settlements: on the Lago Luiz Alves,
[103] below and above the Rio Crixá, on the Lago de Café, in São José (āũwĭ), just above São José (hōlĕnĕkă), just below the Rio de Peixe (šĭšă), on the mouth of the Rio Vermelho above
[484] Leopoldina (šĭšămādŏ). These villages, too, are divided into several groups: three villages lie on the Rio Crixá at a distance of about three to four hours' travel apart. The village on the Lago de Café is midway between Rio Crixá and São José and is
[103] about four to six hours of travel in distance from the two. Near
[484] São José there are two villages: šĭšă is one and a half days' journey away; šĭšămādŏ is two and a half days' journey from
[621] šĭšă. šĭšămādŏ is an outlying settlement that has existed for

[Text Continues on P. 62]

/189 cont./

361 about five years; it is inhabited by civilized Indians who prefer
621 the advantages of civilization (tobacco, salt) to living together in the tribe.

162 Between the two hordes there is an intervening space of
22 a six and half days' boat-trip (calculated downstream). As the
[361] reason for the unhabited state of this intervening area the Indians
[132] told me that they lived here on the high banks only during the rainy
[136] season, that in the dry season only a few and poor sandbanks were exposed and there were a great many mosquitoes; two facts which I am able to confirm. As a transit area, however, it is busily used; on both the journey upstream and downstream I came across migratory villages here in both directions.

361 Thus we come to 23 fixed villages.

The size of the villages varies greatly. In the north horde there were villages with one to eight houses; altogether I counted about 80 houses, so that on the average there were five to six houses to a village. In the south horde there were villages with one to four houses. Altogether I counted about 20 houses, so that on the average there were two to three houses to a village. The number of houses in both hordes together is therefore only about 100.

162 The number of inhabitants likewise varies. There were:
621

	North Horde	Koru-mare's Village	South Horde	Total	Immi-grant Šavajé	Total
Men:						
Adults	114	–	27	141	3	144
Youths	57	–	15	72	1	73
Boys (1-12 years old)	141	–	28	169	1	170
Total	312	ca. 20	70	402	5	407
Women:						
Adults	164	–	38	202	7	209
Maidens	22	–	12	34	3	37
Girls (1-12 years old)	129	–	28	157	1	158
Total	315	ca. 20	78	413	11	424
Total for both sexes	627	ca. 40	148	815	16	831

/190/

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[162] thus comes to 815; with the Šavajé, 831 persons. Therefore, on the average, there are seven to eight persons in one house.

[131] For the large area that the Karajá inhabit (about 800 kilometers in length), the population is thus very small. It is indeed possible that it was once larger, though the huge figures
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/190 cont./

175 In 1772 José Machado meets Karajá, apparently on Bananal
167 Island. In 1773 Fonseca visits the Karajá north of the southern tip
[162] of Bananal; they occupied nine villages with 9,000 inhabitants, three villages of which belonged to the Šavajé.

175 Transplantings to the south, into aldeamendos, took place
167 from 1782 on. In this year 700 Karajá were transplanted to São
648 José de Mossamedes near Goyaz, where they gradually perished.
[164] In 1786 Carretão was founded for Chavánte and Šavajé; most of
[165] the Indians succumbed to a measles epidemic, and the survivors were taken to Salinas in 1788, where they likewise gradually
[131] perished. A removal of the Indians to the south near these "centers of civilization" did not take place at that time, however, for in 1792 Souza Villa Real, when he traveled downstream from the Rio Vermelho out of the Araguay, did not find any Indians as
[484] far as the south end of Bananal. It was only at the beginning of the nineteenth century that the Karajá seem to have come to Salinas occasionally to visit their fellow tribesmen settled there. Thus, Silva Souza reports that between 1809 and /191/ 1812 they came to Salinas in order to submit peaceably, but that they moved back to their villages on the river as a result of a dispute; unfortunately, it is not said where these villages were. Cunha
[439] Mattos reports in 1824 that the Karajá at times came to Salinas
[172] in order to buy iron implements there (1). These conditions

1. Rev. trim. 37, p. 363.

lasted for many decades, for Castelnau reports in 1844 that the Karajá occasionally came from the Araguaya to Salinas, in part to visit their fellow tribesmen, in part to plunder the plantations
175 of the Brazilians (2). He himself did not come across any villages
13
36

2. Vol. 1, pp. 372, 377, 383.

from the mouth of the Rio Crixá to the southern end of Bananal, but reports that the fixed settlements start only after the division, and, to be sure, on the western arm, and that up to the Rio das

/191 cont./

175 Mortes there are three villages, the first of which lies 38 leagues,
131 the second 30 leagues, and the third directly above the Rio das
361 Mortes (3). Rufino, too, in 1846/47 found Karajá villages (nine)

3. Vol. 1, p. 395; Vol. 2, p. 114.

only along Bananal Island, the most southerly of which lay nine
175 days below the southern end of Bananal. In 1863 Couto de
167 Magalhães made a new attempt to settle Chavánte and Karajá
648 in a village near Salinas, in order to introduce them to civiliza-
361 tion here. It was this settlement, in connection with the further advance of Brazilian civilization toward the west, that seems to have led the Karajá to settle south of Bananal Island. Thus, Moraes Jardim and Spinola in 1880 mention the first village of the Karajá from the south as near São José, then a second village at the mouth of the Rio Crixá. There follow 18 villages on Bananal, beginning on the Lago dos Chavántes and with a village
[162] near Santa Maria at the end. These 21 villages were said to have about 600 inhabitants.

175 Ehrenreich mentions the following villages in 1888: Between
361 Leopoldina and the Rio Crixá a camp with a few tents was found.
[162] Near Schischá there was a village of about 30 persons on a sand-
[721] bank. He found the ranchos near São José, which were inhabited by the Indians during the rainy season, deserted in August. There was another village on the Rio Crixá. North of the southern tip of Bananal he lists the following villages: Above the Rio das Mortes three villages, near Izabel do Morro four villages, from there to the mouth of the Tapirapé six villages, and below the Tapirapé mouth six more villages, the last of which lay isolated
[721] on the north end of Bananal. The formerly northernmost settlement near Santa Maria was, according to his account, attacked by the Kayapó in 1881 (in 1859, according to Coudreau, p. 136), destroyed, and, as a consequence, definitely given up by the
[162] Karajá. The north horde, therefore, according to him, occupied 19 villages, whereas the south horde occupied two to four villages. Cavalcanti in 1895 gives the following villages for the south horde:

/191 cont./

175 The first village on an island opposite Chicas (probably identical
361 with Schischá) with two houses, the /192/ second village on a sandbank opposite São José with four houses, another village on the mouth of the Rio Crixá under the chief Pedro Manco.

The accounts of Coudreau in 1896/97 for the south horde, about whom he reports only information given to him, are even more inexact than for the north horde. He mentions two villages
[162] for the rainy season: one near São José with eleven houses and 60 inhabitants, the other near Schischá with 17 houses and 40
[221] inhabitants. The large number of houses and inhabitants shows how the Indians gather together in a few larger villages during the rainy season. This shows, however, that the south horde was already strengthened.

361 In 1908 I myself found the first village near Leopoldina, the
[162] second near Schischá, the third above, the fourth in São José (a house occupied by Indians), the fifth on the Lago de Café, the sixth above, the seventh below the mouth of the Rio Crixá, the eighth on the Lago de Luiz Alves: altogether, 19 houses and 148 inhabitants.

173 According to stories of the Indians of the south horde, the
167 first Karajá here, those of São José, were supposed to have come
[622] from the north. The first chief who immigrated here was mǎněkōkŏ. He found the land uninhabited. When he died, the Indians continued to live here under another chief, Xavier. Among his people there was kūlĭ, the chief of village 3. kūlĭ seems to be about 60 years old. I do not know whether he was born here. At any rate, the immigration took place before his time, in other words, in about the first half of the nineteenth century. According to
[361] the Indians, šĭšá consisted of one hut 20-30 years ago; later several Indians from the north moved in. The village near Leopoldina is said to have been founded about five years ago; the people formerly lived in šǎndǎlǎbĕ (on the Rio das Mortes, or the Barreira de Izabel Velha, or near Izabel do Morro).

/193 cont./

166 Therefore a slight shift to the south has taken place. It should
361 also be mentioned that in September of 1908 Chief Cyriáki detached himself from Cadete and moved to the village at the mouth of the Tapirapé, that is, the next one to the south (2). There were

2. Kissenberth mentions the first village above the mouth of the Tapirapé as Cyriáki's village.

two migrations from the north to the south horde, but only for the purpose of visits or trade. A few persons, however, seemed to wish to remain permanently with the south horde.

In the south horde the same villages were again found in October as in June. On the downstream trip eight villages with 19 houses and five abandoned villages with eleven houses were observed, on the upstream trip the same eight villages with 20
[463] houses, but two villages had been shifted and two branches had withdrawn (boatbuilders of the second and third village who had completed their work); moreover, three deserted villages with six houses were to be seen (3).

3. On the reason for the abandonment of the villages, see below under "House and Village" /see pp. 85 - 87/.

162 The increase in houses by one is attributable to the immigra-
166 tion of Šavajé, for on the upstream journey there were five male
361 and eleven female Šavajé in Schischá. Besides that, however, the number has shifted further: on the downstream trip I counted 70 men and 61 women, on the upstream trip 70 men and 78 women; thus, with the Šavajé, the increase from June to October amounted to five men and 28 women, or 33 persons. This increase is to be traced back, in addition to immigration by the Šavajé, to that from the north horde.

/193 cont./

162 Thus, the migration southward seems to continue to this day,
166 and it seems to have affected the Šavajé as well. Apparently the south horde has a bit of Šavajé blood in it, which is noticeable above all in the taller build. Today only about one-fifth of the Karajá live south of Bananal; the majority still live in the north horde, but we have seen that in it, too, a trend toward the south is making itself noticeable (4).

[361] 4. A migration from the south horde to the north horde took place long ago: people emigrated from Schischá and settled on the Corrego; this is the village of José (six men, eight women).

174 Whether this migration to the south is a continuation of an older migration which brought the Karajá to the Araguaya I should like to leave undecided. As is well known, Ehrenreich pointed out many similarities between the Karajá and the Indians of Guiana.
171 Without wishing to pursue these cultural connections further at present, I should like to state, from a comparison of Karajá and Kayapó culture, that the Karajá show very many cultural traits related to the Kayapó, but also harbor a large percentage of foreign /194/ elements that seem to point to the north or northwest. It will remain for later investigations to pursue these cul-
194 tural problems further. The present-day distribution of the Karajá,
131 their confinement to the river valley in a narrow band beyond 8 1/2
648 degrees of latitude in the midst of hostile tribes, especially those
[101] of the Ges /Ge/ family, seems to point to the fact that the Karajá migrated up the Araguaya from the north, breaking up the tribes
648 living here. So far the Karajá have not yet come to an amicable relationship with the neighboring tribes. Efforts to bring this about
[997] were undertaken at Conceição by the mission, but they failed after initial success (1).

[115] 1. The reports, for which I am indebted to a Brazilian near Santa Maria, that the Kayapó and Šambioá meet annually at a particular place on

/196 cont./

342 335 The unaffected Šavajé house is shown in the ground plan and cross-section in Ill. 20. Characteristic are: two ridge uprights, over them the ridge beam, a second longitudinal beam at two-thirds of the height; three side uprights on either side, and over them /197/ side crossbeams. The rafters are led down from the ridge beam over the side crossbeams to the floor and fastened to the floor itself. The roundings are each supported by six low uprights, the three of each of the two sets are connected by cross-beams over which the rounding's roof-beams run down to the ground from the first and third arch. Thus, sides and rounding are supported from the inside by uprights with crossbeams. The entrances are in the roundings. These houses are 20-25 meters long, 12-15 meters wide, 3-4 meters high.

342 335 177 In Schischá at the end of October I came across the house of an immigrant Šavajé family; it was already altered (ground plan and cross-section, Ill. 21; covered, Pl. 40, Ill. 4). First of all it was a double house; its layout was identical with that of the Karajá house (Ill. 19). The difference was /Ill. 21 appears here/ that in front of each of the side support-beams a low, free-standing wall post had been rammed into the ground; to these wall posts, which were not connected by crossbeams, the wall covering was fastened. Thus, the separation into roof and wall had already occurred here; the wall supports were retained, and they became side support-beams. With regard to the round structures the layout is already simpler in Karajá fashion. In the mixed houses of the Karajá, these wall posts have disappeared; the covering is fastened to the side support-beams themselves. Thus, we have here before us the process of the development of the Šavajé house into the rancho; one need only omit the round structures in order to have a genuine Brazilian rancho structure. I actually saw such a house among the boatbuilders of Schischá on my downstream journey.

162 /198/ The assumption that the inhabitants of the southern-most villages of the south horde are mixed with Šavajé (see above: "Size" and "Number" /see pp. 46 and 67/) thereby gains additional support.

/351/

II. The Šavajé.

175 1. Historical.

Up to the present time the Šavajé /Javahe/ have been known almost only by name. The first to see the entire island of Bananal was Diogo Pinto da Gaia in 1720; I was unable to obtain his report, however, so I cannot say whether he encountered the Šavajé. We have the oldest report by José Pinto da Fonseca, who in 1773 navigated the Araguaya and pacified the Karajá. [62] He reported (Rev. trim. 8, pp. 376 ff.) that they lived in three [131] villages on the island of Bananal. He says that in the interior of the island there was a large lake abounding in fish (1).

1. Ibid., p. 389.--This report does not show that the Šavajé lived on this lake, as subsequent investigators construed (Ehrenreich, "Beiträge," pp. 5, 7).

[574] During his sojourn among the Karajá, the latter were visited by the Šavajé; wrestling took place as a greeting. According to his statements, the two peoples lived in peace. The Šavajé came riding up in large numbers in boats; they bore feather ornaments on their heads and lances adorned with feathers in their hands and blew on trumpets.

In 1774 Vasconcellos was on the Araguaya with Fonseca; he established a presidio and the aldeamendo Nova Beira on the east arm of Bananal where he settled Karajá and Šavajé. He [103] named the three villages of the Šavajé Cunha, Mello, and Ponte de Lima (Rev. trim. 37, p. 393). The presidio and aldeamendo soon ceased to exist: in 1782 the Indians of the aldeamendo were resettled in the new aldea of São José de Mossamedes, where they gradually perished. It is not absolutely certain whether there were Šavajé also at the aldea Pedro III (Carretão). In 1786 Miguel de Arrudo e Sá received the order to make war on the Chavánte and establish an aldea for them. He

/352 cont./

175 forced them to retreat, with a Šavajé walking on either side of each Brazilian. When the steamer whistled upon departure, many Šavajé, out of terror, leaped from their canoes into the river. In any case, from then on great fear prevailed among the Brazilian population concerning the more powerful Šavajé.

361 2. Dwelling sites. On the basis of my inquiries among the
[162] Karajá, the Šavajé live in the interior of Bananal Island in three
[131] to five villages which are distributed over a long stretch of territory. The northernmost small village is said to lie in the interior, three to four days above the north end of Bananal Island. The main village lies, in the dry season, about eight days above the mouth of the Furo on a sandbank at the entrance of a brook (outlet of the inland lake?). In the middle of August it is moved into the interior. It is said to be very large, "like a city"; Pedro drew six rows, each with 20-25 houses, in the sand. The bachelors
[346] are said to sleep in the mask house, located apart. Farther south, one to two days (?), one or two small villages lie in the interior
[114] of Bananal. I visited one of them from Karajá Village No. 15, from which it is located quite directly east. One reaches it by
[487] a well arranged route: after half a day's march, one comes to the Karajá village of Korumaré on a river. Either one travels up the river for one and a half days in a boat, describing a large arc to the south and east, or one walks for a day across the campo eastward to the harbor, from which it is another three to four hours' march to
[162] the village. The village, which contains five houses with approximately 100-150 /Pl. 59 appears here/ /353/ inhabitants, lies on a lake; it is moved several times in the course of the dry season.
[132] In the rainy season the entire region is inundated with water; apparently this lake then forms a part of the large lake that Fonseca mentions. I was unable to find out where the village is moved to during the rainy season. Finally, there is said to be a fifth small village still farther south, but the accounts about it vary.

131 This is the one branch of the Šavajé. A second one lives
162 near the south horde of the Karajá, and, indeed, in the two
101 southernmost villages: Schischá and near Leopoldina. They
361 migrated here in the last generation but one, for Chief Chico in
166

[Text Continues on p. 312]

/353 cont./

166 Schischã, the deceased chief Pedro Manco, and Mother Joana from the migratory camp No. 9, people about 60-70 years old, are regarded as the children of the immigrant Šavajé. Recently, Šavajé again came from Bananal to Schischã; in October 1908 they lived in a separate house. These Šavajé, of course, entered into frequent alliances with the Karajá.

167 [101] A third branch is supposed to have separated from the Šavajé on Bananal, apparently in the previous generation. This horde crossed the Araguaya and moved toward the west; among the Karajá of the Araguaya they are regarded as lost. The separation took place in the region of the mouth of the Rio das Mortes or somewhat more to the south.

619 Before I enter into a discussion of the culture of the Šavajé, I should like to report very briefly what the Karajá told me about them: The Šavajé are their kinsmen; they speak the same lan-
628 guage and have the same tribal tattooing. They live in peaceful
[438] relations with the Karajá, they intermarry; above all, there is an active trade in which the Karajá trade to the Šavajé stone tools, which the Šavajé lack, as well as iron goods, fabrics, and chains of beads in exchange for urucũ, net coverings, araras, and
511 food. In clothing and ornamentation the Šavajé are supposed to be equal to the Karajá, but to have much more beautiful things. Among the Karajá, they are considered rich in ornaments and foodstuffs; hence, in times of hardship, the Karajá often migrate over to them. I found these statements to be generally true.

101 Phonetically the name of the people should be written Šavajé, in accordance with the pronunciation customary among the Karajá. The Karajá also call them: (ĭ)šãndjũ, (ĭ)šã(n)dĭwãndũ.
361 I cannot give their number, because I became acquainted with
[114] only a small village of five huts. In any case, besides three or
[161] four such small villages, there seems to be a very large village, similar to those of the Šambioá, so that the number may perhaps
[162] be given as 800-1000. The Šavajé living among the southern Karajá perhaps reach 50 in number.

T /404 cont./
105 center stripe. Their women also make pottery. Their language
C differs from that of the Karajá; the two peoples do not understand
[197] each other. The relationship between the Karajá and the Tapirapé
C seems to have been peaceful in former times. With iron goods the
648 Karajá bartered for net coverings, bows, araras, stone lip-plugs,
[439] food, etc. The meeting place was a sandbank in the Rio Tapirapé,
opposite a high steep bank, slightly below the place to which the
C Karajá ordinarily extend their annual fishing expeditions. The
[721] Karajá had taken advantage of this opportunity to abduct in secret
the women and children in the places stripped of men. As has
been mentioned above (p. 263), because of this there was finally
a hostile clash between the two tribes about six or seven years ago;
C since then the Karajá avoid this spot, they no longer go so far
[727] upstream. The abducted women are used by the Karajá as slave
women for work, as well as village prostitutes; the children are
taken into the tribe. /Pl. 69 appears here./ /405/ /Ills. 262 and
263 appear here./

C
162 3. Observations in Karajá villages. In the villages of the
T Karajá I saw a total of two women, three maidens, and two boys
[142] from the Tapirapé. They were smaller and more delicate than
T /Ills. 264 and 265 appear here/ the Karajá. The women wore black
304 incised tattooing on the chins and on the cheeks (see Ill. 262 a, b
302 /see p. 339/). One girl was painted red on the face (Ill. 263).

C In the way of objects that were supposed to come from the
T Tapirapé, I acquired the following in the Karajá villages near
439 the Tapirapé mouth: the comb (kŭwaã; Pl. 69, Ill. 1); its method
126 of construction is identical with that of the Karajá, but the very
T regular plaiting pattern is different from that of the Karajá. The
303 spindle (Ill. 264) with the double-conical wax whorl does not differ
T in any way from those of the Karajá.
283

T The club (ĩwŭrã, Ill. 265) is identical in form with the round
411 clubs of the Karajá. One side of the front half of the club is grooved
and flanked on either side by a raised strip which bears groups of
cross-lines. The cylinder on the handle has three grooves; the
handle is grooved and likewise has two strips with cross-lines and
depressions.

[Text continues on p. 339]

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

Brazil.

The largest fish in the river are eight or ten feet in length 136
and encased in an armor of big scales. Still other fish will be mentioned later.

After a five o'clock dinner one afternoon, we cast off again 000
in order to take advantage of the current during the early part of the night. How strangely beautiful and romantic were the scenes that encircled us as we were borne quietly along on the bosom of the mighty, silent, placid flood and the shadows of night, pursuing the fleeing day, stole slowly over us! The boundless forest on both sides of the river, standing, or kneeling down into the water, seemed a vast guard of honor presenting arms, or two grand armies standing at attention. At length, calm and solemn night enveloped us in her sombre mantle. Two hours later, the full moon arose like a Queen of Glory in all her splendor, and radiated a flood of brilliant, delicious light that glorified river and forest and transfigured the savage world through which we were silently moving like spectres. I felt like exclaiming in the words of the Psalmist, "Praise ye him, sun and moon: Praise him all ye stars of light!"

Soon, we reached a little hamlet called São José, that at [361]
the time of our visit, was in an advanced state of decay. This was the last outpost of "civilization," and the few people who lived here were cut off from the rest of the world and barely managed to eke out an existence. As I was sitting in our canoe one evening while we tarried here, some large fish heads that had been lying on the beach were thrown into the water; and the instant they struck the water, several fish one to two or more feet in length shot out of the water in the vicinity and glided, or ricochetted over the surface in every direction. They were frightened, apparently, by the large heads. We bought a fat cow here for three dollars and fifty cents and salted the meat down; but as the curing was not properly done, we finally lost the meat. 123

We found a small group of the Karayá living at São José. [162]
We met the Karayá for the first time just before arriving here. They interested me greatly. Doubtless I appeared no

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

Chapter VIII.

THE KARAYÁ.—RECEIVING STRANGERS.—PERSONAL ADORNMENT.—DOMICILES.—MENAGERIES.—FISHING AND HUNTING.—HUSBANDRY.—FOODS.

101 [161] The Karayá tribe is divided into three great divisions, or separate tribes, called the Yavahé, the Karayáhy and the Sambiôa, numbering in all about four thousand. Little is 131 known of the Yavahé division except that they dwell in three 162 villages, or encampments, by a large lake, or lagoon, in the unknown interior of the great Isle of Bananal, which is between three and four hundred miles long and nearly one hundred miles broad, being formed by the two arms of the 133 Araguaya river. The Yavahé lake has an outlet into the [114] eastern arm of the Araguaya. In our descent of the Araguaya, we followed the western arm.

177 The Yavahé, though hostile to civilized men, and de- 186 termined to avoid all contact with "civilization," much desire, neverthless, to obtain the steel implements, such as axes, knives and grubbing hoes, which civilization alone can furnish them. Neither does the Sambiôa branch wish to have any direct contact with "civilization" because they see plainly that their brethren of the Karayáhy division, who live in touch with the "civilization" that exists in the interior of Brazil, and which we know to be semi-barbarous, immoral and superstitious, are in a worse plight, morally, socially and physically than they themselves are—that they are extremely poor and demoralized, and suffer from various diseases, contracted from "civilization," with which they themselves are

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

609 of them are painted black and red, and have their faces daubed Many
[302] with a thick layer of black soot; others wear upon their heads
[301] crowns made of beautiful feathers; while others again, have
[237] their hair braided and decorated with the brilliant crimson
[411] and gold feathers of the macaw. All are armed with spears beautifully decorated with feathers, and with bows and arrows and heavy killing clubs. They present quite a military spectacle.

Disembarking, the first thing the visitors do is to show the savages their arms, especially the repeating rifles, which fill them with awe. The chief now hastens to declare that he and his people are friends of the white man, saying: "The Karayá is the friend of the white man; there is no lie with us," repeating this twice. Confidence established, some trading may be done without difficulty. Small children, and particularly, young girls, are very shy of the strangers, and usually creep into their huts and cover their faces with their hands. The visitor is never troubled by beggars, and rarely has anything stolen from him.

131 The Karayáhy division live along the main stream of the
162 Araguaya between São José and Santa Maria in twelve or
[648] fifteen villages or encampments, one of which, near Santa Maria, was completely wiped out in 1881 by the Kayapó
361 tribe. Their villages are not so clean as those of the Sambiõa, nor are the huts so well constructed.

191 Observing the speech of the Karayá, one can scarcely notice any movement of the lips; nor do they seem able to repeat exactly a sentence just uttered. They have many sounds which they produce with the tongue and swallow the
192 last syllable. Apparently, their speech is not related to any Brazilian aboriginal language. The most remarkable thing about it is that they have one dialect for the men and another for the women; though only a few words are entirely different, and with most of them there is but a slight, unimportant change.

142 Physically, the Karayá are one of the finest of the aboriginal races of Brazil. They are of medium size, slender and

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

eyes from the strong reflection of the sun on the sand-bars. 293
When trading with travelers, they are eager to get blue or [439]
smoked glasses, or goggles.

The Karayá live in a more advanced state than do some 162
of the other tribes of the Amazon basin, especially the rough, 361
nomadic peoples, who exist in small groups of a few families.
They prefer to live in large groups containing hundreds of
individuals, and in permanent habitations, constituting fixed
villages or encampments. True, the Karayá living near San [221]
José, rove about somewhat in small parties during the dry
season; but farther down the Araguaya, the encampments
are more permanent and populous, numbering one hundred
fifty to two hundred souls. During the rainless season when 361
the river is low, they live on the sandy river bottoms, called
praias. Here they set up their easily portable huts, in order
to be convenient to their canoes and to the fishing grounds,
and also to be more free from troublesome insects.

The *villages* of the Karayáhy division, in common with
those of all other primitive peoples, are merely clusters or
groups of huts, huddled together in complete disorder. Each 342
hut is constructed by planting in the sand, fifteen or twenty
feet apart, two parallel rows of saplings, then bending over
each pair of opposites and tying them together. To these ribs
are bound bamboo rods in a horizontal position, *sipo*—creepers [283]
—being used as cordage; and upright poles are planted at the
gables. Over this frame-work is bound the skin, or covering, [824]
which consists of giant, feather-like palm-branches. Sometimes
plates, resting on forked posts, are used to further strengthen
the frame. This dwelling, when completed, is shaped like
the bottom of an inverted barge, and looks like a very squatty,
ancient haystack, with a hole—the door—eaten in one end
by cattle.

Garbage, such as watermelon rinds, pumpkin skins, green 364
corn cobs, and other fruit and vegetable refuse, is dumped
just outside the hut. Here, the mass festers and stinks in
the fierce rays of a tropical sun, and attracts swarms of [361]
insects, especially sand flies, that torment the nude savages

361 [364] beyond endurance, compelling them, finally, to pull down their huts and move to a new site, perhaps to some other sand-bar. This is a case of moving the residence instead of the garbage. During the rainy season, or when the sand bottoms are submerged, which may not occur until two or three months after the rains begin, the Karayá dwell on the [342] high banks of the mainland. Here, the huts are much better constructed, resembling the dwellings of "civilized" Brazilians.

342 184 It is seldom one sees among primitive peoples, such substantially constructed huts as those of the Sambiõa division. Here is seen the greater industry, the greater activity, and the better condition in every respect of the free, unmolested sons of the wilderness in comparison with their "tame" brethren who exist in more destitute circumstances, though in contact with, and under the influence of the "civilized" people—the semi-barbarous Brazilians. The dwellings of 342 the Sambiõa are not placed in disorder, but are arranged in 363 long rows, forming regular streets. "They make a favorable impression upon the visitor, because the streets appear clean and the huts orderly, comfortable and inviting." The four 361 Sambiõa villages each contain sixty, thirty, forty-five and 162 ninety huts, respectively, and each hut is occupied by one or 592 two, or more, families.

352 The furniture in these primitive abodes is very simple. The floor, which is bare earth, is covered with matting made [285] by braiding together the long, slender leaves of the burity-[513] palm. The occupants sleep on this matting without any other bedding whatever, save a round billet of wood for a pillow upon which the neck rests, but not the head, Japanese 353 fashion. From the plates, or roof supports, hang baskets of various forms and sizes, in which are kept the bright feathers that are used in decorative work and ornament making. Finished ornaments and decorations made of brilliant feathers, pieces of regalia, bows and arrows in a finished and unfinished state, spear-throwing sticks and various small articles are also seen stuck into or suspended from the roof; while

/190/

161 Without the Šavajé of the south horde, the total figure
[162] thus comes to 815; with the Šavajé, 831 persons. Therefore, on the average, there are seven to eight persons in one house.

[131] For the large area that the Karajá inhabit (about 800 kilometers in length), the population is thus very small. It is indeed possible that it was once larger, though the huge figures
162 of earlier reports seem greatly exaggerated. The small number
164 of youths and maidens is striking. Perhaps maidens were kept hidden from me; perhaps, however, very many young persons were in fact victims of the measles epidemic which, according to statements by the Indians, raged terribly among the young people in 1906 or 1907 (1). For the present, no retrogression is

1. In 1908 very good health conditions seemed to prevail among the Karajá. It was only in the village on the mouth of the Tapirapé that many small children were suffering from a kind of whooping cough. From July to the end of October, as far as I know, only one child and two old men died. I did not observe any births, but obviously several were imminent in a short time.

163 to be seen. The number of children seems appropriate for the
589 conditions, about three children to a family. There were a few
581 middle-aged bachelors; their influence on the male youth is not good. They preach the ideal of bachelorhood, which the young try to emulate, and all the more since, with marriage, they are obliged to undertake hard daily work (fishing, laying out plantings). More than one told me that he did not want to marry, because then he would have to work so much. The parents seem to work against this, however.

175 If we look more closely at the relationship of the south
167 horde to the north horde, it seems that the south horde originated only within the course of the last hundred years. The Karajá thus seem to be in the process of migrating to the south. We have the following information about the dwelling sites of the Karajá:

/327 cont./

844 washed once more and again rubbed. After this it is wrapped
845 in a small net covering. Deformed children (blind ones, too)
[847] are drowned in the river by the mother; this is not regarded as
wrong. Only well-formed children are raised, even when they are
all girls. Nothing could be learned about the treatment of twins;
163 such a case had "not yet occurred." The families, on the aver-
age, have two to four /328/ children; five are already regarded
as many. There are said to be even more children in one family,
862 however. The child is nursed for several years, and even chil-
dren five or six years old still run to their mother in order to
appease their hunger.

553 Children are given their names at birth by the grandparents
[603] on the paternal and maternal side. They keep these names all
[551] through life. Many Karajá bore Christian names, which were
[997] given them by the Brazilian boatmen; there are said to be only
551 one or two actually baptized Karajá in São José. I obtained
quite a number of given names for persons of both sexes; unfortu-
nately, translations of them could not be obtained. It is only in
the following names that familiar syllables may be separated out:
mãŭzĭ = addition to pottery clay (see above, p. 209); kūlĭ =
tapir; ănănlŏă = cat; ănlŭăzĭ = jaguar-zi (zi = egg; possibly
misheard for ti = bone). For the rest of the names, see the word
list /untranslated; see the foreign text, pp. 454-455/.

852 Soon after birth the children have their ear lobes pierced
for the insertion of the ear tulips (kūădjŭ), which are later re-
placed by the ear rods; it is only later that the lip-hole is pierced
for the boys. Both procedures take place without any further
ceremony.

291 The boys run about naked; girls wear a black string-belt.
561 It is only at the age of 9-12 that the boys tie the penis up and the
girls hang the bast apron over the belt. From then on the boys
301 live with the young men. As insignia the children wear arm cuffs,
calf and ankle bands, the latter of which are already removed by
the boys at the age of six to eight years.

Brazil.

593 The husband does not eat with his family, but instead
[969] with the family of his married sister, and is considered a member of his sister's family. Secondly, his share of the pro-
[768] ceeds of the day's hunting and fishing, does not go to his own hut, but to that of his sister; and, lastly, if his wife should die leaving dependent children, they are taken in charge by her parents and the widower again becomes one of the bachelors.

582 A Karayá woman is not permitted to marry an alien, unless
648 he will become adopted, or naturalized, into the tribe, and will consent to reside permanently at the wife's native village.
593 The Karayá wife appears to be considered the equal of her husband in many respects, for he never takes any important step in life without first consulting her. Even the village chief divides his honors with his wife. Furthermore, the wife as
[962] well as the husband, has an important part to perform, not only in the family, but in the social economy of the village; though her part is to do the heavy, laborious work, while her man does the light and fancy-work; his only heavy work being to hunt and fish.

595 The men usually have but one wife, though a few have
582 two. One reason for having two wives seems to be owing to the custom prevailing among nearly all South American tribes that the young men marry the older women, and the old men marry the young women. Therefore, when the first wife becomes old, her young husband takes to himself a youth-
●163 ful wife. Perhaps this custom of the young men marrying the
[582] older women will account in part for the small number of
[862] children born to these primitive races; though another reason may be that children are allowed to nurse until they are six
171 or seven years of age. The custom of aged men marrying girls fourteen or fifteen years of age is common among the
847 civilized people of Brazil. Abortion among the Karayá is practiced only when the husband demands it. Whenever a
586 couple cannot live together harmoniously, the husband is al-
587 lowed to trade his wife for another woman. If he should drive her away, he will not be permitted to marry another
000 woman, though he may take a concubine. The adulterous

/5/

175 At first he was met with distrust, since everyone was still
177 under the influence of the horrible deeds which Pires Campos had committed there 25 years earlier. Soon, however, by means of his intelligent, kind behavior, Pinto succeeded in getting the savages to put themselves under the protection of the governor of
[648] Goyaz. Their chief, Abeonona, swore an oath of fealty to the king of Portugal, the exact words of which are communicated in the above-mentioned letter.

175 The description of the Karaya which Pinto presents corresponds completely to present-day conditions. Through him we receive
[131] the first information about the large lake in the northern part of Bananal Island, not yet visited by any traveler, on the shores of
[161] which live the Yavahē /Javahe/. Pinto estimates the number of
[361] the Karaya at 9,000 souls in nine large villages, three of which belong to the Yavahē.

A second expedition left in the following year to lay out near the largest of the Indian villages on the island a military post which was given the name of Colonia da nova beira.

Later other such posts were established on the Araguaia, and some in the region of the Šambioa /Shambioa/. Under the prevailing mismanagement, however, these cultural centers very
[167] soon fell to ruin (1). Already in 1782 it was necessary to transport
[164]

[113] 1. Cazal, Corogr. bras. /Chorography of Brazil/, I, p. 340. -- Cunha Mattos, Corogr. de Goyaz." Rev. trim., Vol. 37, I, p. 393.

800 Karaya to S. José de Mossamedes in Goyaz, and in 1786 other bands were settled at Carretão, which, however, after a short time fell victim to an epidemic of measles. The colony of Mossamedes, too, did not prosper. Pohl found the place in the most wretched condition in the twenties of our century. Every trace of the earlier colonizing activities soon disappeared on the Araguaia. The island of Bananal in particular is as unknown today as at the time of its discovery.

/7 cont./

132 The life of the inhabitants is determined by the sharp division of the seasons. The rainless period lasts from May to the end of September, and farther north even until far into October. Then broad sandbanks (praias) are exposed everywhere, with the sun [221] beating down on them day after day. For the Indians this is the real period of river life. Fishing then governs all interests. With the beginning of November the rainy season has usually already set [133] in with strength; in December and January the river is highest, ten to twelve meters above the low level. From bank to bank, without interruption, a tremendous mass of water fills the bed, flooding the neighboring low plains for some distance.

136 Swarms of annoying insects, mosquitoes and pium /a very 221 small mosquito/, which are completely absent in the dry season, now fill the air. The Indian is forced to retreat to higher ground, where he then attends to cultivating the fields and, if need be, [226] hunts. Fishing can be carried on only in the lagoons at this time.

133 When the water lowers, bad fevers are not uncommon on the 164 middle Araguaia, where extensive swamps accompany the river.

Hordes. The Karaya of the Araguaia are divided into the 101 three large tribes of the Yavahē, Karayahi, and Šambioa, which [161] together may number about 4,000 persons. The first inhabit the [131] interior of the still completely unknown Bananal Island. We know [361] only this much about it, that in its northern part there is a large lake near which the three villages of the Yavahē are located. It has an outlet into the eastern arm (furo) of the Araguaia, at the mouth of which some of these savages were spoken to for the last 177 time in April, 1888. In the meantime no one has sought them out here, although they have indicated several times their desire to trade with the colonists. They badly need iron tools, which now come to them only rarely through the agency of the Karayahi. In the villages of the latter one sometimes meets some Yavahē. They do not like to leave their hiding place in large numbers, since they justifiably fear importing epidemic diseases.

361 The Karayahi live in 12-15 villages of various size on the west arm of the Araguaia in the region of the navigable stretch from S. José below the mouth of the Crixas to the region of S. Maria.

/32 cont./

765 If the survivors so desire, the bones are later dug up again and deposited in separate shallow clay containers near the grave.

Memories of the dead do not fade quickly. Long after the death of a family member, the devotion of his relatives is expressed in violent outbreaks of pain when a reminder of the deceased is evoked by some event. If, while examining storage baskets in the houses, we came across objects from the estate of departed spouses or children, the women broke out in loud lamentation, which stopped only when the object concerned was hidden again.

765 [464] In the last Šambioa village I witnessed a scene of mourning as unique as it was touching, when the news arrived that a Karaya had died in Pará, where he had gone on a boat as a hired rower. His mother and wife paced up and down on the bank for two days, while solemnly mourning loudly in song, holding ornamental objects of the lamented in their hands and continually waving them downstream where he had disappeared.

[533] The mourning songs were continued, accompanied by other women, far into the night.

Sicknesses and Witch Doctors

•164 On the whole the Karaya have been spared from the worst scourges of primitive peoples, smallpox and syphilis; just as little are they subject to the leprosy and goiter so widespread in the population of Goyaz. On the other hand tuberculosis, the infectiousness of which is well known to the Indians, is steadily increasing among the Karayahi. Ahi catarrho uaõ tem? Is there no catarrh, too? is always the first question which they ask the foreign visitor before they allow him to enter their huts. Malaria fevers occur in their more intensive form also only in the Karayahi region, particularly in the lowlands between São José and the mouth of the Rio das Mortes.

757 Medicines are apparently used by the savage tribes of South America to a much lesser degree than one generally assumes.

/185 cont./

142 the other hand, only four times (Pl. 11, Ill. 4; 38, Ill. 1;
44, Ill. 2). The color of the hair is black, with a reddish shimmer
[302] in an oblique light. Beard hair is sparse and is plucked out. Under-
arm hair is present, though not thick; it is sometimes pulled out,
sometimes left. Pubic hair is heavily developed among the male
sex; it does not extend much beyond the pubic bone and is not
removed. I was unable to observe among the Indians any fine
skin hair on the rest of the body; their skin is completely smooth.
They, on the contrary, were astonished to see hair on my arms,
hands, and fingers, the white sheen of which on my sunburned
[302] skin did indeed look peculiar. Eyebrows and lashes are plucked
out.

●164 Pathological formations on bodies were only rarely observed; I saw only one umbilical rupture in the case of a boy of about 12. Chief Ilk apparently suffered from an inguinal hernia
142 (Pl. 36, Ills. 1 and 2, right). Signs of past pregnancies were less noticeable on the body than on the breast.

The general picture of the Karajá is thus the following: Small to medium height, brown in color, with straight, sometimes curly hair; broad-shouldered, wide-chested, narrow-hipped figures with long lower arms and short hands and feet. Well-
[146] nourished, extremely muscular human beings. The women lag behind the men in every respect.

/186/ 2. Dwelling Sites, Arrangement, Number.

101
131 One large Indian nation, that of the Karajá, inhabits the banks of the Araguaya from 15 1/4-7° southern latitude. It is divided into the three tribes of the Šambioá, Šavajé, and Karajá. The Šambioá inhabit the stretch of rapids between 7° and 8°. southern latitude, the Šavajé the middle section of the river island of Bananal, between 11° and 12° southern latitude, while the settlements of the Karajá proper extend along the rapids-free course of the river from 10° 12' to 15° 15' southern latitude.

/190/

161 Without the Šavajé of the south horde, the total figure
[162] thus comes to 815; with the Šavajé, 831 persons. Therefore, on the average, there are seven to eight persons in one house.

[131] For the large area that the Karajá inhabit (about 800 kilometers in length), the population is thus very small. It is indeed possible that it was once larger, though the huge figures
162 of earlier reports seem greatly exaggerated. The small number of youths and maidens is striking. Perhaps maidens were kept
164 hidden from me; perhaps, however, very many young persons were in fact victims of the measles epidemic which, according to statements by the Indians, raged terribly among the young people in 1906 or 1907 (1). For the present, no retrogression is

1. In 1908 very good health conditions seemed to prevail among the Karajá. It was only in the village on the mouth of the Tapirapé that many small children were suffering from a kind of whooping cough. From July to the end of October, as far as I know, only one child and two old men died. I did not observe any births, but obviously several were imminent in a short time.

163 to be seen. The number of children seems appropriate for the conditions, about three children to a family. There were a few
589 middle-aged bachelors; their influence on the male youth is
581 not good. They preach the ideal of bachelorhood, which the young try to emulate, and all the more since, with marriage, they are obliged to undertake hard daily work (fishing, laying out plantings). More than one told me that he did not want to marry, because then he would have to work so much. The parents seem to work against this, however.

175 If we look more closely at the relationship of the south
167 horde to the north horde, it seems that the south horde originated only within the course of the last hundred years. The Karajá thus seem to be in the process of migrating to the south. We have the following information about the dwelling sites of the Karajá:

/190 cont./

175 In 1772 José Machado meets Karajá, apparently on Bananal
167 Island. In 1773 Fonseca visits the Karajá north of the southern tip
[162] of Bananal; they occupied nine villages with 9,000 inhabitants, three villages of which belonged to the Šavajé.

175 Transplantings to the south, into aldeamendos, took place
167 from 1782 on. In this year 700 Karajá were transplanted to São
648 José de Mossamedes near Goyaz, where they gradually perished.
[164] In 1786 Carretão was founded for Chavánte and Šavajé; most of
[165] the Indians succumbed to a measles epidemic, and the survivors were taken to Salinas in 1788, where they likewise gradually
[131] perished. A removal of the Indians to the south near these "centers of civilization" did not take place at that time, however, for in 1792 Souza Villa Real, when he traveled downstream from the Rio Vermelho out of the Araguay, did not find any Indians as
[484] far as the south end of Bananal. It was only at the beginning of the nineteenth century that the Karajá seem to have come to Salinas occasionally to visit their fellow tribesmen settled there. Thus, Silva Souza reports that between 1809 and /191/ 1812 they came to Salinas in order to submit peaceably, but that they moved back to their villages on the river as a result of a dispute; unfortunately, it is not said where these villages were. Cunha
[439] Mattos reports in 1824 that the Karajá at times came to Salinas
[172] in order to buy iron implements there (1). These conditions

1. Rev. trim. 37, p. 363.

lasted for many decades, for Castelnau reports in 1844 that the Karajá occasionally came from the Araguaya to Salinas, in part to visit their fellow tribesmen, in part to plunder the plantations
175 of the Brazilians (2). He himself did not come across any villages
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2. Vol. 1, pp. 372, 377, 383.

from the mouth of the Rio Crixá to the southern end of Bananal, but reports that the fixed settlements start only after the division, and, to be sure, on the western arm, and that up to the Rio das

/336 cont./

164 I saw an umbilical hernia only once, in the case of a boy.

757 I did not learn anything about bloodletting, which Ehrenreich reports.

304 Scarification is very common; almost all Indians bear the scratch scars from it on upper arms and thighs. I was unable to observe anything about the procedure, which Ehrenreich ("Beiträge," p. 33) describes. Concerning the apparatus used for this, see above, page 109, Ill. 51.

[752] ← 164

Of illnesses for which the cure is not known to me, I saw a blind girl, a man blind in one eye, and a boy with dropsy, as well as a man whose legs were atrophied up to his knees and who was able to move forward only by crawling on hands and knees.

757 Ehrenreich reports ("Beiträge," page 32) that in the morning they induce vomiting by inserting a charred taquara rod

Ill. 187.
Bone for cauterizing wounds.

into their throats, in order to empty the stomach in this way. He even brought back such sticks (Berlin 3964). I never observed [846] this custom, but, as related above, simply heard that husbands induce vomiting artificially during the couvade (see page 273).

128 In the following I shall discuss the other illnesses, insofar as I obtained information about them; I shall stress in particular observed cases of illness.

752 In case of snake bite the affected limb is tied up and some pounded dōăhĭ root is put on it.

757 824 There are very many remedies for indigestion and intestinal disorders. For indigestion three different roots are used. Either one pounds the mōnă root (in Brazilian allegedly murizĭ), mix

/336 cont./

757 it with water, and drink the liquid, or one takes, in the same
824 way, mixed with cold water, the pounded root of a cipo plant [b(ŭ)dōĭlūlĕ]. Finally, the root of a shrub which is cultivated for this purpose in the plantings is gnawed with the teeth in case of stomach pains. For intestinal disorders, two roots (dĭlüăkŏzĕ and bēdĭ) are /337/ crushed, each cooked separately, and the two decoctions mixed and drunk.

There are also several laxatives. The root ălähĭnŏ (in Brazilian allegedly tĭŭ) is pounded, cooked in water, and drunk as a purgative, or one uses the root of a vine (hămbūlādŏè), which is pounded and extracted with cold water.

Jaundice and anemia in young people are cured by pounding the leaves of a red-blossomed creeper (dŏwĭlĭzĕ) growing on
261 the goyaba and rubbing the body with it. Jaundice is caused chiefly by the eating of clay, which is put into ball form. This eating of clay is probably to be traced to the lack of salt. Instead of clay, ashes and sand are also eaten, which are said to have a constipating effect. I often observed how the Indians ate the sand from the sandbanks by the handful.

In order to grow fat, they eat a certain small fruit.

757 In spite of the good teeth which the Indians enjoy, tooth-
[164] ache seems to occur more often than one is inclined to assume. Though I did not observe any cases, they have a whole number of remedies for it. For example, they use the sheath of pieces of root and twigs called kŭsĭ (in Brazilian the so-called para tudo),
[757] as well as a small fruit called sĭbūrĕ. Teeth are not extracted; if they ache, this remedy is used. Otherwise they are left to drop out by themselves.

[164] I observed only one head cold (wādŏwĕ), in the case of an older man. As a remedy he had wound a palm-leaf binding around his head. Apparently his head was very dizzy, for he held it in front and back with both hands.

164 I often observed coughs (wādŏ); many Indians had a slight
757 cough, probably as a result of the cool nights. The children in Village 17 apparently had whooping cough; when coughing, they had choking spells, until they succeeded in coughing up the

/337 cont./

164 757 mucus. The mothers would pound them on the back; no other remedy was known. The coughing was explained as a consequence of the cold nights and the lack of blankets. They do not know any remedy for coughs.

164 I did not observe any tuberculosis. Ehrenreich reports ("Beiträge," p. 32) that the Karajá suffered from it, that they were aware of its danger and greeted every stranger with the question: "ahi catarrho não tem?" Now this custom has disappeared, probably with the decline of the disease.

[757] For chest pains they use ipipokama emetic powder (hãdãõ).

Fevers apparently are rare from May to October. At any rate, I did not see any attacks of fever in the villages. Only one of my Indian rowers was afflicted with a severe fever for three days in August. Fevers are said to be frequent, however, at the end of the rainy period, especially in the swamp region between São José and the Rio das Mortes; this stretch is therefore not 757 permanently occupied by the Indians. As a remedy they use the [824] /338/ plant kŏdūlāzĭ; it is pounded and mixed with hot water, and with this infusion the body, especially arms, shoulders, and chest, is washed. When this has been done four times in one day, the fever is said to be gone.

[164] Smallpox is unfailingly cured (as I was several times assured in answer to my question), and, indeed, the cure takes place on the eleventh day of the illness. It occurs as follows: [824] The four roots, nãŭĕkĭedĭzŭ, sĭndăkălăndŏ, klăklă, lŏlŭŏ, are pounded, mixed with water, and drunk. The drink is followed by profuse sweating. For eleven days this is taken three times a day, noon, afternoon, and evening, and during this time only very small, boiled fish are eaten. On the eleventh day the sickness is gone.

[164] Measles cannot be cured. In 1906/07 a severe measles epidemic must have afflicted the Karajá. Many people are supposed to have died because they bathed in the river during the fever. For this reason bathing is not permitted during any [262] illness now. Grilled piranhas and manioc mush serve as food for the sick; even the parents of the sick eat only these foods during the illness of their children.

/338 cont./

[757] Venereal diseases are rare. The Karajá systematically
[164] avoid them in that infected Karajá, as long as they are not cured,
[834] are prohibited from intercourse with the women and possibly banished from the tribe altogether. Pedro I, who became infected in Conceição, said that if he went home that way he would be unable to remain there: he would then no longer be a Karajá. They seem to have a remedy for syphilis, but it is said to be effective only in the hands of a good doctor.

Persons with infectious diseases are left alone; even the doctor does not pay any attention to them. The people simply move away, but leave food behind for them. If they die, the
[753] others come and bury them. With death the disease, even an infectious one, is regarded as obliterated.

158 Mental illnesses seem to be very rare. I observed only one epileptic youth. Every month at the first quarter of the moon he is said to thrash about and walk around with his eyes closed. He had a strange look and his movements were heavy. For no reason
[828] that I could see, he was suddenly seized by the others, overpowered, and thrown down; after a time he was permitted to get up again and walk about freely, but he was always kept under control.

828 According to their view, mental illness (ĭdjŏdĕ) is located in the small of the back.

Raving madness (ā̃hā̃hā̃) is incurable. During attacks the patient, by order of the chief, is bound at ankles and hands and laid on a mat in the shade.

158 In Schischá, on my return journey, I observed a strange custom, which probably goes back to a sadistic tendency. At night, the old bachelor, Maudĭhĭ, and Mãŭzĭ were sitting with me in the tent. Suddenly the bachelor leaped at Mauzi's throat and squeezed it, saying, I want to kill you, and then finally let go. Thereupon all /339/ three of them tried this on themselves. They threw their heads back, placed their hands around their throats from behind, and, holding the breath, squeezed the larynx together from both sides with their thumbs. After a while, they let go, swallowed a few times, and took a deep breath. Extreme satisfaction was reflected on their faces.

765 it is always the women—broke out into loud lamentations and wailings, which did not cease until the objects were again hidden from view. He says that he witnessed at a Sambiõa village a very pathetic mourning scene when the news came that a certain resident of the village had died in Pará, whither he had gone as a paddler in one of the trading boats descending the river. The mother and the wife of the deceased paced up and down the bank of the river near the village during two entire days, uttering continually loud and solemn cries of mourning. In their hands, they carried his ornaments and waved them constantly in the direction of the place where he had died. With the assistance of other women, the wailing was continued throughout the night. But whatever may be the real sentiments of the relatives, lamentations and wailing must not be omitted.

•164 The Karayá have not suffered as much from smallpox and goitre as other primitive peoples. But tuberculosis is increasing among them, and they know that it is infectious. "Is there any catarrh where you hail from?" is the first question they ask a stranger before he is allowed to enter their huts. Intermittent fevers exist among them only in certain
753 low regions. They use but little medicine, for all sickness and disease is looked upon as demon possession, or the result
755 of witch-craft. Therefore, they trust to their conjurers, or tribal priests, to relieve illness. These men seek to remove the fancied poison or disturbing element by sucking the part of the body where the pain is located, or to expel the evil spirits by performing enchantments, or practicing black arts.
757 One of the most noted medicaments of the Karayá, is the resin of the almecegëira tree, which is mixed with cocoa-nut oil and taken in the form of snuff for headache, and also rubbed on the abdomen to cure stomach-ache.

000 Bates, in his valuable work, "The Naturalist on the Amazon," says: "No one could live long among the Indians of the Upper Amazon without being struck with their constitutional dislike for heat. Europeans certainly withstand the high temperature better than the original inhabitants of the

/174 cont./

175 648 In the next few years the government endeavored to pacify the Indians, to educate them, in order to make the boat traffic on the Araguaya secure. To this end Antonio José Cabral de Almeida e Vasconcellos and José Pinto da Fonseca again traveled to Santa Anna Island between 1774-78, established a military station here, settled a few colonists, and founded the aldeamento Nova Beira for the Carajás and Javaés. Both establishments were soon given up, however, as a result of sickness and death (9).

9. Rev. trim. 12, pp. 457-458; 37, pp. 262-263, note 84.

175 648 167 [165] After these attempts had failed, another principle was tried. The Indians were transplanted into other areas, in order to safeguard shipping through this depopulation of the river shores. Thus, up to 1782 about 700 Karajá and Šavajé /Javahe/ were brought from the aldeamento Nova Beira to São José de Mossamedes near Goyaz /Goiás/, which had been founded in 1775, where they gradually perished (10). In 1786 Miguel de Arrudo e Sá was

10. Rev. trim. 12, p. 461; p. 393.

ordered to undertake a military expedition against the Chavantes and Javaés and to build a village for those subjugated. In the [165] Aldea de Pedro III (Carretão), 24 leagues north of Goyaz, he settled 3,500 Indians of both tribes, almost all of whom, however, /175/ succumbed to measles (11). The survivors were

11. Rev. trim. 37, p. 245; Rev. trim. 12, p. 462, speaks only of the Chavante.

brought to the Aldea de Salines (Boa Vista) in 1788, five leagues southeast of Piedade; in 1823, 76 Indians were still living there (12).

12. Rev. trim. 37, p. 246.

/190 cont./

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167 Island. In 1773 Fonseca visits the Karajá north of the southern tip
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2. Vol. 1, pp. 372, 377, 383.

from the mouth of the Rio Crixá to the southern end of Bananal, but reports that the fixed settlements start only after the division, and, to be sure, on the western arm, and that up to the Rio das

/192 cont./

167 648 In any case this summary shows that the south horde owes its origin first of all probably to the establishment of the aldeamendos [177] at Carretão and Salinas. The Indians settled there and the contact with civilization provided by it (iron tools, liquor, tobacco) soon attracted more, and this influx continued even after the aldeamendos were given up.

166 361 Even today this southern migration is continuing; this can be definitely proved by my observations. Let us consider first the shifts within the two hordes during the summer of 1908.

In the case of the north horde I met 13 occupied villages with 71 houses on my journey downstream, and in addition 14 deserted village sites with about 40 houses and four migratory villages, two of which were traveling north, two south. On the upstream journey the situation was as follows: there were 13 inhabited villages with 63 houses. The difference in comparison with the villages of the downstream trip lay in the fact that two villages had been given up, two were newly founded, and five had been moved. Four villages were migrating, three to the north and one to the south. There were still ten abandoned village sites with about 25 houses.

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1. In March 1909 Kissenberth came across these same four villages, as well as one migratory village, below the Tapirapé. Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, 1909, Vol. 41, p. 967.

[Text continues on p. 90]

/193 cont./

166 Therefore a slight shift to the south has taken place. It should
361 also be mentioned that in September of 1908 Chief Cyriáki detached himself from Cadete and moved to the village at the mouth of the Tapirapé, that is, the next one to the south (2). There were

2. Kissenberth mentions the first village above the mouth of the Tapirapé as Cyriáki's village.

two migrations from the north to the south horde, but only for the purpose of visits or trade. A few persons, however, seemed to wish to remain permanently with the south horde.

In the south horde the same villages were again found in October as in June. On the downstream trip eight villages with 19 houses and five abandoned villages with eleven houses were observed, on the upstream trip the same eight villages with 20
[463] houses, but two villages had been shifted and two branches had withdrawn (boatbuilders of the second and third village who had completed their work); moreover, three deserted villages with six houses were to be seen (3).

3. On the reason for the abandonment of the villages, see below under "House and Village" /see pp. 85 - 87/.

162 The increase in houses by one is attributable to the immigra-
166 tion of Šavajé, for on the upstream journey there were five male
361 and eleven female Šavajé in Schischá. Besides that, however, the number has shifted further: on the downstream trip I counted 70 men and 61 women, on the upstream trip 70 men and 78 women; thus, with the Šavajé, the increase from June to October amounted to five men and 28 women, or 33 persons. This increase is to be traced back, in addition to immigration by the Šavajé, to that from the north horde.

/193 cont./

162 Thus, the migration southward seems to continue to this day,
166 and it seems to have affected the Šavajé as well. Apparently the south horde has a bit of Šavajé blood in it, which is noticeable above all in the taller build. Today only about one-fifth of the Karajá live south of Bananal; the majority still live in the north horde, but we have seen that in it, too, a trend toward the south is making itself noticeable (4).

[361] 4. A migration from the south horde to the north horde took place long ago: people emigrated from Schischá and settled on the Corrego; this is the village of José (six men, eight women).

174 Whether this migration to the south is a continuation of an older migration which brought the Karajá to the Araguaya I should like to leave undecided. As is well known, Ehrenreich pointed out many similarities between the Karajá and the Indians of Guiana.
171 Without wishing to pursue these cultural connections further at present, I should like to state, from a comparison of Karajá and Kayapó culture, that the Karajá show very many cultural traits related to the Kayapó, but also harbor a large percentage of foreign /194/ elements that seem to point to the north or northwest. It will remain for later investigations to pursue these cul-
174 tural problems further. The present-day distribution of the Karajá,
131 their confinement to the river valley in a narrow band beyond 8 1/2
648 degrees of latitude in the midst of hostile tribes, especially those
[101] of the Ges /Ge/ family, seems to point to the fact that the Karajá migrated up the Araguaya from the north, breaking up the tribes
648 living here. So far the Karajá have not yet come to an amicable relationship with the neighboring tribes. Efforts to bring this about
[797] were undertaken at Conceição by the mission, but they failed after initial success (1).

[115] 1. The reports, for which I am indebted to a Brazilian near Santa Maria, that the Kayapó and Šambioá meet annually at a particular place on

/203 cont./

361 The houses in general are oriented in such a way that one long side faces northwest, north, or northeast, thus providing shade.

[592] [340] Each house is occupied by only one family; to each house there generally belongs a mat wall, a supply stand, and one or two hearth areas.

[346] The mask hut lies away from the village, at a distance of about 200 meters.

621 The villages of the Karajá are small; many consisted of only one or two houses, the largest of eight huts (1). Ehrenreich be-

1. Rufino has already reported that the villages of the Karajá have only eight to ten huts on the average. Rev. trim. 10, p. 208.

lieves that this dispersion must be traced back to a lack of means [511] of subsistence. This is scarcely to be assumed, since there is sufficient food, especially fish. In my opinion, it is conditioned first [598] by the many disputes that seem to prevail among the families of [591] the Karajá and lead to the departure of some of them, and then by the prevalence of personal attitudes concerning the feeling of sociability; many families live permanently isolated in one place because they happen to like it there.

It is noteworthy that the villages decrease in size from north to south. This may be explained by the direction of migration of [166] the Karajá: the bulk of them still live in the north; toward the south, the first to be sent are advance groups, which, of course, are small in number.

361 484 On journeys the Karajá pitch camps of mat roofs or walls, in the shade and shelter of which they live and sleep. The walls are, of course, oriented in such a way that they provide as much shade as possible and as long as possible; hence they usually stand approximately from west to east, and likewise arranged in rows (Pl. 13, Ill. 1). If a village is moved, the Indians live under mat walls until the houses are erected (Pl. 41, Ill. 2).

221 361 The villages do not remain permanently in one place. During the dry season, the Indians live on the sandbanks of the river, which,

/352 cont./

175 forced them to retreat, with a Šavajé walking on either side of each Brazilian. When the steamer whistled upon departure, many Šavajé, out of terror, leaped from their canoes into the river. In any case, from then on great fear prevailed among the Brazilian population concerning the more powerful Šavajé.

361 2. Dwelling sites. On the basis of my inquiries among the
[162] Karajá, the Šavajé live in the interior of Bananal Island in three
[131] to five villages which are distributed over a long stretch of territory. The northernmost small village is said to lie in the interior, three to four days above the north end of Bananal Island. The main village lies, in the dry season, about eight days above the mouth of the Furo on a sandbank at the entrance of a brook (outlet of the inland lake?). In the middle of August it is moved into the interior. It is said to be very large, "like a city"; Pedro drew six rows, each with 20-25 houses, in the sand. The bachelors
[346] are said to sleep in the mask house, located apart. Farther south, one to two days (?), one or two small villages lie in the interior
[114] of Bananal. I visited one of them from Karajá Village No. 15, from which it is located quite directly east. One reaches it by
[487] a well arranged route: after half a day's march, one comes to the Karajá village of Korumaré on a river. Either one travels up the river for one and a half days in a boat, describing a large arc to the south and east, or one walks for a day across the campo eastward to the harbor, from which it is another three to four hours' march to
[162] the village. The village, which contains five houses with approximately 100-150 /Pl. 59 appears here/ /353/ inhabitants, lies on a lake; it is moved several times in the course of the dry season.
[132] In the rainy season the entire region is inundated with water; apparently this lake then forms a part of the large lake that Fonseca mentions. I was unable to find out where the village is moved to during the rainy season. Finally, there is said to be a fifth small village still farther south, but the accounts about it vary.

13 This is the one branch of the Šavajé. A second one lives
162 near the south horde of the Karajá, and, indeed, in the two
101 southernmost villages: Schischá and near Leopoldina. They
361 migrated here in the last generation but one, for Chief Chico in
166

[Text continues on p. 312]

/353 cont./

166 Schischá, the deceased chief Pedro Manco, and Mother Joana from the migratory camp No. 9, people about 60-70 years old, are regarded as the children of the immigrant Šavajé. Recently, Šavajé again came from Bananal to Schischá; in October 1908 they lived in a separate house. These Šavajé, of course, entered into frequent alliances with the Karajá.

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[162] be given as 800-1000. The Šavajé living among the southern Karajá perhaps reach 50 in number.

/5/

175 At first he was met with distrust, since everyone was still
177 under the influence of the horrible deeds which Pires Campos had committed there 25 years earlier. Soon, however, by means of his intelligent, kind behavior, Pinto succeeded in getting the savages to put themselves under the protection of the governor of
[648] Goyaz. Their chief, Abeonona, swore an oath of fealty to the king of Portugal, the exact words of which are communicated in the above-mentioned letter.

175 The description of the Karaya which Pinto presents corresponds completely to present-day conditions. Through him we receive
[131] the first information about the large lake in the northern part of Bananal Island, not yet visited by any traveler, on the shores of
[161] which live the Yavahẽ /Javahe/. Pinto estimates the number of
[361] the Karaya at 9,000 souls in nine large villages, three of which belong to the Yavahẽ.

A second expedition left in the following year to lay out near the largest of the Indian villages on the island a military post which was given the name of Colonia da nova beira.

Later other such posts were established on the Araguaia, and some in the region of the Šambioa /Shambioa/. Under the prevailing mismanagement, however, these cultural centers very
[167] soon fell to ruin (1). Already in 1782 it was necessary to transport
[164]

[113] 1. Cazal, Corogr. bras. /Chorography of Brazil/, I, p. 340. -- Cunha Mattos, Corogr. de Goyaz." Rev. trim., Vol. 37, I, p. 393.

800 Karaya to S. José de Mossamedes in Goyaz, and in 1786 other bands were settled at Carretão, which, however, after a short time fell victim to an epidemic of measles. The colony of Mossamedes, too, did not prosper. Pohl found the place in the most wretched condition in the twenties of our century. Every trace of the earlier colonizing activities soon disappeared on the Araguaia. The island of Bananal in particular is as unknown today as at the time of its discovery.

/174 cont./

175 648 In the next few years the government endeavored to pacify the Indians, to educate them, in order to make the boat traffic on the Araguaya secure. To this end Antonio José Cabral de Almeida e Vasconcellos and José Pinto da Fonseca again traveled to Santa Anna Island between 1774-78, established a military station here, settled a few colonists, and founded the aldeamento Nova Beira for the Carajás and Javaés. Both establishments were soon given up, however, as a result of sickness and death (9).

9. Rev. trim. 12, pp. 457-458; 37, pp. 262-263, note 84.

175 648 167 [165] After these attempts had failed, another principle was tried. The Indians were transplanted into other areas, in order to safeguard shipping through this depopulation of the river shores. Thus, up to 1782 about 700 Karajá and Šavajé /Javahe/ were brought from the aldeamento Nova Beira to São José de Mossamedes near Goyaz /Goiás/, which had been founded in 1775, where they gradually perished (10). In 1786 Miguel de Arrudo e Sá was

10. Rev. trim. 12, p. 461; p. 393.

ordered to undertake a military expedition against the Chavantes and Javaés and to build a village for those subjugated. In the [165] Aldea de Pedro III (Carretão), 24 leagues north of Goyaz, he settled 3,500 Indians of both tribes, almost all of whom, however, /175/ succumbed to measles (11). The survivors were

11. Rev. trim. 37, p. 245; Rev. trim. 12, p. 462, speaks only of the Chavante.

brought to the Aldea de Salines (Boa Vista) in 1788, five leagues southeast of Piedade; in 1823, 76 Indians were still living there (12).

12. Rev. trim. 37, p. 246.

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161 Without the Šavajé of the south horde, the total figure
[162] thus comes to 815; with the Šavajé, 831 persons. Therefore, on the average, there are seven to eight persons in one house.

[131] For the large area that the Karajá inhabit (about 800 kilometers in length), the population is thus very small. It is indeed possible that it was once larger, though the huge figures
162 of earlier reports seem greatly exaggerated. The small number
164 of youths and maidens is striking. Perhaps maidens were kept hidden from me; perhaps, however, very many young persons were in fact victims of the measles epidemic which, according to statements by the Indians, raged terribly among the young people in 1906 or 1907 (1). For the present, no retrogression is

1. In 1908 very good health conditions seemed to prevail among the Karajá. It was only in the village on the mouth of the Tapirapé that many small children were suffering from a kind of whooping cough. From July to the end of October, as far as I know, only one child and two old men died. I did not observe any births, but obviously several were imminent in a short time.

163 to be seen. The number of children seems appropriate for the conditions, about three children to a family. There were a few
589 middle-aged bachelors; their influence on the male youth is
581 not good. They preach the ideal of bachelorhood, which the young try to emulate, and all the more since, with marriage, they are obliged to undertake hard daily work (fishing, laying out plantings). More than one told me that he did not want to marry, because then he would have to work so much. The parents seem to work against this, however.

175 If we look more closely at the relationship of the south
167 horde to the north horde, it seems that the south horde originated only within the course of the last hundred years. The Karajá thus seem to be in the process of migrating to the south. We have the following information about the dwelling sites of the Karajá:

/190 cont./

175 In 1772 José Machado meets Karajá, apparently on Bananal
167 Island. In 1773 Fonseca visits the Karajá north of the southern tip
[162] of Bananal; they occupied nine villages with 9,000 inhabitants, three villages of which belonged to the Šavajé.

175 Transplantings to the south, into aldeamendos, took place
167 from 1782 on. In this year 700 Karajá were transplanted to São
648 José de Mossamedes near Goyaz, where they gradually perished.
[164] In 1786 Carretão was founded for Chavánte and Šavajé; most of
[165] the Indians succumbed to a measles epidemic, and the survivors were taken to Salinas in 1788, where they likewise gradually
[131] perished. A removal of the Indians to the south near these "centers of civilization" did not take place at that time, however, for in 1792 Souza Villa Real, when he traveled downstream from the Rio Vermelho out of the Araguay, did not find any Indians as
[484] far as the south end of Bananal. It was only at the beginning of the nineteenth century that the Karajá seem to have come to Salinas occasionally to visit their fellow tribesmen settled there. Thus, Silva Souza reports that between 1809 and /191/ 1812 they came to Salinas in order to submit peaceably, but that they moved back to their villages on the river as a result of a dispute; unfortunately, it is not said where these villages were. Cunha
[439] Mattos reports in 1824 that the Karajá at times came to Salinas
[172] in order to buy iron implements there (1). These conditions

1. Rev. trim. 37, p. 363.

lasted for many decades, for Castelnau reports in 1844 that the Karajá occasionally came from the Araguaya to Salinas, in part to visit their fellow tribesmen, in part to plunder the plantations
175 of the Brazilians (2). He himself did not come across any villages
13
36

2. Vol. 1, pp. 372, 377, 383.

from the mouth of the Rio Crixá to the southern end of Bananal, but reports that the fixed settlements start only after the division, and, to be sure, on the western arm, and that up to the Rio das

/191 cont./

175 Mortes there are three villages, the first of which lies 38 leagues,
131 the second 30 leagues, and the third directly above the Rio das
361 Mortes (3). Rufino, too, in 1846/47 found Karajá villages (nine)

3. Vol. 1, p. 395; Vol. 2, p. 114.

only along Bananal Island, the most southerly of which lay nine
175 days below the southern end of Bananal. In 1863 Couto de
167 Magalhães made a new attempt to settle Chavánte and Karajá
648 in a village near Salinas, in order to introduce them to civiliza-
361 tion here. It was this settlement, in connection with the further advance of Brazilian civilization toward the west, that seems to have led the Karajá to settle south of Bananal Island. Thus, Moraes Jardim and Spinola in 1880 mention the first village of the Karajá from the south as near São José, then a second village at the mouth of the Rio Crixá. There follow 18 villages on Bananal, beginning on the Lago dos Chavántes and with a village
[162] near Santa Maria at the end. These 21 villages were said to have about 600 inhabitants.

175 Ehrenreich mentions the following villages in 1888: Between
361 Leopoldina and the Rio Crixá a camp with a few tents was found.
[162] Near Schischá there was a village of about 30 persons on a sand-
bank. He found the ranchos near São José, which were inhabited
[221] by the Indians during the rainy season, deserted in August. There was another village on the Rio Crixá. North of the southern tip of Bananal he lists the following villages: Above the Rio das Mortes three villages, near Izabel do Morro four villages, from there to the mouth of the Tapirapé six villages, and below the Tapirapé mouth six more villages, the last of which lay isolated
[721] on the north end of Bananal. The formerly northernmost settlement near Santa Maria was, according to his account, attacked by the Kayapó in 1881 (in 1859, according to Coudreau, p. 136), destroyed, and, as a consequence, definitely given up by the
[162] Karajá. The north horde, therefore, according to him, occupied 19 villages, whereas the south horde occupied two to four villages. Cavalcanti in 1895 gives the following villages for the south horde:

/191 cont./

175 361 The first village on an island opposite Chicas (probably identical with Schischã) with two houses, the /192/ second village on a sandbank opposite São José with four houses, another village on the mouth of the Rio Crixã under the chief Pedro Manco.

The accounts of Coudreau in 1896/97 for the south horde, about whom he reports only information given to him, are even more inexact than for the north horde. He mentions two villages [162] for the rainy season: one near São José with eleven houses and 60 inhabitants, the other near Schischã with 17 houses and 40 [221] inhabitants. The large number of houses and inhabitants shows how the Indians gather together in a few larger villages during the rainy season. This shows, however, that the south horde was already strengthened.

361 [162] In 1908 I myself found the first village near Leopoldina, the second near Schischã, the third above, the fourth in São José (a house occupied by Indians), the fifth on the Lago de Café, the sixth above, the seventh below the mouth of the Rio Crixã, the eighth on the Lago de Luiz Alves: altogether, 19 houses and 148 inhabitants.

173 167 [622] According to stories of the Indians of the south horde, the first Karajá here, those of São José, were supposed to have come from the north. The first chief who immigrated here was mãněkõkõ. He found the land uninhabited. When he died, the Indians continued to live here under another chief, Xavier. Among his people there was kũlĩ, the chief of village 3. kũlĩ seems to be about 60 years old. I do not know whether he was born here. At any rate, the immigration took place before his time, in other words, in about the first half of the nineteenth century. According to [361] the Indians, šišã consisted of one hut 20-30 years ago; later several Indians from the north moved in. The village near Leopoldina is said to have been founded about five years ago; the people formerly lived in šãndãlãbẽ (on the Rio das Mortes, or the Barreira de Izabel Velha, or near Izabel do Morro).

/192 cont./

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/353 cont./

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/3 cont./

a) Plaiting with Oaguassu Pinnae

(Plate I) 1/A

*532 205 In plaiting the form is most strongly dependent on the material, which during the plaiting makes all kinds of bends and angles, and these are adapted only with difficulty to the form to be represented. The artist cannot create so freely as, for example, in clay or wax. Therefore if a figure coming very close to the natural form is achieved with plaiting, this must be acknowledged as very high artistic skill.

The Karajá Indians are basically good plaiters; all their baskets, mats, and the plaiting around objects are neatly and tastefully executed. It is therefore not surprising that they have also reached a high level in plaiting figures. It is to be noted in [462] this connection that the /4/ plaiting of figures is practiced only by the male sex, just as only the objects plaited by men show patterns, whereas all the plaited work produced by women is unpatterned.

*532 205 123 The plaited figures described below were made by boys and youths as a pastime, in part before my eyes and on their own initiative. Thus, for example, I obtained those of the Šavajé when we were holding a conversation hour in the evening by the mask hut, and I, in order to stimulate the people, pulled a leaf pinna from my sitting-mat and began to plait. Scarcely had I begun than the young people immediately followed my example and produced for me a great number of interesting figures.

*532 205 [171] The method of plaiting is in part the one customary among us. For example, figures such as the small basket (Fig. 1 /see p. 47 /) and the honeycombs (Fig. 2 /see p.47 /) are also made in our kindergartens.

The reproductions of the rattlesnake (Fig. 3 /see p.47/), the tobacco pipe (Fig. 4 /see p.47 /), and the very accomplished representations of birds (Fig. 5 a and b /see p.47 /), however, are already more complicated.

1/A [see p. 47--Analyst]

/6 cont./

000 648 Xingu expedition. Their relationship to the neighboring tribes and to the Brazilian settlers of the rubber districts is, however, completely hostile here, so that up to now any approach was impossible. The Yuruna suffer most from their attacks. Traces of battles, devastated dwelling places, and the like were found everywhere by the first expedition of v. d. Steinen.

101 Some ethnographic objects from these tribes, acquired among the Yuruna, leave no doubt but that we are dealing with true Karaya here.

The likelihood that there is a still further extension of these Karaya into the upper region of the river was discovered by the ●171 second Xingu expedition. Objects acquired among the Kamayura /Camayura/ (below 12° south latitude) allegedly came from a tribe known there under the name of Aruma: a broken club, various arrows, feather headdresses, which are completely identical with those of the Karaya. Also, the tribe neighboring the Kamayura, the Trumai, had much in common with the Karaya, for example, the men's custom of tying the foreskin over the glans with a cotton thread, the bast aprons of the women, which are, however, much narrower and shorter than those of the Karaya women, the feather headdresses, and the form of the arrow-thrower. The languages of the two tribes, however, show no relationship.

101 The Karaya of the Araguaia are no longer connected with those of the Xingu. The two are separated from each other by the great warlike Gês nations of the Kayapo and Akuã (Chavante), who pushed in between them a long time ago.

131 Their dwelling sites lie along the middle course of the Araguaia
133 between the mouth of the Rio Crixas and the first great rapids, S.
361 Miguel, where the river breaks through or flows around the mountain ranges which border the northern slope of the great plateau of interior Brazil.

133 Already below 15° south latitude it enters a broad plain filled with alluvial materials, which in general has the same character
[139] about as far as S. Maria (9° 30'). Flat, densely overgrown islands in the river, the banks bordered by sand dunes, behind which rises on higher ground a luxuriant strip of forest which, however, as

/11 cont./

291 ground. One end is drawn hoodlike over the head, while the other covers the seat. Thus the riiõ is really part of the national costume.

[512] One sees, not only the adults, but also small children /12/ parading about with it, and even the little clay dolls of the latter are not

854 without it. Mats hung up by strings are used only for cradles for the newborn.

171 The question as to how the Karaya came to have this original

352 article of clothing is of great ethnographic interest. It is well-known that a large part of the Brazilian tribes does not use the hammock. These are chiefly the Gẽs nations occupying the entire eastern part of the country, such as the Kayapo, Akuã, Kaingan /Caingang/, Botocudo, etc., as well as the Bororo corresponding to them throughout, not in language, to be sure, but in their way of life, usage, and customs. They all sleep on the ground or on wooden frames.

Of the other tribes using hammocks, the Karaib /Carib/ make them out of cotton, the Nu-Aruak out of palm fiber.

This situation is so characteristic that the presence or absence of the hammock for a people, as well as the method of making it, is decisive for their ethnographic classification.

[513] Only the Karaya cannot be fitted into this scheme, because they make cotton hammocks, to be sure, but sleep in them on the ground.

[177] This permits one to conjecture that they only recently adopted the "rede" from another people and did not want to give up their old custom of sleeping on the ground (1).

1. Therefore the anonymous author of an old travel report in Revista trim., Vol. 25, p. 251, states correctly: "These Indians sleep on their redes and the same rede serves as a blanket. This idea is neither innate nor did it arise out of necessity. They learned it from someone." /Translated from the Portuguese./

/13 cont./

231 825 Domestic animals. In a description of the Indian house its animal fellow-lodgers must not be passed over. A genuine Indian still-life is inconceivable without them. The naïve joy of primitive man in animals and their behavior is expressed in his care for them. He considers the animal as [181] his equal. The feeling of solidarity, indeed, of relation- [538] ship with the animal world, which expresses itself in tribal tales and a rich treasury of animal fables, is a principal characteristic trait of the Indian national-spirit. This at the same time explains the often stressed contradiction that the savage Indian, in spite of his astonishing ability to tame the wild, timid animals of his country, has never brought this to the actual breeding of domestic animals in our sense. The animals are captured young and reared, but only to please themselves, for entertainment, out of joy in associating with them, not in order to make them useful. Therefore they 235 are not mated. Even the domestic chicken, which the •171 Araguaia tribes have had for a long time in a domesticated [262] state and which multiplies in great numbers, is not, as a member of the household, /14/ used for food, nor are its [439] eggs (1). In recent times, however, it serves as a trade item

[13]

1. Im Thurn, Among the Indians of Guyana /Guiana/, p. 265, reports the same thing.

in the trade with the commercial travelers, who sell the poultry in the first settlements of the province of Pará at a great profit.

231 Of the imported domestic animals, dogs and cats are already widespread. On the other hand, the pig is absent, but, in contrast, it is raised and traded by preference by the Kayapo tribes.

235 825 A large Sambioa village is always at the same time a kind of menagerie. The bird kingdom is most noticeable. The largest and most colorful birds are made use of, at least insofar as they must give up their feathers for feather ornaments.

/18 cont./

411 wrapped with decorative plaiting in a lozenge pattern. The
[53] four-sided, prismatic blade, which broadens towards the bottom and has sharp edges, runs out into a lancet-shaped point (Pl. VI /see p. 108/, 11, 12).

/19/ The palm-wood club of the Šambiao chief Roco (Village I) is of similar form but much smaller (121.5 centimeters long). Its blade has an elliptical cross-section. The plaiting pattern is simpler.

On both the plaiting is tied on the lower part by a broad red cotton binding ending in tassels.

2. Round clubs of various lengths (95-137 centimeters).

They are stick-shaped with a knobby, broadened end-part which runs out into a flat knob. The handle end also has a knob-like projecting part.

They are either smooth or, more often, provided with longitudinal grooving, which sometimes extends over the whole length of the weapon, sometimes only over the lower part. On the most beautiful specimen the grooving is interrupted on both sides by a smooth strip one centimeter wide, in which small holes are sunk at finger-width intervals (Pl. VI /see p. 108/, 13).

Finally, the 2-2 1/2 meters long, feather-decorated thrusting lances (Pl. VI /see p.108/, 10) are part of the war armor.
[237] The shaft is of palm wood, the 15-20 centimeter long tip from the thigh bone of the jaguar or deer; below the beginning of the latter, two long dangling feather-tassels are tied on with cotton
[531] bindings. On the larger spears the whole upper third of the shaft is surrounded with plaiting in zigzag patterns (snake decoration). Small red feather wreaths encircle it at the top and bottom.

[171] Arrow thrower (throwing board) (kåobi). After we had found this instrument, almost forgotten in South America, still in use among the Xingu tribes of the Kamayura, Auetö, and Trumai, I was surprised to find it again in exactly the same form on the Araguaia. Only its execution is somewhat cruder. The stick-shaped part with the bone hooks set in it is round in the upper third, the rest worked into a hexagon.

/19 cont./

415 1. The most common form can be described as two truncated cones with their bases touching. A tall model with a narrow opening and a shorter one with a wide opening are in use.

2. Wide open, deep bowls of similar basic form serve as cooking pots.

3. Flat, round plates, perhaps imitated from European forms.

4. Low elliptical double bowls with a partition running lengthwise.

5. Cylindrical pots with bent or projecting rim.

[171] 6. Small bowls (uatiui) with three feet, used especially by children; an analogous form is found in Ecuador.

7. Clay spoons.

The vessels do not have handles; instead bast cords are wound around the neck of the pot or drawn through the edge.

[824] The gourd bowls (üša) (fruit of Crescentia cuyete) also belong among the vessels. They are not found here in the size and diversity of form as among the Xingu /20/ tribes by far. On the other hand, they are much more carefully prepared and dried, and possess incomparably greater durability. They are usually [531] blackened inside and out and provided with engraved decorations (Fig. 6 /see p. 38/ and Fig. 10 /see p. 47 /). Painted gourds, like those of the Xingu tribes, do not occur.

415 In their natural shape, i.e., not cut through and provided 534 with a round opening only at one pole, and also with hanging cords (Pl. VIII /see p. 110 /, 7), they serve as bottles or containers for smaller /Fig. 5 appears here/ objects, such as seeds, decorative feathers, and such things; with a wooden handle and the seeds left inside, or pebbles, they serve as a dance rattle (uärŏ). [531] As such, they are often decorated with bands of feathers hanging down (Pl. X /see p. 112/, 1 and 2). /Fig. 6 appears here./

285 Plaited work, in view of the inexhaustible wealth of plant material which the bounteous nature of South America puts at the disposal of the savage primitive inhabitants, occupies the most prominent place in Indian home industry. Actually it forms the yardstick of the culture of these tribes. The Karaya are second to no other nation in this art, but their works are distinguished

/23 cont./

237 301 A small rhomboidal base-plate bears two strong feather-covered quills, into which two pairs of Cacicus feathers, standing out fork like, are inserted.

237 292 5. Feather caps in three shapes are used:

[171] a) The simplest (ǝori-ǝori) consist of a wide-meshed plaiting of bast, with feathers tied in the knots. They appear again in the same execution among the Xingu tribes of the Kamayura, Trumai, and Suya, who may have borrowed them from the local Karaya or Aruma.

[301]

Fig. 8. Feather ornament to be worn on the crown of the head.

b) The second type has greater durability and decorativeness. A narrow-meshed cap plaited out of strong palm fibers forms the base for the tying (hatukõ). Small yellow and red feathers, fastened rosette-like around a little piece of cane, are tied into the meshes (Pl. IX /see p. 111/, 4).

c) Tightly knitted, narrow-meshed caps, which are covered on the outside with a layer of down feathers. In the examples here the latter are no longer present.

535 237 301 6. The true dance ornament (lurinã) is worn on the back of the head on a string running around the forehead (Pl. IX, 2; cf. Pl. II /see p. 104/, 2). The base is a horseshoe-shaped support. It consists of two layers of palm leaf-ribs bent together and held together by patterned cotton plaiting daubed with white clay. Between these two plates lie short canes arranged next to one

/23 cont./

535 another radially, the upper opening of which holds the shaft of
237 the ornamental feathers. /Figure 8 appears here./ The part
301 of the little canes protruding over the supporting plates is covered by a band of feathers placed over it.

This ornament also appears in a less solid form, in which a thick layer of wax holds the ornamental feathers instead of the canes. In order to penetrate the wax better, each of them is sewed to a pointed wooden splint.

7. A second dance ornament in diadem form (ahetŏ) is simpler, but no less stately. Here the support consists of a row of long cane sticks wound with white thread and arranged in a row on a horizontal wooden stick. When the lower corners of the support are drawn together, the upper ones move away from one another to the sides so that the long ornamental feathers are spread far apart (Pl. IX /see p. 111/, 5).

[171] The first Xingu expedition acquired such a headdress of the Xingu Karaya among the Yuruna.

301 8 and 9. The use made of two ornamental pieces is still
239 unclear. There were acquired among the Karayahi two helmet-like headdresses plaited out of buriti leaf-strips and provided with tufts of feathers at the top(tatenerǎ), which the Indians themselves designated as incomplete. Allegedly more feathers should have been placed around the lower part of these helmets. One of them, moreover, is covered with a layer of down feathers (Pl. IX /see p. 111/, 1).

In another locality two feather ornaments were found, one of which perhaps represents the above-mentioned missing piece. It consists of a layer of long arara and short yellow Cascicus feathers in a fan-shaped row on a strong cotton strand. On the lower part of the outside there is yet another covering layer made up of blue and green parrot feathers. In order to make the cacicus feathers equally as long as the arara feathers, each of them is sewed to a wooden stick of corresponding length, whose protruding end piece, wound with cotton, bears a small tuft of feathers at its tip. The little stick is missing on the arara feathers, which are sufficiently long. In their case only a part

/27 cont./

582 4. The marriage of Karaya women to foreigners is permitted only when the latter allow themselves to be adopted into the tribe and take up permanent residence in the village concerned, a case which in Castelnau's time was not at all rare, but could hardly occur today.

593 Although the husband is naturally in charge as head of the
562 family, the position of the wife is a completely honorable one. There is no trace of the degradation of women into beasts of burden, as has been falsely imputed for all Indians by analogy with the North American tribes. Certain tasks, to be sure, are performed exclusively by the women and they are tireless in fulfilling their manifold duties. The man, too, however, has his share to perform. His wife is his complete equal; he does nothing of importance without her advice. Even the chief shares his honors with his wife. Mistreatment of women is unheard of.

595 Monogamy is the usual thing. The husband, however, not uncommonly finds it necessary to take a second wife when the
[582] first one becomes too old. This is conditioned by the peculiar
[171] custom, widespread, it seems, among all South American tribes (2), that the young men court older women and the old

[113] 2. Cf. Im Thurn, op. cit., p. 223.

men younger ones. Perhaps the relatively small number of children can be traced to this.

847 Artificial abortion occurs, but only on the demand of the husband. It is brought about by pressing the uterus together with the hands and is said to cause death not uncommonly.

586 If married people do not get along, the husband is allowed
587 to trade off his wife for that of another. Anyone who repudiates his wife cannot marry again, but is allowed to have a housekeeper.

684 The husband himself punishes an adulterous wife by a beating or burning her with glowing wood. Sometimes (3) the guilty one

[113] 3. Couto Magelhães, Selvagem, p. 116.

is said to be even burned to death.

/33/

304 While the patient convulsively clasps a pole, the points are
757 pressed deep into the skin of the ailing part of his body, and it is scratched open in various directions with quick movements. The blood is scraped off with strips of palm leaves, the wounds rubbed with sand in the bath. It is said to be not uncommon that pulverized pepper is applied to increase drainage.

Even when there is no special suffering, such blood-lettings are done from time to time on legs and arms, "in order to strengthen muscle power."

753 The belief common to all primitive peoples that sickness,
171 as well as death, is something highly unnatural and comes about only through the influence of hostile powers, which the witch doctor alone knows how to ban, prevails among the tribes of South America in such a completely similar manner that everything known about it from one people also holds without additions
[114] for the others. One need only refer to the lucid, exhaustive presentation by Im Thurn (1), to which there is hardly anything to add.

1. Im Thurn, op. cit., p. 328 ff.

756 Among the Karaya the rank of witch doctor (kahotebädõ, according to Spinola hori), of which every village possesses several, does not belong to a closed caste any more than it does among the Xingu tribes.

Anyone who is willing to undergo the required mortifications can become a sorcerer. Nervous individuals, epileptics, etc. are, of course, especially suited for it. Even women can attain this office.

789 We had no opportunity to observe the medicine man treating
791 the sick, but did observe him in his no less important activity
[276] as rain conjurer. He stepped ceremoniously in front of the hut, holding a tobacco pipe in one hand, in the other a long switch with thornback spines stuck on the tip. His face turned toward the heavens, he uttered inarticulate sounds in a loud voice, again and again blew smoke towards the clouds, then mumbled, swinging his staff around his head, incomprehensible words

/37 cont./

535 That such barbaric customs prevailed, at least formerly,
532 is all the less to be doubted, since analogies can be shown in
562 other regions of the world. Today, however, the matter does
688 not seem to be handled as strictly. It is said that among the
178 neighboring Tapirapé all the women once saw the masks by chance, so there was nothing else to do but to pardon them all and give up the secret.

According to a statement of Pedro Manco, the custom has fallen into disuse among the Šambioa, too. Nevertheless, they did not permit us simply to take the masks found in the forest along with us, because women /38/ were presumed to be in the area. Rather our men had to put on special clothing for the purpose of bringing them to our camp.

Whether these customs have now become milder or not, in any case the respect the women have for the masks and their mysterious storage place is quite great.

535 After the end of the festival the masks are thrown away or
532 burned. In any case the feathers used for them are saved.

It is unlikely that we shall ever fully understand the real meaning of these dances. It is even doubtful whether the Indians themselves are fully aware of it. On the basis of analogies among better known peoples, a few conjectures about it can at least be made.

535 It is certain that the mask represents the spirit of the ani-
532 mal portrayed. The animals themselves are either game animals
776 or those that play a certain role in the national legend, such as
825 the stork, the alligator, and the Gymnotus. In North America
[171] there are bear dances, buffalo dances, etc., in order to persuade the bear and buffalo spirit to make these animals appear in larger numbers, whereas other dances refer to animals which are regarded as original ancestors or have other mythological significance. Similar notions may also be the basis for the masked dances of the Karaya. This would already be a step beyond the lowest form of animism, since the acceptance of a spirit representing all animals of a certain class presumes a certain amount

/38 cont./

773 easily suggested to the Indians by missionaries, hat of the great flood, shows no connection to the Christian story in the version given here.

[171] Analogies, moreover, are found with myths from Guiana, North America, and especially Polynesia.

Legends I-VI seem to be fragments of an dd tribal saga.

Not all are complete. In the case of some the conclusion is missing, or perhaps, for our understanding at least, the point.

[172] /39/ Everywhere the genuinely Indian idea of the equality of the human and the animal worlds stands out cearly. The animal here seems to differ from man only in extenal appearance; for this reason both change their form continually. As a rule the narrator in the course of his presentation, whenever a new animal was introduced in the action, expressly added the remark that it was actually also a Karaya.

I.

Kabõi:

539 Kabõi, the ancestor of the Karaya, livedwith his people in the underworld. The sun shone there when i was night on earth and vice versa. The cry of the camp bird seriema (Dicholophus cristatus) once penetrated that far and Kabõi decided to follow the sound, accompanied by several people. Thus he reached a hole which led to the surface of the earth. But only his people could get through, whereas heimself, on account of his overly large size, remained stuck in and could only look out of the opening with his head. The Karaya roamed through the area and found many fruits, bacury /Platonia insignis/, piqui, fruta do veado, and furthermore bees and wild honey, but also saw many a dead tree and dry wood. All this they brought to the place where Kabõi waited for them and showed what they had found. To be sure, the land is beautiful and fruitful, said the latter, but this rotten wood proves that whatever lives here must soon die. Therefore it is better that we remain where we are.

/39 cont./

539 In Kabõi's land people became very old; they died only when they could no longer move on account of their age.

When Kabõi returned to his people and showed the fruits, most of them wanted to go to the upper world; in vain he warned: You will find everything that you need, but you will soon die off. In spite of this part of the people moved away and populated the earth. The rest remained with Kabõi in the underworld. They are still living today in full strength, whereas the people on the earth are steadily approaching their downfall.

[171] A quite similar tale from the Warrau /Warao/ is communicated by Im Thurn (op. cit., p. 360), but it tells of a descent of the people from heaven to earth. From North America we know of an analogous one among the Mandan (cf. Catlin, Indianer Nordamerikas, Brussels, 1851, p. 131). Considering
[194] that in the language of the Karaya "b" and "m" often change into each other, particularly in loan words, the name Kabõi reminds one of the name of the sun and the sun hero of the Aruak /Arawak/ tribes, Kamu, Kamui, Kamoti, or Kamutši (see the remarks about the celebration of the Ipurina below /untranslated/), frequently recurring in South American mythology. Also Tamoi, the ancestor of the Tupi, may be identical with this.

II.

Sun Myth.

Kaherero̊, a Karaya girl, married the rich Šokrãã. She was sent into the forest to fetch wood. The sun ran so fast, however, that night fell before she was finished. Then the girl complained to her mother Idžokarero̊: Why did I marry such a rich and mighty man if I am to be forced to work so fast. I cannot stand that. Make the sun go slower."

The mother then sent out her son (1) Beðauã (2). He

1. Also named were Komahera and Kuarodžã.

2. "The dove."

/39 cont./
539 succeeded in breaking the sun's leg; since then it goes slower.

[171] The correspondence to the Polynesian Maui myth is very striking here.

III.

The Two Powerful Ones.

A festival had been celebrated in a village. The dancers had taken off their masks. Everybody went out to hunt and to fish. Each one promised to be the first to return with rich booty. In three canoes the people moved upstream, only one youth alone downstream. His old mother, who, blind and lame, could not leave the fire, had remained behind. She asked him when he returned: Who danced there, were they really dead people who danced? The son answered: No, it /40/ was the Karaya, but they placed their fingers over one another in the manner of the deceased (cf. p. 61). Then the others returned; among them were two powerful ones, Teuira and Šokroã. One cut off the old woman's head with his knife of piranha teeth, showed it about, and had a deep pit dug. Then he commanded that bark and pieces of wood be brought, filled the pit with them, and set the whole thing on fire. Into the blazing fire the two "powerful ones" then threw one Karaya after the other. Thereupon they danced around the fire with wild shouting and sang:

Teuira idžeura
kabo kabo.
aehe aehe aehe hehehaṅ
deara Teuita deara Šokroã.

Then the two took up positions opposite each other for the battle game. Each of them boasted that he could shoot the other's eye out. So both sent off their shots at the same time and one fell by the other's hand.

/40 cont./

539 Thus of the whole village only two parakeets (dwarf parrots) remained. Two young Karaya who stayed late to hunt now returned and found the village empty. Terrified, one wanted to flee, but the other held him back. When they went away to hunt the next day, they heard pounding in the mortar from the village, as if the women were working. On their return they found the food prepared by an unknown hand. In vain they called for the women who had done it. Nobody answered. On the next day the same thing happened. Finally on the third day they were driven by curiosity to turn back when they heard the pounding. In the house they found two girls who hung their heads dumbly when they entered. Finally they revealed themselves as the two transformed parakeets. The two youths took them as wives, and the present Karaya are descended from them.

[171] In the Peruvian tale of the flood communicated by Bancroft (Native Races, V, 15) the survivors are served in the same manner by two parrots, whom they later take as wives. (Cf. Andree, Flutsagen /Flood Legends/, p. 117.)

IV.

Karaya and Tori.

Kudžã had a Karaya run a race with a tori (white man). At the end, as prizes, there were a bow and arrow and a gun. The Karaya came to the end first and took the gun; the tori received the bow and arrow. Soon, however, the gun became too heavy for the Karaya, and he had the tori exchange with him; since then the latter carries a gun and the Karaya the bow and arrow.

[171] The Tširoki myth communicated by Müller, Urreligionen /Primitive Religions/, p. 114, is quite similar.

/186 cont./

131 Apparently there are Karajá living outside of the river valley. The first German Xingu-expedition, on the lower Xingu in the regions of the Yuruna, everywhere came across traces of struggles
171 with alien Indians who were called Karajá by the Yuruna. The
[126] objects brought back that the Yuruna designated as coming from the Karajá, which are in the Museum für Völkerkunde in Berlin, reveal a culture reminiscent of that of the Karajá and that of the Kayapó (1). Thus, they might well have belonged to a splintered-off

1. The clubs, Nos. 1596 and 1597, have handles similar to those of the Šambioá clubs and oars (3979, e, d). Club 1597 is again similar to the one brought back by Herrmann Meyer from the Kayapó of the Paranayuba (4466), but, on the other hand, completely different from my Kayapó and Karajá clubs, whose handles are identical with those of the Šavajé and others of the Šambioá (3983). The diadem, 1595, is identical with a Karajá diadem brought back by Ehrenreich, as well as two of my Kayapó diadems. The arrow, 1598, is like the Ehrenreich Karajá arrows. -- The numbers of the objects refer to the Berlin catalogue.

Karajá tribe, whose culture, altered by its sojourn among
101 Kayapó tribes, became similar to that of the Kayapó. The tribe of the Karajá proper did not, according to my investigations,
173 know anything about any fellow tribesmen on the Xingu. It
[173] was only below Santa Maria that I learned from a Brazilian settler, who seemed to be acquainted with conditions among the Šambioá, that the branching off of the Xingu Karajá is explained by them in the following way: A Šambioá chief (Roca?; cf. Coudreau, p. 123) kidnapped a white woman; his son fell in love with her and wanted to take her away from his father. There was a fight in which the father proved to be the weaker, so he was obliged to depart with his followers; he turned westward toward the Xingu. How much of this story is credible we do not know as yet.

/186 cont./

173 At any rate, it shows that the Xingu Karajá are brought into
[101] closer relationship with the Šambioá than with the Karajá; in view of the geographical conditions and the above statements about the club handles, probably an acceptable opinion.

171 In the source region of the Xingu, the second German Xingu-
[126] expedition heard about an Arumá tribe. Objects from this tribe,
[101] which were acquired among other tribes, show the same middle position between Karajá and Kayapó culture (2). They therefore

> 2. The four arrows, Berlin 3874 a-d, have, in part, been given new shafts with Bakairí /Bacairi/ feathering; the old shafts, however, show traces of a feathering which is very similar to that of the Karajá, and the points are the same, except for one of the Karajá arrows. The grooved front end of a club (Berlin 2990) could have come from the Karajá or from the Kayapó.

belong to the same ethnographic /187/ province as the Karajá. Now Meyer (1) calls the Arumá Caribs (Bakairí-Apiaká

[113]

> 1. Cf. Meyer, Zeitschrift f. Ethnol., Berlin, Vol. 30, 1898, p. 258.

173 /Bacairi-Apiaca/). Perhaps the cultural change in the direction of the Bakairí goes back to the influence of the Šavajé. According to statements of the Karajá, the Šavajé split up about 20-30 years ago at the place called Barreira de Santa Izabel Velha, one part continued to live on Bananal, the other moved west across the Araguaya and has since then disappeared. Perhaps this part of the Šavajé went southwest to the Xingu and affected the cultures there in the manner indicated.

101 Of the above-named three tribes, I studied the Šavajé briefly, the Karajá during a lengthy stay.

/193 cont./

162 Thus, the migration southward seems to continue to this day,
166 and it seems to have affected the Šavajé as well. Apparently the south horde has a bit of Šavajé blood in it, which is noticeable above all in the taller build. Today only about one-fifth of the Karajá live south of Bananal; the majority still live in the north horde, but we have seen that in it, too, a trend toward the south is making itself noticeable (4).

[361] 4. A migration from the south horde to the north horde took place long ago: people emigrated from Schischá and settled on the Corrego; this is the village of José (six men, eight women).

174 Whether this migration to the south is a continuation of an older migration which brought the Karajá to the Araguaya I should like to leave undecided. As is well known, Ehrenreich pointed out many similarities between the Karajá and the Indians of Guiana.
● 171 Without wishing to pursue these cultural connections further at present, I should like to state, from a comparison of Karajá and Kayapó culture, that the Karajá show very many cultural traits related to the Kayapó, but also harbor a large percentage of foreign /194/ elements that seem to point to the north or northwest. It will remain for later investigations to pursue these cul-
194 tural problems further. The present-day distribution of the Karajá,
131 their confinement to the river valley in a narrow band beyond 8 1/2
648 degrees of latitude in the midst of hostile tribes, especially those
[101] of the Ges /Ge/ family, seems to point to the fact that the Karajá migrated up the Araguaya from the north, breaking up the tribes
648 living here. So far the Karajá have not yet come to an amicable relationship with the neighboring tribes. Efforts to bring this about
[199] were undertaken at Conceiçao by the mission, but they failed after initial success (1).

[115] 1. The reports, for which I am indebted to a Brazilian near Santa Maria, that the Kayapó and Šambioá meet annually at a particular place on

/217 cont./

302 In general, either only the upper face or merely the lower face is decorated, and a combination of both decorations occurs only occasionally (see Ill. 50).

304 [239] d) Tattooing. For scarifying the skin, the scarifier (lădji) is used, a piece of gourd shell into which, close to the upper edge, a row of small fish-teeth (kĭlădji, allegedly dogfish) is set, which is held in place in back by a narrow pad of wax (Ill. 51). This specimen corresponds to one brought back by Ehrenreich (Berlin 3953c), whereas in the case of his other two, the entire back side is covered with a thick layer of wax; I never saw scarifiers of this type among the Karajá, but certainly among the Šavajé (see

302

Ill. 49 a-d.
Chin painting.

304 there /see p. 315/). The skin on the arms and thighs is scratched with these scarifiers; I was unfortunately never able to observe the process itself (in this connection see Ehrenreich, "Beiträge," p. 33).

I saw decorative scars only once, namely, on my rower Antonio. They consisted of several ridges running across the chest. These incisions are made with the tooth of the dogfish (cachorra) and rubbed with soot and water, so that they remain visible for a long time. The operation must be done early in the morning by a single man; other onlookers, above all women, may not be present. The wounds are said to heal well, but /218/ a great deal of blood is said to flow in the process. The number of incisions is indefinite. The bearer of such an incision is called wōlĭ (1).

[191] 1. Cunha Mattos reports on this same custom

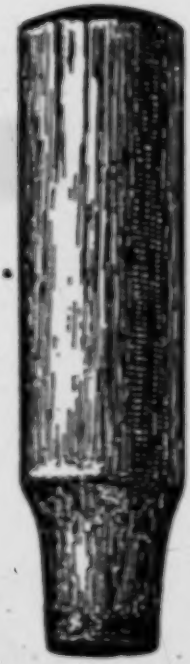
/218 cont./

304 [171]

1. (cont.)
from among the Cherentes (Rev. trim. 38, p. 23), although he does not give full credence to his informant.

[302]

Ill. 50.
Full facial painting.



Ill. 51.
Scarifier.

Ill. 52.
a) Tattooing stamp with cross-section and circular surface in natural size.
b) Tattooing knife of stone, natural size

[554] Concerning such decorative scars Kurisí told me that only a person who had killed an enemy was permitted to have such incisions made across the chest and back.

Tattooing. We distinguish between two types of tattooing: tribal and chief's tattooing.

/233 cont./

*301 *237 Diadems, namely, head bands with the feathers standing vertically, are ornamental pieces which occur only very rarely. There are various kinds of such diadems:

In the case of one, to a string which is tied horizontally around the head, there is fastened by means of vertical plaiting colorful feathers whose quills are usually covered with glued-on white down feathers (Pl. 48, Ill. 5). My three specimens (dõlĭdṍ) [184] all come from the village on the Tapirapé mouth; I did not see any in the other villages. [171] They are very reminiscent of the diadems of the Kayapó (see there /untranslated/).

/234/ A technically very superior ornamental piece is the small head-band (ĩĩwjĩ́) reproduced in Ill. 4 on Plate 48. On the [284] fine head-cord fine little whitish feathers with a brown border are fastened in several layers on top of one another by being tied together with several strings and gummed over with a light-colored adhesive substance. The little feathers are slightly bent outward with the crowns. [184] This unique specimen also comes from the village on the Tapirapé mouth.

In the case of another diadem (õdjĩ́), which likewise comes from this village, small vertical cane rods are fastened side by side to the head cord by a second cord that runs through the rods alternately from above and below and is joined each time to the first cord. The rods are also tightly wound with black and white cotton string, and this winding runs from one rod to another and joins them firmly together. Into the upper openings /Ill. 78 appears here/ of the rods are stuck red and yellow parrot feathers (Pl. 48, Ill. 7; Ill. 78). I saw this ornamental piece only in this one specimen. Similar to it are the diadems called ahetõ by Ehrenreich ("Beiträge," Pl. IX, 5), in which, besides the little short feathers, long arara feathers project out of the canes, and on which the side edges are not vertical, but diverge at the top.

[184] I also saw the closed cane hoop (ãndãdãdũ), around which are fastened vertical, red arara feathers 55 centimeters long (Pl. 48, Ill. 6), only in the village at the Tapirapé mouth.

/261 cont./

276 on pieces of cane (1), which generally resemble the Brazilian

1. In this connection cf. that Fonseca already mentions clay peace pipes in 1773, without, however, describing their shape. Rev. trim. 8, p. 378.

ones and differ from them only by the flattening of the underside. [531] They are usually provided with incised decoration and the clay (zõũ), light in itself, has taken on a black color from the burning [415] (Ill. 108 a-d). The daily supply, as well as the pipes, is kept in small baskets (mõdĩ, Plate 55, Ill. 6a) or in small plaited pouches, which, in rectangular shape, are made out of simple bast plaiting (ãhũ) or out of a bast plaiting similar to the sitting mats (mãši) (Plate 55, Ill. 6 b,c).

Smoking is done in the following manner: The tobacco is firmly pressed into the pipe until it is about three-quarters full; then a smoldering piece of wood from the fire is laid on it, and the opening is closed off with the hand or a finger. Then one sucks rapidly many times in succession until the tobacco is burning; the charcoal is then usually, but not always, removed. In smoking, they draw the smoke up rapidly many times in succession: it looks as though they were sucking or drinking (Plate 11, Ill. 3); only then do they take the pipe out and expel the smoke.

171 276 It seems remarkable that the Kayapó use the name wãlĩkõkõ, thus, in the form from the women's language. They likewise use pipes made from the fruit of the jequitiba tree; as a unique specimen I saw a pipe of clay fashioned in the same shape. But they already generally use suction tubes which are stuck into the pipe from the side. Such pipes were present only in small numbers, and the Kayapó were constantly demanding them from me. Apparently the implement, and with it the name, reached them from the Karajá or Šambioá through the Brazilians. The women's word is explained by the fact that the men, too, usually use this form in speaking to strangers.

/261 cont./

7. Weapons for War, Hunting, Fishing.

128 In order not to disrupt the survey of the manifold forms of these implements by arranging them subordinately into individual groups according to use, I shall discuss them together here. This has already been referred to above under hunting and fishing. A brief survey of the distribution according to purpose might come first.

411 Clubs, as well as bows and arrows with bamboo blade points, serve as weapons of war. Lances and bows and arrows with wooden points and with bamboo blade points serve for hunting. For fishing, bows and arrows with small bone points added on are used exclusively. Sport is practiced with bows and arrows and the throwing board with arrows. Other, perhaps previously customary weapons are the pellet-bow /Kugelbogen/, the sling (?), the boomerang (?). Thus, bows and arrows play the chief role. Everything else is far behind them.

/262/ Bow [w(ǎ)s̆(ĭ)ūhǎdĕ̆] and arrow (ŭ̆ohŭ) are usually made by each one for himself. They are always taken along on boat trips, and, indeed, the most diverse kinds of arrows (war, hunting, and fishing arrows) are taken along.

For shooting, the bow is held vertically (Pl. 56, Ill. 1). The arrow rests on the bow between it and the second finger of the left hand, on the bowstring between the first and second fingers of the right hand, while the rest of the fingers draw the bowstring back. In the stretching, the arrow is drawn against the shoulder.

411 526 Shooting from the feet is done as a sport. I did not observe it myself; it was described to me as follows. The men lie on the ground and stretch their feet up close together. The bow lies across the soles of the feet; the bowstring is drawn with the hands toward the chest. Thus they shoot upward. The bow, of course, likewise flies off their feet; the recoiling bowstring is said to cause sharp pain in the feet (1).

[191] [13]

1. In this connection cf. the same custom among

/262 cont./

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1. (cont.)
the Indians near Rio de Janeiro, in Debret,
Voyage pittoresque et historique du Brésil
/Picturesque and historical journey to Brazil/,
Vol. 1, Paris, 1836, Plate 5.

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868

Boys learn how to shoot arrows at an early age; I saw boys three to four years old handling small weapons. These weapons (see under "Toys" /see pp. 241 ff./) serve for practice in shooting.. First they shoot toward a fixed goal, a soft, cylindrically shaped root about 30 centimeters high and ten centimeters thick, which is set in the sand (Ill. 109). Later the father proceeds to instruction with the movable target. The father rolls a bast ring along on the ground. The boy stands about ten meters away from the father and shoots from ever greater distances into the moving ring. The arrow must remain hanging in the bast. A little boy four years old succeeded in doing this on the third shot at a distance of two meters. This bast ring [(wă)ṣĭǫ̆lōl̥ǫ̆] is a ring-shaped bast pad three and a half centimeters thick and 18 1/2 centimeters in diameter, which is tightly wound with bast (Pl. 56, Ill. 2). Ehrenreich (Berlin 3960) designates it erroneously as a ring for carrying objects on the head, a practice which is not customary among the Karajá Indians. Later comes shooting at a flying target, with green gourds thrown into the air. Thus, the boys learn to shoot the bow at an early age and in general achieve great accuracy. There were Indians who made almost no missed shots while fishing; there were others, however, who were less skilled.

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[439]

The bow consists of palm wood. This wood (ŏlōtŏ̄, wŏ̄ālūŏ̄) allegedly grows only in the Tapirapé region. In any case, the Indians of the south horde, according to their unanimous testimony, obtain their bows or the material for them from the Karajá of the north horde or from the Tapirapé themselves. As a result, I was able to acquire bows only in the north horde; they were precious possessions in the south horde.

The bow is round, often slightly flattened on the front side, tapers /263/ /Ills. 109-112 appear here/ /264/ toward both ends,

[Text Continues on P. 182]

/271 cont./

411 approximately 70 centimeters long, the second approximately 50
285 centimeters long.

Ehrenreich speaks of a second type of club: flat, shovel-like clubs that have a four-sided, prismatic blade with sharp edges and a lancet-shaped point. The handle is plaited all around, and at both ends of the plaiting cotton tassels hang down ("Beiträge," Pl. VI, Ill. 11). He obtained two such clubs from the Šambioá (Berlin 3980), whereas he saw a cruder form among the Karajá. The question is whether this club form belonged to the Karajá
[171] originally. For I came across such forms neither among the Karajá nor among the Šavajé, but certainly among the Kayapó, /272/ among whom broad cutting-clubs seem to be indigenous. It may be that the Šambioá took over this form from the Kayapó. Only a small child's club of the Karajá (Ill. 125) shows a similar type (1),

1. Cf. also, however, the club stick above (Pl. 56, Ill. 3c).

but it comes from the village on the Tapirapé mouth, so that here, too, it is not certain whether an old, now extinct club form has been preserved in this child's toy or whether it is not more likely that there is influence from the Tapirapé or the Kayapó.

411 The lances (dõnõlĩ; Ill. 126) play a minor role. They are a weapon peculiar to the Karajá. Today they are probably used
[224] only as a display weapon for festivities, visits, etc. In former
[825] times they were put to use in hunting for jaguars: the bunches of feathers on the tip were supposed to make the animal fearful and uncertain, so that the Indian, at the most auspicious moment, /Ills. 123-126 appear here/ was able to deliver the death blow (according to the statements of the Indians). I never heard that they were ever used in war.

[824] The shaft consists of heavy palm wood (aruera); it is almost always 240-260 centimeters long and about three centimeters thick; only two specimens of my collection are a little over 200 centimeters long.

/274 cont./

411 words, rests between the latter and the board, while the fifth finger lies on the left edge. The front end of the arrow is supported with the outstretched left hand. The arrow is hurled with the same motion with which a spear is thrown. Horizontal, high, and low throws (the latter in fishing) may be executed with it.

I no longer came across this implement among the Karajá; they were familiar with it, to be sure, but in the south horde there were middle-aged persons who maintained that they had never seen one. Its use was known, however, and it was universally re- [184] ported that the Šavajé had many throwing sticks and still used them.

411 526 Among the Karajá it is now used only as a sporting weapon in the game called ǎnārkǎntědūčhŭ (game of the Tapirapé), which is supposed to take place at the time of the blossoming of the pau d'arco. According to the description, the game proceeds as follows: Two youths stand facing each other, both armed with arrow thrower and arrows. One of them issues a challenge to battle by singing, wōhŭlāḷǎkūdjé, wōhŭḷāḷǎkūdjé: throw the arrow, you won't hit me anyway. The other replies, djŏbĭdjŏbĭkŏ, djŏbĭkŏ dĕhōĭ: I shall indeed hit you. Then they start throwing arrows at each other toward the thighs or ankles, and each tries to show his skill in throwing, as well as in dodging the arrow. If a person does not dodge adroitly, the arrow is said to penetrate quite deep into the flesh and can be forced out only by being struck from both sides with the throwing stick. Bad wounds are said to result.

[191] The name of the game is striking: game of the Tapirapé. The Karajá reported that the Tapirapé were in possession of the throwing stick and also this game. This suggests that the Karajá took it over from there, if we think of the presence of this implement in the Xingu source region. The circumstances that caused the loss of this implement among the Karajá and its flourishing again among the Šavajé eludes our knowledge.

411 I did not see the pellet-bow (bŏdŏkĕ) among the Karajá. I was told in the south horde, however, that they knew how to make it and that the children threw stones with it to kill small [199] birds. Probably the Indians took it over from the Brazilians, whose children in Leopoldina largely used it as a toy. The lack

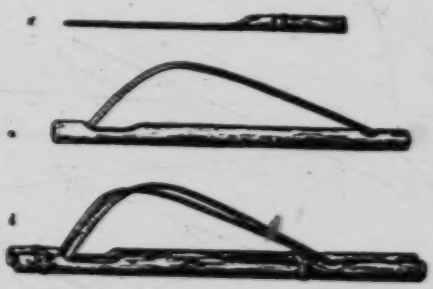
/311 cont./

524 small red and yellow feathers and small pieces of red wood, which make circular figures when spinning. The top is twirled between the palms of the hands in the air and then allowed to fall. It has achieved the desired speed of rotation only when it buzzes.

[824] Humming tops (ĭnâuĭnã) are also common. The body consists of a gourd that bears two lateral holes of different sizes opposite each other. The stem goes through from top to bottom and projects 14 1/2 centimeters at the bottom. It is fastened in the gourd with wax (Ill. 176). A string which bears a small

[501]

Ill. 172 a-d.
Child's toy oars (c and d painted).



Ill. 173 a-c.
Gun reproductions. Karajá. a) Simple, b) double-barreled gun, c) instrument for cleaning the tube.

wooden handle at the end is used to wind it up. Apparently there is no ring or the like to make it possible to wind it up without injury /Ills. 174-176 appear here/ to the left hand. Koch-

●[M1] Grünberg in his book, Zwei Jahre unter den Indianern /Two Years Among the Indians/ (Berlin, 1910), Vol. 1, page 121, illustrates a humming top from the Rio Aiarỹ, which is quite similar and on which a plaited ring protects the hand. Perhaps the Karajá also

301 [286] fancy. Sometimes, however, these ornaments are woven on a wooden form.

292 513 Another article of dress, which is peculiar to the Karayá, is the *hammock*. It is made of cotton cords. Strange to say, it is never used as a hammock; nor can it even be swung up, as it is not provided with any cords for this purpose. It is only the body of a hammock. During the day, it is used as a kind of cloak, and is hooked over the head so as to cover the shoulders and back; and at night, it is used as a mat to sleep upon, *on the ground*. Both adults and children may be seen going about during the day with these huge, half-open-pea-pod like objects hooked over them. It reminds one of a snail with its shell on its back. Even clay dolls have this hammock cloak. It is, however, occasionally fastened up [854] like a hammock in order that it may be used as a cradle for an infant.

513 This *hammock* is of great ethnological interest, because the 171 primitive races of Brazil are classified ethnographically according to whether they sleep in a hammock or do not. It is known that all the tribes occupying the eastern half of Brazil, [352] which includes the Karayá, sleep on the ground, or on slightly raised platforms made of poles; while those that are really hammock using tribes—that sleep in hammocks—make their hammocks of cordage twisted from cotton and palm-leaf fibre. But the Karayá *hammock* is made of cotton only; moreover, it is not a complete hammock and is not used to sleep in. This proves that the Karayá are not to be classified as one [177] of the hammock tribes. We are to understand, therefore, that they got the idea of the hammock comparatively recently from some other people, probably from the "civilized" Brazilians, who make them of cotton only; and though they value them, they are yet unwilling to give up their old custom of sleeping on the ground. A certain Brazilian explorer asserts that [286] he taught the Karayá to make a simple loom and how to weave.

293 Another article of dress used by the Karayá, is a kind of eye-shade, called an eye-umbrella. It is used to protect the

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca.1900) 1909
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501 suited to their purpose owing to the many shallow places in the river, and because it facilitates landing and pushing off. 39½ The tree selected to be transformed into a canoe is an ipiúba [824] or a jatóba, which must be very straight. Strange to say, the butt of the tree becomes the bow of the canoe; therefore, the finished canoe is broader at the bow than at the stern. As these children of Nature are preeminently imitators of Nature, it seems quite probable that in constructing their canoes, they have in mind the form of the fish, which always goes big end first.

The log is first hewn into the form of a canoe, then hollowed out with axes and with fire. It is not broadened amidships, therefore, when finished, it is no wider than was the 501 original tree. As it is thus very narrow and tapers gradually and uniformly high above the water at both bow and stern, it tips over very easily. Great care is taken to make it perfectly smooth outside and in. No seats are provided, but sticks are placed across the bottom to keep both the occupants and the freight out of any water that may leak in. As every family has a canoe, quite a fleet of them may be seen in front of every village. These canoes are propelled by paddles five feet in length, half of which is blade, the point [531] terminating like a lance. They are made with great care and labor, and are often nicely ornamented. When canoeing, the 503 pilot is always seen perched in a squatting position on the extreme point of the stern with his knees drawn up to his chin.

411 The weapons of the Karayá are as of old—there has [118] been no change whatever. In common with other Brazilian tribes, the length and stiffness of their bow is according to the height and strength of its owner. Some bows are seven feet in length, while a boy's bow is two and a half or three [824] feet long. They are made of the wood of a certain palm-tree [171] which the Brazilians call *pau de arco*—bow wood—which is the wood used by all the tribes of central and North Brazil for their bows. The bow is made flat inside, and the extremities taper to a point. Several lengths of string, carried

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca.1900) 1909
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as a reserve, are kept wound around the bow. The Karayá take great pride in their bows, ornamenting them beautifully with tassels of brilliant feathers. 411 [531]

They use several different styles of arrows. Some are harpoon-like for fishing purposes; others are made with broad blades for hunting; while still others are for use in war. They are all made with the utmost care, as much as one or two days being consumed in the making of but one. Two or three different kinds of wood are always used in constructing a single arrow, one kind being for the spear, or lance part, another kind—heavy palm wood—for the middle staff, and light bamboo wood for the base, and all are spliced and bound together with the greatest nicety by means of long, narrow strips of bark taken from certain climbers, and finally, the weapon is burnished. It is about four feet in length. [461] [824] [284]

The weapons used for fighting at close quarters, which is the method of warfare liked best, are heavy clubs and lances. The clubs are of two kinds—first, shovel-like clubs and round clubs, resembling base-ball bats, varying in length from three to four and a half feet. The lances are nine or ten feet in length, the shaft being of palm wood, and the point, the shin-bone of the spotted *onca*—jaguar—or of a deer. A beautiful, basket-like work of black and white wooden strips is woven, or braided, tightly over the shaft of the spear, and to this is attached tassels of brilliant plumage. The Karayá have spear-throwing sticks, but I understand they are no longer used in war, but for sport only. The contrivance is a long strip of wood so formed that it can be used, sling-like to hurl a spear. In common with all the savage tribes of South America, the weapons, implements, ornaments and ceremonial instruments are all made by the men of the Karayá, while the women make only the household utensils. [726] [824] [837] [531] 462 171

The Karayá housewife, therefore, makes several styles of pots and pans; but pottery has not yet reached a very high degree of perfection with this tribe for the forms are simple and crude. They do not make pots in the form of natural objects as do the tribes of the Xingú river. Utility, and this 323

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
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For this work,
large, fan-like palm leaves are slit into narrow strips, skeins 285
or bundles of which are kept always on hand ready for use. [824]
A very small mat is made especially for the fisherman to stand upon to protect his feet when he has to remain a long time at one spot on the hot sand.

A great variety of beautiful baskets are also made of braid-work. These are made of sipós—climbing vines—reeds, split [824]
stems and the like. Large baskets, resembling sacks, are made of very coarse palm-leaves for use in carrying heavy loads of food material gathered from the forest. The smaller baskets are made not only of fine materials of various colors, but are braided into nice patterns. They are of many sizes and shapes and used for numerous purposes. Some are hand or shoulder bags in which to carry small articles; many others of various sizes may be seen hanging from the roof of the hut which serve as receptacles for numerous small household articles or personal effects; others are double, or covered baskets, like telescope traveling bags, in which much-prized feather ornaments are carefully guarded; while still others are canoe-shaped hanging baskets, beautifully designed. Nearly all these baskets are flexible, and some are even elastic, bottle-shaped baskets. To carry the tobacco when on a journey, a square basket is used, to which is attached a bark shoulder strap. A large, basket-work disc, finely and closely braided, is used as a sieve, or colander. As the civilized [171]
Brazilians everywhere have the same kind of utensil, it may be inferred that it has come down to them from their aboriginal South American ancestors.

The "textile industry" of the Karayá is nothing more 283
than braid-work. Natural resources once again furnish them an unlimited supply of material nearly ready for use. The [824]
burity-palm once more manifests its unfailing utility, yielding a splendid fibre which can be readily stripped from its long leaves. Another kind of fibre, which possesses great adhesive qualities, is obtained from the inner bark of the mallow tree. The finest threads are *spun* by rolling a number of single fibres together between the moistened hands, or

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
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283 between the hand and the leg above the knee. These fine strands, again, are rolled together into cords. This is accomplished by each strand being skillfully rolled independently on the leg as the hand is passed rapidly over them all before they are permitted to come together and twist themselves around each other into a single cord. The same [171] method of making cordage is seen among the "civilized" Brazilians of the far interior, and is probably another relic of their aboriginal ancestry.

286 The Karayá also make fish-nets by means of large wooden needles; small nets, shaped like hand-bags, in which to carry small objects; queer-looking net caps that may be drawn together with cotton strings, and which are embellished with 283 brilliant feathers. Cotton is also used by the Karayá. It is spun by means of a rude spindle of bone or baked clay, which is revolved between the hands.

286 The *loom*, or contrivance for braiding—or weaving—by means of which the hammocks already described are woven, is very simple. The warping is wound over two small posts which are planted upright in the ground a foot or two apart. The weaving is done by working the woof thread in by hand over and under the warping threads by means of a long needle, then pressing it back tightly by using a wooden blade instead of the reed employed by more advanced peoples. It is extremely slow work. Various colored warps and woofs are used making stripes in the finished work. On this same framework is woven the strong bands used in carrying heavy baskets; also the forehead bands and the body bands for infants. Armlets and leglets are either knitted or crochetted with a hook-like needle over a cone-shaped block of wood, or are made on the limb itself.

301 Most of the ornaments of the Karayá, as of other tribes, 237 are made of brilliant plumage. They take pleasure in making these articles; and exercise such good taste and introduce so much variety, that they are not excelled by any of the primitive peoples of South America. The work, however, lacks durability; but as they have always an abundance of suitable

Brazil.

593 The husband does not eat with his family, but instead
[364] with the family of his married sister, and is considered a member of his sister's family. Secondly, his share of the pro-
[768] ceeds of the day's hunting and fishing, does not go to his own hut, but to that of his sister; and, lastly, if his wife should die leaving dependent children, they are taken in charge by her parents and the widower again becomes one of the bachelors.

582 A Karayá woman is not permitted to marry an alien, unless
648 he will become adopted, or naturalized, into the tribe, and will consent to reside permanently at the wife's native village.
593 The Karayá wife appears to be considered the equal of her husband in many respects, for he never takes any important step in life without first consulting her. Even the village chief divides his honors with his wife. Furthermore, the wife as
[962] well as the husband, has an important part to perform, not only in the family, but in the social economy of the village; though her part is to do the heavy, laborious work, while her man does the light and fancy-work; his only heavy work being to hunt and fish.

595 The men usually have but one wife, though a few have
582 two. One reason for having two wives seems to be owing to the custom prevailing among nearly all South American tribes that the young men marry the older women, and the old men marry the young women. Therefore, when the first wife becomes old, her young husband takes to himself a youth-
163 ful wife. Perhaps this custom of the young men marrying the
[582] older women will account in part for the small number of
[862] children born to these primitive races; though another reason may be that children are allowed to nurse until they are six
171 or seven years of age. The custom of aged men marrying girls fourteen or fifteen years of age is common among the
847 civilized people of Brazil. Abortion among the Karayá is practiced only when the husband demands it. Whenever a
586 couple cannot live together harmoniously, the husband is al-
587 lowed to trade his wife for another woman. If he should drive her away, he will not be permitted to marry another
000 woman, though he may take a concubine. The adulterous

Brazil.

The older children are left to
occupy and amuse themselves entirely as they may feel in- 857
clined. Nevertheless, they show a natural good behavior. [855]
But in observing them, the idea is somehow suggested to one that they are, to some extent at least, creatures of instinct, like irrational nature about them. In common with the brutes, they seem not inclined to go beyond limits whereby they might suffer injury. Just as the wild creature, left to itself, does not need to be governed or restrained by anything apart from itself for its well-being, neither do these wild children, apparently, need the oversight of their parents. There seems to be no danger that they will harm themselves, or get into trouble. They play naturally in a very quiet and restrained manner as if to avoid all possibility of attracting the attention of enemies. To sell children to traders, as is done in some parts of Brazil, particularly on the Amazon river, is unknown among the Karayá.

While still at a tender age, the children begin to imitate the doings of their elders. The boys amuse themselves with archery, and by fishing and swimming; and the girls aid their mothers in the household duties. Children's toys are 524
clay figures, small tops, miniature canoes, and even little cooking utensils, corresponding to the "tea sets" of civilized children. An amusement of which even adults are fond, is to play with a ball made of corn cobs and feathers, and a ring. Another, is a game known to many of us as "cat's cradle," which is the looping of a cord over the hands held some distance apart, and relooping and crossing it over the fingers from hand to hand so as to make it represent the figures of various animals. This game is common among the Indians [171]
of North America.

There appears to be clans among the Karayá. Each vil- 621
lage considers itself one large family—a paternal communistic society—possessing a distinct name, and having a certain district for its own peculiar hunting and fishing ground. The [423]
cultivated land—the little village plantation—is owned in com- [476]
mon, is tilled by all, and the products are divided systematically to each family. A similar arrangement existed among

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
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at will into a trance or semi-death, in which state their souls, or doubles, explore the occult, or what is hidden from men in a normal state. They also believe that these conjurers can transform themselves at pleasure into animals—into the form of a witch-wolf, for example, in order to terrify, injure and domineer over men; and, in brief, can do all things whereby shamanism—primitive priestcraft—secures and maintains its influence over the tribe. They have no images or idols, nor even fetiches, for the reason that they have not yet advanced to this more complex belief, if advancement it may be called. 771 754 771

The ghosts or spirits of the dead, which, as previously stated, are believed to tarry for a time in the vicinity of the graves where hang the bodies they were forced to abandon because they had fallen so into disrepair, take delight, in after time, in returning to haunt the places of their habitation during the days of their flesh; moreover, it is believed that they appear to their relatives, especially on wild and stormy nights: When the darkness is inky black, illumined only by the ceaseless play of the terrifying lightnings, and the thunders crash and boom as if the unseen Powers were engaged in mighty conflict, while the winds moan and shriek in the forest, then the old folk think of their dear departed; and by loud lamentations and wailings, put themselves into a state of ecstacy whereby their inflamed imagination creates every wished-for phantasm. 775

This animistic religion is without any ethical foundation. It has not in this stage attained to a conception of a higher or ruling Spirit upon whom man feels himself dependent for rewards and punishments for his deeds; and as just stated, lacks everything which connects man externally with divinity, such as images, the paraphernalia of worship, ritual, and the like. But we find among the Karayá those ceremonials from which apparently everywhere throughout the world the higher and more elaborate forms of worship have come, that is, the mystery rites. 771 796

Mask dances occupy an important place in Karayá life. The prominent rôle which these masquerades play among 535 [771]

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca.1900) 1909
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Brazil.

535 North American races is well known; but thus far, surpris-
171 ingly little has been learned of similar customs that prevail among South American tribes. Only the mask dances of the Tequna, the Zuñi and the Uaupé races are mentioned casually in literature. The temples and idols alluded to by the old Jesuit missionaries are often nothing but medicine huts, or flute players' houses where are kept the mysterious mask costumes. These mask dances are of peculiar interest because of their striking similarity to those of the Melanesians as regards the forms of the mask and other customs of the dance.

535 The Dance Masks represent animals only; but the repre-
532 sentation of animal forms is not carried so far among the Karayá as it is in the case of the masks of the North American aborigines and the Tequna, as the particular animal sought to be represented is indicated only by some of its most striking characteristics and not by the form of the mask outfit; or certain parts of the paraphernalia may suggest what animal is being represented.

The masquerade outfits are used singly or in pairs, and are divided, according to their forms, into three classes. The first, are suits and head gears of simple or plain braided palm-leaves. The second class is a cylindrical dance hood which looks like a sheaf of wild hay inverted over the head, which it completely obscures, while the upper part of the sheaf tapers to a point about two feet above the head, and is overlaid with beautiful feather mosiacs, patterned to suggest the creatures the primitive masqueraders desire to represent, such as certain fish or birds. The third class does not bear any representations or emblems of animals. To this class belongs what is called the black-bird mask, though this is a human face, made from a large calabash shell. The lower part is black and the upper is red, while the mouth is furnished with wax lips and wooden teeth. Between the small eye-holes, is a nose of wax placed unnaturally high, and a hanger of black and brown feathers falls down behind; while long, slender palm-leaves, hung from a belt, or girdle, form a skirt which covers the body of the masquerader. But these three classes

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

535 object, or apparition, that rushes forth from the forest to
845 parade and dance—is supposed to be the materialization of the spirit, or double, of the creature indicated. The animals represented are always either game animals, or those that play a certain rôle in the tribal legends, such as the stork, the alligator and the electric eel. In accordance with a similar idea,
[171] the aborigines of North America were accustomed to hold buffalo and bear dances for the purpose of inducing the spirits of these particular animals to send their own kind to earth in abundance.

The Karayá have other dances, which are held in honor of animals regarded as ancestors, or to which some mythological significance is attributed. There may be similar reasons for the masquerades. The Karayá may believe, moreover, that by these festivities, they are cultivating the favor of the game animals.

535 When the men are asked why they keep from their women
562 the secret of the real character of the masqueraders, they always, without exception, reply that the women are not allowed to see and know everything because they talk too much. The belief that the authority and superiority of the men over the women must be maintained and fortified, is quite evident wherever the mystery festivals are held.

9:Gow-Smith T-5 (no date) 1925
SP9 Caraja SP9
Cayapo SP11

Co 411 [531]

and have similar woven cane-covered handles, but are for more specialized use. Instead of a blunt round end, the club has a flat triangular wooden blade pointed at the end with sharp sides and stained with urucú. It is used, in the manner of a great ax, for decapitation.

C 524 [501]

Toy canoes (fig. 100), with which the Caraja youngsters play, are models in miniature of those their elders use, which are made from hollowed or

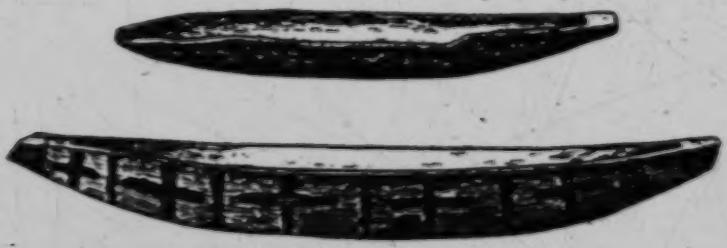

FIG. 100.—Toy canoes of the Caraja. (Length, 19 in. and 26 in.)

C [531] 3 E

burnt-out logs. They are decorated with designs colored with a black stain from the genepapa fruit and the urucú. Paddles (fig. 98) are of regulation length, but some have unusually wide blades often decorated in red and black designs.

C 532

Most curious of the collection are the little clay dolls (fig. 101), which may have some connection with magic or with religious observances. They vary in size from two to twelve

C [171]

inches, and are similar in workmanship and even

9:Gow-Smith T-5 (no date) 1925
SP9 Caraja SP9
Cayapo

532 171 in spirit to little clay images from excavations in Crete and Asia Minor. They are male and 532 female figures, the latter made with exaggerated hips and lower limbs. Though the little faces

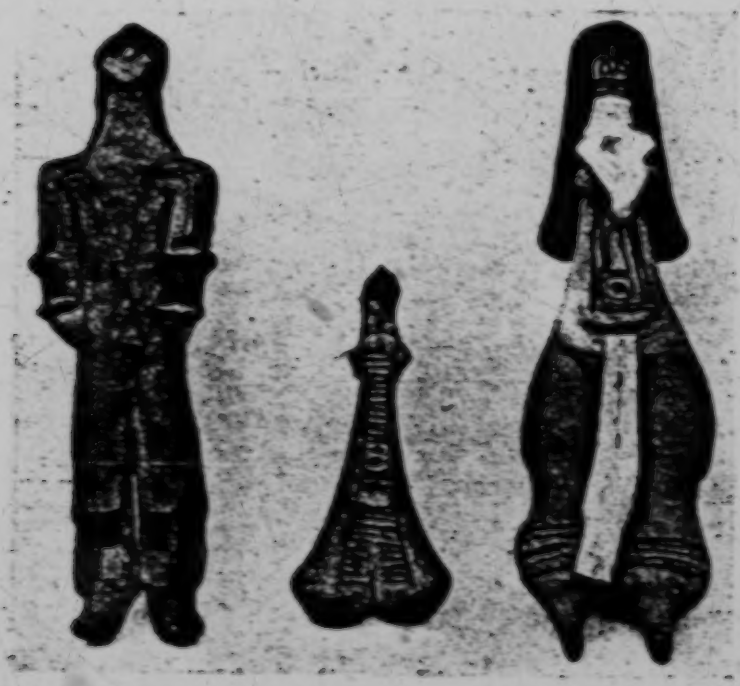

FIG. 201.—Caraja images

of the figures are crudely modeled, the head-dress and the manner of wearing the hair are faith- [171] fully reproduced. In some instances the hair-dressing is identical in style with that of the little images found in the Old World.

1:Lipkind E-5 (1937) 1948 SP9 Caraja SP9

ARCHEOLOGY

•172 Large circular hollows in the ground are found at various points in *Carajá* territory, always in the close vicinity of a stream. By tradition these are ancient cemeteries; of old, they say, people did not mourn at a funeral but held a feast in the hollow. One of these hollows located on the height above the river bank at Fontoura is 18 m. (about 58 ft.) long, 15 m. (about 50 ft.) wide, and 1½ m. (5 ft.) deep at its center. The mound forming the northern side was excavated, disclosing two lines of burials with associated pottery, bone labrets, and beads.

The pottery is very similar to modern *Carajá* pottery and the labrets are exactly like those now in the possession of the *Carajá*. The cemetery cannot, however, definitely be identified as *Carajá*. The present-day [764] *Carajá* cemetery is different in location and ground plan. There is now secondary urn burial, and in the first burial the bodies are laid at right angles to the river rather than parallel as were those disclosed by the excavation. Still, the remains show even less resemblance to the *Ge* and *Tupí* peoples in the neighborhood. The question must be left open for further archeological study.

HISTORY

648 175 Since the earliest times, the *Carajá* have been at war with their *Ge* and *Tupí* neighbors. The sole exception is the *Tapirapé*, with whom at one time the *Javahé* maintained close and friendly relations. The *Shambioá* were the first to come in contact with the Neo-Brazilians early in the 17th century. Contact with the *Carajá* proper must have begun shortly after the founding of Santa Anna by Bartholomeu Bueno in 1682. The *Carajá* are [439] on good terms with the Neo-Brazilians, trading skins and fish for clothing, beads, knives, axes, guns, sugar, and salt.

161 **Population.**—According to the census made by the author in 1939, the *Carajá* number 1,510, divided as follows: *Carajá* proper, 795; *Javahé*, 650; *Shambioá*, 65. These figures should be contrasted with Castelnau's (1850–59) count in 1845 of 2,000 *Shambioá* in four villages, and his estimate of a total of 100,000 *Carajá*, and with Krause's (1911) estimate of 10,000 *Carajá* in 1908.

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

241 **Farming.**—Clearings are made in the thick forest along the watercourses. Gardens must be so located as to be accessible by canoe in the dry season and yet not flooded in the rainy season. The scarcity of such land results in some of the plots being several miles distant from the village. Proximity to fishing grounds is generally held to be more important. The work of clearing is begun in May at the beginning of the dry season. Maize

1:Lipkind E-5 (1937) 1948 SP9 Caraja SP9

Basketry.—The *Carajá* excel in the variety and solidity of their plaitwork, which includes burden baskets, strainers, shoulder bags, bottles, elliptical feather cases, and boat-shaped containers for suspension. Twilling and twining are the dominant techniques (pl. 22). 285

Textiles.—The *Carajá* produce some taffetalike fabrics, but in 1775 Pinto da Fonseca found them using cotton solely for fish nets and bowstrings, so that he himself introduced a loom and taught the women how to work it. 286 177

Featherwork.—In contrast to their *Ge* neighbors of Eastern Brazil, the *Carajá* are outstanding for featherwork. They make wide-meshed and close-meshed caps with feathers tied to the intersection of the interlaced splints and arranged into rosettes, diadems of feathers stuck into radially mounted cane tubes, and other types of ornaments (pl. 21). 287

Axes.—Stone axes figure in old *Carajá* petroglyphs and have been found by many travelers in the area. They were used for adzing, chopping, and warfare, and as chief's badges. Iron axes have rapidly replaced them. 412 172

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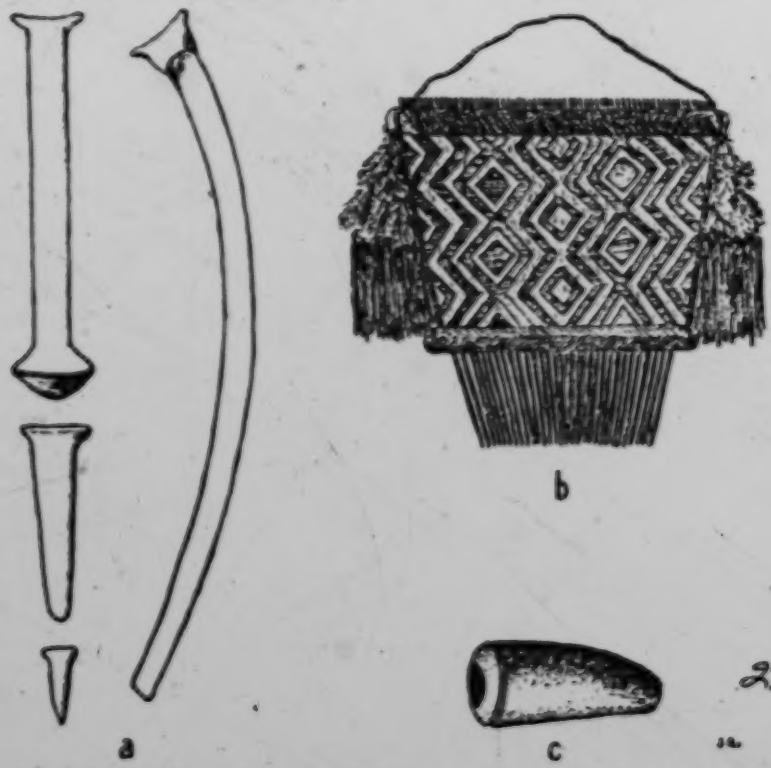

276

FIG. 21.—*Carajá* manufactures. *a*, Labrets; *b*, comb; *c*, pipe. (Approximately ½ actual size.) (Redrawn from Ehrenreich, 1891 b, figs. 2, 9, and 4.)

/7 cont./

36 Their northernmost settlement near S. Maria was attacked and
[648] completely destroyed in 1881 by the Kayapo of the left bank.
Since then they have not ventured far beyond the northernmost tip
of Bananal Island with their settlements. Their farthest excursions
go below S. Maria to the rapids of Joncon (i.e., it is at an end).

439 They perform important services for the traffic on the river by
felling wood for the steamers. As payment they receive axes and
knives, which they on their part trade to other tribes, such as the
[77] Yavahē and Tapirapé. Understandably, when steamboat transportation was established, care was taken from the first to stay on good
terms with the savages. The merit for introducing this excellent
relationship and maintaining it for 20 years belongs to the courageous
commander of the steamer, Sebastião de Freitas, who served so
well in exploring the Araguaia. It is thanks to his unselfish, kind
work that perhaps /8/ nowhere else in Brazil are the relations between the native population and the settlers so good as here.

To be sure, for the Karayahi the contact with "civilization"
[184] has not been without consequences. In comparison with the independent Šambioa, a certain lack of order and cleanliness in
their villages and less care and taste in their artifacts are noticeable.
On the other hand, a wealth of most interesting ethnological ob-
[126] jects are still present among them. The most important pieces in
the collection were acquired from them.

311 Their material position cannot be described as especially favorable. The lower riverbanks of their region are so exposed to floods
that they can practice agriculture only to a limited extent. They
[648] venture onto the higher left bank only temporarily, out of fear of
their worst enemies, the Akuã and Kayapo.

131 The third large Karaya horde is that of the Šambioa, about
[101] whom Castelnau brought back the first more detailed reports.
[361] They possess four rather large villages between the Pau d'arco rapids
[224] and the great Cachoeira de S. Miguel. Their hunting expeditions,
however, extend beyond the Cachoeira grande, in former times up
to the region of the Apinagēs, near the present São Vincente, from
[172] where increasing settlement has scared them away. The rock
sculptures of the so-called Martirios Island between the Carreira

/8 cont./

131 comprida and Cachoeira grande are in any case the work of their
172 ancestors. Since the first Araguaia travelers already mention these "inscriptions" as documents of great age, the Karaya must have lived in these regions at least since the sixteenth century (see pp. 91 ff.).

439 Within the Šambioa region, where the river is no longer
[162] navigable for ships, there are no Brazilian settlements at present. The savages are therefore completely dependent on the barter trade with the few larger rowboats passing by four to six times annually or the small vessels which maintain communication with
[648] São Vincente. They deliver mainly hammocks, field produce, and chickens to the travelers, but have otherwise kept their full
433 independence. Living under far better conditions of existence than the Karayahi, they stand, as far as agriculture is concerned, on a higher level than even the civilized river-dwellers.

648 They live in most bitter enmity with the Kayapo tribes of the left bank, the Kradahō /Cradaho/, Uřikriň, and others. Many
[129] abducted women and children of the latter are found in their villages. On the whole, however, they are well treated, the children even adopted into the tribe without further ado.

The relationship of the Šambioa to the settlers has not always been peaceful. Nevertheless, Castelnau was already able to substantiate that these Indians did not deserve the bad reputation which they had among the Goyans at the time. The main guilt for the misdeeds which occurred is in any case to be sought on the side of the foreigners.

609 Their behavior was decidedly hostile in the seventies when the notorious Chief Roco attacked travelers on several occations and massacred them.

Today it is only the inhabitants of the second village who receive strangers with hostility. Women and children are taken to
[911] safety, the warriors stand threateningly on the shore, armed with bows, spears, and clubs, and hardly condescend to barter. In the other villages our reception left little to be desired, once the fleeing women were successfully persuaded to return.

/16 cont./

252 cakes (beijus, ibrã ʒeko), likewise roasted in pots, are made from the freshly treated root.

273 In combination with maize, manioc flour is also used to make their most popular beverage, uierõ. Pounded maize is poured into the boiling manioc and stirred well. /17/ When it is sufficiently soft, the mixture is allowed to cool. Then the settlings are chewed by the women in true Indian fashion, whereby the whole thing turns sour and ferments after standing for several days. A sourish beverage something like water gruel is produced, to which honey or sugar-cane juice is sometimes added. The effect is slightly intoxicating.

415 The kitchen utensils are simple, but nevertheless somewhat
412 more complete than, say, among the Xingu tribes. Besides earthen
[239] pots and gourd containers, as well as mussel shells of the Anodonta and Hyria avicularis serving as spoons, there are already real spoons made of wood or clay (cf. Fig. 5 /see p. 38 / and Fig. 14 /see p. 51 /).

264 Etiquette demands that everyone eat by himself, turned away from the others. Anyone who transgresses must endure the ridicule of the others.

Tools and Implements. Industry and Skill.

177 The industrial activity of the Karaya no longer presents a wholly unclouded picture inasmuch as the original tools have been supplanted more and more by imported ones.

412 No details are known about the form and material of their
172 old stone axes. Among the petroglyphs of Martirios Island, however, which undoubtedly are to be ascribed to the ancient Karaya, one sees human figures depicted with stone axes in their hands (see p. 94). The same form is exhibited by a stone ax of unknown origin in the Trocadero Museum in Paris, the handle of which is wrapped with the plaiting in zigzag and cross patterns characteristic of Karaya work. Possibly the piece came from the Castelnau expedition.

/45 cont. /

82 192 Shooting stars are very aptly compared to a hook cast out and the bait on it.

The rainbow is the "electric eel" (koadžī, the trem-trem of the Brazilians).

During eclipses of the moon it is said: ahañdõ roro, the moon wishes to die. Pedro Manco denied that noise is made to avert this disaster.

The Petroglyphs of Martirios Island

133 [131] About midway between the two great river rapids, the Carreira comprida and the Cachoeira grande, a narrow rock island about one kilometer long lies close to the right river bank, the Ilha dos Martirios (6° 22' south latitude), which rises gradually from south to north. Flooded to a large extent during high water, it is connected to the neighboring bank at low water. Its western edge then falls in steep walls from 8-10 meters high down to the surface of the river. Heavily eroded, they are riddled by countless potholes and broken up into groups of columns, pyramids, and arches. The predominant stone is a coarse-grained, horizontally-layered quartz schist which splits into huge blocks. The opposite bank has the same formation. The river runs here as though in a natural channel 150 meters wide with a very slight drop.

On the north end of the island, in part at its highest elevation (about 15 meters above low water), in part somewhat lower in the region of the high water line, there are visible on the stone blocks on the ground a large number of rock sculptures which are among the most remarkable on the continent and have become the center of a whole series of tales.

Only a few travelers have seen them; no one has investigated them in detail or copied them. Quite early they attracted the attention and stirred the imagination of the first Paulista bands of Pires Campos and the notorious Anhanguera (Bartholomeo Bueno the Elder), who visited the island at the end of the seventeenth century on their expedition to the Araes and their rich goldmines,

/45 cont./

172 in order to see here "the cock, the cross, the crown of thorns, and the hammer, the signs of the martyrs of Christ dug into the rock."

The more detailed reports were lost for a long time and were not brought to light again until the end of the previous century. In the meantime legend had taken over and up to the present adventurers went out to seek the marvelous landmarks for the road to Eldorado in Mato Grosso, on the Xingu, on the Paranatinga, or elsewhere; as always it was thought that the Jesuits were their makers. The fact that, in spite of the clear description handed down by the younger Pires Campos, who accompanied his father (1), nobody thought of the real martyrs

1. Cunha Mattos, "Corogr. de Goyaz," Rev. trim., Vol. 38, I, pp 143 ff.

on the Araguaia was because most travelers did not find the marks and therefore denied their existence. They were not sought in the interior of the island, but on the steep walls falling to the river. Thus, Castelnau and after him Rufino Segurado were unable to discover anything of them.

We ourselves found the proper spot, which lies at least a hundred paces inland, only after a rather long search.

The figures, of which only the most important were sketched, lie in groups strewn rather irregularly over a broad area. They are either clear contour drawings of animals, human beings, and stylized figures in lines 1-2 centimeters wide and a few millimeters deep, or /46/ simple scratchings of intersecting strokes and curved lines without any explicable form (Fig. 23, Nos. 1-38 /see p. 96 /).

Among the former some very well executed animal pictures strike one first of all. The largest and most successful of them is an alligator (No. 1) 130 centimeters long; furthermore an insect (ant?), whose oval abdominal segments are reproduced by shallow cavities (No. 4), as well as lizards in various types of execution (Nos. 6 and 8). The figures of a bird (No. 2), several

/46 cont./

172 monkeys (Nos. 15, 19, 27, 28), and finally human figures are already somewhat schematic. The simplest of them (No. 34) is like the dolls twisted out of straw which one sees so often on the gables of Indian houses. More complete is a figure with outstretched extremities (No. 26) which show only three fingers Of special interest is a squatting figure (No. 7), which has an ax in its hand, and indeed evidently a stone ax. Such are also represented by themselves in Nos. 9, 5, 11, and 29. Their shape agrees completely with the Karaya stone ax decorated with plaiting in the Trocadero Museum (cf. p. 30).

Finally we have some stylized drawings which, although easily recognizable, cannot be interpreted with complete certainty.

Above all we again encounter the characteristic cross-ornament, as on the above-mentioned grave pole, surrounded by a border line. It may represent the same animal emblem here as there (Nos. 31 and 33). Nos. 2 and 14 are cross figures of another type.

A circle speckled with numerous dots indicated by small pits (No. 23) and a rhomboidal figure with 16 such pits in four rows (No. 3) remind one very much of the quite analogous forms among one of the upper Xingu tribes visited by us, where this was designated as "spotted rays." This explanation is appropriate for another symbol which occurs most frequently and is interpreted by Christian visitors as the "crown of thorns." It is a circle from whose periphery short rays run. The row is interrupted in one place by two lines extending out farther (Nos. 10, 12, and 18). The largest of these figures shows a T-shaped drawing in the center.

No. 17 is a very noteworthy mark which one could almost view as a symbolic representation: an outstretched arm with the hand and five outspread fingers, crossed in the middle by a horizontal crossband, from which 24 to 25 continuations project downward.

/46 cont./

•172 Among the simple scratchings, which for the most part remain very unclear, there are two which agree completely with the representations of the sun as well as the compass directions (Nos. 25 and 35). The first is a kind of swastika. Whether the circle segment with teeth at the bottom right of No. 35 belongs to it or drawings like Nos. 10 and 12, the rest of which is effaced, remained uncertain.

These petroglyphs are most like those of Guiana, and indeed especially those which Im Thurn called "deep rock engravings" in contrast to the "shallow engravings," which have a quite different character (op. cit., p. 400).

Here, too, we have no reason to think of two essentially different types of drawings stemming from different peoples just because they occur mixed with each other in the same place, which is never the case in Guiana. They have nothing in common with the rock pictures known up to now from East Brazil, but they do indeed remind one strongly of the drawings carved in trees or painted in the sand by the Xingu tribes.

The occurrence of the cross in the form characteristic for the Karaya makes it more than probable that these works are to be ascribed to their ancestors.

The question of their meaning is more difficult. Whereas people have often claimed that such field sculptures are inscriptions or the marks of a long gone era of higher culture, other reporters consider them simple, meaningless trifles to fill up idle hours. The first opinion is not discussable, the second would indeed be applicable to those figures engraved in tree bark or sand, but not to works which, considering the primitive tools, must have required a quite extraordinary expenditure of time and effort. /47/ Fig. 23 appears here./

/48/ Im Thurn's opinion (op. cit., p. 407) that the ancient Indians engraved these marks as a remembrance of important events at the spot is the most credible. Such must have happened most often precisely at river rapids, where marked rocks are found almost exclusively in Guiana, in part through accidents to boats, in part by hostile clashes with other tribes during fishing expeditions and similar undertakings. This would not exactly fit for the

[Text Continues On P. 97]

4: Ehrenreich- 96 E-5 (1888) 1891 SP9 Caraja SP9

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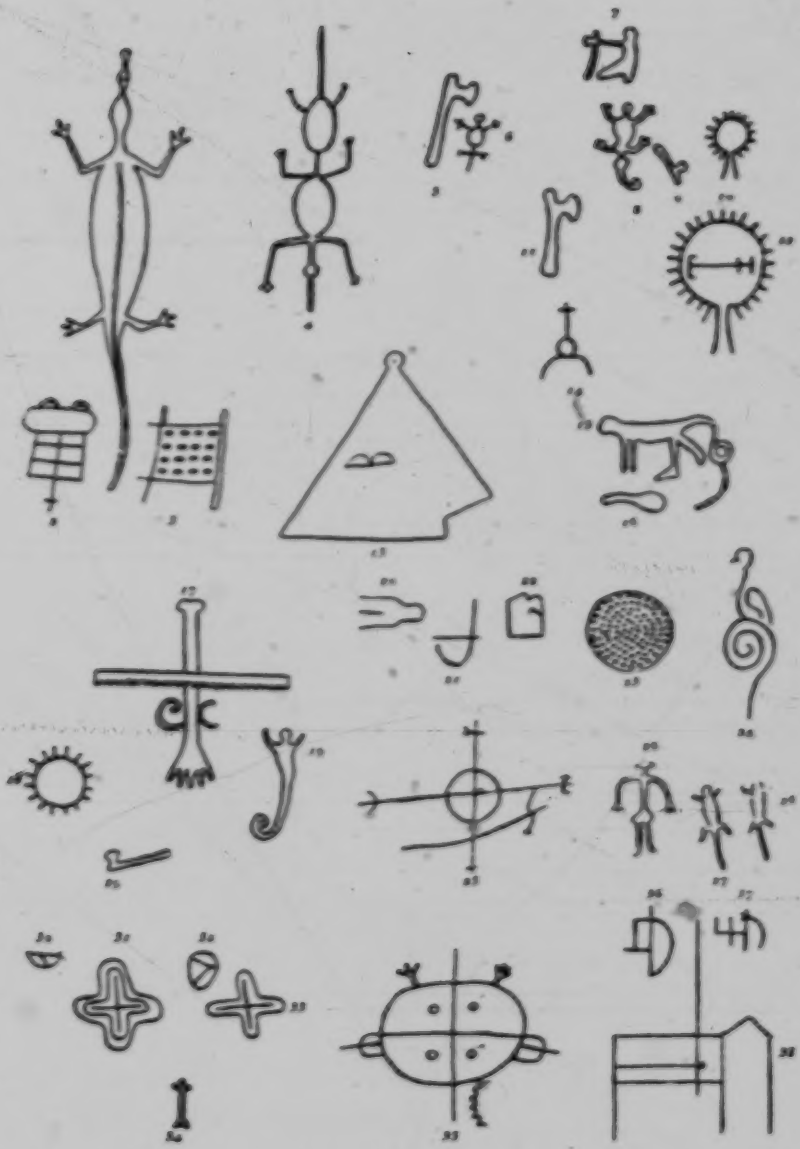

Fig. 23. Groups of the petroglyphs of Martirios Island (ca. 1/15).

/48 cont./

●172 present petroglyphs inasmuch as the rock drawings are completely lacking precisely at the cataracts of the Araguaia; rather, Martirios Island lies in an absolutely clear and quiet stretch. Nevertheless, it is a most important place for the Karaya. It [131] forms the northern boundary of their territory and it is here that [648] the hordes of the Kayapo hostile to them frequently come to the river. Many a battle may have taken place in this region between the two nations.

The interpretation of the rock sculptures as memorials or border markers, to which perhaps family insignia of prominent leaders have been added, seems to be the most acceptable according to the prevailing conditions. /The remainder of p. 48 and pp. 49-77 are not translated./

/78/

Explanation of the Plates [3]

Pl. I. Karaya. Men and Women (of the fourth village of the Šambioa).

192 291 302

1. Warriors. The man on the left /sic/ with parted hair, [276] the tobacco pipe (Fig. 4 /see p. 28/) in his mouth, holding his [411] weapons in his hand. The one on the right /sic/ shows the hair [301] put in a braid with the feather decoration ušiktamaru (see p. 16) and the national wrapping of the foreskin (see p. 17).

2. Woman and girl with the bast aprons, whose front end is drawn to the rear since both individuals have just got up from [285] the ground (see p. 17). One of the large buriti-fiber mats mentioned on pp. 38 and 39 forms the background for both groups.

Pl. II. Karaya. Men (of the fourth of the village of the Šambioa).

[301] 1 a and b. Portrait of a young Šambioa man with ear [304] sticks and wooden lip-plug, widely parted hair, and clearly recognizable tribal tattooing on the cheeks.

[3] [Plates appear on pp. 103-115--Analyst]

/284 cont./

415 172 [939] very pronounced in the pottery in the villages from Leopoldina to São José. These villages furnish the Brazilians with cooking and eating vessels, so that in São José and Leopoldina one finds Indian vessels almost exclusively. They have already been [531] adapted, however, to the taste of the Brazilians: the small eating dishes have the typical bowl-shape and on the edge bear a decoration in red color (Ill. 96). The water-cooling vessels, too, which the Indians in the villages mentioned make for the Brazilians, show the purely Brazilian type and red decoration. [386] The red designs are made with an earth color. The red earth [317] for this (ñinõ, zõubõlõ) comes from the Barreira do Veado and is taken along to São José and Schischá by the Indians of the north horde traveling south for arrow cane, in order to sell it to the Indians [531] there. It is applied mixed with water. The true Indian vessels are undecorated.

172

Ill. 133.
Old clay-vessel.

I obtained in Schischá a most peculiar vessel, whose origin is unknown (Ill. 133). It is irregularly spotted dark red and black as a result of uneven firing; it is apparently made out of very crude clay and in a very primitive fashion. The two knobs on the edge, which are slightly hollowed out on top, are striking. The vessel was found several decades ago in the sand of a sandbank by Indians from Schischá on a journey downstream. The Indians themselves were unable to say where the vessel might come from.

415 114 I did not see anywhere the pot and bowl forms brought back by Ehrenreich: shallow, round dishes (Berlin 3862), flat, round plates (3863 and 3864), flat, oval plates (3865), low elliptical double bowls with a dividing wall running lengthwise (3866), cylindrical pot with turned-down rim and bast hanging-band (3861), double conical pot with hanging band (3858), and clay spoons (3878).

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

Chapter IX.

KARAYÁ ACTIVITIES.—CANOE MAKING.—WEAPONS.—NATURE MADE UTENSILS.—ORNAMENT MAKING.—FAMILY LIFE.—PRIMITIVE ETHICS.—MARRIAGES.—CHILDREN.—GOVERNMENT.

The industrial activities of the Karayá now make a better showing than in former times, for their primitive tools are now more and more replaced by tools introduced from the civilized world. The old stone-axes have disappeared, and little is known of them. Ancient inscriptions and figures upon the rocks represent men with stone-axes in their hands, but these drawings belong to a remote period.

To-day, the only primitive implements of the Karayá are those that Nature furnishes them ready for use. Their scraping tools, for instance, are sharp-edged shells; their chisel-like instruments are the teeth of certain powerful rodents; and smooth, flat stones, formed by the action of the water, are used as discs upon which to beat and prepare the web of bark which is their cloth.

It cannot be said of the Karayá that their primitive industries have fallen, in any degree, into decay because they have begun to use the tools of civilized men. Adaptability, beauty of form, and carefulness of execution, is evident in all their workmanship. Canoe building among them, for instance, has reached a high degree of perfection, though the method of constructing them is very crude. These canoes, which are all dugouts, are long and slim, and taper gradually to a point at both bow and stern. This form is perhaps best

/186 cont./

131 Apparently there are Karajá living outside of the river valley. The first German Xingu-expedition, on the lower Xingu in the regions of the Yuruna, everywhere came across traces of struggles
171 with alien Indians who were called Karajá by the Yuruna. The
[126] objects brought back that the Yuruna designated as coming from the Karajá, which are in the Museum für Völkerkunde in Berlin, reveal a culture reminiscent of that of the Karajá and that of the Kayapó (1). Thus, they might well have belonged to a splintered-off

1. The clubs, Nos. 1596 and 1597, have handles similar to those of the Sambioá clubs and oars (3979, e, d). Club 1597 is again similar to the one brought back by Herrmann Meyer from the Kayapó of the Paranayuba (4466), but, on the other hand, completely different from my Kayapó and Karajá clubs, whose handles are identical with those of the Šavajé and others of the Šambioá (3983). The diadem, 1595, is identical with a Karajá diadem brought back by Ehrenreich, as well as two of my Kayapó diadems. The arrow, 1598, is like the Ehrenreich Karajá arrows. -- The numbers of the objects refer to the Berlin catalogue.

Karajá tribe, whose culture, altered by its sojourn among
101 Kayapó tribes, became similar to that of the Kayapó. The tribe of the Karajá proper did not, according to my investigations,
173 know anything about any fellow tribesmen on the Xingu. It
[115] was only below Santa Maria that I learned from a Brazilian settler, who seemed to be acquainted with conditions among the Šambioá, that the branching off of the Xingu Karajá is explained by them in the following way: A Šambioá chief (Roca?: cf. Coudreau, p. 123) kidnapped a white woman; his son fell in love with her and wanted to take her away from his father. There was a fight in which the father proved to be the weaker, so he was obliged to depart with his followers, he turned westward toward the Xingu. How much of this story is credible we do not know as yet.

/186 cont./

173 At any rate, it shows that the Xingu Karajá are brought into
[101] closer relationship with the Šambioá than with the Karajá; in view of the geographical conditions and the above statements about the club handles, probably an acceptable opinion.

171 In the source region of the Xingu, the second German Xingu-
[126] expedition heard about an Arumá tribe. Objects from this tribe,
[101] which were acquired among other tribes, show the same middle position between Karajá and Kayapó culture (2). They therefore

2. The four arrows, Berlin 3874 a-d, have, in part, been given new shafts with Bakairí /Bacairi/ feathering; the old shafts, however, show traces of a feathering which is very similar to that of the Karajá, and the points are the same, except for one of the Karajá arrows. The grooved front end of a club (Berlin 2990) could have come from the Karajá or from the Kayapó.

belong to the same ethnographic /187/ province as the Karajá. Now Meyer (1) calls the Arumá Caribs (Bakairí-Apiaká

[113] 1. Cf. Meyer, Zeitschrift f. Ethnol., Berlin, Vol. 30, 1898, p. 258.

173 /Bacairi-Apiaca/). Perhaps the cultural change in the direction of the Bakairí goes back to the influence of the Šavajé. According to statements of the Karajá, the Šavajé split up about 20-30 years ago at the place called Barreira de Santa Izabel Velha; one part continued to live on Bananal, the other moved west across the Araguaya and has since then disappeared. Perhaps this part of the Šavajé went southwest to the Xingu and affected the cultures there in the manner indicated.

101 Of the above-named three tribes, I studied the Šavajé briefly, the Karajá during a lengthy stay.

/191 cont./

175 The first village on an island opposite Chicas (probably identical
361 with Schischá) with two houses, the /192/ second village on a sandbank opposite São José with four houses, another village on the mouth of the Rio Crixá under the chief Pedro Manco.

The accounts of Coudreau in 1896/97 for the south horde, about whom he reports only information given to him, are even more inexact than for the north horde. He mentions two villages [162] for the rainy season: one near São José with eleven houses and 60 inhabitants, the other near Schischá with 17 houses and 40 [221] inhabitants. The large number of houses and inhabitants shows how the Indians gather together in a few larger villages during the rainy season. This shows, however, that the south horde was already strengthened.

361 In 1908 I myself found the first village near Leopoldina, the [162] second near Schischá, the third above, the fourth in São José (a house occupied by Indians), the fifth on the Lago de Café, the sixth above, the seventh below the mouth of the Rio Crixá, the eighth on the Lago de Luiz Alves: altogether, 19 houses and 148 inhabitants.

● 173 According to stories of the Indians of the south horde, the
169 first Karajá here, those of São José, were supposed to have come
[622] from the north. The first chief who immigrated here was mǎnĕkōkŏ. He found the land uninhabited. When he died, the Indians continued to live here under another chief, Xavier. Among his people there was kūlĭ, the chief of village 3. kūlĭ seems to be about 60 years old. I do not know whether he was born here. At any rate, the immigration took place before his time, in other words, in about the first half of the nineteenth century. According to [361] the Indians, šišá consisted of one hut 20-30 years ago; later several Indians from the north moved in. The village near Leopoldina is said to have been founded about five years ago; the people formerly lived in šándžábě (on the Rio das Mortes, or the Barreira de Izabel Velha, or near Izabel do Morro).

1:Lipkind E-5 (1937) 1948 SP9 Caraja SP9

411 **Weapons.**—The *Carajá* use bows and arrows (pls. 20, *bottom, left;* 21, *left* and *center*), and their mythology indicates aboriginal use of the spear thrower for hunting monkeys. Recently, they have used a spear thrower of the upper Xingú River type for sport.

[793] [794]

323 **Pottery.**—Pottery vessels include several forms of plain ware (fig. 20).

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

611 The kinship structure may be described as double descent. Both lines are important, the greater emphasis falling on the mother's line, and both lines serve different functions. Village citizenship, adoption, and the closest affectional ties are reckoned in the mother's line. Moiety membership and the offices of chief, priest, and food-divider are patrilineally inherited.

[428]

621 622 The fundamental unit of social organization is the village. Every village has one or more ioló, children of chiefly line, designated by the chief for preferential treatment by the members of the village. The chief names the ioló who is to succeed him or, if he fails to do so, the village makes the choice at his death. Girls of chiefly line are similarly chosen for preferential treatment; each of them is known as the "hidden woman." There is some indication that women functioned as chiefs in former times, but today there is no woman chief. The chief has no coercive powers but directs the village by recognizing the will of the majority in such matters as the selection of camp and garden sites and the announcement of a move at change of season. His principal function is to act as peacemaker, and people readily submit to his adjudication. Because of the importance of religious ceremonials, the priest and the shaman frequently exercise more authority than the chief. When all three offices are vested in a single individual, his authority may be considerable, but it is kept in check by the right of a discontented person to move at any time to another village.

[562] [177] [756] [793] [692]

59 Within the village the important unit is the household. Residence being matrilocal, a household consists of sisters, their husbands, children, and the husbands of grown daughters. Marriage is restricted to one's own generation, the preferred mate being a cousin on the mother's side. There is no sanction but ridicule against wrong marriages, and there are many cases of cross-generational marriage. Marriage is predominantly monogamous, but a few instances of polygyny and one of polyandry were encountered. The avunculate is very important and involves many social and especially ceremonial duties. Cooperation in the household is close and in the village fairly close. In addition, villages are grouped together in ceremonial units, generally consisting of three or four neighboring villages, which celebrate important feasts jointly. This ceremonial unit acts as an insurance group when a village's crop fails or its fish supplies grow scarce. Beyond this, the only intervillage ties

[591] [592] [582] [626] [595] [604] 78 628 [476]

/193 cont./

162 Thus, the migration southward seems to continue to this day,
166 and it seems to have affected the Šavajé as well. Apparently the south horde has a bit of Šavajé blood in it, which is noticeable above all in the taller build. Today only about one-fifth of the Karajá live south of Bananal, the majority still live in the north horde, but we have seen that in it, too, a trend toward the south is making itself noticeable (4).

[361] 4. A migration from the south horde to the north horde took place long ago; people emigrated from Schischá and settled on the Corrego; this is the village of José (six men, eight women).

•174 Whether this migration to the south is a continuation of an older migration which brought the Karajá to the Araguaya I should like to leave undecided. As is well known, Ehrenreich pointed out many similarities between the Karajá and the Indians of Guiana.
171 Without wishing to pursue these cultural connections further at present, I should like to state, from a comparison of Karajá and Kayapó culture, that the Karajá show very many cultural traits related to the Kayapó, but also harbor a large percentage of foreign /194/ elements that seem to point to the north or northwest. It will remain for later investigations to pursue these cul-
174 tural problems further. The present-day distribution of the Karajá,
13 their confinement to the river valley in a narrow band beyond 8 1/2
648 degrees of latitude in the midst of hostile tribes, especially those
[101] of the Ges /Ge/ family, seems to point to the fact that the Karajá migrated up the Araguaya from the north, breaking up the tribes
648 living here. So far the Karajá have not yet come to an amicable relationship with the neighboring tribes. Efforts to bring this about
[199] were undertaken at Conceição by the mission, but they failed after initial success (1).

[115] 1. The reports, for which I am indebted to a Brazilian near Santa Maria, that the Kayapó and Šambioá meet annually at a particular place on

/295 cont./

286 who make better and, as far as the Tapirapé are concerned, patterned, thicker coverings (1).

1. The net coverings are mentioned for the first time in 1791 among the Šambioá.

174 /296/ Ehrenreich ("Beiträge," p. 12) assumes that the
286 Karajá learned this technique from the Brazilians. Fonseca in
114 1773 is supposed to have taught weaving to the Šavajé on Bananal. Ehrenreich believes that he can support these statements by the fact that the Šavajé to this day make better coverings. In my opinion this is not a substantiation of this assumption, for the Tapirapé make still better coverings than the Šavajé, and the Karajá bought a great many coverings from them in former, peaceful times. Hence the Karajá could just as well have adopted this technique from the Tapirapé. Now, in the houses of the Tapirapé and at their large fishing sites I found no signs of sleeping places, so I must assume that the Tapirapé sleep in hammocks. It would be peculiar then that the Karajá bought the hammocks (for in shape the coverings are nothing else), but removed the suspension ropes and used the coverings as shawls and blankets. Furthermore, the taffeta-like woven covering which Ehrenreich describes as probably belonging to the Šavajé undoubtedly comes, not from the Šavajé, but from the Tapirapé, for the Šavajé use and make coverings which are exactly like those of the Karajá, whereas the Tapirapé produce the taffeta-like texture. Hence the Karajá, who, of course, live closer to the Tapirapé than the Šavajé and have the role of intermediaries between these two peoples, could not have taken over this texture from the Šavajé. To be sure, Fonseca reports that he built a loom for the Karajá and gave them their first instruction in weaving
286 (Rev. trim. 8, p. 387). It seems to me that this note more likely
174 refers to the making of the girls' belts and the dance belts, which actually show a sort of weaving. The technique by which the coverings are made is not weaving, but knotting, and it is a purely

/296 cont./

174 286 Indian technique, which we find distributed over a large part of South America. Finally, in the creation myth the woman is shown by the Urubu-re how the net coverings are made. In the myth, the Urubu-re teaches the Indians to become familiar with the textile plants, with spinning and the making of the net coverings, and the manufacture and use of bows and arrows. This points to the fact that this technique has been familiar to the Karajá since ancient times. Hence I believe that it is an ancient art which the Karajá brought along from their former home north or northwest of their present-day territory, where they probably used hammocks. In their present territory they have adopted another way of sleeping, perhaps under the influence of the surrounding Ge peoples. Indeed, their entire culture shows a strong impact by elements of the Ge cultures. The Karajá proper have gradually lost the method of manufacture, for, with the iron goods bartered from the Brazilians, they were able to barter for good coverings from their neighbors without any trouble. That is why their technique is so poor today and that of the Šavajé, who still live untouched by civilization, so much better.

286 A similar, but smaller apparatus is used for making the dance belts and girls' belts and the forehead bands. The warp, in contrast to the net covers, /297/ is stretched continuously between the short rods of an elongated cane frame (Ill. 146). On one apparatus a bow and a lance took the place of the long side rods (Ill. 147). The frame is kept horizontal or slightly sloping upward. The warp threads are picked up with the hand, and the weft is drawn through with the hand, a toilsome task, especially in the case of the dance belts, which are patterned in black and white. /Ills. 146-148 appear here./ The weft consists of only one thread, with which one warp thread after the other is picked up. This type of plaiting is already very close to weaving.

1:Lipkind E-5 (1937) 1948 SP9 Caraja SP9

ARCHEOLOGY

172 Large circular hollows in the ground are found at various points in *Carajá* territory, always in the close vicinity of a stream. By tradition these are ancient cemeteries; of old, they say, people did not mourn at a funeral but held a feast in the hollow. One of these hollows located on the height above the river bank at Fontoura is 18 m. (about 58 ft.) long, 15 m. (about 50 ft.) wide, and 1½ m. (5 ft.) deep at its center. The mound forming the northern side was excavated, disclosing two lines of burials with associated pottery, bone labrets, and beads.

The pottery is very similar to modern *Carajá* pottery and the labrets are exactly like those now in the possession of the *Carajá*. The cemetery cannot, however, definitely be identified as *Carajá*. The present-day [764] *Carajá* cemetery is different in location and ground plan. There is now secondary urn burial, and in the first burial the bodies are laid at right angles to the river rather than parallel as were those disclosed by the excavation. Still, the remains show even less resemblance to the *Ge* and *Tupí* peoples in the neighborhood. The question must be left open for further archeological study.

HISTORY

648 Since the earliest times, the *Carajá* have been at war with their *Ge* and
●175 *Tupí* neighbors. The sole exception is the *Tapirapé*, with whom at one time the *Javahé* maintained close and friendly relations. The *Shambioá* were the first to come in contact with the Neo-Brazilians early in the 17th century. Contact with the *Carajá* proper must have begun shortly after the founding of Santa Anna by Bartholomeu Bueno in 1682. The *Carajá* are [439] on good terms with the Neo-Brazilians, trading skins and fish for clothing, beads, knives, axes, guns, sugar, and salt.

161 **Population.**—According to the census made by the author in 1939, the *Carajá* number 1,510, divided as follows: *Carajá* proper, 795; *Javahé*, 650; *Shambioá*, 65. These figures should be contrasted with Castelnau's (1850–59) count in 1845 of 2,000 *Shambioá* in four villages, and his estimate of a total of 100,000 *Carajá*, and with Krause's (1911) estimate of 10,000 *Carajá* in 1908.

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

241 **Farming.**—Clearings are made in the thick forest along the watercourses. Gardens must be so located as to be accessible by canoe in the dry season and yet not flooded in the rainy season. The scarcity of such land results in some of the plots being several miles distant from the village. Proximity to fishing grounds is generally held to be more important. The work of clearing is begun in May at the beginning of the dry season. Maize

/4 cont./

I. The Karaya Tribes on the Araguaia River (Goyaz).

Historical.

•175 The Karaya are mentioned for the first time on the occasion of that well-known raid which the Paulista gang-leader Antonio Pires Campos (2) undertook around the year 1684 from Cuyaba down

2. According to others, Manuel Pires Campos.

the Rio das Mortes to the Araguaia. It was at that time that the gold mines of the "Martirios," which play so important a role in modern Brazilian folk-tales, were discovered; they were later lost again and are still most eagerly sought to the present day.
[131] On his return Pires Campos visited the "Ilha dos Carajas," the large island now called Bananal or Ilha da Santa Anna, which the
[177] Araguaia forms between 13 1/2° and 10 1/2° south latitude. Numerous captives were dragged off from here to São Paulo as slaves.

In the forties of the previous century the son of the above, who had been called on by the Goyans for assistance against the hostile Kayapo, organized a second slave hunt along the Araguaia from Goyaz.

There is detailed information about this expedition in the report of the alferes José Pinto da Fonseca (3), who visited the river

[113] 3. Rev. trim., Vol. 8, pp. 376 ff.

in 1775 on the orders of the then commander-in chief of Goyaz, José Almeida de Vasconcellos, in order to establish friendly relations with the wild tribes there, since the need to open the principal rivers of the province to navigation was making itself felt more and more. In June of the year concerned he and his troop reached the southern tip of Bananal Island and were soon able to win over the Karaya living there.

/5/

175 At first he was met with distrust, since everyone was still
177 under the influence of the horrible deeds which Pires Campos had committed there 25 years earlier. Soon, however, by means of his intelligent, kind behavior, Pinto succeeded in getting the savages to put themselves under the protection of the governor of
[648] Goyaz. Their chief, Abeonona, swore an oath of fealty to the king of Portugal, the exact words of which are communicated in the above-mentioned letter.

175 The description of the Karaya which Pinto presents corresponds completely to present-day conditions. Through him we receive
[131] the first information about the large lake in the northern part of Bananal Island, not yet visited by any traveler, on the shores of
[161] which live the Yavahẽ /Javahe/. Pinto estimates the number of
[361] the Karaya at 9,000 souls in nine large villages, three of which belong to the Yavahẽ.

A second expedition left in the following year to lay out near the largest of the Indian villages on the island a military post which was given the name of Colonia da nova beira.

Later other such posts were established on the Araguaia, and some in the region of the Šambioa /Shambioa/. Under the prevailing mismanagement, however, these cultural centers very
[167] soon fell to ruin (1). Already in 1782 it was necessary to transport
[164]

1. Cazal, Corogr. bras. /Chorography of Brazil/,
[113] I, p. 340. -- Cunha Mattos, Corogr. de Goyaz." Rev. trim., Vol. 37, I, p. 393.

800 Karaya to S. José de Mossamedes in Goyaz, and in 1786 other bands were settled at Carretão, which, however, after a short time fell victim to an epidemic of measles. The colony of Mossamedes, too, did not prosper. Pohl found the place in the most wretched condition in the twenties of our century. Every trace of the earlier colonizing activities soon disappeared on the Araguaia. The island of Bananal in particular is as unknown today as at the time of its discovery.

/5 cont./

175 Nevertheless, the relationship of the Karaya to the immigrant
177 population remained rather good. On various occasions individuals of this people reached Pará on trading ships. In 1791 the chief, Aribedu, gave the then governor of this province information about the currents of the Araguaia. The trading expedition which traveled along the Tocantins and Araguaia in 1792 also brought many Karaya from the interior.

On the other hand, in the beginning of this century serious
[721] hostilities broke out. The newly established post of Santa Maria
[648] was completely destroyed in 1813 by the Karaya and the Akuã (Chavante) allied with them (2).

[113] 2. Rev. trim., Vol. 25, II, p. 91.

175 Then for a long time the reports are silent; the Karaya are mentioned by Martius, Pohl, and Aug. St. Hilaire only in passing.

We do not get more detailed information again until the great expedition of Castelnau in 1844. Since the French traveler did not travel on the left arm of the river, now navigated exclusively, but rather on the right one, east of Bananal Island, he did not become acquainted with the Karayahi. He also saw no Yavahẽ. He erroneously designates the island as uninhabited. On the other hand, he spent several days in the large Šambioa villages. He
[535] wrote down the first word-list and above all, described the strange dance masks, whose true significance, however, remained hidden from him. Unfortunately his whole collection was lost in the cataracts of the lower Tocantins.

Three years later the Brazilian official, Dr. Rufino Theotonio
[131] Segurado, came upstream from Pará. His excellent travel report contains notes on the Šambioa whom he encountered just above the rapids Carreira comprida. He also visited the Karayahi (3).

[113] 3. Rev. trim, Vol. 5, pp. 178 ff.

Of other Brazilian travelers, General Couto Magelhães, who did so much for Araguaia shipping and who, as president of Goyaz,

/5 cont./

175 came in contact with the Karaya (4) as early as 1863 on a short

4. In the no longer extant Aldeamento da Estiva near Salinas, where Chavante and Karaya were settled in the care of an Italian missionary. Cf. Peterm. Mitth., 1876, p. 222.

[113]

trip to S. José, but later traveled the whole river on repeated occasions, had the most opportunity to become acquainted with this remarkable people. He did not publish anything in connection with this, however. Some scattered notes are to be found in his first travel report of 1863 and in the work O Selvagem (Rio de Janeiro, 1874).

[113]

/6/ In 1879 the engineer Moraes Jardim investigated the navigable stretch of the Araguaia from Leopoldina to Santa Maria. Appended to his report (1) is a description of the Karayahi villages

1. O rio Araguaya, relatorio de sua exploração /The Araguaia River, an Account of Its Exploration/. Rio de Janeiro, 1880.

[113]

written by his companion, Dr. Spinola, which is, on the whole, correct.

Also the travel account of the former president of Goyaz, Dr. Joaquim Leite Moraes (1882), contains some interesting material about the Karaya. The first fairly complete collection of ethnological objects was made by this traveler on his way to São Paulo. It is now scattered, but I succeeded in acquiring for the Royal Museum two of the best pieces from the owner, the war clubs of the well-known Sambioa chiefs, Roco and Ambura.

[126]

Territorial Distribution

131 101 Whereas until a few years ago only the Karaya on the Araguaia were known, the existence of other hordes of the same nation on the right bank of the middle and lower Xingu was proved by the first Xingu expedition.

/171/

Second Part

Scientific Findings

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/173/ Historical Review

175 The first one about whom we have reports that he visited the Araguaya /Araguaia/ region is Capitão Diogo Pinto de Gaia, who traveled up the river from Pará to the southern tip of Bananal in the year 1720. He is supposed to have seen all of Bananal Island on this occasion (1).

[113]

1. Moraes Jardim, o Rio Araguaya /The Araguaia River/, foreword; Ehrenreich, "Beiträge zur Geographie /Contributions to Geography/," II, p. 149.

We find the first mention of the Karajá in the report about the journey of the Paulista Antonio Pires de Campos, which must have taken place between the years 1718 and 1746. Pires Campos traveled with his father from Cuyaba down the Rio das Mortes in a boat, then traveled northward on the Araguaya as far as the cachoeira /cataract/ of Itaboca, from the litoral mountains of which they saw in the west the mountains of the Araes, where gold was said to be found in beech leaves. On the return journey, above the confluence of the Paraupebas (2), they met many

2. The Tocantins, according to Rev. trim. 37, p. 263, note 19.

Indians (Apinages? /Apinaye/), visited the Martirios, and from there had a rough trip to the Ilha dos Carajás (3). Across the

[104]

3. The tribal names are given here in the form used by the respective authors.

/173 cont./

C 175 Rio das Mortes they returned by land to Cuyaba. By the Carajás, mentioned here for the first time, it appears that the Šambioá /Shambioa/ were meant (4). Fonseca, in his report dated 1775,

C [113]

4. Roteiro, que deu o capitão-Mor Antonio Pires de Campos ao capitão-Mor Luiz Rodriguez Villares, procurador do povo da Villa Real do Senhor Bom Jesus de Cuyabá, para o descobrimento de grandes haveres para as aldêas dos gentios Araés. /Logbook that Capitão-Mor Antonio Pires de Campos gave to Capitão-Mor Luiz Rodriguez Villares, procurator of the people of the royal town of Senhor Bom Jesus de Cuyabá, for the discovery of large amounts of goods in the villages of the pagan Araés./ Rev. trim. 38, pp. 140-144.

mentions a journey of Antonio Pires de Campos, which is perhaps identical with the one spoken of here. It took place some 20 C [177] years before 1775. Pires reached the Carajás; the relations seemed amicable to begin with, until Pires carried out an attack on the main village. In the blood bath many Indians, even children, were murdered, and many were led away as slaves to serve as workers on the fazendas (5).

5. Rev. trim. 8 (1846, 2nd edition, 1867), pp. 377-378.

Even before 1748, João de Godoy Pinto da Silveira undertook a slave hunt into the territories of the southern Kayapó T [177] /Cayapo/, but he had no success. He brought back only a hundred Tapirapé (first mention of this tribe?), who, however, all died (6).

6. Rev. trim. 12, p. 448; 37, p. 262, note 8.

/174/

[175] [177] In 1772 José Machado undertook a military expedition by land from Trahiras to the Araguaya; he succeeded in establishing amicable relations with the Carajás, but otherwise his expedition was without success (7).

7. Rev. trim. 12, p. 457; 37, p. 362, note 84.

In 1773 José Pinto da Fonseca succeeded, as the first, in remaining in peaceable contact with the Karajá for a longer time. His large military expedition seems to have come to the Araguaya by land. At a place that he called Corôa, he met the Carajás Indians (the Karajá proper). [131] The place seems to have been located on the eastern arm of the Araguaya, approximately in the center of the lengthwise extension of Bananal Island. He succeeded in establishing amicable relations with the Karajá. Later, the Javaês /Javahe/ (first mention of this tribe) from Bananal Island, which he called Ilha de Santa Anna, came on a visit. [648] After an initial military expedition against the hostile Chavantes, a protective alliance was concluded with the Carajás. The report ends with a reference to undertaking a second expedition against the Chavantes. More did not become known. He had heard of the Tapirapés with whom the Carajás live in peace. [114] In this report, Fonseca gives the first cultural description of the Karajá; in the following I have often referred to his good observations, still pertinent today (8).

[113] 8. Copia da carta, que o alferes José Pinto da Fonseca escreveu ao Exm. General de Goyazes, dando-lhe conta do descobrimento de duas nações de indios, dirigida do sitio onde portou. 2. Agosto 1775. /Copy of the letter that the alferes José Pinto da Fonseca wrote to the Exm. General de Goyazes, giving him an account of the discovery of the two parties of Indians, addressed from the place at which he arrived. 2 August 1775./ Rev. trim. 8 (1846, 2nd edition, 1867), pp. 376-390.

/174 cont./

175 648 In the next few years the government endeavored to pacify the Indians, to educate them, in order to make the boat traffic on the Araguaya secure. To this end Antonio José Cabral de Almeida e Vasconcellos and José Pinto da Fonseca again traveled to Santa Anna Island between 1774-78, established a military station here, settled a few colonists, and founded the aldeamento Nova Beira for the Carajás and Javaés. Both establishments were soon given up, however, as a result of sickness and death (9).

9. Rev. trim. 12, pp. 457-458; 37, pp. 262-263, note 84.

175 648 167 [165] After these attempts had failed, another principle was tried. The Indians were transplanted into other areas, in order to safeguard shipping through this depopulation of the river shores. Thus, up to 1782 about 700 Karajá and Šavajé /Javahe/ were brought from the aldeamento Nova Beira to São José de Mossamedes near Goyaz /Goiás/, which had been founded in 1775, where they gradually perished (10). In 1786 Miguel de Arrudo e Sá was

10. Rev. trim. 12, p. 461; p. 393.

ordered to undertake a military expedition against the Chavantes and Javaés and to build a village for those subjugated. In the [165] Aldea de Pedro III (Carretão), 24 leagues north of Goyaz, he settled 3,500 Indians of both tribes, almost all of whom, however, /175/ succumbed to measles (11). The survivors were

11. Rev. trim. 37, p. 245; Rev. trim. 12, p. 462, speaks only of the Chavante.

brought to the Aldea de Salines (Boa Vista) in 1788, five leagues southeast of Piedade; in 1823, 76 Indians were still living there (12).

12. Rev. trim. 37, p. 246.

/175 cont./

175 There now followed a series of expeditions, the purpose of which was to make navigation on the Araguaya possible, above all, therefore, to establish communication between Goyaz and Pará.

In 1792-93 Thomaz de Souza Villa Real undertook the first journey down the Araguaya, from Goyaz to Pará by way of the eastern arm of Bananal, at the expense of a number of [131] traders interested in shipping. He gives information about the Carajás (the Šambioá are meant) and the Pinagés; he also met a few Carajás (probably Karajá proper, just below the north end of Bananal Island (13).

[113] 13. Viagem de Thomaz de Souza Villa Real pelos rios Tocantins, Araguaya e Vermelho: accompanhada de importantes documentos officiaes relativos á mesma navegação. /Voyage of Thomaz de Souza Villa Real by way of the Tocantins, Araguaia, and Vermelho rivers; accompanied by important official documents concerning the same navigation./

[361] In 1793 he traveled up the Tocantins and Araguaya as far as the lowest village of the Šambiaó (called Carajás by him). He also mentions the Carajahi (first mention of this name) and Tapirasse (13) /see footnote 13 above/.

These expeditions resulted in a little boat traffic on the Araguaya; a place on the Rio Vermelho or on the Rio de Peixe served as harbor for Goyaz. Difficulty was caused by the fact that only few boatmen were available for such journeys, and there was a lack of points where fresh provisions could be obtained along the way.

Further expeditions followed. In 1800, the new governor of Goyaz, João Manoel de Menezes, traveled from Pará up the

/175 cont./

175 648 Araguaya to his new residence (14). From 1804-1809 there were

14. Rev. trim. 12, p. 465.

two or three further expeditions to increase shipping on the Araguaya. They were not very successful; Indian tribes not to be subdued by military might and the river rapids made navigation on the river seem too dangerous (15). In order to alleviate

15. Rev. trim. 12, p. 468.

at least one of these dangers, the Presidio de Santa Maria was founded between 1809 and 1812 at the upper beginning of the stretch of rapids. By 1813, however, it was already destroyed by the united Carajás, Carajahís, Chavantes, and Cherentes, not to be built up again until 1862 and farther upstream (16).

16. Rev. trim. 12, p. 470; 25, II, p. 91; 37, p. 362; 38, p. 18.

Another attempt to live in peace with the Indians also failed. The Carajahís came to Salinas in order to surrender peaceably to the Brazilians; however, as a result of disagreements that broke out in this connection, they returned to their villages on the river (17).

17. Rev. trim. 12, p. 471.

From now on all reports about this area cease. The Brazilians hesitated to seek out the hostile Indians, and thus /176/ in time the rumors about the hostile nature of the Karajá and Sambioá took on ever greater dimensions. Only a few good retrospective views of this first period of discovery came out during these years.

/176 cont./

175 [113] In 1812 Padre Luiz Antonio da Silva e Souza wrote his work: Memoria sobre o descobrimento, governo, população, e cousas mais notaveis da capitania de Goyaz /Memoir on the discovery, government, population, and other notable things about the province of Goiás/, in which he gives good historical data about all the journeys of exploration since the discovery of the province (18).

18. Rev. trim. 12 (2nd series, 5), 1849, pp. 429-510.

[113] In the second large work: Chorographia historica da Provincia de Goyaz /Historical Chorography of the Province of Goiás/, 1842, Raymundo José da Cunha Mattos studied old documents and brought out a great deal of information about the Indians; however, he occasionally combines and thus confuses the ethnic picture. According to him, the Carajás live in a village on the Furo do Bananal and in three villages in the cataract region of the river (identical with our present-day Sambioá villages); they prevent passage through the Furo. The Carajahís live on the left bank of the Araguaya and occasionally appear on Bananal. The Javaés on Bananal are almost extinct; the Xambiuás live on Bananal and then again on the river shore, and they prevent passage through the west arm of the Araguaya. He also mentions that the Tapirapés occasionally visited Bananal Island (19).

175 101 131 [361]

19. Rev. trim. 37 and 38.

175 It is only Castelnau, in the year 1844, who again brings more clarity. This French explorer traveled from Goyaz to the Rio de Peixe, embarked here, traveled down this river to where it empties into the Araguaya, traveled down the Araguaya through the eastern arm of Bananal, reached the entrance into the Tocantins, and, traveling up this river, returned to Goyaz. Along

/176 cont./

175 the Araguaya he met only the Chambioá, of whose cultural
[131] possessions he made a collection, which, however, was lost in a shipwreck on the Tocantins. He was the first to describe the use of masks by these Indians. He, too, reports only hearsay about the Carajás, Carajahís, Javahais, and Tapirapés (20).

[113]

20. F. de Castelnau, Expedition dans les parties centrales de l'Amerique du Sud /Expedition into the Central Parts of South America/, 1843-47. Paris, 1850, Vols. 1 and 2. The same, Vue et scenes /Survey and scenes/. Paris, 1853.

We owe complete clarity, however, to the expedition of Dr. Rufino Theotonio Segurado, who traveled upstream from Pará
[101] in 1846/47. He first visited the Chambioás, who, he said, were a tribe of the Carajás, then tried to travel up the eastern arm of Banana[illegible] but was obliged to give up the plan because the river was t[illegible] allow, then traveled up the western arm of the Aragu[illegible] as the first explorer, and visited the Carajás Indians living here. He extended his trip as far as the Rio Vermelho on which he traveled upstream for eleven days, in order to reach Goyaz then by land. To him we therefore owe the first more exact information about the dwelling sites of the Karajá (21).

[116]

21. Viagem de Goyaz ao Pará em 1846 e 1847, Roteiro do Dr. Rufino Theotonio Segurado /Voyage from Goiás to Pará in 1846 and 1847, Logbook of Dr. Rufino Theotonio Segurado./ Rev. trim. 10 (2nd series, Vol. 3), pp. 178-212.

/177/ I unfortunately have not been able to find the report of Dr. Eduardo Olympio Machado from the year 1850, which Moraes Jardim mentions in the introduction of his work, O Rio Araguaya.

/177 cont./

175 At the same time the Presidio de Santa Izabel (now Capoeira de Santa Izabel Velha) existed on Bananal Island: it was later transferred to near the mouth of the Rio das Mortes (Santa Izabel do Morro, now Karajá cemetery), but then given up (22).

22. Moraes Jardim, O Rio Araguaya, foreword.

We owe the first brief, more recent ethnographic description of the Karajá to Dr. Couto de Magalhães, who in 1863 traveled down the Rio Vermelho, founded the town of São José, and visited the subsequently abandoned Aldea da Estiva, one league north of Salinas, in which Chavantés and Carajás lived (23).

[113] 23. Viagem ao Araguaya /Voyage to the Araguaia/. Goyaz, 1863, pp. 124 ff.

[101] [16] [36] [131] In another work (24) he reports that the Chambioás, Carajás,

[113] 24. Dr. C. Magalhães, Região e raças selvagens do Brasil /The Country and Savage Races of Brazil/. Rio de Janeiro, 1874.

Carajahís, and Javaés form a nation and live, 7-8000 souls strong, in 70-80 villages along the Rio Araguaya from Furo to Intaipabas.

[648] The same, in 1871, founded the settlement of Dumbasinho with the Collegio Izabel, two leagues below Leopoldina on the west bank (Leopoldina was founded in 1852), for the purpose of training and educating young Indians (Karajá, Kayapó, and Tapirapé) as colonists. The Collegio was given up at the beginning of the nineties.

175 114 The next detailed report about the Carajás was furnished by Dr. Spinola, who in 1879 accompanied Moraes Jardim on his Araguaya journey from Leopoldina to Santa Maria, which was undertaken for the purpose of making a map of the river. His

/177 cont./

175 remarks prove to be correct for the most part, except for those
[114] on religion (25).

[113] 25. O Rio Araguaya. Relatorio da sua exploração pelo Major d'Engenheiros Joaquim R. de Moraes Jardim, precedido de um resumo historico sobre sua navegação pelo Tenente-Coronel d'Engenheiros Jeronimo R. de Moraes Jardim e seguido de um estudo sobre os Indios, que habitam suos margens pelo Dr. Aristides de Souza Spinola, presidente de Goyaz. /The Araguaia River. An account of its exploration by Major d'Engenheiros Joaquim R. de Moraes Jardim, preceded by a historical summary on its navigation by Tenente-Coronel d'Engenheiros Jeronimo R. de Moraes Jardim and followed by a study of the Indians who live on its banks by Dr. Aristides de Souza Spinola, president of Goiás. / Rio de Janeiro, 1880.

The report about the journey of Dr. Joaquim Leite Moraes, which appeared in 1892 in Goyaz, was unfortunately not available to me.

175 The most detailed information was brought back by Dr. Paul
114 Ehrenreich, who in 1888, in connection with the second German Xingu-Expedition, traveled from Goyaz down the Araguaya to Pará. He navigated the upper part of the river, free of cataracts, in a steamer, so that of the Karajá, for whom he uses the name Carayahi, he was able to obtain only a fleeting impression, which, however, was fundamentally deepened through the statements, worthy of thanks, of the old Karajá chief accompanying him, Pedro Manco. He was able to study in greater detail the Šambioá, whose territory he traveled through in a rowboat. Of the Yavahe and Tapirapé he reports only hearsay. His /178/ ethnographic collection, which is often referred to in the following, is in the Berlin Museum für Völkerkunde (26).

[113] 26. He published the following works about his

/178 cont./

175 [113]

26. (cont.)
journey: 1. "Beiträge zur Geographie Zentralbrasiliens /Contributions to the Geography of Central Brazil/," in: Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin, Vol. 26, pp. 167 to 19[illegible] Vol. 27, pp. 121-152. 2. "Südamerikanische Stromfahrten /South American River Journeys/," in Globus, Vol. 62 (1892). 3. Beiträge zur Völkerkunde Brasiliens /Contributions to the Ethnology of Brazil/. Veröffentlichungen aus dem königlichen Museum für Völkerkunde /Publications of the Royal Museum of Ethnology/, Vol. 2, Nos. 1 and 2. Berlin, Spemann, 1891. 4. Anthropologische Studien über die Urbewohner Brasiliens /Anthropological Studies of the Brazilian Aborigines/. Brunswick, 1897.

We owe the next brief report to Dr. A. Cavalcanti, who, in connection with the explorations for the establishment of a new capital city for Brazil, navigated the Araguaya from Leopoldina to Santa Maria and visited the Carajahí on this occasion (27).

[113]

27. Commissão de Estudos da Nova Capital da União /Commission for Studies on the New Capital of the Union/. Rio, 1896. Relatorio do Dr. A. Cavalcanti /Account by Dr. A. Cavalcanti/.

During the rainy season of 1896/97, the French explorer Coudreau traveled on the Araguaya from Pará to the mouth of the Rio Tapirapé. He visited the Chambioá and Carajás; he also traveled a short stretch on the Rio Tapirapé. His statements, however, are not very accurate and tend to confuse completely the entire picture, especially on the Tapirapé (28).

[114]

[113]

28. Voyage au Tocantins-Araguaya. Paris, 1897.

/178 cont./

•175 Since then we have remained without any information on this area; no explorer again reports on the tribes along the Araguaya. Meanwhile steamer traffic expanded further, and new Brazilian settlements arose, especially the mission station Conceição among the Kayapó in the north. At the beginning of the twentieth century, the Bishop of Goyaz, accompanied by the steamer contractor Adolofo Guedes, undertook a journey on the Araguaya. According to the personal account of the [361] latter, they traveled, at high water, up the eastern arm of [177] Bananal from the north, came across a huge village of Šavajé, landed, but were quickly obliged to turn back in the face of resistance by the many Indians who were frightened by the 70 armed Brazilians. After that the wildest rumors swept through the land about the hostility and the great number of the Šavajé.

114 Such were the circumstances when I traveled on the [101] Araguaya in 1908. I navigated it from Leopoldina to Conceição, visited the Karajá, undertook side trips on foot to the Kayapó at Conceição and to the Šavajé on Bananal, and traveled up the Rio Tapirapé to the source region, where I came across the deserted villages of the Tapirapé Indians.

101 By way of supplement, a few statements about how the designations of the tribes have changed in the course of time might follow.

[131] I distinguish the following three hordes of the Karajá: the Šambioá in the stretch of the rapids, the Šavajé on Bananal Island, the Karajá proper on the Araguaya, west and south of Bananal.

101 The Šambioá are called Carajás by the first discoverers 175 (Antonio Pires de Campos in 1746, Souza Villa Real in 1792/93; Cunha Mattos also calls them this in his Chorographia de Goyaz, 1824). The name /179/ Šambioá appears for the first time in Cunha Mattos for a tribe which, roving about, sometimes visits Bananal Island, sometimes dwells on the Rio Cuyaba, and blocks passage through the western arm of the Araguaya (29). It is not

29. Rev. trim. 37, p. 393; 38, p. 20.

/179 cont./

101 175 known how Cunha Mattos arrived at this strange localization. The present Šambioá are called by this name for the first time by Castelnau in 1844, then Rufino in 1846, and Ehrenreich in 1888. This name is now the one commonly used; only Coudreau again calls them Carajá. This name, given to them by the Karajá, should be retained to distinguish them from the other hordes.

The Šavajé are mentioned for the first time as Javaes and Javahes in 1773 by Fonseca, who met them as visitors among the Karajá. (I do not know whether Pinto de Gaia mentions them.) Since then they have continued to be known under this name. They are mentioned again by Vasconcellos-Fonseca in 1774, Cunha Mattos in 1824, Castelnau in 1844, Spinola in 1879, Ehrenreich in 1888, and Coudreau in 1896/97, though none of them, except the first, again came into close contact with them.

The horde of the Karajá proper is mentioned for the first time by José Machado in 1772, and, to be sure, under the name of Carajás. They continued to be known under this name and were described by Fonseca and Vasconcellos in 1773 and 1774. They were not visited again after that; reports about them become confused, especially through the occurrence of the name Carajahí for a horde whose sites cannot be precisely located. Souza Villa Real, in 1793, is the first to mention the Carajahí: they had four chiefs. The authors of the two large historical 10 114 175 works from the beginning of the nineteenth century confuse the picture completely. Silva e Souza reports (1812) that the Carajá [36] and Carajahí occupy seven villages on the Araguaya, and that the Carajahí came to Salinas in order to make peace, but, since they were badly treated, they set out for their villages [131] again. Cunha Mattos reports in 1824 that the Carajás live on the Furo and in the rapids region (see under Šambioá), and that the Carajahís occupy the left bank of the Araguaya and only occasionally come to Bananal Island. In Rev. trim. 37, page 363, he reports further that the Carajás come to Salinas to beg for iron implements. From these reports no clear picture is to be gained about the relationships between Carajá, Carajahí, and Šambioá. The picture remains just as confused after

/179 cont./

101 Castelnau's report (1844). He says that the Carajás often stay in
175 Salinas on visits, whereas the Carajahís live on the western arm
114 in three or four villages. Rufino in 1846/47 finally brings clarity as the first to navigate the western arm again. He calls the
[361] Indians living here in nine villages Carajás, in other words, restores the old name, while he does not mention the name Carajahí. From then on they are again called Carajás generally, as by Magalhães in 1863, Spinola in 1879; in 1874, however, Magalhães also mentions Carajahís, besides Carajás and Chambioás, without /180/ making clear their mutual relationship. In 1888 Ehrenreich uses the name Carayahí for all Karajá Indians on the Araguaya, west and south of Bananal Island, and Cavalcanti (1895) joins him in this; this name, however, has not
101 become customary in Brazil. Coudreau (1896) again calls them Carajás, and I, too, find it necessary to retain this name, and, to be sure, with the spelling Karajá. I repeatedly asked the Indians about the name Carayahí, and they always declared that they did not know it. They call themselves only Karajá, and among the Brazilian population, too, they are only called by this name.

I admit that the name Carayahí is very practical for distinguishing this horde from the entire tribe of the Karajá, and that detailed explanations are sometimes required in order to make clear whether by Karajá one means the whole tribe or only the southern group; in my opinion, however, one does better to go to the slight trouble of making this explanation with a few additional words rather than to use a nonexistent name.

I. The Karajá.

1. Anthropological Data.

126 Direct anthropological measurements were taken by me only with respect to height and color of skin. All other data are based on observations or were taken from the examination of photographs
000 taken by me. For comparison I used Ehrenreich, Anthropologische

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161 Without the Šavajé of the south horde, the total figure
[162] thus comes to 815; with the Šavajé, 831 persons. Therefore, on the average, there are seven to eight persons in one house.

[131] For the large area that the Karajá inhabit (about 800 kilometers in length), the population is thus very small. It is indeed possible that it was once larger, though the huge figures
162 of earlier reports seem greatly exaggerated. The small number
164 of youths and maidens is striking. Perhaps maidens were kept hidden from me; perhaps, however, very many young persons were in fact victims of the measles epidemic which, according to statements by the Indians, raged terribly among the young people in 1906 or 1907 (1). For the present, no retrogression is

1. In 1908 very good health conditions seemed to prevail among the Karajá. It was only in the village on the mouth of the Tapirapé that many small children were suffering from a kind of whooping cough. From July to the end of October, as far as I know, only one child and two old men died. I did not observe any births, but obviously several were imminent in a short time.

163 to be seen. The number of children seems appropriate for the
589 conditions, about three children to a family. There were a few
581 middle-aged bachelors; their influence on the male youth is not good. They preach the ideal of bachelorhood, which the young try to emulate, and all the more since, with marriage, they are obliged to undertake hard daily work (fishing, laying out plantings). More than one told me that he did not want to marry, because then he would have to work so much. The parents seem to work against this, however.

175 If we look more closely at the relationship of the south
167 horde to the north horde, it seems that the south horde originated only within the course of the last hundred years. The Karajá thus seem to be in the process of migrating to the south. We have the following information about the dwelling sites of the Karajá:

/190 cont./

175 In 1772 José Machado meets Karajá, apparently on Bananal
167 Island. In 1773 Fonseca visits the Karajá north of the southern tip
[162] of Bananal; they occupied nine villages with 9,000 inhabitants, three villages of which belonged to the Šavajé.

175 Transplantings to the south, into aldeamendos, took place
167 from 1782 on. In this year 700 Karajá were transplanted to São
648 José de Mossamedes near Goyaz, where they gradually perished.
[164] In 1786 Carretão was founded for Chavánte and Šavajé; most of
[165] the Indians succumbed to a measles epidemic, and the survivors were taken to Salinas in 1788, where they likewise gradually perished. A removal of the Indians to the south near these "cen-
[131] ters of civilization" did not take place at that time, however, for in 1792 Souza Villa Real, when he traveled downstream from the Rio Vermelho out of the Araguay, did not find any Indians as
[484] far as the south end of Bananal. It was only at the beginning of the nineteenth century that the Karajá seem to have come to Salinas occasionally to visit their fellow tribesmen settled there. Thus, Silva Souza reports that between 1809 and /191/ 1812 they came to Salinas in order to submit peaceably, but that they moved back to their villages on the river as a result of a dispute; unfortunately, it is not said where these villages were. Cunha
[439] Mattos reports in 1824 that the Karajá at times came to Salinas
[721] in order to buy iron implements there (1). These conditions

1. Rev. trim. 37, p. 363.

lasted for many decades, for Castelnau reports in 1844 that the Karajá occasionally came from the Araguaya to Salinas, in part to visit their fellow tribesmen, in part to plunder the plantations
175 of the Brazilians (2). He himself did not come across any villages
13
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2. Vol. 1, pp. 372, 377, 383.

from the mouth of the Rio Crixá to the southern end of Bananal, but reports that the fixed settlements start only after the division, and, to be sure, on the western arm, and that up to the Rio das

/191 cont./

175 Mortes there are three villages, the first of which lies 38 leagues,
131 the second 30 leagues, and the third directly above the Rio das
361 Mortes (3). Rufino, too, in 1846/47 found Karajá villages (nine)

3. Vol. 1, p. 395; Vol. 2, p. 114.

only along Bananal Island, the most southerly of which lay nine
175 days below the southern end of Bananal. In 1863 Couto de
167 Magalhães made a new attempt to settle Chavánte and Karajá
648 in a village near Salinas, in order to introduce them to civiliza-
361 tion here. It was this settlement, in connection with the further advance of Brazilian civilization toward the west, that seems to have led the Karajá to settle south of Bananal Island. Thus, Moraes Jardim and Spinola in 1880 mention the first village of the Karajá from the south as near São José, then a second village at the mouth of the Rio Crixá. There follow 18 villages on Bananal, beginning on the Lago dos Chavántes and with a village
[162] near Santa Maria at the end. These 21 villages were said to have about 600 inhabitants.

175 Ehrenreich mentions the following villages in 1888: Between
361 Leopoldina and the Rio Crixá a camp with a few tents was found.
[162] Near Schischá there was a village of about 30 persons on a sand-
[221] bank. He found the ranchos near São José, which were inhabited by the Indians during the rainy season, deserted in August. There was another village on the Rio Crixá. North of the southern tip of Bananal he lists the following villages: Above the Rio das Mortes three villages, near Izabel do Morro four villages, from there to the mouth of the Tapirapé six villages, and below the Tapirapé mouth six more villages, the last of which lay isolated
[721] on the north end of Bananal. The formerly northernmost settlement near Santa Maria was, according to his account, attacked by the Kayapó in 1881 (in 1859, according to Coudreau, p. 136), destroyed, and, as a consequence, definitely given up by the
[162] Karajá. The north horde, therefore, according to him, occupied 19 villages, whereas the south horde occupied two to four villages. Cavalcanti in 1895 gives the following villages for the south horde:

/191 cont./

175 361 The first village on an island opposite Chicas (probably identical with Schischá) with two houses, the /192/ second village on a sandbank opposite São José with four houses, another village on the mouth of the Rio Crixá under the chief Pedro Manco.

The accounts of Coudreau in 1896/97 for the south horde, about whom he reports only information given to him, are even more inexact than for the north horde. He mentions two villages [162] for the rainy season: one near São José with eleven houses and 60 inhabitants, the other near Schischá with 17 houses and 40 [221] inhabitants. The large number of houses and inhabitants shows how the Indians gather together in a few larger villages during the rainy season. This shows, however, that the south horde was already strengthened.

361 In 1908 I myself found the first village near Leopoldina, the [162] second near Schischá, the third above, the fourth in São José (a house occupied by Indians), the fifth on the Lago de Café, the sixth above, the seventh below the mouth of the Rio Crixá, the eighth on the Lago de Luiz Alves: altogether, 19 houses and 148 inhabitants.

173 167 According to stories of the Indians of the south horde, the first Karajá here, those of São José, were supposed to have come [622] from the north. The first chief who immigrated here was mǎněkōkŏ. He found the land uninhabited. When he died, the Indians continued to live here under another chief, Xavier. Among his people there was kūlĭ, the chief of village 3. kūlĭ seems to be about 60 years old. I do not know whether he was born here. At any rate, the immigration took place before his time, in other words, in about the first half of the nineteenth century. According to [361] the Indians, šĭšá consisted of one hut 20-30 years ago; later several Indians from the north moved in. The village near Leopoldina is said to have been founded about five years ago; the people formerly lived in šǎndǎlábě (on the Rio das Mortes, or the Barreira de Izabel Velha, or near Izabel do Morro).

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II. The Šavajé.

●175 1. Historical.

Up to the present time the Šavajé /Javahe/ have been known almost only by name. The first to see the entire island of Bananal was Diogo Pinto da Gaia in 1720; I was unable to obtain his report, however, so I cannot say whether he encountered the Šavajé. We have the oldest report by José Pinto da Fonseca, who in 1773 navigated the Araguaya and pacified the Karajá. [62] He reported (Rev. trim. 8, pp. 376 ff.) that they lived in three [131] villages on the island of Bananal. He says that in the interior of the island there was a large lake abounding in fish (1).

1. Ibid., p. 389.--This report does not show that the Šavajé lived on this lake, as subsequent investigators construed (Ehrenreich, "Beiträge," pp. 5, 7).

[574] During his sojourn among the Karajá, the latter were visited by the Šavajé; wrestling took place as a greeting. According to his statements, the two peoples lived in peace. The Šavajé came riding up in large numbers in boats; they bore feather ornaments on their heads and lances adorned with feathers in their hands and blew on trumpets.

In 1774 Vasconcellos was on the Araguaya with Fonseca; he established a presidio and the aldeamendo Nova Beira on the east arm of Bananal where he settled Karajá and Šavajé. He [103] named the three villages of the Šavajé Cunha, Mello, and Ponte de Lima (Rev. trim. 37, p. 393). The presidio and aldeamendo soon ceased to exist: in 1782 the Indians of the aldeamendo were resettled in the new aldea of São José de Mossamedes, where they gradually perished. It is not absolutely certain whether there were Šavajé also at the aldea Pedro III (Carretão). In 1786 Miguel de Arrudo e Sá received the order to make war on the Chavánte and establish an aldea for them. He

/351 cont./

175 settled 3,500 Indians in Carretão. Souza e Silva, in 1812, speaks only of Chavánte who were housed there, whereas Cunha Mattos also ascribes this fate to the Šavajé. An epidemic of measles destroyed almost all the Indians; the rest were transferred in 1788 to the aldea Salinas. After that the Šavajé disappear from view; they gradually become a savage, feared people, about
175 which nothing more specific is known. In 1824 Cunha Mattos
131 (Rev. trim. 38, p. 20) reports only that they live on Bananal Island, are very light and almost extinct. In 1844 Castelnau describes the island as uninhabited; according to him, /352/ the Šavajé live about 30-40 miles above the northern end of Bananal Island and three to four days' journey east of the Furo,
[114] in the territory of the Chavanté. Obviously this information rests on misunderstood stories of his boatmen (Vol. 2, p. 115). In the work, O Rio Araguaya, by Moraes Jardim, dated 1880, it is reported that near a Karajá village there is a lake that is connected with the large lake in the interior of Bananal Island, and that from this a canal leads over to the Furo near a Šavajé village. It is said in a later note that all the villages of the Šavajé are supposed to lie on the Furo. Ehrenreich repeats Fonseca's statements ("Beiträge," pp. 5 and 7); at the same time he reports that the Šavajé lived in three villages on the lake and had last been spoken to, in 1888, at the mouth of the lake's outlet into the Furo. They are generally regarded as a tribe linguistically related to the Karajá. In 1896, Coudreau, finally, states only (Araguaya-Tocantins, p. 110) that they lived on Bananal and were but little known, but that they were the strongest of the Karajá tribes.

175 In Goyaz I learned that during the first years of the twentieth century the Bishop of Goyaz navigated the Araguaya
[361] with a steamboat. On this occasion the Brazilians entered the Furo from the north and came across a huge village of the Šavajé at the entrance of a brook. An avenue of bananas led from the river to the village. Since they came in large numbers (approximately 70 men) and all armed, the Šavajé soon

/352 cont./

175 forced them to retreat, with a Šavajé walking on either side of each Brazilian. When the steamer whistled upon departure, many Šavajé, out of terror, leaped from their canoes into the river. In any case, from then on great fear prevailed among the Brazilian population concerning the more powerful Šavajé.

361 2. Dwelling sites. On the basis of my inquiries among the
[162] Karajá, the Šavajé live in the interior of Bananal Island in three
[131] to five villages which are distributed over a long stretch of territory. The northernmost small village is said to lie in the interior, three to four days above the north end of Bananal Island. The main village lies, in the dry season, about eight days above the mouth of the Furo on a sandbank at the entrance of a brook (outlet of the inland lake?). In the middle of August it is moved into the interior. It is said to be very large, "like a city"; Pedro drew six rows, each with 20-25 houses, in the sand. The bachelors
[346] are said to sleep in the mask house, located apart. Farther south, one to two days (?), one or two small villages lie in the interior
[114] of Bananal. I visited one of them from Karajá Village No. 15, from which it is located quite directly east. One reaches it by
[487] a well arranged route: after half a day's march, one comes to the Karajá village of Korumaré on a river. Either one travels up the river for one and a half days in a boat, describing a large arc to the south and east, or one walks for a day across the campo eastward to the harbor, from which it is another three to four hours' march to
[162] the village. The village, which contains five houses with approximately 100-150 /Pl. 59 appears here/ /353/ inhabitants, lies on a lake; it is moved several times in the course of the dry season.
[132] In the rainy season the entire region is inundated with water; apparently this lake then forms a part of the large lake that Fonseca mentions. I was unable to find out where the village is moved to during the rainy season. Finally, there is said to be a fifth small village still farther south, but the accounts about it vary.

131 This is the one branch of the Šavajé. A second one lives
162 near the south horde of the Karajá, and, indeed, in the two
101 southernmost villages: Schischá and near Leopoldina. They
361 migrated here in the last generation but one, for Chief Chico in
166

[Text continues on p. 312]

/403/

IV. The Tapirapé.

175 1. Historical. Up to now the tribe of the Tapirapé has been known only from explorations. Their country was probably visited for the first time about 1746-1748 by the adventurer João de Godoy Pinto da Silveira, who evidently repeated the expedition of Pires Campos to look for the Martyrios gold mines (Rev. trim. 37, p. 262, note 18). Their name is mentioned for the first time in 1773 by Fonseca, who heard among the Karajá that the latter were living in peace with them (Rev. trim. 8, p. 388). Souza Villa Real reports that they had eight chiefs. The statement by Silva e Souza (1812) is somewhat confusing: the Tapirapé live on the Rio Grande (upper course of the Araguaya) and are a peaceable, agricultural people who know how to spin and weave; they are said to come from the sertões of the province of Rio de Janeiro (Rev. trim. 12, p. 496). These dwelling sites would be far away from what was otherwise assumed to be their territory on the Rio Tapirapé. It is more in keeping with this general assumption when Cunha Mattos (Rev. trim. 37, p. 393) mentions that they occasionally come to Bananal Island. Castelnau mentions a village of the Tapirapé on a small river opposite the north end of Bananal Island (Vol. 2, page 114). On his map, however, in the source region of the Rio Tapirapé whose course, incidentally, is in general shown correctly, there are three villages: one of the Tapirapé, one of the Mangara Curera, and one of the Milo. Moraes Jardim reports (O Rio Araguaya, Rio, 1880) that a river steamer traveled ten leagues up the Tapirapé to the harbor of these Indians. He says that the Tapirapé still have no contact with civilization, but are teachable and industrious. Ehrenreich reports ("Südamerikanische Stromfahrten /South American River Journeys/," p. 11) that the steamer with which he traveled had already gone up the Tapirapé for 60 kilometers (perhaps this is the same steamer and the same journey). Here, he says, lives that remarkable Tupi people, the Tapirapé, who are regarded as hospitable and gentle. Unfortunately, Ehrenreich was unable to
[101] visit them because the steamer went on. At any rate, these reports merely show that on the Rio Tapirapé live the people called Tapirapé, who are on peaceful terms with the Karajá. Coudreau
[113] now confuses the entire picture by his report (Voyage au Tocantins-
[114] Araguaya, Paris, 1897). According to him)p. 110), the Tapirapé

/280 cont./

462 A. The division of labor by age and sex is such that the
561 male youths actually do nothing other than to practice the weapons craft and occasionally travel out to fish. In addition, they make their own weapons, as well as their feather ornaments and the cotton dance-belts. The married men, on the other hand, are usually busy; either they work in the plantings, or they go out twice a day to fish for their families, go hunting, plait baskets
[589] and hats, build houses, and bring in the harvest. In general, the men, when they are married, have a great deal of work and that is why young people no longer want to get married, having been infected by a few older bachelors who preach the ideal of bachelorhood: idling, smoking, chatting in the mask house.

The women learn their manual skills, such as spinning and weaving, from childhood on. Married women take care of the plantings, the harvest, tend the children, cook, make pottery, spin and weave, and plait mats. In general, to be sure, they have to work the whole day, so that one never sees them unoccupied, but in general their lot is a good one; hard work is never demanded of them, but is always taken over by the men.

412 B. Of their ancient tools some have already disappeared (1)
178

> 1. Iron tools seem to have penetrated in the previous generation. A 40-year old Indian of the south horde told me that he had not seen work done with stone axes any more, only his mother told him about it.

or are used in another way, they still, however, use stone axes /281/ as striking stones, small stone knives for tattooing, bone needles for sewing, mussel shells as scrapers and spoons, sets of piranha teeth for cutting the strips for plaiting baskets. More and
[177] more, however, iron implements are coming in: axes, bush knives, small knives, and shears are used everywhere, likewise iron crochet needles. In spite of these foreign implements, how-
[176] ever, the technique has happily kept its ancient character, and only occasionally are innovations, under the influence of the Brazilian inhabitants, to be noted.

/318 cont./

534 used, are very rare. I came across only two of these specimens
[237] (Pl. 58, Ill. 10 a, b). Otherwise gourds (ŭãlŭ) are commonly used
[824] as the bodies of rattles, which are usually 12-15.5 centimeters long and 5.5-13 centimeters thick (a small rattle is 6.5 centimeters
[531] long and 6 centimeters thick). Most of these gourd rattles are carved with the customary designs (1); many bear feather ornaments

[113] 1. See my article on "Die Kunst der Karajá-indianer," Bässler Archiv, Vol. II, No. 1.

on the stem end projecting out of the gourd at the top (Ill. 181 a, b). These rattles are swung rhythmically in the hand by the masked dancers.

533 Singing plays a considerably larger role. Only the men sing; it is only during the period of mourning that the women, like the men, intone monotonous songs of lament in a high pitch. The singing is one-part singing; mass singing seldom occurs. Only once did I hear a cappella singing. During dances two men simultaneously sing the same thing; otherwise they sing individually, especially when fishing. Apparently the Karajá are very musical;
[176] they sing gladly and well. Most of their songs are masked-dance songs, but it seems as though certain people invented and handed down specific songs. It was often said to me: this is the song of this boy or of that youth. Certain dances and songs seem to be transmitted through tradition only in certain families; others are quite familiar with them, but do not sing them. In 1908 Chief Ilk in Village 13 just below Izabel do Morro knew most of the songs. He was almost inexhaustible. The wŏřĭzŏ dance and song were handed down in his family. He knew not only Karajá songs, but also sang songs of the Šavajé and Tapirapé. He was known as a singer in all the villages, and everywhere people requested me to
126 play back the phonograms recorded with him. In all I recorded
533 phonographically 44 cylinders of songs. The Indians liked to sing
152 into the apparatus, as soon as the initial shyness had been overcome. To do this I used European music, which amazed them very much. They laughed aloud in astonishment, and many held

1:Lipkind E-5 (1937) 1948 SP9 Caraja SP9

is planted in September, when the first rains come, and manioc shortly after. There is little cultivation beyond weeding. The basic crop is manioc, both the sweet and bitter varieties being cultivated, with maize next in importance. Four varieties each of sweet and bitter manioc and 10 varieties of maize are cultivated. Other crops are: Five varieties of potatoes, two varieties of cara, four varieties of watermelon, three varieties of squash, four varieties of beans, and ten varieties of bananas, as well as peanuts, urucú, tobacco, cotton, calabashes, sugarcane, yams, peppers, pineapples, and papayas. Men do all the work with a little assistance in harvesting and weeding from older women. The *Javahé* are more industrious farmers than the other *Carajá*, cultivating extensive plantations. 241 [462] [184]

Collecting.—A large number of vegetable products are gathered for use as food, medicine, and raw material for manufacture, but only a few are of great importance. The babassu and the buritĭ palms, used for food and textile materials, are among the most valuable. The taquara reed is sought after for arrows. Turtle eggs are a significant item of food during the dry season. Honey is indispensable for feasting. 222 262 [441]

Hunting.—Although the *Carajá* are passionate hunters, very few of the animals available in the region are eaten. Only the peccary is really sought and constitutes a sizable item in the larder. The other animals that are eaten—the cutia, coati, woodsdeer, monkey, iguana, and a few birds, such as the mutum, jao, and jacu—are killed when encountered but are not eaten by everyone. Peccaries are hunted in a communal drive, the most favorable time being shortly after the beginning of the rainy season when large droves are trapped on islands. 224 [262]

The chief purpose of hunting is to get feathers, and the most desirable birds are the various parrots, herons, the male stork, and the flamingo. The nesting of valuable birds is carefully watched, and the young are stolen and tamed. Feathers stored in small baskets almost constitute a currency, because they are readily negotiable at all times and maintain a stable value. 223 237 [231] [436]

The principal weapons are the bow and club. The bow, made of a variety of woods but with a preference for juari when available, is round in cross section and about 6 feet (2 m.) long. The arrow is preferably of taquara reed and variously tipped with wood, animal bone, or fish bone. Clubs are beautifully fashioned of heavy hardwood, decorated with delicate carving, and are swung and thrown with equal skill. The lance is now used only for ceremonial purposes. 441

Fishing.—Fish is the most important food supply. Trapping and drugging fish with timbo is a communal affair; individuals fish with the bow and arrow. There is occasional night fishing, with spearing by torchlight. The pirarucu is killed by harpoon. The hook and line is little used, and apparently was borrowed recently from the Neo-Brazilians. 226 [262] [177]

Food preparation.—Manioc is peeled, grated, squeezed out by hand, and cooked into a soup. When the soup cools, it is masticated for a few 252

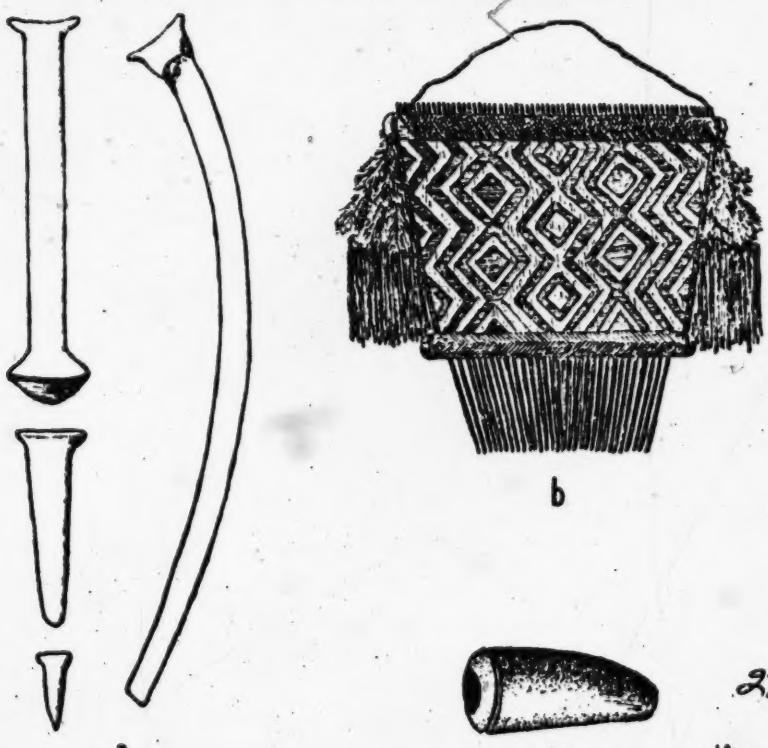
1:Lipkind E-5 (1937) 1948 SP9 Caraja SP9

Basketry.—The *Carajá* excel in the variety and solidity of their plaitwork, which includes burden baskets, strainers, shoulder bags, bottles, elliptical feather cases, and boat-shaped containers for suspension. Twilling and twining are the dominant techniques (pl. 22). 285

Textiles.—The *Carajá* produce some taffetalike fabrics, but in 1775 Pinto da Fonseca found them using cotton solely for fish nets and bowstrings, so that he himself introduced a loom and taught the women how to work it. 286 177

Featherwork.—In contrast to their *Ge* neighbors of Eastern Brazil, the *Carajá* are outstanding for featherwork. They make wide-meshed and close-meshed caps with feathers tied to the intersection of the interlaced splints and arranged into rosettes, diadems of feathers stuck into radially mounted cane tubes, and other types of ornaments (pl. 21). 287

Axes.—Stone axes figure in old *Carajá* petroglyphs and have been found by many travelers in the area. They were used for adzing, chopping, and warfare, and as chief's badges. Iron axes have rapidly replaced them. 412 172



301 412 531 276

FIGURE 21.—*Carajá* manufactures. *a*, Labrets; *b*, comb; *c*, pipe. (Approximately ⅓ actual size.) (Redrawn from Ehrenreich, 1891 b, figs. 2, 9, and 4.)

1:Lipkind E-5 (1937) 1948 SP9 Caraja SP9

411 **Weapons.**—The *Carajá* use bows and arrows (pls. 20, *bottom, left;* 21, *left* and *center*), and their mythology indicates aboriginal use of the spear thrower for hunting monkeys. Recently, they have used a spear thrower of the upper Xingú River type for sport.

323 **Pottery.**—Pottery vessels include several forms of plain ware (fig. 20).

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

611 The kinship structure may be described as double descent. Both lines are important, the greater emphasis falling on the mother's line, and both lines serve different functions. Village citizenship, adoption, and the closest affectional ties are reckoned in the mother's line. Moiety membership and the offices of chief, priest, and food-divider are patrilineally inherited.

621 622 The fundamental unit of social organization is the village. Every village has one or more ioló, children of chiefly line, designated by the chief for preferential treatment by the members of the village. The chief names the ioló who is to succeed him or, if he fails to do so, the village makes the choice at his death. Girls of chiefly line are similarly chosen for preferential treatment; each of them is known as the "hidden woman." There is some indication that women functioned as chiefs in former times, but today there is no woman chief. The chief has no coercive powers but directs the village by recognizing the will of the majority in such matters as the selection of camp and garden sites and the announcement of a move at change of season. His principal function is to act as peacemaker, and people readily submit to his adjudication. Because of the importance of religious ceremonials, the priest and the shaman frequently exercise more authority than the chief. When all three offices are vested in a single individual, his authority may be considerable, but it is kept in check by the right of a discontented person to move at any time to another village.

59 Within the village the important unit is the household. Residence being matrilocal, a household consists of sisters, their husbands, children, and the husbands of grown daughters. Marriage is restricted to one's own generation, the preferred mate being a cousin on the mother's side. There is no sanction but ridicule against wrong marriages, and there are many cases of cross-generational marriage. Marriage is predominantly monogamous, but a few instances of polygyny and one of polyandry were encountered. The avunculate is very important and involves many social and especially ceremonial duties. Cooperation in the household is close and in the village fairly close. In addition, villages are grouped together in ceremonial units, generally consisting of three or four neighboring villages, which celebrate important feasts jointly. This ceremonial unit acts as an insurance group when a village's crop fails or its fish supplies grow scarce. Beyond this, the only intervillage ties

000 /3 cont./
forms are only the result of particularly high personal talent.
531 128 Decorative art is limited to the application of geometric patterns. These patterns, which are usually interpreted as animals, are borrowed from the plaiting technique. We shall therefore first of all look at the decorations borrowed from the plaiting technique which are on the plaited work itself, then at their transference in carving on gourd utensils, and at the same time we shall take into consideration the great number of such patterns which the Indians drew in the sketchbook for me. Only then will the other decorations, ordinarily in carving and poker work, be dealt with.

531 462 Decorative artistic activity is limited solely to the men; only they know how to execute the patterns. I have seen only a few clay tobacco pipes, two spindle whorls, some modern clay bowls, a doll's apron, and a mat which had been decorated by women. These objects show completely different patterns, though [177] it must be noted that they have apparently taken over the clay tobacco pipes and clay bowls only very recently from the Brazilians. *532 462 So here the woman stands completely behind the man. It is the same in free art. There only the stylized clay figures are made by the women, whereas the more lively figures in other material and the drawings are produced by the men. So here, too, we find 184 462 the striking pre-eminence of the man over the woman. Thus it seems as though among the Karajá the man is more artistically inclined than the woman, whereas in technical skills the two sexes are probably equal.

A. Representative Art

1. Plastic Art

*532 [524] Plastic representations are encountered frequently; they are produced only for play or as toys.

/23 cont./

531 whereas in general they did not recognize the figures and drawings created from free imagination, but asked me first what the latter were supposed to mean. Thus, these are well-established, apparently very old decorations.

We find the decorations plaited on fans and baskets, on the handles of crotchet needles, on lances, clubs, bows, arrows, rattles, combs; carved on whole- and half-gourd containers, gourd rattles, ear rods; pictured by poker work on gourd ladles and small gourds, and by color on gourd ladles.

[442] All these objects are made by the men; they are the bearers of this art. The women, too, sometimes decorate objects made by them, such as mats, spinning whorls, bast aprons. The patterns, however, in general differ from those of the men. Re-
[172] cently the women have gone over to decorating tobacco pipes and clay vessels under Brazilian influence; the decorations used for this, however, are quite alien, probably taken over from the Brazilians.

531 The patterns with which the Indians paint their bodies
302 have nothing in common with plaiting patterns. The patterns sometimes painted on the thighs appear similar to the plaiting patterns; they are probably connected with the masked dances
[535] at which we find similar decorations, usually depicting animals, on the cylinder masks and bask aprons.

531 The animal patterns are not line patterns, but surface
[285] patterns; thus, in plaiting, the strips plaited in one direction represent the pattern; in the same way, in the sketches, it is not the lines which stand for the pattern, but the surfaces enclosed by them. This follows from the fact that in the case of carved patterns these surfaces are in relief or indented, but in any case contrasted as surfaces from the background; in the same way in the sketches the surfaces are sometimes set off by dots or dashes. Only it is difficult in this case to decide which of the surfaces represents the background and which the pattern; here only inquiry among the Indians helps. For the characteristic features do not penetrate our awareness at all, accustomed as we are to seeing such patterns in terms of lines and not surfaces.

/27 cont./

531 horizontal sectioning (Fig. 210a to c /see p. 60/), vertical sectioning (Fig. 211a and b /see p. 60/).

3. The half-gourds and whole gourds decorated by painting have a quite different character.

[415] Only one gourd ladle colored with paint is found (Fig. 212 /see p. 60/). It shows a black edge, simple zigzag line, and a cross in the middle.

/28/ All the others show poker work. Fig. 213 (Plate XI /see p. 57/) represents the first attempt at this by a small girl. The gourd ladles are very diversely decorated. The edge has a row of triangles (Fig. 214 /see p. 60/), or tree-like branched figures usually extend from it toward the center (Fig. 215 a to c /see p. 62/). /Fig. 221 appears here./ The patterns in Fig. 216 a to c /see p. 62/ are arranged in horizontal strips, in Fig. 217 /see p. 62/ in vertical strips. In Fig. 218 a and b /see p. 62/ the whole surface is filled in with one pattern, in Fig. 219 /see p. 62/ with different patterns. Plaiting patterns are represented only in Figs. 216c and 219. Whole gourds are either decorated only on the upper part (Fig. 220 /see p. 62/), or in a central zone reaching around them (Fig. 221 a to c /see p. 64/; b and c with three parts), or only on two opposite sides (Fig. [415] 222 a and b /see p. 64/). The water-carrying vessel of the Šavajé (in Fig. 223 /see p. 64/) shows very crude poker work.

531 462 [512] [172] 4. The artistic activity of the women is quite different from this of the men. It is very rare and in part has been taken over from the Brazilians. The women do not use the patterns of the men. It must be said that the women stand far behind /Figs. 222-224 appear here./ the men artistically; for although they also plait and make pottery, they decorate their products only in the rarest cases. Homemade decorations are found on a mat, the apron of a clay doll, and on spinning whorls. The mat 531 [205] (Fig. 224 /see p. 64/) is patterned by plaiting in bundles of black-dyed fibers in the fashion illustrated. One sees immediately that on the right the upper pattern is the negative of the lower one. On the doll's apron (Plate II /see p. 48/, Fig. 26) the red and

[see p. 64--Analyst]

[Text continues on p. 65]

/28 cont./

black decorations are somewhat reminiscent of the decorations of the men. The clay spinning whorl (Fig. 225a) is provided on one surface with fine incising which is arranged in two concentric circles, with 531 [283]

Fig. 228 a and b. Small clay utensils for play.

Fig. 225. Spinning whorl, a) of clay, b) of white earth.

[524] [283]

[276]

Fig. 226 a-d. Tobacco pipes of clay.

[415] [439]

Fig. 227 a-e. Decorated eating dishes, export goods.

four spokes divided up several times, in between. /29/ The spinning whorl made of white earth (Fig. 225b) has a circle cut into it on both sides, from which rays extend. These indentations are made red and black. [283]

The decorations on the clay tobacco pipes and the clay bowls were probably taken over from the Brazilians. 531 276

I found clay tobacco pipes only in the villages near S. José. They were evidently taken over altogether, and with them the ornamentation as well, from the Brazilians. It is true that their form is now made by the Indians rather differently from the Brazilian form, with a wide base which is lacking in the Brazilian one (Fig. 226 a to d). 177 [164]

/4 cont./

1. The Karaya Tribes on the Araguaia River (Goyaz).

Historical.

175 The Karaya are mentioned for the first time on the occasion of that well-known raid which the Paulista gang-leader Antonio Pires Campos (2) undertook around the year 1684 from Cuyaba down

2: According to others, Manuel Pires Campos.

the Rio das Mortes to the Araguaia. It was at that time that the gold mines of the "Martirios," which play so important a role in modern Brazilian folk-tales, were discovered; they were later lost again and are still most eagerly sought to the present day. [131] On his return Pires Campos visited the "Ilha dos Carajas," the large island now called Bananal or Ilha da Santa Anna, which the [177] Araguaia forms between 13 1/2° and 10 1/2° south latitude. Numerous captives were dragged off from here to São Paulo as slaves.

In the forties of the previous century the son of the above, who had been called on by the Goyans for assistance against the hostile Kayapo, organized a second slave hunt along the Araguaia from Goyaz.

There is detailed information about this expedition in the report of the alferes José Pinto da Fonseca (3), who visited the river

[113] 3. Rev. trim., Vol. 8, pp. 376 ff.

in 1775 on the orders of the then commander-in chief of Goyaz, José Almeida de Vasconcellos, in order to establish friendly relations with the wild tribes there, since the need to open the principal rivers of the province to navigation was making itself felt more and more. In June of the year concerned he and his troop reached the southern tip of Bananal Island and were soon able to win over the Karaya living there.

/5/

175 At first he was met with distrust, since everyone was still
•177 under the influence of the horrible deeds which Pires Campos had committed there 25 years earlier. Soon, however, by means of his intelligent, kind behavior, Pinto succeeded in getting the savages to put themselves under the protection of the governor of
[648] Goyaz. Their chief, Abeonona, swore an oath of fealty to the king of Portugal, the exact words of which are communicated in the above-mentioned letter.

175 The description of the Karaya which Pinto presents corresponds completely to present-day conditions. Through him we receive
[131] the first information about the large lake in the northern part of Bananal Island, not yet visited by any traveler, on the shores of
[161] which live the Yavahẽ /Javahe/. Pinto estimates the number of
[361] the Karaya at 9,000 souls in nine large villages, three of which belong to the Yavahẽ.

A second expedition left in the following year to lay out near the largest of the Indian villages on the island a military post which was given the name of Colonia da nova beira.

Later other such posts were established on the Araguaia, and some in the region of the Šambioa /Shambioa/. Under the prevailing mismanagement, however, these cultural centers very
[167] soon fell to ruin (1). Already in 1782 it was necessary to transport
[164]

[113] 1. Cazal, Corogr. bras. /Chorography of Brazil/, I, p. 340. -- Cunha Mattos, Corogr. de Goyaz." Rev. trim., Vol. 37, I, p. 393.

800 Karaya to S. José de Mossamedes in Goyaz, and in 1786 other bands were settled at Carretão, which, however, after a short time fell victim to an epidemic of measles. The colony of Mossamedes, too, did not prosper. Pohl found the place in the most wretched condition in the twenties of our century. Every trace of the earlier colonizing activities soon disappeared on the Araguaia. The island of Bananal in particular is as unknown today as at the time of its discovery.

/5 cont./

175 Nevertheless, the relationship of the Karaya to the immigrant
● 177 population remained rather good. On various occasions individuals of this people reached Pará on trading ships. In 1791 the chief, Aribedu, gave the then governor of this province information about the currents of the Araguaia. The trading expedition which traveled along the Tocantins and Araguaia in 1792 also brought many Karaya from the interior.

On the other hand, in the beginning of this century serious
[721] hostilities broke out. The newly established post of Santa Maria
[648] was completely destroyed in 1813 by the Karaya and the Akuã (Chavante) allied with them (2).

[113] 2. Rev. trim., Vol. 25, II, p. 91.

175 Then for a long time the reports are silent; the Karaya are mentioned by Martius, Pohl, and Aug. St. Hilaire only in passing.

We do not get more detailed information again until the great expedition of Castelnau in 1844. Since the French traveler did not travel on the left arm of the river, now navigated exclusively, but rather on the right one, east of Bananal Island, he did not become acquainted with the Karayahi. He also saw no Yavahẽ. He erroneously designates the island as uninhabited. On the other hand, he spent several days in the large Šambioa villages. He
[535] wrote down the first word-list and above all, described the strange dance masks, whose true significance, however, remained hidden from him. Unfortunately his whole collection was lost in the cataracts of the lower Tocantins.

Three years later the Brazilian official, Dr. Rufino Theotonio
[131] Segurado, came upstream from Pará. His excellent travel report contains notes on the Šambioa whom he encountered just above the rapids Carreira comprida. He also visited the Karayahi (3).

[113] 3. Rev. trim, Vol. 5, pp. 178 ff.

Of other Brazilian travelers, General Couto Magelhães, who did so much for Araguaia shipping and who, as president of Goyaz,

/7 cont./

132 The life of the inhabitants is determined by the sharp division of the seasons. The rainless period lasts from May to the end of September, and farther north even until far into October. Then broad sandbanks (praias) are exposed everywhere, with the sun [221] beating down on them day after day. For the Indians this is the real period of river life. Fishing then governs all interests. With the beginning of November the rainy season has usually already set [133] in with strength; in December and January the river is highest, ten to twelve meters above the low level. From bank to bank, without interruption, a tremendous mass of water fills the bed, flooding the neighboring low plains for some distance.

136 Swarms of annoying insects, mosquitoes and pium /a very 221 small mosquito/, which are completely absent in the dry season, now fill the air. The Indian is forced to retreat to higher ground, where he then attends to cultivating the fields and, if need be, [226] hunts. Fishing can be carried on only in the lagoons at this time.

133 When the water lowers, bad fevers are not uncommon on the 164 middle Araguaia, where extensive swamps accompany the river.

Hordes. The Karaya of the Araguaia are divided into the 101 three large tribes of the Yavahē, Karayahi, and Šambioa, which [161] together may number about 4,000 persons. The first inhabit the [131] interior of the still completely unknown Bananal Island. We know [361] only this much about it, that in its northern part there is a large lake near which the three villages of the Yavahē are located. It has an outlet into the eastern arm (furo) of the Araguaia, at the mouth of which some of these savages were spoken to for the last 177 time in April, 1888. In the meantime no one has sought them out here, although they have indicated several times their desire to trade with the colonists. They badly need iron tools, which now come to them only rarely through the agency of the Karayahi. In the villages of the latter one sometimes meets some Yavahē. They do not like to leave their hiding place in large numbers, since they justifiably fear importing epidemic diseases.

361 The Karayahi live in 12-15 villages of various size on the west arm of the Araguaia in the region of the navigable stretch from S. José below the mouth of the Crixas to the region of S. Maria.

/7 cont./

36 Their northernmost settlement near S. Maria was attacked and
[648] completely destroyed in 1881 by the Kayapo of the left bank.
Since then they have not ventured far beyond the northernmost tip
of Bananal Island with their settlements. Their farthest excursions
go below S. Maria to the rapids of Joncon (i.e., it is at an end).

439 They perform important services for the traffic on the river by
felling wood for the steamers. As payment they receive axes and
knives, which they on their part trade to other tribes, such as the
177 Yavahẽ and Tapirapé. Understandably, when steamboat transpor-
tation was established, care was taken from the first to stay on good
terms with the savages. The merit for introducing this excellent
relationship and maintaining it for 20 years belongs to the courageous
commander of the steamer, Sebastião de Freitas, who served so
well in exploring the Araguaia. It is thanks to his unselfish, kind
work that perhaps /8/ nowhere else in Brazil are the relations be-
tween the native population and the settlers so good as here.

To be sure, for the Karayahi the contact with "civilization"
[184] has not been without consequences. In comparison with the in-
dependent Šambioa, a certain lack of order and cleanliness in
their villages and less care and taste in their artifacts are noticeable.
On the other hand, a wealth of most interesting ethnological ob-
[126] jects are still present among them. The most important pieces in
the collection were acquired from them.

311 Their material position cannot be described as especially favor-
able. The lower riverbanks of their region are so exposed to floods
that they can practice agriculture only to a limited extent. They
[648] venture onto the higher left bank only temporarily, out of fear of
their worst enemies, the Akuã and Kayapo.

13 The third large Karaya horde is that of the Šambioa, about
[101] whom Castelnau brought back the first more detailed reports.
[361] They possess four rather large villages between the Pau d'arco rapids
[224] and the great Cachoeira de S. Miguel. Their hunting expeditions,
however, extend beyond the Cachoeira grande, in former times up
to the region of the Apinagẽs, near the present São Vincente, from
[172] where increasing settlement has scared them away. The rock
sculptures of the so-called Martirios Island between the Carreira

/11 cont./

291 ground. One end is drawn hoodlike over the head, while the other covers the seat. Thus the riiõ is really part of the national costume.

[524] One sees, not only the adults, but also small children /12/ parading about with it, and even the little clay dolls of the latter are not

854 without it. Mats hung up by strings are used only for cradles for the newborn.

171 The question as to how the Karaya came to have this original

352 article of clothing is of great ethnographic interest. It is well-known that a large part of the Brazilian tribes does not use the hammock. These are chiefly the Gẽs nations occupying the entire eastern part of the country, such as the Kayapo, Akuã, Kaingan /Caingang/, Botocudo, etc., as well as the Bororo corresponding to them throughout, not in language, to be sure, but in their way of life, usage, and customs. They all sleep on the ground or on wooden frames.

Of the other tribes using hammocks, the Karaib /Carib/ make them out of cotton, the Nu-Aruak out of palm fiber.

This situation is so characteristic that the presence or absence of the hammock for a people, as well as the method of making it, is decisive for their ethnographic classification.

[513] Only the Karaya cannot be fitted into this scheme, because they make cotton hammocks, to be sure, but sleep in them on the ground.

[177] This permits one to conjecture that they only recently adopted the "rede" from another people and did not want to give up their old custom of sleeping on the ground (1).

1. Therefore the anonymous author of an old travel report in Revista trim., Vol. 25, p. 251, states correctly: "These Indians sleep on their redes and the same rede serves as a blanket. This idea is neither innate nor did it arise out of necessity. They learned it from someone." /Translated from the Portuguese./

/12 cont./

286 They most probably owe their mat to the civilized Brazilians.
177 Insofar as the latter use hammocks at all, they make them out of cotton. Now Pinto da Fonseca says (op. cit., p. 387) that the
[283] Karaya used cotton only for making fish nets and bow strings, but were unacquainted with the art of weaving. He himself made them a weaving apparatus and instructed the women in this skill.

This would agree with the fact that still today the Yavahē of
[184] Bananal Island, among whom Pinto undertook his first civilizing attempts, are designated as the most skillful weavers. The uncommonly firm, taffeta-like, woven "rede" in the collection is supposed to be Yavahē work. A visit among them would definitively settle this interesting question.

293 Also to be mentioned here as a noteworthy elaborate piece
[285] belonging to the Karaya are the eyeshades (ȯodi) plaited out of
[824] uaguassú palm leaves, with which they protect themselves from the blinding reflected sunlight while walking over the sandbanks (Pl. VIII /see p. 110/, 10). They have not arrived at the construction of protective apparatus of the type of the Eskimo snow-goggles, but they prize European dark glasses.

The adding on to the eyeshade to make a complete top-hat
[197] (taă) is probably to be traced back to European influence. There were two specimens of it in all.

Settlements, Houses, and Domestic Animals.

621
361 The Karaya do not live in small troops of two or three families, as the forest Indians of Amazonas and the rude hunting nomads of the coastal region do, but always in larger communities. Only the southernmost Karayahi are forced by the lack of means of subsistence to divide up somewhat more. In the vicinity of S. José during the dry season one continually meets small bands of eight to ten persons. The farther one comes downstream, the more populous their camps become. Some of them may number at least 150-200 inhabitants.
342 The Karayahi huts erected on the sandbanks usually consist of large
[824] buriti-fiber mats stretched over pole frames, standing about without any order, like gypsy tents (Pl. III /see p.105 /, 2).

/15 cont./

226 Smaller fish are caught in weir baskets (adžuriă), larger ones in stockades or peculiar traps made out of vines (deaurärŏ) which do not know from personal observation.

433 Hunting, in contrast to fishing, plays a much lesser role than those who view all Indians as purely hunting peoples without 224 further ado are inclined to believe. Larger, huntable game is 262 quite sparingly represented in tropical South America and, in view of the lack of firearms, difficult to obtain. In addition, superstition often forbids eating the meat of precisely the largest and most common species. Thus, the Karaya scorn the tapir. Their principal booty is the monkeys common in all the forest along the shore, wild pigs, small rodents such as agoutis and pacas, and furthermore the small camprehe. In the lagoons and marshes of the patanaes the musk duck (Anas moschas) present in large numbers provides excellent food for them.

241 Agriculture. The great distance of the plantings from the villages prevented a visit to them. Judging by the wealth of [262] vegetable foods among the Šambioa, their agriculture seems to be on a relatively high level. The "savages" have in this respect outdone their civilized neighbors by far. In general, [177] iron agricultural implements have already supplanted the original ones.

The most important cultivated plant is manioc, of which both the more nourishing poisonous species (M. brava) and the less productive, but immediately edible aipim (M. mansa) are grown. The freshly cleared, dry forest soil of the higher banks is especially suitable for this kind of cultivation.

Next, maize comes into consideration as a grain product, [273] which is used less in substance than for the production of fermented beverages.

Sugar cane flourishes on the lower shore-land. During the dry season one sees the seedlings planted on the sandbanks everywhere for the next season. Special devices for pressing [249] out the juice are not in use.

Of the legumes there is found among the Šambioa small brown beans (Dolichos chinensis), as well as peas (komonara) imported from Pará.

/16 cont./

252 cakes (beijus, ibrãʒeko), likewise roasted in pots, are made from the freshly treated root.

273 In combination with maize, manioc flour is also used to make their most popular beverage, uierõ. Pounded maize is poured into the boiling manioc and stirred well. /17/ When it is sufficiently soft, the mixture is allowed to cool. Then the settlings are chewed by the women in true Indian fashion, whereby the whole thing turns sour and ferments after standing for several days. A sourish beverage something like water gruel is produced, to which honey or sugar-cane juice is sometimes added. The effect is slightly intoxicating.

415 The kitchen utensils are simple, but nevertheless somewhat
412 more complete than, say, among the Xingu tribes. Besides earthen
[239] pots and gourd containers, as well as mussel shells of the Anodonta and Hyria avicularis serving as spoons, there are already real spoons made of wood or clay (cf. Fig. 5 /see p. 38 / and Fig. 14 /see p. 51 /).

264 Etiquette demands that everyone eat by himself, turned away from the others. Anyone who transgresses must endure the ridicule of the others.

Tools and Implements. Industry and Skill.

177 The industrial activity of the Karaya no longer presents a wholly unclouded picture inasmuch as the original tools have been supplanted more and more by imported ones.

412 No details are known about the form and material of their
172 old stone axes. Among the petroglyphs of Martirios Island, however, which undoubtedly are to be ascribed to the ancient Karaya, one sees human figures depicted with stone axes in their hands (see p. 94). The same form is exhibited by a stone ax of unknown origin in the Trocadero Museum in Paris, the handle of which is wrapped with the plaiting in zigzag and cross patterns characteristic of Karaya work. Possibly the piece came from the Castelnau expedition.

/26 cont./

532 collected, 24 centimeters high, without an apron, belongs here. The face is clearly modeled, the hair reproduced by a thin layer of wax with cotton fringes hanging down in front, a chain of Ricinus kernels and pierced snail-shells with black tassels decorates the neck (Pl. XI /see p. 113/, 6).

Finally we have completely finished forms (obtained only from the Šambioa). Face and body are imitated completely true to nature, the arms folded over the stomach. The wax hair hangs far down in back. Line painting covers the chest and limbs. Some are supplied with ear sticks and necklaces, others with small "redes." Unfortunately the legs and the seat of almost all of them are of unnatural thickness (Pl. XI, 7). A black wax figure, the best one of the collection, nevertheless shows proportional form throughout (Pl. XI, 9). Whereas all figures of this type wear an apron, others of gray clay are without it. They also lack hair; on the other hand, they have on their backs a carrying basket likewise made of clay. The arms are drawn up against the chest (Pl. XI, 8). The male figures of this category are disproportionately long and narrow in the upper trunk, with almost spherical lower legs. Hair and genitals are of wax. There are sticks in the ears, chains of glass beads around the neck (Pl. XI, 10).

[177] The caricatures of Brazilian soldiers made out of lumps of wax, with the uniform indicated by bits of blue and red cloth pasted on, are very crude, but not without a certain humor in the execution.

Social Life, Law and Custom.

114 The social arrangements of the Karaya can for the present be treated only fragmentarily. Nevertheless, the little that I [115] observed myself or that was learned through the agency of my companion and most important informant, the old chief Pedro Manco, may at least provide points of reference for further research.

/30 cont./

526 On beautiful moonlit nights the young people practice wrestling on the praias. The hold is the same as the one customary among us. It is principally a matter of bringing down the opponent by tripping him, at which even apparently weak individuals develop an astounding agility.

535 Some of the dances have already been described by Castelnau.
[114] I myself had the opportunity in the third Šambioa village to attend a war dance. Eight feather-adorned men armed with spears, clubs, and bows took part under the leadership of a head-dancer, whom they surrounded in a semicircle. The dancers moved only a little from their places, at most a few steps forward and back. Rapid hopping on one leg and artistically correct, rhythmic swinging of the weapons provided the main action. Everything was carried out with the greatest precision.
[177] This dance is said to have been borrowed from the Kayapo.

764
[768]

[524] Fig. 15. Top (1/4).

Obsequies and burial. At the death of a Karaya all the objects that he used daily, weapons, ornaments, etc., are burned amidst loud lamentations of the relatives; the rest is divided among those who bury him. The mourners wound themselves with cuts and shear their hair.

764
535

Next follows the dance of the dead around the corpse (1), which is colored

[763] 1. Not infrequently the ceremonies begin before death has actually occurred.

with urucú and, wrapped in mats, is hung up on a horizontal pole.

Under the direction of two leading singers, who are relieved from time to time, the row goes around in a circle, whereby the participants hold their fingers pushed over one another. The
[533] song is a kind of dialogue. The chorus asks the deceased where he is and how he is; one of the leading singers answers for him.

/38 cont./

535 of abstraction (1). Insofar as these animal spirits are supposed to
532
776
825

1. Im Thurn, op. cit., p. 370.

be influenced in a way favorable to human beings, the first trace of a cult appears in these dances.

535 If one asks the Indians themselves why they keep the secret
532 from the women, they answer without exception that the women
562 are not permitted to see everything, they talk too much.

The need to maintain the authority of the men over the women appears wherever such mysterious festivals are current. The same thing is known from Greek and Oriental antiquity. It is possible that in this effort, which may often appear to the civilized man as a brutal tyranny over the weaker sex, one of the most ancient "folk ideas" belonging to all mankind finds its expression.

The whizzing stick does not seem to be in use among the Karaya; at least nothing could be learned about it.

Legends and Folklore

126 In the last days of our stay in S. Maria old Pedro Manco
[115] dictated a number of legends, which, given the paucity of
[773] such materials from South America and despite their simplicity and poverty of ideas, as well as the in part garbled form, nevertheless command some interest. Unfortunately because of the lack of time, they could not be written down in the original language, and in particular working out an interlinear translation met insuperable difficulties.

773 Whether these traditions have remained completely free of
• 177 foreign influence can be decided with certainty only when someone is successful in drawing on other informants as a check. The chances, to be sure, are very slight. For the present nothing opposes the presumption that we are actually dealing here with genuine products of the Indian folk-spirit.

773 These myths differ neither in form nor in content from those otherwise from America. The very saga which is most

/173 cont./

C 175 Rio das Mortes they returned by land to Cuyaba. By the Carajás, mentioned here for the first time, it appears that the Šambioá /Shambioa/ were meant (4). Fonseca, in his report dated 1775,

C [113]

4. Roteiro, que deu o capitão-Mor Antonio Pires de Campos ao capitão-Mor Luiz Rodriguez Villares, procurador do povo da Villa Real do Senhor Bom Jesus de Cuyabá, para o descobrimento de grandes haveres para as aldêas dos gentios Araés. /Logbook that Capitão-Mor Antonio Pires de Campos gave to Capitão-Mor Luiz Rodriguez Villares, procurator of the people of the royal town of Senhor Bom Jesus de Cuyabá, for the discovery of large amounts of goods in the villages of the pagan Araés./ Rev. trim. 38, pp. 140-144.

mentions a journey of Antonio Pires de Campos, which is perhaps identical with the one spoken of here. It took place some 20 C years before 1775. Pires reached the Carajás; the relations [177] seemed amicable to begin with, until Pires carried out an attack on the main village. In the blood bath many Indians, even children, were murdered, and many were led away as slaves to serve as workers on the fazendas (5).

5. Rev. trim. 8 (1846, 2nd edition, 1867), pp. 377-378.

Even before 1748, João de Godoy Pinto da Silveira undertook a slave hunt into the territories of the southern Kayapó T /Cayapo/, but he had no success. He brought back only a hun- [177] dred Tapirapé (first mention of this tribe?), who, however, all died (6).

6. Rev. trim. 12, p. 448; 37, p. 262, note 8.

/174/

175 In 1772 José Machado undertook a military expedition by
179 land from Trahiras to the Araguaya; he succeeded in establishing amicable relations with the Carajás, but otherwise his expedition was without success (7).

7. Rev. trim. 12, p. 457; 37, p. 362, note 84.

In 1773 José Pinto da Fonseca succeeded, as the first, in remaining in peaceable contact with the Karajá for a longer time. His large military expedition seems to have come to the Araguaya by land. At a place that he called Corôa, he met
[131] the Carajás Indians (the Karajá proper). The place seems to have been located on the eastern arm of the Araguaya, approximately in the center of the lengthwise extension of Bananal Island. He succeeded in establishing amicable relations with the Karajá. Later, the Javaês /Javahe/ (first mention of this tribe) from Bananal Island, which he called Ilha de Santa Anna,
[648] came on a visit. After an initial military expedition against the hostile Chavantes, a protective alliance was concluded with the Carajás. The report ends with a reference to undertaking a second expedition against the Chavantes. More did not become known. He had heard of the Tapirapés with whom the Carajás
[114] live in peace. In this report, Fonseca gives the first cultural description of the Karajá; in the following I have often referred to his good observations, still pertinent today (8).

[113] 8. Copia da carta, que o alferes José Pinto da Fonseca escreveu ao Exm. General de Goyazes, dando-lhe conta do descobrimento de duas nações de indios, dirigida do sitio onde portou. 2. Agosto 1775. /Copy of the letter that the alferes José Pinto da Fonseca wrote to the Exm. General de Goyazes, giving him an account of the discovery of the two parties of Indians, addressed from the place at which he arrived. 2 August 1775./ Rev. trim. 8 (1846, 2nd edition, 1867), pp. 376-390.

/178 cont./

175 Since then we have remained without any information on this area; no explorer again reports on the tribes along the Araguaya. Meanwhile steamer traffic expanded further, and new Brazilian settlements arose, especially the mission station Conceição among the Kayapó in the north. At the beginning of the twentieth century, the Bishop of Goyaz, accompanied by the steamer contractor Adolofo Guedes, undertook a journey on the Araguaya. According to the personal account of the [361] latter, they traveled, at high water, up the eastern arm of [177] Bananal from the north, came across a huge village of Šavajé, landed, but were quickly obliged to turn back in the face of resistance by the many Indians who were frightened by the 70 armed Brazilians. After that the wildest rumors swept through the land about the hostility and the great number of the Šavajé.

114 Such were the circumstances when I traveled on the Araguaya in 1908. I navigated it from Leopoldina to Conceição, [101] visited the Karajá, undertook side trips on foot to the Kayapó at Conceição and to the Šavajé on Bananal, and traveled up the Rio Tapirapé to the source region, where I came across the deserted villages of the Tapirapé Indians.

101 By way of supplement, a few statements about how the designations of the tribes have changed in the course of time might follow.

[131] I distinguish the following three hordes of the Karajá: the Šambioá in the stretch of the rapids, the Šavajé on Bananal Island, the Karajá proper on the Araguaya, west and south of Bananal.

101 The Šambioá are called Carajás by the first discoverers 175 (Antonio Pires de Campos in 1746, Souza Villa Real in 1792/93; Cunha Mattos also calls them this in his Chorographia de Goyaz, 1824). The name /179/ Šambioá appears for the first time in Cunha Mattos for a tribe which, roving about, sometimes visits Bananal Island, sometimes dwells on the Rio Cuyaba, and blocks passage through the western arm of the Araguaya (29). It is not

29. Rev. trim. 37, p. 393; 38, p. 20.

/192 cont./

167 648 In any case this summary shows that the south horde owes its origin first of all probably to the establishment of the aldeamendos at Carretão and Salinas. The Indians settled there and the contact [177] with civilization provided by it (iron tools, liquor, tobacco) soon attracted more, and this influx continued even after the aldeamendos were given up.

166 361 Even today this southern migration is continuing; this can be definitely proved by my observations. Let us consider first the shifts within the two hordes during the summer of 1908.

In the case of the north horde I met 13 occupied villages with 71 houses on my journey downstream, and in addition 14 deserted village sites with about 40 houses and four migratory villages, two of which were traveling north, two south. On the upstream journey the situation was as follows: there were 13 inhabited villages with 63 houses. The difference in comparison with the villages of the downstream trip lay in the fact that two villages had been given up, two were newly founded, and five had been moved. Four villages were migrating, three to the north and one to the south. There were still ten abandoned village sites with about 25 houses.

If we take the Rio Tapirapé as the point of separation, there were: /Plates 39 and 40 appear here/

/193/

	below:	above:
on the downstream trip...	6 villages, 1 migratory village,	7 villages, 3 migratory villages,
on the upstream trip...	4 (1) villages, 3 migratory villages,	9 villages, 1 migratory village.

[113]

1. In March 1909 Kissenberth came across these same four villages, as well as one migratory village, below the Tapirapé. Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, 1909, Vol. 41, p. 967.

[Text continues on p. 70]

/194 cont./

648 [115] 1. (cont.)
the river in order to make exchanges, and that there is now a Karajá boy among the Kayapó and a Kayapó boy among the Karajá for the purpose of learning the other language and later using it at home, probably refer to these efforts.

[721] The feuds, therefore, continue to this day, and even today women and children are abducted by both sides. Thus, the Šambioá are in constant strife with the Kayapó, the Karajá with the Tapirapé, and the Šavajé with the Canoeiros. Among the [720] [548] Šambioá Ehrenreich found many Kayapó women who are used as prostitutes by the tribe. The same is true of the Tapirapé women among the Karajá. In 1908 their number was small: in the south horde there was one girl, in the north horde three women, a girl, and two boys. These Tapirapé seem not to have exerted any 177 cultural, linguistic, or physical influence, whereas the cultural influence of the Tapirapé on the Karajá in former times must have been very strong, especially at the mouth of the Tapirapé, there was a great number of objects which were not seen in any other Karajá village and which appeared to be foreign.

3. House and Village.

342 The house (hätö) is built in different ways, depending on the season of the year (dry season, rainy season).

[335] The framework of the dry-season house consists of three arches, one behind the other, each made out of two sticks tied together at the top with bast. Palm fronds serve as covering: the pinnae are bent over to one side; two such fronds are then placed one on top of the other and tied together at the ribs. These fronds are then fastened to the arches from below in such a way that the upper ones cover the lower ones somewhat. The ridge is not finished off; it is not specially covered. About 15 centimeters below the ridge, on either side, a pole is tied parallel to it on the leaf covering (see Pl. 39). These simple huts are about three meters long, two meters wide, and one and a half meters high.

/194 cont./

342 I myself did not see the rainy-season huts. In October /195/ (beginning of the rainy season) the Karajá occupied, on the sand-banks, a hut form differing from the dry-season type; according to their statements, they build their houses on the high banks from November to March in the same way as this transitional type. The chief difference in contrast to the dry-season house is that the two open narrow sides are each closed off by a round structure projecting out about one meter, in each of which a small opening permits entrance (Pl. 40, Ill. 1). The manner in which the round structures are built is shown in Ill. 2 of Plate 40. They are covered in the same way as the rest of the house. Apparently they serve to prevent rain from entering from the side.

[335] By far the majority of these closed huts showed a second difference: they were once again as long; the framework thus consisted of six arches (1). The long houses, /Ill. 18 appears here/

[113] 1. Such long huts with a low entrance on the front side are already mentioned by Villa Souza Real in 1792 from among the Šambioá. Rev. trim., Vol. 11, p. 430.

closed on both sides, naturally afford far greater protection from rain and at the same time to a greater number of persons than, say, two short huts (Pl. 32, Ill. 1).

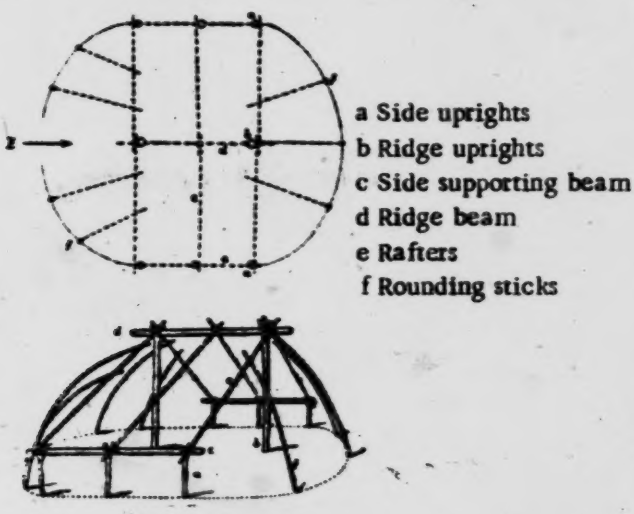
The entrances are fashioned differently: at the beginning and end of the rainy season, only two-thirds of the rounding is covered on the side, and the last third is left free as an entrance (Pl. 39); at the time of the heavy rains, however, the entire rounding is covered, except for a low entrance in the center (Pl. 32, Ill. 2). In the transition periods all possible variations occur: short house with a round structure, long house open on both sides, etc.

342 184 177 In the southernmost villages, near Schischá and São José, there were houses which deviated considerably from this method of construction; they represented a mixed type from the building method of the Šavajé and Brazilians. They look very rancho-like.

[335] The side walls are formed by three vertical posts about one meter

/195 cont./

342 high, in the forks of each of which rests a longitudinal beam.
184 In the center of each of the two narrow sides stands a post about
177 three meters high; a ridge beam is laid across the two of them.
335 In most cases a second longitudinal beam at half the height also connects them. From the ridge beam to the side longitudinal beam three rafters run down on either side. /196/ The entrances are closed by round structures. The covering corresponds to that



Ill. 18.
Ground plan and framework of the short hut of the mixed type. Karajá.

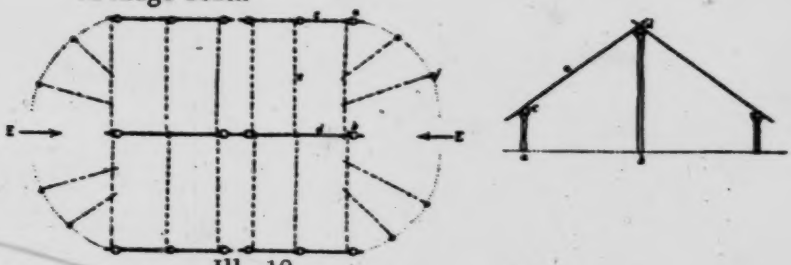
of the other houses. This therefore produces vertical walls, and wall and roof are separate from each other (framework and
342 ground plan, Ill. 18; covered house, Pl. 40, Ill. 3). Sometimes
184 double houses are built in this way. Such huts are considerably
177 higher and roomier, and the round structures project out farther, up to two meters (Ill. 19). /Ills. 19 and 20 appear here./ These houses were originally taken over from the Šavajé; one can, however, easily trace how the Šavajé house changed here under Brazilian influence into this mixed house.

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 76]

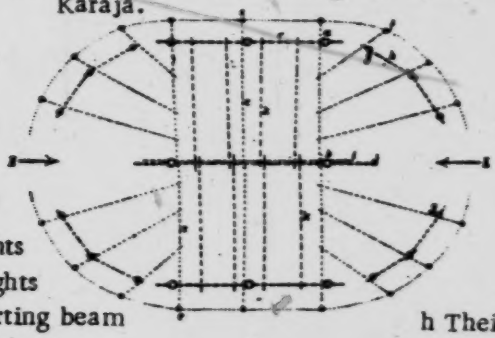
/196 cont./

347
184
[177]

a Side uprights
b Ridge uprights
c Side supporting beam
d Ridge beam
e Rafters
f Rounding sticks



Ill. 19.
Ground plan and cross-section of the long hut of the mixed type. Karajá.



a Side uprights
b Ridge uprights
c Side supporting beam
d Ridge beam
e Rafters
f Rounding sticks
g Rounding uprights

h Their crossbeams
i Middle longitudinal beam at half the height
k Crossbeam for the floor

Ill. 20.
Ground plan and cross-section of the house of the Šavajé on Bananal.

/196 cont./

342 The unaffected Šavajé house is shown in the ground plan and
335 cross-section in Ill. 20. Characteristic are: two ridge uprights, over them the ridge beam, a second longitudinal beam at two-thirds of the height; three side uprights on either side, and over them /197/ side crossbeams. The rafters are led down from the ridge beam over the side crossbeams to the floor and fastened to the floor itself. The roundings are each supported by six low uprights, the three of each of the two sets are connected by cross-beams over which the rounding's roof-beams run down to the ground from the first and third arch. Thus, sides and rounding are supported from the inside by uprights with crossbeams. The entrances are in the roundings. These houses are 20-25 meters long, 12-15 meters wide, 3-4 meters high.

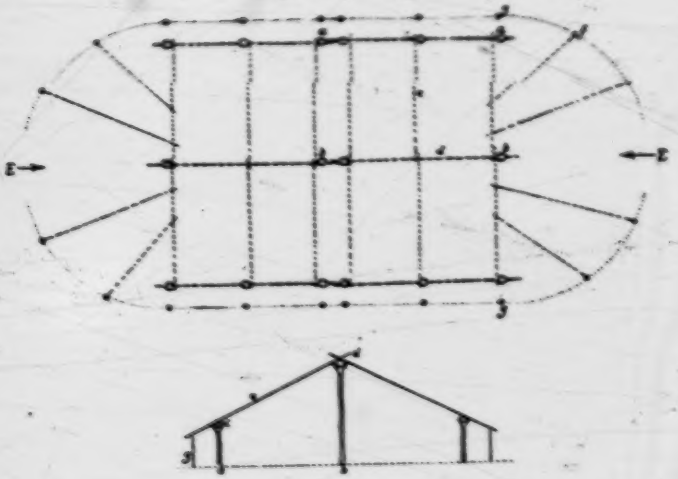
342 In Schischá at the end of October I came across the house
335 of an immigrant Šavajé family; it was already altered (ground
177 plan and cross-section, Ill. 21; covered, Pl. 40, Ill. 4). First of all it was a double house; its layout was identical with that of the Karajá house (Ill. 19). The difference was /Ill. 21 appears here/ that in front of each of the side support-beams a low, free-standing wall post had been rammed into the ground; to these wall posts, which were not connected by crossbeams, the wall covering was fastened. Thus, the separation into roof and wall had already occurred here; the wall supports were retained, and they became side support-beams. With regard to the round structures the layout is already simpler in Karajá fashion. In the mixed houses of the Karajá, these wall posts have disappeared; the covering is fastened to the side support-beams themselves. Thus, we have here before us the process of the development of the Šavajé house into the rancho; one need only omit the round structures in order to have a genuine Brazilian rancho structure. I actually saw such a house among the boatbuilders of Schischá on my downstream journey.

162 /198/ The assumption that the inhabitants of the southern-most villages of the south horde are mixed with Šavajé (see above: "Size" and "Number" /see pp. 46 and 67/) thereby gains additional support.

/198 cont./

342
184
177

a Side uprights
b Ridge uprights
c Side supporting beam
d Ridge beam
e Rafters
f Rounding sticks
g Wall supports



Ill. 21.
Ground plan and cross-section of the long hut of the mixed type. Šavajé in Schischá.

[335] [340] That this influence actually acted in this way, and that these houses are not, say, ranchos taken over from the Brazilians and simply provided with round structures, is first of all shown by the example of the Šavaje, who are acquainted with the ridge beam and upright construction, and then by the fact that the mask houses of the Karajá of the south horde and those of the Šavajé have a ridge beam which is fastened at the top to the three arches. If we add, as is shown in Ill. 3 in Ehrenreich, "Beiträge," p. 13, that the houses of the Šambioá resemble those of the Šavajé, then the huts

/198 cont./

342 of the Karajá seem to us an impoverished form; significantly,
184 the ridge beam is preserved only in the mask house. The
197 mixed houses are thus of Indian origin, though, as far as the separation of wall and roof is concerned, with Brazilian influence.

342 Interior arrangement. The houses are very nicely cool, and the covering, if, as in the rainy season, it is more carefully made,
352 is rainproof. The floor is covered with large mats. These buriti-
[513]

[531]

Ill. 22.
Patterned sleeping mat for girls. Karajá.

fiber mats (bũlẽ) serve as sitting and sleeping mats. On one of their long sides the fibers protrude as long fringe. My largest mat is four meters long and 1.70 meters wide. Smaller mats, which are patterned by black bast-strips plaited in, are rare (Ill. 22, girls' sleeping mat).

352 The sleeping areas are very simply furnished. To sleep, one
513 stretches out on the floor on a mat and covers himself with the other half of the mat or the rĩĩõ (see below /see p. 93 /). Sometimes the legs are drawn up in the side position, the one end of the rĩĩõ put over the feet and the other over the head, so that the entire body is protected from dew and mosquitoes. I did not see wooden cylinders as neck supports, which Ehrenreich mentioned. It is very possible that they have these, for they like to put the head high when sleeping.

/207 cont./

291 The bands are worn in the following manner: one end is held against the small of the back, then the band is wound around the body and the long end is twisted with the short end; in this way the belt is secured. The long end is drawn between the legs and twisted into a roll and is then drawn in its full width from below through the belt in front and falls down over it in front. This end is now worn either hanging down to the knee or to the ground, or else it is again drawn between the legs, this time, however, in its full width, and is pulled up in back, a procedure which is used particularly when the women wish to sit down (Pl. 12, Ill. 4; Pl. 16; 17; 42).

292 Besides this clothing worn constantly, there are a few articles of clothing worn only temporarily for special purposes. These are the following:

293 The eye-shade (ō(ō)dĭ, ōdjĭ). It is worn only by the male sex.
[287] The original form of this protection is probably to be seen in the bast band (Ill. 32) which the Indians sometimes wrapped around their hair (in cases of death, in sickness). The true eye-shade
[824] consists of an oaguassu /babassu/ palm leaf, the pinnae of which are plaited together. In the simplest form, the ends of these
292 pinnae jut out free at the top (Ills. 33 and 34). This eye-shade
293 has passed through a development up to the complete hat: the
285 upper pinnae ends are likewise plaited, and to be sure, into a cylinder open at the top (Ill. 35). Among the Šambioá, Ehrenreich observed such a cylindrical hat (taă), which was already /208/ closed at the top by plaiting (Berlin 3904). This final form was not represented among the Karajá; on the other hand, they had two other forms: first, a ring-shaped, wide-brimmed eye-shade plaited out of bast, with a stiff brim and a chin cord (Ill. 36), and then regular hats of plaited bast strips which are sewed together spirally (Pl. 43, Ill. 3). The method of plaiting these
[1007] strips is purely Indian, but the shape of the hats probably goes back to Brazilian influence, as the name (šăpēo, Braz. chapeo)
292 shows. These eye-shades and hats are worn as a protection from
293 the sun and only by married men; I only rarely saw any, however.

/208 cont./

292 The net covering [rī(ī)ǒ, rīŭ], on the other hand, is worn by both sexes at all ages. It is knotted of cotton threads and has the shape of a hammock, the two ends of which are each tied together, but lack the cords for hanging it up. The net coverings of the Karajá are of a solid color; the original white color gradually becomes a dirty yellowish-brown with use. Patterned coverings come from the Šavajé or Tapirapé. They are worn for protection against mosquitoes, against sunburn, against the dew of the night, whether the Indians stand, lie, or sit. The manner of wearing them differs: either one end is pulled over the head so that the covering falls down the back (Pl. 12, Ill. 1), or the covering is wrapped around the shoulders so that the two ends fall down in front (Pl. 9, Ill. 1; Pl. 42, Ill. 1). At night they serve [513] as coverings: the feet of the drawn-up legs, in the side or back position, are stuck into one end, the head into the other end, so that the covering protects the body lying beneath it from mosquitoes and dew. Thus, they are not used as an underlayer, as Ehrenreich [854] says, but as coverings. Small net coverings hung on strings as [114] cradles for infants, such as Ehrenreich mentions, I did not see anywhere, despite the fact that I visited almost all the huts (1).

1. See, however, Šavajé, small net covering /see pp. 314 -315/.

[287] Small plaited mats of bast are worn by pregnant women before and after birth, and, to be sure, in such a way that they are wrapped around the body from the back and held together in front with the hands (Pl. 42, Ills. 2, 3). They serve as a protection against wind and rain. Above all, women with nursing babies take such mats with them when they go out, so as to be able to protect the child and themselves to some extent in a sudden downpour.

834 I should like to add a very few words here about the Indians' feeling of modesty. As far as the men are concerned, I should [177] like to refer to my remarks above about the purpose of the penis cord /see p. 88/; the question is, however, whether the explanation given by the Indians does not go back to Brazilian influence.

/222 cont./

*301 painted and covered with rolls of wax, which apparently is supposed to represent such a painted lip-plug (Pl. 45, Ill. 7).

*301 184 This sequence was precisely observed everywhere. Only in the first village near Leopoldina were deviations found. Here the boy, as /223/ has just been mentioned, wore a wooden lamella, and later a wooden button, like his older brother and the [177] father. This family was civilized; they hesitated to walk around with long plugs in front of the Brazilians. On the whole, long [152] plugs are regarded as a sign of vanity, which is why older people, for example, can never wear them without making themselves ridiculous. The young people in the first village felt too superior to their savage fellow-tribesmen to wear such ridiculous things; hence they contented themselves with the dignified button of the old people.

*301 [324] The stone lip-plugs (mănă'dĕlĕ; mănă = stone, mănādĕrĕzŏ = rock crystal) are a special kind. They are cut to shape out of quartz, rock crystal, or /Ills. 61-63 appear here/ alabaster and then smoothed so that they look as though they were polished. The mouthpiece is greatly widened; the lower end runs out into a thickening (Ill. 62). Such lip plugs are worn only by unmarried men and only at special festivities. When they marry, they give it to a young relative. Since the stone lip-plugs are very thick, the lip hole must first be enlarged. This is done by the insertion of ever thicker wooden plugs. I saw only one specimen of such a lip plug, and, to be sure, in the south horde, but could not acquire it. I learned about a second specimen /224/ in the south [439] horde only long after we had left the village. They are not made by Karajá, but by the Tapirapé, with whom the Karajá of the [438] north horde barter for them. Those of the south horde again buy [435] them from those of the north horde, the price then allegedly amounting to a canoe, an ax, a pot, and a bush knife. In other words, they are very expensive and are therefore, and because they are very fragile, cautiously handled and kept carefully [648] wrapped in cloth. At the present time, when the Karajá have a feud with the Tapirapé and are therefore no longer able to buy stone lip-plugs, their value has naturally increased many times over.

/230 cont./

*301 283 are called kõdẽsĩ, in both cases their hangings hang down only on the outer side of the arm. The lower-arm bands are worn behind the arm cuffs (dẽsĩ). In this ornament, too, a plaiting of the upper part sometimes occurs (Ill. 74 a, b). For such calf bands, which are worn underneath the real calf bands, /231/ two names were mentioned: ũljãũ and wõdãĩdĩ. In this case the fringe hangs all around the leg (Ill. 75).

*301 [237] b) All other ornaments are worn only by the unmarried; married persons have no feather ornaments, whereas young people are abundantly provided with them, though they seldom wear them. The ornaments most often worn are the feather caps (boys), bead necklaces, and finger rings, as well as cotton belts with feather hangings. All other ornaments seem to be worn only occasionally for dances, festivities, etc. In between times they are carefully [415] stored in the elegant, long, covered baskets. The female youth wear only necklaces and finger rings; the girls also wear feather caps and feather arm-bands. One girl nine to eleven years old wore the following ornaments: feather cap, red ear-rosettes, black neck-tassels with snail shells, feather arm-bands behind the red cuffs, black belt with gray bast-apron over it, a long black string-skirt to go with it, and, finally, calf bands (Pl. 18).

[484] On journeys my Indians had no ornaments; some of them [177] wore Brazilian clothing, as well as lip plugs and native finger-rings. Almost all of the single ones tied a piece of fish line around their ankles. It was remarkable that in the villages of [184] the north horde located north of the Tapirapé mouth there was only a little ornamentation and feather ornaments were almost entirely lacking.

[184] The village on the Tapirapé mouth occupies a special position. All strikingly divergent forms, which will be specially discussed in the following, come from this village. I cannot decide whether this is a coincidence or whether there is Tapirapé influence here.

[237] Of the feather head-ornaments mentioned by Ehrenreich, [114] I did not see the following:

226 /251/ or die, come to the surface as a result, and can then be conveniently gathered in. The fence prevents the fish from escaping
[262] into the river. Eating this fish is not harmful to human beings; even drinking the water merely causes a stomach-ache. The
[177] Karajá maintain that they learned this type of fishing, which is carried on especially during the rainy season when the water is muddy, from the Chavánte (see also, however, the fish fence of the Tapirapé /see p. 342 /).

I did not see or hear anything about weirs for small fish (adžuriã), on which Ehrenreich reports, nor of other fishing apparatus.

C. Storage and Preparation of Food.

251 The yield from the plantings as well as from hunting and fishing expeditions is usually consumed at once. The hot climate prohibits the laying away of larger supplies; above all, the preservation of meat is completely out of the question because of the lack of salt. In fact, the Indian is forced to go fishing again in the afternoon, since the fish caught in the morning would already be spoiled by suppertime. It is impossible to keep fresh meat for more than a quarter of a day, and even roasted meat is inedible the next day.

[261] Thus, the Indians have to work hard and be constantly concerned about food, especially in the dry season, when the yield from the plantings is always small. To some extent they help themselves with turtles, which, as mentioned above, they keep alive; turtle eggs, cooked and dried, keep for a very long time. But the Indians do not store even plant produce in large quantities; they have supplies for only two or three days in the manioc lying on their supply racks or in the maize kernels in large gourds with a side opening. They also store water in whole gourds.

252 All foods are eaten cooked; only fruits, as well as turtle eggs, are eaten raw; everything else is boiled or roasted.

/255 cont./

261 that the women usually refused salted food. Instead, however,
263 they all ate whole handfuls of sand. Charcoal and ashes are also eaten, but all this is supposed to be very constipating. They are also said to make little pellets of clay which are eaten; the eating of them is supposed to cause jaundice.

D. Eating.

264 Eating utensils are very few in number. Roasted things, as well as boiled fish, are eaten with the fingers; mush, etc. are spooned out of the large cooking dish or out of small eating dishes.
415 Halved gourds are used as such and are generally decorated on the outside with carved decorations (Ill. 94). Shallow clay bowls are also customary (Ill. 95). I did not see oval clay bowls with a partition (Berlin 3866) or round and elliptical clay plates (Berlin 3863-3865), as described by Ehrenreich. Only in Schischá were
[197] tall clay dishes with a red border decoration made (1), evidently
[53]

[13] 1. See also my article on "Die Kunst der Karaja-Indianer /The Art of the Karaja Indians/," in the Bässler-Archiv, Vol. 2, No. 1, 1911.

412 under Brazilian influence (Ill. 96). Mussel shells serve as spoons, and, to be sure, the three types kădālă (Plate 55, Ill. 5a), kădālă liŏlĕ (Ill. 5b), and wălăbōkădālă (Ill. 5c); also small half-gourds ĭsă liŏlĕ, kăisŏ, ŭālŭ, which are generally decorated with pyrography and exhibit various shapes (Ills. 97, 98). I did not come across anywhere the spoons (katarĕ) of wood (Berlin 3934, 35) and clay (Berlin 3870) mentioned by Ehrenreich.

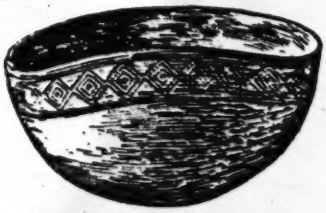
/256/ To crack open the roasted palm nuts striking stones are used. Rather heavy blows are required to split the shells of the nuts. Flat stones serve as a base; as beaters, fist-sized round ones of quartz, ground conical stones, or old stone axes. All these stones come from the regions north of the Tapirapé mouth. For all striking stones the name mānă (stone) was given. Ill. 99 a-c

/256 cont./

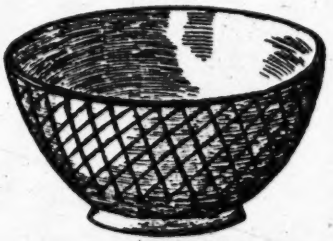
412 shows a pointed cone-shaped striking stone with hollowed-out striking place and with flat base; Ills. 100-102 show three stone axes, namely, a long flat-ax, a short flat-ax, and an ax with a shaft groove running around it, whose blade is already heavily worn as a result of the pounding.

415 [53] 177

Ill. 94.

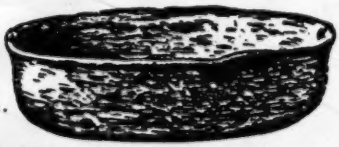


Gourd vessel for eating.



Ill. 96.
Modern eating dish.

Ill. 95.



412 Shallow eating dish made of clay.

Ill. 97.
Gourd spoon.

Ill. 98.
Gourd spoon.

Ill. 99 a-c.
a) Striking stone, b) its striking surface, c) base.

264 There are two meals, breakfast (andoldoho) at about eight or nine
/257/ o'clock, and supper (lirosik) at about five or six o'clock. In between,
[262] however, this and that is munched, fruits, nuts, etc.; at noon they like to eat grilled piranhas (fish jacuba: djudeä). The menu consists mostly of boiled manioc mush and fish. Much is eaten, but the people do not

/257 cont./

273 From maize they allegedly make a drink kănūā́, with the preparation of which, however, I am unfamiliar.

The most common festive drink, which is drunk on all visits and other /258/ occasions, is made out of manioc mush (ĭūā̆rŭk). The way of making it is described by Ehrenreich ("Beiträge," pp. 16-17). The slight fermentation is brought about by chewing the residuum of the cooled mush. The Indians, men and women, scoop out the drink in huge quantities. It is slightly intoxicating; the people quickly get puffy faces, watery eyes, and are inclined to chatter. It tastes like unseasoned diced-potato soup.

[177] Sugar-cane liquor (cachaça: ĭbūälĕ) is already penetrating here, too, through the Brazilians. There is only one village, however, Schischá, in which liquor is drunk by all, presumably because liquor is made in the vicinity and the drink is therefore very cheap. Otherwise I found very few Indians who accepted liquor (for example, Chief Ilk); women never drank any, except in Schischá. Usually it was also refused by the men and young people.

F. Food Prohibitions.

262 It has already been mentioned above that the potentialities for food are not fully utilized, that some foodstuffs are scorned. [114] The reason for this is difficult to find. I already thought that I was on the trail of a totemistic system, but I did not succeed in proving it. Apparently, along with superstitious notions, personal taste also plays a role in this.

The following are quite generally not eaten: the meat of domestic animals, eggs, howling monkeys, capybaras, dolphins, crayfish, and mussels. The tracajá turtle and its eggs are eaten only by old people; young people scorn them, because eating them is said to have a bad effect. Allegedly chiefs are said not to eat red-deer meat. Grilled piranha is regarded as the sole food for sick persons; pregnant women, too, are forbidden many foods. Individual persons did not eat certain things: thus, Pedro

/258 cont./

262 scorned red-deer meat and tracajá eggs; others ate these things.
[177] Enlightened (civilized) Indians, who otherwise still believed firmly in all kinds of magic, ate everything.

G. Luxuries.

276 The Indians are familiar with only one luxury item:
[177] tobacco (kōtĭ). They maintain that they adopted the luxury of tobacco only from the Brazilians, and, to be sure, in about the
[249] first half of the nineteenth century. At that time they obtained seed (kōtĭlăti) or shoots; at first they planted these in the mud, where only small plants grew; then they tried it in the plantings, where large plants grew. The custom of smoking is older, however. Fonseca reports in 1773 that they smoked their clay peace pipe in an easterly direction, apparently observing a ceremony (1).

1. Rev. trim. 8, pp. 378 and 387.

Probably they received merely another plant from the Brazilians.
249 /259/ Today tobacco is raised in the plantings, and it is planted by the men during the rainy season by placing seed kernels into the ground. Harvest begins "when the leaves begin to hang" (in July I already saw fresh tobacco leaves hung up to dry). The leaves are picked and brought into the house, where they are hung up to dry. When they are half-dry they are rubbed between the hands ("so that the tobacco becomes black"), then hung outside the house on a pole or a special sloping rack, and com-
[415] pletely dried. It is stored in the oblong baskets called lālă, and, to be sure, rolled up pad-shaped by the south horde (ĭlūlăŭ), plaited into a braid by the north horde (kō(ŭ)zăă). (See Ill. 194, Šavajé /see p. 323/.)

276 The variety is evidently very light; its fragrance is not very pleasant, but the Indians smoke it passionately. They find
249 the tobacco of the Šavajé to be better and obtain seedlings from
438 them to improve their stock. Thus, on my return journey from
[437] the Šavajé I was accompanied by /Ills. 103-104 appear here/ a
[482]

/274 cont./

411 words, rests between the latter and the board, while the fifth finger lies on the left edge. The front end of the arrow is supported with the outstretched left hand. The arrow is hurled with the same motion with which a spear is thrown. Horizontal, high, and low throws (the latter in fishing) may be executed with it.

I no longer came across this implement among the Karajá; they were familiar with it, to be sure, but in the south horde there were middle-aged persons who maintained that they had never [184] seen one. Its use was known, however, and it was universally reported that the Šavajé had many throwing sticks and still used them.

411 526 Among the Karajá it is now used only as a sporting weapon in the game called ǎnārkǎntědūŏhŭ (game of the Tapirapé), which is supposed to take place at the time of the blossoming of the pau d'arco. According to the description, the game proceeds as follows: Two youths stand facing each other, both armed with arrow thrower and arrows. One of them issues a challenge to battle by singing, wōhŭḷāḷǎkūdjě, wōhŭḷāḷǎkūdjě: throw the arrow, you won't hit me anyway. The other replies, djŏbĭdjŏbĭkŏ, djŏbĭkŏ dèhōĭ: I shall indeed hit you. Then they start throwing arrows at each other toward the thighs or ankles, and each tries to show his skill in throwing, as well as in dodging the arrow. If a person does not dodge adroitly, the arrow is said to penetrate quite deep into the flesh and can be forced out only by being struck from both sides with the throwing stick. Bad wounds are said to result.

[171] The name of the game is striking: game of the Tapirapé. The Karajá reported that the Tapirapé were in possession of the throwing stick and also this game. This suggests that the Karajá took it over from there, if we think of the presence of this implement in the Xingu source region. The circumstances that caused the loss of this implement among the Karajá and its flourishing again among the Šavajé eludes our knowledge.

411 I did not see the pellet-bow (bŏdŏkě) among the Karajá. I was told in the south horde, however, that they knew how to make it and that the children threw stones with it to kill small [177] birds. Probably the Indians took it over from the Brazilians, whose children in Leopoldina largely used it as a toy. The lack

/274 cont./

411 [177] of a native word for the instrument at least leads to the conclusion that the implement, too, is not native.

Note. By way of supplement, I must here discuss two implements about which the Indians gave me information that could not be checked at all. It was my principle to inquire [125] systematically about everything that might possibly occur; and where the description was not adequate, I made models. Thus, I demonstrated a stone sling to the Indians. They then told me, in agreement in various villages, that this instrument (nĕrŭdĭ) was familiar to them, but that they did not use it because of a scarcity of stones. Allegedly they had taken it over from the [177] Brazilians. It /275/ was impossible for me to induce the Indians to make such an instrument.

Even more dubious are the statements about the boomerang. My informant Kurišĭ, whom, on the basis of my other experiences, I must regard as trustworthy, told me: his mother told him in his childhood that the Karajá of the north horde had a stick (ĭādĕzĕ) that came back when it was thrown. He had not seen such an implement; it must therefore have fallen into disuse long ago, I was unable to gain confirmation of these two statements; I am therefore repeating them here with all reservations.

411 714 The Indians do not have defensive weapons. Against blows they protect themselves merely with the hand and the arm. They ward off flying arrows with the club; they do not know how to divert them with the spear, with bow or arrow. They have no real protection against the recoil of the bowstring; the recoil is even said to be very painful. It is somewhat mitigated by the arm cuff (dĕsĭ); a person who does not wear cuffs, like the married men, wraps bast around his lower arm; this apparently occurs only in war, however, for I did not notice anything of the kind for fishing.

714 [95] Amulets are lacking; they use only a charm against arrow shooting; a disk ten centimeters in diameter and made out of scraped pieces of the bowstring is glued on both sides of the chest with resin. They believe that no arrow can then hit the chest.

/280 cont./

462 A. The division of labor by age and sex is such that the
561 male youths actually do nothing other than to practice the weapons craft and occasionally travel out to fish. In addition, they make their own weapons, as well as their feather ornaments and the cotton dance-belts. The married men, on the other hand, are usually busy; either they work in the plantings, or they go out twice a day to fish for their families, go hunting, plait baskets
[589] and hats, build houses, and bring in the harvest. In general, the men, when they are married, have a great deal of work and that is why young people no longer want to get married, having been infected by a few older bachelors who preach the ideal of bachelorhood: idling, smoking, chatting in the mask house.

The women learn their manual skills, such as spinning and weaving, from childhood on. Married women take care of the plantings, the harvest, tend the children, cook, make pottery, spin and weave, and plait mats. In general, to be sure, they have to work the whole day, so that one never sees them unoccupied, but in general their lot is a good one; hard work is never demanded of them, but is always taken over by the men.

412 B. Of their ancient tools some have already disappeared (1)
178

1. Iron tools seem to have penetrated in the previous generation. A 40-year old Indian of the south horde told me that he had not seen work done with stone axes any more, only his mother told him about it.

or are used in another way, they still, however, use stone axes /281/ as striking stones, small stone knives for tattooing, bone needles for sewing, mussel shells as scrapers and spoons, sets of piranha teeth for cutting the strips for plaiting baskets. More and
[177] more, however, iron implements are coming in: axes, bush knives, small knives, and shears are used everywhere, likewise iron crochet needles. In spite of these foreign implements, how-
[176] ever, the technique has happily kept its ancient character, and only occasionally are innovations, under the influence of the Brazilian inhabitants, to be noted.

/284 cont./

415 very pronounced in the pottery in the villages from Leopoldina
177 to São José. These villages furnish the Brazilians with cooking
[439] and eating vessels, so that in São José and Leopoldina one finds
Indian vessels almost exclusively. They have already been
[531] adapted, however, to the taste of the Brazilians: the small eating
dishes have the typical bowl-shape and on the edge bear a decoration in red color (Ill. 96). The water-cooling vessels, too, which the Indians in the villages mentioned make for the Brazilians, show the purely Brazilian type and red decoration.
[386] The red designs are made with an earth color. The red earth
[317] for this (zūzĕ, zōŭbūlĕ) comes from the Barreira do Veado and is
taken along to São José and Schischá by the Indians of the north horde traveling south for arrow cane, in order to sell it to the Indians
[531] there. It is applied mixed with water. The true Indian vessels are undecorated.

172

Ill. 133.
Old clay-vessel.

I obtained in Schischá a most peculiar vessel, whose origin is unknown (Ill. 133). It is irregularly spotted dark red and black as a result of uneven firing; it is apparently made out of very crude clay and in a very primitive fashion. The two knobs on the edge, which are slightly hollowed out on top, are striking. The vessel was found several decades ago in the sand of a sandbank by Indians from Schischá on a journey downstream. The Indians themselves were unable to say where the vessel might come from.

415 I did not see anywhere the pot and bowl forms brought back by
114 Ehrenreich: shallow, round dishes (Berlin 3862), flat, round plates (3863 and 3864), flat, oval plates (3865), low elliptical double bowls with a dividing wall running lengthwise (3866), cylindrical pot with turned-down rim and bast hanging-band (3861), double conical pot with hanging band (3858), and clay spoons (3878).

28 /289 cont./
462 nets is a task for the men, that of the mats a task for the women.
285 Usually several women work together on a mat; it is not difficult work, but the hard pulling and constant twisting of the weft threads (they are twisted only when they are plaited through) affects the fingers so much that deep, calloused ridges run across the finger tips of the plaiters. Apparently there are women in the [963] villages who provide the entire village with mats; at least large supplies of them were found in certain houses, and to buy them I was sent into specific huts where mats were made.

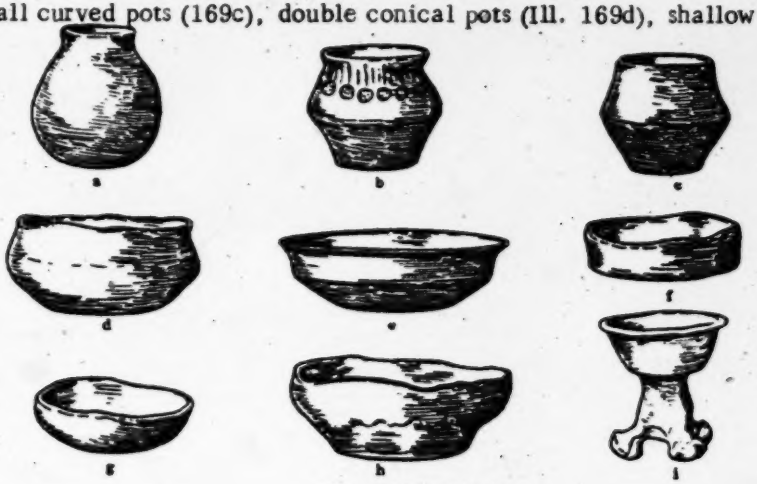
[824] For the plaiting which is done by the men, strips of buriti [462] bast and the leaf pinnae of the oaguassu palm are used. The 294 strips of buriti bast are used only in the making of hats. Apparently the method of making hats is copied from the neighboring [177] Brazilians. At least the shape is the same; but whether all the types of plaited strips which are sewed together spirally into a hat correspond to Brazilian designs, or whether there are innovations here, I do not know. The most common design, consisting of four-part strips with a notched edge, seems to be Brazilian, the other two, the eleven-part strip with a smooth edge and the nine-part strip with a smooth, double edge, may be original forms in view of the plaiting skill of the Indians (Ill. 139 a-c). These strips are sewed together with fine bast threads and a bone needle four centimeters long (Ill. 140).

285 For all other plaiting the leaf pinnae of the oaguassu palm are used. The material for this is stored in the houses in large /290/ quantities, mostly lying on the floor under mats; in Schischá it also lay on special forked racks on the long sides and in the roundings of the houses.

In the same way as for the house covering, two oaguassu fronds are laid with the ribs one on top of the other in the making of walls, fans, and eye shades, except that in this case the individual pinnae /Ills. 139 and 140 appear here/ are then plaited together. See the beginning of a piece of plaiting in Ill. 5 on Plate 58 /see p. 219/.

574
475
[184]
[177]

/308 cont./
in other villages. /309/ Could influence from the Tapirapé Indians be present here? A few specimens seem to be merely unskillful versions of true Karajá types. Of the ordinary forms there should be mentioned: vessels like water jugs (Ill. 169 a, b), tall curved pots (169c), double conical pots (Ill. 169d), shallow



Ill. 169 a-i.
Small toy dishes.

Ill. 170 a-f.
Small toy dishes.

/312 cont./

524 a second person takes part by lifting them off, etc. Each of the figures has a special name; I was shown wind, stars, deer. In general, the string game is regarded as a very difficult game.

[824] [177] I did not see balls, but was told that they make themselves balls out of maize leaves (dōki). They maintain that they learned to make them from the Brazilians. I also did not see anywhere the feather balls made out of corncobs with a ring-shaped insert, which Ehrenreich mentions.

Finally, still to be mentioned is a puzzle game which is popularly practiced by youths and men. The problem is to make two interlocking cane sections out of one piece. What matters here is only the clever way of making it. A piece of cane /313/ approximately 15 centimeters long and half a centimeter wide is split lengthwise, the two sections cut out in the upper layer by means of parallel cuts, the inner substance is scraped out except for two knobs at the ends, and the plaything is finished (Ill. 177 a, b).

Sport and Physical Abilities.

541 [177] As for animal fights, there are said to be cockfights, which, like the hens, they have taken over from the Brazilians. I did not see any; they were described to me as follows: children hide a hen under a mat; then they bring two roosters, one after the other, in order to provoke them.

526 Climbing is practiced a great deal. They are very adept at climbing tall trees; it is said that they sometimes tie a rope around both feet as a climbing loop.

Foot racing is very popular among the male youth; women and children, too, are said to participate in it. Apparently there are times when larger foot-race games are organized (rainy season). At other times the young people run for practice on the sandbank; the one in the lead often holds both arms stretched out sideways, in order not to let the other pass. Their resting position is peculiar: standing, they draw one leg up and place the sole of it against the inner side of the knee of the other (Pl. 30, Ill. 4).

/341 cont./

C 829 648 S 105

What the Karaja say about the neighboring Indian tribes (1).

1. For their statements about Šavajé, Tapirapé, and Kayapó, see under these peoples /see pp. 310 and 336 with regard to the first two; the material dealing with the last-named people has not been translated/.

C S [101]

The Chavánte (kliũzã, kũliza) live on the west bank, on the Rio das Mortes, on campo territory; between São José and Leopoldina they also come as far as the Araguaya. They are tall, have fat paunches and a light skin color. Old men wear beards; the hair is cut short in front, as among the Karajá, is worn hanging down very long in back and tied together with red string. The men tie up the penis in front with a black string: in the lower lip they wear small buttons of wood. A genipap painting on the chest is popular: a line from each armpit to the lower end of the breastbone. The Chavánte fish with poison cipo, and the Karajá maintained that they first learned this method of fishing from them. The Chavánte are a true campo people; they do not like to travel in the forest; they even burn off the campo, in order to be able to travel better. They transport their supplies in carrying baskets which are carried by the men. As for weapons, they carry lances, clubs, bows and arrows. The arrows are like those of the Karajá, but are regarded as ugly. One kind has points of tucum wood; these remain stuck in a wound and are broken off (whereas the bamboo blade points of the Karajá arrows may be pulled out, but they tear large holes, so that the wounded person bleeds to death). The feathers of the feathering are given their shape by burning. There are no poisoned arrows. The Chavánte are the enemies of the Karajá. They have already killed many Karajá, whereas the latter have killed only one Chavánte (2).

C [177]

S 648 [113]

2. This hostile relationship dates from ancient times. As Fonseca reports (Rev. trim. 8, pp. 382-388), the Chavánte, who lived between

/353 cont./

142 3. Physically the Šavajé differ from the Karajá only in their greater height (Pl. 30, Ills. 3 and 4). The men are probably on the average four to five centimeters taller than those of the Karajá; the women, too, are taller than the Karajá women. Here, too, however, there are persons of small stature, especially of the female sex (Pl. 30, Ill. 3). For the rest, everything that was said about the Karajá is also true of the Šavajé.

184 /354/ In their culture as a whole the Šavajé are pure Karajá. They do, however, show a few differences from the latter, which, in turn, link them up more closely with the Šambioá. In the following I shall therefore state the differences only very briefly.

342 184 4. House and village. The construction of the house differs considerably from that of the Karajá and is similar to that of the Šambioá. I refer to my explanation above about the house [177] construction of the Karajá, where the modification of the Šavajé house as a result of Brazilian influence in the case /Ill. 188 appears here/ of the Šavajé living among the southern Karajá is described (pp. 75/77; Ills. 20, 21; Pl. 30, Ill. 1). [353] The cross beams of the posts supporting the roof have thin poles laid over them and form a sort of loft on which back-baskets, baskets, weapons, women's belts, plaiting material, etc. are [354] stored. In contrast to the Karajá, the cooking places are in the house, and, to be sure, in the circular structures, one on either side of the entrance, so that there are four hearths in the house. The circular structures serve at the same time as supply rooms for baskets, gourds, food, etc. On the lower parts of the house posts, all around the walls, all kinds of birds, such as vultures, etc., are tied up.

36 184 The village, like that of the Karajá, is laid out in one row parallel to the shore (see the plan, Ill. 188 /see p. 314/). The [346] mask house lies apart from the village. It corresponds to that of the Karajá, but has a ridge beam such as appears in the mask house of the southern Karajá.

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca.1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

CHAPTER VIII.

THE KARAYÁ.—RECEIVING STRANGERS.—PERSONAL ADORNMENT.—DOMICILES.—MENAGERIES.—FISHING AND HUNTING.—HUSBANDRY.—FOODS.

101 [161] THE Karayá tribe is divided into three great divisions, or separate tribes, called the Yavahé, the Karayáhy and the Sambiõa, numbering in all about four thousand. Little is 131 known of the Yavahé division except that they dwell in three 162 villages, or encampments, by a large lake, or lagoon, in the unknown interior of the great Isle of Bananal, which is between three and four hundred miles long and nearly one hundred miles broad, being formed by the two arms of the 133 Araguaya river. The Yavahé lake has an outlet into the [114] eastern arm of the Araguaya. In our descent of the Araguaya, we followed the western arm.

177 The Yavahé, though hostile to civilized men, and de- 186 termined to avoid all contact with "civilization," much desire, neverthless, to obtain the steel implements, such as axes, knives and grubbing hoes, which civilization alone can furnish them. Neither does the Sambiõa branch wish to have any direct contact with "civilization" because they see plainly that their brethren of the Karayáhy division, who live in touch with the "civilization" that exists in the interior of Brazil, and which we know to be semi-barbarous, immoral and superstitious, are in a worse plight, morally, socially and physically than they themselves are—that they are extremely poor and demoralized, and suffer from various diseases, contracted from "civilization," with which they themselves are

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
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not afflicted. Therefore, they have hidden their villages far 177
away from the slimy trail of the only "civilization" they 186
know, and do not wish to reveal their location. But they, too, well know the great superiority of steel implements over their stone utensils, so desire to obtain them, which they do indirectly through the Karayáhy. They are not unwise in their generation. They do not desire to receive, in its entirety, the "civilization" available to them, for it has been demonstrated to them that its evils outweigh its blessings. Therefore they try to catspaw civilization's good things and leave its evil things. What a pity it is that a civilization, which is the best fruit of the Gospel of Christ, should not have reached the Karayá!

The Sambiõa live in much larger, cleaner, and more or- 511
derly villages than the Karayáhy, and are better fed. They 184
also build better huts than the Karayáhy, and arrange them in regular streets. They have four large villages, located be- 361
tween Pau de Arco and the falls of S. Miguel. They trade 439
hammocks, vegetables, fruits, fowls, and other produce for such articles made by civilized men as they desire. As re- 241
gards agriculture, they are but little behind the semi-barbarous Brazilians of the far interior. They have many slaves, 727
which are women and children stolen from other tribes with whom they were at war.

Only the inhabitants of the second Sambiõa village are 609
hostile to strangers. When such appear at their port, the women and children are sent to a safe place, while the warriors, fully armed, assemble at the water's edge and assume a threatening attitude. It is necessary to be cautious in approaching them, though they dare not attack a large canoe full of men armed with repeating rifles. They greatly fear these weapons, believing that the rifleman can continue to fire indefinitely without reloading. The villages are always [361]
situated distant from the landing-place; and though they will allow the traveler to visit them, he must be on his guard.

The reception at the landing is interesting and exciting. The naked, bronze-bodied men are assembled in force. Many

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
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301 [286] fancy. Sometimes, however, these ornaments are woven on a wooden form.

292 513 Another article of dress, which is peculiar to the Karayá, is the *hammock*. It is made of cotton cords. Strange to say, it is never used as a hammock; nor can it even be swung up, as it is not provided with any cords for this purpose. It is only the body of a hammock. During the day, it is used as a kind of cloak, and is hooked over the head so as to cover the shoulders and back; and at night, it is used as a mat to sleep upon, *on the ground*. Both adults and children may be seen going about during the day with these huge, half-open-pea-pod like objects hooked over them. It reminds one of a snail with its shell on its back. Even clay dolls have this hammock cloak. It is, however, occasionally fastened up [854] like a hammock in order that it may be used as a cradle for an infant.

513 171 This *hammock* is of great ethnological interest, because the primitive races of Brazil are classified ethnographically according to whether they sleep in a hammock or do not. It is known that all the tribes occupying the eastern half of Brazil, [352] which includes the Karayá, sleep on the ground, or on slightly raised platforms made of poles; while those that are really hammock using tribes—that sleep in hammocks—make their hammocks of cordage twisted from cotton and palm-leaf fibre. But the Karayá *hammock* is made of cotton only; moreover, it is not a complete hammock and is not used to sleep in. This proves that the Karayá are not to be classified as one [177] of the hammock tribes. We are to understand, therefore, that they got the idea of the hammock comparatively recently from some other people, probably from the "civilized" Brazilians, who make them of cotton only; and though they value them, they are yet unwilling to give up their old custom of sleeping on the ground. A certain Brazilian explorer asserts that [286] he taught the Karayá to make a simple loom and how to weave.

293 Another article of dress used by the Karayá, is a kind of eye-shade, called an eye-umbrella. It is used to protect the

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
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clubs and lances, various kinds of clay pots and pans and 353
gourd-shell vessels occupy the corners of the hut.

A short distance from the encampment is the "Casa do 346
Bicho," or medicine hut; or better yet, the Demon Hut. It is roofed and closed in on three sides only. The side facing away from the village is always left entirely open. The [562]
women of the tribe are not allowed to go near this hut, or to look into it. In front of two Sambiõa villages, two dead 825
kingfishers were secured to the top of a high pole, for the purpose, probably, of keeping away the demons.

The Karayá have a few domestic, or domesticated crea- 231
tures. These are considered members of the family, and live 825
in and out of the family hut, and on equal terms generally with the people. These children of Nature are evidently lovers of Nature, and their mode of life can scarcely be conceived of without these creatures. The way they treat them indicates the idea they entertain regarding them and their doings—that they look upon them as their companions and equals. The feeling of companionship—even of relationship— [538]
with the animal world, is characteristic of the Karayá, and is evidenced by the way the animals are spoken of in their tribal legends, and by the fact that they have quite a treasury of animal fables. Although these people are successful 231
in taming wild creatures, they have never made any economic use of them as have the civilized people. They are captured while still young, and reared, but for no purpose, in most cases, other than to be kept as pets and esteemed members of the families of their captors, where their presence seems to give much pleasure. They are seldom thought of as regards any material benefits they may confer. The only economic [237]
use that is made of any of these creatures, is of those that have bright-colored plumage, which is used in the making of the many feathered adornments that are so much admired by these primitive people. Nor are these animals permitted to multiply themselves, if this can be avoided. Some poultry 235
is kept, which was obtained originally from the "civilized" [197]
Brazilians, and these, of course, multiply rapidly. But even

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
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dant, and to the pecari, the aguti, the musk duck which is 224
found in ponds, and similar small game.

Agriculture among the Sambiõa is highly developed—re- 241
markably so, in fact, for a people living in a state of sav-
agery—and is even more advanced in some respects than that
of the "civilized" Brazilians living near their territory. A
large assortment of vegetable foodstuffs are raised. They
now have the same agricultural implements as the "civilized" [178]
Brazilians, having relegated to oblivion their rude tools of
ancient times, with which they could not till the soil but to
a very limited extent, and that only with excessive toil. The
high agricultural development reached by these savages is
very interesting and important, proving conclusively that the
primitive man, far from being incapable of anything but to
wander over a wide territory, living from hand to mouth by
hunting and fishing, is capable of becoming an agriculturist
of no mean order. The plant most extensively cultivated by
the Sambiõa is the manioc. They raise both kinds, the
"wild" and the "tame." Next to this in importance is corn.
But this is used more to make a fermented drink than for [273]
food. Sugar-cane is also cultivated on the low, alluvial soil
along the river, which is well adapted to this purpose. But
the natives have no suitable contrivance for extracting the
juice from the cane. Several varieties of small, brown beans,
brought from Pará, and which are a staple food among civ- [262]
ilized Brazilians, are also raised. So also, the white and [177]
violet Brazilian *cará*, a kind of potato. Besides these food- 272
stuffs, which were obtained originally from civilized Bra- 262
zilians, the Karayá gather from forest and jungle, many
kinds of wild fruits and vegetables, which introduce a pleas-
ing change in their aliment. A few such are the cajú, a
yellow, olive-shaped plum, which grows on a very large tree;
the jábádacába, a plum which grows clinging to the trunks
of a tree resembling the elm; the morisy, a large yellow
cherry, groves of which may be seen growing on the up-
lands; mongába, the fruit of a kind of upland rubber tree,
which I have elsewhere called a natural baked apple; and

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
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CHAPTER IX.

KARAYÁ ACTIVITIES.—CANOE MAKING.—WEAPONS.—NATURE MADE UTENSILS.—ORNAMENT MAKING.—FAMILY LIFE.—PRIMITIVE ETHICS.—MARRIAGES.—CHILDREN.—GOVERNMENT.

THE industrial activities of the Karayá now make a better 412
showing than in former times, for their primitive tools are 177
now more and more replaced by tools introduced from the civilized world. The old stone-axes have disappeared, and little is known of them. Ancient inscriptions and figures upon [172]
the rocks represent men with stone-axes in their hands, but these drawings belong to a remote period.

To-day, the only primitive implements of the Karayá are 412
those that Nature furnishes them ready for use. Their scraping tools, for instance, are sharp-edged shells; their chisel-like instruments are the teeth of certain powerful rodents; and smooth, flat stones, formed by the action of the water, are used as discs upon which to beat and prepare the web of bark which is their cloth. [237]

It cannot be said of the Karayá that their primitive in- 461
dustries have fallen, in any degree, into decay because they have begun to use the tools of civilized men. Adaptability, beauty of form, and carefulness of execution, is evident in all their workmanship. Canoe building among them, for in- 396
stance, has reached a high degree of perfection, though the method of constructing them is very crude. These canoes, 501
which are all dugouts, are long and slim, and taper gradually to a point at both bow and stern. This form is perhaps best

teams having lined up—there were four men to a side—they 526
approached each other waltzing, zig-zag fashion, back and 628
forth from one side of the ring to the other in a series of very rapid, stiff-legged, turkey-steps, the second man of each pair being close behind his partner and executing, lock-step, precisely the same movements in perfect unison with him; at the same time, the arms of all were extended in front, legs spread wide apart, bodies inclined forward and slightly squatting, and the entire anatomy of each rigid as if frozen stiff. As they worked gradually toward each other, they emitted fiendish challenges in the form of long-drawn-out yells. Finally, they came together and clinched, and the yelling ceased. The "first round" terminated quickly with four of the combatants sprawling upon the sand. For the second round, they jerked themselves out to one another in single pairs; while for the third round, a single individual, only, came out, first from one side then from the other, prancing like game cocks right up to the opponents' line.

Dr. Ehrenreich describes a war dance he saw at one of 535
the Sambiða villages. Eight warriors, fully armed with spears, clubs, and bows and arrows, and decorated with feathers executed the dance, led by a sort of dancing master, before whom they were arranged in the form of a crescent. They moved but little from one spot—merely a few steps forward and backward—hopping rapidly and artistically on one leg and waving their weapons in perfect unison, guided by the measured beats of their leader. Every movement was executed with the nicest precision. It is said that the Karayá [177] learned this dance from the Kaiapó tribe.

When a Karayá dies, all his tools, weapons and ornaments 764
are burned, accompanied by a loud crying, wailing and lamentation [768] by the surviving relatives and friends, among whom, because of having participated in the obsequies, will be distributed whatever articles belonging to the deceased that were not consigned to the flames. There is, therefore, some inducement to be a mourner. The death dance around the corpse is next in order. First, the body is ornamented by

7:Lipkind E-5 (1938-1939) 1940
SP9 Caraja SP9

request a ghost to do his killing. In this case the ghost takes the form of a wild beast, usually a leopard. He may request a supernatural either to enter the body of his victim, or to turn loose on the victim his subject animals, particularly the alligator and piranha. The curing shaman sucks out the intrusive supernatural or persuades the ghosts or supernaturals to withhold their attack.

The dichotomy of ghosts and supernaturals is quite clear in Carajá religion. Ghosts are placated by calendrical feasts, run by a hereditary priest. Supernaturals are invited to the masked dances by a shaman who takes complete charge of this cult. There is little relationship between the two cults. There is a momentary appearance of masks during the Big-house Feast of the ghost cult, and an occasional offering to ancestors during the mask cult ceremonies.

What is of special interest is that there are many maleficent supernaturals who cannot be approached at all. There is no technique for handling them except keeping out of their way. The violent ghosts really fall in the same category as far as their relation to humans is concerned. And yet they are chiefly the best men of the Carajá who have fallen in battle against their enemies. In this curious bit of fantasy there seems to be a projection of the fear and aggression which are overtly present in the social life.

In recent years a few Carajá have been able to visit Rio and Belém. They have brought back a somewhat different picture of the extent of the world, a picture with which many Carajá are now familiar. It never intrudes into Carajá life. It is reserved solely for discourse with outsiders. No contradiction is felt because the two conceptions are never brought into the same universe of discourse. I was not able to detect any signs of skepticism. The Carajá is perfectly sure that he has a clear view of the true character of the world. The peculiar beliefs of outsiders are in keeping with their quaint behavior and lack of good breeding. A Carajá will not dispute about such things. He listens to the opinions of others with courtesy and curiosity but cannot be induced to take them seriously. It is much easier to pretend to agree. If you are a missionary, you will give him presents. Later he may have the additional pleasure of expounding your fantastic ideas to his fellows.

Two factors seem to me to contribute largely to the maintainance of this attitude. In the first place, the old way of life is still intact. When a man is able to find full occupation and joy in his activities, it is difficult to get him to doubt the premises on which they are founded. Secondly, every important feature of life is validated by mythical tales which are the Carajá history. The emergence myth, given above in its simplest and shortest variant, is one of many. I can do no more than mention some of the most important here. The full form of the emergence myth gives the names of all the ancestors who emerged and the precise social divisions which they

7:Lipkind E-5 (1938-1939) 1940
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began. There are numerous tales of the transformer, recounting how every beast got his present form. There are accounts explaining the origin of other peoples. There is a myth validating the men's cult. Others explain the origin of the staples of life, manioc and corn. There is a myth accounting for the behavior of the sun and the moon. This body of history lends depth to the Carajá picture of the world. He feels that he knows more clearly how things are disposed because he knows where they came from or, at least, how they were arranged at an earlier time.

In conclusion, I should like to mention another curious point. The Carajá, who, after hundreds of years of contact with white culture and nearly a century of close contact, cling so resolutely to their beliefs, are not a bit fussy about details. The stories are told differently by almost every teller. The amount of variation in important details is enormous. A single example must suffice here. I heard two versions of the emergence myth quite different from the brief one given above. In one a woman detected the presence of death in the upper world and in her resentment at not being listened to shut the hole to the underworld, thus locking the others out when they tried to return. In the other Kaboi did not let them back again because he feared they might bring death in with them. A Carajá who travelled with me from village to village heard all sorts of variants of this kind and accepted them all with almost equal confidence. It was not that he did not see the discrepancies. They did not matter to him. A similar laxity is found in all Carajá religious observances. The pattern of a ceremony is more or less definite but every performance varies greatly. Such flexibility would seem to invite the penetration of foreign matter and yet I can detect the presence of little that may be considered borrowing from white culture. It will be of interest to compare the beliefs of the Carajá with those of other Brazilian tribes with whom they may be supposed to have had fairly recent contacts.

Columbia University.

/10 cont./

*532 on the other hand, breasts are attached and the hair roll extends down very far on both sides.

6. Three other clay figures are very peculiar.

Fig. 54 /see p. 50 / is evidently a male figure with legs of type 1. The head is pointed and surrounded by a small wax cap. There is a small mouth-hole in the face. Arms are lacking. The torso shows a hollow extending from top to bottom, the edges of which jut out somewhat over the rest of the body.

Fig. 55 /see p. 50 /: Īnǒ, i.e., human being. It is made of gray clay, has legs of type 1, arms, penis, and cylinder-shaped body, to which is attached a large head with a huge nose, wide-open mouth, and slit eyes.

Fig. 56 /see p. 50 /. This female figure is made of white earth; legs are missing, the body is spherically fashioned and is covered by a long black string-skirt.

Ehrenreich in his "Beiträge" shows in Figure 1 on Plate XI an illustration of a primitive clay figure which is not represented in my collection. It is pointed at the top and bottom and has a navel hole and a mouth hole. I should like to remark that I [126] tried to collect all the types present so that my collection would exhaust the types encountered by me among the Karajá and Šavajé, but I did not see this form. The mouth hole alone, on the other hand, is sometimes found (Figs. 34, 42 /see p. 49 /; Dōbäi, Figs. 50, 52 /see p. 50 /; Fig. 54). In the same way [184] the accomplished forms (Ehrenreich, "Beiträge," Plate XI, Figs. 7, 8, 10) with their arms drawn up against their breasts, which come from the Šambioá /Shambioa/, were not to be found *532 among the Karajá and Šavajé. Should this lack be no accident, 184 then we would be confronted by a striking phenomenon. The 178 lack of the most primitive stage seems to prove that the Indians in the last 20 years have grown beyond this stage, whereas the lack of individual accomplished types shows that the Karajá and Šavajé have even today not yet caught up with the Šambioá. [126] I brought no dolls back with me from the Šavajé; they only had a few and they were completely identical with those of the Karajá.

/46 cont./

551 wish to infer at the outset a marriage, formerly prescribed,
601 with the matrilateral female cross-cousin. One must remember,
[183] however, that the present state characterized by a great degree of freedom, in other words, by a degree of "information" or of greater entropy, is also found in the performance of ceremonies, such as in the narration of myths and legends, these expressions of the spiritual life of the Carajá which allow great freedom of variation around a principal theme stubbornly preserved. — Finally teknonymy guides the reciprocal terms of grandparents and grandchildren, so that the grandparents, designated according to their sex, reply by the same word, even if the grandchild is of the opposite sex.

561 Before finishing my article, I must quickly touch on the
554 last two columns of Murdock's attempt. The Carajá distinguish,
615 by speech and by ornaments, age grades. At the same time, an idea of stratification is outlined in the fact that political and religious roles are the heritage of only one of the three patrilineal groups with an endogamous tendency. It is tempting to think
[567] of the classes or castes of the Guaycurú /Guaicuru/, for example, and since there are reports which speak of temporary slaves, Murdock's information in this direction must be corrected (Ai, with a tendency towards Ci, instead of O; column 14). The
628 villages are politically autonomous, but the Carajá themselves
621 unite some villages in amphictyonies for the performance of
622 certain ceremonies. The hereditary succession of the chiefs
621 goes in the patrilineal line, a grandson being chosen as the candidate, or, if one is lacking, a granddaughter. Consequent-
[178] ly, there is a temporary matrilineal succession in the heart of the patrilineal group, for which there is reserved the role of the chief, who, incidentally, is on the way to complete disappearance (thus: Pp and m, for the Carajá themselves, Ap and m for the Javahé and Chambioá /Shambioa/; column 15).

121 You would not wish me to end on this melancholy note.
[178] I repeat: a people small in number and too little known, despite appearances, is in the process of losing at least its traditional aspect, which would have been fascinating for comparative sociology as well as for the history of the South American Indians.

/17 cont./

412 Today the primitive tools are limited to those which Nature
237 provides for specific purposes, such as scraping knives of mussel shells, chisel-shaped implements made of rodent teeth, flat stones for pounding bast cloth, the coarse bony tongue of the pirarucú as a rasp, etc.

178 Despite widespread use of foreign tools, the industry of this people has completely retained its national character. Fortunately, among the Karaya, there is still no question of any decline in it such as almost always sets in as a consequence of the introduction of European products, as is well known. Fitness, beauty of form, and care in execution are still characteristic of their work.

501 Canoe construction is on a rather high level, although the method of production is relatively simple. The boats (auñõ) are long narrow dugouts with the front and back parts extending equally far and somewhat sloping at the tips. Given the many shallows of the river this form is the most efficient, since it facilitates the landing and launching of the vessel (Pl. IV /see p. 106 /, 2).

396 The material is the straightest possible trunk of the ipiuba
1824 (Tecoma sp.) or jatoba (Hymenaea sp.). Since the forward part is from the lower, the back part from the upper section of the trunk, the canoes are usually somewhat broader in the front than in the back. The hollowing is done with an ax and aided by fire. Since the cavity of the boat is not artificially widened by special manipulations such as Im Thurn describes (op. cit., p. 293), but rather the original diameter of the trunk also determines that of the boat, the canoes are usually disproportionately narrow in proportion to their length and tip over easily. They
501 are smoothed over inside and outside with great care. Arrangements for sitting are not present. There are set in on the other hand, rows of short crossbars, which, fixed a few inches above the bottom, protect any cargo from getting wet.

The oars (nahere, Pl. VIII /see p. 110/, 1-3) are of excellent workmanship. They are 1 1/3 to 1 1/2 meters long, half of which is taken up by the handle provided with a cross-grip. The blade is straight, leaf-shaped, 15-20 centimeters wide, and runs out at the bottom into a lancet-shaped, offset tip. Elegant

/28 cont./

also hold for the relationships prevailing among the Karaya.

The village communities composed of such family units, each of which has a particular name, seem to be like gau communities (2). The agricultural land belongs to the whole

2. Post, Stud. z. Entw. d. Familienrechts /Essay on the Development of Family Law/, p. 83.

and is tilled in common. Hunting and fishing expeditions are also undertaken in common, and the yield in booty, field produce, etc. divided among the families. The chief supervises all of these communal activities and achievements. He is supported by the community; the property of all tribal members belongs to him (3). On the other hand, it is his duty to adopt

3. Couto Magelhães, Peterm. Mitth., 1876, p. 121.

orphaned children, particularly the sons of those slain in war. The personal qualities to which he owes his office today are less prowess in war /29/ than the skill, experience, and linguistic knowledge required to deal with the Whites. Thus, even prisoners of war adopted into the tribe who distinguish themselves at this can achieve the position.

The chief organizes the war and hunting expeditions; he determines the camp sites and the locations of plantings and, after the burning over of the strip of forest (roça) concerned, divides the agricultural land, which is marked off by posts, among the individual families.

His effectiveness in the administration of justice is important. In case of quarrels between men he acts as referee, while his wife decides those of the women. It is his duty to bring offenders to account, but he does not inflict the punishment, which, according to the Indian law of retaliation, is a matter for the injured party. Murder or bodily injury are therefore avenged by the relatives of the victim without further ado.

/37 cont./

535 That such barbaric customs prevailed, at least formerly,
532 is all the less to be doubted, since analogies can be shown in
562 other regions of the world. Today, however, the matter does
688 not seem to be handled as strictly. It is said that among the
178 neighboring Tapirapé all the women once saw the masks by chance, so there was nothing else to do but to pardon them all and give up the secret.

According to a statement of Pedro Manco, the custom has fallen into disuse among the Šambioa, too. Nevertheless, they did not permit us simply to take the masks found in the forest along with us, because women /38/ were presumed to be in the area. Rather our men had to put on special clothing for the purpose of bringing them to our camp.

Whether these customs have now become milder or not, in any case the respect the women have for the masks and their mysterious storage place is quite great.

535 After the end of the festival the masks are thrown away or
532 burned. In any case the feathers used for them are saved.

It is unlikely that we shall ever fully understand the real meaning of these dances. It is even doubtful whether the Indians themselves are fully aware of it. On the basis of analogies among better known peoples, a few conjectures about it can at least be made.

535 It is certain that the mask represents the spirit of the ani-
532 mal portrayed. The animals themselves are either game animals
776 or those that play a certain role in the national legend, such as
825 the stork, the alligator, and the Gymnotus. In North America
[171] there are bear dances, buffalo dances, etc., in order to persuade the bear and buffalo spirit to make these animals appear in larger numbers, whereas other dances refer to animals which are regarded as original ancestors or have other mythological significance. Similar notions may also be the basis for the masked dances of the Karaya. This would already be a step beyond the lowest form of animism, since the acceptance of a spirit representing all animals of a certain class presumes a certain amount

/273 cont./

411 Ehrenreich also says that this plaiting is decorated above and
[531] below with small feather wreaths; this is not the case among my
[285] specimens.

According to statements by the Indians, in olden times their spears did not have bone points, but rather ran out in front into the pointed shafts; otherwise they were equipped like the spears of today.

[178] The following weapons no longer serve a serious purpose. Either they have become sporting weapons, like the arrow thrower, or children's toys (pellet-bow), or they have died out.

The arrow thrower (ăŭbĭ, ōbĭrŭ; Ill. 127a) is reminiscent in its form of the arrow throwers of the Xingu tribes, except that it is considerably larger (67 centimeters long). The hook at the upper end consists of bone and is attached by means of white cotton lashing (Ill. 127b). The arrow belonging to it (kŏhūlă) should
[824] really be made of hĕdžĭwă cane (Canna brava). In my model specimen the shaft consists of cambayuva cane and is about one and a half meters long; in front it bears a bulbous point of heavy palm wood (Ill. 127c). Other arrows are said to have points of stone which are fastened with wax, but I did not see such specimens. The shaft

Ill. 127 a-c.
a) Arrow thrower, b) detail of the hook, c) handling the arrow-thrower.

is unfeathered; it has no notch. Ehrenreich's arrows of ubá cane, on the other hand, have at the end a cut-out section that contains the notch hole. The specimen of throwing stick and arrow reproduced here was made by the Indians at my request.

The manner of handling it is shown in Ill. 127c. The thrower is held in the right hand; the arrow, with the rear, hollow end hooked into the peg, is laid on the board and grasped here with the right hand as follows: the thumb lies on the right edge of the /274/ throwing board, the second finger is stuck into the hole of the handle, the third finger reaches from the left edge over the arrow, the fourth extends from the left edge under the arrow, in other

/280 cont./

462 A. The division of labor by age and sex is such that the
561 male youths actually do nothing other than to practice the weapons craft and occasionally travel out to fish. In addition, they make their own weapons, as well as their feather ornaments and the cotton dance-belts. The married men, on the other hand, are usually busy; either they work in the plantings, or they go out twice a day to fish for their families, go hunting, plait baskets
[589] and hats, build houses, and bring in the harvest. In general, the men, when they are married, have a great deal of work and that is why young people no longer want to get married, having been infected by a few older bachelors who preach the ideal of bachelorhood: idling, smoking, chatting in the mask house.

The women learn their manual skills, such as spinning and weaving, from childhood on. Married women take care of the plantings, the harvest, tend the children, cook, make pottery, spin and weave, and plait mats. In general, to be sure, they have to work the whole day, so that one never sees them unoccupied, but in general their lot is a good one; hard work is never demanded of them, but is always taken over by the men.

412 B. Of their ancient tools some have already disappeared (1)
• 178

1. Iron tools seem to have penetrated in the previous generation. A 40-year old Indian of the south horde told me that he had not seen work done with stone axes any more, only his mother told him about it.

or are used in another way, they still, however, use stone axes /281/ as striking stones, small stone knives for tattooing, bone needles for sewing, mussel shells as scrapers and spoons, sets of piranha teeth for cutting the strips for plaiting baskets. More and
[177] more, however, iron implements are coming in: axes, bush knives, small knives, and shears are used everywhere, likewise iron crochet needles. In spite of these foreign implements, how-
[176] ever, the technique has happily kept its ancient character, and only occasionally are innovations, under the influence of the Brazilian inhabitants, to be noted.

/281 cont./

412 Brazilian inhabitants, to be noted. This shows us how tenaciously
178 the Karajá cling to their nationality, in spite of long association with their civilized neighbors.

311 C. The exploitation of the natural kingdom varies in intensity; the mineral kingdom is exploited least, the vegetable kingdom, which can, of course offer the Indian the most abundant resources, the most.

135 The mineral kingdom is as yet little utilized. Stones are rare in the alluvial valley of the Araguaya; at most there is small rubble on a few sandbanks; otherwise fine sand covers the river valley. On the steep vertical banks there is canga, a ferrous sandstone which cannot be utilized except perhaps in larger pieces which, with plaiting around them, serve as anchors for turtle tackle. Stones are found only north of the Tapirapé, and all of the few stone implements that were present came from there.

317 More frequently used is the gray clay which is embedded in
323 narrow layers in the sandstone of the high banks. It is used for pottery. This art, however, in its technique and form, is still very primitive; ornamentation is entirely lacking. The vessels are shaped according to their practical use; they are made by
562 the women. Apparently the women are more practical and less artistically endowed than the men, for we find everywhere that the things made by the women are simple and practical, those by the men, by contrast, show pleasing forms and ornamentation.

317 Earths are also but little utilized as colors.

237 The animal kingdom is utilized somewhat more intensively for technical purposes by the Indians. Bones and teeth of mammals are worked into tools and ornaments; mussel shells serve as implements. The bird kingdom is most abundantly drawn upon: their brilliant feathers are used for magnificent ornaments such as
235 scarcely any other Indian tribe displays in this abundance. In order to have the material for this always at hand, the Indians keep young birds, taken from the nest, tamed in their huts in order to
237 pluck them from time to time. The wax of bees plays an important role as gluing material.

226 which attains a length of ten feet, occurs very frequently;
[136] also the electric ell, and the thick-bodied pirarára which is encased in an armor of strong, bony plates; the voracious piránha, the jahú, a scaleless fish nearly as large as a man; the pintado, or spotted fish, which reaches a length of six or seven feet; various pacús, besides many other kinds of fish. All of these are suitable for human consumption.
[262] There are certain scaleless fish which are not used by the Karayá. Neither will they eat the dolphin; but they are quite fond of the turtle and its eggs.

During the time of high water when fish are not easily caught in the yellow, earth-charged flood, the Karayá secure their fish from the lagoons along the river, which they make into great, natural traps for the larger fish by cutting off their retreat. This is accomplished by blocking the outlet of the lagoon with a basket-work of poles and heavy climbing
[178] vines. In former times, fish were taken exclusively by means
[437] of the bow and arrow, but the Karayá now use the hook and line, which is obtained in trade from passing canoes. It is for the most part impossible to fish in the Araguaya with a net because the piránha cut it to pieces, and also because of the many large creatures that infest the river.

224 Hunting is not so important an occupation with the Karayá as fishing, hence they are more expert anglers than hunters; nor do they display much skill in the chase. This may appear strange to persons who believe that all Indians
[262] are hunters, par excellence. South America is not so rich in large game as Africa; moreover, some superstition, the taboo, doubtless, prevents the savages from eating the flesh of some species of game which are most numerous. For this reason, the Karayá do not hunt the tapir, which abounds along the Araguaya, though the meat is excellent, being much like beef, yet richer. Deer also, of which there are many varieties, exist in great numbers; yet few, if any, of the savage tribes touch these animals. The Karayá never hunt large game, confining themselves to monkeys, which are abun-

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
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dant, and to the pecari, the aguti, the musk duck which is 224
found in ponds, and similar small game.

Agriculture among the Sambiõa is highly developed—re- 241
markably so, in fact, for a people living in a state of sav-
agery—and is even more advanced in some respects than that
of the "civilized" Brazilians living near their territory. A
large assortment of vegetable foodstuffs are raised. They [178]
now have the same agricultural implements as the "civilized"
Brazilians, having relegated to oblivion their rude tools of
ancient times, with which they could not till the soil but to
a very limited extent, and that only with excessive toil. The
high agricultural development reached by these savages is
very interesting and important, proving conclusively that the
primitive man, far from being incapable of anything but to
wander over a wide territory, living from hand to mouth by
hunting and fishing, is capable of becoming an agriculturist
of no mean order. The plant most extensively cultivated by
the Sambiõa is the manioc. They raise both kinds, the
"wild" and the "tame." Next to this in importance is corn.
But this is used more to make a fermented drink than for [273]
food. Sugar-cane is also cultivated on the low, alluvial soil
along the river, which is well adapted to this purpose. But
the natives have no suitable contrivance for extracting the
juice from the cane. Several varieties of small, brown beans,
brought from Pará, and which are a staple food among civ- [262]
ilized Brazilians, are also raised. So also, the white and [177]
violet Brazilian *cará*, a kind of potato. Besides these food- 222
stuffs, which were obtained originally from civilized Bra- 262
zilians, the Karayá gather from forest and jungle, many
kinds of wild fruits and vegetables, which introduce a pleas-
ing change in their aliment. A few such are the cajú, a
yellow, olive-shaped plum, which grows on a very large tree;
the jábádacába, a plum which grows clinging to the trunks
of a tree resembling the elm; the morisy, a large yellow
cherry, groves of which may be seen growing on the up-
lands; mongába, the fruit of a kind of upland rubber tree,
which I have elsewhere called a natural baked apple; and

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca.1900) 1909
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501 suited to their purpose owing to the many shallow places in the river, and because it facilitates landing and pushing off. 396 The tree selected to be transformed into a canoe is an ipiúba [824] or a jatóba, which must be very straight. Strange to say, the butt of the tree becomes the bow of the canoe; therefore, the finished canoe is broader at the bow than at the stern. As these children of Nature are preeminently imitators of Nature, it seems quite probable that in constructing their canoes, they have in mind the form of the fish, which always goes big end first.

The log is first hewn into the form of a canoe, then hollowed out with axes and with fire. It is not broadened amidships, therefore, when finished, it is no wider than was the 501 original tree. As it is thus very narrow and tapers gradually and uniformly high above the water at both bow and stern, it tips over very easily. Great care is taken to make it perfectly smooth outside and in. No seats are provided, but sticks are placed across the bottom to keep both the occupants and the freight out of any water that may leak in. As every family has a canoe, quite a fleet of them may be seen in front of every village. These canoes are propelled by paddles five feet in length, half of which is blade, the point [531] terminating like a lance. They are made with great care and labor, and are often nicely ornamented. When canoeing, the 503 pilot is always seen perched in a squatting position on the extreme point of the stern with his knees drawn up to his chin.

411 The weapons of the Karayá are as of old—there has [718] been no change whatever. In common with other Brazilian tribes, the length and stiffness of their bow is according to the height and strength of its owner. Some bows are seven feet in length, while a boy's bow is two and a half or three [824] feet long. They are made of the wood of a certain palm-tree [171] which the Brazilians call *pau de arco*—bow wood—which is the wood used by all the tribes of central and North Brazil for their bows. The bow is made flat inside, and the extremities taper to a point. Several lengths of string, carried

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
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be ordered to appear at a designated spot in the woods when the sun reaches a certain position in the heavens, and here she will be compelled to submit herself to the assembled men. If she should fail to appear as ordered, the men may slay her wherever they find her and sink her body in the river. But if she should flee to the mystery hut, no one will enter to take her for this is an asylum of refuge. If a man should betray the secret of the masquerade to a woman of the tribe, he may, nevertheless, be allowed to go unmolested. But these barbarous customs do not appear to be so strictly observed to-day as in former times. It is related that owing to an accident, all the women of a certain village, caught sight at the same moment of the masquerade outfit when not in use. In this case, of course, nothing could be done but to pardon them all and make known to them the whole secret. It is said that among the Sambiõa, these masquerades are falling somewhat into disuse. Nevertheless, they would not allow Dr. Ehrenreich and his party to bring away the masquerade outfits that they had stumbled upon at a spot in the woods where they had been thrown at the termination of a festival, as they feared that some of their women might be in the vicinity and see them. To get permission to take them, the men of the party had to dress in them. Though these customs may be less strictly observed to-day than formerly, nevertheless, the women cherish a profound respect for these supposed creatures of the forest and their mysterious hiding-places.

535 562 688 [178] 535 [178] [126]

The masquerade outfits seem to be thrown away, or burned, at the conclusion of a festival, the feather decorations having first been removed.

Of the real significance of these masquerades, little or nothing is known, or perhaps ever will be known. It is doubtful if even the savages themselves are fully conscious of their significance. But we may get some light upon the subject from our knowledge of the customs and beliefs of other primitive peoples.

It is certain that the "make up"—the creature, animated [825]

/13 cont./

231 825 Domestic animals. In a description of the Indian house its animal fellow-lodgers must not be passed over. A genuine Indian still-life is inconceivable without them. The naïve joy of primitive man in animals and their behavior is expressed in his care for them. He considers the animal as [181] his equal. The feeling of solidarity, indeed, of relation- [538] ship with the animal world, which expresses itself in tribal tales and a rich treasury of animal fables, is a principal characteristic trait of the Indian national-spirit. This at the same time explains the often stressed contradiction that the savage Indian, in spite of his astonishing ability to tame the wild, timid animals of his country, has never brought this to the actual breeding of domestic animals in our sense. The animals are captured young and reared, but only to please themselves, for entertainment, out of joy in associating with them, not in order to make them useful. Therefore they 235 are not mated. Even the domestic chicken, which the 171 Araguaia tribes have had for a long time in a domesticated [262] state and which multiplies in great numbers, is not, as a member of the household, /14/ used for food, nor are its [439] eggs (1). In recent times, however, it serves as a trade item

[013] 1. Im Thurn, Among the Indians of Guyana /Guiana/, p. 265, reports the same thing.

in the trade with the commercial travelers, who sell the poultry in the first settlements of the province of Pará at a great profit.

23 Of the imported domestic animals, dogs and cats are already widespread. On the other hand, the pig is absent, but, in contrast, it is raised and traded by preference by the Kayapo tribes.

235 825 A large Šambioa village is always at the same time a kind of menagerie. The bird kingdom is most noticeable. The largest and most colorful birds are made use of, at least insofar as they must give up their feathers for feather ornaments.

7:Lipkind E-5 (1938-1939) 1940
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754 request a ghost to do his killing. In this case the ghost takes the form of a wild beast, usually a leopard. He may request a supernatural either to enter the body of his victim, or to turn loose on the victim his subject animals,
756 particularly the alligator and piranha. The curing shaman sucks out the intrusive supernatural or persuades the ghosts or supernaturals to withhold their attack.

776 The dichotomy of ghosts and supernaturals is quite clear in Carajá re-
769 ligion. Ghosts are placated by calendrical feasts, run by a hereditary priest.
746 Supernaturals are invited to the masked dances by a shaman who takes
[754] complete charge of this cult. There is little relationship between the two cults. There is a momentary appearance of masks during the Big-house Feast of the ghost cult, and an occasional offering to ancestors during the mask cult ceremonies.

775 What is of special interest is that there are many maleficent supernaturals
776 who cannot be approached at all. There is no technique for handling them except keeping out of their way. The violent ghosts really fall in the same category as far as their relation to humans is concerned. And yet they are chiefly the best men of the Carajá who have fallen in battle against their
[154] enemies. In this curious bit of fantasy there seems to be a projection of the fear and aggression which are overtly present in the social life.

771 In recent years a few Carajá have been able to visit Rio and Belém. They
772 have brought back a somewhat different picture of the extent of the world,
577 a picture with which many Carajá are now familiar. It never intrudes into Carajá life. It is reserved solely for discourse with outsiders. No contradiction is felt because the two conceptions are never brought into the same universe of discourse. I was not able to detect any signs of skepticism. The Carajá is perfectly sure that he has a clear view of the true character of the world. The peculiar beliefs of outsiders are in keeping with their quaint behavior and lack of good breeding. A Carajá will not dispute about such things. He listens to the opinions of others with courtesy and curiosity but cannot be induced to take them seriously. It is much easier to pretend to
[747] agree. If you are a missionary, you will give him presents. Later he may have the additional pleasure of expounding your fantastic ideas to his fellows.

182 Two factors seem to me to contribute largely to the maintainance of this
772 attitude. In the first place, the old way of life is still intact. When a man is
773 able to find full occupation and joy in his activities, it is difficult to get him to doubt the premises on which they are founded. Secondly, every important feature of life is validated by mythical tales which are the Carajá history. The emergence myth, given above in its simplest and shortest variant, is one of many. I can do no more than mention some of the most important here. The full form of the emergence myth gives the names of all the ancestors who emerged and the precise social divisions which they

7:Lipkind E-5 (1938-1939) 1940
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began. There are numerous tales of the transformer, recounting how every beast got his present form. There are accounts explaining the origin of other peoples. There is a myth validating the men's cult. Others explain the origin of the staples of life, manioc and corn. There is a myth accounting for the behavior of the sun and the moon. This body of history lends depth to the Carajá picture of the world. He feels that he knows more clearly how things are disposed because he knows where they came from or, at least, how they were arranged at an earlier time.

In conclusion, I should like to mention another curious point. The Carajá, who, after hundreds of years of contact with white culture and nearly a century of close contact, cling so resolutely to their beliefs, are not a bit fussy about details. The stories are told differently by almost every teller. The amount of variation in important details is enormous. A single example must suffice here. I heard two versions of the emergence myth quite different from the brief one given above. In one a woman detected the presence of death in the upper world and in her resentment at not being listened to shut the hole to the underworld, thus locking the others out when they tried to return. In the other Kaboi did not let them back again because he feared they might bring death in with them. A Carajá who travelled with me from village to village heard all sorts of variants of this kind and accepted them all with almost equal confidence. It was not that he did not see the discrepancies. They did not matter to him. A similar laxity is found in all Carajá religious observances. The pattern of a ceremony is more or less definite but every performance varies greatly. Such flexibility would seem to invite the penetration of foreign matter and yet I can detect the presence of little that may be considered borrowing from white culture. It will be of interest to compare the beliefs of the Carajá with those of other Brazilian tribes with whom they may be supposed to have had fairly recent contacts.

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/46 cont./

551 wish to infer at the outset a marriage, formerly prescribed,
601 with the matrilateral female cross-cousin. One must remember,
[183] however, that the present state characterized by a great degree of freedom, in other words, by a degree of "information" or of greater entropy, is also found in the performance of ceremonies, such as in the narration of myths and legends, these expressions of the spiritual life of the Carajá which allow great freedom of variation around a principal theme stubbornly preserved. — Finally teknonymy guides the reciprocal terms of grandparents and grandchildren, so that the grandparents, designated according to their sex, reply by the same word, even if the grandchild is of the opposite sex.

561 Before finishing my article, I must quickly touch on the
554 last two columns of Murdock's attempt. The Carajá distinguish,
615 by speech and by ornaments, age grades. At the same time, an idea of stratification is outlined in the fact that political and religious roles are the heritage of only one of the three patrilineal groups with an endogamous tendency. It is tempting to think
[567] of the classes or castes of the Guaycurú /Guaicuru/, for example, and since there are reports which speak of temporary slaves, Murdock's information in this direction must be corrected (Ai, with a tendency towards Ci, instead of O; column 14). The
628 villages are politically autonomous, but the Carajá themselves
621 unite some villages in amphictyonies for the performance of
622 certain ceremonies. The hereditary succession of the chiefs
621 goes in the patrilineal line, a grandson being chosen as the candidate, or, if one is lacking, a granddaughter. Consequent-
[178] ly, there is a temporary matrilineal succession in the heart of the patrilineal group, for which there is reserved the role of the chief, who, incidentally, is on the way to complete disappearance (thus: Pp and m, for the Carajá themselves, Ap and m for the Javahé and Chambioá /Shambioa/; column 15).

121 You would not wish me to end on this melancholy note.
[178] I repeat: a people small in number and too little known, despite appearances, is in the process of losing at least its traditional aspect, which would have been fascinating for comparative sociology as well as for the history of the South American Indians.

1:Lipkind E-5 (1937) 1948 SP9 Caraja SP9

is planted in September, when the first rains come, and manioc shortly after. There is little cultivation beyond weeding. The basic crop is manioc, both the sweet and bitter varieties being cultivated, with maize next in importance. Four varieties each of sweet and bitter manioc and 10 varieties of maize are cultivated. Other crops are: Five varieties of potatoes, two varieties of cara, four varieties of watermelon, three varieties of squash, four varieties of beans, and ten varieties of bananas, as well as peanuts, urucú, tobacco, cotton, calabashes, sugarcane, yams, peppers, pineapples, and papayas. Men do all the work with a little assistance in harvesting and weeding from older women. The *Javahé* are more industrious farmers than the other *Carajá*, cultivating extensive plantations. 241 [462] [184]

Collecting.—A large number of vegetable products are gathered for use as food, medicine, and raw material for manufacture, but only a few are of great importance. The babassu and the burití palms, used for food and textile materials, are among the most valuable. The taquara reed is sought after for arrows. Turtle eggs are a significant item of food during the dry season. Honey is indispensable for feasting. 222 262 [441]

Hunting.—Although the *Carajá* are passionate hunters, very few of the animals available in the region are eaten. Only the peccary is really sought and constitutes a sizable item in the larder. The other animals that are eaten—the cutia, coati, woodsdeer, monkey, iguana, and a few birds, such as the mutum, jao, and jacu—are killed when encountered but are not eaten by everyone. Peccaries are hunted in a communal drive, the most favorable time being shortly after the beginning of the rainy season when large droves are trapped on islands. 224 [262]

The chief purpose of hunting is to get feathers, and the most desirable birds are the various parrots, herons, the male stork, and the flamingo. The nesting of valuable birds is carefully watched, and the young are stolen and tamed. Feathers stored in small baskets almost constitute a currency, because they are readily negotiable at all times and maintain a stable value. 223 237 [231] [436]

The principal weapons are the bow and club. The bow, made of a variety of woods but with a preference for juari when available, is round in cross section and about 6 feet (2 m.) long. The arrow is preferably of taquara reed and variously tipped with wood, animal bone, or fish bone. Clubs are beautifully fashioned of heavy hardwood, decorated with delicate carving, and are swung and thrown with equal skill. The lance is now used only for ceremonial purposes. 441

Fishing.—Fish is the most important food supply. Trapping and drugging fish with timbo is a communal affair; individuals fish with the bow and arrow. There is occasional night fishing, with spearing by torchlight. The pirarucu is killed by harpoon. The hook and line is little used, and apparently was borrowed recently from the Neo-Brazilians. 226 [262] [177]

Food preparation.—Manioc is peeled, grated, squeezed out by hand, and cooked into a soup. When the soup cools, it is masticated for a few 252

000 /3 cont./
forms are only the result of particularly high personal talent.

531 128 Decorative art is limited to the application of geometric patterns. These patterns, which are usually interpreted as animals, are borrowed from the plaiting technique. We shall therefore first of all look at the decorations borrowed from the plaiting technique which are on the plaited work itself, then at their transference in carving on gourd utensils, and at the same time we shall take into consideration the great number of such patterns which the Indians drew in the sketchbook for me. Only then will the other decorations, ordinarily in carving and poker work, be dealt with.

531 462 Decorative artistic activity is limited solely to the men; only they know how to execute the patterns. I have seen only a few clay tobacco pipes, two spindle whorls, some modern clay bowls, a doll's apron, and a mat which had been decorated by women. These objects show completely different patterns, though [177] it must be noted that they have apparently taken over the clay tobacco pipes and clay bowls only very recently from the Brazilians. *532 462 So here the woman stands completely behind the man. It is the same in free art. There only the stylized clay figures are made by the women, whereas the more lively figures in other material and the drawings are produced by the men. So here, too, we find 184 462 the striking pre-eminence of the man over the woman. Thus it seems as though among the Karajá the man is more artistically inclined than the woman, whereas in technical skills the two sexes are probably equal.

A. Representative Art

1. Plastic Art

*532 [524] Plastic representations are encountered frequently; they are produced only for play or as toys.

/10 cont./

*532 on the other hand, breasts are attached and the hair roll extends down very far on both sides.

6. Three other clay figures are very peculiar.

Fig. 54 /see p. 50 / is evidently a male figure with legs of type 1. The head is pointed and surrounded by a small wax cap. There is a small mouth-hole in the face. Arms are lacking. The torso shows a hollow extending from top to bottom, the edges of which jut out somewhat over the rest of the body.

Fig. 55 /see p. 50 /: Īnǒ, i.e., human being. It is made of gray clay, has legs of type 1, arms, penis, and cylinder-shaped body, to which is attached a large head with a huge nose, wide-open mouth, and slit eyes.

Fig. 56 /see p. 50 /. This female figure is made of white earth; legs are missing, the body is spherically fashioned and is covered by a long black string-skirt.

Ehrenreich in his "Beiträge" shows in Figure 1 on Plate XI an illustration of a primitive clay figure which is not represented in my collection. It is pointed at the top and bottom and has a navel hole and a mouth hole. I should like to remark that I [126] tried to collect all the types present so that my collection would exhaust the types encountered by me among the Karajá and Šavajé, but I did not see this form. The mouth hole alone, on the other hand, is sometimes found (Figs. 34, 42 /see p. 49 /; Dōbäi, Figs. 50, 52 /see p. 50 /; Fig. 54). In the same way [124] the accomplished forms (Ehrenreich, "Beiträge," Plate XI, Figs. 7, 8, 10) with their arms drawn up against their breasts, which come from the Šambioá /Shambioa/, were not to be found *532 among the Karajá and Šavajé. Should this lack be no accident, 184 then we would be confronted by a striking phenomenon. The 178 lack of the most primitive stage seems to prove that the Indians in the last 20 years have grown beyond this stage, whereas the lack of individual accomplished types shows that the Karajá and Šavajé have even today not yet caught up with the Šambioá. [126] I brought no dolls back with me from the Šavajé; they only had a few and they were completely identical with those of the Karajá.

/10 cont./

d) Wax Figures

(Plates IV-VI)

*532 Boys and youths very much like to make wax figures for fun. [232] [524] Wax pigs in particular could be encountered in the hands of small boys almost everywhere. I found an occasional one of another shape here and there in the baskets; all the others were made [123] spontaneously before my eyes when the Indians had seen my interest in such figures, and indeed of their own free judgment, not at my request. Thus these figures show the activity of instantaneous free creation by these Indians. There were skillful and un- [463] skillful modelers among them; one boy and one youth in particular distinguished themselves by lively reproductions.

The wax figures represent human beings and animals. [184] They all stem from the northern horde of the Karajá; I found none among the southern horde. The three best representations of human figures come from the Šavajé.

/11/ The human forms show many correspondences with the stylized forms of the clay dolls; only five of them stand out due to their true-to-life representation.

*532 I obtained five specimens of male figures from the Karajá, 126 one of which (Fig. 63 /see p. 50 /) represents a Šavajé youth. Of the nine female examples six come from the Karajá and three from the Šavajé. Three examples from the Karajá represented Karajá women (Figs. 60, 61 /see p.50 /); the three others, which, as an exception, were made by a woman, represented Tapirapé women (Fig. 62 /see p50 /). These two groups remind one much more strongly of the clay figures, whereas the three figures from the Šavajé (Figs. 65 and 66 /see p. 50 /) represent the most accomplished forms.

*532 The primitively made human-figures look like clay figures covered with wax.

Fig. 57 /see p. 50 / has legs of type 1 of the clay dolls and arms attached at the sides. Head and hair form a triangle pointed toward the top.

/28 cont./

black decorations are somewhat reminiscent of the decorations of the men. The clay spinning whorl (Fig. 225a) is provided on one surface with fine incising which is arranged in two concentric circles, with 531 [283]

Fig. 228 a and b. Small clay utensils for play.

Fig. 225. Spinning whorl, a) of clay, b) of white earth.

[524] [283]

Fig. 226 a-d. Tobacco pipes of clay.

[276]

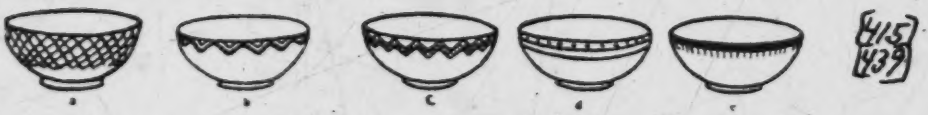

Fig. 227 a-e. Decorated eating dishes, export goods.

[415] [439]

four spokes divided up several times, in between. /29/ The spinning whorl made of white earth (Fig. 225b) has a circle cut into it on both sides, from which rays extend. These indentations are made red and black. [283]

The decorations on the clay tobacco pipes and the clay bowls were probably taken over from the Brazilians. 531 276

I found clay tobacco pipes only in the villages near S. José. They were evidently taken over altogether, and with them the ornamentation as well, from the Brazilians. It is true that their form is now made by the Indians rather differently from the Brazilian form, with a wide base which is lacking in the Brazilian one (Fig. 226 a to d). 177 [164]

/29 cont./

531 415 [484] [439] Clay bowls, in export form and decorated with red paint, were also produced only in the uppermost villages and actually as export goods. The decorations are limited /Fig. 227 appears here/ mostly to the upper edge; only rarely do they extend farther down. Despite their simplicity, they have a very pleasing effect (Fig. 227 a to e /see p. 65/). Moreover, a crudely [524] decorated play-bowl of the Karajá (Fig. 228a /see p. 65/) and a small clay bowl, likewise painted on the outer surface with red patterns, which comes from the Šavajé living with the southern horde of the Karajá (Fig. 228b /see p. 65/), were found.

000 /Appendices I, "Distribution of the Objects and Drawings among the Individual Tribes," II, "Index of the Figures and Patterns Drawn by the Same Persons," and III, "Systematic Index of the Objects Represented," pp. 30-31, have not been translated; see the foreign text./

/46 cont./

121 sociology as well as for the history of the South American Indians. I hope, however, that my material can be useful in the discussion on the social structures of central Brazil recently started by Lévi-Strauss and Maybury-Lewis, even if it is not yet the right moment for me to enter into it from my side.

113 /47/ Bibliography

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Discussion

184 Professor H. Baldus emphasizes the necessity of considering geographical differences in the study of the social organization of the Carajá of the north and of the south.

/7 cont./

36 Their northernmost settlement near S. Maria was attacked and
[648] completely destroyed in 1881 by the Kayapo of the left bank.
Since then they have not ventured far beyond the northernmost tip
of Bananal Island with their settlements. Their farthest excursions
go below S. Maria to the rapids of Joncon (i.e., it is at an end).

439 They perform important services for the traffic on the river by
felling wood for the steamers. As payment they receive axes and
knives, which they on their part trade to other tribes, such as the
197 Yavahē and Tapirapé. Understandably, when steamboat transportation was established, care was taken from the first to stay on good
terms with the savages. The merit for introducing this excellent
relationship and maintaining it for 20 years belongs to the courageous
commander of the steamer, Sebastião de Freitas, who served so
well in exploring the Araguaia. It is thanks to his unselfish, kind
work that perhaps /8/ nowhere else in Brazil are the relations between the native population and the settlers so good as here.

To be sure, for the Karayahi the contact with "civilization'
[184] has not been without consequences. In comparison with the independent Šambioa, a certain lack of order and cleanliness in
their villages and less care and taste in their artifacts are noticeable.
On the other hand, a wealth of most interesting ethnological ob-
[126] jects are still present among them. The most important pieces in
the collection were acquired from them.

311 Their material position cannot be described as especially favorable. The lower riverbanks of their region are so exposed to floods
that they can practice agriculture only to a limited extent. They
[648] venture onto the higher left bank only temporarily, out of fear of
their worst enemies, the Akuä and Kayapo.

13 The third large Karaya horde is that of the Šambioa, about
[101] whom Castelnau brought back the first more detailed reports.
[361] They possess four rather large villages between the Pau d'arco rapids
[224] and the great Cachoeira de S. Miguel. Their hunting expeditions,
however, extend beyond the Cachoeira grande, in former times up
to the region of the Apinagēs, near the present São Vincente, from
[172] where increasing settlement has scared them away. The rock
sculptures of the so-called Martirios Island between the Carreira

/12 cont./

286 They most probably owe their mat to the civilized Brazilians.
177 Insofar as the latter use hammocks at all, they make them out of
cotton. Now Pinto da Fonseca says (op. cit., p. 387) that the
[283] Karaya used cotton only for making fish nets and bow strings, but
were unacquainted with the art of weaving. He himself made
them a weaving apparatus and instructed the women in this skill.

This would agree with the fact that still today the Yavahē of
[184] Bananal Island, among whom Pinto undertook his first civilizing
attempts, are designated as the most skillful weavers. The uncommonly firm, taffeta-like, woven "rede" in the collection is supposed to be Yavahē work. A visit among them would definitively settle this interesting question.

293 Also to be mentioned here as a noteworthy elaborate piece
[285] belonging to the Karaya are the eyeshades (ȧodi) plaited out of
[824] uaguassú palm leaves, with which they protect themselves from the blinding reflected sunlight while walking over the sandbanks (Pl. VIII /see p. 110/, 10). They have not arrived at the construction of protective apparatus of the type of the Eskimo snow-goggles, but they prize European dark glasses.

The adding on to the eyeshade to make a complete top-hat
[197] (taă) is probably to be traced back to European influence. There were two specimens of it in all.

Settlements, Houses, and Domestic Animals.

621
361 The Karaya do not live in small troops of two or three families, as the forest Indians of Amazonas and the rude hunting nomads of the coastal region do, but always in larger communities. Only the southernmost Karayahi are forced by the lack of means of subsistence to divide up somewhat more. In the vicinity of S. José during the dry season one continually meets small bands of eight to ten persons. The farther one comes downstream, the more populous their camps become. Some of them may number at least 150-200 inhabitants.
342 The Karayahi huts erected on the sandbanks usually consist of large
[824] buriti-fiber mats stretched over pole frames, standing about without any order, like gypsy tents (Pl. III /see p. 105/, 2).

/12 cont./

342 Only rarely does one see among them the characteristic solid
184 house-construction of the Šambioa and then only in smaller
351 dimensions, without any particular care in the construction. Since
364 all the scraps are simply strewn on the ground, the refuse gradually
[136] becomes unbearable. The vermin multiplying in large numbers,
especially the sand fleas, finally force them to abandon the place.
342 In the rainy season the Karayahi move into stronger, buriti-leaf
[361] covered, open ranchos on the high bank, which do not in other
respects differ in form from those customary among the Brazilian
population.

/13/ The "summer huts" of the Šambioa are very much more
[184] carefully and neatly built. Here the greater diligence, industri-
ousness, and the comfortable well-being of the free son of the
wilderness are manifest, in contrast to his "tame" tribal brother
vegetating in oppressive conditions and dependent on civilization.
[361] Not in disorder, but in long rows, forming real streets, these
houses with their impeccable cleanliness make an uncommonly
friendly and comfortable impression (Pl. IV /see p.106/, 1, and
Pl. V /see p. 107/).

621 In the first Šambioa village we counted 60 huts, in the
second 30, in the third 45, and in the fourth 90, each of which is
inhabited by one or two families.

The individual villages are distinguished by special names.
342 The basic form of the house is rectangular; the narrow side
with the door faces the street. The frame consists of three or four
[335] flexible poles on each side carried over forked supports and held
together with those on the opposite side by means of cipos, thus
/Fig. 3 appears here/ forming a boat-like, arched roof, which is further
supported by some vertical poles set in the ground in the long
direction (Fig. 3 /see p. 22 /). These, as well as the forked
supports, are connected with one another by as many strong hori-
zontal poles as are necessary. Thin laths are placed lengthwise
[824] and parallel to one another on the outside over the ribs of the roof
and serve as supports for the strong pinnate leaves of the uaguassú
palm (Attalea spectabilis), which, in several layers, form a fairly
waterproof roof. Their leaf pinnae are also entwined with one
another into a very solid plaited work. These plaitings serve

/34 cont./

535 detail that Kleinschmidt's description of the duck-duck festival
121 of New Britain would also fit mutatis mutandis the animal dances of the Karaya.

535 Castelnau, who first mentions them, obtained one of these
114 masks with great difficulty (1), but it was later lost, along with

1. Castelnau, op. cit., p. 441.

all the other collections, in the cataracts of the Tocantins. The depiction of a dance given by him on Plate IX of his Vues et scenes /Views and Scenes/ (Paris, 1852) is incorrect inasmuch as the lower trunk and legs of the dancers are not uncovered, as the illustration shows, but are hidden under long buriti hangings. Also the height of the headdresses seems exaggerated.

Later Spinola (2) published something about them and also

2. Op. cit., p. 45.

obtained some mask costumes for the anthropological exhibition in Rio (1882), which, however, never reached their destination, but were lost in Goyaz.

126 That I was successful in luckily bringing home some of the
535 most interesting masks I owe to the intervention of the chief Pedro
532 Manco, without whose intercession the superstitious mistrust of
[123] his fellow tribesmen could hardly have been overcome. These
[178] sacred objects had already been unwisely profaned several times by travelers, in particular by Spinola himself. Contrary to expecta-
532 tion, the most beautiful specimens were found among the
535 Karayahi, whose villages alone exhibit the above-described
184 "medicine huts." Smaller camps had, instead of them, simple semicircular compartments, open at the top and back, as Castelnau depicts them, whereas the huts are completely absent among the Šambioa. Probably in this case they had already been torn down again after the conclusion of the festivities. The palm-straw costumes collected there lay thrown in a heap in the nearby forest and are for that reason somewhat defective.

/36 cont./

535 On both, the back side is decorated with a double row of
532 short green and blue parrot feathers placed in the long direction.
825 3. The mask of a black bird (tirehãñ) has no animal emblem. It is a human face made of a large gourd, the lower third painted black, the rest red. The mouth is equipped with wax lips and wooden teeth. The nose of black wax is located between the narrow eye slits at an unnatural height. A hanging of black and /37/ brown feathers falls from the back, while at the front and on the sides long strips of buriti bast cover the body of the wearer (Pl. X /see p. 112/, 3).

The number of masks is in no way exhausted with these.
[184] Each village has its special ones and many a "medicine hut" was actually crammed full of the different types.

Besides those mentioned the following were noted as particularly common among the Karayahi:

The fish: pintado (Pimelodus sorubim), trem-trem (Gymnotus electricus), chicote, piau, and pirarucú (Sudis gigas); the birds: tuyuyu (Mycteria jabiru), japuira (Cacicus sp.) mutum (Crax), jacu (Penelope); finally deer and crabs.

521 Masked festivals. If there is much food on hand after pro-
535 ductive hunting and fishing expeditions, the chief decides to hold a dance festival, which continues as long as the provisions last. The preparations begin several days before the date set. The women attend to the food and drink, the men set to work at making the dance costumes, unless they are still occupied with hunting.
[533] Each dance is known only to certain persons. The songs sung in
[196] connection with them, which are handed down from father to son, are allegedly performed in an ancient language incomprehensible to the masses.

[825] Each animal represented has its characteristic sound, which
[533] is repeated again and again in the songs. Thus, the pacu cries: heiyoñ he, heiyoñ he, the alligator hu — hu — hu.

[562] The women and children watch the dance, to be sure, but
[532] may not look at the masks by themselves, without their wearers,
[196] since they are made to believe that the "animal spirits" concerned are really present before them. Only the oldest women are sometimes told the secret.

/194 cont./

342 I myself did not see the rainy-season huts. In October /195/ (beginning of the rainy season) the Karajá occupied, on the sand-banks, a hut form differing from the dry-season type; according to their statements, they build their houses on the high banks from November to March in the same way as this transitional type. The chief difference in contrast to the dry-season house is that the two open narrow sides are each closed off by a round structure projecting out about one meter, in each of which a small opening permits entrance (Pl. 40, Ill. 1). The manner in which the round structures are built is shown in Ill. 2 of Plate 40. They are covered in the same way as the rest of the house. Apparently they serve to prevent rain from entering from the side.

[335] By far the majority of these closed huts showed a second difference: they were once again as long; the framework thus consisted of six arches (1). The long houses, /Ill. 18 appears here/

[113] 1. Such long huts with a low entrance on the front side are already mentioned by Villa Souza Real in 1792 from among the Šambioá. Rev. trim., Vol. 11, p. 430.

closed on both sides, naturally afford far greater protection from rain and at the same time to a greater number of persons than, say, two short huts (Pl. 32, Ill. 1).

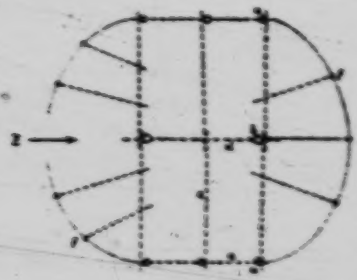
The entrances are fashioned differently: at the beginning and end of the rainy season, only two-thirds of the rounding is covered on the side, and the last third is left free as an entrance (Pl. 39); at the time of the heavy rains, however, the entire rounding is covered, except for a low entrance in the center (Pl. 32, Ill. 2). In the transition periods all possible variations occur: short house with a round structure, long house open on both sides, etc.

342 184 177 In the southernmost villages, near Schischá and São José, there were houses which deviated considerably from this method of construction; they represented a mixed type from the building method of the Šavajé and Brazilians. They look very rancho-like.

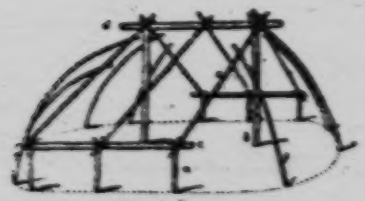
[335] The side walls are formed by three vertical posts about one meter

/195 cont./

high, in the forks of each of which rests a longitudinal beam. In the center of each of the two narrow sides stands a post about three meters high; a ridge beam is laid across the two of them. In most cases a second longitudinal beam at half the height also connects them. From the ridge beam to the side longitudinal beam three rafters run down on either side. /196/ The entrances are closed by round structures. The covering corresponds to that



a Side uprights
b Ridge uprights
c Side supporting beam
d Ridge beam
e Rafters
f Rounding sticks



Ill. 18.
Ground plan and framework of the short hut of the mixed type. Karajá.

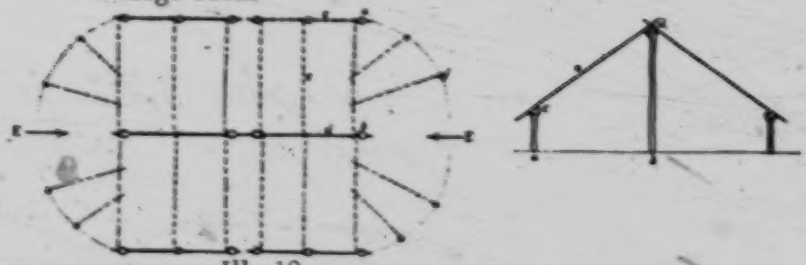
of the other houses. This therefore produces vertical walls, and wall and roof are separate from each other (framework and ground plan, Ill. 18; covered house, Pl. 40, Ill. 3). Sometimes double houses are built in this way. Such huts are considerably higher and roomier, and the round structures project out farther, up to two meters (Ill. 19). /Ills. 19 and 20 appear here./ These houses were originally taken over from the Šavajé; one can, however, easily trace how the Šavajé house changed here under Brazilian influence into this mixed house.

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 76]

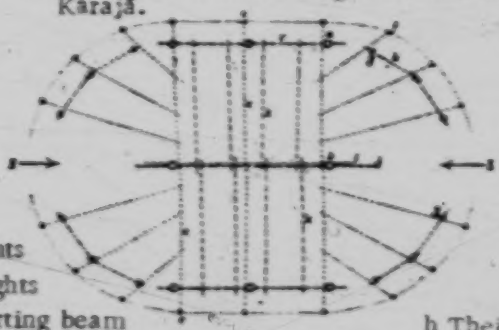
/196 cont./

342
184
[177]

a Side uprights
b Ridge uprights
c Side supporting beam
d Ridge beam
e Rafters
f Rounding sticks



Ill. 19.
Ground plan and cross-section of the long hut of the mixed type. Karajá.



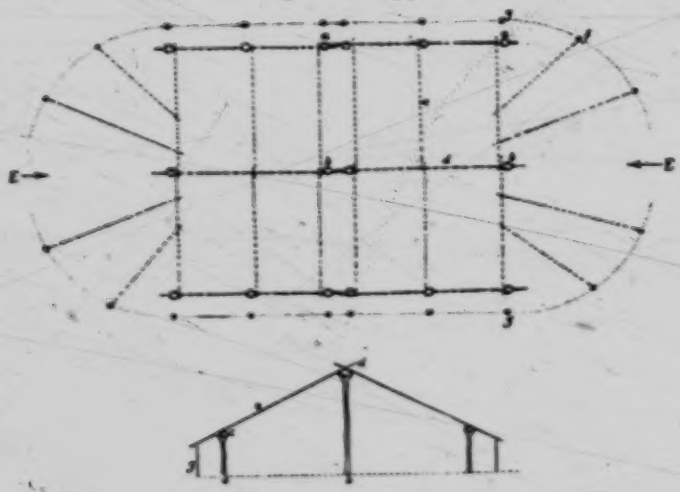
a Side uprights
b Ridge uprights
c Side supporting beam
d Ridge beam
e Rafters
f Rounding sticks
g Rounding uprights
h Their crossbeams
i Middle longitudinal beam at half the height
k Crossbeam for the floor

Ill. 20.
Ground plan and cross-section of the house of the Šavajé on Bananal.

/198 cont./

342
184
177

a Side uprights
b Ridge uprights
c Side supporting beam
d Ridge beam
e Rafters
f Rounding sticks
g Wall supports



Ill. 21.
Ground plan and cross-section of the long hut of the mixed type.
Šavajé in Schischá.

[335] That this influence actually acted in this way, and that these
[341] houses are not, say, ranchos taken over from the Brazilians and simply provided with round structures, is first of all shown by the example of the Šavaje, who are acquainted with the ridge beam and upright construction, and then by the fact that the mask houses of the Karajá of the south horde and those of the Šavajé have a ridge beam which is fastened at the top to the three arches. If we add, as is shown in Ill. 3 in Ehrenreich, "Beiträge," p. 13, that the houses of the Šambioá resemble those of the Šavajé, then the huts

/198 cont./

342 of the Karajá seem to us an impoverished form; significantly,
184 the ridge beam is preserved only in the mask house. The
177 mixed houses are thus of Indian origin, though, as far as the separation of wall and roof is concerned, with Brazilian influence.

342 Interior arrangement. The houses are very nicely cool, and the covering, if, as in the rainy season, it is more carefully made,
352 is rainproof. The floor is covered with large mats. These buriti-
[513]

[531]

Ill. 22.
Patterned sleeping mat for girls. Karajá.

fiber mats (bũlẽ́) serve as sitting and sleeping mats. On one of their long sides the fibers protrude as long fringe. My largest mat is four meters long and 1.70 meters wide. Smaller mats, which are patterned by black bast-strips plaited in, are rare (Ill. 22, girls' sleeping mat).

352 The sleeping areas are very simply furnished. To sleep, one
513 stretches out on the floor on a mat and covers himself with the other half of the mat or the rĩiṍ (see below /see p. 93 /). Sometimes the legs are drawn up in the side position, the one end of the rĩiṍ put over the feet and the other over the head, so that the entire body is protected from dew and mosquitoes. I did not see wooden cylinders as neck supports, which Ehrenreich mentioned. It is very possible that they have these, for they like to put the head high when sleeping.

/199 cont./

417 Outside the houses, on the other hand, there are special storage racks (ŏdĕdŭ). They consist of four forked sticks about one and a quarter meters high, which are set up in the form of a square and joined together by two crossbeams and many longitudi-
[251] nal beams. On these racks lie supplies of all kinds, manioc roots, unused implements and weapons kept on hand, as well as raw materials of all kinds; hung on them are gourds and baskets full
[287] of maize and feathers; the bast aprons of the women are also often hung here to dry (Ill. 24).

[225] For drying the lines used to fish for turtles, special racks made of two long vertical poles joined at the top by a cross-pole are used. The line, hanging far down, is hung on this to dry (Ill. 25).

Ill. 23.
Arrow-stand in the house.

[824] /200/ Fresh gourds are stuck on sticks to dry; near each house one sees groups of such staked gourds. Later, they are preferably stored by tying a whole number together on a stake (Ill. 26a and b).

354 Other household equipment is lacking. The hearth is outside
● 184 the house, in contrast to the Šavajé, among whom it is located in the round structures (see "Food" /see pp. 165 ff./); it was only in the modified houses in Schischá at the end of October that cooking was also done in the house. /Ills. 24 and 25 appear here./

364 House and environs are not very clean; food remains such as fish bones, nut shells, and bones, as well as wood, tools, etc., lie about everywhere. While it is dangerous just to come near the
[136] villages and houses with bare feet, the vast number of flies and other insects that gather in masses on the refuse is an obstacle to remaining outside the houses.

/210 cont./

302 Men sometimes wear the bowl cut, but usually they have the same hair style as the youths, except that they do not tie their hair, but let it hang freely. Among them, too, the wreath of hair can still be seen under the long hair. In later years no value is any longer attached to the parting and the crown tuft (Pl. 17; Pl. 36, Ill. 1; Pl. 43, Ill. 3).

Ill. 38.
Youth with tuft feather-cluster and hair wreath.

The parting (lāwōlŭ), which both sexes wear from puberty on, is achieved through the plucking out of the individual hairs. In the [184] south horde it is narrow, so that at first I did not even notice it; in the north horde, on the other hand, it is about two fingers wide. Young people almost always paint it with red color, whereas older ones do not wear this ornamentation. The crown tuft always goes with it.

The hair wreath is restricted to the male sex from boyhood on; women do not have it.

[412] [237] The cutting of the hair is now done with shears. According to Ehrenreich, they formerly cut it with piranha teeth. To my questions as to how they cut their hair before they had shears, they always told me that in those days they did not cut it, because they did not have any shears. Thus, the former custom has completely vanished from their memory. The hair that was cut off was thrown away, as I myself observed. The purpose of the long hair, they say, is for protection against mosquitoes.

[765] /211/ For mourning they are said to cut off the hair, and the women, too, are said to cut themselves a hair wreath called nakulau (?). I did not observe this custom, however, in Kabisá's family, which was in deep mourning.

The hair is very carefully tended. In the morning and evening it is combed out and oiled. Before they start on a journey, when they return to the village from hunting, fishing, or from the plantings, their hair is combed out for them by the mother, wife, or another female relative. When they arrive in a strange village on a visit, the chief's wife combs and oils their hair.

/222 cont./

*301 painted and covered with rolls of wax, which apparently is supposed to represent such a painted lip-plug (Pl. 45, Ill. 7).

*301 This sequence was precisely observed everywhere. Only in
● 184 the first village near Leopoldina were deviations found. Here the boy, as /223/ has just been mentioned, wore a wooden lamella, and later a wooden button, like his older brother and the
[177] father. This family was civilized; they hesitated to walk around with long plugs in front of the Brazilians. On the whole, long
[152] plugs are regarded as a sign of vanity, which is why older people, for example, can never wear them without making themselves ridiculous. The young people in the first village felt too superior to their savage fellow-tribesmen to wear such ridiculous things; hence they contented themselves with the dignified button of the old people.

*301 The stone lip-plugs (mănă'dĕlĕ; mănă = stone, mănādĕrĕzo =
[324] rock crystal) are a special kind. They are cut to shape out of quartz, rock crystal, or /Ills. 61-63 appear here/ alabaster and then smoothed so that they look as though they were polished. The mouthpiece is greatly widened; the lower end runs out into a thickening (Ill. 62). Such lip plugs are worn only by unmarried men and only at special festivities. When they marry, they give it to a young relative. Since the stone lip-plugs are very thick, the lip hole must first be enlarged. This is done by the insertion of ever thicker wooden plugs. I saw only one specimen of such a lip plug, and, to be sure, in the south horde, but could not acquire it. I learned about a second specimen /224/ in the south
[439] horde only long after we had left the village. They are not made by Karajá, but by the Tapirapé, with whom the Karajá of the
[438] north horde barter for them. Those of the south horde again buy
[435] them from those of the north horde, the price then allegedly amounting to a canoe, an ax, a pot, and a bush knife. In other words, they are very expensive and are therefore, and because they are very fragile, cautiously handled and kept carefully wrapped in cloth. At the present time, when the Karajá have a
[648] feud with the Tapirapé and are therefore no longer able to buy stone lip-plugs, their value has naturally increased many times over.

/224 cont./

*301 435 [436] very expensive, and they are all the more expensive the smaller they are. They are used as money for buying boats; one buys a boat for two such teeth. They are stored in the packing shown in Illustration 64: two long and two short teeth are tied together at the lower part with cotton threads and partly coated with wax. /Pl. 45 appears here./

*301 /225/ I obtained the gourd disk in Ill. 65 under the name of ăndŏhŏmālĭ. It is covered with four concentric wax rings, some of the interspaces of which are painted red; in the center there are three holes. Allegedly this is supposed to be a disk of an ear rosette, but I did not see such large disks elsewhere. [532] On the dance masks, however, there are large ear rosettes; perhaps it is the disk of such a mask rosette.

The mature young people of both sexes wear a slightly different ear ornament, but only occasionally, probably more as a festive ornament. It is called dŏhŏlũã (= dŏhŏ-eye; the mother-of-pearl disk in the center was also called this). A feather rosette is put on the front of a taquara stick by means of a cotton wrapping, and the middle of it is covered with a mother-of-pearl disk with a wax button in the center (1) (Ill. 66 a, b). /Ills. 65-67 appear here./

1. Ehrenreich brought back a few specimens with a wax cross on the disk. I never saw such ear rosettes. Königswald (Globus, Vol. 94, p. 219) states that these only come from the Šambioá, whereas those of the Karajá show only the wax button. My findings would agree with this. See also the previous footnote /see p. 117/ and compare in this connection the Šavajé /see pp. 315-316/.

•[184]

[TEXT continues on P. 120]

/230 cont./

*301 are called kõdẽsi, in both cases their hangings hang down only
283 on the outer side of the arm. The lower-arm bands are worn behind the arm cuffs (dẽsi). In this ornament, too, a plaiting of the upper part sometimes occurs (Ill. 74 a, b). For such calf bands, which are worn underneath the real calf bands, /231/ two names were mentioned: ũljãũ and wõdãĩdĩ. In this case the fringe hangs all around the leg (Ill. 75).

*301 b) All other ornaments are worn only by the unmarried;
[237] married persons have no feather ornaments, whereas young people are abundantly provided with them, though they seldom wear them. The ornaments most often worn are the feather caps (boys), bead necklaces, and finger rings, as well as cotton belts with feather hangings. All other ornaments seem to be worn only occasionally for dances, festivities, etc. In between times they are carefully
[415] stored in the elegant, long, covered baskets. The female youth wear only necklaces and finger rings; the girls also wear feather caps and feather arm-bands. One girl nine to eleven years old wore the following ornaments: feather cap, red ear-rosettes, black neck-tassels with snail shells, feather arm-bands behind the red cuffs, black belt with gray bast-apron over it, a long black string-skirt to go with it, and, finally, calf bands (Pl. 18).

[484] On journeys my Indians had no ornaments; some of them
[177] wore Brazilian clothing, as well as lip plugs and native finger-rings. Almost all of the single ones tied a piece of fish line
[184] around their ankles. It was remarkable that in the villages of the north horde located north of the Tapirapé mouth there was only a little ornamentation and feather ornaments were almost entirely lacking.

[184] The village on the Tapirapé mouth occupies a special position. All strikingly divergent forms, which will be specially discussed in the following, come from this village. I cannot decide whether this is a coincidence or whether there is Tapirapé influence here.

[237] Of the feather head-ornaments mentioned by Ehrenreich,
[114] I did not see the following

/233 cont./

*301 Another kind of net is made of thick bast plaiting and is
*237 covered with white down feathers (Pl. 46, Ill. 2).
287 Stiffened nets are likewise very rare. A feather hoop is attached either to the lower edge of the net or high up in the net (Pl. 47, Ills. 4, 6).

The feather cylinder in Ill. 5 on Plate 47 represents a deviation. The cylinder consists of small vertical rods which are fastened at the top and bottom to a hoop and seem to be decorated in their entire length on the outside with ascending feathers. The upper opening of the cylinder has a net stretched over it, into which are tied tufts of two small feathers each. This ornament is somewhat reminiscent of Ehrenreich's feather-rod helmet /Federstabhelm/ ("Beiträge," Pl. IX, 3), an ornamental piece that I have not seen elsewhere.

[184] It is strange that these last three types, the nets of thick bast plaiting (Village 20), the stiffened nets (Village 2), and the feather cylinder (camp near Santa Maria) occur at the two end points of the Karajá area, which are in close connection with Brazilian culture, whereas those that can be turned inside out are limited to the as yet less influenced Indian territory.

*301 Feather hoops (nätäkän) consist of a cane hoop, into the string
*237 wrapping of which small feathers are tied on the outside. These little feathers, mostly yellow or red parrot-feathers, are seldom tied in one direction all around, but usually go in both directions, starting from the back; and there where the feathers meet in front a couple of longer variegated feathers are attached (Pl. 48, Ill. 1). These hoops, placed horizontally on the head, are usually worn by boys, but they were seen relatively rarely; at any rate they were not an everyday ornament, as Ehrenreich reports in 1888. Sometimes there is set on the hoop in front a feather tuft (ödi), which either consists of a couple of huge arara feathers (Pl. 48, Ill. 2) or is built in very complicated fashion, as in the specimen in Ill. 3 on Plate 48: two small wooden rods are encircled by red-yellow parrot-feather rosettes and each bears at the end a long blue-yellow arara feather, which is clipped off at the top, so that the quill is left standing. This free quill piece is wound with raw cotton; red feathers with small yellow covering-feathers are attached at the ends.

/233 cont./

*301 *237 Diadems, namely, head bands with the feathers standing vertically, are ornamental pieces which occur only very rarely. There are various kinds of such diadems:

In the case of one, to a string which is tied horizontally around the head, there is fastened by means of vertical plaiting colorful feathers whose quills are usually covered with glued-on white down feathers (Pl. 48, Ill. 5). My three specimens (dōlĭdŏ) [184] all come from the village on the Tapirapé mouth; I did not see [171] any in the other villages. They are very reminiscent of the diadems of the Kayapó (see there /untranslated/).

/234/ A technically very superior ornamental piece is the small head-band (lūwjĭ) reproduced in Ill. 4 on Plate 48. On the [284] fine head-cord fine little whitish feathers with a brown border are fastened in several layers on top of one another by being tied together with several strings and gummed over with a light-colored adhesive substance. The little feathers are slightly bent outward [184] with the crowns. This unique specimen also comes from the village on the Tapirapé mouth.

In the case of another diadem (ōdjĭ), which likewise comes from this village, small vertical cane rods are fastened side by side to the head cord by a second cord that runs through the rods alternately from above and below and is joined each time to the first cord. The rods are also tightly wound with black and white cotton string, and this winding runs from one rod to another and joins them firmly together. Into the upper openings /Ill. 78 appears here/ of the rods are stuck red and yellow parrot feathers (Pl. 48, Ill. 7; Ill. 78). I saw this ornamental piece only in this one specimen. Similar to it are the diadems called ahetó by Ehrenreich ("Beiträge," Pl. IX, 5), in which, besides the little short feathers, long arara feathers project out of the canes, and on which the side edges are not vertical, but diverge at the top.

[184] I also saw the closed cane hoop (ăndādādŭ), around which are fastened vertical, red arara feathers 55 centimeters long (Pl. 48, Ill. 6), only in the village at the Tapirapé mouth.

/238 cont./

*301 The modern ornaments consist of glass beads, which are threaded on chains. For these, too, the name iši̇ŭ̃ḷ̃ā is used. All [822] colors were taken, but green ones generally found little favor. [184] The fashions were entirely different in the individual villages: in one village people preferred large beads, in another small embroidery beads; in one white opaque beads, in another blue, black, or red ones. All the beads were first tested for their fragility and those that did not withstand a bite were rejected [436] forthwith. The unit of exchange was chains of beads with approximately 100 small embroidery beads. Children and women wore these just as they received them; boys and youths, on the other hand, reworked them according to their taste. The beads were strung on several horizontal strings arranged parallel to one another and knotted at several places with vertical threads. The entire necklace was tied in back. It usually fitted the neck closely; the various colors were arranged in varying groups, but in such a way that white constituted the basic color (Pl. 36, Ill. 2). Sometimes appendages of various kinds also hung down from it.

[283] Other neck ornaments consisted of cotton strings. These are either wound around the neck several times by the men (black), [237] or they consist of simple strings with pendants. For example, neck bones (?, bŭhã̄nā̄ūnĭ) of the dolphin are used as such ornamental appendages. It looked quite dangerous to see children, especially boys, who on the neck band wore shards of colored porcelain plates, which often reached the size of half a plate, with the broken edge toward the neck (1).

1. These appendages are already mentioned by Rufino in 1846/47 for the Šambioá. Rev. trim. 10 (1848), p. 196.

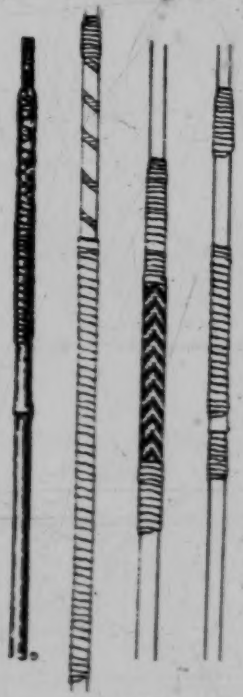
*301 There are three kinds of arm ornaments. First, there are *237 arm bands which have bunches of feathers in one place; then there are those with a plaited band to which are attached several layers of feathers; finally, fine strings from which pendants of all kinds are suspended. They are worn on the upper arm (dẽrõzĭ) and on the

/270 cont./

411 237 Little feathers which project in toward the inner part of the feathering and are mostly red, more rarely yellow, are tied into the cotton winding on the quill ends.

[531] The shaft part between the feathers is mostly decorated by bands or rings of red or yellow lacquer (Ill. 120 a-k). This

[284]



Ill. 118.
Point of attachment between the arrow shaft and point stem.

Ill. 119 a-c.
Feathering: a) completed end, b) putting on the feathers, c) complete feathering.

decoration is put on only for the sake of a pleasing appearance.

411 283 The notch winding consists of fine white cotton thread. In the case of the arrows of the Karajá it extends up to the notch. According to Kuriĭ, the characteristic of Karajá [184] arrows lies in this; the Šavajé arrows are said to exhibit a small space between notch and lashing. Among the Šavajé, however, I also obtained arrows with the Karajá winding; perhaps this

[Text continues on p. 190]

/274 cont./

411 words, rests between the latter and the board, while the fifth finger lies on the left edge. The front end of the arrow is supported with the outstretched left hand. The arrow is hurled with the same motion with which a spear is thrown. Horizontal, high, and low throws (the latter in fishing) may be executed with it.

I no longer came across this implement among the Karajá; they were familiar with it, to be sure, but in the south horde there were middle-aged persons who maintained that they had never seen one. Its use was known, however, and it was universally re- [184] ported that the Šavajé had many throwing sticks and still used them.

411 526 Among the Karajá it is now used only as a sporting weapon in the game called ǎnārkǎntědūŏhŭ (game of the Tapirapé), which is supposed to take place at the time of the blossoming of the pau d'arco. According to the description, the game proceeds as follows: Two youths stand facing each other, both armed with arrow thrower and arrows. One of them issues a challenge to battle by singing, wōhŭlālǎkūdjé, wōhŭlālǎkūdjé. throw the arrow, you won't hit me anyway. The other replies, djŏbĭdjŏbĭkŏ, djŏbĭkŏ dèhōĭ: I shall indeed hit you. Then they start throwing arrows at each other toward the thighs or ankles, and each tries to show his skill in throwing, as well as in dodging the arrow. If a person does not dodge adroitly, the arrow is said to penetrate quite deep into the flesh and can be forced out only by being struck from both sides with the throwing stick. Bad wounds are said to result.

[171] The name of the game is striking: game of the Tapirapé. The Karajá reported that the Tapirapé were in possession of the throwing stick and also this game. This suggests that the Karajá took it over from there, if we think of the presence of this implement in the Xingu source region. The circumstances that caused the loss of this implement among the Karajá and its flourishing again among the Šavajé eludes our knowledge.

411 I did not see the pellet-bow (bŏdŏkĕ) among the Karajá. I was told in the south horde, however, that they knew how to make it and that the children threw stones with it to kill small [109] birds. Probably the Indians took it over from the Brazilians, whose children in Leopoldina largely used it as a toy. The lack

/306 cont./

868 In order to learn to row, boys use small oars, which in gen-
501 eral are similar in shape to those of the adults, but sometimes deviate in the shape of the blade (Ill. 166a). They are 64-96 centimeters long. Only one specimen /Ills. 162-166 appear here/ /307/ showed painting with red and black squares (Ill. 166b). They, too, have two grooves in the handle cylinder.

868 For learning to fish, boys use small anchored nets (hãdeke,
287 lãhole) knotted out of bast, which they set up in the water on the edge of the sandbanks; they are mounted on two long side rods and are kept stretched by several vertical struts (Ill. 86). /Ill. 167 appears here/

865 Girls learn to spin and cook. They have small spindles on
283 which they twist serviceable threads at an early age. One sees girls from six to seven years old already spinning almost constantly. The spinning whorls are either double-conical clay whorls or wooden whorls that are dome-shaped on one side (Ill. 167). This primitive shape has thus been preserved among the children, whereas it seems to have been lost to the adults.

868 Small clay dishes appear in all sizes; the larger ones may
415 actually be used for cooking, whereas the smaller ones serve only as playthings. The actual cooking utensils are partly blackened with soot on the outside, in other words, have been exposed to the fire. Besides the usual forms (pot, Ill. 168a) and bowl (Ill. 168 b, c), other forms also appear: bowl with convex bottom (Ill. 168d), dish (Ill. 168 e, f); a four-part dish (Ill. 168g), the use of which did not become clear to me despite the long Indian explanation of the mother concerned, seems to be used for a very special purpose. /Ill. 168 appears here./

504 /308/ All the other dishes are used only for play; some of
415 them are not fired and are so small that cooking with them is impossible. It is surprising in this connection that in addition to the
[124] usual types there are quantities of different, almost European-looking vessels, which, strangely enough, all come from the village on the Tapirapé mouth. I did not see these peculiar forms

[Text continues on p. 246]

574
415
[184]
[177]

/308 cont./
in other villages. /309/ Could influence from the Tapirapé Indians be present here? A few specimens seem to be merely unskillful versions of true Karajá types. Of the ordinary forms there should be mentioned: vessels like water jugs (Ill. 169 a, b), tall curved pots (169c), double conical pots (Ill. 169d), shallow

Ill. 169 a-i.
Small toy dishes.

Ill. 170 a-f.
Small toy dishes.

/309 cont./

cooking pots (Ill. 169e), shallow dishes with straight or curved sides (Ill. 169 f-h), three-legged pot (Ill. 169i). The divergent forms consist of oval bowls (Ill. 170a), small pots with a minimal opening (Ill. 170 b, c), the bottom of which sometimes comes to a point (Ill. 170d), vase-like pots (Ill. 170e), stemmed pots (Ill. 170f), goblets (Ill. 170g), bowls like flower baskets, with a three-part handle (Ill. 170h), and lamp-like bowls with two points at the upper edge (Ill. 170i). 524 415

These smallest vessels already bring us to the actual playthings.

Small boats (hãwŏlĭŏlĕ) with oars are floated by children especially the boys, in the pools on the edge of the sandbanks. 524

Ill. 171 a-d.
Child's toy boats.
a) Ordinary type, b) isolated form, c) halved gourd, d) palm-leaf sheath.

Their form differs from that of the large boats insofar as the rear part is cut off crosswise and does not taper to a long point. The boat in Ill. 171a represents the ordinary type, to which belong two painted oars and a clay doll (girl with long string apron and feather tuft). The boat in Ill. 171b shows a divergent type; it was carved by Kurišĭ, who had already been to Rio and São Paulo and spontaneously remarked that this form was the product of his own imagination. As a substitute for these imitations, halved gourd shells (ĭsĭ, Ill. 171c) or palm-leaf sheaths (ẽlŭdãzĭ, Ill. 171d) are used and are pulled along by ropes in the sand; they were observed only in the village on the Tapirapé mouth. The small oars which belong [824 184]

/323 cont./

685 remain concealed for long. The injured person complains to the
627 chief; he sends him to the thief with the instruction to demand compensation from him. If the thief refuses, however, the injured one again complains to the chief and may, if the latter agrees, start a "fight" with the former, in other words, demand his rights by force.

682 Murders seem to occur, though seldom. The custom of
627 blood vengeance prevails: the relatives of the slain one pursue the murderer everywhere, even into other villages, until they have slain him.

689 Social life. Objectionable elements (boasters, gossipers, quarrelsome persons) are on occasion flogged. Thus, my camarada Pedro II in Village 17 is said to get a beating almost weekly on account of his incredible boasting.

/324/ Malicious elements who, with their quarreling, never leave the village in peace are finally, as Kurišf reported, killed by the others at the command of the chief; their relatives then have no right to take blood vengeance.

565 There are no class distinctions. Women and children captured in war serve as slaves of sorts. On the other hand, there are differences in wealth; there are rich and poor people. "The rich man has everything, axes, knives, pots; the poor one has nothing. He goes to the rich one and says: Give me a pot, an ax. The rich man must give it to him." (Kurišf.)

[628] The chiefs in particular are regarded as rich, and they, indeed, must share their surplus of goods with the poor. Ilk in Village 13 and Crisote in Village 22 were regarded as especially
[189] rich. The Indians of the south horde are regarded as poor, and they are in comparison with the north horde, which, in turn, is to be designated as poor in relation to the Šavajé.

609 Forms of greeting. If someone comes into a strange village,
576 he remains, with bowed head, in the boat (sta sem vergonha, that is, without shame, as the Indians erroneously said, instead of com v., that is, full of shame) until the others come, greet him, and invite him to come along to the village. Only then do they go on land. This custom was observed in particular among the

/342 cont./

879 lip-disks. He said one could get to them by way of the Tapirapé.
648 When I asked for more details, he wrapped himself in silence. Perhaps through the Tapirapé he had obtained some knowledge of the tribes living to the west.

17. The Language.

126 To make records of the language among the Karajá is very
[194] difficult, because these Indians speak their language, which is rich in nasal forms, most indistinctly. The women speak considerably more clearly than the men.

The words asked for were willingly said; the Indians were indefatigable in pronouncing them for me until I could repeat them correctly. For transcribing them I used the Meinhof transcription in Neumayer's /343/ Anleitung zu wissenschaftlichen Beobachtungen auf Reisen /Introduction to Scientific Observations on Journeys/, 3rd ed., page 484. Determining the strange diphthongs which are peculiar to the language was often difficult and is to be regarded as merely approximated.

I tried to obtain the same words in as many localities as possible. Thus, for the words of the south horde (S) I have 21 informants, for those of the north horde (N) 29. I did not obtain
192 all the words in both groups. Comparison shows that most words
184 are the same in both groups, but that a number of deviations also occur. In my opinion, however, these do not justify our assuming separate dialects, since they do not show any laws, and since it is not certain how many are due to misunderstanding. Some of
[194] them are to be explained only by the omission of vowels in rapid speech, lighter or darker vowel formation, stronger emphasis of one or another character in the diphthongs (l or r in the case of l, etc.). It is noteworthy that the words obtained in the village of José, who had migrated from the south horde to the north horde, still clearly show the greater relationship with the south horde, whereas those of Chief Korumaré, who had migrated into the interior of Bananal, are more closely linked with those of the

/343 cont./

192 north horde. With Ehrenreich's Karajá words and Castelnau's
184 Sambioá words and Coudreau's Karajá words my records show
[114] correspondences as well as differences. The latter probably go back in part to misunderstandings on both sides, as may be definitely proved in a few cases. With regard to the Šavajé language, there are several very striking differences, the reason for which is as yet unknown.

197 The language of the Karajá, for the time being, is still to be regarded as isolated; the few agreements with Ge languages do not, for the present, justify our counting it among these.

192 From the beginning I followed up the differences between
126 the men's dialect and the women's dialect, which Ehrenreich (1)
562

[113] 1. "Materialien zur Sprachenkunde Brasiliens /Materials for Brazilian Linguistics/": I. Die Sprache der Caraya (Goyaz) /The Language of the Caraja (Goiáz)/. Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, Vol. 26, 1894, p. 23.

discovered, and in this way obtained a great number of women's words. Those from the south horde were obtained directly from women, those from the north horde from men. The latter were able to say many words immediately; often, however, they reflected a long time before they found the word. It is doubtful whether they always gave the proper word; in any case, the women's words from the north horde should be taken with some
[191] caution. The men described the language of the women as ibinali = very poor. They maintained that the two sexes did not understand all of each other's expressions, but that there were words which were foreign to the other sex. My records have so
194 far not confirmed this assertion. The chief difference is that in
562 the women's language a k is inserted where, among the men two vowels stand next to each other; the initial k of the women is omitted among the men. Ehrenreich gives a few further

/353 cont./

142 3. Physically the Šavajé differ from the Karajá only in their greater height (Pl. 30, Ills. 3 and 4). The men are probably on the average four to five centimeters taller than those of the Karajá; the women, too, are taller than the Karajá women. Here, too, however, there are persons of small stature, especially of the female sex (Pl. 30, Ill. 3). For the rest, everything that was said about the Karajá is also true of the Šavajé.

184 /354/ In their culture as a whole the Šavajé are pure Karajá. They do, however, show a few differences from the latter, which, in turn, link them up more closely with the Šambioá. In the following I shall therefore state the differences only very briefly.

342 184 [177] 4. House and village. The construction of the house differs considerably from that of the Karajá and is similar to that of the Šambioá. I refer to my explanation above about the house construction of the Karajá, where the modification of the Šavajé house as a result of Brazilian influence in the case /Ill. 188 appears here/ of the Šavajé living among the southern Karajá is described (pp. 75/77; Ills. 20, 21; Pl. 30, Ill. 1). [353] The cross beams of the posts supporting the roof have thin poles laid over them and form a sort of loft on which back-baskets, baskets, weapons, women's belts, plaiting material, etc. are [354] stored. In contrast to the Karajá, the cooking places are in the house, and, to be sure, in the circular structures, one on either side of the entrance, so that there are four hearths in the house. The circular structures serve at the same time as supply rooms for baskets, gourds, food, etc. On the lower parts of the house posts, all around the walls, all kinds of birds, such as vultures, etc., are tied up.

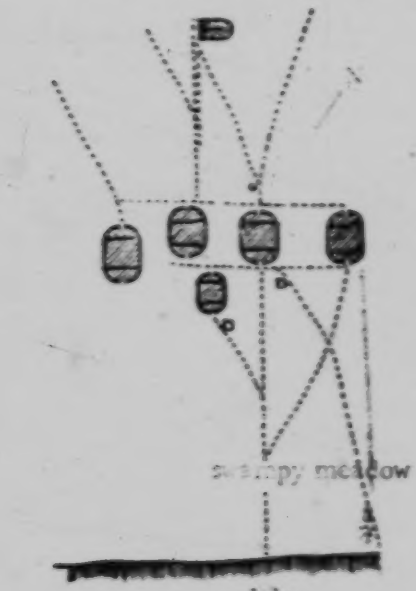
361 184 [346] The village, like that of the Karajá, is laid out in one row parallel to the shore (see the plan, Ill. 188 /see p. 314/). The mask house lies apart from the village. It corresponds to that of the Karajá, but has a ridge beam such as appears in the mask house of the southern Karajá.

/354 cont./

184 5. Clothing and ornamentation. In clothing, ornamentation, and body care no essential difference from the Karajá is to be noted.

[301] The men wear the hip cord and penis cord in the same
292 manner as the Karajá. Eye shades were not observed. Net coverings were worn by both sexes. they are made by the Šavajé

361



Ill. 188.
Ground plan of the village of the
Šavajé on Bananal.

292 themselves. The manner /355/ of knotting is the same as among the Karaja. Ill. 3 in Plate 59 shows a net covering only 24 centimeters long, which is knotted in the manner of the loose belts
[854] of the girls. Apparently it serves as a bed for a newborn child. Occasionally the brown warp threads of the coverings were shot through with white threads; on the basis of inquiries among the

/355 cont./

293 Karajá, the Šavajé are supposed to make such coverings, whereas the coverings with a wide, black center stripe come, not from the Šavajé, but from the Tapirapé.

184 [301] Even the smallest girls already wore firmly plaited, black belts which correspond to those of the Karajá. I did not see anywhere the loosely plaited string belts (Karajá, Ills. 30 and 31).

[191] Adult women wore the bast apron, called hăbiŏdă here, made mostly out of white and only rarely of reddish bast.

303 184 [302] The hair style does not show anything that is foreign to the Karajá. The combs are plaited by the men in the same manner as among the Karajá. Forms and designs correspond to the others; the decorating by means of feather clusters or bundles of cotton is rare, however.

[304] The side cross-threads are also often absent.

302 184 Body painting is identical with that of the Karajá. As oil, coconut oil is used; as color, chiefly urucú, which, with the seeds removed, is stored in huge hollow gourds.

Ill. 189 a, b.
Scarifier (b = back side).

301

Ill. 190.
Ear rod.

304 Scarification is also customary among the Šavajé. The instrument for it (lālēdjŭ; Ill. 189), however, is covered with a thin coating of wax on the entire back side (cf. Ehrenreich's specimens, Berlin 3953 a b, from the Karajá).

515 As for body care, it should be remarked that the Šavajé go to bathe in the lake every morning at sunrise, even when there is heavy fog over the water and it is very cold. They then warm and dry themselves at the hearth fire in the hut.

/355 cont./

301 184 Ornaments as marks of distinction. The lip plugs assume tremendous proportions among the young men. The longest wooden lip-plug (ōdŭŏ) was 31.5 centimeters long and 2.2 centimeters wide. The shell lip-plugs (ĭdjĕ) of boys almost all terminate in a turned-up point. I did not see stone lip-plugs.

As for ear ornaments, there are yellow rods (dŏhŏ), rods with red feather rosettes and a dot of wax in the middle of the mother-of-pearl disk (dōlĭĕ, dŏhōdŭé), and tulip-like rosettes with a rodent tooth in the center (gŭēdjŭ). /356/ The latter are almost universal among children; the two former kinds appeared only rarely, especially the simple ear rods, in contrast to the Karajá, almost all of whom wear them. Also, the ear [531] rods are only quite simply decorated with a few rings cut in at the front end (Ill. 190).

The arm cuffs (dĕši), calf bands (dēōbĭdă) and ankle bands (wālālĭ) are similar to those of the Karajá. Young men often wore a bast band bound over the arm cuffs and calf bands.

As for other ornaments, very many cotton ornaments were worn. Black neck-tassels of the girls (wādjĭklĭdjă) sometimes bore snail shells pushed on, as among the Karajá. The long string skirts (gŭŏhĭ) are also worn by the Šavajé girls. The arm and leg ornaments with hangings were very elaborate. Of the three kinds among the Karajá, I observed the first kind, strings with tassels, as upper-arm and lower-arm ornaments, the second kind, flat-plaited or tasseled bands with long hangings, only as calf ornaments, and the third kind, two thick pads with long hangings, only as arm ornaments. Whereas among the Karajá each of the strings of the first kind (dōlŭ) have two tassels at the end, those of the Šavajé always have three (Pl. 59, Ill. 1). These tassels, along with the strings, are always dyed black. In the case of one specimen, intended for the upper arm of a child, the wrapping strings are 325 centimeters long; on the other hand, in the case of another, which allegedly was intended for the lower arm of a man, 925 centimeters! The second kind was encountered [822] only as a calf ornament, and, to be sure, dyed black for children (dēăhūlă), dyed red for youths (lūdjaûwŭ). The fringe hangings,

/356 cont./

301 as is always the case among the leg bands, reaches all around
184 (Pl. 59, Ill. 2). The third kind, observed only as an arm ornament (dēšīādžī) and, dyed red, worn by youths on the lower arm behind the arm cuffs, is identical with the calf hangings of the Karajá (Ill. 75), whereas those intended for the upper arm resemble the fringed bands of the Karajá (Ill. 74 a, b). In these specimens the fringe reaches a length of 55 centimeters and is stored away plaited into thick braids (Ill. 191 a, b).

301 Among the feather ornaments, I obtained the hindhead
237 ornament lōlinā (Pl. 59, Ill. 4), many specimens of which were acquired by Ehrenreich from the Karajá, but which I did not find there. The specimen I acquired is incomplete, since the cane rods between the two plaited surfaces, into which the pink heron feathers are stuck, are not covered with feather wreaths. The plaiting is patterned and smeared with white color (cf. Ill. 192 a-c /see p. 319/, the construction of this ornament).

With regard to feather caps (dōlidōlī), I acquired two specimens from the Šavajé in Schischá. Both bore the feathers arranged in three zones. In one specimen the lowest zone consisted of red feather rosettes, the middle one of clusters of two small blue-yellow arara feathers, the uppermost one of single
[531] long, colored feathers tied in (Pl. 59, Ill. 11). In the second specimen the lowest zone consisted of two rows of red rosettes, the middle zone /Pl. 60 appears here/ /357/ of two rows of yellow rosettes, the uppermost one of clusters of two colorful parrot feathers each (Pl. 59, Ill. 10). The feathers and rosettes, like those of the Karajá, are fastened, not in the knots, but on the threads of the net.

Of feather hoops I likewise obtained from the Šavajé in
[531] Schischá a specimen with a tuft (hānānā). The hoop bears little yellow feathers; in front, six long blue-black-arara feathers are fastened standing upright, the quills of which are covered with small feathers (Pl. 59, Ill. 5).[1]

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 319]

[1] See p. 311 -- ANALYST

/359 cont./

235 Of tame animals I found among the Šavajé:

Chickens, which were gladly sold to me, but were not eaten by them; vultures, spoonbills, and parakeets sat tethered on the supply racks in front of the houses; vultures in large numbers squatted on the ground near the wall posts in the houses. Araras were totally absent. Instead, a huge white eagle sat tied to a low cross-bar behind the chief's house (Pl. 30, Ill. 2).

264 The women ate even in my presence. Only the girl who traveled back to the Karajá with us ate turned away from us on the trip, and only when she thought she was not being observed.

252 The hearth, as mentioned above, lies in the circular structures of the houses, on both sides of the entrance. As among the Karajá, it consists of the tips of three termite hills or of three clay shards. Roasting is done on [412] grills (Pl. 61, Ill. 1).

415 The cooking vessels are identical with those of the Karajá.
412 The manioc grater (wōlānǎkiă; in the women's language, kōlānǎkiĕ) and the rod-sieves (brēdjé) have the same shape and construction as those of the Karajá. For stirring, an oar-shaped spoon (nālĭhĭ; Ill. 193) is [184] used. For everything else, see the Karajá!

Ill. 193 a, b. Stirring spoon. (b from the side).

249 The luxury item is tobacco, which is cultivated in a considerably better variety among the Šavajé than among the [438] Karajá. The latter buy large quantities of it from the former, even cuttings, so that they will be able to grow this better variety themselves at home. Tobacco (kōtĭ) is stored plaited into three-part braids (Ill. 194) and is carried in plaited bags or such

/359 cont./

Ill. 194.
Braided tobacco.

of monkey skin (djũlẽnĩ; Pl. 61, Ill. 2). The tobacco pipes (wãliõnã) are made of jequitiba fruit; they all bear the groove around the front opening and are colored reddish. 249 276

The Savajé seem to keep supplies at home only in small quantities. 251

/360/ On the second day they were already asking me to depart, since they had nothing more to eat. The food for my five Karajá, in addition to whom there appeared four more from Korumaré's village, had depleted their stores; in view of my presence, however, they hesitated to leave the village, so that I was finally obliged to yield to their wishes. 251 123

7. Concerning the weapons, there is likewise nothing new to report. The bows (djũhãdẽ) are either undecorated or bear white wrappings, a maize leaf, and a feather tassel, like the Karajá bow (Ill. 17[illegible]). It is handled in such a way that the left hand grasps the bow in the center, so that the arrow goes between the second and third finger; the second to fifth finger of the right hand draws the bow string; the arrow lies between the second and third finger. 411 [184] [284]

Ill. 19[illegible] a-c.
Savajé arrows.
a) Lashing at the point of attachment.
b) Feathering.
c) Wooden knob tip.

As for arrows (wõhũ), I encountered

/360 cont./

411 arrows with angular wooden points, which were in part colored red, with wooden knob tips (dŏbōlā), the knob of which was up to four centimeters thick (Ill. 195c), with bamboo-blade points on a separate wooden intermediate rod, with round bone points which are fastened to a wooden insert colored red on the lower part, and with ray-spine points. Especially noteworthy for the Šavajé are the ray-spine points and the arrows with the red-colored intermediate stem. The length of the arrows amounts to 130-160 centimeters; the fish arrows are the longest. The winding with [284] black embira at the place where the point is inserted in the shaft is of one to three parts and popularly shows a spiral binding between the individual parts (Ill. 195a). The feathered end is formed analogously to that of the Karajá arrows (Ill. 195b). Its upper winding generally consists of black cotton yarn, into which are usually tied little yellow, seldom red, feathers. (In the case of the Karajá, the situation is exactly reversed.) [531] Among the Šavajé, too, the intermediate part between the feathers is decorated with rings and bands of red lacquer, which usually are arranged in two groups. The notch lashing, usually white, is only rarely colored red. On the basis of my specimens, [284] I cannot confirm Kurisí's statement that the Šavajé arrows are recognizable by the notch lashing, which does not quite reach as far as the notch; on these, the lashing always reaches as far as the notch. In the arrangement of this lashing we again find the Karajá types, /Pl. 61 appears here/ /361/ but in simpler form. I did not see little end feathers in connection with the Šavajé arrows.

[184] The clubs (göhördé), like the Karajá clubs, are grooved only halfway, but differ from the latter by the fact that the intermediate piece on the handle end bears more than three grooves [531] (four or five) (1) (Ill. 196b). In one specimen, as ornamentation

1. Cf. Karajá, club handles /see pp. 191-193/.

within the grooving, two narrow bands with incised points diametrically opposite each other have been left standing (Ill. 196a).

[Text Continues on p. 326]

/361 cont./

411 (Ill. 196a). I did not see here clubs with plaiting around them or flat clubs.

[412] [337] For grooving the clubs, the cutia tooth (haŭlidjŭ) mounted on a rod is also used by the Šavajé (Ill. 197).

[184] As for lances (dõnõli), I acquired only one specimen, which looks very old. It is constructed like those of the Karajá. The shaft is 2.5 centimeters thick and 200 centimeters long, the bone

411
412
501
[531]

Ill. 196 a, b. Savajé club. b) Handle end of a second specimen.

Ill. 197. Club groover.

Ill. 198. Arrow thrower. Savajé.

Ill. 199. Savajé oar.

411 point 19.2 centimeters, the red winding 11.5 and the plaiting 63 centimeters long. The feather tassels hang down 42 centimeters. The plaiting pattern is the vertical zigzag pattern.

/362/

411 The arrow thrower (hāōbi) was relatively common. Whereas in the 22 villages of the Karajá I did not see any, but merely acquired a model, I found three specimens in this one small Šavajé village (Ill. 198). The implement is still used for fishing, bird hunting, and as a weapon for sport. One can execute high, horizontal, and low shots with it. The handle, 36-40 centimeters long, 3.5-6.5 centimeters wide, is edged and curved and has a small button at the lower end. The hole for the index finger is quite large and rectangular or square in shape. The staff, 30-35 centimeters long, is round and bears a small hook of bone, which is fastened with tight, fine lashing. Sometimes a few little feathers hang down from this lashing as an ornament.

I did not come across any other weapons among the Šavajé.

50| 8. Transportation and communication. The boats are the
184 same as those of the Karajá, but usually very long and very wide. The oars differ from those of the Karajá mostly by the fact that
482 the cylinder on the handle bears four grooves (Ill. 199). Back-
184 baskets and other baskets are likewise similar to those of the Karajá. The back-basket [bāh(ĭ)ūlă] is also plaited at the lower edge, so that, when it is carried, the contents have firmer support than is the case in the Karajá back-baskets. It is 158 centimeters long, 27 centimeters wide, and has an edge 12 centimeters
285 high. Among the baskets I observed large carrying-baskets (wălīlĭ) plaited, with patterns, out of oaguassu palm pinnae, which are carried with a bast carrying-band, also oblong baskets (dādă), which likewise show patterning and are carried on a carrying band, oval baskets with a cover (wălăbăhĭ), and, finally, carrying sacks, and, to be sure, some of mat plaiting (mănsĭ), some which are plaited diagonally out of one palm leaf (lōlĭ), and rectangular sacks plaited out of two palm leaves (lōlĭ), the two ribs forming one longitudinal edge, whereas on the other and on the bottom edge the pinnae of both fronds are plaited together (Pl. 61, Ill. 3).
[184] (Cf. Ehrenreich, Berlin 3886, Karajá.) All other baskets and such mentioned are identical with those of the Karajá.

/362 cont./

312 Water was transported in long gourds (rŭkŭ) with short
415 hanging bands, the gourds were usually crudely decorated with
531 pyrography (Ill. 200).

•184 9. The techniques are even more primitive than those of
[438] the Karajá; in fact, the Šavajé obtain their iron implements and all foreign wares only through barter with the Karajá. Hence, everything that was said about the latter also applies to the Šavajé.

412 I still found a few examples of stone axes [ūōmĭdū(ĕ)]; they were used as beaters in pounding soft the women's bast aprons on mortars turned upside down. The two specimens acquired by me are strong, wedge-shaped axes 14 and 20.5 centimeters long; on one, the cutting edge is considerably hollowed out, probably through use as a nutcracker (Ill. 201 a, b).

323 The pottery is as primitive as that of the Karajá. Here,
184 too, we find no decorated vessels. The two vessels acquired by me consist of red clay, are of the Karajá type, and represent a cooking pot (wĭdjĭwĭ) and a bowl (wĭdjĭwāŭdĭ). /363/ /Ills. 200-206 appear here./

283 /364/ Working with cotton. For picking cotton apart, a small, quite crudely worked bow is used (Pl. 61, Ill. 4). The spindles (āzōdāŏ, Pl. 61, Ill. 5) consist of round rods 32.5-49 centimeters long, with whorls of wax, unfired or fired clay, or bone. By far the most prevalent are wax whorls, which in part are clumsy disks, in part have sharp edges and taper conically
[323] at the top and bottom. The unfired or crudely fired whorls usually have a double-conical form with a sharp edge; only one specimen consists of a thick plate with a rounded edge. Fired clay whorls are disk-shaped and have two sharp edges and flat, conical elevations on both surfaces. Bone whorls consist of quite flat disks, as among the Karajá.

Balls of thread of white (āzō) or black (āzōdĕbĕ) cotton are also customary among the Šavajé; some of them are kept tied up in a bast covering (Ill. 202).

[Text Continues on p.330]

/364 cont./

286 The making of the net coverings corresponds to that of the
184 Karajá, and the apparatus is just as primitive as it is there. A small apparatus is used for plaiting the girls' belts: on a long stick, at some distance from either end, a short cross-stick is tied. Around these the warp is then wound (Ill. 203 a, b). The weft is intertwined by hand.

Here, too, crocheting is done with iron crochet needles
[531] (dešĭdūnă). The handle is only rarely decorated and then only simply wound with red cotton thread (Ill. 204).

386 Coloring and adhesive substances are identical with those
314 of the Karajá. I obtained red dōmāle and black resin, zōbādāla,
184 both in pieces 12-15.5 centimeters long, 5.5-6 centimeters wide and 2 centimeters thick, and convex on one side (Ill. 205). These are pressed in rod sieves, the texture of which is sometimes still recognizable on the surface.

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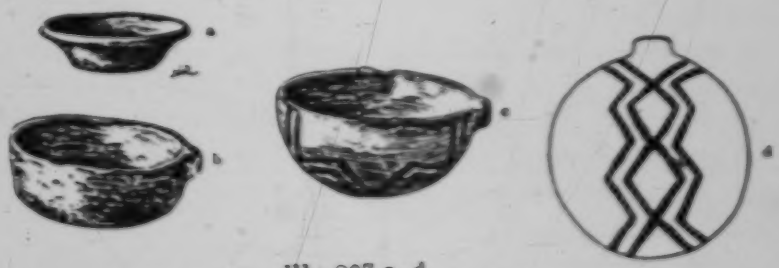


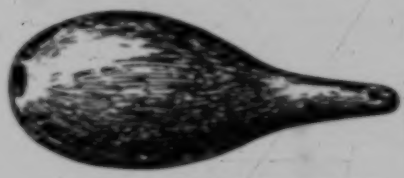
Ill. 207 a-d.
Toy dishes.
a, b) Bowls, c) painted vessel, d) its design.

237 Feathers, for storing, are either tied in small bundles or, as among the Karajá, arranged as wings.

524 10. As children's toys, I brought back small bows and arrows, of which the bows are very crudely made, whereas the arrows either consist of the pointed shaft, on which, in front, a small /365/ nut with lateral hole is sometimes pushed (Ill. 206 a-c), or exhibit a round, inserted wooden point. The feathering is the ordinary bunch-feathering. I did not see any imitations of guns
[531] here. As toy clay dishes I acquired two small bowls (wă̆djiwĭlĭōĭĕ) and, in Schischá, a bowl and a vessel painted red on the outside, which is an imitation of a gourd spoon (207 a-d).

/365 cont./

534 11. Musical instruments are also very rare among the Šavajé. I did not see flutes with gourd resonance; on the other hand, there were flutes made of gourds themselves. The bottle-shaped gourd has a round opening on the broad end, a rectangular one laterally on the narrow end (Ill. 208). This flute is called ãdjũlõnã. The other flute, also called lõkũ, consists of a long gourd open on both sides. On one opening there are traces of wax, as though a special mouthpiece had



Ill. 208.
Gourd flute.

been attached there. Perhaps a taquara flute had been attached there, as is customary among the Kayapó. Whistles made of leaf plaiting with a reed are also present here (dũlẽhẽ). The chief instrument among the Šavajé, too, is the gourd rattle (wãlũ), which was usually undecorated. Only one specimen bears a few feathers on the upper handle end.

[184] In their artistic activity the Šavajé follow in the footsteps of the Karajá. In this connection I refer to my article: "Die Kunst der Karajáindianer /The Art of the Caraja Indians/."

622 123 12. Political and Social. The chief seems to play a considerable role among the Šavajé. In the village that I visited there was none; a man who was probably appointed for this instance represented his office. He put me up in his house, along with my men. He remained by my side the whole time. In purchases he acted as intermediary, finally led me through all the houses, told the people my wishes, and helped to determine the purchase price. When we left the village, he accompanied us across the lake and several hundred meters farther into the campo before he took his leave.

574 The reception ceremony was strange. Even before arriving in the village, my Karajá had made themselves a black band across the

/366 cont./

526 The wrestling was very similar to that of the Karajá. If
574 one bout were not accepted, the challengers made a gesture of rejection with their arms, turned around, and went back to their row. Then one of them walked forward again, assumed the position of rest in the center, with his back to the opponents, and
[516] shouted until one of the latter accepted. The resting position was
[184] identical with that of the Karajá: they stood with the upper part of the body bent over and rested the arms on the knee. The victor performed a dance in front of the loser, shouting loudly; upon walking away, he moved his left hand over the head of the defeated one. Here, too, the chief stood on the side of the guests.

574 Only after the return from the wrestling match was food put before the Karajá; only now were they regarded as accepted and permitted to disperse into the individual houses.

843 Upon my departure from the village a strange ceremony took
628 place, the meaning of which, I believe, is that a girl made
723 pregnant during previous visits of Karajá was sent along with the Karajá to await the birth among them; whether she would then return could not be definitely ascertained; perhaps she went to the Karajá as a village prostitute. Shortly before departure, the chief took me by the hand and led me into the neighboring house. Here an obviously pregnant girl was sitting and /367/ spinning. She had to get up and lay her work aside; the chief's wife took off her neck ornament (I had already bought her leg bands from her in the morning). The girl then had to take a second bast apron and her net covering and go with us to the boat. Apparently this was very little to the girl's liking, for she wept bitterly and only gradually calmed down. The chief then made long speeches to me, the meaning of which, however, I could not understand. On the way, the girl was under the special charge of my Indian guide, who allegedly was her cousin. He was very gallant to her, carried her covering, brought food on a plate, etc. The girl always walked closely in front and behind him.

535 The masked dance that I saw among the Šavajé was a Ĩdjãzõ
[184] dance and very similar to that of the Karajá. It took place on the first evening. The two masks stood side by side in front of the hut,

/367 cont./

535 but turned toward each other, and sang a verse with gourd-rattle accompaniment. They then danced forward together toward the village and back again. This was repeated several times. The
533 dance ended with lively bows at the village. At night the young men sat in front of the mask hut and sang dance songs with the
[184] rattle accompaniment. These songs, too, were very similar to those of the Karajá. The Šavajé did not permit photographing
532 the masks on the next day, so I was obliged to resort to sketching.
535 The masks were cylinder masks with a feather-mosaic covering.
126 Black-dyed leaf-aprons for hips and shoulders served as body coverings.

In Schischá I acquired copies of masks, and, to be sure, of the ĭdjālhēnĭ mask, the ămbŭšăwādĭă mask, and the lăděnĭ mask. Of these, ĭdjālhēnĭ seems to be a typical Šavajé mask, for the songs of this mask which I was able to record phonographically among the Karajá were always designated by the latter as Šavajé
[533] songs. Of other Šavajé songs I obtained phonographically děsoĭ děsoĭ, a song that they sing after slaying a jaguar.

For further data on the masks of the Šavajé, see my article,
[113] "Tanzmaskennachbildungen vom mittleren Araguaya /Dance Mask Reproductions from the Middle Araguaia/." Jahrbuch des Museums für Völkerkunde zu Leipzig, Volume 3, Leipzig, 1910.

197 Their language, according to my data, seems to be identical with that of the Karajá. It does contain some completely different words: see tapir, gavião, maize, red and black neck tassels, lower-arm ornament of two pads with fringe hangings, calf ornament with tassels, leaf pipe; caracara is divergent.

A comparison shows that the south horde of the Karajá is linguistically somewhat closer to the Šavajé than the north horde, undoubtedly a result of the migrations of the Šavajé to the south horde. /Section III, "Die Kayapó (The Cayapo)," pp. 368-402, with Plates 62-68 and Ills. 209-261, is omitted in the translation./

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
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not afflicted. Therefore, they have hidden their villages far 177
away from the slimy trail of the only "civilization" they 186
know, and do not wish to reveal their location. But they, too, well know the great superiority of steel implements over their stone utensils, so desire to obtain them, which they do indirectly through the Karayáhy. They are not unwise in their generation. They do not desire to receive, in its entirety, the "civilization" available to them, for it has been demonstrated to them that its evils outweigh its blessings. Therefore they try to catspaw civilization's good things and leave its evil things. What a pity it is that a civilization, which is the best fruit of the Gospel of Christ, should not have reached the Karayá!

The Sambiõa live in much larger, cleaner, and more or- 511
derly villages than the Karayáhy, and are better fed. They 184
also build better huts than the Karayáhy, and arrange them in regular streets. They have four large villages, located be- 361
tween Pau de Arco and the falls of S. Miguel. They trade 439
hammocks, vegetables, fruits, fowls, and other produce for such articles made by civilized men as they desire. As re- 241
gards agriculture, they are but little behind the semi-barbarous Brazilians of the far interior. They have many slaves, 727
which are women and children stolen from other tribes with whom they were at war.

Only the inhabitants of the second Sambiõa village are 609
hostile to strangers. When such appear at their port, the women and children are sent to a safe place, while the warriors, fully armed, assemble at the water's edge and assume a threatening attitude. It is necessary to be cautious in approaching them, though they dare not attack a large canoe full of men armed with repeating rifles. They greatly fear these weapons, believing that the rifleman can continue to fire indefinitely without reloading. The villages are always [361]
situated distant from the landing-place; and though they will allow the traveler to visit them, he must be on his guard.

The reception at the landing is interesting and exciting. The naked, bronze-bodied men are assembled in force. Many

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
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Brazil.

Both sexes have a blue ring tattooed under the eye, forming a deep ugly scar, which is the special distinguishing mark of the tribe. 304 619

The Karayá take good care of the body, bathing many times each day—though this is more to cool and refresh themselves, and for sport—keep the hair well combed, and pull out the sparse beard. They formerly used the teeth of the piránha fish as a kind of saw with which to cut the hair, but they now have scissors. 515 302 412 237

As already stated, the men wear no clothing, or covering whatever. The sash, or apron, worn by the women, is made of the inner bark of the jangáda tree. It is prepared for use by first soaking it a day or two in water, then pounding it with flat stones, and finally drying it. When the wearer of this primitive apron sits, she passes it back between the limbs and sits upon it. Besides this costume, both sexes wear various armlets, wristlets and leglets, as ornaments, which are peculiar to each division of the tribe. Soon after birth, the child's wrists and legs below the knees, are adorned with broad bands made by weaving together cotton cordage on the limbs themselves; while a black cotton band girts the body as a bandage. When the infant is a few months old, these articles are removed, and broad cotton wristlets, leglets and anklets are woven on the limbs, a tassel of cotton cords being attached to the leglets. The boys wear the leglets, or garterlets, until the lip is pierced, while the girls wear them until married. The wristlets worn by adults, cover nearly the whole forearm. They are not put aside until after marriage, and many females wear them until the first child is born. When one of the couple dies, the survivor puts the wristlets on again. This custom has come down from the ancients. As the wristlets and leglets are usually woven on the limbs themselves, they cannot be removed without being cut off. For this reason, they are never removed, nor washed until finally thrown aside. But I found the Karayá quite ready to cut these articles off and give them to me in exchange for some articles I had which took their fancy. 291 [287] 301 [184] [283] [286] [437] [439]

361 [364] beyond endurance, compelling them, finally, to pull down their huts and move to a new site, perhaps to some other sand-bar. This is a case of moving the residence instead of the garbage. During the rainy season, or when the sand bottoms are submerged, which may not occur until two or three months after the rains begin, the Karayá dwell on the [342] high banks of the mainland. Here, the huts are much better constructed, resembling the dwellings of "civilized" Brazilians.

342 184 It is seldom one sees among primitive peoples, such substantially constructed huts as those of the Sambiõa division. Here is seen the greater industry, the greater activity, and the better condition in every respect of the free, unmolested sons of the wilderness in comparison with their "tame" brethren who exist in more destitute circumstances, though in contact with, and under the influence of the "civilized" people—the semi-barbarous Brazilians. The dwellings of 342 the Sambiõa are not placed in disorder, but are arranged in 363 long rows, forming regular streets. "They make a favorable impression upon the visitor, because the streets appear clean and the huts orderly, comfortable and inviting." The four 361 Sambiõa villages each contain sixty, thirty, forty-five and 162 ninety huts, respectively, and each hut is occupied by one or 592 two, or more, families.

352 The furniture in these primitive abodes is very simple. The floor, which is bare earth, is covered with matting made [285] by braiding together the long, slender leaves of the burity-palm. [513] The occupants sleep on this matting without any other bedding whatever, save a round billet of wood for a pillow upon which the neck rests, but not the head, Japanese 353 fashion. From the plates, or roof supports, hang baskets of various forms and sizes, in which are kept the bright feathers that are used in decorative work and ornament making. Finished ornaments and decorations made of brilliant feathers, pieces of regalia, bows and arrows in a finished and unfinished state, spear-throwing sticks and various small articles are also seen stuck into or suspended from the roof; while

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
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to color, then inject into the wounds a milky secretion taken 232
from the skin of small frogs or toads. Therefore, when the new feathers grow out, they are of a brilliant yellow or orange color, without any mixture of blue or green, the natural color of the bird. It is said that when this new plumage is plucked, the next growth will still retain the new colors without further treatment.

Many of the mammals captured by the Karayá in in- 231
fancy, become very tame. They are raised successfully, nursed either by a slut, or at the human breast. These tamed animals include various kinds of monkeys, the capibára, a rodent which becomes as large as a six-month old pig, agutís, picárres and tapirs. Of reptiles, the Karayá keep turtles, large lizards and alligators, the last named of which lie in pools of water on the sand bottoms, held captive by a cord around the body. The Karayáhy division has comparatively [184]
few domesticated creatures.

Like most of the South American tribes, the Karayá are 433
primarily fishermen, obtaining their flesh food more from the river than from the forest. A few tribes, however, that do not live near streams of any importance, are compelled to rely almost wholly upon the chase for their meat, and so become more expert hunters than fishermen. As elsewhere stated, all the aborigines of South America, except the nomadic tribes, engage in agriculture to some extent, though to a very limited degree, except where they have obtained axes, grubbing-hoes and large knives from the civilized people.

The best time to fish along the Araguaya is during the 221
rainless months from May to November, when the water is 226
low, for when it rises, the fish are much more difficult to catch. During low water, the larger fish seek out the deep places in the river, where they may be easily taken. These places, which are well known to the natives, are above the smaller rapids, and also where there are certain rock formations which make deep holes, called *poços* by the Brazilians.

The fish of the Araguaya have the same characteristics 226
as those of the Amazon valley in general. The giant pire, 136

Brazil.

252 Fish and game are sometimes prepared for eating by cooking in a clay pot; but the usual method is to impale the meat on a stake which is set up in the ground by the camp-fire and inclined over it; or else to place it upon glowing coals and allow it to remain there until the outside is burned to a [263] crisp. As a portion of this crisp part is naturally reduced to ashes, a saline substance is produced, which, mingling with the juice, flavors the meat. Various root foods, and also ears of corn, are prepared for eating by roasting over the fire.

317 Besides the ash salts just mentioned, the Karayá contrive [263] to extract a little sodium chloride from certain earth banks which contain a small percentage of this substance. It is only recently that they have begun to use salt obtained from the civilized world. Banks of saline earth are easy to locate as the wild beasts frequent these places to "lick." In the cattle-raising regions, a herdsman is much pleased to have one or more of these briny spots in his territory so that his cattle may thereby obtain salt.

184 "The poor tame brothers" of the Sambiõa, the Karayáhy [241] branch of the family, though they are supplied to a limited extent with axes and grubbing hoes, do very little planting. [231] Neither have they many domesticated creatures. Those they do have are largely birds of the parrot family, which they regard with affection, though their feathers are plucked to be used in ornament making.

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
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But these three classes
of masks do not include all the modifications used by the tribe, 535
for each village has its own particular kind, and many medicine 532
huts are crammed with the most diverse types. [184]

If a hunting or fishing expedition has been successful, and 527
there is an abundance of food on hand, the chief of the village 535
may determine to hold a masquerade festival, which shall continue as long as provisions hold out; whereupon the entire village hums with activity for many days preparing for the celebration. The women busy themselves making ready meat and drink, employing all their culinary skill; while the men, if not hunting and fishing, are occupied with the preparation of the dance costumes. One dance is distinguished from another by being performed exclusively by some one person or [533] family, and handed down from father to son; and each one is executed to the accompaniment of songs which are apparently in an antiquated form of speech, unintelligible to the rest of the people. Each animal represented is indicated by the constant repetition in the songs of the peculiar note or sound characteristic of that animal. For example, the paca cries, "Heyon hey! Heyon hey!" The alligator, "Huu! Huu!" and another beast, "Too koo! Too koo! Too-hoo-oo-oo-oo!"

The women and children are merely spectators at these masquerades, and are never permitted, under any circumstances, to see the masquerade outfit, save when an individual is regaled in it, for they must be kept in the belief that the creatures represented, or rather, their shades, are really materialized before them, and that the garb and the being inside of it are one and inseparable, for of course the outfit always covers the entire body of the dancer. Occasionally, however, the old women are let into the secret. This indicates [000] that the secret societies existing everywhere among civilized peoples, admitting men only to their membership and excluding women forever, and who take the most absurd and monstrous oaths to guard their childish secrets from other men, and from their own wives, sisters and mothers, are of savage origin in principle.

The carnival begins with a procession of the masqueraders

/28 cont./

836 property and are offered to ships' crews, despite their usually
729 most horrible appearance. Unfortunately, one also sees children
used for the same purpose. Here is clearly shown the dualism in
836 the ethics of the savages, whose moral laws apply only to mem-
729 bers of their own tribe. This view, common to all primitive
579 peoples, cannot therefore change our judgment of the morality
[186] of the Karaya in general. When Castelnau doubts this, saying,
[114] "Ce fait (the stern punishment of a transgression against morals) est peu d'accord avec les offres qui étaient fait continuellement a nos gens /this fact is hardly in accord with the offers that were continually made to our men/" (Hist. du voyage, I, p. 446), he overlooks the fact that these "offres" concerned not their own, but foreign women.

855 In spite of the lack of external signs of tenderness, which are absent among all Indians, the treatment of the children is very loving throughout.

854 The smaller ones are continually carried about by the mothers and tended with tireless care, hung with ornaments and
853 painted, etc. They are suckled for an extraordinarily long time.

857 Older children are left entirely to themselves, but in spite of this demonstrate a natural decency and a modesty of behavior that the highly educated offspring of civilized men only all too
858 often lack. It would be unthinkable among the Karaya that children be traded to the settlers, as unfortunately still frequently occurs in other regions of Brazil, especially on the Amazon. Upon the founding of the Collegio Izabel at Leopoldina, whose purpose was to train young Indians and settle them later as colonists, efforts to obtain Karaya children for it were in vain. Since they once allowed themselves to be misled years ago, and some were lured away and abducted by force, all the young people as a rule take flight at the approach of a boat and only with great difficulty are persuaded to return.

764 The fact that the animal decorations put on the grave poles
532 (cf. p. 63) are marks of the family concerned or of a wider kin
602 grouping indicates the existence of totemism, or clan formation. To be sure, nothing more precise is known about this, but the family system discovered among the Arawak by Im Thurn (1) may also hold for the relationship prevailing among the Karaya.

1. Im Thurn, op. cit., p. 175.

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
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CHAPTER VIII.

THE KARAYÁ.—RECEIVING STRANGERS.—PERSONAL ADORNMENT.—DOMICILES.—MENAGERIES.—FISHING AND HUNTING.—HUSBANDRY.—FOODS.

101 [161] THE Karayá tribe is divided into three great divisions, or separate tribes, called the Yavahé, the Karayáhy and the Sambiôa, numbering in all about four thousand. Little is 131 known of the Yavahé division except that they dwell in three 162 villages, or encampments, by a large lake, or lagoon, in the unknown interior of the great Isle of Bananal, which is between three and four hundred miles long and nearly one hundred miles broad, being formed by the two arms of the 133 Araguaya river. The Yavahé lake has an outlet into the [114] eastern arm of the Araguaya. In our descent of the Araguaya, we followed the western arm.

177 The Yavahé, though hostile to civilized men, and de- 186 termined to avoid all contact with "civilization," much desire, neverthless, to obtain the steel implements, such as axes, knives and grubbing hoes, which civilization alone can furnish them. Neither does the Sambiôa branch wish to have any direct contact with "civilization" because they see plainly that their brethren of the Karayáhy division, who live in touch with the "civilization" that exists in the interior of Brazil, and which we know to be semi-barbarous, immoral and superstitious, are in a worse plight, morally, socially and physically than they themselves are—that they are extremely poor and demoralized, and suffer from various diseases, contracted from "civilization," with which they themselves are

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
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not afflicted. Therefore, they have hidden their villages far 177
away from the slimy trail of the only "civilization" they 186
know, and do not wish to reveal their location. But they, too, well know the great superiority of steel implements over their stone utensils, so desire to obtain them, which they do indirectly through the Karayáhy. They are not unwise in their generation. They do not desire to receive, in its entirety, the "civilization" available to them, for it has been demonstrated to them that its evils outweigh its blessings. Therefore they try to catspaw civilization's good things and leave its evil things. What a pity it is that a civilization, which is the best fruit of the Gospel of Christ, should not have reached the Karayá!

The Sambiõa live in much larger, cleaner, and more or- 511
derly villages than the Karayáhy, and are better fed. They 184
also build better huts than the Karayáhy, and arrange them in regular streets. They have four large villages, located be- 361
tween Pau de Arco and the falls of S. Miguel. They trade 439
hammocks, vegetables, fruits, fowls, and other produce for such articles made by civilized men as they desire. As re- 241
gards agriculture, they are but little behind the semi-barbarous Brazilians of the far interior. They have many slaves, 727
which are women and children stolen from other tribes with whom they were at war.

Only the inhabitants of the second Sambiõa village are 609
hostile to strangers. When such appear at their port, the women and children are sent to a safe place, while the warriors, fully armed, assemble at the water's edge and assume a threatening attitude. It is necessary to be cautious in approaching them, though they dare not attack a large canoe full of men armed with repeating rifles. They greatly fear these weapons, believing that the rifleman can continue to fire indefinitely without reloading. The villages are always [361]
situated distant from the landing-place; and though they will allow the traveler to visit them, he must be on his guard.

The reception at the landing is interesting and exciting. The naked, bronze-bodied men are assembled in force. Many

/321 cont./

622 and represents the village before the strangers. He performs these duties personally, without an intermediary. He does not an-
[623] nounce his orders in men's councils (such institutions are lacking), but goes from house to house. He transmits announcements to other villages by messengers, who, however, are not further legitimatized.

622 His power, however, is only a limited one; it rests entirely
621 on the good will of the villagers. If they are dissatisfied with him for any reason, they simply move away and leave him alone. Souza Villa Real already reported such a case in 1792 (1). On a

1. Rev. trim. 11, 1848, p. 416.

trip by way of the east arm, on a sandbank five days below the northern end of Bananal Island, he met Indians who said that they had migrated from their village because of disputes with their chief, whom they regarded as an evil sorcerer.

/322/ In former times there seem to have been quite a number of tribal chiefs. In 1908 only four chiefs were named (1),

1. In 1792 Souza Villa Real also mentions only four chiefs of the Karajahi, but only from hearsay; Rev. trim. 11 (1848), p. 432.

whereas quite a number of villages were without chiefs (see succession /see pp. 266 -267/). The southernmost chief was Fotuna in Village No. 14, the rest were Cyriãki in Village 18, Tumanakú in Village 21, and Crisote in Village 22. Nappears that their power is, in the first place, limited to the village
[628] concerned. The young people of other villages, however, also seem to gather around them; at any rate, in the villages with chiefs I regularly came across an unusually large number of young men. My Karajá rowers also willingly obeyed the com-
624 mands of these chiefs. The men from the individual villages who
191 were called capitão by the Brazilian boatmen are not Indian chiefs,

/322 cont. /

624 but mostly men who understand a little Brazilian and, as a result,
191 act as intermediaries in dealings with the boatmen (for example, Ilk).

622 During my stay at the mouth of the Tapirapé I observed
571 that there may also be rivalry between chiefs. On the downstream journey, in Village No. 18, I met two chiefs, the good-natured old tribal chief Cyriāki and a so-called capitão, the energetic, feared Chico Cadete. Of the two, Cyriaki had the more dignified bearing, though he had no following in the village; Cadete ruled there absolutely, so that Cyriāki was left entirely in the background. On the upstream journey I met the
[439] village in the act of undertaking a trading expedition to Santa Maria. When I returned from my navigation of the Tapirapé, I found Cyriāki in the village on the mouth of the Tapirapé. He had moved from Village 18 on account of disputes with Cadete and had settled here in Village 17.

622 The privileges enjoyed by the chiefs for their administration of office are the following: They do not work in the plantings; they do not hunt, and they fish only for tokunaré, pintado, and pirarucu, besides tartaruga and tracajá. They are not subject to any restrictions in diet. They may have several wives, who live together in their houses; there is no chief wife. Their houses are built by the villagers; they are sometimes larger and higher than the other houses.

[562] If the chief is absent, he entrusts the leadership to his wife his son also seems to represent him frequently.

The chief is educated for his position from infancy on. After an ablution with hot water, he lives for four years shut in a special hut; here he learns from his father the dances and dance songs, the administration of justice, and whatever else is necessary for his office. He may already pronounce decisions, which are announced through his father. In return he is given arrows, stones for lip plugs, and similar things as gifts. The apprenticeship ends with a large festival.

[562] The chief's successor is his son. If he only has daughters, one of them becomes chief (hau͡ěkě, dĕrōdi). If she marries,

/343 cont./

192 north horde. With Ehrenreich's Karajá words and Castelnau's
184 Sambioá words and Coudreau's Karajá words my records show
[114] correspondences as well as differences. The latter probably go back in part to misunderstandings on both sides, as may be definitely proved in a few cases. With regard to the Šavajé language, there are several very striking differences, the reason for which is as yet unknown.

197 The language of the Karajá, for the time being, is still to be regarded as isolated; the few agreements with Ge languages do not, for the present, justify our counting it among these.

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1. "Materialien zur Sprachenkunde Brasiliens /Materials for Brazilian Linguistics/": I. Die Sprache der Caraya (Goyaz) /The Language of the Caraja (Goiáz)/. Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, Vol. 26, 1894, p. 23.

discovered, and in this way obtained a great number of women's words. Those from the south horde were obtained directly from women, those from the north horde from men. The latter were able to say many words immediately; often, however, they reflected a long time before they found the word. It is doubtful whether they always gave the proper word; in any case, the women's words from the north horde should be taken with some
[191] caution. The men described the language of the women as ibinãli = very poor. They maintained that the two sexes did not understand all of each other's expressions, but that there were words which were foreign to the other sex. My records have so
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562 the women's language a k is inserted where, among the men two vowels stand next to each other; the initial k of the women is omitted among the men. Ehrenreich gives a few further

/343 cont./

194 modifications (2). That the omission of k is regarded as the

562

[191]

2. Ibid., p. 24.

chief characteristic /344/ of the men's language may be illustrated by a joke of Pedro I. Pedro said one day that my companion Adam was a woman because he says sakuba (= jacuba, the Brazilian name for a drink made of farina, rapadura /Port., a form of sugar/, and water); if he were a man, he would have to say šăŭbă. Probably the women's dialect with a fuller sound represents an older form of the language. For there can be no question here of a different language which could have originated through the taking in of women captured from alien tribes during [n27] battle. First of all, the taking of alien women (Tapirapé, Kayapó, Šavajé) is too limited for their language to be a possible influence, on the other hand, the deviations from the men's language are too slight to permit viewing the women's language as of foreign origin.

194 In speaking, many syllables are swallowed, especially at the end of words; the mouth is only slightly opened, so that a soft, indistinct speech is produced. Yet they are able to make themselves understood in a whisper far over the water. The intonation is slightly singsong, the manner of speaking uneven. Sometimes the syllables are uttered in rapid succession, then again a syllable is drawn out at length, just as though the speaker were considering how to express himself further. And this goes on in confused alternation, a way of speaking which the Brazilians greatly like to imitate. Perhaps the custom of pronouncing short-ending words long in compounds (mānă -- mănāŭlă, mănādjū, etc.) goes back to this.

195 In conversations among themselves the listener accompanies the speech of the other with many nde, nde (= yes), hm̃, hm̃, or he repeats the last word of every sentence. In communicating with Brazilians they like to start the sentences with ăhĩ (= there) and to ask after every explanation: săbĕ (= understand?). In

/344 cont./

191 general, they pronounce Brazilian words badly; they seldom succeed in pronouncing f correctly, usually they say p for it (pǎcõ for facão, žípre for chifre, pǎrīnǎ for farinha, pǎsēr for facer).

126 For the list of words and texts recorded by me, along with the translations, see the appendix I and II /untranslated; see the foreign text, pp. 415-482/.

18. Myths.

773 Myths were told me by two persons: Chief Cadete Chico of
126 Schischá told me the creation myth; I obtained a second version
115 of this, as well as all the rest, from Kuriší. Usually he told them the most vividly and in the greatest detail the first time, and considerably more simply in repetitions. Some features had to be verified by much questioning, if they were overlooked in the first notation. When questioned, Kuriší said that he was telling the myths as his mother had told them to him. According to this, the myth seems to be handed down through the mother among the Karajá. To me it was surprising that he professed not to know any of the myths reported by Ehrenreich /345/ ("Beiträge," pp. 39-44), with the exception of the howling monkey myth. Apparently they were truly unfamiliar to him. This is all the more surprising since he is the grandson of Pedro Manco, Ehrenreich's informant, and thus should have known about the store of myths preserved in this family.

773 The Karajá regard the Furo das Pedras as their original home.
[619] There the ancient Karajá lived under water. They regard the
[875] Savajé and Šambioá as their tribal kinsmen. Animals are regarded as beings like human beings, so that transformations of human beings into animals and the reverse play an important role. They
[821] think of the stars as inhabited by creatures who temporarily came to the earth and there came into contact with human beings.

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
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truded below the coat. They eyed it carefully from head to foot, riveting their gaze for a moment on the feet, then slyly opened the hood a little to peer in; and when they saw the physiognomy of their savage brother with nearly all the paint wore off, grinning at them from away back in the dark, they were highly amused.

A Karayá village we visited near the mouth of the Rio das Mortes—River of the Deaths—is so remote and out of touch with civilization that the inhabitants understand scarcely anything of the Brazilian language. Nor are they cordial to strangers, regarding them, instead, with suspicion, for the reason that they are subject to attacks by the Chavante Indians who live up the Rio das Mortes. While we were calling here, one of the women sought to obtain a shirt from me for her young son. To make me understand what she wanted, she used the sign language, imitating one's movements when a mosquito bites one on the shoulder and he crushes it, the drawing on of a shirt, and the feeling of contentment that "mosquito no bite more."

My umbrella aroused the curiosity of the savages wherever we went. Knowing that it opened somehow, one of them took it once and stood it point downward, apparently expecting it to open. As it did not do so, he passed it to me to show him and his companions how it worked. As I opened it suddenly and it spread its wings, like some old, black goblin about to fly on an evil errand, the women uttered a low scream of fear and surprise. They often felt of my linen coat and trousers, and my shirt, then made signs to me that these articles were very good to protect one from the flies and mosquitoes. They evidently thought that this was my only reason for wearing clothes. They also fingered my hat and boots, and pulled my mustache to ascertain if it were real, or false, and gazed at me as I wrote my journals for writing was a mystery to them. To many of them I was a freak well worth going a long way to see.

The Christmas season occurred while we were in the savage world of the Araguaya. What an extraordinary Christ-

609 Many of them are painted black and red, and have their faces daubed
[302] with a thick layer of black soot; others wear upon their heads
[301] crowns made of beautiful feathers; while others again, have
[237] their hair braided and decorated with the brilliant crimson
[411] and gold feathers of the macaw. All are armed with spears beautifully decorated with feathers, and with bows and arrows and heavy killing clubs. They present quite a military spectacle.

Disembarking, the first thing the visitors do is to show the savages their arms, especially the repeating rifles, which fill them with awe. The chief now hastens to declare that he and his people are friends of the white man, saying: "The Karayá is the friend of the white man; there is no lie with us," repeating this twice. Confidence established, some trading may be done without difficulty. Small children, and particularly, young girls, are very shy of the strangers, and usually creep into their huts and cover their faces with their hands. The visitor is never troubled by beggars, and rarely has anything stolen from him.

131 The Karayáhy division live along the main stream of the
162 Araguaya between São José and Santa Maria in twelve or
[648] fifteen villages or encampments, one of which, near Santa Maria, was completely wiped out in 1881 by the Kayapó
361 tribe. Their villages are not so clean as those of the Sambiõa, nor are the huts so well constructed.

191 Observing the speech of the Karayá, one can scarcely notice any movement of the lips; nor do they seem able to repeat exactly a sentence just uttered. They have many sounds which they produce with the tongue and swallow the
192 last syllable. Apparently, their speech is not related to any Brazilian aboriginal language. The most remarkable thing about it is that they have one dialect for the men and another for the women; though only a few words are entirely different, and with most of them there is but a slight, unimportant change.

142 Physically, the Karayá are one of the finest of the aboriginal races of Brazil. They are of medium size, slender and

/44 cont./

539 This rather disconnected legend, which lacks an ending, is evidently aimed at giving the imagination of the narrator some latitude so that he can add further adventures and encounters of the woman as he pleases. For comparative mythology the passage about the woman being swallowed by the heron is of special importance (cf. Im Thurn's remarks, op. cit., p. 386). The episode of the ounce is found in quite similar form and with almost the same words in the North American legend of the Kootenay /Kutenai/ on the Columbia River published by F. Boas (Verh. d. Berl. Ges. f. Anth., 1891, p. 171), except that there a giant who wishes to be painted white meets the woman.

821 Finally, as a contribution to the folklore of the Karaya some of their names for constellations and other celestial phenomena might be mentioned, from which their concept of nature can be recognized to some extent. In general they are more appropriate than our own. I shall offer no opinion as to whether the constellations are really viewed as what their names signify. According to our experiences with other tribes this is highly probable, however.

821 The Milky Way is the "ash road" (bribi), a very common
192 conception among the South Americans.

The brightly shining stars α and β Centauri are the feet of the "ostrich" (naukiä, Rhea americana), whose body is represented by the neighboring large coalsack.

/45/ In the Southern Cross they see the lozenge-shaped form of the "river ray" (barahoä).

The Pleiades (ϑeraborõ) are a flock of small "dwarf parrots" analogous to the "doves" of the Hellenes and the "chicks" of Germanic peoples.

Orion (hatedäotä) is the burning roça (among the Slavs and Lithuanians, too, as is well known, this constellation is associated with agriculture and harvests).

The tail of Scorpio is the "ounce" (anϑauä).

The moon spots are "toads" (krãu).

/45 cont./

87 192 Shooting stars are very aptly compared to a hook cast out and the bait on it.

The rainbow is the "electric eel" (koadžī, the trem-trem of the Brazilians).

During eclipses of the moon it is said: ahaṅdō roro, the moon wishes to die. Pedro Manco denied that noise is made to avert this disaster.

The Petroglyphs of Martirios Island

133 [131] About midway between the two great river rapids, the Carreira comprida and the Cachoeira grande, a narrow rock island about one kilometer long lies close to the right river bank, the Ilha dos Martirios (6° 22' south latitude), which rises gradually from south to north. Flooded to a large extent during high water, it is connected to the neighboring bank at low water. Its western edge then falls in steep walls from 8-10 meters high down to the surface of the river. Heavily eroded, they are riddled by countless potholes and broken up into groups of columns, pyramids, and arches. The predominant stone is a coarse-grained, horizontally-layered quartz schist which splits into huge blocks. The opposite bank has the same formation. The river runs here as though in a natural channel 150 meters wide with a very slight drop.

192 On the north end of the island, in part at its highest elevation (about 15 meters above low water), in part somewhat lower in the region of the high water line, there are visible on the stone blocks on the ground a large number of rock sculptures which are among the most remarkable on the continent and have become the center of a whole series of tales.

Only a few travelers have seen them; no one has investigated them in detail or copied them. Quite early they attracted the attention and stirred the imagination of the first Paulista bands of Pires Campos and the notorious Anhanguera (Bartholomeo Bueno the Elder), who visited the island at the end of the seventeenth century on their expedition to the Araes and their rich goldmines,

/342 cont./

819 lip-disks. He said one could get to them by way of the Tapirapé.
648 When I asked for more details, he wrapped himself in silence. Perhaps through the Tapirapé he had obtained some knowledge of the tribes living to the west.

17. The Language.

126 To make records of the language among the Karajá is very
[194] difficult, because these Indians speak their language, which is rich in nasal forms, most indistinctly. The women speak considerably more clearly than the men.

The words asked for were willingly said; the Indians were indefatigable in pronouncing them for me until I could repeat them correctly. For transcribing them I used the Meinhof transcription in Neumayer's /343/ Anleitung zu wissenschaftlichen Beobachtungen auf Reisen /Introduction to Scientific Observations on Journeys/, 3rd ed., page 484. Determining the strange diphthongs which are peculiar to the language was often difficult and is to be regarded as merely approximated.

I tried to obtain the same words in as many localities as possible. Thus, for the words of the south horde (S) I have 21 informants, for those of the north horde (N) 29. I did not obtain
192 all the words in both groups. Comparison shows that most words
184 are the same in both groups, but that a number of deviations also occur. In my opinion, however, these do not justify our assuming separate dialects, since they do not show any laws, and since it is not certain how many are due to misunderstanding. Some of
[194] them are to be explained only by the omission of vowels in rapid speech, lighter or darker vowel formation, stronger emphasis of one or another character in the diphthongs (l or r in the case of ł, etc.). It is noteworthy that the words obtained in the village of José, who had migrated from the south horde to the north horde, still clearly show the greater relationship with the south horde, whereas those of Chief Korumaré, who had migrated into the interior of Bananal, are more closely linked with those of the

/343 cont./

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[237] their hair braided and decorated with the brilliant crimson
[411] and gold feathers of the macaw. All are armed with spears beautifully decorated with feathers, and with bows and arrows and heavy killing clubs. They present quite a military spectacle.

Disembarking, the first thing the visitors do is to show the savages their arms, especially the repeating rifles, which fill them with awe. The chief now hastens to declare that he and his people are friends of the white man, saying: "The Karayá is the friend of the white man; there is no lie with us," repeating this twice. Confidence established, some trading may be done without difficulty. Small children, and particularly, young girls, are very shy of the strangers, and usually creep into their huts and cover their faces with their hands. The visitor is never troubled by beggars, and rarely has anything stolen from him.

131 The Karayáhy division live along the main stream of the
162 Araguaya between São José and Santa Maria in twelve or
[648] fifteen villages or encampments, one of which, near Santa Maria, was completely wiped out in 1881 by the Kayapó
361 tribe. Their villages are not so clean as those of the Sambiõa, nor are the huts so well constructed.

191 Observing the speech of the Karayá, one can scarcely notice any movement of the lips; nor do they seem able to repeat exactly a sentence just uttered. They have many sounds which they produce with the tongue and swallow the
192 last syllable. Apparently, their speech is not related to any Brazilian aboriginal language. The most remarkable thing about it is that they have one dialect for the men and another for the women; though only a few words are entirely different, and with most of them there is but a slight, unimportant change.

142 Physically, the Karayá are one of the finest of the aboriginal races of Brazil. They are of medium size, slender and

/8 cont./

609 Nevertheless, caution must be used in dealing with the Sambioa. To be sure, they will hardly dare to attack well-manned and armed boats, but, in view of the great distance from the landing place to the villages, the traveler who unarmed -- only in this way is he admitted -- visits their huts can get into a very dangerous situation in case of a sudden quarrel.

The reception at the landing places usually makes a most picturesque scene. The naked brown forms stream by in groups, [301] many adventurously painted black and red, the face often daubed [302] with a thick layer of soot, some with a decorative feather diadem on their heads, others with hair hanging down in a long braid and decorated with bunches of arara feathers fluttering in the wind. All [411] are armed with long spears decorated with feathers, clubs, bows, and arrows. The discussion is held in dignified quiet, without wild shouting, the new arrivals first showing the savages their firearms, and expressly any breechloaders /9/ or revolvers, which never fail to make a deep impression. The chief asserts time after time: Karaya amigo tori, ahi mentira não tem! The Karaya is a friend of the White (tori), here there are no lies! And the bartering begins immediately (Pl. IV /see p. 106/, 2).

Once one has won their confidence, the dealings become quite unconstrained, especially with the men and boys. The small children, and especially the young girls, are very shy and usually crawl into a corner of their hut, nervously covering their faces with their hands. A stranger is never troubled by beggars. Thefts, too, are exceedingly rare.

Language.

126 A rather extensive vocabulary, as well as a number of short sentences, was written down, from which, however, little of the grammatical structure of this idiom is evident. The extremely 194 unclear diction of the people, who hardly make any perceptible 126 movement of their lips, their inability to repeat exactly what was said, and finally the swallowing of the final syllables, favored by the abundance of vowels and lingual sounds, make linguistic reception uncommonly difficult.

/39 cont./

539 In Kabōi's land people became very old; they died only when they could no longer move on account of their age.

When Kabōi returned to his people and showed the fruits, most of them wanted to go to the upper world; in vain he warned: You will find everything that you need, but you will soon die off. In spite of this part of the people moved away and populated the earth. The rest remained with Kabōi in the underworld. They are still living today in full strength, whereas the people on the earth are steadily approaching their downfall.

[171] A quite similar tale from the Warrau /Warao/ is communicated by Im Thurn (op. cit., p. 360), but it tells of a descent of the people from heaven to earth. From North America we know of an analogous one among the Mandan (cf. Catlin, Indianer Nordamerikas, Brussels, 1851, p. 131). Considering [194] that in the language of the Karaya "b" and "m" often change into each other, particularly in loan words, the name Kabōi reminds one of the name of the sun and the sun hero of the Aruak /Arawak/ tribes, Kamu, Kamui, Kamoti, or Kamutši (see the remarks about the celebration of the Ipurina below /untranslated/), frequently recurring in South American mythology. Also Tamoi, the ancestor of the Tupi, may be identical with this.

II.

Sun Myth.

Kahererŏ, a Karaya girl, married the rich Šokrăä. She was sent into the forest to fetch wood. The sun ran so fast, however, that night fell before she was finished. Then the girl complained to her mother Idžokarerŏ: Why did I marry such a rich and mighty man if I am to be forced to work so fast. I cannot stand that. Make the sun go slower."

The mother then sent out her son (1) Beϑauä (2). He

1. Also named were Komahera and Kuarodžä.

2. "The dove."

/342 cont./

879 lip-disks. He said one could get to them by way of the Tapirapé.
648 When I asked for more details, he wrapped himself in silence. Perhaps through the Tapirapé he had obtained some knowledge of the tribes living to the west.

17. The Language.

126 To make records of the language among the Karajá is very
[194] difficult, because these Indians speak their language, which is rich in nasal forms, most indistinctly. The women speak considerably more clearly than the men.

The words asked for were willingly said; the Indians were indefatigable in pronouncing them for me until I could repeat them correctly. For transcribing them I used the Meinhof transcription in Neumayer's /343/ Anleitung zu wissenschaftlichen Beobachtungen auf Reisen /Introduction to Scientific Observations on Journeys/, 3rd ed., page 484. Determining the strange diphthongs which are peculiar to the language was often difficult and is to be regarded as merely approximated.

I tried to obtain the same words in as many localities as possible. Thus, for the words of the south horde (S) I have 21 informants, for those of the north horde (N) 29. I did not obtain
192 all the words in both groups. Comparison shows that most words
184 are the same in both groups, but that a number of deviations also occur. In my opinion, however, these do not justify our assuming separate dialects, since they do not show any laws, and since it is not certain how many are due to misunderstanding. Some of
[194] them are to be explained only by the omission of vowels in rapid speech, lighter or darker vowel formation, stronger emphasis of one or another character in the diphthongs (l or r in the case of ł, etc.). It is noteworthy that the words obtained in the village of José, who had migrated from the south horde to the north horde, still clearly show the greater relationship with the south horde, whereas those of Chief Korumaré, who had migrated into the interior of Bananal, are more closely linked with those of the

/343 cont./

192 north horde. With Ehrenreich's Karajá words and Castelnau's
184 Sambioá words and Coudreau's Karajá words my records show
[114] correspondences as well as differences. The latter probably go back in part to misunderstandings on both sides, as may be definitely proved in a few cases. With regard to the Šavajé language, there are several very striking differences, the reason for which is as yet unknown.

197 The language of the Karajá, for the time being, is still to be regarded as isolated; the few agreements with Ge languages do not, for the present, justify our counting it among these.

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[113] 1. "Materialien zur Sprachenkunde Brasiliens /Materials for Brazilian Linguistics/": I. Die Sprache der Caraya (Goyaz) /The Language of the Caraja (Goiáz)/. Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, Vol. 26, 1894, p. 23.

discovered, and in this way obtained a great number of women's words. Those from the south horde were obtained directly from women, those from the north horde from men. The latter were able to say many words immediately; often, however, they reflected a long time before they found the word. It is doubtful whether they always gave the proper word; in any case, the women's words from the north horde should be taken with some
[191] caution. The men described the language of the women as ibĭnāli = very poor. They maintained that the two sexes did not understand all of each other's expressions, but that there were words which were foreign to the other sex. My records have so
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/343 cont./

194 modifications (2). That the omission of k is regarded as the
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[191]

2. Ibid., p. 24.

chief characteristic /344/ of the men's language may be illustrated by a joke of Pedro I. Pedro said one day that my companion Adam was a woman because he says sakuba (= jacuba, the Brazilian name for a drink made of farina, rapadura /Port., a form of sugar/, and water); if he were a man, he would have to say šǎũbǎ. Probably the women's dialect with a fuller sound represents an older form of the language. For there can be no question here of a different language which could have originated through the taking in of women captured from alien tribes during
[n2n] battle. First of all, the taking of alien women (Tapirapé, Kayapó, Šavajé) is too limited for their language to be a possible influence; on the other hand, the deviations from the men's language are too slight to permit viewing the women's language as of foreign origin.

194 In speaking, many syllables are swallowed, especially at the end of words; the mouth is only slightly opened, so that a soft, indistinct speech is produced. Yet they are able to make themselves understood in a whisper far over the water. The intonation is slightly singsong, the manner of speaking uneven. Sometimes the syllables are uttered in rapid succession, then again a syllable is drawn out at length, just as though the speaker were considering how to express himself further. And this goes on in confused alternation, a way of speaking which the Brazilians greatly like to imitate. Perhaps the custom of pronouncing short-ending words long in compounds (mānǎ -- mǎnāũlǎ, mǎnādjũ, etc.) goes back to this.

195 In conversations among themselves the listener accompanies the speech of the other with many nde, nde (= yes), hm̃, hm̃, or he repeats the last word of every sentence. In communicating with Brazilians they like to start the sentences with ǎhĩ (= there) and to ask after every explanation: sǎbĕ (= understand?). In

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78 are the product of intermarriage and formal friendship. Intervillage
628 feuds are common and are restrained only by the religious community,
626 sanctuary being granted at all religious ceremonials.

ETIQUETTE

576 All dealings with visitors are conducted according to elaborate formal
195 patterns. The language is rich in formal appellations, exclamations, and
562 honorific phrases. The most remarkable feature is that women are permitted to behave with perfect freedom, whereas men, until they become fathers, behave with a shy and deferential modesty resembling but exceeding that of the Victorian maiden. Normal relations between members
[522] of the same village are formal and dignified; only in the men's house or on fishing and hunting trips is the behavior of men relaxed enough to permit horseplay and casual joking.

LIFE CYCLE

553 **Childbirth and Childhood.**—The child gets two sets of names, one
551 male and one female, as soon as the mother is known to be pregnant. These
843 are one's own names given by grandparents of both lines. Taboos in
846 regard to diet and behavior are required of both parents before and after birth. There is a well-developed couvade based on the notion of an
853 intimate connection between the infant and its father. Babies are nursed
862 until they turn to other food of their own volition; sometimes ridicule is used as a sanction against particularly recalcitrant children. No inter-
854 course is allowed during the period of lactation. Babies are carried on the hip, and sleep with the mother until weaning, when they are paired
[291] off with other children or with a grandparent. The girl child wears no clothing until weaned and then receives a fringed belt.

881 **Puberty and initiations.**—At menstruation, a girl's cheeks are scarified and she assumes the girdle.

[304] A boy passes through a first initiation at about the age of 8 or 9,
[302] when his lower lip is pierced and a small bone labret inserted. A couple of years later, he passes through a second initiation, when his hair is cut short to a tonsure, his entire body is stained black with genipa, and he assumes the penis cord. When his hair has grown out to shoulder length, it is put up in a braid, and he attains full status as a young man.
885 The next change of status for both boys and girls occurs at marriage, when, for the first time, they take on the responsibilities of regular work.
551 Teknonymy is a matter of pride and follows the birth of the first child. The name is retained permanently thereafter, even though the child should
888 die. At about 45 both parents discard their ornaments and accept the
561 status of old age. All the above age grades are named and involve differential behavior and dietary observances.

/343 cont./

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THE CARAJÁ[1]

By William Lipkind

TRIBAL DIVISIONS AND TERRITORY

The *Carajá* are a river people who since pre-Columbian times have held as the central portion of their territory the inland Island of Bananal, which is formed by the great fork of the Araguaya River (lat. 8°–17° S., long. 48°–52° W., map 1, *No. 1*; see Volume 1, map 7). They must be regarded as an independent linguistic family for the present; their language displays no convincing similarities to any other recorded South American language.

The term *"Carajá"* is used to designate the entire people as well as the largest of the three tribal divisions; the other two are the *Shambioá* and the *Javahé*. The *Carajá* proper have 20 villages on the western or main branch of the Araguaya River, widely spread from Leopoldina south of Bananal clear down to the end of the Island. The *Shambioá*, now nearly extinct, have only two villages left, a little way below Conceicão. The eight villages of the *Javahé* lie on the eastern or minor branch of the Araguaya River and on the small streams within Bananal. The general location and the relative sizes of the three groups have remained the same since the earliest times.

The native names give some notion of intergroup attitudes. All three groups regard themselves as a single people and use a name meaning "we" to distinguish themselves from other tribes. The *Carajá* proper are called the "great people" by the other two groups. The *Shambioá* are the "companion people." The *Javahé* are called by a name which is used generally to mean "Indian" and bears the pejorative connotation "backwoodsman" or "hick." There is a possible analysis which makes it the "old people" but, even if this etymology is correct, the word no longer has that meaning.

Dialectical differences are slight and other differences not very great, with the *Shambioá* occupying a middle position culturally between the other two groups. This account is based on field work with the *Carajá* proper and refers to the other groups only where they exhibit important differences.

[1] The present description of the *Carajá* is based on the author's field work during 1937, done under the auspices of the Department of Anthropology, Columbia University.

/9 cont./

reception uncommonly difficult. It is certain that this language is related to no other Brazilian language known up to now, although odd word-similarities with Gēs dialects do occur.

Its noteworthy peculiarity is the existence of separate men's and women's languages, as is found in like manner among the Guaicuru and Chiquitanos. Only a few words, however, are completely different; for most of them the form is merely modified unimportantly. For instance, where two vowels come one after the other in the men's dialect, a k comes between the two in the women's dialect. Thus:

rain ♂ biū, ♀ bikū, maize ♂ mahī, ♀ makī.

At times the women's word merely has one more syllable at the end, etc. Probably the women have merely retained an older form of the language. The native words printed in italics in the text are accented on the final syllable where something different is not expressly noted.

External Appearance, Clothing, Adornment.

According to their physical appearance, the Karaya represent one of the handsomer types among the tribes of Brazil. They are not particularly robust in stature, but rather are medium-sized and gracile; however, the slender body, the regularity of their limbs, the proud mien make them seem bigger than they really are. Their impressive muscular power, the elasticity and agility of their movements come to the fore especially in boxing matches, their most popular sport. The neck musculature is very strongly developed, as among all Indians, which makes them capable of carrying enormous loads with a forehead-tumpline.

The form of the skull is consistently hypsidolichocephalic, without especially prominent prognathism. The absence of eyebrow ridges make the face somewhat open. The eyelid, horizontal or slightly slanted, is remarkably small, but nevertheless does not lend the face a really Mongoloid appearance, because of the always very prominently projecting nose. The nose itself starts very far down.

/343 cont./

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/367 cont./

535 but turned toward each other, and sang a verse with gourd-rattle accompaniment. They then danced forward together toward the village and back again. This was repeated several times. The
533 dance ended with lively bows at the village. At night the young men sat in front of the mask hut and sang dance songs with the
[184] rattle accompaniment. These songs, too, were very similar to
532 those of the Karajá. The Šavajé did not permit photographing
535 the masks on the next day, so I was obliged to resort to sketching.
126 The masks were cylinder masks with a feather-mosaic covering. Black-dyed leaf-aprons for hips and shoulders served as body coverings.

In Schischá I acquired copies of masks, and, to be sure, of the ĭdjālhēnĭ mask, the ămbŭšāwādiă mask, and the lădēnĭ mask. Of these, ĭdjālhēnĭ seems to be a typical Šavajé mask, for the songs of this mask which I was able to record phonographically among the Karajá were always designated by the latter as Šavajé
[533] songs. Of other Šavajé songs I obtained phonographically dĕsoĭ dĕsoĭ, a song that they sing after slaying a jaguar.

For further data on the masks of the Šavajé, see my article,
[113] "Tanzmaskennachbildungen vom mittleren Araguaya /Dance Mask Reproductions from the Middle Araguaia/," Jahrbuch des Museums für Völkerkunde zu Leipzig, Volume 3, Leipzig, 1910.

197 Their language, according to my data, seems to be identical with that of the Karajá. It does contain some completely different words; see tapir, gavião, maize, red and black neck tassels, lower-arm ornament of two pads with fringe hangings, calf ornament with tassels, leaf pipe; caracara is divergent.

A comparison shows that the south horde of the Karajá is linguistically somewhat closer to the Šavajé than the north horde, undoubtedly a result of the migrations of the Šavajé to the south horde. /Section III, "Die Kayapó (The Cayapo)," pp. 368-402, with Plates 62-68 and Ills. 209-261, is omitted in the translation./

T /404 cont./
105 center stripe. Their women also make pottery. Their language
C differs from that of the Karajá; the two peoples do not understand
[197] each other. The relationship between the Karajá and the Tapirapé
C seems to have been peaceful in former times. With iron goods the
648 Karajá bartered for net coverings, bows, araras, stone lip-plugs,
[939] food, etc. The meeting place was a sandbank in the Rio Tapirapé,
opposite a high steep bank, slightly below the place to which the
C Karajá ordinarily extend their annual fishing expeditions. The
[721] Karajá had taken advantage of this opportunity to abduct in secret
the women and children in the places stripped of men. As has
been mentioned above (p. 263), because of this there was finally
a hostile clash between the two tribes about six or seven years ago;
C since then the Karajá avoid this spot, they no longer go so far
[727] upstream. The abducted women are used by the Karajá as slave
women for work, as well as village prostitutes; the children are
taken into the tribe. /Pl. 69 appears here./ /405/ /Ills. 262 and
C 263 appear here./
162 3. Observations in Karajá villages. In the villages of the
T Karajá I saw a total of two women, three maidens, and two boys
[142] from the Tapirapé. They were smaller and more delicate than
T /Ills. 264 and 265 appear here/ the Karajá. The women wore black
304 incised tattooing on the chins and on the cheeks (see Ill. 262 a, b
302 /see p. 339/). One girl was painted red on the face (Ill. 263).
C In the way of objects that were supposed to come from the
439 Tapirapé, I acquired the following in the Karajá villages near
126 the Tapirapé mouth: the comb (kŭwáă; Pl. 69, Ill. 1); its method
T of construction is identical with that of the Karajá, but the very
303 regular plaiting pattern is different from that of the Karajá. The
T spindle (Ill. 264) with the double-conical wax whorl does not differ
283 in any way from those of the Karajá.
T The club (ĩwŭrá, Ill. 265) is identical in form with the round
411 clubs of the Karajá. One side of the front half of the club is grooved
and flanked on either side by a raised strip which bears groups of
cross-lines. The cylinder on the handle has three grooves; the
handle is grooved and likewise has two strips with cross-lines and
depressions.

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 339]

/9 cont./

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/36 cont./

535 On both, the back side is decorated with a double row of
532 short green and blue parrot feathers placed in the long direction.
825 3. The mask of a black bird (tirehäñ) has no animal emblem. It is a human face made of a large gourd, the lower third painted black, the rest red. The mouth is equipped with wax lips and wooden teeth. The nose of black wax is located between the narrow eye slits at an unnatural height. A hanging of black and /37/ brown feathers falls from the back, while at the front and on the sides long strips of buriti bast cover the body of the wearer (Pl. X /see p. 112/, 3).

The number of masks is in no way exhausted with these.
[184] Each village has its special ones and many a "medicine hut" was actually crammed full of the different types.

Besides those mentioned the following were noted as particularly common among the Karayahi:

The fish: pintado (Pimelodus sorubim), trem-trem (Gymnotus electricus), chicote, piau, and pirarucú (Sudis gigas); the birds: tuyuyu (Mycteria jabiru), japuira (Cacicus sp.) mutum (Crax), jacu (Penelope); finally deer and crabs.

521 Masked festivals. If there is much food on hand after pro-
535 ductive hunting and fishing expeditions, the chief decides to hold a dance festival, which continues as long as the provisions last. The preparations begin several days before the date set. The women attend to the food and drink, the men set to work at making the dance costumes, unless they are still occupied with hunting.
[533] Each dance is known only to certain persons. The songs sung in
[198] connection with them, which are handed down from father to son, are allegedly performed in an ancient language incomprehensible to the masses.

[825] Each animal represented has its characteristic sound, which
[533] is repeated again and again in the songs. Thus, the pacu cries: heiyoṅ he, heiyoṅ he, the alligator hu — hu — hu.

[562] The women and children watch the dance, to be sure, but
[532] may not look at the masks by themselves, without their wearers,
[116] since they are made to believe that the "animal spirits" concerned are really present before them. Only the oldest women are sometimes told the secret.

/248 cont./

223 until the uppermost one, finally, closed the opening of the little pyramid. Strings ran down along the edges, were fastened to the lowest rods, and crossed at the top on the surface; they barely held the whole construction together. The type of release is clearly shown in the sketch, Ill. 84.

[198] To lure birds and game the Indians use specific calls which differ according to the particular species of animal, as they know how to imitate animal sounds masterfully.

Birds must be plucked on the spot; they may not be brought to the village unplucked ("otherwise the chief will be angry"). While plucking, the fingertips are dipped in wood ashes.

223 224 [538] It is said that there are no magic devices for making the hunt productive; on the other hand, the Indians are fond of telling one another hunting stories, and, in doing so, they like to exaggerate and tell improbable things.

Ill. 84.
Construction of the bird trap.

226 562 Fishing supplies by far the largest portion of the meat food; the subsistence of the Indians is to a large extent based on it.

136 The Araguaya is extremely rich in fish (kădōlă); still richer, however, are the tributaries, especially the Rio Tapirapé and the many lakes that accompany these rivers on either side.

In the deep water of the lakes and on the high, steep banks, especially where fallen trees lie in the water, live the pirarucú (b'dōlĕkĕ; Sudis gigas), three to four meters long, and the pirarara (dōlĕ; Phractocephalus discolor), which is equipped with strong bone armor and is up to two meters long. Upon being [533] [825] pulled out of the water, it emits air with strange sounds; the humorous Indian likes to imitate these sounds in his songs. Furthermore, the dogfish (lādă), with its powerful teeth, lives here, and above all the worst predatory fish, the piranha. Various

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

truded below the coat. They eyed it carefully from head 609
to foot, riveting their gaze for a moment on the feet, then slyly opened the hood a little to peer in; and when they saw the physiognomy of their savage brother with nearly all the paint wore off, grinning at them from away back in the dark, they were highly amused.

A Karayá village we visited near the mouth of the Rio das 361
Mortes—River of the Deaths—is so remote and out of touch [191]
with civilization that the inhabitants understand scarcely anything of the Brazilian language. Nor are they cordial to 609
strangers, regarding them, instead, with suspicion, for the [721]
reason that they are subject to attacks by the Chavante Indians who live up the Rio das Mortes. While we were 123
calling here, one of the women sought to obtain a shirt from [291]
me for her young son. To make me understand what she [201]
wanted, she used the sign language, imitating one's movements when a mosquito bites one on the shoulder and he crushes it, the drawing on of a shirt, and the feeling of contentment that "mosquito no bite more."

My umbrella aroused the curiosity of the savages wherever we went. Knowing that it opened somehow, one of them took it once and stood it point downward, apparently expecting it to open. As it did not do so, he passed it to me to show him and his companions how it worked. As I opened it suddenly and it spread its wings, like some old, black goblin about to fly on an evil errand, the women uttered a low scream of fear and surprise. They often felt of my linen coat and trousers, and my shirt, then made signs to me that these articles were very good to protect one from the flies and mosquitoes. They evidently thought that this was my only reason for wearing clothes. They also fingered my hat and boots, and pulled my mustache to ascertain if it were real, or false, and gazed at me as I wrote my journals for writing was a mystery to them. To many of them I was a freak well worth going a long way to see.

The Christmas season occurred while we were in the sav- 600
age world of the Araguaya. What an extraordinary Christ-

/316 cont./

534 [824] The most common are taquara flutes with a gourd for resonance [(h)ă(n)djūlōnă]. The flutes consist of a taquara tube 44-46 centimeters long and about three and a half centimeters thick, one end of which is closed, the other open. Near the closed end is the lateral blow-hole. For resonance there is a gourd 33-38 centimeters long and 16-24 centimeters thick, which is open on both ends and into the large opening of which the flute is

[531]

Ill. 178 a, b.
Gourd trumpets.

[531] obliquely inserted. These resonating gourds are usually decorated with pyrography (Ill. 178b).

533 Hollow sounds which carry very far are drawn from these trumpets. Through alternating long and short tones, blown-in [574] and drawn-out tones, there are produced various tonal sequences, [202] which, on boat trips, are blown near the villages to announce arrival. An actual signal language, however, does not seem to 534 have been developed as yet. At present, ox-horn trumpets, such as the Brazilian deck-hands carry, are already finding entry.

I did not see other kinds of flutes, especially not the Pan-pipes of taquara mentioned by Ehrenreich.

[533] In Village 8 I saw a small horn made of a gourd shell, which [824] apparently is blown at the masked dances. It may not be blown in the presence of women, so I was unable to find out its use and the nature of its sound. Also I was unable to acquire the implement; I did not see it again anywhere else.

/200 cont./

514 water about 5/4 meters deep with their knees slightly bent and there untie the long penis string and tie it on again.

342 The houses are merely living and sleeping houses; cooking
[252] is done outside.

The chiefs in part have better built, larger houses; thus,
[622] Plate 41 appears here/ /201/ the one belonging to Chief João III was three to four meters high, five to six meters wide, and equally long (Pl. 39).

[344] There are no meeting houses; in order to bring about a de-
[203] cision or announce regulations, the chief goes to the individual
[622] houses.

Other special houses are:

343 1. Birth houses. These are erected for the woman when birth
844 is imminent; their construction is said to be identical with that of the other houses.

346 2. The mask house in which the dance masks are kept. It always stands apart from the village and in its method of construction is a dry-season house with a round structure on the narrow side turned toward the village. The arches are usually slightly curved and strengthened on top by a ridge beam (Pl. 12, Ill. 3). The mask houses serve as bachelor houses; the young people are said to sleep here. I saw only four mask huts, but cannot confirm
513 these statements from my observations. In any case, the young people do not sleep in the houses, but rather, if there is no mask house,
[609] by a fire which is away from the village. Strangers are given shelter by the chief; they sleep in his house, even though they are unmarried (see the reception which I, with my men, found among the Savajé /pp. 129 ff. in the first part of the work, which is omitted in the translation).

342 The house belongs to the woman. The man builds it before
423 the marriage, with the assistance of the young people, who are
562 paid for it by the woman with chains of beads. The construction
768 takes one or two days. After death the house is said to be burned.

821 According to the accounts of the Indians, the houses are protected from bolts of lightning by a fish spine stuck on the roof on a pole about half a meter long. Probably only magic is involved here.

[Text continues on p. 84]

/277 cont./

501 [502] The boat is pushed over shallow places; to get over exposed sandbanks extending crosswise, wooden rollers are laid down on which the boat is rolled across (Ill. 9).

There are no anchors for securing the boat; stones with plaiting around them serve only as anchors for the bottom tackle for turtles. The boats are easily pulled up on the bank, and the boat pole is stuck into the sand through the loop; this is the whole mooring.

[415] Half-gourds are used to scoop out the water that enters.

[532] I saw decorated boats only in Village No. 20. Here, on the inner wall of a boat, there were light-colored human figures; [484] another boat had 36 notches on the edge, which were said to be [211] the number of nights required for a journey to the Sambioá.

484 Such trips lasting for weeks are usually undertaken in a large company; often the entire village sets out in a great number of boats packed high. By themselves the Indians only make [262] journeys of one or two days. By way of /278/ provisions they take only a little with them: manioc, maize, and the cooking pot; the fish are caught on the way twice a day. Rower and helmsman change places daily on longer journeys, especially if only two men are traveling in the boat.

502 132 Shipwrecks sometimes occur, especially while crossing the river in a storm. Such accidents, in which Indians lost their lives and of which several examples were recounted to me, are easily explainable in view of the high waves which storms create on the river and the narrow, low boats of the Indians. In fact, I myself with my boats (dugouts with one or two side planks set on them) was often forced to seek refuge from wind and waves for hours on high banks or on sandbanks.

The Indians endure bad weather on the journey rather simply. They quickly build themselves small sheltering walls out of poles and prepared palm leaves, which they always carry with them on longer journeys, or they pull the boat on land, turn it upside down, and lie down under it wrapped in their coverings beside a fire which they light in the center. They spend the worst nights of storm and rain in this manner.

Plate 9

1. Mauzi and Maudihi, with net coverings.

2. Camarada Antonio.

/Pl. 9 faces p. 44.

/43 cont./

241 is not lacking; true domesticated animals are absent. Planting
433 is important as a source of subsistence, but fishing and turtle
462 hunting stand higher in masculine preference as well as being a basis of life. Not only are the men charged with fishing and hunting — less important owing to the scarcity of game — but activity in the gardens is also primarily the business of the men, since the women are satisfied to help as they please, which is undeniably rare among the Amazonian Indians.

433 Up to here we are in perfect agreement with the cate-
462 gories chosen by Murdock (Ro, Im, Oo, Dm; columns 1-4). However, in column 5 we find the /44/ first gap. The division of labor assigns gathering to the female sex, except for the harvesting of wild honey, which is considered more as hunting and belongs among the men's tasks. So the Carajá could, after all, be put in the category of "standard division of labor by sex" (thus Ia; column 5).

114 Real difficulties arise when we take into consideration what is properly called social organization. Categorial decisions
361 are not so easy to make there. It is true that our Indians live
[221] in compact villages, especially during the rainy seasons. During the rest of the year the Carajá proper like to disperse on the beaches, forming smaller local units, which, nevertheless, are always lined up along the river, the houses of the men (if there are any in the encampments) remaining at the rear, as if the periphery of a circle had been opened and rolled back in a straight line, leaving the center — the houses of the men — at
361 the side of the line. Since the large villages of the rainy season,
62 which are all like this and bear a name, are in reality agamous
[114] and without clans, but display a certain tendency toward endogamy, the category assigned by Murdock — compact village observing agamy — (Va; column 6), if it is not definitely wrong, is nevertheless to be taken cum grano salis (tendency toward Sd).

59 As for the family structure, it is normally of the extended type, at least during the rainy season, but the extension is not

/7 cont./

132 The life of the inhabitants is determined by the sharp division of the seasons. The rainless period lasts from May to the end of September, and farther north even until far into October. Then broad sandbanks (praias) are exposed everywhere, with the sun [221] beating down on them day after day. For the Indians this is the real period of river life. Fishing then governs all interests. With the beginning of November the rainy season has usually already set [133] in with strength; in December and January the river is highest, ten to twelve meters above the low level. From bank to bank, without interruption, a tremendous mass of water fills the bed, flooding the neighboring low plains for some distance.

136 Swarms of annoying insects, mosquitoes and pium /a very 221 small mosquito/, which are completely absent in the dry season, now fill the air. The Indian is forced to retreat to higher ground, where he then attends to cultivating the fields and, if need be, [226] hunts. Fishing can be carried on only in the lagoons at this time.

133 When the water lowers, bad fevers are not uncommon on the 164 middle Araguaia, where extensive swamps accompany the river.

Hordes. The Karaya of the Araguaia are divided into the 101 three large tribes of the Yavahē, Karayahi, and Šambioa, which [161] together may number about 4,000 persons. The first inhabit the [131] interior of the still completely unknown Bananal Island. We know [361] only this much about it, that in its northern part there is a large lake near which the three villages of the Yavahē are located. It has an outlet into the eastern arm (furo) of the Araguaia, at the mouth of which some of these savages were spoken to for the last 177 time in April, 1888. In the meantime no one has sought them out here, although they have indicated several times their desire to trade with the colonists. They badly need iron tools, which now come to them only rarely through the agency of the Karayahi. In the villages of the latter one sometimes meets some Yavahē. They do not like to leave their hiding place in large numbers, since they justifiably fear importing epidemic diseases.

361 The Karayahi live in 12-15 villages of various size on the west arm of the Araguaia in the region of the navigable stretch from S. José below the mouth of the Crixas to the region of S. Maria.

/14 cont./

Way of Life. Food and Its Preparation

433 Like most South American tribes, the Karaya are first of all fishermen, but, in addition, carry on a not insignificant agriculture. 226 The principal season for fishing is the dry months from May to [221] October, when the larger fish strive toward the deeper parts of the river, the so-called poços, which are formed in particular above the small rapids and the masses of rock projecting out here and there.

The fish kingdom of the Araguaia, in all of the middle course, already bears throughout the character of the fauna of Amazonas. The giant three-meter long pirarucú/arapaima/ (Sudis gigas) is common everywhere, as is the electric eel (Gymnotus electricus) and the thick-bodied pirarara (Phractocephalus discolor) armored with its strong shield of bone. The poços abound with cannibalistic piranhas; in the shallow places along the bank the no less feared thornback, buried in the sand, lies in wait for its prey.

[262] Prized as the tastiest fish are the blue-grey spotted pintado (Pimelodus sorubim), reaching up to two meters in length, the matrincham /Caracinidae/, the tucunaré (Cichla temensis), the trahira (Macrodon), and various species of the pacu (Myletes). Certain fish, particularly scaleless ones, are not pursued because of superstitious fear, and likewise the fresh-water dolphins, [225] present everywhere in great numbers. Tortoises and their delicious eggs, however, are hunted all the more zealously.

At high water, when the fish are no longer easy to get in the clay-yellow flood, the many lagoons along the river provide the most productive fishing places. They form large natural traps for the larger species, in which they can easily be isolated.

[439] /15/ Whereas formerly the fish were killed almost exclusively with an arrow, angling is now used more and more, since hooks are imported in large quantities. In many places, however, angling and net fishing cannot be done because of the countless piranhas whose teeth cannot be withstood by any line or net.

/189 cont./

361 about five years; it is inhabited by civilized Indians who prefer
621 the advantages of civilization (tobacco, salt) to living together in the tribe.

162 Between the two hordes there is an intervening space of
22 a six and a half days' boat-trip (calculated downstream). As the
[361] reason for the unhabited state of this intervening area the Indians
[132] told me that they lived here on the high banks only during the rainy
[136] season, that in the dry season only a few and poor sandbanks were exposed and there were a great many mosquitoes; two facts which I am able to confirm. As a transit area, however, it is busily used; on both the journey upstream and downstream I came across migratory villages here in both directions.

361 Thus we come to 23 fixed villages.

The size of the villages varies greatly. In the north horde there were villages with one to eight houses; altogether I counted about 80 houses, so that on the average there were five to six houses to a village. In the south horde there were villages with one to four houses. Altogether I counted about 20 houses, so that on the average there were two to three houses to a village. The number of houses in both hordes together is therefore only about 100.

162 The number of inhabitants likewise varies. There were:
621

	North Horde	Koru-mare's Village	South Horde	Total	Immi-grant Šavajé	Total
Men:						
Adults	114	-	27	141	3	144
Youths	57	-	15	72	1	73
Boys (1-12 years old)	141	-	28	169	1	170
Total	312	ca. 20	70	402	5	407
Women:						
Adults	164	-	38	202	7	209
Maidens	22	-	12	34	3	37
Girls (1-12 years old)	129	-	28	157	1	158
Total	315	ca. 20	78	413	11	424
Total for both sexes	627	ca. 40	148	815	16	831

/191 cont./

175 Mortes there are three villages, the first of which lies 38 leagues,
131 the second 30 leagues, and the third directly above the Rio das
361 Mortes (3). Rufino, too, in 1846/47 found Karajá villages (nine)

3. Vol. 1, p. 395; Vol. 2, p. 114.

only along Bananal Island, the most southerly of which lay nine
175 days below the southern end of Bananal. In 1863 Couto de
167 Magalhães made a new attempt to settle Chavánte and Karajá
648 in a village near Salinas, in order to introduce them to civiliza-
361 tion here. It was this settlement, in connection with the further advance of Brazilian civilization toward the west, that seems to have led the Karajá to settle south of Bananal Island. Thus, Moraes Jardim and Spinola in 1880 mention the first village of the Karajá from the south as near São José, then a second village at the mouth of the Rio Crixá. There follow 18 villages on Bananal, beginning on the Lago dos Chavántes and with a village
[162] near Santa Maria at the end. These 21 villages were said to have about 600 inhabitants.

175 Ehrenreich mentions the following villages in 1888: Between
361 Leopoldina and the Rio Crixá a camp with a few tents was found.
[162] Near Schischá there was a village of about 30 persons on a sand-
bank. He found the ranchos near São José, which were inhabited
●[221] by the Indians during the rainy season, deserted in August. There was another village on the Rio Crixá. North of the southern tip of Bananal he lists the following villages: Above the Rio das Mortes three villages, near Izabel do Morro four villages, from there to the mouth of the Tapirapé six villages, and below the Tapirapé mouth six more villages, the last of which lay isolated
[721] on the north end of Bananal. The formerly northernmost settlement near Santa Maria was, according to his account, attacked by the Kayapó in 1881 (in 1859, according to Coudreau, p. 136), destroyed, and, as a consequence, definitely given up by the
[162] Karajá. The north horde, therefore, according to him, occupied 19 villages, whereas the south horde occupied two to four villages. Cavalcanti in 1895 gives the following villages for the south horde:

/191 cont./

175 The first village on an island opposite Chicas (probably identical
361 with Schischá) with two houses, the /192/ second village on a sandbank opposite São José with four houses, another village on the mouth of the Rio Crixá under the chief Pedro Manco.

The accounts of Coudreau in 1896/97 for the south horde, about whom he reports only information given to him, are even more inexact than for the north horde. He mentions two villages
[162] for the rainy season: one near São José with eleven houses and 60 inhabitants, the other near Schischá with 17 houses and 40
[221] inhabitants. The large number of houses and inhabitants shows how the Indians gather together in a few larger villages during the rainy season. This shows, however, that the south horde was already strengthened.

361 In 1908 I myself found the first village near Leopoldina, the
[162] second near Schischá, the third above, the fourth in São José (a house occupied by Indians), the fifth on the Lago de Café, the sixth above, the seventh below the mouth of the Rio Crixá, the eighth on the Lago de Luiz Alves: altogether, 19 houses and 148 inhabitants.

173 According to stories of the Indians of the south horde, the
167 first Karajá here, those of São José, were supposed to have come
[622] from the north. The first chief who immigrated here was mǎněkōkŏ. He found the land uninhabited. When he died, the Indians continued to live here under another chief, Xavier. Among his people there was kūlĭ, the chief of village 3. kūlĭ seems to be about 60 years old. I do not know whether he was born here. At any rate, the immigration took place before his time, in other words, in about the first half of the nineteenth century. According to
[361] the Indians, šĭšá consisted of one hut 20-30 years ago; later several Indians from the north moved in. The village near Leopoldina is said to have been founded about five years ago; the people formerly lived in šǎndǎlábě (on the Rio das Mortes, or the Barreira de Izabel Velha, or near Izabel do Morro).

/203 cont./

361 The houses in general are oriented in such a way that one long side faces northwest, north, or northeast, thus providing shade.

[592] [340] Each house is occupied by only one family; to each house there generally belongs a mat wall, a supply stand, and one or two hearth areas.

[346] The mask hut lies away from the village, at a distance of about 200 meters.

621 The villages of the Karajá are small; many consisted of only one or two houses, the largest of eight huts (1). Ehrenreich be-

1. Rufino has already reported that the villages of the Karajá have only eight to ten huts on the average. Rev. trim. 10, p. 208.

lieves that this dispersion must be traced back to a lack of means [511] of subsistence. This is scarcely to be assumed, since there is sufficient food, especially fish. In my opinion, it is conditioned first [578] [571] by the many disputes that seem to prevail among the families of the Karajá and lead to the departure of some of them, and then by the prevalence of personal attitudes concerning the feeling of sociability; many families live permanently isolated in one place because they happen to like it there.

It is noteworthy that the villages decrease in size from north [166] to south. This may be explained by the direction of migration of the Karajá: the bulk of them still live in the north; toward the south, the first to be sent are advance groups, which, of course, are small in number.

361 484 On journeys the Karajá pitch camps of mat roofs or walls, in the shade and shelter of which they live and sleep. The walls are, of course, oriented in such a way that they provide as much shade as possible and as long as possible; hence they usually stand approximately from west to east, and likewise arranged in rows (Pl. 13, Ill. 1). If a village is moved, the Indians live under mat walls until the houses are erected (Pl. 41, Ill. 2).

221 361 The villages do not remain permanently in one place. During the dry season, the Indians live on the sandbanks of the river, which,

/203 cont./

22 361 in their dryness and cleanliness, are ideal dwelling sites. In the course of the dry season and within a certain area, they migrate from sandbank to sandbank as each of them becomes exposed by the river, so that in this way they always have fresh, unspoiled, clean dwelling-sites. With the beginning of the rainy season the villages are moved back again to the higher initial sandbanks and finally to the high banks of the river (2).

2. This explains the many abandoned villages that one comes across everywhere.

/204/ These rainy-season villages, lying up on the campo, are often far from the river; in the case of the north horde, they lie in part in mountains and are therefore difficult to find. This and the practice that several dry-season villages live together in a campo village probably explain the small number of Karajá villages mentioned by Coudreau.

361 356 If the villages are permanently abandoned, the houses, the poles of the mat walls and storage racks, the roasting grates, hearths, etc. are left standing; they very quickly disintegrate. Villages abandoned for a short time (for example, during trading expeditions) are made secure by closing the entrances of the houses with leaf walls. All the household equipment, such as pots, baskets, etc., is piled up at the sides and covered with large mats. In front of the houses, manioc stalks, tied in bundles of five or six pieces, are usually planted in the sand. Palm fronds are stuck into the ground all around for protection, and the whole is then tied together. For the rest, wild disorder prevails in such abandoned villages. Large pots lie about upside down, often protecting smaller ones underneath. Mortars, gourd vessels, and scraps of baskets lie about [824] here and there, and everywhere there are large heaps of manioc remains, nut shells, turtle shells, and finally urucú fruits, without which no journey can be undertaken (see greeting painting /see pp.100 -104/).

/245 cont./

262 The eggs are longish and have an odor and taste somewhat re-
222 sembling train oil. The tartaruga (kŏdūnĭ) and its eggs (kōdūnĭzĭ),
[221] on the other hand, are eaten with great relish. /246/ For them,
the Indians undertake distant boat journeys up the tributaries of
the Araguaya in September to October, the laying period of this
turtle, which deposits up to 160 round eggs in a nest. All the
sandbanks are investigated and the often numerous nests emptied
(on the Tapirapé I found up to four nests on small sandbanks).
Thus, they gather quite enormous quantities of eggs. These are
[251] either eaten raw or they are cooked and dried in the ashes and
[439] then kept for a long time, so that the Indians take them home,
[437] eat them later at leisure, or are able to sell them in the Brazilian
towns (Santa Maria, Conceição) on trading expeditions, which
they undertake in September and October. The turtles them-
[225] selves are taken by surprise while laying, or in shallow water they
are caught with the hands by diving from boats or with iron
bottom-tackle. The turtles are brought home alive in great
231 quantities from these expeditions and then eaten or sold. In order
to be able to keep them for a longer time, cages are built out of
twigs bent together at the top, which are stuck in the sand in a
circle, providing shade for them. Here they are tethered and kept
until they are consumed (Ill. 6). Small turtles are raised in the
villages as a pastime.

262 Ostrich eggs (nâŭĕkĭĕzĭ) are eaten with great relish. The
222 Indians empty the entire nest and take the eggs home with them
in order to eat them cooked there.

222 Honey (bădĕrhõ) is a delicacy of which they are passionately
fond. On their boat trips they observe the direction of flight of
the wild bees (bēdĭ), designated by them as stingless, until, after
a short time, they have discovered their nests high up in the
crowns of trees. Quickly the tree is climbed and the nest cut down
[415] with the bush knife or ax. The honey is then taken out down below;
it is stored in bent pieces of bark or in gourd vessels. Bees nesting
in hollow trees are smoked out and the honey is taken out with the
hand. The often giant honeycombs are individually sucked out;

/246 cont./

222 [237] [237] the wax (tăbōlă)[1] is stored in large lumps; it constitutes one of their most important gluing and packing mediums and as such is everywhere offered in quantities by the women to passing boats. The chief gathering period of the honey seems to commence in October.

224 [221] While the gathering of these foods is bound to specific seasons and requires journeys often weeks long, in order to collect large amounts, the daily animal food is obtained in short expeditions from the villages by means of all kinds of traps.

[433] [226] It should be noted that the hunting of birds and land animals is completely overshadowed by fishing. In general, of course, the land is poor in animals as compared to the water. There is only a little big game to be hunted: red deer (bŏlōlă), roe, tapirs [(k)ōlĭ], monkeys (1), wild pigs (ĭsă), and possibly

[237] [242] 1. Howling monkeys are shot only for the bones, which are used for arrow points, lip plugs, and arrows, but not for food.

also /247/ jaguars (ănlŏă); smaller animals are more frequent, but very shy and difficult to hunt (agouti, tsŭsŏ; capybara, hūă, etc.).
223 The choice of birds is likewise not very large. Above all, gallinaceous birds (jacu, bĕdjŭă; mutum, etc.) and pigeons, as well as ducks (hăăkŏlĭnĭ, hĕdăulĕ, dōăläläă) and divers, come into
242 consideration. I was unable to find out whether they eat ostriches, or how they feel about lizards, crocodiles, and boa constrictors, which Königswald reports are eaten. The small choice of game animals is even more restricted by all kinds of so-called food prohibitions. Thus, this person will not eat this animal, and that person that one. Some animals are generally not eaten, though
224 they could furnish a great deal of meat. Hunting only plays a secondary role in the economy of these Indians.

For wild game they set out individually or in company; wild pigs in particular are always hunted in company. It is [222] strange that the chief never goes along on the hunt, though he does engage in fishing. Only large animals are hunted; the young ones are allowed to run away.

[1] [i.e., bee's wax --Analyst]

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
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eyes from the strong reflection of the sun on the sand-bars. 293
When trading with travelers, they are eager to get blue or [439]
smoked glasses, or goggles.

The Karayá live in a more advanced state than do some 162
of the other tribes of the Amazon basin, especially the rough, 361
nomadic peoples, who exist in small groups of a few families.
They prefer to live in large groups containing hundreds of
individuals, and in permanent habitations, constituting fixed
villages or encampments. True, the Karayá living near San [221]
José, rove about somewhat in small parties during the dry
season; but farther down the Araguaya, the encampments
are more permanent and populous, numbering one hundred
fifty to two hundred souls. During the rainless season when 361
the river is low, they live on the sandy river bottoms, called
praias. Here they set up their easily portable huts, in order
to be convenient to their canoes and to the fishing grounds,
and also to be more free from troublesome insects.

The *villages* of the Karayáhy division, in common with
those of all other primitive peoples, are merely clusters or
groups of huts, huddled together in complete disorder. Each 342
hut is constructed by planting in the sand, fifteen or twenty
feet apart, two parallel rows of saplings, then bending over
each pair of opposites and tying them together. To these ribs
are bound bamboo rods in a horizontal position, *sipo*—creepers [283]
—being used as cordage; and upright poles are planted at the
gables. Over this frame-work is bound the skin, or covering, [824]
which consists of giant, feather-like palm-branches. Sometimes
plates, resting on forked posts, are used to further strengthen
the frame. This dwelling, when completed, is shaped like
the bottom of an inverted barge, and looks like a very squatty,
ancient haystack, with a hole—the door—eaten in one end
by cattle.

Garbage, such as watermelon rinds, pumpkin skins, green 364
corn cobs, and other fruit and vegetable refuse, is dumped
just outside the hut. Here, the mass festers and stinks in
the fierce rays of a tropical sun, and attracts swarms of [361]
insects, especially sand flies, that torment the nude savages

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
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to color, then inject into the wounds a milky secretion taken from the skin of small frogs or toads. Therefore, when the new feathers grow out, they are of a brilliant yellow or orange color, without any mixture of blue or green, the natural color of the bird. It is said that when this new plumage is plucked, the next growth will still retain the new colors without further treatment. 232

Many of the mammals captured by the Karayá in infancy, become very tame. They are raised successfully, nursed either by a slut, or at the human breast. These tamed animals include various kinds of monkeys, the capibára, a rodent which becomes as large as a six-month old pig, agutís, picárres and tapirs. Of reptiles, the Karayá keep turtles, large lizards and alligators, the last named of which lie in pools of water on the sand bottoms, held captive by a cord around the body. The Karayáhy division has comparatively few domesticated creatures. 231 [184]

Like most of the South American tribes, the Karayá are primarily fishermen, obtaining their flesh food more from the river than from the forest. A few tribes, however, that do not live near streams of any importance, are compelled to rely almost wholly upon the chase for their meat, and so become more expert hunters than fishermen. As elsewhere stated, all the aborigines of South America, except the nomadic tribes, engage in agriculture to some extent, though to a very limited degree, except where they have obtained axes, grubbing-hoes and large knives from the civilized people. 433

The best time to fish along the Araguaya is during the rainless months from May to November, when the water is low, for when it rises, the fish are much more difficult to catch. During low water, the larger fish seek out the deep places in the river, where they may be easily taken. These places, which are well known to the natives, are above the smaller rapids, and also where there are certain rock formations which make deep holes, called *poços* by the Brazilians. 221 226

The fish of the Araguaya have the same characteristics as those of the Amazon valley in general. The giant pire, 226 136

1:Lipkind E-5 (1937) 1948 SP9 Caraja SP9

is planted in September, when the first rains come, and manioc shortly after. There is little cultivation beyond weeding. The basic crop is manioc, both the sweet and bitter varieties being cultivated, with maize next in importance. Four varieties each of sweet and bitter manioc and 10 varieties of maize are cultivated. Other crops are: Five varieties of potatoes, two varieties of cara, four varieties of watermelon, three varieties of squash, four varieties of beans, and ten varieties of bananas, as well as peanuts, urucú, tobacco, cotton, calabashes, sugarcane, yams, peppers, pineapples, and papayas. Men do all the work with a little assistance in harvesting and weeding from older women. The *Javahé* are more industrious farmers than the other *Carajá*, cultivating extensive plantations. 241 [462] [184]

Collecting.—A large number of vegetable products are gathered for use as food, medicine, and raw material for manufacture, but only a few are of great importance. The babassu and the burití palms, used for food and textile materials, are among the most valuable. The taquara reed is sought after for arrows. Turtle eggs are a significant item of food during the dry season. Honey is indispensable for feasting. 222 262 [441]

Hunting.—Although the *Carajá* are passionate hunters, very few of the animals available in the region are eaten. Only the peccary is really sought and constitutes a sizable item in the larder. The other animals that are eaten—the cutia, coati, woodsdeer, monkey, iguana, and a few birds, such as the mutum, jao, and jacu—are killed when encountered but are not eaten by everyone. Peccaries are hunted in a communal drive, the most favorable time being shortly after the beginning of the rainy season when large droves are trapped on islands. 224 [262]

The chief purpose of hunting is to get feathers, and the most desirable birds are the various parrots, herons, the male stork, and the flamingo. The nesting of valuable birds is carefully watched, and the young are stolen and tamed. Feathers stored in small baskets almost constitute a currency, because they are readily negotiable at all times and maintain a stable value. 223 237 [231] [436]

The principal weapons are the bow and club. The bow, made of a variety of woods but with a preference for juari when available, is round in cross section and about 6 feet (2 m.) long. The arrow is preferably of taquara reed and variously tipped with wood, animal bone, or fish bone. Clubs are beautifully fashioned of heavy hardwood, decorated with delicate carving, and are swung and thrown with equal skill. The lance is now used only for ceremonial purposes. 441

Fishing.—Fish is the most important food supply. Trapping and drugging fish with timbo is a communal affair; individuals fish with the bow and arrow. There is occasional night fishing, with spearing by torchlight. The pirarucu is killed by harpoon. The hook and line is little used, and apparently was borrowed recently from the Neo-Brazilians. 226 [262] [177]

Food preparation.—Manioc is peeled, grated, squeezed out by hand, and cooked into a soup. When the soup cools, it is masticated for a few 252

/15 cont./

241 Cara tubers /Dioscorea/ are grown in large quantity, excellent quality, and in various species. Most commonly one sees the huge egg-shaped pé d'anta (Cara brasiliensis) with a white cut-surface, as well as a smaller one with an almost violet cut-surface.

228 The wild food plants and fruits which the river forests and [242] camp-woods supply constitute a desirable change. These are primarily palm fruits, such as the nuts of the uaguassú, the pineapple-like fruits of the buriti (Mauritia vinifera), and various small species of coconut; furthermore, the wild acaju tree, the jaboticaba, the pitanga /Surinam cherry/ the oily piquia (Caryocar brasiliense), various Bromeliaceae, and, finally, the finest fruit of the campos, the mangaba (Hancornia speciosa). One sees the latter, however, much more rarely than in the Xingu villages. The tree does not seem to be planted as it is there.

[262] It is noteworthy that the orange, which flourishes extremely well here, is not cultivated, although the Indians esteem it most [439] highly. Only rarely do they undertake week-long journeys to the Brazilian settlements to trade for these fruits. A principal goal of such excursions is the site of the old, now abandoned mission and military post Chambioas, just above the rapids of S. Miguel, where rather large stands of this noble tree have maintained themselves. Cacao, too, was formerly obtained from there.

Still to be mentioned is the honey of the countless species of wild bees, the collecting of which presents no difficulties since the animals are entirely stingless. The black wax, which [237] is stored in large, round, inch-thick disks, is used in Indian industry as a glue.

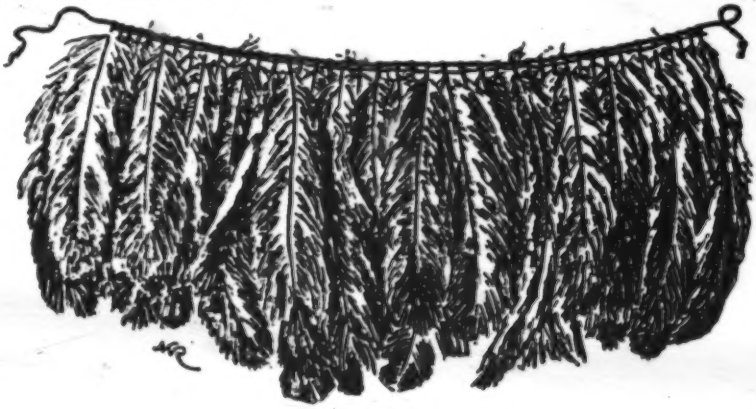
249 The only luxury item of the Karaya is tobacco (koti). It is a Nicotiniana, but not N. tabacum, of a mild quality. The dried leaves are stored (see p. 40) in large rectangular packages plaited out of palm-leaf strips and are pulverized between the 276 hands for use. /16/ The fruit capsule of the jequitiba tree 824 (Hymenaea sp.), filed smooth on the outside, serves as a pipe

/240 cont./

*301 of Ill. 1 is quite primitive. It consists of a few feather rods,
*337 Thevetia pendants, and the rattle of a rattlesnake.

I did not see the belts made entirely of Thevetia fruits mentioned by Ehrenreich (but cf. the Kayapó /untranslated/).

As leg ornamentation Ehrenreich mentions ("Beiträge," p. 24) bindings with strands of rattles and clusters of feathers; the strands are spaced by little horizontal rods, which are covered with down (ibid., Pl. X, Fig. 4). I have never seen such dance ornaments.



Ill. 82.
Ostrich feather belt.

6. Food.

433 The subsistence of the Karajá Indians is based on the cultivation of food plants and fishing. The gathering of wild
[231] plants and hunting, on the other hand, are of less importance, and the breeding of domestic animals for food is wholly absent, since animals are kept only to furnish feathers or for entertainment.

● 272 Wild plants for food occur on the campo and in the forest
137 /Plates 51 and 52 appear here/ /241/ only in limited numbers, whereas the plantings on the high banks usually provide good yields.

[Text continues on p. 148]

/241 cont./

000 136 yields. The country is also relatively poor in useful animals, and [224] almost all of the few animal species that can be hunted are not [262] eaten by the Indians, with the exception, to be sure, of the wild pig. The birds are very numerous, with the exception of the [223] mutum, however, the Indians do not seem to hunt any other bird. Thus, the water must supply the principal food. The river is extremely rich in fish and turtles; everywhere, in shallow places, in the depths, in lakes, but above all in the tributaries, one comes [226] across a quite startling abundance of fish. But even this abundance [262] is not fully exploited, since a few types of fish are not eaten.

A. The Acquisition of Plant Food.

462 The women essentially are responsible for the gathering of wild plants and fruits, while the men engage above all in pro- 222 curing animal food (1). The following come under consideration:

> 1. This division of labor is ancient. In the myth, "How the Karajá acquired manioc," it is said of the father that he would not notice the theft of maize because he only knows fishing (see there /see pp. 302-303/).

the small oitŭ fruits, which are gathered in the forest during the first half of October; the pikĭ fruits (lămă), which ripen during the second half of October; the watermelon (kūblăkĕ), which grows on the sandbanks at the place where the banks are connected with the shore. The Indians know exactly those sandbanks on which the melons grow and gather them as early as the end of October when 222 the fruit is not yet quite ripe. Of palm fruits the following are 262 eaten: the seeds of the tucum palm (hălŭ), of the so-called coceiro (ăhăndĕtĕ), and of the oaguassu palm (haûlēnĭ), the roasted seeds of which are called haûlēnĭdŏ. The fruits of the jatobá tree (kūwă) and of the genipap (bădēnă) are likewise eaten. Another fruit, from which a black dish is prepared, was called ādŏmõ; it is

/241 cont./

272 gathered at the beginning of October. Of other fruits Ehrenreich
262 mentions: caju /acajou/, jabuticaba, pitangu, and Bromeliaceae, and Königswald also the mangaba. I never saw these fruits in the villages, however. As vegetable plants there are eaten: mormão (dãdẽdãlĩ), which is gathered the end of October; on the other hand, the mandioca do matto (ãzõ) is supposedly not eaten, because it is too poisonous.

241 The following food plants are cultivated: the poisonous
262 (ãndjĩũlã) and the sweet (ĩ(ĩ)lũ) manioc; four varieties of maize, mãĩ, dõlĩmẽ with large, round kernels, ĩzẽlãlã with round kernels, mãĩdũzõ with red kernels; batatas (kõdẽrũtĩ), and cara (kãrã). Of fruits, bananas are probably cultivated. The green banana is called jãdãũãbõ, the ripe one jãdãzõ. I obtained bananas in Indian villages only twice, and, indeed, at the beginning of July; I never saw any in the plantings. Perhaps bananas occur only here and there, for example, according /242/ to the statements of Brazilians, among the Šavajé on Bananal Island, which is supposed to have been named after them. I did not see oranges (nãlãdjã) anywhere. Of other fruits Königswald also lists: gourds, water-
[824] melon, pineapple, and sugar cane (mã(ĩ)ĩtĩ). The gourd is not eaten, but used only for the making of vessels; the watermelon is generally gathered in the wild state, probably only rarely cultivated; only once in a village of the south horde, did I meet a family who stored seeds of these plants in small bast packets. Pineapple is surely not cultivated, and I did not see sugar cane either. If they had had any, they would probably not have begged
[114] me for sugar to the extent that they did. The statement of Ehrenreich that during the dry season sugar-cane shoots are planted on the sandbanks should be corrected to read manioc and maize stalks.

241 Of spice plants, peppers (kãšĩwẽrã), of plants for enjoyment, tobacco (kõtĩ), are cultivated.

Moreover, one finds in the plantings: as industrial plants, cotton and gourds; as plants used in ornamentation, ĩšĩũlã shrubs (for necklaces) and the urucú shrub; and a quantity of medicinal plants.

/245 cont./

231 Of native animals, monkeys [kǎlōbĭ(dĕrŭ), klăŏbĭ] were only very rarely encountered. I did not see any examples of the animals mentioned by Ehrenreich, capybara, agouti, peccary, 231 tapir, etc., in the villages of the Karajá. The bird world is 235 more abundantly represented. Of the araras the red arara (Macrocercus militaris) is preferred, whereas the hyancinth-blue arara (ăndădōlă: M. hyacinthinus) and the blue-yellow one (bīzǎ: M. macao) were seen only rarely. Usually they stayed on the roofs of the houses. Small green parrots (bōlŏbĕdŏ - parakeets; dōlă) were more frequently encountered, mostly as the property of young girls who carried them around sitting on their heads and let them drink from their hands out of small mussel shells. The caracara [ĭ(h)ī(ŏ)lĕ, īlă], a predatory bird, was seen only occasionally. Its feathers were apparently little used. It is probably kept in the houses because it plays a certain role in the legends. Very sporadically I saw a young ostrich [kŭsā(hā)wĕ, nauĕkĭĕ], a small water bird, and a young, tame mutum (kŭlĭtĭ), around whose legs had been crocheted small red calf-bands. I did not see the other birds mentioned by Ehrenreich, white heron, roseate spoonbill, and jabiru, tamed among the Karajá. Nor did I observe or learn that small feather tassels are tied into the wings of birds, or that their feathers were artificially changed in color.

231 Of reptiles and other animals I came across small turtles, which were kept by girls in small gourd shells filled with water, lizards (so-called chameleons: kū(ū)lă), which, generally with white down feathers glued on, were carried by the women on the head or shoulders, and, finally, young crocodiles [kăb(ŏ)lōlĭc] about 20 centimeters long, which lay in the shallow puddles on the edge of the sandbanks, tied to the string of a stick planted vertically into the sand; little children would come running, take out the stick, and let the animals walk and swim on the tautly stretched string.

262 These animals kept in the village are never eaten; in order 222 to obtain their meat food, the Indians are much more dependent [225] on gathering and hunting. They gather turtles and turtle eggs, ostrich eggs, and honey.

Of turtles, the tracajá (kōdŭ) and its eggs (kōdŭzĭ) are for the most part scorned; only older people eat them. The laying time is August to early September; the nest contains about 16 eggs.

/245 cont./

262 The eggs are longish and have an odor and taste somewhat re-
222 sembling train oil. The tartaruga (kŏdūnĭ) and its eggs (kōdūnĭzĭ),
[221] on the other hand, are eaten with great relish. /246/ For them,
the Indians undertake distant boat journeys up the tributaries of
the Araguaya in September to October, the laying period of this
turtle, which deposits up to 160 round eggs in a nest. All the
sandbanks are investigated and the often numerous nests emptied
(on the Tapirapé I found up to four nests on small sandbanks).
Thus, they gather quite enormous quantities of eggs. These are
[251] either eaten raw or they are cooked and dried in the ashes and
[439] then kept for a long time, so that the Indians take them home,
[437] eat them later at leisure, or are able to sell them in the Brazilian
towns (Santa Maria, Conceição) on trading expeditions, which
[225] they undertake in September and October. The turtles them-
selves are taken by surprise while laying, or in shallow water they
are caught with the hands by diving from boats or with iron
bottom-tackle. The turtles are brought home alive in great
231 quantities from these expeditions and then eaten or sold. In order
to be able to keep them for a longer time, cages are built out of
twigs bent together at the top, which are stuck in the sand in a
circle, providing shade for them. Here they are tethered and kept
until they are consumed (Ill. 6). Small turtles are raised in the
villages as a pastime.

262 Ostrich eggs (nâŭĕkĭĕzĭ) are eaten with great relish. The
222 Indians empty the entire nest and take the eggs home with them
in order to eat them cooked there.

222 Honey (bădĕrhõ) is a delicacy of which they are passionately
fond. On their boat trips they observe the direction of flight of
the wild bees (bẽdĭ), designated by them as stingless, until, after
a short time, they have discovered their nests high up in the
crowns of trees. Quickly the tree is climbed and the nest cut down
[415] with the bush knife or ax. The honey is then taken out down below;
it is stored in bent pieces of bark or in gourd vessels. Bees nesting
in hollow trees are smoked out and the honey is taken out with the
hand. The often giant honeycombs are individually sucked out;

/246 cont./

222 the wax (tăbōlă)[1] is stored in large lumps; it constitutes one of
[237] their most important gluing and packing mediums and as such is
[432] everywhere offered in quantities by the women to passing boats.
The chief gathering period of the honey seems to commence in October.

224 While the gathering of these foods is bound to specific
[221] seasons and requires journeys often weeks long, in order to collect large amounts, the daily animal food is obtained in short expeditions from the villages by means of all kinds of traps.

[433] It should be noted that the hunting of birds and land
[226] animals is completely overshadowed by fishing. In general, of course, the land is poor in animals as compared to the water. There is only a little big game to be hunted: red deer (bŏlōlă), roe, tapirs [(k)ōlĭ], monkeys (1), wild pigs (ĭsă), and possibly

[237] [262] 1. Howling monkeys are shot only for the bones, which are used for arrow points, lip plugs, and arrows, but not for food.

also /247/ jaguars (ănlōă); smaller animals are more frequent, but very shy and difficult to hunt (agouti, tsŭsŭ; capybara, hūă, etc.).
223 The choice of birds is likewise not very large. Above all, gallinaceous birds (jacu, bĕdjuă; mutum, etc.) and pigeons, as well as ducks (hăăkŏlĭnĭ, hĕdaulĕ, dōălăă) and divers, come into
262 consideration. I was unable to find out whether they eat ostriches, or how they feel about lizards, crocodiles, and boa constrictors, which Königswald reports are eaten. The small choice of game animals is even more restricted by all kinds of so-called food prohibitions. Thus, this person will not eat this animal, and that person that one. Some animals are generally not eaten, though
224 they could furnish a great deal of meat. Hunting only plays a secondary role in the economy of these Indians.

For wild game they set out individually or in company; wild pigs in particular are always hunted in company. It is
[222] strange that the chief never goes along on the hunt, though he does engage in fishing. Only large animals are hunted; the young ones are allowed to run away.

1 [i.e., bee's wax --Analyst]

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
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large dugout trough near a tree, then a rough slab of wood, 114
fitting loosely into the trough, is placed upon the manioc, and upon this again still other large blocks of wood are built up, all of which become the fulcrum for a heavy beam, the base of which is secured in a mortice in the before mentioned tree; and lastly, heavy weights are piled upon the outer end of the beam. The meal is dried by placing thin layers of it upon an elevated surface, like a huge griddle, under which is a light fire, then stirring it with a wooden hoe.

I saw here, near the dwelling, a valuable fruit tree with 136
hollow limbs in which five or six species of wild honey bees had established themselves. There are a great many kinds of wild bees in Brazil, but none of them, I understand, has [000]
a sting; and what is still more remarkable, all, or nearly all, make acid honey—or *sour* honey, as we commonly say. It is used as a drink, which is much prized, by mixing one part honey to five or six parts water and sweetening it with sugar. The expression, "sweet as honey," would be meaningless to many Brazilians. That honey needs to be sweetened with common sugar appears strange indeed.

At length, all the manioc meal we needed, or could carry, 114
was made and stowed into the canoes, and we resumed our voyage. I was astonished at the great quantity of this food stuff we were taking with us. Our canoes were loaded to the water's edge with it, and we seemed to have sufficient to feed half a dozen horses a month. But as we journeyed, [261]
and I saw the tremendous eating capacity of our Cherente, Karayá and Brazilian canoe men, I was convinced that we had none too much of the meal. These men seemed never to reach their limit—if they had a limit—for they always continued to eat as long as there was anything to levy upon. Their common dinner "plate"—or trough—was a large pan with a capacity of over half a bushel. Around this they all squatted, as it rested upon the ground, and devoured, a few with iron spoons, and the others with nature's five-tyned forks, gathering the food into large balls and tossing it into their mouths. One day, a large, fish-eating bird, called a [136]
manguary,

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
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dant, and to the pecari, the aguti, the musk duck which is 224
found in ponds, and similar small game.

Agriculture among the Sambiõa is highly developed—re- 241
markably so, in fact, for a people living in a state of sav-
agery—and is even more advanced in some respects than that
of the "civilized" Brazilians living near their territory. A
large assortment of vegetable foodstuffs are raised. They [178]
now have the same agricultural implements as the "civilized"
Brazilians, having relegated to oblivion their rude tools of
ancient times, with which they could not till the soil but to
a very limited extent, and that only with excessive toil. The
high agricultural development reached by these savages is
very interesting and important, proving conclusively that the
primitive man, far from being incapable of anything but to
wander over a wide territory, living from hand to mouth by
hunting and fishing, is capable of becoming an agriculturist
of no mean order. The plant most extensively cultivated by
the Sambiõa is the manioc. They raise both kinds, the
"wild" and the "tame." Next to this in importance is corn.
But this is used more to make a fermented drink than for [273]
food. Sugar-cane is also cultivated on the low, alluvial soil
along the river, which is well adapted to this purpose. But
the natives have no suitable contrivance for extracting the
juice from the cane. Several varieties of small, brown beans,
brought from Pará, and which are a staple food among civ- [262]
ilized Brazilians, are also raised. So also, the white and [177]
violet Brazilian *cará*, a kind of potato. Besides these food- 272
stuffs, which were obtained originally from civilized Bra- 262
zilians, the Karayá gather from forest and jungle, many
kinds of wild fruits and vegetables, which introduce a pleas-
ing change in their aliment. A few such are the cajú, a
yellow, olive-shaped plum, which grows on a very large tree;
the jábádacába, a plum which grows clinging to the trunks
of a tree resembling the elm; the morisy, a large yellow
cherry, groves of which may be seen growing on the up-
lands; mongába, the fruit of a kind of upland rubber tree,
which I have elsewhere called a natural baked apple; and

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca.1900) 1909
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277 the genipapa or wine fruit, a very soggy, tough fruit as
278 large as a pear. It looks and tastes something like a fig soaked in vinegar, but is much prized by the natives. But, as elsewhere mentioned, the palm is the never-failing friend of the children of Nature. One or another of its multitudinous varieties will have a little food of some kind for them every day in the year, such as nuts, fruits and vegetables;
[824] and besides, will furnish them the material for their huts, and for bows, arrows and cordage. Though all else should fail, these trees will remain as a tree of life to them. It seems strange that they have no oranges. This fruit will flourish in this region, even doing well without any care, once it has been given a good start. The absence of this tree is the more remarkable because the Karayá are very fond of oranges, and undertake journeys lasting weeks to obtain them. Wild honey is also a much prized article of food, as it is among
[237] most South American savages. They make the wax into black balls, or discs about one inch thick, to be used as a glue.

276 The Karayá have also a kind of tobacco, which contains but a slight percentage of nicotine. The dried leaves are kept in large, square packages covered with palm-leaves. To prepare it for use, it is pulverized between the hands, then smoked in a pipe that looks like a funnel-shaped plug. The pipe most used is one fashioned by Nature herself. It is a certain kind of fruit-shell, or pod, which is funnel-shaped and hollow. Failing this, a pipe is made of a kind of hard wood. The bowl and stem are one straight piece; therefore, when in use, the cavity is in a horizontal position, and not held upright, like the civilized (?) man's flue. The part that enters the mouth is so large that the lips are greatly distended in closing around it, hereby increasing the already ugly appearance of the mouth caused by the repulsive ornament in the lower lip. I have seen the front teeth hollowed somewhat to fit around this huge plug.

252 No less interesting than the kind of food used by these people, is the means whereby it is prepared for eating. In

1:Lipkind E-5 (1937) 1948 SP9 Caraja SP9

is planted in September, when the first rains come, and manioc shortly after. There is little cultivation beyond weeding. The basic crop is manioc, both the sweet and bitter varieties being cultivated, with maize next in importance. Four varieties each of sweet and bitter manioc and 10 varieties of maize are cultivated. Other crops are: Five varieties of potatoes, two varieties of cara, four varieties of watermelon, three varieties of squash, four varieties of beans, and ten varieties of bananas, as well as peanuts, urucú, tobacco, cotton, calabashes, sugarcane, yams, peppers, pineapples, and papayas. Men do all the work with a little assistance in harvesting and weeding from older women. The *Javahé* are more industrious farmers than the other *Carajá*, cultivating extensive plantations. 241 [462] [184]

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the small oitŭ fruits, which are gathered in the forest during the first half of October; the pikĭ fruits (lămă), which ripen during the second half of October; the watermelon (kūblăkĕ), which grows on the sandbanks at the place where the banks are connected with the shore. The Indians know exactly those sandbanks on which the melons grow and gather them as early as the end of October when the fruit is not yet quite ripe. Of palm fruits the following are eaten: the seeds of the tucum palm (hālŭ), of the so-called coceiro (ăhăndĕtĕ), and of the oaguassu palm (hau̯lēnĭ), the roasted seeds of which are called hau̯lēnĭdŏ. The fruits of the jatobá tree (kūwä) and of the genipap (bădēnă) are likewise eaten. Another fruit, from which a black dish is prepared, was called ādómõ; it is

/246 cont./

222 [237] [232] the wax (tăbōlă)[7] is stored in large lumps; it constitutes one of their most important gluing and packing mediums and as such is everywhere offered in quantities by the women to passing boats. The chief gathering period of the honey seems to commence in October.

224 [221] While the gathering of these foods is bound to specific seasons and requires journeys often weeks long, in order to collect large amounts, the daily animal food is obtained in short expeditions from the villages by means of all kinds of traps.

[433] [226] It should be noted that the hunting of birds and land animals is completely overshadowed by fishing. In general, of course, the land is poor in animals as compared to the water. There is only a little big game to be hunted: red deer (bŏlōlă), roe, tapirs [(k)ōlĭ], monkeys (1), wild pigs (ĩsă), and possibly

[237] [242] 1. Howling monkeys are shot only for the bones, which are used for arrow points, lip plugs, and arrows, but not for food.

also /247/ jaguars (ănlōă); smaller animals are more frequent, but very shy and difficult to hunt (agouti, tsŭsŏ; capybara, hūă, etc.).
● 223 The choice of birds is likewise not very large. Above all, gallinaceous birds (jacu, bĕdjŭă; mutum, etc.) and pigeons, as well as ducks (hăăkŏlĭnĭ, hĕdaŭlĕ, dōălălă) and divers, come into
242 consideration. I was unable to find out whether they eat ostriches, or how they feel about lizards, crocodiles, and boa constrictors, which Königswald reports are eaten. The small choice of game animals is even more restricted by all kinds of so-called food prohibitions. Thus, this person will not eat this animal, and that person that one. Some animals are generally not eaten, though
224 they could furnish a great deal of meat. Hunting only plays a secondary role in the economy of these Indians.

For wild game they set out individually or in company; wild pigs in particular are always hunted in company. It is
[622] strange that the chief never goes along on the hunt, though he does engage in fishing. Only large animals are hunted; the young ones are allowed to run away.

[7] [i.e., bee's wax --Analyst]

/247 cont./

224 411 Hunting weapons are bows and arrows, lances, and possibly also clubs for wild pigs. The lance (dõnõlĭ) is used in hunting for jaguars (see under "Weapons" /see p. 192/, Ill. 126). The bunches of feathers are said to confuse the leaping animal, so that the thrust can be made more confidently. The arrows differ according to the type of game; for big game one uses either arrows with a flat or many-sided wooden point, which sometimes has small barbs cut into it (ũõhŭ, about 150 centimeters long), or arrows with flat or rounded bamboo blade points (ũõhŭ, ŭãzã̆, 224 diũãdã̆; Ills. 113, 114). Nets and traps are unknown for game hunting. Fish otters are lured with fire and then beaten to death with a wooden stick. Königswald states that in the dry season grassy meadows are set afire so that the game, fleeing in large numbers before the fire, may be easily killed. I often saw such grass fires; my Indians and even the Brazilians liked to set them. When asked the reason, both explained in agreement that the subsequent greenery sprouting anew would attract the game, so that when they passed by there afterwards they would find the game localized on such burned areas and would therefore have easy and certain hunting.

[622] The booty is brought to the village and, if abundant, is cut up by the warriors and distributed among the inhabitants by the chief.

● 223 411 They likewise go bird hunting with bow and arrow. They use either deadly arrows (mãlõl), the points of which consist of the sharpened end of a cane shaft (Ill. 163), or arrows which merely stun the bird with their thick end, so that the feathers are protected from blood. The thickening at the end consists either of a lump of wax or of the cut root-end of the cane that forms the shaft. Such arrows are called lãlŭĕlĕ (see "Children's Toys"/see pp. 241-244/, Ill. 164).

223 They also have traps for birds (dõhĕdŭ or bŭdõlĕkŭ); ground manioc and maize are used as bait. I saw such a trap near Village 18 of the north horde, about 500 meters away from the houses, /248/ set up on the sandbank (Plate 54, Ill. 2). It consisted of bamboo rods which were placed on top of one another quadrilaterally, so that each square was smaller than the one below it,

/248 cont./

223 until the uppermost one, finally, closed the opening of the little pyramid. Strings ran down along the edges, were fastened to the lowest rods, and crossed at the top on the surface; they barely held the whole construction together. The type of release is clearly shown in the sketch, Ill. 84.

[198] To lure birds and game the Indians use specific calls which differ according to the particular species of animal, as they know how to imitate animal sounds masterfully.

Birds must be plucked on the spot; they may not be brought to the village unplucked ("otherwise the chief will be angry"). While plucking, the fingertips are dipped in wood ashes.

223 224 [538] It is said that there are no magic devices for making the hunt productive; on the other hand, the Indians are fond of telling one another hunting stories, and, in doing so, they like to exaggerate and tell improbable things.

Ill. 84.
Construction of the bird trap.

226 562 Fishing supplies by far the largest portion of the meat food; the subsistence of the Indians is to a large extent based on it.

136 The Araguaya is extremely rich in fish (kǎdõlǎ); still richer, however, are the tributaries, especially the Rio Tapirapé and the many lakes that accompany these rivers on either side.

In the deep water of the lakes and on the high, steep banks, especially where fallen trees lie in the water, live the pirarucú (b'dõlěkě; Sudis gigas), three to four meters long, and the pirarara (dõlě; Phractocephalus discolor), which is equipped with strong bone armor and is up to two meters long. Upon being [533] [825] pulled out of the water, it emits air with strange sounds; the humorous Indian likes to imitate these sounds in his songs. Furthermore, the dogfish (lãdǎ), with its powerful teeth, lives here, and above all the worst predatory fish, the piranha. Various

Plate 54

1. Bird cage.

2. Bird trap.

3. Fish net made of embira.

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9:Gow-Smith T-5 (no date) 1925
SP9 Caraja SP9
Cayapo SP11

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skilfully feathered at the end. The arrowheads are fastened to eighteen-inch foreshafts of hard-wood tipped with bone, fitted in three- to four-foot bamboo shafts and bound in place with the strong cord that the native women spin from wild cotton. The binding is firmly cemented with a kind of resin. Long needle-like arrows tipped with hard-wood are for shooting birds; the sharp bamboo tips curved hollowly are for deer and jaguars, for they permit the wounded animal

C
[264]
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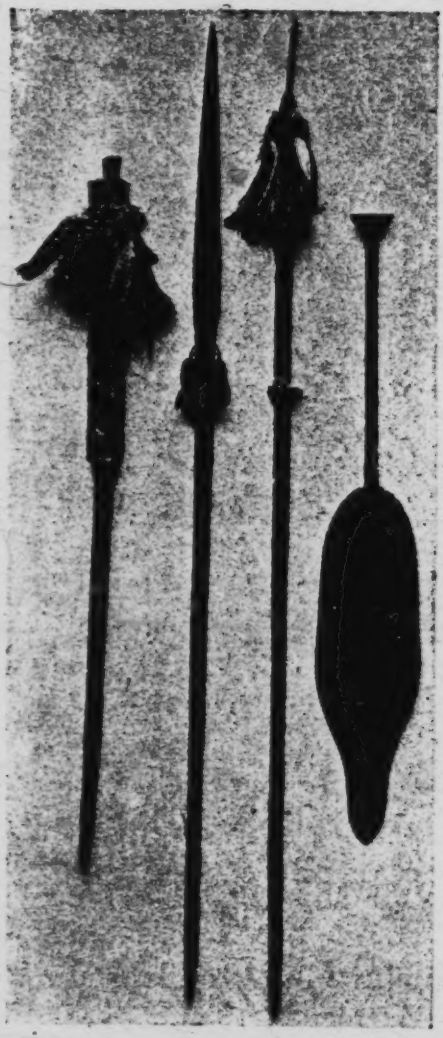

FIG. 98.—Caraja objects (grave-post, two spears, and a paddle)

1:Lipkind E-5 (1937) 1948 SP9 Caraja SP9

is planted in September, when the first rains come, and manioc shortly after. There is little cultivation beyond weeding. The basic crop is manioc, both the sweet and bitter varieties being cultivated, with maize next in importance. Four varieties each of sweet and bitter manioc and 10 varieties of maize are cultivated. Other crops are: Five varieties of potatoes, two varieties of cara, four varieties of watermelon, three varieties of squash, four varieties of beans, and ten varieties of bananas, as well as peanuts, urucú, tobacco, cotton, calabashes, sugarcane, yams, peppers, pineapples, and papayas. Men do all the work with a little assistance in harvesting and weeding from older women. The *Javahé* are more industrious farmers than the other *Carajá*, cultivating extensive plantations.

Collecting.—A large number of vegetable products are gathered for use as food, medicine, and raw material for manufacture, but only a few are of great importance. The babassu and the buritĩ palms, used for food and textile materials, are among the most valuable. The taquara reed is sought after for arrows. Turtle eggs are a significant item of food during the dry season. Honey is indispensable for feasting.

Hunting.—Although the *Carajá* are passionate hunters, very few of the animals available in the region are eaten. Only the peccary is really sought and constitutes a sizable item in the larder. The other animals that are eaten—the cutia, coati, woodsdeer, monkey, iguana, and a few birds, such as the mutum, jao, and jacu—are killed when encountered but are not eaten by everyone. Peccaries are hunted in a communal drive, the most favorable time being shortly after the beginning of the rainy season when large droves are trapped on islands.

The chief purpose of hunting is to get feathers, and the most desirable birds are the various parrots, herons, the male stork, and the flamingo. The nesting of valuable birds is carefully watched, and the young are stolen and tamed. Feathers stored in small baskets almost constitute a currency, because they are readily negotiable at all times and maintain a stable value.

The principal weapons are the bow and club. The bow, made of a variety of woods but with a preference for juari when available, is round in cross section and about 6 feet (2 m.) long. The arrow is preferably of taquara reed and variously tipped with wood, animal bone, or fish bone. Clubs are beautifully fashioned of heavy hardwood, decorated with delicate carving, and are swung and thrown with equal skill. The lance is now used only for ceremonial purposes.

Fishing.—Fish is the most important food supply. Trapping and drugging fish with timbo is a communal affair; individuals fish with the bow and arrow. There is occasional night fishing, with spearing by torchlight. The pirarucu is killed by harpoon. The hook and line is little used, and apparently was borrowed recently from the Neo-Brazilians.

Food preparation.—Manioc is peeled, grated, squeezed out by hand, and cooked into a soup. When the soup cools, it is masticated for a few

/7 cont./

36 Their northernmost settlement near S. Maria was attacked and
[48] completely destroyed in 1881 by the Kayapo of the left bank.
Since then they have not ventured far beyond the northernmost tip
of Bananal Island with their settlements. Their farthest excursions
go below S. Maria to the rapids of Joncon (i.e., it is at an end).

439 They perform important services for the traffic on the river by
felling wood for the steamers. As payment they receive axes and
knives, which they on their part trade to other tribes, such as the
177 Yavahē and Tapirapé. Understandably, when steamboat transportation was established, care was taken from the first to stay on good
terms with the savages. The merit for introducing this excellent
relationship and maintaining it for 20 years belongs to the courageous
commander of the steamer, Sebastião de Freitas, who served so
well in exploring the Araguaia. It is thanks to his unselfish, kind
work that perhaps /8/ nowhere else in Brazil are the relations between the native population and the settlers so good as here.

To be sure, for the Karayahi the contact with "civilization"
[184] has not been without consequences. In comparison with the independent Šambioa, a certain lack of order and cleanliness in
their villages and less care and taste in their artifacts are noticeable.
On the other hand, a wealth of most interesting ethnological ob-
[126] jects are still present among them. The most important pieces in
the collection were acquired from them.

311 Their material position cannot be described as especially favorable. The lower riverbanks of their region are so exposed to floods
that they can practice agriculture only to a limited extent. They
[48] venture onto the higher left bank only temporarily, out of fear of
their worst enemies, the Akuã and Kayapo.

13 The third large Karaya horde is that of the Šambioa, about
[101] whom Castelnau brought back the first more detailed reports.
[361] They possess four rather large villages between the Pau d'arco rapids
[224] and the great Cachoeira de S. Miguel. Their hunting expeditions,
however, extend beyond the Cachoeira grande, in former times up
to the region of the Apinagés, near the present São Vincente, from
[172] where increasing settlement has scared them away. The rock
sculptures of the so-called Martirios Island between the Carreira

/15 cont./

226 Smaller fish are caught in weir baskets (adžuriă), larger ones in stockades or peculiar traps made out of vines (deaurärŏ) which do not know from personal observation.

433 Hunting, in contrast to fishing, plays a much lesser role than those who view all Indians as purely hunting peoples without further ado are inclined to believe. Larger, huntable game is 274 262 quite sparingly represented in tropical South America and, in view of the lack of firearms, difficult to obtain. In addition, superstition often forbids eating the meat of precisely the largest and most common species. Thus, the Karaya scorn the tapir. Their principal booty is the monkeys common in all the forest along the shore, wild pigs, small rodents such as agoutis and pacas, and furthermore the small camprehe. In the lagoons and marshes of the patanaes the musk duck (Anas moschas) present in large numbers provides excellent food for them.

241 Agriculture. The great distance of the plantings from the villages prevented a visit to them. Judging by the wealth of [262] vegetable foods among the Šambioa, their agriculture seems to be on a relatively high level. The "savages" have in this respect outdone their civilized neighbors by far. In general, [177] iron agricultural implements have already supplanted the original ones.

The most important cultivated plant is manioc, of which both the more nourishing poisonous species (M. brava) and the less productive, but immediately edible aipim (M. mansa) are grown. The freshly cleared, dry forest soil of the higher banks is especially suitable for this kind of cultivation.

[273] Next, maize comes into consideration as a grain product, which is used less in substance than for the production of fermented beverages.

Sugar cane flourishes on the lower shore-land. During the dry season one sees the seedlings planted on the sandbanks [249] everywhere for the next season. Special devices for pressing out the juice are not in use.

Of the legumes there is found among the Šambioa small brown beans (Dolichos chinensis), as well as peas (komonara) imported from Pará.

/28 cont./

also hold for the relationships prevailing among the Karaya.
621 The village communities composed of such family units, each of which has a particular name, seem to be like gau
476 communities (2). The agricultural land belongs to the whole
[423]

[113] 2. Post, Stud. z. Entw. d. Familienrechts /Essay on the Development of Family Law/, p. 83.

[224] and is tilled in common. Hunting and fishing expeditions are
[226] also undertaken in common, and the yield in booty, field
622 produce, etc. divided among the families. The chief supervises all of these communal activities and achievements. He is
[421] supported by the community; the property of all tribal members
[597] belongs to him (3). On the other hand, it is his duty to adopt

[113] 3. Couto Magelhães, Peterm. Mitth., 1876, p. 121.

orphaned children, particularly the sons of those slain in war.
[178] The personal qualities to which he owes his office today are less
[648] prowess in war /29/ than the skill, experience, and linguistic knowledge required to deal with the Whites. Thus, even prisoners
[727] of war adopted into the tribe who distinguish themselves at this can achieve the position.

The chief organizes the war and hunting expeditions; he determines the camp sites and the locations of plantings and, after the burning over of the strip of forest (roça) concerned, divides the agricultural land, which is marked off by posts, among the individual families.

622 His effectiveness in the administration of justice is important.
627 In case of quarrels between men he acts as referee, while his wife decides those of the women. It is his duty to bring offenders to account, but he does not inflict the punishment, which, according to the Indian law of retaliation, is a matter for the injured party. Murder or bodily injury are therefore avenged by the relatives of the victim without further ado.

/241 cont./

000 136 yields. The country is also relatively poor in useful animals, and [224] almost all of the few animal species that can be hunted are not [262] eaten by the Indians, with the exception, to be sure, of the wild pig. The birds are very numerous, with the exception of the [223] mutum, however, the Indians do not seem to hunt any other bird. Thus, the water must supply the principal food. The river is extremely rich in fish and turtles; everywhere, in shallow places, in the depths, in lakes, but above all in the tributaries, one comes [226] across a quite startling abundance of fish. But even this abundance [262] is not fully exploited, since a few types of fish are not eaten.

A. The Acquisition of Plant Food.

462 The women essentially are responsible for the gathering of wild plants and fruits, while the men engage above all in pro- 222 curing animal food (1). The following come under consideration:

> 1. This division of labor is ancient. In the myth, "How the Karajá acquired manioc," it is said of the father that he would not notice the theft of maize because he only knows fishing (see there /see pp. 302-303/).

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/246 cont./

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/247 cont./

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/248 cont./

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Construction of the bird trap.

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/264 cont./

411 shaft and point do not form a straight line, but rather stand at a slight angle to each other, as can very easily happen, the deviation is removed by a slight bending. Only then is it shot.

On the arrow we distinguish between point and shaft, the latter with the feathering (Ill. 112 a, b). Arrows on which the point and shaft consist of one cane occur only among children (for bird hunting, see "Children's Toys" /see p.241 /); for adults, the point is always set in separately.

The point consists of a wooden rod (ŭhāhūnĭ), which either tapers to a point itself or at its front end bears a point made of a bamboo blade or a small bone.

[224] Arrows with a simple wooden point are used for hunting big game (jaguar, red deer, tapir, monkey). The point is round, flat, or three to four-edged and sometimes has an offset point at the top. Its length is 38-50 centimeters. Sometimes it is painted black (Ill. 113 a-f). A variation of such arrows /265/ has notched wooden points (hädŭbĭrādăda, ādĕdĕ). The notches are either cut on the edges of the three-edged wooden point or on one edge of flat wooden points. The number and arrangement of notches differ greatly (Ill. 113 g-i).

Ehrenreich mentions arrows with an inset, blunt wooden-block point for hunting birds and small animals. I did not see such arrows among the Karajá, but certainly among the Šavajé (see there /see p. 323 /). /Ill. 113 appears here./

/266/ Arrows with bamboo knives set on them (dī(ŭ)ādá) are used for hunting big game, but chiefly as war arrows. Since they break off easily and tear large wounds, they are very dangerous and usually lead to death. The bamboo knife is usually flat, only seldom considerably arched; it is joined to the [531] wooden stem by a fine bast winding. Often the knives are painted with black cross-stripes on the back. Knife and wooden stem usually have approximately the same length (30-40 centimeters); both /Ills. 114-117 appear here/ /267/ together are as long as the cane shaft proper (60-80 centimeters) (Ill. 114 a-c).

[Text continues on p. 186]

/271 cont./

411 approximately 70 centimeters long, the second approximately 50
285 centimeters long.

Ehrenreich speaks of a second type of club: flat, shovel-like clubs that have a four-sided, prismatic blade with sharp edges and a lancet-shaped point. The handle is plaited all around, and at both ends of the plaiting cotton tassels hang down ("Beiträge," Pl. VI, Ill. 11). He obtained two such clubs from the Šambioá (Berlin 3980), whereas he saw a cruder form among the Karajá. The question is whether this club form belonged to the Karajá
[171] originally. For I came across such forms neither among the Karajá nor among the Šavajé, but certainly among the Kayapó, /272/ among whom broad cutting-clubs seem to be indigenous. It may be that the Šambioá took over this form from the Kayapó. Only a small child's club of the Karajá (Ill. 125) shows a similar type (1),

1. Cf. also, however, the club stick above (Pl. 56, Ill. 3c).

but it comes from the village on the Tapirapé mouth, so that here, too, it is not certain whether an old, now extinct club form has been preserved in this child's toy or whether it is not more likely that there is influence from the Tapirapé or the Kayapó.

411 The lances (dõnõlǐ; Ill. 126) play a minor role. They are a weapon peculiar to the Karajá. Today they are probably used
[224] only as a display weapon for festivities, visits, etc. In former
[825] times they were put to use in hunting for jaguars: the bunches of feathers on the tip were supposed to make the animal fearful and uncertain, so that the Indian, at the most auspicious moment, /Ills. 123-126 appear here/ was able to deliver the death blow (according to the statements of the Indians). I never heard that they were ever used in war.

[824] The shaft consists of heavy palm wood (aruera); it is almost always 240-260 centimeters long and about three centimeters thick; only two specimens of my collection are a little over 200 centimeters long.

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

262

"Monkey."
"What are you going to do with him?"
"Eat him—me like him much." [224]
"How did you catch him?"
"Me shoot him with an arrow."

Continuing our voyage at dawn, we encountered before 609
noon another cluster of Karayá huts on a sand island. Before [361]
we could get to shore, the natives ran out into the water [439]
to meet us, and surrounding our canoes, eagerly offered us balls of black beeswax and pottery in trade for what they supposed we had. It was amusing to see a Karayá couple trying to make a trade with our only woman voyager for a man's gauze undershirt. I could not but think of how the poor savage would appear with only that shirt on. He wanted it, [291] he motioned, to shield himself from the cold at night, and from the flies by day.

We passed the next night at another group of huts on [361] the sand. These Karayá who were very cordial, were expecting us for the news of our approach had preceded us; so they gave us a royal welcome. The *mayor of the city*— [422] the chief of the local horde—appeared arrayed in a complete [292] suit of civilian's clothes, consisting of white linen trousers and vest, black coat and hat. These he wore merely as decorations, not as a covering, for these people consider themselves fully and properly dressed without any such apparel. It was a remarkable sight indeed to us to descry in the gloaming, as we approached the land, what appeared to be a well-dressed representative of advanced civilization entirely alone in a remote, howling wilderness, surrounded by nude and painted savages. He had obtained these garments somewhere from a trading boat. We were escorted in state to a large hut [526] where were assembled all the human inhabitants of the island; and after the reception, we witnessed the wrestling game of which the Karayá are very fond, which will be described fully in future pages.

The same night, as I was sleeping soundly in the open 123
air in my hammock, which was swung between two stakes

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

226 which attains a length of ten feet, occurs very frequently;
[136] also the electric ell, and the thick-bodied pirarára which is encased in an armor of strong, bony plates; the voracious piránha, the jahú, a scaleless fish nearly as large as a man; the pintado, or spotted fish, which reaches a length of six or seven feet; various pacús, besides many other kinds of fish. All of these are suitable for human consumption.
[262] There are certain scaleless fish which are not used by the Karayá. Neither will they eat the dolphin; but they are quite fond of the turtle and its eggs.

During the time of high water when fish are not easily caught in the yellow, earth-charged flood, the Karayá secure their fish from the lagoons along the river, which they make into great, natural traps for the larger fish by cutting off their retreat. This is accomplished by blocking the outlet of the lagoon with a basket-work of poles and heavy climbing
[178] vines. In former times, fish were taken exclusively by means
[437] of the bow and arrow, but the Karayá now use the hook and line, which is obtained in trade from passing canoes. It is for the most part impossible to fish in the Araguaya with a net because the piránha cut it to pieces, and also because of the many large creatures that infest the river.

224 Hunting is not so important an occupation with the Karayá as fishing, hence they are more expert anglers than hunters; nor do they display much skill in the chase. This may appear strange to persons who believe that all Indians
[262] are hunters, par excellence. South America is not so rich in large game as Africa; moreover, some superstition, the taboo, doubtless, prevents the savages from eating the flesh of some species of game which are most numerous. For this reason, the Karayá do not hunt the tapir, which abounds along the Araguaya, though the meat is excellent, being much like beef, yet richer. Deer also, of which there are many varieties, exist in great numbers; yet few, if any, of the savage tribes touch these animals. The Karayá never hunt large game, confining themselves to monkeys, which are abun-

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

dant, and to the pecari, the aguti, the musk duck which is 224
found in ponds, and similar small game.

Agriculture among the Sambiõa is highly developed—re- 241
markably so, in fact, for a people living in a state of sav-
agery—and is even more advanced in some respects than that
of the "civilized" Brazilians living near their territory. A
large assortment of vegetable foodstuffs are raised. They [178]
now have the same agricultural implements as the "civilized"
Brazilians, having relegated to oblivion their rude tools of
ancient times, with which they could not till the soil but to
a very limited extent, and that only with excessive toil. The
high agricultural development reached by these savages is
very interesting and important, proving conclusively that the
primitive man, far from being incapable of anything but to
wander over a wide territory, living from hand to mouth by
hunting and fishing, is capable of becoming an agriculturist
of no mean order. The plant most extensively cultivated by
the Sambiõa is the manioc. They raise both kinds, the
"wild" and the "tame." Next to this in importance is corn.
But this is used more to make a fermented drink than for [273]
food. Sugar-cane is also cultivated on the low, alluvial soil
along the river, which is well adapted to this purpose. But
the natives have no suitable contrivance for extracting the
juice from the cane. Several varieties of small, brown beans,
brought from Pará, and which are a staple food among civ- [262]
ilized Brazilians, are also raised. So also, the white and [177]
violet Brazilian *cará*, a kind of potato. Besides these food- 272
stuffs, which were obtained originally from civilized Bra- 262
zilians, the Karayá gather from forest and jungle, many
kinds of wild fruits and vegetables, which introduce a pleas-
ing change in their aliment. A few such are the cajú, a
yellow, olive-shaped plum, which grows on a very large tree;
the jábádacába, a plum which grows clinging to the trunks
of a tree resembling the elm; the morisy, a large yellow
cherry, groves of which may be seen growing on the up-
lands; mongába, the fruit of a kind of upland rubber tree,
which I have elsewhere called a natural baked apple; and

9:Gow-Smith T-5 (no date) 1925
SP9 Caraja SP9
Cayapo SP11

C Co 411 237 284 283

skilfully feathered at the end. The arrowheads are fastened to eighteen-inch foreshafts of hard-wood tipped with bone, fitted in three- to four-foot bamboo shafts and bound in place with the strong cord that the native women spin from wild cotton. The binding is firmly cemented with a kind of resin. Long needle-like arrows tipped with hard-wood are for shooting birds; the sharp bamboo tips curved hollowly are for deer and jaguars, for they permit the wounded animal

C [264] [531] [411] [501]

C Co [314]

C Co 411 224 [223]

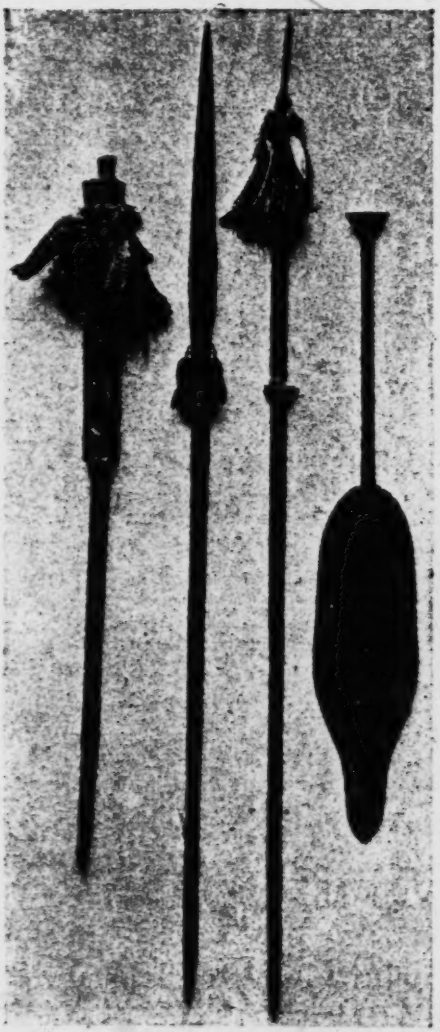

FIG. 98.—Caraja objects (grave-post, two spears, and a paddle)

9:Gow-Smith T-5 (no date) 1925
SP9 Caraja SP9
Cayapo SP11

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to bleed freely in order that it will weaken before it can travel far. Barbed arrows are used for killing monkeys and shooting fish. The tail of the sting-ray is also used for tipping arrows.

C
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[531]

Fig. 99.—Cayapó rattle

C
[531]

Formidable objects are the clubs that the Caraja tribesmen use to kill captives, as well as members of their own tribe who have broken taboo or who are too old to make the periodic migrations. These clubs vaguely resemble a baseball bat, except that they are heavier and a trifle thicker at the end. They are made of hard-wood, the long handle decorated with a beautiful covering of black and white woven canework in designs similar to those of the spears, and the heavy end is stained a sinister red with the juice of the urucú-berry and the blood of its victim.

C
[386]

Co
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The Cayapó clubs are of the same heavy wood,

/14 cont./

Way of Life. Food and Its Preparation

433 Like most South American tribes, the Karaya are first of all fishermen, but, in addition, carry on a not insignificant agriculture. 226 [221] The principal season for fishing is the dry months from May to October, when the larger fish strive toward the deeper parts of the river, the so-called poços, which are formed in particular above the small rapids and the masses of rock projecting out here and there.

The fish kingdom of the Araguaia, in all of the middle course, already bears throughout the character of the fauna of Amazonas. The giant three-meter long pirarucú/arapaima/ (Sudis gigas) is common everywhere, as is the electric eel (Gymnotus electricus) and the thick-bodied pirarara (Phractocephalus discolor) armored with its strong shield of bone. The poços abound with cannibalistic piranhas; in the shallow places along the bank the no less feared thornback, buried in the sand, lies in wait for its prey.

[262] Prized as the tastiest fish are the blue-grey spotted pintado (Pimelodus sorubim), reaching up to two meters in length, the matrincham /Caracinidae/, the tucunaré (Cichla temensis), the trahira (Macrodon), and various species of the pacu (Myletes). Certain fish, particularly scaleless ones, are not pursued because of superstitious fear, and likewise the fresh-water dolphins, [225] present everywhere in great numbers. Tortoises and their delicious eggs, however, are hunted all the more zealously.

At high water, when the fish are no longer easy to get in the clay-yellow flood, the many lagoons along the river provide the most productive fishing places. They form large natural traps for the larger species, in which they can easily be isolated.

[439] /15/ Whereas formerly the fish were killed almost exclusively with an arrow, angling is now used more and more, since hooks are imported in large quantities. In many places, however, angling and net fishing cannot be done because of the countless piranhas whose teeth cannot be withstood by any line or net.

5: Krause--26 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9
Tapirape SP22

C
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Ill. 6. Tortoise cages of the Karajá. Tapirapé River.
(Drawn from a photograph.)
/Ill. 6 appears on p. 119./

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a: Fish fence
b: Sandbank
c: Path to the place where trees are felled.
d: Roasting place.
e: Path to the roasting place and to the villages.

Ill. 7.
Sketch map of the fish-lakes in the Tapirapé River.
/Ill. 7 appears on p. 122./

/187 cont./

101 The Karajá proper (2). They call themselves: kărăjă̆,

2. As explained above, I mean by Karajá the Indians called Carayahí by Ehrenreich. In accordance with the rather sharp J sound, which was often pronounced like dj, I was obliged to change the spelling to Karajá.

[104]

kărădjă̆, or krădjă̆. In addition, ĭnă̆ and ĭnau̯ă̆ were given as designations for themselves. They are called Karayá by the Brazilians. Among the Šavajé, according to their own statement, they are called šŭšomădŏ or bĕrĕhŏkŭwăndŭ, among the
131 Cherénte wārăšūtŏrŏ. They inhabit the middle course of the
[439] Araguaya, at present from 15° 15' to 10° 12' south latitude; their boundaries are thus the mouth of the Rio Vermelho in the south, a place between the north end of Bananal Island and Santa Anna in the north; only occasionally do they undertake trade voyages to Santa Maria and Conceição. In general they
[648] are confined to the banks of the river and its immediate hinterland, and they inhabit both shores equally; today, at any rate, there can no longer be any talk of the habit of avoiding the
484 west bank out of fear of enemies (3). They also extend their
(437)

[113]

3. Moraes Jardim, O Rio Araguaya; Ehrenreich, "Südamerikanische Stromfahrten," p. 38.

fishing and trading expeditions over large stretches on either side. In the east they visit the Šavajé in the interior of Bananal, but avoid going there in small numbers. In the west they navigate
[361] the large tributaries. In the Rio das Mortes, 15 leagues above the mouth, there is supposed to be a small Karajá village; they allegedly do not go farther upstream here. They travel
[225] up the Rio Cristallino for a stretch to fish for turtles. On the
131 Rio Tapirapé they go just below the waterfall; a tree with two bullet-tracks, a fire area, and the remains of utensils mark the boundary here against the Tapirapé Indians.

/199 cont./

417 Outside the houses, on the other hand, there are special storage racks (ŏdēdŭ). They consist of four forked sticks about one and a quarter meters high, which are set up in the form of a square and joined together by two crossbeams and many longitudi-
[251] nal beams. On these racks lie supplies of all kinds, manioc roots, unused implements and weapons kept on hand, as well as raw materials of all kinds; hung on them are gourds and baskets full
[287] of maize and feathers; the bast aprons of the women are also often hung here to dry (Ill. 24).

[225] For drying the lines used to fish for turtles, special racks made of two long vertical poles joined at the top by a cross-pole are used. The line, hanging far down, is hung on this to dry (Ill. 25).

Ill. 23.
Arrow-stand in the house.

[824] /200/ Fresh gourds are stuck on sticks to dry; near each house one sees groups of such staked gourds. Later, they are preferably stored by tying a whole number together on a stake (Ill. 26a and b).

354 Other household equipment is lacking. The hearth is outside
184 the house, in contrast to the Šavajé, among whom it is located in the round structures (see "Food" /see pp. 165 ff./); it was only in the modified houses in Schischá at the end of October that cooking was also done in the house. /Ills. 24 and 25 appear here./

364 House and environs are not very clean; food remains such as fish bones, nut shells, and bones, as well as wood, tools, etc., lie about everywhere. While it is dangerous just to come near the
[136] villages and houses with bare feet, the vast number of flies and other insects that gather in masses on the refuse is an obstacle to remaining outside the houses.

/200 cont.

000 to remaining outside the houses. In addition, there are the sand flies,
136 /Ill. 26 appears here/ which, according to Ehrenreich, become so
361 rampant that the Indians are forced to change their place of residence often (see below under "Village" /see p. 85 /).

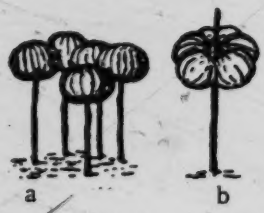
417

[225]

Ill. 24.
Storage rack. Drawn from a photograph.

Ill. 25.
Rack for drying the turtle fishlines.

[824]



Ill. 26.
a) Drying gourds.
b) Storing gourds.

514 There are no privies. To attend to their needs, the Indians go to a depression in the sandbank, behind the nearest bush, or into the woods. To clean themselves they use three small sticks which they break from
[136] a bush and then place parallel over the excrement. The urubus, which live in great numbers near the settlements, quickly take care of cleaning the place. In order to piss the men go to the river. Here they go into

/245 cont./

231 Of native animals, monkeys [kălōbĭ(dĕrŭ), klăŏbĭ] were only very rarely encountered. I did not see any examples of the animals mentioned by Ehrenreich, capybara, agouti, peccary, 231 tapir, etc., in the villages of the Karajá. The bird world is 235 more abundantly represented. Of the araras the red arara (Macrocercus militaris) is preferred, whereas the hyancinth-blue arara (ăndăādōlă: M. hyacinthinus) and the blue-yellow one (bīză: M. macao) were seen only rarely. Usually they stayed on the roofs of the houses. Small green parrots (bōlŏbĕdŏ - parakeets; dōlă) were more frequently encountered, mostly as the property of young girls who carried them around sitting on their heads and let them drink from their hands out of small mussel shells. The caracara [ĭ(h)ī(ŏ)lĕ, īlă], a predatory bird, was seen only occasionally. Its feathers were apparently little used. It is probably kept in the houses because it plays a certain role in the legends. Very sporadically I saw a young ostrich [kŭsă(hă)wĕ, năŭĕkĭĕ], a small water bird, and a young, tame mutum (kŭlĭtĭ), around whose legs had been crocheted small red calf-bands. I did not see the other birds mentioned by Ehrenreich, white heron, roseate spoonbill, and jabiru, tamed among the Karajá. Nor did I observe or learn that small feather tassels are tied into the wings of birds, or that their feathers were artificially changed in color.

231 Of reptiles and other animals I came across small turtles, which were kept by girls in small gourd shells filled with water, lizards (so-called chameleons: kū(ū)lă), which, generally with white down feathers glued on, were carried by the women on the head or shoulders, and, finally, young crocodiles [kăb(ŏ)lōlĕ] about 20 centimeters long, which lay in the shallow puddles on the edge of the sandbanks, tied to the string of a stick planted vertically into the sand; little children would come running, take out the stick, and let the animals walk and swim on the tautly stretched string.

262 These animals kept in the village are never eaten; in order 222 to obtain their meat food, the Indians are much more dependent [225] on gathering and hunting. They gather turtles and turtle eggs, ostrich eggs, and honey.

Of turtles, the tracajá (kōdŭ) and its eggs (kōdŭzĭ) are for the most part scorned; only older people eat them. The laying time is August to early September; the nest contains about 16 eggs.

/245 cont./

262 The eggs are longish and have an odor and taste somewhat re-
222 sembling train oil. The tartaruga (kŏdūnĭ) and its eggs (kōdūnĭzĭ),
[221] on the other hand, are eaten with great relish. /246/ For them,
the Indians undertake distant boat journeys up the tributaries of
the Araguaya in September to October, the laying period of this
turtle, which deposits up to 160 round eggs in a nest. All the
sandbanks are investigated and the often numerous nests emptied
(on the Tapirapé I found up to four nests on small sandbanks).
Thus, they gather quite enormous quantities of eggs. These are
[251] either eaten raw or they are cooked and dried in the ashes and
[439] then kept for a long time, so that the Indians take them home,
[437] eat them later at leisure, or are able to sell them in the Brazilian
towns (Santa Maria, Conceição) on trading expeditions, which
they undertake in September and October. The turtles them-
[225] selves are taken by surprise while laying, or in shallow water they
are caught with the hands by diving from boats or with iron
bottom-tackle. The turtles are brought home alive in great
231 quantities from these expeditions and then eaten or sold. In order
to be able to keep them for a longer time, cages are built out of
twigs bent together at the top, which are stuck in the sand in a
circle, providing shade for them. Here they are tethered and kept
until they are consumed (Ill. 6). Small turtles are raised in the
villages as a pastime.

262 Ostrich eggs (nâŭĕkĭĕzĭ) are eaten with great relish. The
222 Indians empty the entire nest and take the eggs home with them
in order to eat them cooked there.

222 Honey (bădĕrhõ) is a delicacy of which they are passionately
fond. On their boat trips they observe the direction of flight of
the wild bees (bēdĭ), designated by them as stingless, until, after
a short time, they have discovered their nests high up in the
crowns of trees. Quickly the tree is climbed and the nest cut down
[415] with the bush knife or ax. The honey is then taken out down below;
it is stored in bent pieces of bark or in gourd vessels. Bees nesting
in hollow trees are smoked out and the honey is taken out with the
hand. The often giant honeycombs are individually sucked out;

1:Lipkind E-5 (1937) 1948 SP9 Caraja SP9

is planted in September, when the first rains come, and manioc shortly 241
after. There is little cultivation beyond weeding. The basic crop is manioc, both the sweet and bitter varieties being cultivated, with maize next in importance. Four varieties each of sweet and bitter manioc and 10 varieties of maize are cultivated. Other crops are: Five varieties of potatoes, two varieties of cara, four varieties of watermelon, three varieties of squash, four varieties of beans, and ten varieties of bananas, as well as peanuts, urucú, tobacco, cotton, calabashes, sugarcane, yams, peppers, pineapples, and papayas. Men do all the work with a little assistance in [462] harvesting and weeding from older women. The *Javahé* are more in- [184] dustrious farmers than the other *Carajá*, cultivating extensive plantations.

Collecting.—A large number of vegetable products are gathered for use 222
as food, medicine, and raw material for manufacture, but only a few are 262
of great importance. The babassu and the buriti palms, used for food and textile materials, are among the most valuable. The taquara reed is sought after for arrows. Turtle eggs are a significant item of food during [441] the dry season. Honey is indispensable for feasting.

Hunting.—Although the *Carajá* are passionate hunters, very few of the 224
animals available in the region are eaten. Only the peccary is really sought [262] and constitutes a sizable item in the larder. The other animals that are eaten—the cutia, coati, woodsdeer, monkey, iguana, and a few birds, such as the mutum, jao, and jacu—are killed when encountered but are not eaten by everyone. Peccaries are hunted in a communal drive, the most favorable time being shortly after the beginning of the rainy season when large droves are trapped on islands.

The chief purpose of hunting is to get feathers, and the most desirable 223
birds are the various parrots, herons, the male stork, and the flamingo. 237
The nesting of valuable birds is carefully watched, and the young are [231] stolen and tamed. Feathers stored in small baskets almost constitute a [436] currency, because they are readily negotiable at all times and maintain a stable value.

The principal weapons are the bow and club. The bow, made of a 441
variety of woods but with a preference for juari when available, is round in cross section and about 6 feet (2 m.) long. The arrow is preferably of taquara reed and variously tipped with wood, animal bone, or fish bone. Clubs are beautifully fashioned of heavy hardwood, decorated with delicate carving, and are swung and thrown with equal skill. The lance is now used only for ceremonial purposes.

Fishing.—Fish is the most important food supply. Trapping and drug- 226
ging fish with timbo is a communal affair; individuals fish with the bow [262] and arrow. There is occasional night fishing, with spearing by torchlight. The pirarucu is killed by harpoon. The hook and line is little used, and apparently was borrowed recently from the Neo-Brazilians. [177]

Food preparation.—Manioc is peeled, grated, squeezed out by hand, 252
and cooked into a soup. When the soup cools, it is masticated for a few

/7 cont./

132 The life of the inhabitants is determined by the sharp division of the seasons. The rainless period lasts from May to the end of September, and farther north even until far into October. Then broad sandbanks (praias) are exposed everywhere, with the sun [221] beating down on them day after day. For the Indians this is the real period of river life. Fishing then governs all interests. With the beginning of November the rainy season has usually already set [133] in with strength; in December and January the river is highest, ten to twelve meters above the low level. From bank to bank, without interruption, a tremendous mass of water fills the bed, flooding the neighboring low plains for some distance.

136 Swarms of annoying insects, mosquitoes and pium /a very 221 small mosquito/, which are completely absent in the dry season, now fill the air. The Indian is forced to retreat to higher ground, where he then attends to cultivating the fields and, if need be, [226] hunts. Fishing can be carried on only in the lagoons at this time.

133 When the water lowers, bad fevers are not uncommon on the 164 middle Araguaia, where extensive swamps accompany the river.

Hordes. The Karaya of the Araguaia are divided into the 101 three large tribes of the Yavahē, Karayahi, and Šambioa, which [161] together may number about 4,000 persons. The first inhabit the [131] interior of the still completely unknown Bananal Island. We know [361] only this much about it, that in its northern part there is a large lake near which the three villages of the Yavahē are located. It has an outlet into the eastern arm (furo) of the Araguaia, at the mouth of which some of these savages were spoken to for the last 177 time in April, 1888. In the meantime no one has sought them out here, although they have indicated several times their desire to trade with the colonists. They badly need iron tools, which now come to them only rarely through the agency of the Karayahi. In the villages of the latter one sometimes meets some Yavahē. They do not like to leave their hiding place in large numbers, since they justifiably fear importing epidemic diseases.

361 The Karayahi live in 12-15 villages of various size on the west arm of the Araguaia in the region of the navigable stretch from S. José below the mouth of the Crixas to the region of S. Maria.

/14 cont./

Way of Life. Food and Its Preparation

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At high water, when the fish are no longer easy to get in the clay-yellow flood, the many lagoons along the river provide the most productive fishing places. They form large natural traps for the larger species, in which they can easily be isolated.

[439] /15/ Whereas formerly the fish were killed almost exclusively with an arrow, angling is now used more and more, since hooks are imported in large quantities. In many places, however, angling and net fishing cannot be done because of the countless piranhas whose teeth cannot be withstood by any line or net.

/15 cont./

226 Smaller fish are caught in weir baskets (adžuriă), larger ones in stockades or peculiar traps made out of vines (deaurärŏ) which do not know from personal observation.

433 Hunting, in contrast to fishing, plays a much lesser role than those who view all Indians as purely hunting peoples without further ado are inclined to believe. Larger, huntable game is 224 262 quite sparingly represented in tropical South America and, in view of the lack of firearms, difficult to obtain. In addition, superstition often forbids eating the meat of precisely the largest and most common species. Thus, the Karaya scorn the tapir. Their principal booty is the monkeys common in all the forest along the shore, wild pigs, small rodents such as agoutis and pacas, and furthermore the small camprehe. In the lagoons and marshes of the patanaes the musk duck (Anas moschas) present in large numbers provides excellent food for them.

241 Agriculture. The great distance of the plantings from the villages prevented a visit to them. Judging by the wealth of [262] vegetable foods among the Šambioa, their agriculture seems to be on a relatively high level. The "savages" have in this respect outdone their civilized neighbors by far. In general, [177] iron agricultural implements have already supplanted the original ones.

The most important cultivated plant is manioc, of which both the more nourishing poisonous species (M. brava) and the less productive, but immediately edible aipim (M. mansa) are grown. The freshly cleared, dry forest soil of the higher banks is especially suitable for this kind of cultivation.

[273] Next, maize comes into consideration as a grain product, which is used less in substance than for the production of fermented beverages.

Sugar cane flourishes on the lower shore-land. During the dry season one sees the seedlings planted on the sandbanks [249] everywhere for the next season. Special devices for pressing out the juice are not in use.

Of the legumes there is found among the Šambioa small brown beans (Dolichos chinensis), as well as peas (komonara) imported from Pará.

/28 cont./

also hold for the relationships prevailing among the Karaya.

621 The village communities composed of such family units, each of which has a particular name, seem to be like gau

476 communities (2). The agricultural land belongs to the whole

[423]

[113] 2. Post, Stud. z. Entw. d. Familienrechts /Essay on the Development of Family Law/, p. 83.

[224] and is tilled in common. Hunting and fishing expeditions are

[226] also undertaken in common, and the yield in booty, field

622 produce, etc. divided among the families. The chief supervises all of these communal activities and achievements. He is

[421] supported by the community; the property of all tribal members

[597] belongs to him (3). On the other hand, it is his duty to adopt

[113] 3. Couto Magelhães, Peterm. Mitth., 1876, p. 121.

orphaned children, particularly the sons of those slain in war.

[178] The personal qualities to which he owes his office today are less

[648] prowess in war /29/ than the skill, experience, and linguistic knowledge required to deal with the Whites. Thus, even prisoners

[727] of war adopted into the tribe who distinguish themselves at this can achieve the position.

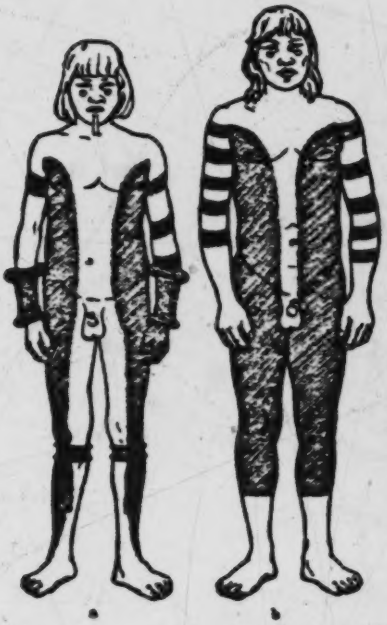
The chief organizes the war and hunting expeditions, he determines the camp sites and the locations of plantings and, after the burning over of the strip of forest (roça) concerned, divides the agricultural land, which is marked off by posts, among the individual families.

622 His effectiveness in the administration of justice is important.

627 In case of quarrels between men he acts as referee, while his wife decides those of the women. It is his duty to bring offenders to account, but he does not inflict the punishment, which, according to the Indian law of retaliation, is a matter for the injured party. Murder or bodily injury are therefore avenged by the relatives of the victim without further ado.

/214 cont./

302 from ear to ear with soot scraped from the charred campo trees.
[535] For dance festivities the men and youths are painted by the women. In general, this patterning is their ornamentation,
[226] their festive clothing. Mothers often painted their sons when the latter were to set out with us on a fishing expedition.



Ill. 43.
Boy (a) and man (b) with full patterning.

Ill. 44.
Two girls with full patterning.

[765] For mourning, the entire body, even the face, is said to be provided with genipap painting. I did not see this custom, however, in the case of Kabisá's family.

There are no differences in the painting between the two sexes, except that perhaps the men, who have more to do out in the open than the women, who essentially remain in the village and in the houses, wear the full painting more than the women. The patterns themselves are the same for both sexes, except that the men like a somewhat more extensive patterning.

/241 cont./

136 yields. The country is also relatively poor in useful animals, and
224 almost all of the few animal species that can be hunted are not
262 eaten by the Indians, with the exception, to be sure, of the wild
pig. The birds are very numerous, with the exception of the
223 mutum, however, the Indians do not seem to hunt any other bird.
Thus, the water must supply the principal food. The river is extremely rich in fish and turtles; everywhere, in shallow places, in the depths, in lakes, but above all in the tributaries, one comes
226 across a quite startling abundance of fish. But even this abundance
262 is not fully exploited, since a few types of fish are not eaten.

A. The Acquisition of Plant Food.

462 The women essentially are responsible for the gathering of wild plants and fruits, while the men engage above all in pro-
222 curing animal food (1). The following come under consideration:

> 1. This division of labor is ancient. In the myth, "How the Karajá acquired manioc," it is said of the father that he would not notice the theft of maize because he only knows fishing (see there /see pp. 302-303/).

the small oitŭ fruits, which are gathered in the forest during the first half of October; the pikĭ fruits (lămă), which ripen during the second half of October; the watermelon (kūblăkĕ), which grows on the sandbanks at the place where the banks are connected with the shore. The Indians know exactly those sandbanks on which the melons grow and gather them as early as the end of October when
222 the fruit is not yet quite ripe. Of palm fruits the following are
262 eaten: the seeds of the tucum palm (hăĭŭ), of the so-called coceiro (ăhăndĕtĕ), and of the oaguassu palm (haŭlĕnĭ), the roasted seeds of which are called haŭlĕnĭdŏ. The fruits of the jatobá tree (kūwă) and of the genipap (bădĕnă) are likewise eaten. Another fruit, from which a black dish is prepared, was called ādŏmŏ; it is

/246 cont./

222 the wax (tăbōlă)[7] is stored in large lumps; it constitutes one of
[237] their most important gluing and packing mediums and as such is
[232] everywhere offered in quantities by the women to passing boats.
The chief gathering period of the honey seems to commence in October.

224 While the gathering of these foods is bound to specific
[221] seasons and requires journeys often weeks long, in order to collect large amounts, the daily animal food is obtained in short expeditions from the villages by means of all kinds of traps.

[433] It should be noted that the hunting of birds and land
[226] animals is completely overshadowed by fishing. In general, of course, the land is poor in animals as compared to the water. There is only a little big game to be hunted: red deer (bŏlōlă), roe, tapirs [(k)ōlĭ], monkeys (1), wild pigs (ĩsă), and possibly

[237] [242] 1. Howling monkeys are shot only for the bones, which are used for arrow points, lip plugs, and arrows, but not for food.

also /247/ jaguars (ănlōă); smaller animals are more frequent, but very shy and difficult to hunt (agouti, tsŭsŏ; capybara, hũă, etc.).
223 The choice of birds is likewise not very large. Above all, gallinaceous birds (jacu, bĕdjŭă; mutum, etc.) and pigeons, as well as ducks (hăăkŏlĭnĭ, hĕdaulĕ, dōălăla) and divers, come into
242 consideration. I was unable to find out whether they eat ostriches, or how they feel about lizards, crocodiles, and boa constrictors, which Königswald reports are eaten. The small choice of game animals is even more restricted by all kinds of so-called food prohibitions. Thus, this person will not eat this animal, and that person that one. Some animals are generally not eaten, though
224 they could furnish a great deal of meat. Hunting only plays a secondary role in the economy of these Indians.

For wild game they set out individually or in company; wild pigs in particular are always hunted in company. It is
[622] strange that the chief never goes along on the hunt, though he does engage in fishing. Only large animals are hunted; the young ones are allowed to run away.

7 [i.e., bee's wax--Analyst]

/248 cont./

223 until the uppermost one, finally, closed the opening of the little pyramid. Strings ran down along the edges, were fastened to the lowest rods, and crossed at the top on the surface; they barely held the whole construction together. The type of release is clearly shown in the sketch, Ill. 84.

[198] To lure birds and game the Indians use specific calls which differ according to the particular species of animal, as they know how to imitate animal sounds masterfully.

Birds must be plucked on the spot; they may not be brought to the village unplucked ("otherwise the chief will be angry"). While plucking, the fingertips are dipped in wood ashes.

223 224 [538] It is said that there are no magic devices for making the hunt productive; on the other hand, the Indians are fond of telling one another hunting stories, and, in doing so, they like to exaggerate and tell improbable things.

Ill. 84.
Construction of the bird trap.

226 362 Fishing supplies by far the largest portion of the meat food; the subsistence of the Indians is to a large extent based on it.

136 The Araguaya is extremely rich in fish (kădōlă); still richer, however, are the tributaries, especially the *Rio Tapirapé* and the many lakes that accompany these rivers on either side.

In the deep water of the lakes and on the high, steep banks, especially where fallen trees lie in the water, live the pirarucú (b'dōlĕkĕ; Sudis gigas), three to four meters long, and the pirarara (dōlĕ; Phractocephalus discolor), which is equipped with strong bone armor and is up to two meters long. Upon being [533] [825] pulled out of the water, it emits air with strange sounds; the humorous Indian likes to imitate these sounds in his songs. Furthermore, the dogfish (lādă), with its powerful teeth, lives here, and above all the worst predatory fish, the piranha. Various

/248 cont./

136 kinds are distinguished: the small yellowish one with a black circle on its cheeks, the whitish-red one (dũẽtã, kjũẽtã), and the huge black, red-eyed piranha (dũũlĩ), the largest specimens of which reach a length of 48 centimeters. The piranhas are vicious predators. When they scent wounded animals or fish, they hasten to them in droves and in a few minutes reduce a whole animal to a skeleton. They leap high out of the water in their greed, so that at such places huge eddies of water and fish are produced and gradually collapse again. It even happens that they injure

● 226 and devour each other. They live in vast numbers and huge specimens in the Tapirapé especially, and even the Karajá were /Plates 54 and 55 appear here/ /249/ astonished when a dogfish, hit in the head by a vertical shot from the boat, was pulled up after a few minutes as a mere skeleton on the arrow. The meat of the piranha is very tasty; but since the animals seldom come to the surface and can be caught only with the fishhook, they play only a minor role in the economy of the Indians. The latter, however, prize them and, whenever they can, seek to obtain possession of strong fishhooks that can withstand the strong teeth of the animal, and similarly tin to surround the part of the fishline around the hook like a mantle and thus protect it from being bitten through. In spite of this, a number of hooks thus equipped are regularly lost.

The pintado (Pimelodus sorulum), which is up to two meters long and has good yellowish meat, lives in shallow water, where the Indian can hunt better with bow and arrow. I saw matrincham, tokunaré, pacú (ãĩwã) caught relatively rarely. The carí fish lives in the caves of the steep banks and may be pulled out by the tail: it is an extremely tasty fish, which, however, has only a little meat in its armor.

136 262 Many fish, especially scaleless ones, such as aruana (ĩdjãzõ) and others, are not eaten. Similarly the giant dolphin (boto: bũhã) is not utilized: its droll movements and its puffing merely afford the Indian occasion for mirth and humorous imitation.

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 163]

/249 cont./

227 The fishing implements are the following:

The fishing rod was originally unknown to the Indians.
[439] For the last few decades iron hooks (wāšĭ) have been bartered for in order to catch the piranha; one comes across them relatively rarely, however, because many are lost during the fishing, and an opportunity for barter only rarely presents itself (the fishing line is called wăšĭšă, the rod wăšĭdăŏ, and the bait wăšĭdŏ). On the other hand, the Indians seem to have already known harpoons (wŏhūnă). They were used to catch pirarucú. Points and barbs consisted of red-deer bone; they were attached with resin. I no longer saw such implements as described; the present harpoons all had iron points.

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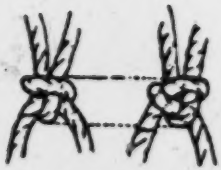
[533] go out to fish and usually return with rich booty. On the way home they sing the song "that is sung every day." At specific spots the names of the fish caught are inserted, so that one may easily tell what kind of booty the fisherman is bringing back.

/250/ Besides this individual fishing, mass fishing is also
226 carried on. Nets knotted out of cotton string or bast are used
227 for this. Their measurements vary considerably, according to the purpose they serve. The net plaited out of embira (lōdé) shown in Ill. 3 on Plate 54 is ten centimeters wide and 10.35 meters long. Ill. 85 shows the knot-formation of a net for catching pirarucú (dăŏlălŭ); it has a mesh extension of 25 centimeters with a thread strength of half a centimeter. The largest net that I saw lay on a sandbank on the Tapirapé near a lake inlet; it was six meters wide and 160 meters (!) long.

/250 cont./

[857] The way such anchored nets are set up is shown by the imitations with which children play (hãděkě). They are fastened to two long end rods; the net is stretched by means of several spaced sticks (Ill. 86). These stakes are driven down in front of the lake inlets, and by stretching the net on them the entrance to the lakes is blocked. From the boat the Indians beat the water and drive the thus frightened fish of the lake toward the entrance into the net, where they are then caught. (Such a device for catching pirarucú is called dăðlãlñ; see pirarucú net above.) Other nets (hãnduku[šì]) are allegedly set up along the sandbanks; the carí fish, which

[524]



[284] Ill. 85. Knot formation of the fish nets.

Ill. 86. Barrier fish-net. Child's toy.

swims against the sandbanks at night, is caught in them and taken out in the morning. I never saw nets of this type set up; probably the narrow nets are used for this.

The largest mass catches are made by poisoning the water of the lakes; but this is at the same time the worst plundering exploitation. The lakes are blocked off by fences (lĩklõ), which consist of driven piles to which palm leaves [824] are fastened. The stems of the poisonous cipo (timbo: ãnzí) are placed on a forked stick and beaten soft with another stick, whereupon they are shaken out over the lake and a fine dust falls out. Then they are beaten a second time and shaken out. From the boat a second man stirs the water, which takes on a black coloring. The fish are stupefied by it

226 /251/ or die, come to the surface as a result, and can then be conveniently gathered in. The fence prevents the fish from escaping
[262] into the river. Eating this fish is not harmful to human beings; even drinking the water merely causes a stomach-ache. The
[199] Karajá maintain that they learned this type of fishing, which is carried on especially during the rainy season when the water is muddy, from the Chavánte (see also, however, the fish fence of the Tapirapé /see p. 342 /).

I did not see or hear anything about weirs for small fish (adžuriã), on which Ehrenreich reports, nor of other fishing apparatus.

C. Storage and Preparation of Food.

251 The yield from the plantings as well as from hunting and fishing expeditions is usually consumed at once. The hot climate prohibits the laying away of larger supplies; above all, the preservation of meat is completely out of the question because of the lack of salt. In fact, the Indian is forced to go fishing again in the afternoon, since the fish caught in the morning would already be spoiled by suppertime. It is impossible to keep fresh meat for more than a quarter of a day, and even roasted meat is inedible the next day.

[261] Thus, the Indians have to work hard and be constantly concerned about food, especially in the dry season, when the yield from the plantings is always small. To some extent they help themselves with turtles, which, as mentioned above, they keep alive; turtle eggs, cooked and dried, keep for a very long time. But the Indians do not store even plant produce in large quantities; they have supplies for only two or three days in the manioc lying on their supply racks or in the maize kernels in large gourds with a side opening. They also store water in whole gourds.

252 All foods are eaten cooked; only fruits, as well as turtle eggs, are eaten raw; everything else is boiled or roasted.

/358 cont./

301 Dance belts (wăděkănă) of the male youth are not as elaborate as those of the Karajá, but are kept essentially simpler. One specimen is striped black and white lengthwise; on its lower edge, on a separate string, hang two bunches of Thevetia fruits and one to three feather rods, alternately. The other one, coming from Schischá, in addition to the lengthwise stripes, exhibits a cross-striping; on its lower edge, directly alternating, are fastened at each place two pairs of Thevetia fruits and one feather rod (Pl. 59, Ill. 12).

262 6. Food. The Šavajé, like the Karajá, live on the fish
136 that they catch and the yield from their plantings. The lake on which they live is extremely rich in fish, in spite of its shallow depth (0.75 to one meter); there were even pirarucús
311 in it. The planting lay far from the village, about six or seven hours away, on the edge of the rainy-season lake. It was growing extremely well and so thickly that one could scarcely follow the path in it. Close beside the new planting there was an older one.
482 Here and there filled back-baskets lay by the wayside, waiting to be picked up.

252 The manioc is pounded in a knee-high mortar (kōŏ)
[912] which has an approximately finger-thick wall, with a pestle (hāáù) of reddish wood 1.6 meters long and 0.10 meters thick, or it is rubbed on a wooden grater (wōānăkiă), /359/ picked over on the rod-sieve (brēdjĕ), and pressed in it. Then this meal is
262 mixed with water and cooked. Such manioc mush (iūālŭ) also constitutes the chief food of the Šavajé. In addition, I also saw yellow mush and green vegetables as festive foods.

226 Fishing was done by the young people with bows and arrows. Early in the morning they would already go out on the
[123] lake and soon return with a good yield. I received my share of everything, even of the huge pirarucú which was caught on the second forenoon. The lucky fisherman took out the entrails of the animal and then cut out the sides of the belly, which were distributed by the chief and placed on different piles. Then the rib pieces of three ribs each were chopped out and likewise distributed. Every family received its share; I, too, was given some.

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

to color, then inject into the wounds a milky secretion taken from the skin of small frogs or toads. Therefore, when the new feathers grow out, they are of a brilliant yellow or orange color, without any mixture of blue or green, the natural color of the bird. It is said that when this new plumage is plucked, the next growth will still retain the new colors without further treatment. 232

Many of the mammals captured by the Karayá in infancy, become very tame. They are raised successfully, nursed either by a slut, or at the human breast. These tamed animals include various kinds of monkeys, the capibára, a rodent which becomes as large as a six-month old pig, agutís, picárres and tapirs. Of reptiles, the Karayá keep turtles, large lizards and alligators, the last named of which lie in pools of water on the sand bottoms, held captive by a cord around the body. The Karayáhy division has comparatively few domesticated creatures. 231 [184]

Like most of the South American tribes, the Karayá are primarily fishermen, obtaining their flesh food more from the river than from the forest. A few tribes, however, that do not live near streams of any importance, are compelled to rely almost wholly upon the chase for their meat, and so become more expert hunters than fishermen. As elsewhere stated, all the aborigines of South America, except the nomadic tribes, engage in agriculture to some extent, though to a very limited degree, except where they have obtained axes, grubbing-hoes and large knives from the civilized people. 433

The best time to fish along the Araguaya is during the rainless months from May to November, when the water is low, for when it rises, the fish are much more difficult to catch. During low water, the larger fish seek out the deep places in the river, where they may be easily taken. These places, which are well known to the natives, are above the smaller rapids, and also where there are certain rock formations which make deep holes, called *poços* by the Brazilians. 221 226

The fish of the Araguaya have the same characteristics as those of the Amazon valley in general. The giant pire, 226 136

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

226 which attains a length of ten feet, occurs very frequently;
[136] also the electric eel, and the thick-bodied pirarára which is encased in an armor of strong, bony plates; the voracious piránha, the jahú, a scaleless fish nearly as large as a man; the pintado, or spotted fish, which reaches a length of six or seven feet; various pacús, besides many other kinds of fish. All of these are suitable for human consumption.
[264] There are certain scaleless fish which are not used by the Karayá. Neither will they eat the dolphin; but they are quite fond of the turtle and its eggs.

During the time of high water when fish are not easily caught in the yellow, earth-charged flood, the Karayá secure their fish from the lagoons along the river, which they make into great, natural traps for the larger fish by cutting off their retreat. This is accomplished by blocking the outlet of the lagoon with a basket-work of poles and heavy climbing
[198] vines. In former times, fish were taken exclusively by means
[437] of the bow and arrow, but the Karayá now use the hook and line, which is obtained in trade from passing canoes. It is for the most part impossible to fish in the Araguaya with a net because the piránha cut it to pieces, and also because of the many large creatures that infest the river.

224 Hunting is not so important an occupation with the Karayá as fishing, hence they are more expert anglers than hunters; nor do they display much skill in the chase. This may appear strange to persons who believe that all Indians
[262] are hunters, par excellence. South America is not so rich in large game as Africa; moreover, some superstition, the taboo, doubtless, prevents the savages from eating the flesh of some species of game which are most numerous. For this reason, the Karayá do not hunt the tapir, which abounds along the Araguaya, though the meat is excellent, being much like beef, yet richer. Deer also, of which there are many varieties, exist in great numbers; yet few, if any, of the savage tribes touch these animals. The Karayá never hunt large game, confining themselves to monkeys, which are abun-

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

136 They are as tall as a man, and, standing in line, their uniform black heads, white breasts and long, black legs, gave them a decidedly military appearance. The reflection in the water gave the illusion of a double line. I believe this is the largest bird that flies. It must have a long, clear space or it cannot rise. From standing humped up, like a goose on a cold day, it takes a few hesitating steps, then several determined strides, then breaks into a run, followed by a long series of big jumps and flapping of its huge wings, until, finally, it gets clear of the ground.

114 As we were borne along at night where the river was broad and deep and free of obstructions, all slept, or tried to sleep, excepting one or two watchers. My improvised bed in our large canoe was made of a large, square tin can, the side of a big tin wash-basin and the half of a gourd shell. My companions reclined on similar beds.

609 One obscure night, as we moved silently onward, like a giant phantom, we descried a light some distance ahead and heard Karayá shouting to us from a sand island. Fearing that they might not be friendly, and because of the darkness, our first thought was to pass on and not land where they [226] were. But a moment later, we discovered that they were a friendly fishing party: so we went ashore. As we drew [533] near to land, our Karayá pilot, Pedro Monco, sang one of their familiar tribal songs. It was of a joyful strain, though extremely peculiar, suggesting, somewhat, the running and bleating of a deer. tI is usually sung for the purpose of announcing to those on shore that visitors are arriving, that they are friendly, and that they are happy to meet their friends on land. Our trumpets were also sounded, and I played a hymn on the cornet. Our arrival appeared to give the fishing party much pleasure. The first thing they asked for was manioc meal and fish hooks. They were all in nature's dress, except the captain of the band, who wore a blanket.

268 Soon after we disembarked, which was past midnight, a [252] Karayá appeared with what resembled a skinned cat, and placed it over the fire to broil. "What is this?" I inquired.

9:Gow-Smith T-5 (no date) 1925
SP9 Caraja SP9
Cayapo SP11

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to bleed freely in order that it will weaken before it can travel far. Barbed arrows are used for killing monkeys and shooting fish. The tail of the sting-ray is also used for tipping arrows.

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Fig. 99.—Cayapó rattle

C
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Formidable objects are the clubs that the Caraja tribesmen use to kill captives, as well as members of their own tribe who have broken taboo or who are too old to make the periodic migrations. These clubs vaguely resemble a baseball bat, except that they are heavier and a trifle thicker at the end. They are made of hard-wood, the long handle decorated with a beautiful covering of black and white woven canework in designs similar to those of the spears, and the heavy end is stained a sinister red with the juice of the urucú-berry and the blood of its victim.

C
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The Cayapó clubs are of the same heavy wood,

Plate 54

1. Bird cage.

2. Bird trap.

3. Fish net made of embira.

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417

Net

223

/249 cont./

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284

[227]
[237]

Ill. 114 a-c.
Arrows with bamboo knives as points.

Ill. 117.
Bone point to be stuck on arrow.

Ill. 115.
Arrow with bone points.

Ill. 116.
Arrow with ray-spine point.

/267 cont./

411 The arrows with the bone point set on them are used ex-
● 227 clusively for fishing. The bone point is set on in such a way
237 that its rear end projects laterally and thus forms a small barb.
[284] It is four to six centimeters long and is fastened to the wooden
[314] stem by a fine bast winding and a coating of black resin (Ill.
115). On my specimens this bone point is round throughout, whereas Ehrenreich brought back a second type of such arrow with a flat bone point (Berlin 4008) (1) and a third type with a tubular

1. I obtained arrows with flat bone points only from the Kayapó.

bone set on as a point (Berlin 4009). The stem in the case of these arrows is 40-50 centimeters long, sometimes natural color or painted red, but mostly painted black; the shaft has a length of 100-200 centimeters. The one reproduced in Ill. 117 was probably to be used as a point for an arrow with a monkey bone stuck on it (ūhĭdŏ, dūrŏlēnĭdĭ).

A single arrow bears, instead of the bone point, one made of a ray spine (Ill. 116); it comes from the village on the Tapirapé mouth.

411 The stem of the point has no other ornamentation than the
314 black or red painting. It is inserted in the shaft and made fast
[531] in it with resin. In order to detach it from the broken shaft and set it on a new one, the tube is warmed over the fire until the resin melts and the stem can be pulled out. The shaft end is cut to fit for the insertion of the stem, so that the transition into the stem is gradual. When the stem is set into the shaft, the latter often splits; the cracks are glued over with black resin.

411 A black, narrow strip of embira is wound over the place
284 of insertion; it is fastened to the shaft with light-colored resin.
[314] This winding (dŏdé) is done in different ways: it either covers stem and shaft in a continuous course, or, separated from the short attachment-winding, there is a longer shaft winding whose intermediate space is sometimes bridged by spirally wound or
[531] crossed winding. At this place one arrow will bear spiral incised ornamentation (ŭŏhūlădĭ, ĭlādĭ), another a black and yellow plaiting. A three-part attachment-winding is very rare (Ill. 118).

/306 cont./

868 501 In order to learn to row, boys use small oars, which in general are similar in shape to those of the adults, but sometimes deviate in the shape of the blade (Ill. 166a). They are 64-96 centimeters long. Only one specimen /Ills. 162-166 appear here/ /307/ showed painting with red and black squares (Ill. 166b). They, too, have two grooves in the handle cylinder.

868 227 For learning to fish, boys use small anchored nets (hãdeke, lãhole) knotted out of bast, which they set up in the water on the edge of the sandbanks; they are mounted on two long side rods and are kept stretched by several vertical struts (Ill. 86). /Ill. 167 appears here./

868 283 Girls learn to spin and cook. They have small spindles on which they twist serviceable threads at an early age. One sees girls from six to seven years old already spinning almost constantly. The spinning whorls are either double-conical clay whorls or wooden whorls that are dome-shaped on one side (Ill. 167). This primitive shape has thus been preserved among the children, whereas it seems to have been lost to the adults.

868 415 Small clay dishes appear in all sizes; the larger ones may actually be used for cooking, whereas the smaller ones serve only as playthings. The actual cooking utensils are partly blackened with soot on the outside, in other words, have been exposed to the fire. Besides the usual forms (pot, Ill. 168a) and bowl (Ill. 168 b,c), other forms also appear: bowl with convex bottom (Ill. 168d), dish (Ill. 168 e,f); a four-part dish (Ill. 168g), the use of which did not become clear to me despite the long Indian explanation of the mother concerned, seems to be used for a very special purpose. /Ill. 168 appears here./

524 415 /308/ All the other dishes are used only for play; some of them are not fired and are so small that cooking with them is impossible. It is surprising in this connection that in addition to the [184] usual types there are quantities of different, almost European-looking vessels, which, strangely enough, all come from the village on the Tapirapé mouth. I did not see these peculiar forms

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 246]

1:Lipkind E-5 (1937) 1948 SP9 Caraja SP9

is planted in September, when the first rains come, and manioc shortly after. There is little cultivation beyond weeding. The basic crop is manioc, both the sweet and bitter varieties being cultivated, with maize next in importance. Four varieties each of sweet and bitter manioc and 10 varieties of maize are cultivated. Other crops are: Five varieties of potatoes, two varieties of cara, four varieties of watermelon, three varieties of squash, four varieties of beans, and ten varieties of bananas, as well as peanuts, urucú, tobacco, cotton, calabashes, sugarcane, yams, peppers, pineapples, and papayas. Men do all the work with a little assistance in harvesting and weeding from older women. The *Javahé* are more industrious farmers than the other *Carajá*, cultivating extensive plantations. 241 [462] [184]

Collecting.—A large number of vegetable products are gathered for use as food, medicine, and raw material for manufacture, but only a few are of great importance. The babassu and the burití palms, used for food and textile materials, are among the most valuable. The taquara reed is sought after for arrows. Turtle eggs are a significant item of food during the dry season. Honey is indispensable for feasting. 222 262 [441]

Hunting.—Although the *Carajá* are passionate hunters, very few of the animals available in the region are eaten. Only the peccary is really sought and constitutes a sizable item in the larder. The other animals that are eaten—the cutia, coati, woodsdeer, monkey, iguana, and a few birds, such as the mutum, jao, and jacu—are killed when encountered but are not eaten by everyone. Peccaries are hunted in a communal drive, the most favorable time being shortly after the beginning of the rainy season when large droves are trapped on islands. 224 [262]

The chief purpose of hunting is to get feathers, and the most desirable birds are the various parrots, herons, the male stork, and the flamingo. The nesting of valuable birds is carefully watched, and the young are stolen and tamed. Feathers stored in small baskets almost constitute a currency, because they are readily negotiable at all times and maintain a stable value. 223 237 [231] [436]

The principal weapons are the bow and club. The bow, made of a variety of woods but with a preference for juari when available, is round in cross section and about 6 feet (2 m.) long. The arrow is preferably of taquara reed and variously tipped with wood, animal bone, or fish bone. Clubs are beautifully fashioned of heavy hardwood, decorated with delicate carving, and are swung and thrown with equal skill. The lance is now used only for ceremonial purposes. 441

Fishing.—Fish is the most important food supply. Trapping and drugging fish with timbo is a communal affair; individuals fish with the bow and arrow. There is occasional night fishing, with spearing by torchlight. The pirarucu is killed by harpoon. The hook and line is little used, and apparently was borrowed recently from the Neo-Brazilians. 226 [262] [177]

Food preparation.—Manioc is peeled, grated, squeezed out by hand, and cooked into a soup. When the soup cools, it is masticated for a few 252

121 /43/ Three years ago G. P. Murdock published his "World Ethnographic Sample." It goes without saying that an endeavor of this scope can only be incomplete. Now, as far as the Carajá, one of the nine tribes classified under the heading "Eastern Brazil," are concerned, the set of 30 characteristic features of this society in Murdock's attempt displays significant gaps and serious inaccuracies. It is my intention, here and now, to remedy this state of affairs as well as possible, in order to contribute from my side, while concerning myself with only one case among 565, to a fairer calculation of the human probabilities.

114 To accomplish this task I shall use as a base the data that
[122] I was able to collect personally, in the company of my wife
[101] and aided by the National Swiss Foundation for Scientific Re-
[127] search, during the rainy season of 1954 to 1955 among the Carajá of the south, as well as, naturally, on the information from our predecessors in the field, Ehrenreich, Krause, Baldus, and Lipkind above all. I am using this opportunity to express the great regret that I feel every time I think of the fact that the rich materials collected by Lipkind have never been published in a satisfactory fashion. The Carajá, although they have been known for a long time, are basically misunderstood. To be fair, it must be added that they themselves do not make the task of investigators easy, and it goes without saying that under these circumstances my own contribution must remain fairly fragmentary in view of the too short period of our stay among them.

121 On the other hand I am convinced that the presentation of facts alone — allegedly pure facts — does not help us to become better acquainted with the human condition, and the second aim of my article is to present to you a first attempt at interpretation of the data concerning the Carajá kinship system, which, not without reason, was left blank in Murdock's attempt.

128 To facilitate the comparison I shall follow the framework of the columns of the "World Ethnographic Sample." The
433 Carajá cultivate primarily tropical tubercles, although maize
[14] is not lacking; true domesticated animals are absent.
462
[231]

/13 cont./

231 825 Domestic animals. In a description of the Indian house its animal fellow-lodgers must not be passed over. A genuine Indian still-life is inconceivable without them. The naïve joy of primitive man in animals and their behavior is expressed in his care for them. He considers the animal as [181] his equal. The feeling of solidarity, indeed, of relation- [538] ship with the animal world, which expresses itself in tribal tales and a rich treasury of animal fables, is a principal characteristic trait of the Indian national-spirit. This at the same time explains the often stressed contradiction that the savage Indian, in spite of his astonishing ability to tame the wild, timid animals of his country, has never brought this to the actual breeding of domestic animals in our sense. The animals are captured young and reared, but only to please themselves, for entertainment, out of joy in associating with them, not in order to make them useful. Therefore they 235 are not mated. Even the domestic chicken, which the 171 Araguaia tribes have had for a long time in a domesticated [262] state and which multiplies in great numbers, is not, as a member of the household, /14/ used for food, nor are its [939] eggs (1). In recent times, however, it serves as a trade item

[13]

1. Im Thurn, Among the Indians of Guyana /Guiana/, p. 265, reports the same thing.

in the trade with the commercial travelers, who sell the poultry in the first settlements of the province of Pará at a great profit.

231 Of the imported domestic animals, dogs and cats are already widespread. On the other hand, the pig is absent, but, in contrast, it is raised and traded by preference by the Kayapo tribes.

235 825 A large Šambioa village is always at the same time a kind of menagerie. The bird kingdom is most noticeable. The largest and most colorful birds are made use of, at least insofar as they must give up their feathers for feather ornaments.

/14 cont./

235 The proud araras perch on the roofs everywhere as constantly
825 alert watchmen, greeting the stranger from afar with their deafening shrieks. The large, dark hyacinth-blue Macrocercus hyacinthinus is characteristic of the ornis of the Araguaia and always represented, furthermore the blue-yellow M. macao, as well as, although rarer, the scarlet M. militaris. Of course, the smaller green species of parrots at all possible age levels are also present.

Ornamental feathers are also provided for them by the herons and storks, as well as by the gleaming white Ardea egretta, the majestic, black-headed giant stork Mycteria jabiru, and the roseate spoonbill (A. cochlearis).

In addition one sees in the most colorful confusion the various species of ducks, grebes, boatbills, ostriches, curassows, etc.

Many of these birds are artificially adorned. Those with white feathers parade about in red paint; small feather tassels are tied to the wings of others (2).

[232]

2. The Karaya also know how to change the color of the birds artificially, in particular making the feathers become yellow-colored. No details concerning the method used for this, however, could be learned.

231 The mammals captured young become extremely tame. They are either suckled by dogs, or the women themselves take them to their breasts. The commonest types of monkeys are Ateles, Cebus, and Hapale species, of rodents capybaras and agoutis. The peccary takes the place of the domestic swine. In the fourth Šambioa village we even saw a full-grown tapir wandering about.

Finally, of the reptiles there are tortoises, lizards, and young alligators. The latter, tied with a cord around the body, lie in the warm pools of the praias.

5: Krause--6 E-5, (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9

342 516 142 491 302 516 231 854 [652] 348 [415] [301] 142 291 302 516

Plate 12

1. Cooking place of the Karaja Indians.

3. Mask hut in Village 7 (South Horde).

2. Karajá boys.

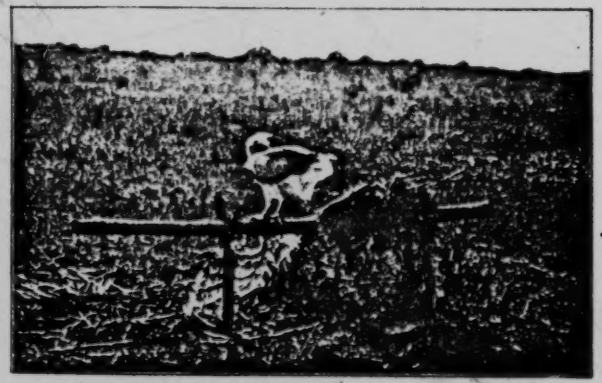
4. Karajá women and girls.

/Plate 12 faces p. 56. /

231
149 891 301 516
349
149 891 516 854
149 891 301 516

Plate 30

1. Houses of the Šavajé on Bananal.



2. Village bird of the Šavajé.

/Pl. 30 faces p. 136./

3. Šavajé women and children.

4. Šavajé men and youths.

Plate 41

133
231
291
342

1. Shade roof, mat wall behind it.

133
342
361

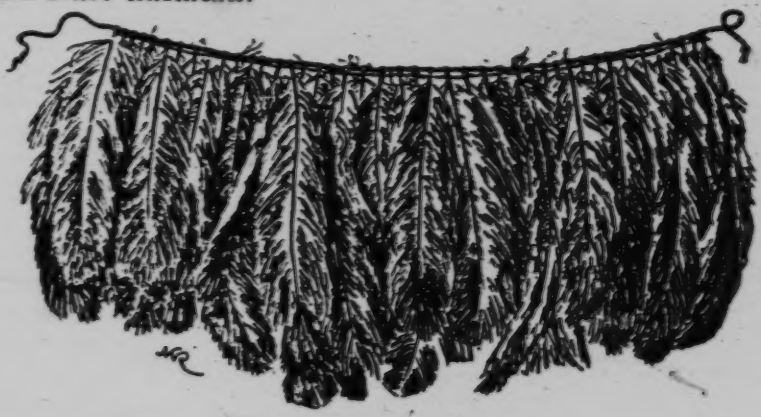
2. Unfinished village: mat-wall camp beside newly built hut.

/240 cont./

*301 *237 of Ill. 1 is quite primitive. It consists of a few feather rods, Thevetia pendants, and the rattle of a rattlesnake.

I did not see the belts made entirely of Thevetia fruits mentioned by Ehrenreich (but cf. the Kayapó /untranslated/).

As leg ornamentation Ehrenreich mentions ("Beiträge," p. 24) bindings with strands of rattles and clusters of feathers; the strands are spaced by little horizontal rods, which are covered with down (ibid., Pl. X, Fig. 4). I have never seen such dance ornaments.



Ill. 82.
Ostrich feather belt.

6. Food.

433 The subsistence of the Karajá Indians is based on the cultivation of food plants and fishing. The gathering of wild [237] plants and hunting, on the other hand, are of less importance, and the breeding of domestic animals for food is wholly absent, since animals are kept only to furnish feathers or for entertainment.

222 Wild plants for food occur on the campo and in the forest 137 /Plates 51 and 52 appear here/ /241/ only in limited numbers, whereas the plantings on the high banks usually provide good yields.

[Text continues on p. 148]

/244 cont./

527 Regular harvest festivals probably do not take place; the time of the ripening of the food plants, that is to say, the time when they have a great deal to eat, is their chief festival time, however.

B. The Acquisition of Animal Food.

433 The acquisition of animal food is as yet limited to the appropriative form; the Indians have not arrived at animal breeding.

231 To be sure, they keep a great many animals in their
825 houses, but do not use them for food, nor do they mate them,
[262] but rather, after loss, they catch young specimens again to tame these anew. This pleasure in animals arises from the belief that animals are related to man, are the same in essence; they believe that animals speak and act like human beings, only in a different form. And so they surround themselves with them, in
[235] order to divert themselves by their behavior. Only birds are kept for practical purposes, namely, as suppliers of feathers; they are repreatedly robbed of their feathers, which are then made into ornaments. Tamed quadrupeds, as well as chickens, usually run around free; birds have their wings clipped or they are tied to a pole on the roof, in the house, or under a special protective
[238] roof (Plate 54, Ill. 1). Apparently there is a trade in birds, for several times I observed wandering Indians who carried little birds with them in small gourds, in order to sell them in other places. /Plate 53 appears here./

231 /245/ Of such domestic animals, I observed the following:
[136] Of foreign, imported animals there were: chickens [(h)ăni(k)ĕ], pigs [(ī)šā(nĕ)], dogs (kjŏlŏzā), cats [(găh)ănlōĕnĕ]. These
[262] animals are not eaten; the Indians are not even acquainted with the eating of chicken eggs (hănikĕsi). Pigs are very rare; I saw only one large domestic pig, which was quite obviously kept only out of curiosity.

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 155]

/245 cont./

231 Of native animals, monkeys [kălōbĭ(dĕrŭ), klăŏbĭ] were only very rarely encountered. I did not see any examples of the animals mentioned by Ehrenreich, capybara, agouti, peccary, 231 tapir, etc., in the villages of the Karajá. The bird world is 235 more abundantly represented. Of the araras the red arara (Macrocercus militaris) is preferred, whereas the hyancinth-blue arara (ăndădōlă: M. hyacinthinus) and the blue-yellow one (bīză: M. macao) were seen only rarely. Usually they stayed on the roofs of the houses. Small green parrots (bōlŏbĕdŏ - parakeets; dōlă) were more frequently encountered, mostly as the property of young girls who carried them around sitting on their heads and let them drink from their hands out of small mussel shells. The caracara [ĭ(h)ī(ŏ)lĕ, īlă], a predatory bird, was seen only occasionally. Its feathers were apparently little used. It is probably kept in the houses because it plays a certain role in the legends. Very sporadically I saw a young ostrich [kŭsā(hā)wĕ, nāŭĕkĭĕ], a small water bird, and a young, tame mutum (kŭlĭtĭ), around whose legs had been crocheted small red calf-bands. I did not see the other birds mentioned by Ehrenreich, white heron, roseate spoonbill, and jabiru, tamed among the Karajá. Nor did I observe or learn that small feather tassels are tied into the wings of birds, or that their feathers were artificially changed in color.

231 Of reptiles and other animals I came across small turtles, which were kept by girls in small gourd shells filled with water, lizards (so-called chameleons: kū(ū)lă), which, generally with white down feathers glued on, were carried by the women on the head or shoulders, and, finally, young crocodiles [kăb(ŏ)lōlĕ] about 20 centimeters long, which lay in the shallow puddles on the edge of the sandbanks, tied to the string of a stick planted vertically into the sand; little children would come running, take out the stick, and let the animals walk and swim on the tautly stretched string.

262 These animals kept in the village are never eaten; in order 222 to obtain their meat food, the Indians are much more dependent [225] on gathering and hunting. They gather turtles and turtle eggs, ostrich eggs, and honey.

Of turtles, the tracajá (kōdŭ) and its eggs (kōdŭzĭ) are for the most part scorned; only older people eat them. The laying time is August to early September; the nest contains about 16 eggs.

/245 cont./

262 The eggs are longish and have an odor and taste somewhat re-
222 sembling train oil. The tartaruga (kŏdūnĭ) and its eggs (kōdūnĭzĭ),
[221] on the other hand, are eaten with great relish. /246/ For them,
the Indians undertake distant boat journeys up the tributaries of
the Araguaya in September to October, the laying period of this
turtle, which deposits up to 160 round eggs in a nest. All the
sandbanks are investigated and the often numerous nests emptied
(on the Tapirapé I found up to four nests on small sandbanks).
Thus, they gather quite enormous quantities of eggs. These are
[251] either eaten raw or they are cooked and dried in the ashes and
[239] then kept for a long time, so that the Indians take them home,
[237] eat them later at leisure, or are able to sell them in the Brazilian
towns (Santa Maria, Conceição) on trading expeditions, which
they undertake in September and October. The turtles them-
[225] selves are taken by surprise while laying, or in shallow water they
are caught with the hands by diving from boats or with iron
bottom-tackle. The turtles are brought home alive in great
231 quantities from these expeditions and then eaten or sold. In order
to be able to keep them for a longer time, cages are built out of
twigs bent together at the top, which are stuck in the sand in a
circle, providing shade for them. Here they are tethered and kept
until they are consumed (Ill. 6). Small turtles are raised in the
villages as a pastime.

262 Ostrich eggs (nâŭĕkĭĕzĭ) are eaten with great relish. The
222 Indians empty the entire nest and take the eggs home with them
in order to eat them cooked there.

222 Honey (bădĕrhõ) is a delicacy of which they are passionately
fond. On their boat trips they observe the direction of flight of
the wild bees (bēdĭ), designated by them as stingless, until, after
a short time, they have discovered their nests high up in the
crowns of trees. Quickly the tree is climbed and the nest cut down
[415] with the bush knife or ax. The honey is then taken out down below;
it is stored in bent pieces of bark or in gourd vessels. Bees nesting
in hollow trees are smoked out and the honey is taken out with the
hand. The often giant honeycombs are individually sucked out;

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

clubs and lances, various kinds of clay pots and pans and 353
gourd-shell vessels occupy the corners of the hut.

A short distance from the encampment is the "Casa do 346
Bicho," or medicine hut; or better yet, the Demon Hut. It is roofed and closed in on three sides only. The side facing away from the village is always left entirely open. The [562]
women of the tribe are not allowed to go near this hut, or to look into it. In front of two Sambiõa villages, two dead 825
kingfishers were secured to the top of a high pole, for the purpose, probably, of keeping away the demons.

The Karayá have a few domestic, or domesticated crea- 231
tures. These are considered members of the family, and live 825
in and out of the family hut, and on equal terms generally with the people. These children of Nature are evidently lovers of Nature, and their mode of life can scarcely be conceived of without these creatures. The way they treat them indicates the idea they entertain regarding them and their doings—that they look upon them as their companions and equals. The feeling of companionship—even of relationship—
with the animal world, is characteristic of the Karayá, and [538]
is evidenced by the way the animals are spoken of in their tribal legends, and by the fact that they have quite a treasury of animal fables. Although these people are successful 231
in taming wild creatures, they have never made any economic use of them as have the civilized people. They are captured while still young, and reared, but for no purpose, in most cases, other than to be kept as pets and esteemed members of the families of their captors, where their presence seems to give much pleasure. They are seldom thought of as regards any material benefits they may confer. The only economic [237]
use that is made of any of these creatures, is of those that have bright-colored plumage, which is used in the making of the many feathered adornments that are so much admired by these primitive people. Nor are these animals permitted to multiply themselves, if this can be avoided. Some poultry 235
is kept, which was obtained originally from the "civilized" [177]
Brazilians, and these, of course, multiply rapidly. But even

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

But even

235 these birds are regarded as members of the family, and no
[062] use is made of their flesh, nor even of their eggs. In recent
[237] years, however, the savages have begun to use them as an
231 article of trade with passing canoes. The most important domestic animals possessed by the Karayá besides fowls, are dogs and cats, which are widely distributed. They have no pigs. This animal is raised by the Kaiapó tribe, who obtained it originally from the civilized people, and use it as an article of trade. A veritable menagerie, in which the various bird families figure prominently, may always be seen around the largest Sambiõa villages. Many proud, magnificently plumaged, and ever-watchful macaws are always seen clinging to the tops of bare poles near the huts like watchers in their towers, or roosting on the roof of the hut; and if anything strange should approach, be it man or beast, they give warning in deafening screams—especially when civilized men—men wearing clothes—appear. Dogs, also, where they have such, bark fiercely when civilized men appear. This kind of man seems so extraordinary to them. Our dogs, in turn, make a fearful fuss when they see savage men for the first time—not only because of their exceedingly strange appearance, but also because of their odor.

235 Other birds kept by the Karayá in order to get their feathers to make ornaments, are the military bird, small storks, black-headed giant storks, cranes, the glittering white ardea, the beautiful, pink-feathered spoon bill, various wild ducks such as the canoe beak, rheas, or emus, which are the South American ostrich, and wild chickens. Birds that do not become so much attached to the family that they would not fly away, are held captive by having their wings clipped, or a few feathers plucked out. Many of these birds are decorated artificially. Those having white feathers are dyed red, while others have small bunches of bright feathers attached to their wings.

232 Some of the Brazilian Indians have a curious art by which they make nature change the color of the feathers of many of their captive birds. They jerk out the feathers they wish

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

to color, then inject into the wounds a milky secretion taken from the skin of small frogs or toads. Therefore, when the new feathers grow out, they are of a brilliant yellow or orange color, without any mixture of blue or green, the natural color of the bird. It is said that when this new plumage is plucked, the next growth will still retain the new colors without further treatment. 232

Many of the mammals captured by the Karayá in infancy, become very tame. They are raised successfully, nursed either by a slut, or at the human breast. These tamed animals include various kinds of monkeys, the capibára, a rodent which becomes as large as a six-month old pig, agutís, picárres and tapirs. Of reptiles, the Karayá keep turtles, large lizards and alligators, the last named of which lie in pools of water on the sand bottoms, held captive by a cord around the body. The Karayáhy division has comparatively few domesticated creatures. 231 [184]

Like most of the South American tribes, the Karayá are primarily fishermen, obtaining their flesh food more from the river than from the forest. A few tribes, however, that do not live near streams of any importance, are compelled to rely almost wholly upon the chase for their meat, and so become more expert hunters than fishermen. As elsewhere stated, all the aborigines of South America, except the nomadic tribes, engage in agriculture to some extent, though to a very limited degree, except where they have obtained axes, grubbing-hoes and large knives from the civilized people. 433

The best time to fish along the Araguaya is during the rainless months from May to November, when the water is low, for when it rises, the fish are much more difficult to catch. During low water, the larger fish seek out the deep places in the river, where they may be easily taken. These places, which are well known to the natives, are above the smaller rapids, and also where there are certain rock formations which make deep holes, called *poços* by the Brazilians. 221 226

The fish of the Araguaya have the same characteristics as those of the Amazon valley in general. The giant pire, 226 136

Brazil.

252 Fish and game are sometimes prepared for eating by cooking in a clay pot; but the usual method is to impale the meat on a stake which is set up in the ground by the camp-fire and inclined over it; or else to place it upon glowing coals and allow it to remain there until the outside is burned to a [263] crisp. As a portion of this crisp part is naturally reduced to ashes, a saline substance is produced, which, mingling with the juice, flavors the meat. Various root foods, and also ears of corn, are prepared for eating by roasting over the fire.

317 Besides the ash salts just mentioned, the Karayá contrive [263] to extract a little sodium chloride from certain earth banks which contain a small percentage of this substance. It is only recently that they have begun to use salt obtained from the civilized world. Banks of saline earth are easy to locate as the wild beasts frequent these places to "lick." In the cattle-raising regions, a herdsman is much pleased to have one or more of these briny spots in his territory so that his cattle may thereby obtain salt.

184 "The poor tame brothers" of the Sambiõa, the Karayáhy [241] branch of the family, though they are supplied to a limited extent with axes and grubbing hoes, do very little planting. [231] Neither have they many domesticated creatures. Those they do have are largely birds of the parrot family, which they regard with affection, though their feathers are plucked to be used in ornament making.

/14 cont./

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SP9 Caraja SP9

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231 article of trade with passing canoes. The most important domestic animals possessed by the Karayá besides fowls, are dogs and cats, which are widely distributed. They have no pigs. This animal is raised by the Kaiapó tribe, who obtained it originally from the civilized people, and use it as an article of trade. A veritable menagerie, in which the various bird families figure prominently, may always be seen around the largest Sambîõa villages. Many proud, magnificently plumaged, and ever-watchful macaws are always seen clinging to the tops of bare poles near the huts like watchers in their towers, or roosting on the roof of the hut; and if anything strange should approach, be it man or beast, they give warning in deafening screams—especially when civilized men—men wearing clothes—appear. Dogs, also, where they have such, bark fiercely when civilized men appear. This kind of man seems so extraordinary to them. Our dogs, in turn, make a fearful fuss when they see savage men for the first time—not only because of their exceedingly strange appearance, but also because of their odor.

235 Other birds kept by the Karayá in order to get their feathers to make ornaments, are the military bird, small storks, black-headed giant storks, cranes, the glittering white ardea, the beautiful, pink-feathered spoon bill, various wild ducks such as the canoe beak, rheas, or emus, which are the South American ostrich, and wild chickens. Birds that do not become so much attached to the family that they would not fly away, are held captive by having their wings clipped, or a few feathers plucked out. Many of these birds are decorated artificially. Those having white feathers are dyed red, while others have small bunches of bright feathers attached to their wings.

232 Some of the Brazilian Indians have a curious art by which they make nature change the color of the feathers of many of their captive birds. They jerk out the feathers they wish

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

to color, then inject into the wounds a milky secretion taken 232
from the skin of small frogs or toads. Therefore, when the new feathers grow out, they are of a brilliant yellow or orange color, without any mixture of blue or green, the natural color of the bird. It is said that when this new plumage is plucked, the next growth will still retain the new colors without further treatment.

Many of the mammals captured by the Karayá in in- 231
fancy, become very tame. They are raised successfully, nursed either by a slut, or at the human breast. These tamed animals include various kinds of monkeys, the capibára, a rodent which becomes as large as a six-month old pig, agutís, picárres and tapirs. Of reptiles, the Karayá keep turtles, large lizards and alligators, the last named of which lie in pools of water on the sand bottoms, held captive by a cord around the body. The Karayáhy division has comparatively [184]
few domesticated creatures.

Like most of the South American tribes, the Karayá are 433
primarily fishermen, obtaining their flesh food more from the river than from the forest. A few tribes, however, that do not live near streams of any importance, are compelled to rely almost wholly upon the chase for their meat, and so become more expert hunters than fishermen. As elsewhere stated, all the aborigines of South America, except the nomadic tribes, engage in agriculture to some extent, though to a very limited degree, except where they have obtained axes, grubbing-hoes and large knives from the civilized people.

The best time to fish along the Araguaya is during the 221
rainless months from May to November, when the water is 226
low, for when it rises, the fish are much more difficult to catch. During low water, the larger fish seek out the deep places in the river, where they may be easily taken. These places, which are well known to the natives, are above the smaller rapids, and also where there are certain rock formations which make deep holes, called *poços* by the Brazilians.

The fish of the Araguaya have the same characteristics 226
as those of the Amazon valley in general. The giant pire, 136

/13 cont./

231 Domestic animals. In a description of the Indian house
825 its animal fellow-lodgers must not be passed over. A genuine Indian still-life is inconceivable without them. The naïve joy of primitive man in animals and their behavior is expressed in his care for them. He considers the animal as
[181] his equal. The feeling of solidarity, indeed, of relation-
[538] ship with the animal world, which expresses itself in tribal tales and a rich treasury of animal fables, is a principal characteristic trait of the Indian national-spirit. This at the same time explains the often stressed contradiction that the savage Indian, in spite of his astonishing ability to tame the wild, timid animals of his country, has never brought this to the actual breeding of domestic animals in our sense. The animals are captured young and reared, but only to please themselves, for entertainment, out of joy in associating with them, not in order to make them useful. Therefore they
235 are not mated. Even the domestic chicken, which the
171 Araguaia tribes have had for a long time in a domesticated
[262] state and which multiplies in great numbers, is not, as a member of the household, /14/ used for food, nor are its
[939] eggs (1). In recent times, however, it serves as a trade item

[013] 1. Im Thurn, Among the Indians of Guyana /Guiana/, p. 265, reports the same thing.

in the trade with the commercial travelers, who sell the poultry in the first settlements of the province of Pará at a great profit.

231 Of the imported domestic animals, dogs and cats are already widespread. On the other hand, the pig is absent, but, in contrast, it is raised and traded by preference by the Kayapo tribes.

235 A large Šambioa village is always at the same time a kind
825 of menagerie. The bird kingdom is most noticeable. The largest and most colorful birds are made use of, at least insofar as they must give up their feathers for feather ornaments.

/14 cont./

235 875 The proud araras perch on the roofs everywhere as constantly alert watchmen, greeting the stranger from afar with their deafening shrieks. The large, dark hyacinth-blue Macrocercus hyacinthinus is characteristic of the ornis of the Araguaia and always represented, furthermore the blue-yellow M. macao, as well as, although rarer, the scarlet M. militaris. Of course, the smaller green species of parrots at all possible age levels are also present.

Ornamental feathers are also provided for them by the herons and storks, as well as by the gleaming white Ardea egretta, the majestic, black-headed giant stork Mycteria jabiru, and the roseate spoonbill (A. cochlearis).

In addition one sees in the most colorful confusion the various species of ducks, grebes, boatbills, ostriches, curassows, etc.

Many of these birds are artificially adorned. Those with white feathers parade about in red paint; small feather tassels are tied to the wings of others (2).

[232] 2. The Karaya also know how to change the color of the birds artificially, in particular making the feathers become yellow-colored. No details concerning the method used for this, however, could be learned.

231 The mammals captured young become extremely tame. They are either suckled by dogs, or the women themselves take them to their breasts. The commonest types of monkeys are Ateles, Cebus, and Hapale species, of rodents capybaras and agoutis. The peccary takes the place of the domestic swine. In the fourth Šambioa village we even saw a full-grown tapir wandering about.

Finally, of the reptiles there are tortoises, lizards, and young alligators. The latter, tied with a cord around the body, lie in the warm pools of the praias.

/244 cont./

527 Regular harvest festivals probably do not take place; the time of the ripening of the food plants, that is to say, the time when they have a great deal to eat, is their chief festival time, however.

B. The Acquisition of Animal Food.

433 The acquisition of animal food is as yet limited to the appropriative form; the Indians have not arrived at animal breeding.

231 To be sure, they keep a great many animals in their
825 houses, but do not use them for food, nor do they mate them,
[262] but rather, after loss, they catch young specimens again to tame these anew. This pleasure in animals arises from the belief that animals are related to man, are the same in essence; they believe that animals speak and act like human beings, only in a different form. And so they surround themselves with them, in
[235] order to divert themselves by their behavior. Only birds are kept for practical purposes, namely, as suppliers of feathers; they are repreatedly robbed of their feathers, which are then made into ornaments. Tamed quadrupeds, as well as chickens, usually run around free; birds have their wings clipped or they are tied to a pole on the roof, in the house, or under a special protective
[438] roof (Plate 54, Ill. 1). Apparently there is a trade in birds, for several times I observed wandering Indians who carried little birds with them in small gourds, in order to sell them in other places. /Plate 53 appears here./

231 /245/ Of such domestic animals, I observed the following:
[136] Of foreign, imported animals there were: chickens [(h)ănĭ(k)ĕ], pigs [(ī)šā(nĕ)], dogs (kjŏlŏză), cats [(găh)ănlōĕnĕ]. These
[262] animals are not eaten; the Indians are not even acquainted with the eating of chicken eggs (hănĭkĕsĭ). Pigs are very rare; I saw only one large domestic pig, which was quite obviously kept only out of curiosity.

[Text continues on p. 155]

/245 cont./

231 Of native animals, monkeys [kălōbĭ(dĕrŭ), klăŏbĭ] were only very rarely encountered. I did not see any examples of the animals mentioned by Ehrenreich, capybara, agouti, peccary, 231 tapir, etc., in the villages of the Karajá. The bird world is 235 more abundantly represented. Of the araras the red arara (Macrocercus militaris) is preferred, whereas the hyacinth-blue arara (ăndăādōlă: M. hyacinthinus) and the blue-yellow one (bīză: M. macao) were seen only rarely. Usually they stayed on the roofs of the houses. Small green parrots (bōlŏbĕdŏ - parakeets; dōlă) were more frequently encountered, mostly as the property of young girls who carried them around sitting on their heads and let them drink from their hands out of small mussel shells. The caracara [ĭ(h)ī(ŏ)lĕ, īlă], a predatory bird, was seen only occasionally. Its feathers were apparently little used. It is probably kept in the houses because it plays a certain role in the legends. Very sporadically I saw a young ostrich [kŭsā(hā)wĕ, nāŭĕkĭĕ], a small water bird, and a young, tame mutum (kŭlĭtĭ), around whose legs had been crocheted small red calf-bands. I did not see the other birds mentioned by Ehrenreich, white heron, roseate spoonbill, and jabiru, tamed among the Karajá. Nor did I observe or learn that small feather tassels are tied into the wings of birds, or that their feathers were artificially changed in color.

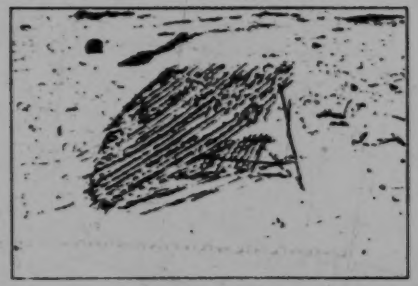
231 Of reptiles and other animals I came across small turtles, which were kept by girls in small gourd shells filled with water, lizards (so-called chameleons: kū(ū)lă), which, generally with white down feathers glued on, were carried by the women on the head or shoulders, and, finally, young crocodiles [kăb(ŏ)lōlĕ] about 20 centimeters long, which lay in the shallow puddles on the edge of the sandbanks, tied to the string of a stick planted vertically into the sand; little children would come running, take out the stick, and let the animals walk and swim on the tautly stretched string.

262 These animals kept in the village are never eaten; in order 222 to obtain their meat food, the Indians are much more dependent [225] on gathering and hunting. They gather turtles and turtle eggs, ostrich eggs, and honey.

Of turtles, the tracajá (kōdŭ) and its eggs (kōdŭzĭ) are for the most part scorned; only older people eat them. The laying time is August to early September; the nest contains about 16 eggs.

Plate 54

1. Bird cage.



2. Bird trap.

3. Fish net made of embira.

235 417

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/281 cont./

412 Brazilian inhabitants, to be noted. This shows us how tenaciously
178 the Karajá cling to their nationality, in spite of long association with their civilized neighbors.

311 C. The exploitation of the natural kingdom varies in intensity; the mineral kingdom is exploited least, the vegetable kingdom, which can, of course offer the Indian the most abundant resources, the most.

135 The mineral kingdom is as yet little utilized. Stones are rare in the alluvial valley of the Araguaya; at most there is small rubble on a few sandbanks; otherwise fine sand covers the river valley. On the steep vertical banks there is canga, a ferrous sandstone which cannot be utilized except perhaps in larger pieces which, with plaiting around them, serve as anchors for turtle tackle. Stones are found only north of the Tapirapé, and all of the few stone implements that were present came from there.

317 More frequently used is the gray clay which is embedded in
323 narrow layers in the sandstone of the high banks. It is used for pottery. This art, however, in its technique and form, is still very primitive; ornamentation is entirely lacking. The vessels are shaped according to their practical use; they are made by
562 the women. Apparently the women are more practical and less artistically endowed than the men, for we find everywhere that the things made by the women are simple and practical, those by the men, by contrast, show pleasing forms and ornamentation.

317 Earths are also but little utilized as colors.

237 The animal kingdom is utilized somewhat more intensively for technical purposes by the Indians. Bones and teeth of mammals are worked into tools and ornaments; mussel shells serve as implements. The bird kingdom is most abundantly drawn upon: their brilliant feathers are used for magnificent ornaments such as
● 235 scarcely any other Indian tribe displays in this abundance. In order to have the material for this always at hand, the Indians keep young birds, taken from the nest, tamed in their huts in order to
237 pluck them from time to time. The wax of bees plays an important role as gluing material.

/359 cont./

235 Of tame animals I found among the Šavajé:

Chickens, which were gladly sold to me, but were not eaten by them; vultures, spoonbills, and parakeets sat tethered on the supply racks in front of the houses; vultures in large numbers squatted on the ground near the wall posts in the houses. Araras were totally absent. Instead, a huge white eagle sat tied to a low cross-bar behind the chief's house (Pl. 30, Ill. 2).

264 The women ate even in my presence. Only the girl who traveled back to the Karajá with us ate turned away from us on the trip, and only when she thought she was not being observed.

252 The hearth, as mentioned above, lies in the circular structures of the houses, on both sides of the entrance. As among the Karajá, it consists of the tips of three termite hills or of three clay shards. Roasting is done on grills (Pl. 61, Ill. 1). [412]

415 The cooking vessels are identical with those of the Karajá.
412 The manioc grater (wōlānăkia; in the women's language, kōlānăkiĕ) and the rod-sieves (brēdjĕ) have the same shape and construction as those of the Karajá. For stirring, an oar-shaped spoon (nālĭhĭ; Ill. 193) is used. For everything else, see the Karajá! [184]

Ill. 193 a, b. Stirring spoon. (b from the side).

249 The luxury item is tobacco, which is cultivated in a considerably better variety among the Šavajé than among the Karajá. The latter buy large quantities of it from the former, even cuttings, so that they will be able to grow this better variety themselves at home. Tobacco (kōtĭ) is stored plaited into three-part braids (Ill. 194) and is carried in plaited bags or such [438]

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

clubs and lances, various kinds of clay pots and pans and 353
gourd-shell vessels occupy the corners of the hut.

A short distance from the encampment is the "Casa do 346
Bicho," or medicine hut; or better yet, the Demon Hut. It is roofed and closed in on three sides only. The side facing away from the village is always left entirely open. The [562]
women of the tribe are not allowed to go near this hut, or to look into it. In front of two Sambiõa villages, two dead 825
kingfishers were secured to the top of a high pole, for the purpose, probably, of keeping away the demons.

The Karayá have a few domestic, or domesticated crea- 231
tures. These are considered members of the family, and live 825
in and out of the family hut, and on equal terms generally with the people. These children of Nature are evidently lovers of Nature, and their mode of life can scarcely be conceived of without these creatures. The way they treat them indicates the idea they entertain regarding them and their doings—that they look upon them as their companions and equals. The feeling of companionship—even of relationship— with the animal world, is characteristic of the Karayá, and [538]
is evidenced by the way the animals are spoken of in their tribal legends, and by the fact that they have quite a treasury of animal fables. Although these people are successful 231
in taming wild creatures, they have never made any economic use of them as have the civilized people. They are captured while still young, and reared, but for no purpose, in most cases, other than to be kept as pets and esteemed members of the families of their captors, where their presence seems to give much pleasure. They are seldom thought of as regards any material benefits they may confer. The only economic [237]
use that is made of any of these creatures, is of those that have bright-colored plumage, which is used in the making of the many feathered adornments that are so much admired by these primitive people. Nor are these animals permitted to multiply themselves, if this can be avoided. Some poultry 235
is kept, which was obtained originally from the "civilized" [197]
Brazilians, and these, of course, multiply rapidly. But even

Brazil.

But even

235 these birds are regarded as members of the family, and no
[062] use is made of their flesh, nor even of their eggs. In recent
[137] years, however, the savages have begun to use them as an
231 article of trade with passing canoes. The most important domestic animals possessed by the Karayá besides fowls, are dogs and cats, which are widely distributed. They have no pigs. This animal is raised by the Kaiapó tribe, who obtained it originally from the civilized people, and use it as an article of trade. A veritable menagerie, in which the various bird families figure prominently, may always be seen around the largest Sambiõa villages. Many proud, magnificently plumaged, and ever-watchful macaws are always seen clinging to the tops of bare poles near the huts like watchers in their towers, or roosting on the roof of the hut; and if anything strange should approach, be it man or beast, they give warning in deafening screams—especially when civilized men—men wearing clothes—appear. Dogs, also, where they have such, bark fiercely when civilized men appear. This kind of man seems so extraordinary to them. Our dogs, in turn, make a fearful fuss when they see savage men for the first time—not only because of their exceedingly strange appearance, but also because of their odor.

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232 Some of the Brazilian Indians have a curious art by which they make nature change the color of the feathers of many of their captive birds. They jerk out the feathers they wish

1:Lipkind E-5 (1937) 1948 SP9 Caraja SP9

is planted in September, when the first rains come, and manioc shortly after. There is little cultivation beyond weeding. The basic crop is manioc, both the sweet and bitter varieties being cultivated, with maize next in importance. Four varieties each of sweet and bitter manioc and 10 varieties of maize are cultivated. Other crops are: Five varieties of potatoes, two varieties of cara, four varieties of watermelon, three varieties of squash, four varieties of beans, and ten varieties of bananas, as well as peanuts, urucú, tobacco, cotton, calabashes, sugarcane, yams, peppers, pineapples, and papayas. Men do all the work with a little assistance in harvesting and weeding from older women. The *Javahé* are more industrious farmers than the other *Carajá*, cultivating extensive plantations. 241 [462] [184]

Collecting.—A large number of vegetable products are gathered for use as food, medicine, and raw material for manufacture, but only a few are of great importance. The babassu and the buriti palms, used for food and textile materials, are among the most valuable. The taquara reed is sought after for arrows. Turtle eggs are a significant item of food during the dry season. Honey is indispensable for feasting. 222 262 [441]

Hunting.—Although the *Carajá* are passionate hunters, very few of the animals available in the region are eaten. Only the peccary is really sought and constitutes a sizable item in the larder. The other animals that are eaten—the cutia, coati, woodsdeer, monkey, iguana, and a few birds, such as the mutum, jao, and jacu—are killed when encountered but are not eaten by everyone. Peccaries are hunted in a communal drive, the most favorable time being shortly after the beginning of the rainy season when large droves are trapped on islands. 224 [262]

The chief purpose of hunting is to get feathers, and the most desirable birds are the various parrots, herons, the male stork, and the flamingo. The nesting of valuable birds is carefully watched, and the young are stolen and tamed. Feathers stored in small baskets almost constitute a currency, because they are readily negotiable at all times and maintain a stable value. 223 237 [231] [436]

The principal weapons are the bow and club. The bow, made of a variety of woods but with a preference for juari when available, is round in cross section and about 6 feet (2 m.) long. The arrow is preferably of taquara reed and variously tipped with wood, animal bone, or fish bone. Clubs are beautifully fashioned of heavy hardwood, decorated with delicate carving, and are swung and thrown with equal skill. The lance is now used only for ceremonial purposes. 441

Fishing.—Fish is the most important food supply. Trapping and drugging fish with timbo is a communal affair; individuals fish with the bow and arrow. There is occasional night fishing, with spearing by torchlight. The pirarucu is killed by harpoon. The hook and line is little used, and apparently was borrowed recently from the Neo-Brazilians. 226 [262] [177]

Food preparation.—Manioc is peeled, grated, squeezed out by hand, and cooked into a soup. When the soup cools, it is masticated for a few 252

1:Lipkind E-5 (1937) 1948 SP9 Caraja SP9

301 Young men wear large armlets almost 12 inches (30 cm.) long crocheted of cotton with hanging fringes.

291 Women wear a bark-cloth girdle, which is wound round the body and under the crotch and looped over, hanging down in front. Feather head-
[292] dresses of a number of different designs are worn by men on festal occasions. Men tie the prepuce with a firmly wound string and wear a string belt.

302 Elaborately decorated woven belts with hanging ema feathers are worn
[292] for wrestling matches. Bird down is glued on the shoulders, arms, and
[237] legs. Body painting is very elaborate, and designs covering the entire body are carefully executed with genipa. Urucú is spread generally, with accents on the cheekbones, the nose, and the upper arm.

TRANSPORTATION

501 The *Carajá* manufacture elongated dugouts, neatly adapted to landing and freeing their craft among the sandbanks.

MANUFACTURES

287 **Bark cloth.**—Bark cloth is made of *Apeiba* bast, soaked, beaten with flat stones, and dried until it becomes very soft and white.

415

FIGURE 20.—*Carajá* manufactures. *a-d*, Pottery; *e*, wooden scoop. (Redrawn from Ehrenreich, 1891 b, figs. 5 and 14.)

/10 cont./

d) Wax Figures

(Plates IV-VI)

*532 Boys and youths very much like to make wax figures for fun. [232] [524] Wax pigs in particular could be encountered in the hands of small boys almost everywhere. I found an occasional one of another shape here and there in the baskets; all the others were made [123] spontaneously before my eyes when the Indians had seen my interest in such figures, and indeed of their own free judgment, not at my request. Thus these figures show the activity of instantaneous free creation by these Indians. There were skillful and un- [463] skillful modelers among them; one boy and one youth in particular distinguished themselves by lively reproductions.

The wax figures represent human beings and animals. [184] They all stem from the northern horde of the Karajá; I found none among the southern horde. The three best representations of human figures come from the Šavajé.

/11/ The human forms show many correspondences with the stylized forms of the clay dolls; only five of them stand out due to their true-to-life representation.

*532 I obtained five specimens of male figures from the Karajá, 126 one of which (Fig. 63 /see p. 50 /) represents a Šavajé youth. Of the nine female examples six come from the Karajá and three from the Šavajé. Three examples from the Karajá represented Karajá women (Figs. 60, 61 /see p.50 /); the three others, which, as an exception, were made by a woman, represented Tapirapé women (Fig. 62 /see p50 /). These two groups remind one much more strongly of the clay figures, whereas the three figures from the Šavajé (Figs. 65 and 66 /see p. 50 /) represent the most accomplished forms.

*532 The primitively made human-figures look like clay figures covered with wax.

Fig. 57 /see p. 50 / has legs of type 1 of the clay dolls and arms attached at the sides. Head and hair form a triangle pointed toward the top.

/11 cont./

*532 on the nose slightly in relief. The tattooing is cut in as a small circle. The apron is reproduced in bast. The necklaces on two are made of bast, on the third of cotton. All three wear cuffs of cotton thread, which is wound around the arm between two raised rolls of wax. Likewise, all three wear ear rods. The shapes are thus reproduced fairly proportionately. The fashioning of the chin, the arms and legs, hands and feet is particularly good. Gentle reminders of the schematic representation of the clay figures are found in the formation of the fat buttocks and the stomach plate.

Other human figures are a rider and a gourd figure.

The rider (Fig. 67 /see p. 51 /) is represented very true to life. On the horse the head and tail /12/ are depicted, the legs supplied by long sticks. The rider has long cylindrical arms and legs; hands and feet are lacking; the head is offset. The lower body and legs are wrapped with raw cotton as trousers. At his belt he carries a sword and revolver, in both arms the gun ready to fire, all fashioned in wax.

The gourd figure (Fig. 68 /see p. 51 /), which represents a youth, is formed in most peculiar fashion. The torso consists [824] of a small round gourd, on the top of which a well-fashioned wax head is placed. On the head are attached a topknot, a braid wound with red thread, ear rosettes, and necklaces of cotton thread. /Figs. 69 and 70 appear here./ ?

*532 535 I would like to add here the reproduction of masked dancers. Masked dances resting on an animistic foundation take place [132] among the Karajá particularly in the rainy season (from October to April). Dance masks are used for this, and for the most part they represent animals. These masks are either plaited out of [245] [224] palm leaves and conceal the whole form of the dancer, or they [33] consist of a cane cylinder with a brightly colored mosaic of feathers stuck on, which is put on the head. The face is concealed by a covering attached to the lower edge of the cylinder; a leaf covering is tied around the shoulders and hips, so that of the dancer only the feet and the hands with the dance rattle are

? [see p. 21 -- Analyst]

/10 cont./

302 The bristly or wavy black hair of both sexes is cut off straight above the eyebrows and hangs down in back over the neck. Dandies [301] wear a part about three centimeters wide up to the crown /Fig. 1 appears here/, let the short crown-hair stick up like a brush, and with cotton strings tie the part hanging down in back into a braid, at the roots of which the men sometimes tie a decoration of blue arara or black mutum /curassow/ feathers (ušiktamaru).

301 In the pierced ear-lobes both sexes wear sticks of cane 15-20 [304] centimeters long for everyday.

The plug in the lower lip (anʔõõ) is used only by the men. It [824] consists of the light, flaky wood of the piuva tree and is either cut obliquely with a short point or runs out into a long, thin lamina hanging down on the chest (Fig. 2, b /see p. 18 /).

Boys primarily wear, instead of this, small T-shaped pieces of shell (idžã) (Fig. 2, d /see p. 18 /).

The most precious lip ornament, which is worn only on festive occasions, but otherwise is kept carefully wrapped in cotton, is a long, heavy, stone plug (manuterẽ) of hyaline or rose-colored quartz, the T-shaped end of which is stuck through the lower lip while the conical button hangs down (Fig. 2, a /see p. 18 /). Of the four specimens in the collection the largest is 17.5 centimeters long.

301 /11/ These lip stones, of which only a few have reached 439 European collections, are not made by the Karaya themselves, but are bartered from the Tapirapé, the Tupi people on the like- [135] named left tributary of the Araguaia. The mountain chains of the left riverbank, such as the Serra dos Cayapos, are rich in this material. A Kayapo stone plug acquired in S. Maria is shorter and runs out to a tapered, blunt end (Fig. 2, c /see p. 18 /).

304 Tattooing is limited to the tribal badge which both sexes 619 wear on their cheeks: a blue ring 10-15 millimeters in diameter (auʔamanurẽ) just under the lower edge of the orbit.

515 On the whole the Karaya are distinguished by scrupulous care of the body. They bathe several times a day. Their hair is 302 always carefully combed. All the hair on the face and body is [412] plucked out. Shears are now commonly used for hair cutting, [237] whereas formerly piranha teeth were used for this.

/13 cont./

342 principally to close off the narrow sides. To the right and left of the door are planted two high poles which give the palm-leaf layers of the front side more solid support.

352 The interior furnishing of the houses is rather simple. Part of the floor is covered with buriti mats which also serve as an [513] underlayer for sleeping. A smooth wooden cylinder pushed underneath represents the pillow. The various storage baskets, the 353 [415] containers for ornamental feathers, the finished feather orna- [231] ments, bottle gourds, and other things hang from the horizontal beams. Bows and arrows are stuck in the rafters. [342] Lances and clubs stand in the corner, always at hand. Some sledge-like 352 415 stools, as well as pots and gourd /cuia/ bowls of varying sizes complete the household equipment.

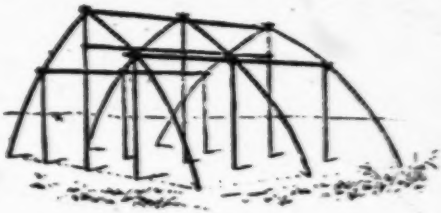

Fig. 3. Hut construction.

346 At some distance from the village is found the somewhat dif- [532] ferently constructed "medicine hut," where the mysterious dance masks are stored. It has the form of an ordinary rancho, with a steeply sloping roof, and is tightly closed on three sides, whereas [784] the side facing the village is wide open. Female creatures may not venture near it.

[114] Castelnau already makes mention of it. Couto Magelhães in his first report speaks of a hut which serves as an arsenal for storing weapons. Nothing of this sort is known to me. Evidently he means by it this mysterious sacred place whose true purpose no one wanted to reveal to him. We shall return to it in the following.

825 It is also noteworthy that in front of two Šambioa villages dead king-vultures (Sarcoramphus papa) with outspread wings were fastened on a high frame of poles. They are probably supposed to scare away demons in the manner of the bird figures carved out of wood in front of Malay villages.

/15 cont./

241 Cara tubers /Dioscorea/ are grown in large quantity, excellent quality, and in various species. Most commonly one sees the huge egg-shaped pé d'anta (Cara brasiliensis) with a white cut-surface, as well as a smaller one with an almost violet cut-surface.

222 [242] The wild food plants and fruits which the river forests and camp-woods supply constitute a desirable change. These are primarily palm fruits, such as the nuts of the uaguassú, the pineapple-like fruits of the buriti (Mauritia vinifera), and various small species of coconut; furthermore, the wild acaju tree, the jaboticaba, the pitanga /Surinam cherry/ the oily piquia (Caryocar brasiliense), various Bromeliaceae, and, finally, the finest fruit of the campos, the mangaba (Hancornia speciosa). One sees the latter, however, much more rarely than in the Xingu villages. The tree does not seem to be planted as it is there.

[262] It is noteworthy that the orange, which flourishes extremely well here, is not cultivated, although the Indians esteem it most [439] highly. Only rarely do they undertake week-long journeys to the Brazilian settlements to trade for these fruits. A principal goal of such excursions is the site of the old, now abandoned mission and military post Chambioas, just above the rapids of S. Miguel, where rather large stands of this noble tree have maintained themselves. Cacao, too, was formerly obtained from there.

Still to be mentioned is the honey of the countless species of wild bees, the collecting of which presents no difficulties since the animals are entirely stingless. The black wax, which [237] is stored in large, round, inch-thick disks, is used in Indian industry as a glue.

249 The only luxury item of the Karaya is tobacco (koti). It is a Nicotiniana, but not N. tabacum, of a mild quality. The dried leaves are stored (see p. 40) in large rectangular packages plaited out of palm-leaf strips and are pulverized between the 276 hands for use. /16/ The fruit capsule of the jequitiba tree 824 (Hymenaea sp.), filed smooth on the outside, serves as a pipe

/16 cont./

252 cakes (beijus, ibrãJeko), likewise roasted in pots, are made from the freshly treated roots.

273 In combination with maize, manioc flour is also used to make their most popular beverage, uiezõ. Pounded maize is poured into the boiling manioc and stirred well. /17/ When it is sufficiently soft, the mixture is allowed to cool. Then the settlings are chewed by the women in true Indian fashion, whereby the whole thing turns sour and ferments after standing for several days. A sourish beverage something like water gruel is produced, to which honey or sugar-cane juice is sometimes added. The effect is slightly intoxicating.

415 The kitchen utensils are simple, but nevertheless somewhat
417 more complete than, say, among the Xingu tribes. Besides earthen
[239] pots and gourd containers, as well as mussel shells of the Anodonta and Hyria avicularis serving as spoons, there are already real spoons made of wood or clay (cf. Fig. 5 /see p. 38 / and Fig. 14 /see p. 51 /).

264 Etiquette demands that everyone eat by himself, turned away from the others. Anyone who transgresses must endure the ridicule of the others.

Tools and Implements. Industry and Skill.

177 The industrial activity of the Karaya no longer presents a wholly unclouded picture inasmuch as the original tools have been supplanted more and more by imported ones.

412 No details are known about the form and material of their
172 old stone axes. Among the petroglyphs of Martirios Island, however, which undoubtedly are to be ascribed to the ancient Karaya, one sees human figures depicted with stone axes in their hands (see p. 94). The same form is exhibited by a stone ax of unknown origin in the Trocadero Museum in Paris, the handle of which is wrapped with the plaiting in zigzag and cross patterns characteristic of Karaya work. Possibly the piece came from the Castelnau expedition.

/17 cont./

417 Today the primitive tools are limited to those which Nature
237 provides for specific purposes, such as scraping knives of mussel shells, chisel-shaped implements made of rodent teeth, flat stones for pounding bast cloth, the coarse bony tongue of the pirarucú as a rasp, etc.

178 Despite widespread use of foreign tools, the industry of this people has completely retained its national character. Fortunately, among the Karaya, there is still no question of any decline in it such as almost always sets in as a consequence of the introduction of European products, as is well known. Fitness, beauty of form, and care in execution are still characteristic of their work.

501 Canoe construction is on a rather high level, although the method of production is relatively simple. The boats (aunõ) are long narrow dugouts with the front and back parts extending equally far and somewhat sloping at the tips. Given the many shallows of the river this form is the most efficient, since it facilitates the landing and launching of the vessel (Pl. IV /see p. 106 /, 2).

396 The material is the straightest possible trunk of the ipiuba
1829 (Tecoma sp.) or jatoba (Hymenaea sp.). Since the forward part is from the lower, the back part from the upper section of the trunk, the canoes are usually somewhat broader in the front than in the back. The hollowing is done with an ax and aided by fire. Since the cavity of the boat is not artificially widened by special manipulations such as Im Thurn describes (op. cit., p. 293), but rather the original diameter of the trunk also determines that of the boat, the canoes are usually disproportionately narrow in proportion to their length and tip over easily. They
501 are smoothed over inside and outside with great care. Arrangements for sitting are not present. There are set in on the other hand, rows of short crossbars, which, fixed a few inches above the bottom, protect any cargo from getting wet.

The oars (nahere, Pl. VIII /see p. 110/, 1-3) are of excellent workmanship. They are 1 1/3 to 1 1/2 meters long, half of which is taken up by the handle provided with a cross-grip. The blade is straight, leaf-shaped, 15-20 centimeters wide, and runs out at the bottom into a lancet-shaped, offset tip. Elegant

/18 cont./

411 The form of the arrows (uehẽ) is very manifold.

The shaft of the arrow consists of two pieces, a lower one of cane and the one inserted in it of wood. The latter bears either a special tip or, sharpened and correspondingly shaped, serves in some way as one itself.

In general the length of the cane shaft amounts to two-thirds of the length of the whole arrow, and that of the wooden shaft one-third.

411 The feathers of the lower cane-end are always placed so
● 237 that their uppermost tip, wound around itself, lies at the level of the notch. The quill describes a 1/8 to 1/4 turn around the shaft. The heavy arrows, especially those provided with a broad cane tip, usually have a heavier winding of feathers.

Through the twisting of the feather tip, the outer feathers of the quill are sharply bent outward. The inner feathers are cut off short in order to lie closer to the shaft.

In the case of many arrows the lowest piece, which bears the notches and feathering, is separately inserted into the cane shaft. Probably the original arrow end was split here during the cutting or bending the bow and was supplemented by an insert.

411 The feathers are tied with black cotton strings, between
230 which are usually placed small red and yellow decorative feathers.
284 The attached pieces are held together by waimbẽ (Philodendron
[531] sp.) bast bands. The feathered part of the cane end often has
[834] crossbands touched up with red lacquer (tamararu).

The following arrow types are represented in the collection:

411 1. War arrows, with point made from the tail-spine of a
[126] thornback, 150-180 centimeters long, two-thirds of which makes up the cane shaft. The spine, six to eight centimeters long and supplied on both sides with countless small barbs, is tied to the wooden shaft with thread and wax in such a way that the lower part projects as a long barb. The wooden shaft itself is painted with red lines, wavy lines, and dots (Pl.VI/see p.108 /, 8).

2. War arrows with cane tip cut in the shape of a knife, related to the Bororo arrows in their form. Total length 140-160 centimeters, of which the cane shaft takes up only one-third. On the upper end of the 3/4 centimeter thick wooden shaft made

/18 cont./

411 wrapped with decorative plaiting in a lozenge pattern. The
[53] four-sided, prismatic blade, which broadens towards the bottom and has sharp edges, runs out into a lancet-shaped point (Pl. VI /see p. 108/, 11, 12).

/19/ The palm-wood club of the Šambiao chief Roco (Village I) is of similar form but much smaller (121.5 centimeters long). Its blade has an elliptical cross-section. The plaiting pattern is simpler.

On both the plaiting is tied on the lower part by a broad red cotton binding ending in tassels.

2. Round clubs of various lengths (95-137 centimeters).

They are stick-shaped with a knobby, broadened end-part which runs out into a flat knob. The handle end also has a knob-like projecting part.

They are either smooth or, more often, provided with longitudinal grooving, which sometimes extends over the whole length of the weapon, sometimes only over the lower part. On the most beautiful specimen the grooving is interrupted on both sides by a smooth strip one centimeter wide, in which small holes are sunk at finger-width intervals (Pl. VI /see p. 108/, 13).

Finally, the 2-2 1/2 meters long, feather-decorated thrusting lances (Pl. VI /see p.108/, 10) are part of the war armor.
● [237] The shaft is of palm wood, the 15-20 centimeter long tip from the thigh bone of the jaguar or deer; below the beginning of the latter, two long dangling feather-tassels are tied on with cotton
[531] bindings. On the larger spears the whole upper third of the shaft is surrounded with plaiting in zigzag patterns (snake decoration). Small red feather wreaths encircle it at the top and bottom.

[171] Arrow thrower (throwing board) (kåobi). After we had found this instrument, almost forgotten in South America, still in use among the Xingu tribes of the Kamayura, Auetö, and Trumai, I was surprised to find it again in exactly the same form on the Araguaia. Only its execution is somewhat cruder. The stick-shaped part with the bone hooks set in it is round in the upper third, the rest worked into a hexagon.

/22 cont./

286 is wound around these without crossing and thus consists of two parallel rows of thread. The woof threads are now led in pairs from top to bottom with a long needle and knotted to a pair of warp threads one after another. Two woof threads always encircle two warp threads. Their distance from each other is always twice as great as that of the pair of warp threads. The woof threads are knotted at both edges.

Since various colors are chosen for different warp strands, one gets "redes" with red and black stripes. The background color is usually white.

On the same apparatus, however, real weaving of a taffeta-like texture can also be made. For example, the above-mentioned "rede" of the Yavahē consists of such material. Also the strong

[283] [532]

Fig. 7. Spindles (1/4).

Also The strong

[482] carrying-bands of certain baskets, the black forehead-bands [531] decorated with mother-of-pearl disks (Pl. VII /see p. 109/, 7), [237] the black body-bands for children (Pl. VII, 3, 4), and the dance belts decorated with feather strips hanging down are made in this manner.

In this smaller weaving a single continuous woof thread runs through the whole warp. It was not learned whether special, handier tools were used for this.

The arm cuffs and leg bands are knitted over a heavy, cone-shaped wooden block (kauarū) with a crochet needle (desi-tan), now usually of iron, insofar as this is not done on the body itself (Pl. VII, 9).

283 The long fringe hangings falling over the chest and neck [301] (Pl. VII, 2), as well as the shorter ones which are tied under the knee, a popular adornment for young people, are simple knotted work. Two strong parallel strands are entwined with a number of

/22 cont./

283 equally long pairs of threads in eight-twists /Achtertouren/ in such a way that the beginning and end pieces of the latter hand down.

301 Children wear around their necks black cotton tassels (nohoñõã) hanging on long strong cords, the size and thickness of which are determined by the age of the child. On some the [237] colored shells of Castalia dolabella are placed above the tassels (Pl. VII /see p. 109 /, 5).

● 237 301 Of the ornamental objects the feather ornaments primarily, represented in the richest assortment, deserve detailed treatment.

Delight in color which, as is well known, is being lost more and more by civilized people, lets these children of nature work the feathers of the very colorful birds of their native land into a wealth of the most colorful ornamental objects, such as are achieved in the same diversity of form and taste of composition by only a few other tribes of South America.

To be sure, their execution is not very durable. With the rich source of suitable feathers at the disposal of the Karaya, they are always able to replace pieces that may have become damaged.

1. Feathers for the head. A bundle of arara or black mutum feathers surrounds the root of the braid, at the ends of which small white feathers are tied. Standing up in the wind, they surround the head of the wearer like a halo (cf. Pl. I /see p. 103 /, 1).

2. Small diadems (uarakureõã) are worn when greeting foreigners, at meetings, etc. Small red and yellow arara feathers are put in a row around a wooden ring, forming a rosette in front from the middle of which black cotton cords hang down to the forehead (Pl. IX /see p. 111/, 6).

/23/ 3. In the same category there is a peculiar headdress in the form of a truncated cone made out of thin sticks of cane covered with small red feathers and set on a wooden ring (Pl. IX /see p. 111/, 3).

4. One specimen was a small headdress worn on the crown of the head (Fig. 8 /see p. 44/).

/23 cont./

237 301 A small rhomboidal base-plate bears two strong feather-covered quills, into which two pairs of Cacicus feathers, standing out fork like, are inserted.

237 292 5. Feather caps in three shapes are used:

[171] a) The simplest (ǫori-ǫori) consist of a wide-meshed plaiting of bast, with feathers tied in the knots. They appear again in the same execution among the Xingu tribes of the Kamayura, Trumai, and Suya, who may have borrowed them from the local Karaya or Aruma.

[301]

Fig. 8. Feather ornament to be worn on the crown of the head.

b) The second type has greater durability and decorativeness. A narrow-meshed cap plaited out of strong palm fibers forms the base for the tying (hatukõ). Small yellow and red feathers, fastened rosette-like around a little piece of cane, are tied into the meshes (Pl. IX /see p. 111/, 4).

c) Tightly knitted, narrow-meshed caps, which are covered on the outside with a layer of down feathers. In the examples here the latter are no longer present.

535 237 301 6. The true dance ornament (lurinã) is worn on the back of the head on a string running around the forehead (Pl. IX, 2; cf. Pl. II /see p. 104/, 2). The base is a horseshoe-shaped support. It consists of two layers of palm leaf-ribs bent together and held together by patterned cotton plaiting daubed with white clay. Between these two plates lie short canes arranged next to one

/23 cont./

535 another radially, the upper opening of which holds the shaft of
● 237 the ornamental feathers. /Figure 8 appears here./ The part
301 of the little canes protruding over the supporting plates is covered by a band of feathers placed over it.

This ornament also appears in a less solid form, in which a thick layer of wax holds the ornamental feathers instead of the canes. In order to penetrate the wax better, each of them is sewed to a pointed wooden splint.

7. A second dance ornament in diadem form (aheto) is simpler, but no less stately. Here the support consists of a row of long cane sticks wound with white thread and arranged in a row on a horizontal wooden stick. When the lower corners of the support are drawn together, the upper ones move away from one another to the sides so that the long ornamental feathers are spread far apart (Pl. IX /see p. 111/, 5).

[171] The first Xingu expedition acquired such a headdress of the Xingu Karaya among the Yuruna.

301 8 and 9. The use made of two ornamental pieces is still
239 unclear. There were acquired among the Karayahi two helmet-like headdresses plaited out of buriti leaf-strips and provided with tufts of feathers at the top (tatenerã), which the Indians themselves designated as incomplete. Allegedly more feathers should have been placed around the lower part of these helmets. One of them, moreover, is covered with a layer of down feathers (Pl. IX /see p. 111/, 1).

In another locality two feather ornaments were found, one of which perhaps represents the above-mentioned missing piece. It consists of a layer of long arara and short yellow Cascicus feathers in a fan-shaped row on a strong cotton strand. On the lower part of the outside there is yet another covering layer made up of blue and green parrot feathers. In order to make the cacicus feathers equally as long as the arara feathers, each of them is sewed to a wooden stick of corresponding length, whose protruding end piece, wound with cotton, bears a small tuft of feathers at its tip. The little stick is missing on the arara feathers, which are sufficiently long. In their case only a part

/23 cont./

301 of the feathers are removed, and the quill at this point is like-
239 wise wound with cotton. A cord runs through the middle of the whole thing. If one ties its ends and those of the thick strand on which all the feathers stand in a row, the fan can be folded up mantle-like and fits exactly around the above-mentioned helmets (Pl. IX /see p. 111 /, 7).

The second specimen, otherwise quite similarly constructed, cannot be closed completely. It has, outside and inside, a double layer of cover feathers, which proves that both sides were meant to be exposed and thus could hardly have served as a helmet covering. Either it is tied crosswise over the head, or it is the completion of the braid feather-tuft mentioned under No. 1. A third possibility is that both feather fans were worn hanging down over the neck, similar to the feather cloaks customary in Guiana. But the extreme narrowness of the neck opening would argue against this. A definite decision must await further information.

The common ear-ornaments, the cane sticks, are replaced by delicate feather rosettes (ϑohoruã) for festive adornment (Pl. IX, 10). They are round disks made of concentrically arranged small red and yellow feathers on cane stalks, which in the center bear a small mother-of-pearl disk with a black cross or a rodent's tooth (cf. Pl. III /see p. 105 /, 1).

Festive arm-bands for the upper arm (deoϑanã) are made out of ounce or wildcat skin decorated with tufts of parrot or heron feathers (Pl. IX, 9), or they are simple feather tassels tied to cotton cords.

Arm-bands made out of bird bones in parallel rows are not represented in the collection and were not seen in use by me. They seem to have been used more commonly in former times. The private collections of Dr. Leite Moraes and Sertorio in São Paulo, as well as the Museo nacional in Rio have a whole number of them.

535 /24/ Also belonging among the dance ornaments are the belts (uatakanã) worked out of strong black and white striped cotton plaiting and with feather hangings, which on the ends

/24 cont./

535 often bear rattles of Thevetia pods. Other belts are entirely made up of the latter (Pl. X /see p. 112/, 8-10).

Around the knee or ankle joints the dancer places bands from which strands ending in rattles and tufts of feathers hang down. They are held apart by a horizontal wooden stick and are sometimes covered with a thick layer of white down feathers (Pl. X, 4).

412 531

301 237 439

Fig. 9. Comb (1/4).

Necklaces in their original form are no longer seen. Pierced animal teeth and stones, shell disks, etc. have long been supplanted by glass beads imported in great quantities. The white and black beads of the cheap "rosaries" widespread everywhere

415 531

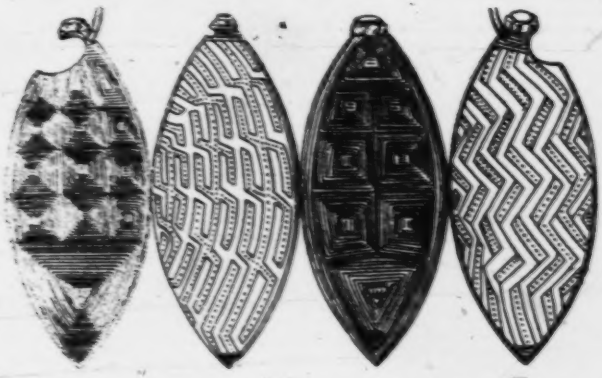

Fig. 10. Decorations on the gourd vessel of Pl. VIII /see p. /, 7 (1/4).

301 in Goyaz are the most prized, but they are strung in a manner corresponding to the national taste. A whole series of short strings goes around the neck as tightly as possible (cf. Pl. II /see p. 104/, 2; III /see p. 105/, 1). From the lowermost hangs a number of small chains which have small fruit shells or tufts of feathers at the ends.

/32 cont./

754 Since every sickness is considered the work of hostile sorcerers
755 or demons, they rely more on the counter magic of their own "medicine man" who removes the poison by sucking on the ailing part of the body or scares off the evil spirits by means of the magic rattle.

757 One of the most popular medicines of the Karaya is the resin of the almecega (Hedwigia balsamifera), which, stirred in with coconut oil, is used as a smelling essence for headaches and externally for abdominal pain (andžiura).

752 The savages have more knowledge of surgery. They know how to let blood out of the forehead vein, to stop bleeding by applying a tourniquet to the wounded limb, quite rationally sprinkle powdered charcoal on wounds, put splints on broken limbs, and develop great skill in removing thorns with sharp fish-teeth.

757 The custom of emptying the stomach in the morning by artificially induced vomiting, known in North America and Ecuador, is also found here. It is done with charred pieces of taquara (idžiua), which are introduced into the throat until the effect is achieved.

304 The most important medical instrument is the scarification
824 apparatus (i-šaura). It consists of a little triangular or rectangular
237 piece of gourd, one surface of which is weighted with a layer of wax or resin one centimeter thick, while the other bears a row of small sharp fish-teeth (Fig. 17).
757

Fig. 17. Scarification instrument (1/2).

304 These scarifiers are stored in pairs, the convex scratching
757 surface of the one resting on the concave one of the other. The small teeth are protected by stuffing cotton between them.

/79 cont./ [Plate VIII. Karaya. (Cont'd.)]

415 6. Large, boat-shaped hanging basket with red cross-
285 decorations put on it (1/9).

7. Round gourd container with hanging cord (1/13). Pattern for it, see Fig. 10 /see p. 47/.

8. Double basket for storing feather decorations (1/9).

9. Large, bottle-shaped basket (1/8).

[293] 10. Eyeshade (1/8).

11. Small, expansible bottle-basket (1/8).

[286] 12. Large tobacco pouch with cotton, black-patterned carrying band (1/8).

13. Buriti foot-mat with black bast woof (1/8).

14. Flexible sieve-basket (1/8).

15. Rucksack-like bag,(1/8).

16. Round basket for raw cotton (1/8).

17. Large, round carrying-basket with strong carrying-cord of bast (1/8).

Pl. IX. Karaya. Feather Decorations

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1. Helmet-like headdress, probably belonging to 7 (1/6).

2. Horseshoe-shaped headdress to be worn on the back of the head. Edge feathers white. Red arara feathers in the center and on the ends. Cover feathers blue, red, and green mixed (1/6).

3. Cylindrical headdress of thin sticks covered with small yellow and red feathers (1/6).

4. Plaited cap with yellow-red feather rosettes (1/6).

5. Large diadem of white-red feathers (1/6).

6. Everyday diadem of the warrior. A ring covered with red-yellow feathers (1/6).

7. Large, fan-shaped feather decoration, three-quarters closed, probably to be put around the lower part of 1 (1/6).

8 and 9. Festive arm-bands made of ounce skin with tufts of feathers (1/8).

10. Ear decorations. Feather rosettes with central shell plates (1/8).

/79 cont./

535 Pl. X. Karaya. Ornaments and Equipment for Dancing.

1. Dance rattle with feather hangings and incised ornamentation (1/7).

[532] 2. Dance rattle without feather hangings (1/8).

3. Mask of the bird tirehäñ (see p. 74) with long buriti-fiber hangings in front and black feather decoration in back (1/9).

4. Dance rattles of Thevetia pods to be tied around the knee, with cross-sticks and down covering (partly removed) (1/8).

5. Simple dance-rattles to be tied on the arms or legs (1/8).

6. Dance belts made of strung Thevetia fruit capsules (1/7).

[534] 7. Trumpet made of gourd shell with an inserted taquara mouthpiece (1/9).

[286] [237] 8-10. Dance belts made of strong black or black-white cotton weave with feather hangings (9 and 10 also with Thevetia pods) (1/7).

532 Plate XI. Karaya. Clay and Wax Figures.

1. Simplest form without indication of the sex (1/2).

2. Simple female figure (1/2).

3. Female figure with wax hair, without facial modeling, but with the lower extremities. Probably gravidity is indicated (3/4).

4. Female figure with wax hair, face and upper body modeled. Legs as stumps (3/4).

5. Male figure in similar execution with zigzag painting indicated (3/4).

6. Large female figure with stump feet, but clearly modeled face. The apron is lacking. The neck is adorned with a chain of strung Ricinus kernels and snail shells (1/2).

4: Ehrenreich--111 E-5 (1888) 1891 SP9 Caraja SP9

Plate IX

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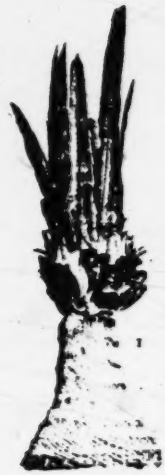

Plate X

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[532]

[534]

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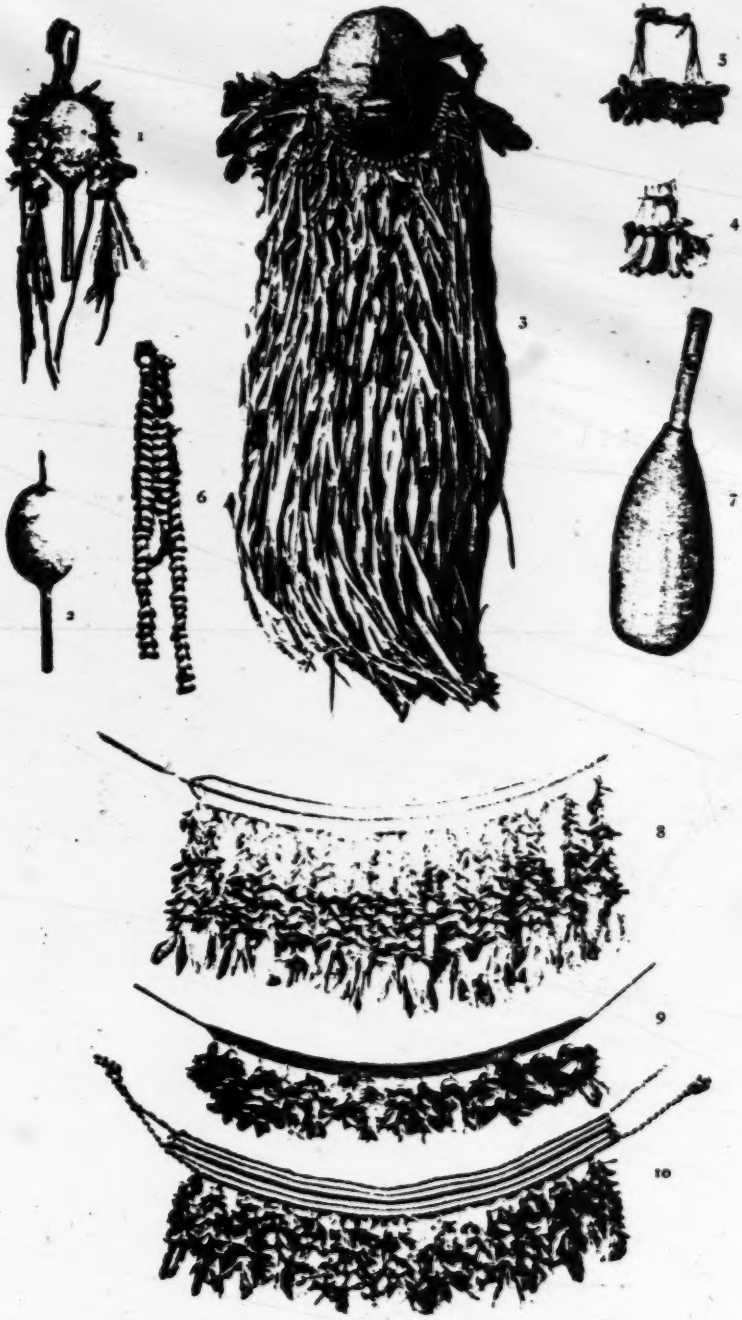

5: Krause

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[For additional, detailed information concerning feather ornaments and feather ornamentation, see category 116, pp. 129-147.]

Plate 33

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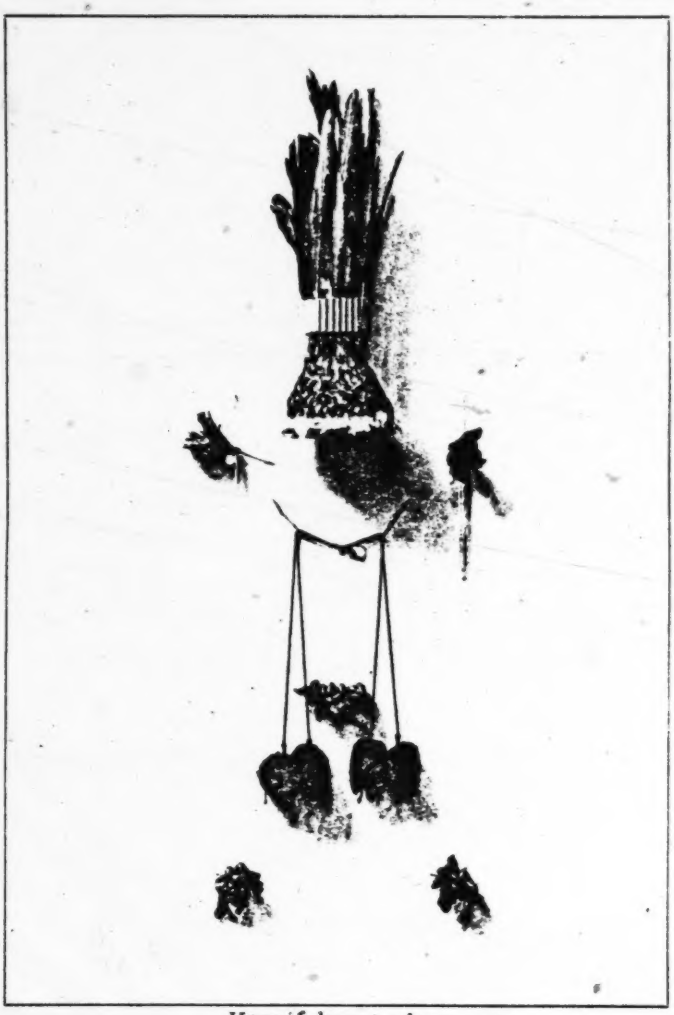

Karajá boys' adornment:
Top, feather helmet; right and left, ear tulips with bead pendants; in the center, neck ornament with nape-tassels.

/Pl. 33 faces p. 152./

5: Krause--24 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9

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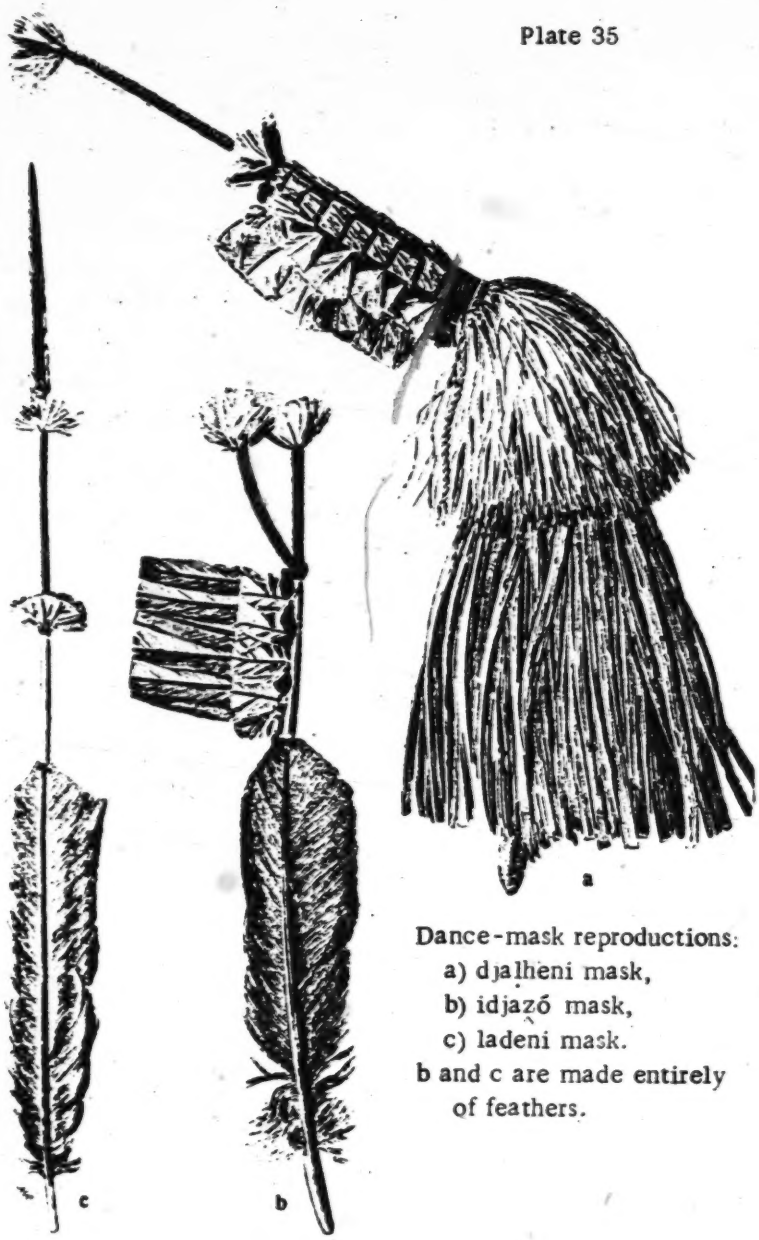
Plate 35



Dance-mask reproductions:
a) djalheni mask,
b) idjazõ mask,
c) ladeni mask.
b and c are made entirely of feathers.

[237]

/Pl. 35 faces p. 161./

/209 cont./

302 beginning of the dry season; the statements of the Indians about it varied. There were also boys with close-cropped hair who had no wreath of hair. Perhaps the explanation is that the first time (or the first times) the head is shorn quite smooth, while with the last cutting the wreath of hair is left standing. During this time almost all the boys are painted completely black. From [304] then on they let the hair grow until it reaches down to the eyes in front and to the shoulders in back; then the boys are declared grown-up and are given the tribal tattooing. Youths cut off the front hair over the eyebrows; the side and back hair reaches down about halfway to the shoulder blades. The wreath of hair, however, is still kept under the long hair. They, too, like the maidens, wear the red-colored /210/ parting (lāwōlŭ, lāŭlŭ) and the crown tuft (lāzĭ) (Pl. 43, Ill. 1; Pl. 44, Ill. 1).

Ill. 37.
Boy with stepped hair.

The long dangling hair, annoying while rowing, fishing, and walking through the forest, is tied together in various ways. Either the side hair is knotted over the forehead on either side, or /Ill. 38 appears here/ it is tied together with bast into a little braid over the forehead (hŏsĭdodănă). The back hair is often tied together in the back into a tuft in which clusters of [237] feathers are sometimes knotted (Ill. 38). Such a cluster of feathers (wăšĭwăšĭdĕlōhĭ) consists of seven little sticks with red feathers, which are fastened as a tassel to a twisted cotton string and from which long colorful parrot feathers hang down at the bottom (Pl. 45, Ill. 2). Usually, however, it is twisted into a braid (lāŏdŭă), which is either plaited round with narrow yellow bast (Pl. 15, Ills. 1 and 2) or wrapped from top to bottom in a thick red cotton string (Pl. 15, Ill. 4 a, b). This cotton string (lāodūĕzŏ) consists of two separate strings, each of which has a tassel at the end; these tassels hang out from the wrapping at the upper end of the braid. With this type of hair style, which is not, as Ehrenreich assumes, restricted merely to dandies, but is now worn quite generally by the young people, the hair wreath shows very nicely.

/210 cont./

302 Men sometimes wear the bowl cut, but usually they have the same hair style as the youths, except that they do not tie their hair, but let it hang freely. Among them, too, the wreath of hair can still be seen under the long hair. In later years no value is any longer attached to the parting and the crown tuft (Pl. 17; Pl. 36, Ill. 1; Pl. 43, Ill. 3).

Ill. 38.
Youth with tuft feather-cluster and hair wreath.

The parting (lāwōlŭ), which both sexes wear from puberty on, is achieved through the plucking out of the individual hairs. In the [184] south horde it is narrow, so that at first I did not even notice it; in the north horde, on the other hand, it is about two fingers wide. Young people almost always paint it with red color, whereas older ones do not wear this ornamentation. The crown tuft always goes with it.

The hair wreath is restricted to the male sex from boyhood on; women do not have it.

[412] [237] The cutting of the hair is now done with shears. According to Ehrenreich, they formerly cut it with piranha teeth. To my questions as to how they cut their hair before they had shears, they always told me that in those days they did not cut it, because they did not have any shears. Thus, the former custom has completely vanished from their memory. The hair that was cut off was thrown away, as I myself observed. The purpose of the long hair, they say, is for protection against mosquitoes.

[765] /211/ For mourning they are said to cut off the hair, and the women, too, are said to cut themselves a hair wreath called nākŭlau (?). I did not observe this custom, however, in Kabiŭ's family, which was in deep mourning.

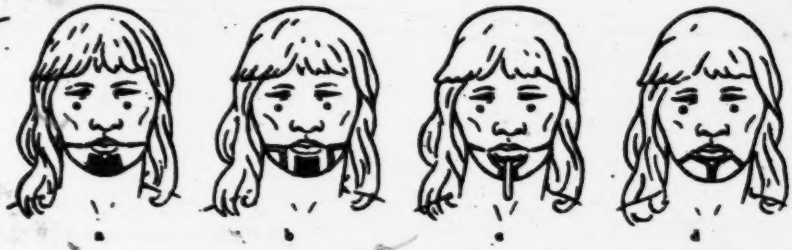
The hair is very carefully tended. In the morning and evening it is combed out and oiled. Before they start on a journey, when they return to the village from hunting, fishing, or from the plantings, their hair is combed out for them by the mother, wife, or another female relative. When they arrive in a strange village on a visit, the chief's wife combs and oils their hair.

/217 cont./

302 In general, either only the upper face or merely the lower face is decorated, and a combination of both decorations occurs only occasionally (see Ill. 50).

304 d) Tattooing. For scarifying the skin, the scarifier (lǎdji) [237] is used, a piece of gourd shell into which, close to the upper edge, a row of small fish-teeth (kŭlǎdju, allegedly dogfish) is set, which is held in place in back by a narrow pad of wax (Ill. 51). This specimen corresponds to one brought back by Ehrenreich (Berlin 3953c), whereas in the case of his other two, the entire back side is covered with a thick layer of wax; I never saw scarifiers of this type among the Karajá, but certainly among the Šavajé (see

302



Ill. 49 a-d.
Chin painting.

304 there /see p. 315/). The skin on the arms and thighs is scratched with these scarifiers; I was unfortunately never able to observe the process itself (in this connection see Ehrenreich, "Beiträge," p. 33).

I saw decorative scars only once, namely, on my rower Antonio. They consisted of several ridges running across the chest. These incisions are made with the tooth of the dogfish (cachorra) and rubbed with soot and water, so that they remain visible for a long time. The operation must be done early in the morning by a single man; other onlookers, above all women, may not be present. The wounds are said to heal well, but /218/ a great deal of blood is said to flow in the process. The number of incisions is indefinite. The bearer of such an incision is called wōlĭ (1).

[191] 1. Cunha Mattos reports on this same custom

/220 cont./ The hole necessary for receiving the
304 ornament /221/ (ĭdjärūlänŏ) is pierced in the center of the lower
[252] lip at the age of about six or seven years. This operation is per-
[237] formed with a piece of bone from the howling monkey (ăzõdĭ =
[263] howling-monkey bone) and by special men, of whom there was only one in the south horde, in Village No. 7. Special ceremonies are not supposed to take place in connection with it, but the piercing seems to take place on the occasion of certain festivities.

*301 In this hole, plugs of bone, shell, wood, or stone are worn. They are regarded as the insignia of the male sex and are never removed, since, as a result of their narrow base, they are no hindrance in eating. Only a few old men sometimes had no lip plug. In barter, a few gave them up without further ado, others hesitated a bit at first and were embarrassed when they no longer had a plug stuck in the hole; generally they immediately made themselves a new one or inserted a reserve plug. The plugs are stuck through the hole from the inside and drawn out again in the same manner.

Ill. 58 a-c.
Wooden lip-plugs of the youths.

Ill. 59 a, b.
Wooden lip-plugs of older bachelors.

The lip plugs are made of different material and in different forms, according to age.

[237] The smallest boys wear plugs made from the bone of the howling monkey. These are about four to eleven centimeters long,

/221 cont./

*301 taper to a point at the bottom, and at the top have a wider end which rests against the inner side of the lower lip as a support [237] (Ill. 54 a, b). Bigger boys use plugs made of mussel shell (ĩdjẽ). The mussel used for this is the thin, two-pointed mussel (Pl. 45, Ill. 1c), which was called ĩdjẽ /Ill. 59 appears here/ or k(ã)dãlã. Also, according to Pedro, lip plugs called djãlãpũ are made from the thick, triangular mussel (bũlũ, Pl. 45, Ill. 1a). He maintained that I had such plugs in my collection; /222/ the name was never given to me otherwise, however. Apparently a number of shell plugs are actually made out of this mussel. The plugs made out of the two-pointed shell have a mother-of-pearl sheen, are flat and narrow, rod or wedge-shaped, and usually have a wide

Ill. 60 a-d.
Wooden lip-plugs of the men.

support (Ill. 55 a-e). Plugs made out of the triangular shell on the other hand, have a white sheen and are thick, and usually taper down to a curved point or exhibit curved forms (Ill. 56 a-c; see also Pl. 12, Ill. 2).

Boys at an age just before puberty sometimes wear spirally rolled plugs made out of narrow strips of wood (õdũhõ, Ill. 57).

[881] [824] With the incising of the tribal tattooing the youths change over to lip plugs of wood (õdũhõ) (according to Ehrenreich, made out of the light wood of the piuva tree). At first they like to wear huge wooden lamellae. The largest specimen of my collection is 25 centimeters long by two centimeters wide (Ill. 58a); such lip plugs reach down to the chest (Pl. 43, Ill. 1). At the lower transverse edge these lamellae usually run out to a small point. The older people become, the shorter the plugs they wear; the

/222 cont./

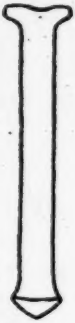
*301 latter are sometimes cut off obliquely at the bottom (Ill. 58 b, c). Older bachelors wear plugs which do not differ essentially from those of the married men (Ill. 59 a, b). The married /Ill. 60 appears here/ men likewise wear wooden plugs which in the beginning still resemble the forms worn by the older youths, but later become ever shorter and thicker, and finally, in the case of older men (from about 50 on), consist of a button 1.8 centi-

[531] ←

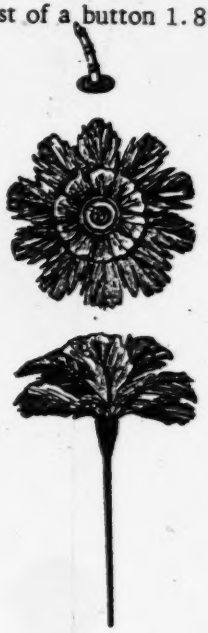
● [237] →

Ill. 61.
Painted wooden lip-plug.

Ill. 64.
Capybara teeth in storage form.



Ill. 62.
Stone lip-plug.



Ill. 63.
Ear covering with double feather wreath.

meters in diameter, which sometimes still has a little point in front at the lower edge (Ill. 60 a-d).

[531] On special occasions painted wooden lip-plugs are said to be worn by young people; I never saw such specimens, however. In the first village, the boy Mauẓĩ, on the day after he had told me this, had his plug painted "as it is done farther [532] downstream" (Ill. 61). Among the wax reproductions of dance figures which I was able to acquire among the Karajá, there is the ĩnãũĩnĩ mask. This has a strip hanging down from the chin,

/224 cont./

*301 [304] [602] b) Ear ornaments. The hole serving to receive the ornament is made in the ear lobe, close to the inner edge; it is pierced soon after birth by the mother or a relative (uncle) with a monkey bone or tucum splinter.

Ornaments which differ according to age levels are worn in this hole by both sexes; they are not constantly worn, however, but are put on only occasionally, according to mood.

Children of both sexes, above all the smallest ones, wear the ear ornament called kuädjŭ (= capybara tooth). A tulip of [237] colorful parrot feathers is fastened to a short, thin palm-wood stem with wax and a wrapping of cotton thread, and in its calyx-bottom there is a mother-of-pearl disk, generally 2.2 centimeters in diameter. From the center of this there rises a rodent tooth (capybara = kū(w)ä; according to Ehrenreich, agouti), which is usually wound round with a black cotton thread (Ill. 63).

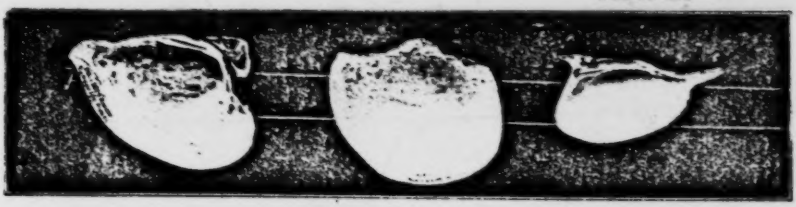
The specimens that I brought back show certain differences. The tulip usually consists of yellow-red parrot feathers; the disk is sometimes also surrounded by an inner wreath of small, clipped red feathers. The mother-of-pearl disk sometimes bears one or more concentric wax rings. One specimen has a wax disk in place of the mother-of-pearl disk, and in the case of five others the disk is lacking entirely; the tooth rises directly out of the calyx and in one specimen is wound on its lower part with raw white cotton. Four specimens of the collection have small pendant feathers which hang down from the stick on thin string (1).

1. Ehrenreich, in addition to similar specimens, brought back another on which the disk bears a cross of black string. Perhaps it comes from the Šambioá; see the next footnote /see p. 118 /.

This ornament was worn mostly by babies and children from two to three years old, and, to be sure, constantly; among bigger children it was encountered only sporadically (Pl. 18, [436] left). It is a very precious ornament. The capybara is difficult to hunt because of its timid nature, hence the rodent teeth are

Plate 45

*301
[237]



1. Shells for lip plugs: a) triangular, b) mother-of-pearl, c) two-pointed.

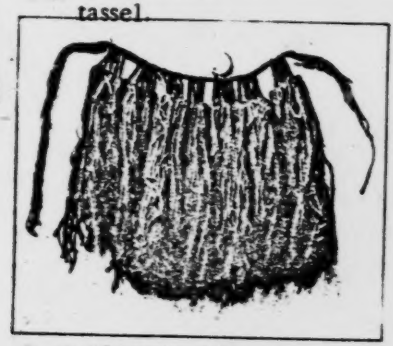
2. Tuft feather-tassel.

4. Calf band (a) and ankle band (b) of a girl.

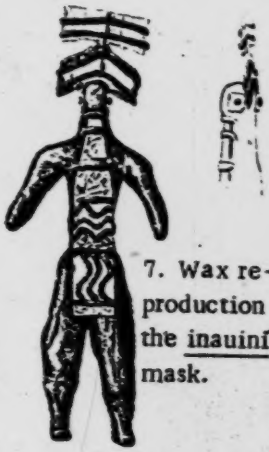
5. Leg wrapping of the smallest children.

3. Arm cuff of a child.

[532]



6. Calf band with tasseled string-hangings.



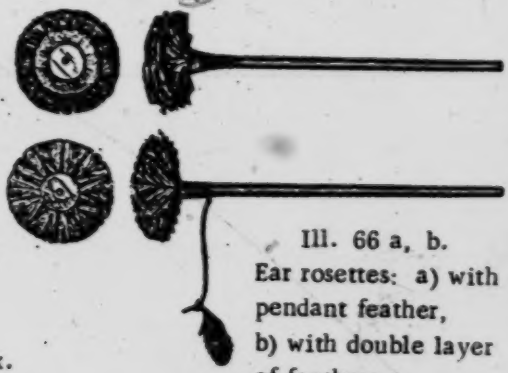
7. Wax reproduction of the inauini mask.

/225 cont./

* 301 [237] The rosette consists either of small fine red feathers or of two layers of yellow and red clipped parrot feathers, of which the outer layer is yellow and the inner layer red, or the opposite. These ear rosettes also occasionally have a small pendant feather.

Young people, as well as adults of both sexes, wear essentially simpler ornaments, namely, simple rods (dõhõ), which are often covered on the front part with incised decorations (Ill. 67). Here,

Ill. 65.
Decorated gourd disk.



Ill. 66 a, b.
Ear rosettes: a) with pendant feather, b) with double layer of feathers.

Ill. 67.
Carved ear-rod.

[824] too, we find differences according to age. There are three kinds of such rods: yellow, mostly carved taquara rods, reddish or brown cane rods from a variety of gibate, /226/ and black, undecorated rods of gibate (dõhõdebe = black rods). The unmarried youth generally [822] wears rods of yellow taquara cane and sometimes such of red or brown cane, while married persons, besides rarely occurring yellow rods, generally wear only black rods. Maidens and older bachelors, however, also wear such black rods. Moreover, young people prefer long rods, while old people wear only short ones (Pl. 42, Ill. 1; 43, Ill. 1; 44, Ill. 2).

/227 cont./

*301 a) Cotton ornaments for the neck, hips, arms, and legs. They represent a large part of the Karajá ornaments, but are worn only occasionally, probably because of their weight. With [82] reference to color, the black ornaments for children are distinguished from the red ornaments for young people.

A narrow head-band of black cotton plaiting set with small shell disks was brought back by Ehrenreich from the Karajá [114] (Berlin 3676). I doubt that this object is really a head band. For one thing, I never saw such an ornament, and then the band seems much too long for a head band. Similar bands, on the other hand, are found as belts for girls' string aprons and as bands for the cylindrical dance-masks.

*301 283 On their necks the youths wear long red tassels (nõhõzãzõ) on a braided string which is hung on the necklace by an eyelet in back. Two such tassels are always worn. The ornament (Ill. 68a) is very rare. In place of it children wear black strings, on each end of which there is a thick, short black tassel (nõhõzã). Two such strings are placed one on top of the other, so that the tassels coincide, and are then folded in half so that all four tassels hang down at the bottom. The upper loops are knotted • [237] and then drawn through the necklace. In the case of the neck tassels of girls, /228/ snail shells (Castalia dolabella) are often drawn over the tassels from above (Ill. 68b; Pl. 18, right).

Around the hips the girls sometimes wear an apron [(g)ũõhĩ] that falls far down and is made of black cotton strings which are plaited into a belt at the top, and this is sometimes trimmed with mother-of-pearl disks. The apron, closed, is drawn up from below over the hips. The strings fall down to the feet; in walking the thighs are visible between them. This ornament was also very rare (Ill. 69; Pl. 18). /Ills. 68 and 69 appear here./

Arms and legs correspond with regard to the type of cotton ornaments. We distinguish between three different kinds:

The first kind consists of long black strings, each with two tassels at one end. These strings are wound around the upper arm in the following way: first one holds the tassels against the shoulder, then wraps the upper arm beginning at the top, and leads the wrapping from the elbow upwards again, until the entire string is used up. The end is knotted, and the tassels are then allowed

*301
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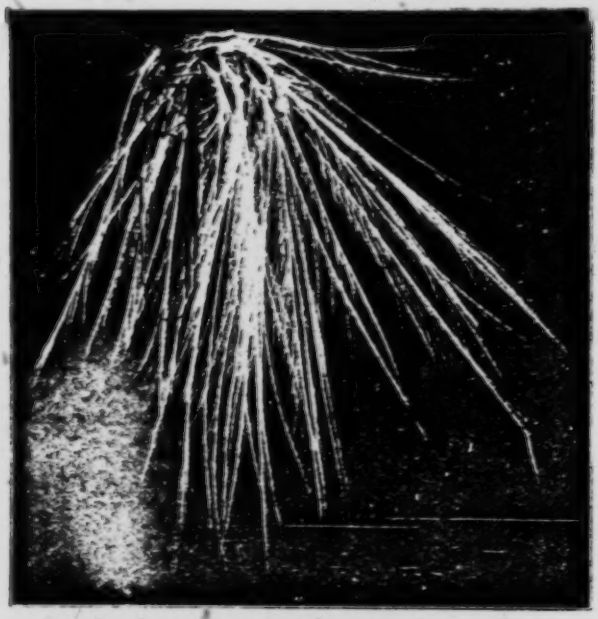

1. Feather cap with heron feathers.

2. Firm net cap set with white down feathers.

3. Feather cap with white feathers.

/230 cont./

*301 283 are called kōdẽsĩ, in both cases their hangings hang down only on the outer side of the arm. The lower-arm bands are worn behind the arm cuffs (dẽsĩ). In this ornament, too, a plaiting of the upper part sometimes occurs (Ill. 74 a, b). For such calf bands, which are worn underneath the real calf bands, /231/ two names were mentioned: ũljãũ and wõdãĩdĩ. In this case the fringe hangs all around the leg (Ill. 75).

*301 [237] b) All other ornaments are worn only by the unmarried; married persons have no feather ornaments, whereas young people are abundantly provided with them, though they seldom wear them. The ornaments most often worn are the feather caps (boys), bead necklaces, and finger rings, as well as cotton belts with feather hangings. All other ornaments seem to be worn only occasionally [415] for dances, festivities, etc. In between times they are carefully stored in the elegant, long, covered baskets. The female youth wear only necklaces and finger rings; the girls also wear feather caps and feather arm-bands. One girl nine to eleven years old wore the following ornaments: feather cap, red ear-rosettes, black neck-tassels with snail shells, feather arm-bands behind the red cuffs, black belt with gray bast-apron over it, a long black string-skirt to go with it, and, finally, calf bands (Pl. 18).

[484] [177] On journeys my Indians had no ornaments; some of them wore Brazilian clothing, as well as lip plugs and native finger-rings. Almost all of the single ones tied a piece of fish line [184] around their ankles. It was remarkable that in the villages of the north horde located north of the Tapirapé mouth there was only a little ornamentation and feather ornaments were almost entirely lacking.

[184] The village on the Tapirapé mouth occupies a special position. All strikingly divergent forms, which will be specially discussed in the following, come from this village. I cannot decide whether this is a coincidence or whether there is Tapirapé influence here.

[237] [114] Of the feather head-ornaments mentioned by Ehrenreich, I did not see the following:

/238 cont./

*301 The modern ornaments consist of glass beads, which are threaded on chains. For these, too, the name išiŭlă is used. All [822] colors were taken, but green ones generally found little favor. [184] The fashions were entirely different in the individual villages: in one village people preferred large beads, in another small embroidery beads; in one white opaque beads, in another blue, black, or red ones. All the beads were first tested for their fragility and those that did not withstand a bite were rejected [436] forthwith. The unit of exchange was chains of beads with approximately 100 small embroidery beads. Children and women wore these just as they received them; boys and youths, on the other hand, reworked them according to their taste. The beads were strung on several horizontal strings arranged parallel to one another and knotted at several places with vertical threads. The entire necklace was tied in back. It usually fitted the neck closely; the various colors were arranged in varying groups, but in such a way that white constituted the basic color (Pl. 36, Ill. 2). Sometimes appendages of various kinds also hung down from it.

[283] Other neck ornaments consisted of cotton strings. These are either wound around the neck several times by the men (black), [237] or they consist of simple strings with pendants. For example, neck bones (?, bŭhānāūnĭ) of the dolphin are used as such ornamental appendages. It looked quite dangerous to see children, especially boys, who on the neck band wore shards of colored porcelain plates, which often reached the size of half a plate, with the broken edge toward the neck (1).

1. These appendages are already mentioned by Rufino in 1846/47 for the Šambioá. Rev. trim. 10 (1848), p. 196.

*301 There are three kinds of arm ornaments. First, there are *237 arm bands which have bunches of feathers in one place; then there are those with a plaited band to which are attached several layers of feathers; finally, fine strings from which pendants of all kinds are suspended. They are worn on the upper arm (dĕrōzĭ) and on the

5: Krause--154 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9

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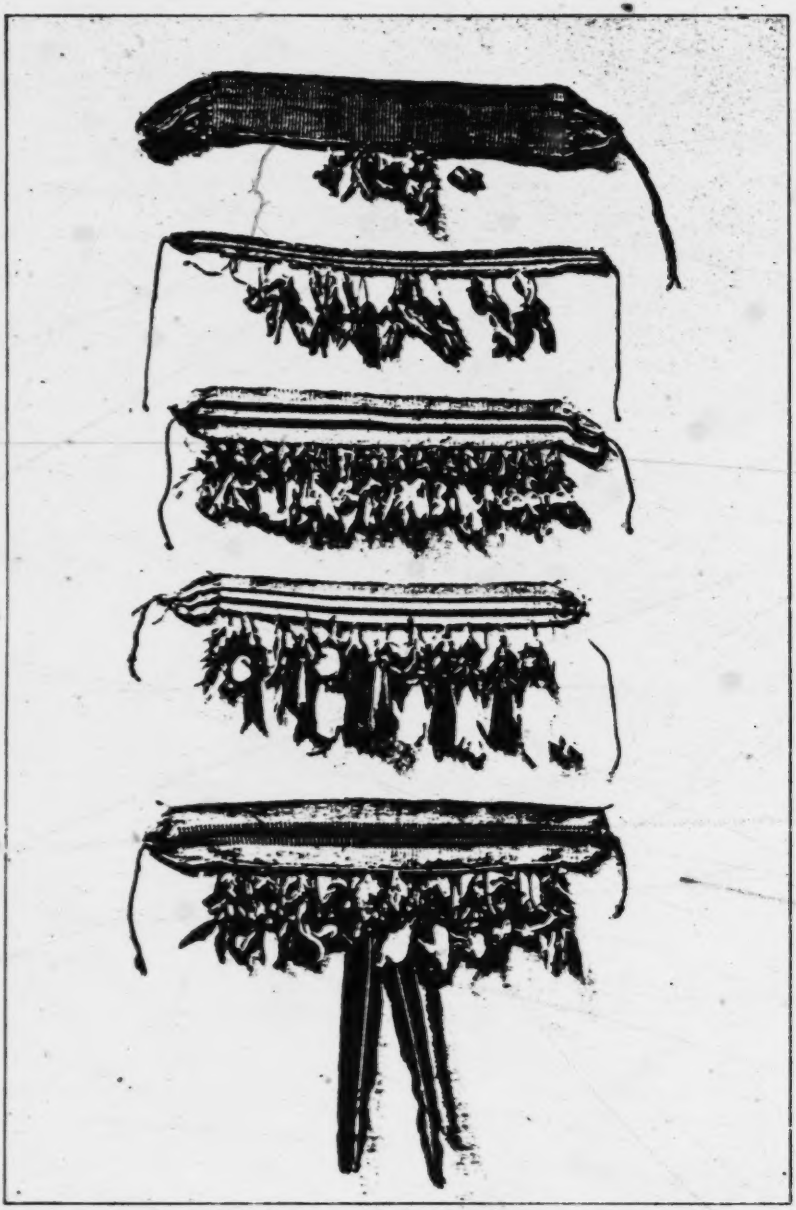


1.—5. Plaited cotton belts with feather pendants.

/246 cont./

222 the wax (tăbōlă)[1] is stored in large lumps; it constitutes one of
[237] their most important gluing and packing mediums and as such is
[232] everywhere offered in quantities by the women to passing boats. The chief gathering period of the honey seems to commence in October.

224 While the gathering of these foods is bound to specific
[221] seasons and requires journeys often weeks long, in order to collect large amounts, the daily animal food is obtained in short expeditions from the villages by means of all kinds of traps.

[433] It should be noted that the hunting of birds and land
[226] animals is completely overshadowed by fishing. In general, of course, the land is poor in animals as compared to the water. There is only a little big game to be hunted: red deer (bŏlōlă), roe, tapirs [(k)ōlĭ], monkeys (1), wild pigs (ĭsă), and possibly

[237] [262]

1. Howling monkeys are shot only for the bones, which are used for arrow points, lip plugs, and arrows, but not for food.

also /247/ jaguars (ănlōă); smaller animals are more frequent, but very shy and difficult to hunt (agouti, tsŭsŏ; capybara, hūă, etc.).
223 The choice of birds is likewise not very large. Above all, gallinaceous birds (jacu, bĕdjŭă; mutum, etc.) and pigeons, as well as ducks (hăăkŏlĭnĭ, hĕdaŭlĕ, dōălălă) and divers, come into
262 consideration. I was unable to find out whether they eat ostriches, or how they feel about lizards, crocodiles, and boa constrictors, which Königswald reports are eaten. The small choice of game animals is even more restricted by all kinds of so-called food prohibitions. Thus, this person will not eat this animal, and that person that one. Some animals are generally not eaten, though
224 they could furnish a great deal of meat. Hunting only plays a secondary role in the economy of these Indians.

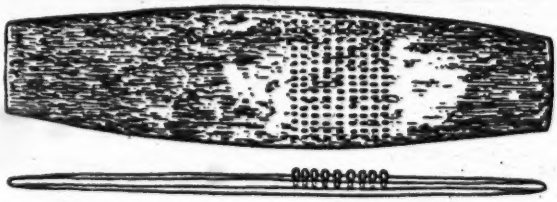
For wild game they set out individually or in company; wild pigs in particular are always hunted in company. It is
[222] strange that the chief never goes along on the hunt, though he does engage in fishing. Only large animals are hunted; the young ones are allowed to run away.

[1] [i.e., bee's wax --Analyst]

/253 cont./

262 follows: The root, provided with incisions, /254/ is placed in
[412] water for several days, then scraped with a sharpened mussel shell,
[237] and after that grated on the wooden grater [(k)ōlānă]. The longish, rectangular, flat piece of wood bears in the center of one side several transverse rows of inset points of prejauva wood

[412]



Ill. 92.
Manioc grater.

[516] (Ill. 92). The woman kneels while grating and holds the piece of wood against her body and braced against the ground. The well-known palates of the pirarucú
[237] fish also serve as graters. After that the mass is mixed with water and placed on the rod-sieve [bŭlĕĭdjú,
[415] pronounced: brē(ĭ)djĕ]. This consists of thin little cane rods arranged side by side, which at rather wide intervals are interwoven with two strings, in the same way as the net coverings (Plate 55, Ill. 1). Such rod-

[412]

Ill. 93.
Stirring spoon.

sieves serve, for one thing, as sieves for pounded manioc and for potter's clay, and then, too, as a manioc press, and finally as a base in pottery-making. On such sieves, therefore, the mass of manioc is cleaned, large pieces are picked out, and the sieve, along with the mass, is then rolled up and at the same time pressed hard with the hands, so that the poisonous juice flows out.
[262] The resulting coarse flour (kĕnõdĕ) is cooked to a manioc mush, the common food of the Indians. The sweet manioc (aipim) is
[412] treated somewhat differently. It is cut up and crumbled and then
[412] pounded with the thick wooden pestle approximately one and a half meters long (hāŏ) in the mortar about 50 centimeters high and 26

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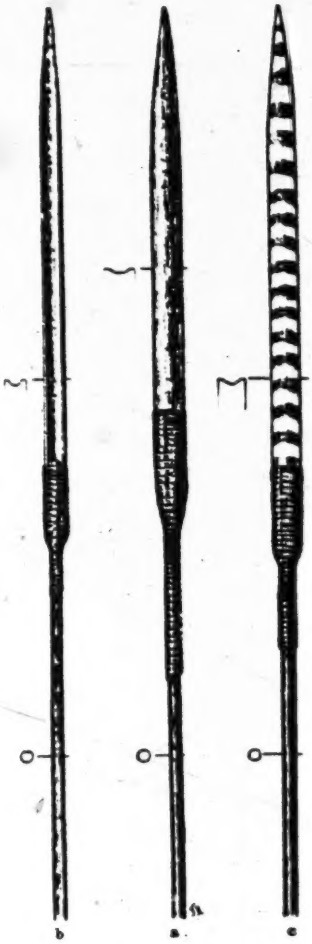
[227]
[237]



Ill. 114 a-c.
Arrows with bamboo knives as points.

Ill. 117.
Bone point to be stuck on arrow.

Ill. 115.
Arrow with bone points.

Ill. 116.
Arrow with ray-spine point.

/267 cont./

411 The arrows with the bone point set on them are used ex-
227 clusively for fishing. The bone point is set on in such a way
235 that its rear end projects laterally and thus forms a small barb.
[284] It is four to six centimeters long and is fastened to the wooden
[314] stem by a fine bast winding and a coating of black resin (Ill. 115). On my specimens this bone point is round throughout, whereas Ehrenreich brought back a second type of such arrow with a flat bone point (Berlin 4008) (1) and a third type with a tubular

1. I obtained arrows with flat bone points only from the Kayapó.

bone set on as a point (Berlin 4009). The stem in the case of these arrows is 40-50 centimeters long, sometimes natural color or painted red, but mostly painted black; the shaft has a length of 100-200 centimeters. The one reproduced in Ill. 117 was probably to be used as a point for an arrow with a monkey bone stuck on it (ũhĭdŏ, dũrŏlẽnĭdĭ).

A single arrow bears, instead of the bone point, one made of a ray spine (Ill. 116); it comes from the village on the Tapirapé mouth.

411 The stem of the point has no other ornamentation than the
314 black or red painting. It is inserted in the shaft and made fast
[531] in it with resin. In order to detach it from the broken shaft and set it on a new one, the tube is warmed over the fire until the resin melts and the stem can be pulled out. The shaft end is cut to fit for the insertion of the stem, so that the transition into the stem is gradual. When the stem is set into the shaft, the latter often splits; the cracks are glued over with black resin.

411 A black, narrow strip of embira is wound over the place
284 of insertion; it is fastened to the shaft with light-colored resin.
[314] This winding (dŏdĕ) is done in different ways; it either covers stem and shaft in a continuous course, or, separated from the short attachment-winding, there is a longer shaft winding whose intermediate space is sometimes bridged by spirally wound or
[531] crossed winding. At this place one arrow will bear spiral incised ornamentation (ŭŏhũlădĭ, ĭlãdĭ), another a black and yellow plaiting. A three-part attachment-winding is very rare (Ill. 118).

/267 cont./

411 The shaft (b'dõlẽ) consists of taquara cane. This cane
[824] seems to occur south of the Rio Tapirapé only in the region of the south horde. At the southern end of Bananal Island I came across a village that was on the move southward in order to obtain taquara for their arrows near Leopoldina. The shaft is 0.8-1.0 centimeters thick on the average; its length fluctuates, depending on the type of point (see above). I never saw shaft decorations.

411 The feathering, on the average, is 17-22 centimeters long.
237 Of all my arrows there are only two exceptions, one of which is 15 centimeters long, the other 31. The feathering is attached directly to the lower end of the shaft. Ehrenreich reports that the feathered end is often set into the shaft separately. His assump-
[114] tion that in this case the arrows had been repaired /268/ is confirmed by a specimen in my collection which was thus restored (Ill. 119a).

Great care is used in the construction of the feathering. It
[284] consists of two feathers standing opposite each other, the upper tips of which are held fast by the notch-lashing, and the inner
[314] vanes of which are clipped short. At the place where the quills are supposed to be fastened, the shaft is rubbed with resin; the halved quill ends are pressed on it, whereupon the vanes are set vertically to the shaft and /Ills. 118 and 119 appear here/ are given a turn (an eighth to a quarter of the circumference of the
[284] shaft) (Ill. 119b). Then the quill ends are tightly wound with
[283] black cotton thread (ãsõdẽbẽ), whereupon the outer vanes are cut to shape (Ill. 119c). In former times, the feathers were given the desired shape by singeing, but since the introduction of iron shears they are cut. Not until the feathering is finished is the point inserted.

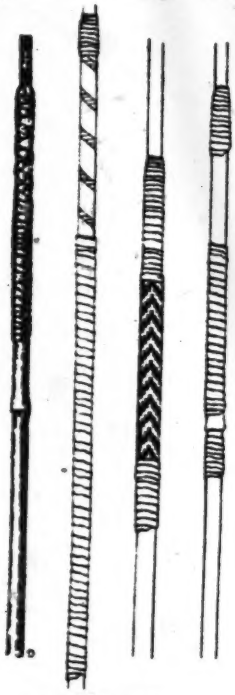
A different kind of feathering (spiral winding through the two halved /269/ /Ill. 120 appears here/ /270/ feathers) is found in the case of a few children's arrows of the north horde (see "Children's Toys" /see p. 241/). It is not yet certain whether this is an old feathering that has now become lost to adults.

/270 cont./

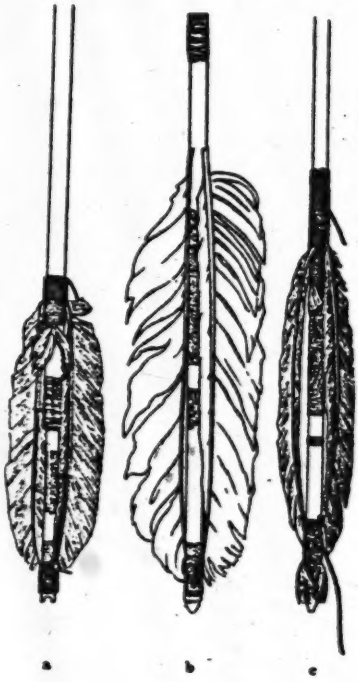
411 Little feathers which project in toward the inner part
237 of the feathering and are mostly red, more rarely yellow, are tied into the cotton winding on the quill ends.

[531] The shaft part between the feathers is mostly decorated by bands or rings of red or yellow lacquer (Ill. 120 a-k). This

[284]



Ill. 118.
Point of attachment between the arrow shaft and point stem.



Ill. 119 a-c.
Feathering: a) completed end, b) putting on the feathers, c) complete feathering.

decoration is put on only for the sake of a pleasing appearance.

411 The notch winding consists of fine white cotton thread.
283 In the case of the arrows of the Karajá it extends up to the
[184] notch. According to Kuriší, the characteristic of Karajá arrows lies in this; the Šavajé arrows are said to exhibit a small space between notch and lashing. Among the Šavajé, however, I also obtained arrows with the Karajá winding; perhaps this

[Text Continues on P. 190]

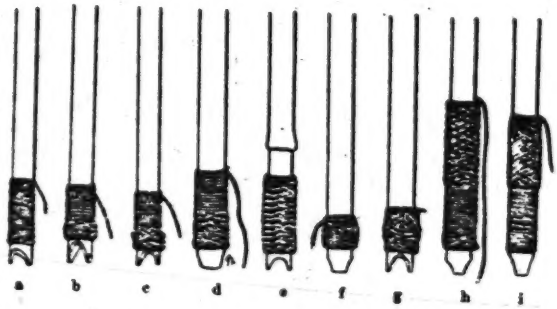
/270 cont./

411 goes back to the lively interchange between the two peoples.

283 The winding consists of parallel circuits; only the uppermost layers show deviations through a crossing of the threads (Ill. 120 a-i). According to Kuriš, four cross-threads are supposed to be characteristic for the Karajá, two cross-threads for the Tapirapé. I did not find this remark confirmed; rather, there was a positively magnificent wealth of the most diverse crossings. The arrows with the two cross-threads (Ill. 121b) and the differently executed notch windings in Ill. 121 h, i, however, were present in the village on the Tapirapé mouth.

[284]

[284] [412] [237]



Ill. 121.
Notch winding of the arrows.

Ill. 122.
Club groover.

Apparently these windings are the insignia of the makers of the arrows; for upon being questioned about the latter, foreign Karajá always examined the notch-end. I could not find out anything more specific about this, however, especially not whether each individual had his particular mark or whether families (or totem groups?) made specific marks which were the same for all members.

411 The notch (dōnăwŭdŭlōnă) is not cut in very deep and is slightly diagonal. In the case of a few arrows, two little red /271/ feathers are tied into the notch winding and project in the back, beyond the end (Ill. 119c). According to the statement of the Indians, they serve to send off the arrow more easily and do not tire the hand so much.

/271 cont./

411 The club (gŏhŏrdĕ) is the true war weapon of the Indians. The Karajá do not undertake a boat trip without having the club in the boat, along with arrows and bows, and on land journeys it is usually their sole companion. Even in the villages one sees the Indians, if they are armed at all, walking around with clubs.

The clubs are made of heavy wood (wŏālūŏ). They are round, become thicker toward the striking end, and terminate in a pointed convexity with a sharp edge. The handle end terminates in a knob which is separated from the club by a thicker intermediate piece with two or three deep grooves. In Ehrenreich, the number of grooves varies between one deep one and four or five shallow grooves, while his Šambioá clubs show three grooves throughout. The type of clubs (and oar handles) which Ehrenreich brought back from the Šambioá, on which the intermediate piece is divided by a long, thin, smooth piece with wide, thick pieces projecting over it at both ends and each bearing a groove (3979 and elsewhere), does not occur among the Karajá.

The upper half of the club (from the striking end) is provided with lengthwise grooves. I did not see any smooth clubs such as Ehrenreich brought back. This lengthwise grooving is [412] made with the tooth of a rodent (cutia: hâ͡ulĭ; according to [237] Ehrenreich, also agouti or capybara) fastened to a wooden stick (Ill. 122). This grooving instrument, called hâ͡ulīdjŭ (= cutia tooth), is therefore not used to make arrows, as Ehrenreich assumed.

Occasionally there have remained standing in the length- [531] wise grooving two diametrally placed smooth stripes about one centimeter wide, which, for the entire length, are decorated with incised decorations (Ill. 123).

411 Only rarely does one find clubs that bear a patterned plait- 285 ing of yellow taquara cane and black embira around them (Ill. 124).

This plaiting is always present in the small club-sticks, which I never saw in use and which Königswald designates as dance clubs. They either have the shape of the clubs, without, however, having a special handle, or they end in a wide blade and have an offset handle (Pl. 56, Ill. 3 a-c). The first type is

/272 cont./

411 The point is formed by a sharpened thigh bone of the [237] jaguar; /Pl. 56 appears here/ /273/ it is about 20 centimeters [284] long. Where it is mounted on the shaft, the latter is wound for about ten centimeters with red cotton string, from the upper circuits of which long tassels of arara feathers hang down. To

Ill. 123. Club.

Ill. 124. Club with plaiting around the handle end.

Ill. 125. Child's club. Karajá.

Ill. 126. Lance.

411 285 this winding is joined below a patterned plaiting which consists To of yellow longitudinal strips of taquara interwoven crosswise all [531] around with strips of embira. The plaiting is 50-80 centimeters long; its ornaments are the common plaited ornaments (1).

[113] 1. See my article, "Die Kunst der Karajá-Indianer /The Art of the Karajá Indians/," Bässler Archiv, Vol. II, No. 1, 1911.

[Text continues on p. 195]

/281 cont. /

412 Brazilian inhabitants, to be noted. This shows us how tenaciously
178 the Karajá cling to their nationality, in spite of long association with their civilized neighbors.

311 C. The exploitation of the natural kingdom varies in intensity; the mineral kingdom is exploited least, the vegetable kingdom, which can, of course offer the Indian the most abundant resources, the most.

135 The mineral kingdom is as yet little utilized. Stones are rare in the alluvial valley of the Araguaya; at most there is small rubble on a few sandbanks; otherwise fine sand covers the river valley. On the steep vertical banks there is canga, a ferrous sandstone which cannot be utilized except perhaps in larger pieces which, with plaiting around them, serve as anchors for turtle tackle. Stones are found only north of the Tapirapé, and all of the few stone implements that were present came from there.

317 More frequently used is the gray clay which is embedded in
323 narrow layers in the sandstone of the high banks. It is used for pottery. This art, however, in its technique and form, is still very primitive; ornamentation is entirely lacking. The vessels are shaped according to their practical use; they are made by
562 the women. Apparently the women are more practical and less artistically endowed than the men, for we find everywhere that the things made by the women are simple and practical, those by the men, by contrast, show pleasing forms and ornamentation.

317 Earths are also but little utilized as colors.

237 The animal kingdom is utilized somewhat more intensively for technical purposes by the Indians. Bones and teeth of mammals are worked into tools and ornaments; mussel shells serve as implements. The bird kingdom is most abundantly drawn upon: their brilliant feathers are used for magnificent ornaments such as
235 scarcely any other Indian tribe displays in this abundance. In order to have the material for this always at hand, the Indians keep young birds, taken from the nest, tamed in their huts in order to
237 pluck them from time to time. The wax of bees plays an important role as gluing material.

/284 cont./

230 321 The utilization of the animal kingdom for technical purposes is likewise confined within narrow limits.

F. Bones have multiple uses when sharpened to a point. The thigh bones of the jaguar, tapered and sharpened, are used as spear points; the cutting surfaces and edges are carefully smoothed. Howling-monkey bones (ǎzõdĭ) find the most use as lip plugs, piercer for lip and ear holes, and points for the fish arrows. It is not known what kind of bones are used to make the small needles for sewing hats, which are round in front and bear a small eye in the flat end-piece (Ill. 140). All these /285/ bone tools are well polished. Unfortunately I could learn nothing about how they are made.

A piece of the breastplate of the tartaruga is made into flat spindle disks (Ill. 144a).

The hard palates of the pirarucú fish are used in their crude state as a grater, as well as the teeth for ornaments and tools. The incisors of the capybara are fastened as the supreme ornament on the mother-of-pearl disks of the ear rosettes of small [435] children. These teeth are among the most valuable objects of the Indians, for the timid animals are very difficult to hunt. They are kept in pairs of equal size, usually a pair of smaller ones and a pair of larger ones are placed one on top of the other, glued with wax, and wound with cotton threads (kũwä, Ill. 64). The tooth of the cutia is lashed to a wooden stem with cotton thread and, mounted in this way, serves for grooving the clubs (Ill. 122).

Shells are used in part in the crude state, in part worked. The most important kinds are (Pl. 45, Ill. 1 a-c): the triangular shell (bũlŭ), the mother-of-pearl shell (ŏzĭnŏhŏ), the two-pointed shell (dãlä, ĭdjé). Lip plugs are made from the fine two-pointed shell or the thick triangular shell, and from the latter in such a way that the freely projecting, arched end is removed from the thick, hinged part of the shell. Nothing is known about the manner of manufacture; the edges are well ground. Mother-of-pearl shells are ground on stone into small round disks for ear rosettes and stool eyes. Crude, rectangular pieces of shell with

/285 cont./

237 two holes in the center are sewed on the belt of the long string-
321 skirts of the girls (Ill. 69), as well as on the cylinder-bands of the dance masks. As spoons and scrapers they use mother-of-pearl mussel shells, which are only slightly worked, but are usually used in the crude state.

287 Concerning the feather technique, see below in connection with the tying, knotting, and plaiting technique /see pp. 233 ff./.

824 The utilization of the vegetable kingdom is very extensive. The cane species are used remarkably little; apparently the region is poor in them.

G. The wood of trees is made into boats, poles, oars, mortars and pestles, stools, lances, bows, throwing boards, arrow points, manioc grating boards, lip plugs, comb teeth, etc. Soft or hard woods are used, depending on the purpose. I was not always able to learn which kinds of wood were used for the individual implements. Spears consist of so-called aruera wood, bows of hard palm wood, boat poles of long, slender trees with very light wood. Soft wood is used for stools, lip plugs, and manioc grating boards; all the other implements consist of hard wood. Of the cane species, taquara is used as arrow shafts, gibade and similar types as ear rods.

396 I am most fully informed about boatbuilding. The boats
[462] are built by the men. All of them understand this art, though
[937] many confine themselves to buying boats from others in exchange
[463] for an iron axe. /286/ Apparently certain persons make boats in larger numbers for the village and then sell them. Thus, a few hours downstream from Schischá I met two families from this village who had erected temporary huts for themselves here in the wilderness, in order to build boats in the vicinity. The making of a small boat is said to take four days, a larger one eight days. These time estimates, however, seem to me to be
[824] very low. The trunk of the lantim tree (Calophyllum: dälïö) is used as material for the boats; Ehrenreich mentions pau d'arco and jatoba, Königswald also jatahy and others. The trees are felled in the forest and crudely worked; first the outer shape is hewed out with an ax and then the interior is likewise hollowed

Plate 58

1. Addition to pottery clay.

2. Pot bottom with rod-sieve texture.

3 a-c. Feather gourd-vessels.

4. a Bunch of imbauva fibers. b Bunch of buriti fibers.

5. Sample of basket plaiting.

8 a and b. Manner of storing feathers.

7. Ball of cotton.

6. Spindle with picked-cotton band.

10. Monkey-skull rattles.

11. Funerary urn.

9. Bamboo trumpet.

313 ← 415

285 →

283

764 415 →

534 [237] ←

/290 cont./

285 The baskets show great variety. The individual types are similar to those described by Max Schmidt, so I can limit myself

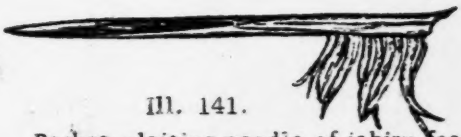
294 285

Ill. 140.

Bone needle for sewing the hat strips together.

Ill. 139 a-c.
Hat-plaiting strips: a) four-part, b) eleven-part, c) nine-part.

285
[237]



Ill. 141.
Basket-plaiting needle of jabiru feather quill.

to very brief descriptions.

In the case of large round baskets (wälilĩ, Ehrenreich rorä; Pl. 57, Ill. 3) with a forehead carrying-strap, which are used to transport manioc, the edge consists of the split palm-rib. The pinnae are interwoven and provide a meander-type design. The bottom is reinforced by being interwoven with a second layer of individual pinnae which are cut to the specific length
[237] with piranha teeth. A thick jabiru feather quill 16.5 centimeters

/290 cont./

285 (287) long and pointed at one end serves to lift the plaiting strips of the first layer and to push the pinnae of the second layer under them. This feather-quill plaiting-needle is called wälisilüdssonä (Ill. 141).

Back-baskets (behülé) consist of two caguassu fronds, the ribs of which form the two longitudinal stiffneners. The inner halves of the pinnae are plaited crosswise for the bottom, the outer pinnae are made into the openwork edge /291/ by twisting several pinnae together to form a support and the ends of these supports are joined together to form a longitudinal edge. In one specimen the lower edge is likewise tightly plaited (Pl. 57, Ills. 1 and 2).

In the case of pointed-oval (lälä; Pl. 57, Ill. 7) and canoe-shaped baskets (dälidun) with a broad bottom, which become narrow at the top, the edge is formed by two palm-leaf ribs placed one on top of the other, while the sides and the bottom are made with the pinnae plaited in a design; the bottom is double. Sometimes the upper edge is decorated with a wide strip of black embira sewed on it.

Small baskets with square bottoms and a round opening (mödi; Pl. 57, Ills. 8-11) usually have patterned walls, the designs of which are sometimes accentuated by black painting. Such baskets are used by small girls for storing cotton, crochet needles, crochet work, threads, etc. In the same manner, such little baskets are also plaited out of split cane. On these four black cotton strings which are drawn all around the basket serve as carrying-band.

Baskets and bags made out of one palm-leaf pinna. Oblong baskets (löülé) are plaited diagonally only halfway, while the other half is formed by the strong under parts of the pinna, which are bent outward from the stems projecting into the interior of the basket (Pl. 57, Ills. 12 and 13).

The rib bent all the way around forms the edge of the oblong, sack-like carrying bags (löłü; Pl. 57, Ill. 4), while the walls are formed by the pinna plaited in the center of the wall, the ends of

/299 cont./

303 next to one another and, at the place where the lower pair of cross-rods is fastened, lightly interlaced with cotton threads (Ill. 151). Then the two lower cross-rods are fastened over them, at first loosely with fine bast thread (Ill. 152), then permanently by means of a firm winding with cotton thread. Then the surface plaiting is put on; it is likewise only made by hand. Finally, the two upper cross-rods are put on and plaited over in the same manner as the lower ones. The patterns on the surfaces are the customary plaiting patterns. Cross-threads are often put on at the narrow edges (ill. 153).

●237 [301] L. The feather technique. In fastening, arrangement, and color combinations of the feathers, the feather ornaments of the Karajá present a rich diversity, richer probably than in any other Indian tribe. As material they use white down feathers from ducks and diving birds, small fine red feathers, small body feathers from parrots of all kinds, wing and tail feathers from araras, vultures, owls, and herons. I did not observe any coloring of the feathers, on which Ehrenreich reported in "Beiträge," page [415] 14, nor was I able to find out anything about this. The down feathers are kept in special, small gourds which are closed with a wax knob or a bast stopper (Pl. 58, Ill. 3 a-c). The small fine red feathers are tied side by side on a string and wound spirally on a rod. Parrot feathers are placed in the baskets in small bundles or arranged fanlike side by side (Pl. 58, Ill. 8b). Wing and tail feathers are arranged in wings, and, indeed, in decreasing length. Two such wings are usually placed with one on top of the other, so that the rows of feathers descend in the opposite directions (Pl. 58, Ill. 8a). This kind of arrangement is very durable and at the same time makes it possible to find easily the very feathers required.

Usually the feathers are used in complete form. Sometimes, however, they are clipped, and, to be sure, in the long direction for arrow feathering, but crosswise for feather ornaments of all kinds. Whereas at present this clipping is done with the shears, the feathers were formerly singed off in order to obtain the desired shape.

/299 cont./

237 284 [314] Fastening of the feathers to the underlayer. Down feathers are generally glued on, and, to be sure, with light resin. All other feathers are fastened differently according to the underlayer.

On rods. Long feathers are either stuck on with the quill on top of the wooden rod (feather wheels) or laid with the halved quill flat on the wooden rod, in which case quill and rod are joined at several places with fine bast (Ill. 154). Concerning arrow feathering, see above under "Weapons" /see pp. 183 ff./.

In order to fasten small little feathers, wide strips of cane are wound spirally with fine thread, whereby the small feathers are tied in in one direction (feather rod; Ill. 155a). Round rods are likewise spirally wound, and while doing so feathers are continuously bound in on all sides /300/ (rosette rod; Ill. 155b). The same principle is applied in the case of ear rosettes and ear tulips, except that there the winding is very tight and the feathers stand very close together; the latter are also spread out by means of the shell disk pressed on top of them; the same is true of the small rosettes which are knotted into the feather caps, except that here everything is done on the smallest scale.

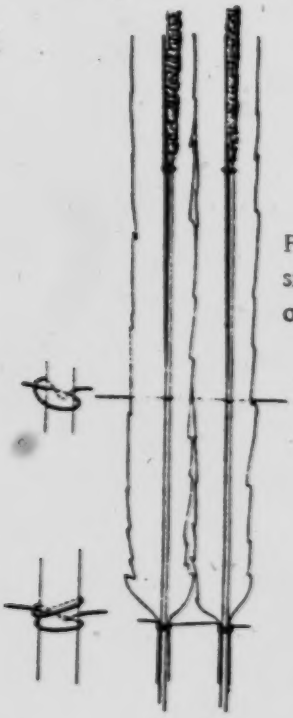
In the fastening to threads, we must distinguish between the feathers standing vertically and the hanging /Ills. 154-156 appear here/ feathers. In order to fasten feathers standing vertically to a string, the quills are bent at the bottom around a thicker string and then the bent end and the quill are wound with a cotton thread. There are differences only in the manner of winding. Either each feather is fastened separately (as in the feather caps, Ill. 77), or one thread joins the feathers continuously in that it is either wound once around each feather or is tied around each feather /301/ (Ill. 156), or, finally, in that the thread is wrapped or tied continuously twice around each feather (Ill. 154).

Hanging feathers are fastened to the thread in the same way as the upright feathers; the mutual joining of the individual feathers is achieved throughout by a continuous thread that is wound around the feathers.

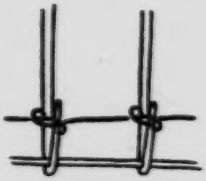
/301 cont./

237 284 As in the case of the rosette rods, thick cotton strings are also sometimes wound around spirally, and feathers are continuously tied on.

The fastening of the feathers among themselves is peculiar. Feathers of the same size are either united in bunches which are made by joining two feathers at the bottom by the quills, and the



Ill. 154.
Tying on the long feathers of the feather wheels to the wooden rods.



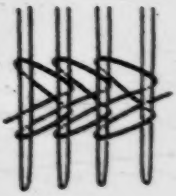
Ill. 156.
Fastening the feathers side by side by means of a continuous string.

Ill. 155 a, b.
a) Feather rod.
b) Rosette rod.

threads of a number of such feather pairs are tied together into a bundle, /Ills. 157 and 158 appear here/ or by arranging them side by side (see above, feathers fastened to threads , as well as in Ill. 157 /see p. 236/, the joining of the feathers for storage wings [Pl. 58, Ill. 8 a, b]). Sometimes these feathers are joined halfway up by a thread which is drawn from quill to quill (Ill. 154).

/301 cont./

Smaller feathers are popularly fastened to larger ones. They are attached to the upper end of the large feather by the removal of the upper vane so that a piece of the quill remains standing; this quill end is coated with resin, and the small feathers are glued on it and wound. This winding is often covered further with white down feathers glued on it or with white raw cotton wrapped around it. It is especially popular to cover the lower quill ends of upright tall feathers with small feathers. In this case, the ends of the quills are wound spirally, whereby the little covering-feathers are tied in on the front side. 237 284



Ill. 157. Joining the feathers of the storage wing.

Ill. 158 a-d. Mountings of the pendant feathers: a) in small fruit, b) in Thevetia fruit, c) snail shell, d) in claw.

Frequently feathers are mounted in fruits, claws, etc., by having a thread drawn through the latter, at the end of which the small feathers are tied as a small cluster (Ill. 158 a-d).

/302/ Feathers (on feather caps) are sometimes reinforced by sewing together two halved feathers by means of a spiral winding with fine threads, in which case, however, the upper ends of the feathers are kept in complete form and overlap each other. The seam is then not visible from the front (Ill. 159).

With regard to the grouping of the feathers, the general rule is that the lower ends must be covered. Hence almost everywhere we find covering layers in the form of smaller feathers which are 237

/302 cont./
237 tied in front of the large feathers, or down feathers glued on with
[301] resin. In the case of the feather wheels, for example, entire bands of feathers are tied in front of the main layer of the wheel as covering layers, and, to be sure, among the Karajá these are always two layers of feathers of different lengths and different colors.

237 Color combinations play an important role in surface
301 feather-ornamentation, whether it be upright or hanging; a
531 lesser one, on the other hand, in the case of cluster-like ornamentation. The following combinations are most popular: yellow and red feathers side by side or on top of each other; dark green, white, and yellow feathers.

Ill. 159
Reinforcing feathers by sewing two halved feathers together.

Surface feather-ornamentation. In the case of the feather wheels the covering layers appear only on the front side, and, to be sure, there are always two, of which the uppermost, shorter one is white, green, or variegated, the second, longer one generally dark green. The main layer, but for one exception (feathers of the roseate spoonbill), consists of white jabiru feathers. In one specimen these are interrupted in three places by three inserted blue arara feathers. The little end feathers which are put on the upper end of the feathers of the main layer are yellow or variegated and usually bear small red covering-feathers.

Diadems consist of colorful feathers of various birds or of green and red feathers that alternate in groups. In the case of the solid diadem (Pl. 48, Ill. 7) small red feathers are fastened to the rods wound with white, and small yellow feathers to the rods wound with black.

/302 cont./

237 301 531 Forehead feathers usually consist of long, dark green feathers, the quills of which are covered with yellow-green parrot feathers. Deviating from this, one tuft has one red and one green feather, which are covered at the bottom with a red and yellow feather-rod; another has two blue feathers including a red feather, and the quills are covered with small yellow feathers.

Tufts on forehead hoops consist of long, blue arara feathers. The forehead hoops themselves are made of red or yellow feathers (forehead hoops without feather tufts are generally made of only red feathers). One such feather tuft bears covering feathers at the bottom, which are tied on in the manner of the feather rods, and, to be sure, from the bottom up, first little yellow, then little red feathers. At the upper end the long tuft feathers bear yellow end feathers with small little red covering feathers.

/303/ Flat ear rosettes, if they are of one color, always consist of little red feathers; if they are multicolored, of red and yellow feathers, and, to be sure, a yellow outer and a red inner layer occur, as well as the opposite of this. Ear-tulips consist of yellow, reddish, or variegated parrot feathers and on the inside bear a red feather wreath, if they have one at all.

The pendant feather ornamentation on the waist belts is shaped very diversely. Rosette-rods, which essentially consist of yellow feathers, are usually attached to them. In the case of one belt the lower ends of these yellow rosette-rods are formed by bluish feathers; in another the two center rods bear long red arara feathers as end pieces. In the case of a third belt, the feather rods are red in the upper half, yellow in the lower; finally, in the case of a last belt, the yellow feather-rods alternately bear white, long feathers or red cotton strings at the lower ends. Other hangings alternate with these feather rods on the lower edge of the belt: three to four Thevetia pendants at a time, small shells, shell and Thevetia pendants together. One belt alternately bears two Thevetia fruits with little variegated end feathers at a time and in between a red feather set directly on the edge of the belt.

/303 cont. /

237 301 531 Arm bands bear either rosette-rods which carry short feathers on top and long ones on the bottom (yellow on top, red on the bottom, or the reverse) or layers of feathers which are usually gaily-colored in the same color, but which, in one specimen, consist of a red covering layer on a yellow main layer.

287 53 301 The transition to the cluster-like feather ornamentation is represented by the feather caps, which have either single feathers tied into them or small rosettes, which are often arranged in zones of the same color. Feather caps of one color consist of yellow, red-yellow, variegated, and white feathers; one cap, as a rarity, bears long white heron feathers. In the case of multicolored feather caps, we distinguish the border feathers from those of the cover. The cover feathers are usually one color (red, seldom white), seldom multicolored (red and blue arara feathers, the same mixed with vulture feathers or even with pink heron feathers). The border feathers consist either of a zone of red or mixed red and yellow feathers, or pink heron feathers, or of two zones, which from bottom to top are pale blue and green, or of a yellow hoop and red rosettes, or of white feathers and red and pale blue rosettes. Only one specimen shows three border zones, namely, a yellow hoop at the bottom, above it red feathers, and above them yellow feathers.

237 301 The cluster-like feather ornamentation is not very diverse. Feather tassels in fruits, snail shells, and the like are red throughout, irrespective of whether they appear on arm bands, ear pendants, combs, or the like. Feather tassels as arm bands consist of red rosette-rods or variegated feathers; as tuft feathers they bear long, colorful parrot feathers on red rosettes. On bows they consist of red rosettes, from which usually hang long, red or yellow feather clusters; on spears they are made up of red or red-yellow rosettes with long clusters of colorful arara and parrot feathers, and on gourd rattles they consist either of /304/ individual feathers or of clusters of yellow or variegated feathers or of rosette rods with clusters of long arara feathers.

/304 cont./

386 [824] M. Coloring substances and adhesives. By way of coloring substances, besides urucú red (Bixa orellana) and genipap black (Genipa brasilensis), which are used essentially as body colors, only black and white occur as technical colors. The white earth (mǎnāŭlǎ = white stone) serves as white; it is pounded and used above all for painting the bow-wood winding. It is also used for making spinning whorls. Black loam (zŏŭblūlŭ) is used for black coloring. Embira is colored with it by heaping wet black loam over the bast and letting it lie this way for a night. Cotton is dipped in boiling water and then drawn through the loam standing nearby in a pot. This is repeated several times until the threads are sufficiently blackened. Cotton is colored red with urucú oil color only after the completion of the object concerned. Concerning the storing and the trade form of urucú red, see p. 100 and Ill. 40 /see p. 103/.

237 The universal adhesive substance is beeswax (tǎbōlǎ) that is stored in spherical form and is offered to passing travelers in bulk as material for boat calking. Jatobá resin (kūwǎŏ), a light, transparent, hard resin, is also used a great deal. From it the red, lacquer-like resin (daûmālĕ), such as is used to decorate the feathered end of the arrows, is made in the following manner: the resin is softened in a pot over the hearth fire, urucú color is poured in, the two are mixed, and the whole is allowed to stiffen. The black, lacquer-like resin (dŏwŏdālǎ), which serves the same purpose, seems to be made in a similar manner by adding black coloring. Both kinds are stored in large lumps which seldom have a definite shape. For fastening the mother-of-pearl eyes on the stools, the little down feathers on the bodies of children etc., a soft, yellow resin is used (kōōdĭ), which is stored in a piece of palm leaf folded together.

381 314

/316 cont./

534 There are various kinds of whistles.

[824] The gourd whistle (wŏlăwŭk, ădjūlōnă, lăkŭ) consists of a small, twin-bellied bottle-gourd 8.2 centimeters long, whose smaller belly is cut off crosswise (Ill. 179a). At this cross-cut surface the gourd is blown on from one side and then produces a shrill, high tone.

[824] Buriti-leaf whistles (ădjūlōnă) consist of a narrow buriti leaf strip which is rolled up spirally and then pressed flat. By means of a narrow bast-band wrapped around it the whistle re-rains its shape. Such whistles are about three centimeters wide and one to two and a half centimeters high and sometimes have a middle reed, while in other specimens this is lacking (Ill. 179b). They are blown by sticking one end of the whistle flat into the mouth.

[237] /317/ The scraper from the shell of the kōdŭ turtle (hūli-hūlĭ) is made from the shell, eight centimeters long and three centimeters wide, in such a way that the tail end of the hollow is completely glued over with wax, while the neck peg of the ventral shell is surrounded by a thick layer of wax (Ill. 180a). One takes the shell in the right hand, places it with the wax peg inclined somewhat /Ills. 179-181 appear here/ obliquely against the tightly stretched palm of the left hand, and strokes the peg vigorously downward over the sweaty palm (Ill. 180b), by means [533] of which a squeaky, muffled sound is produced. According to statements by the Indians, the instrument is said to be used when boys come out of the forest. I did not succeed in finding out whether this is a reference to boys' training, initiation, etc. in the forest.

[533] Rattles serve as the sole instrument accompanying their songs. On all the rattles, the stem is led through the entire body of the rattle and /318/ is fastened at both ends with wax. It is kept plain and only rarely has plaiting around a bit of it. Its length below the body of the rattle varies between nine and 16 [237] centimeters. Monkey-skull rattles, for which monkey skulls seven centimeters long and four to five and a half centimeters wide are

[Text Continues on P. 260]

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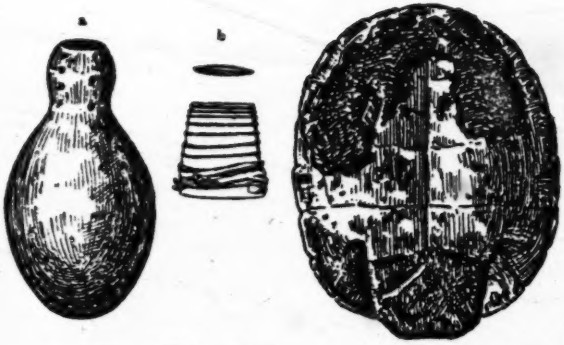
[824]

[237]



Ill. 179 a, b.
Whistles:
a) gourd, b) leaf.

Ill. 180 a, b.
Turtle-scraper and its manipulation.

[531]

Ill. 181a, b.
Gourd rattles.

/318 cont./

534 used, are very rare. I came across only two of these specimens
[237] (Pl. 58, Ill. 10 a, b). Otherwise gourds (ŭälŭ) are commonly used
[824] as the bodies of rattles, which are usually 12-15.5 centimeters long and 5.5-13 centimeters thick (a small rattle is 6.5 centimeters
[531] long and 6 centimeters thick). Most of these gourd rattles are carved with the customary designs (1); many bear feather ornaments

[113] 1. See my article on "Die Kunst der Karajá-indianer," Bässler Archiv, Vol. II, No. 1.

on the stem end projecting out of the gourd at the top (Ill. 181 a, b). These rattles are swung rhythmically in the hand by the masked dancers.

533 Singing plays a considerably larger role. Only the men sing; it is only during the period of mourning that the women, like the men, intone monotonous songs of lament in a high pitch. The singing is one-part singing; mass singing seldom occurs. Only once did I hear a cappella singing. During dances two men simultaneously sing the same thing; otherwise they sing individually, especially when fishing. Apparently the Karajá are very musical;
[176] they sing gladly and well. Most of their songs are masked-dance songs, but it seems as though certain people invented and handed down specific songs. It was often said to me: this is the song of this boy or of that youth. Certain dances and songs seem to be transmitted through tradition only in certain families; others are quite familiar with them, but do not sing them. In 1908 Chief Ilk in Village 13 just below Izabel do Morro knew most of the songs. He was almost inexhaustible. The wŏřizŏ dance and song were handed down in his family. He knew not only Karajá songs, but also sang songs of the Šavajé and Tapirapé. He knew as a singer in all the villages, and everywhere people requested me to
126 play back the phonograms recorded with him. In all I recorded
533 phonographically 44 cylinders of songs. The Indians liked to sing
152 into the apparatus, as soon as the initial shyness had been overcome. To do this I used European music, which amazed them very much. They laughed aloud in astonishment, and many held

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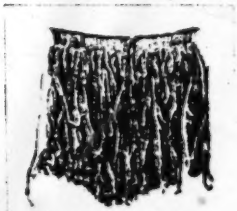
237

1. Arm wrapping with three string tassels.



2. Leg binding with tasseled fringe-hangings.

3. Small net-covering.

6. Forehead feathers.

4. Lulinā ornament.

5. Feather loop with tuft.

7. Forehead feathers.

9.

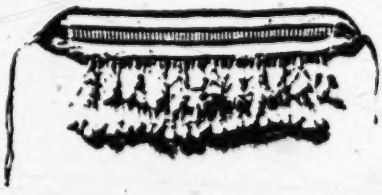
8.

Arm bands.

10.

11.

10, 11. Feather caps.



12. Cotton belt with hangings.

/356 cont./

301 as is always the case among the leg bands, reaches all around
184 (Pl. 59, Ill. 2). The third kind, observed only as an arm ornament (dēšiãdǎzi) and, dyed red, worn by youths on the lower arm behind the arm cuffs, is identical with the calf hangings of the Karajá (Ill. 75), whereas those intended for the upper arm resemble the fringed bands of the Karajá (Ill. 74 a, b). In these specimens the fringe reaches a length of 55 centimeters and is stored away plaited into thick braids (Ill. 191 a, b).

301 Among the feather ornaments, I obtained the hindhead
237 ornament lōlinǎ (Pl. 59, Ill. 4), many specimens of which were acquired by Ehrenreich from the Karajá, but which I did not find there. The specimen I acquired is incomplete, since the cane rods between the two plaited surfaces, into which the pink heron feathers are stuck, are not covered with feather wreaths. The plaiting is patterned and smeared with white color (cf. Ill. 192 a-c /see p. 319/, the construction of this ornament).

With regard to feather caps (dōlǐdōli), I acquired two specimens from the Šavajé in Schischá. Both bore the feathers arranged in three zones. In one specimen the lowest zone consisted of red feather rosettes, the middle one of clusters of two small blue-yellow arara feathers, the uppermost one of single
[531] long, colored feathers tied in (Pl. 59, Ill. 11). In the second specimen the lowest zone consisted of two rows of red rosettes, the middle zone /Pl. 60 appears here/ /357/ of two rows of yellow rosettes, the uppermost one of clusters of two colorful parrot feathers each (Pl. 59, Ill. 10). The feathers and rosettes, like those of the Karajá, are fastened, not in the knots, but on the threads of the net.

Of feather hoops I likewise obtained from the Šavajé in Schischá a specimen with a tuft (hǎnānǎ). The hoop bears little
[531] yellow feathers; in front, six long blue-black arara feathers are fastened standing upright, the quills of which are covered with small feathers (Pl. 59, Ill. 5).[2]

[2] See p. 311 -- Analysis

[Text continues on p. 319]

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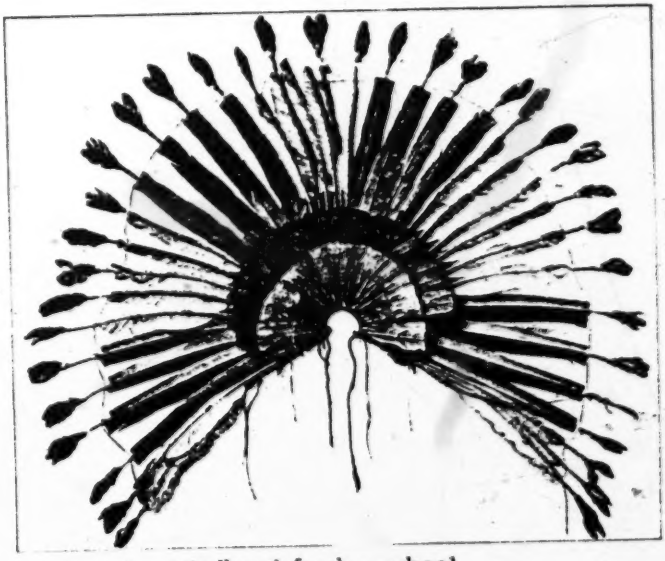
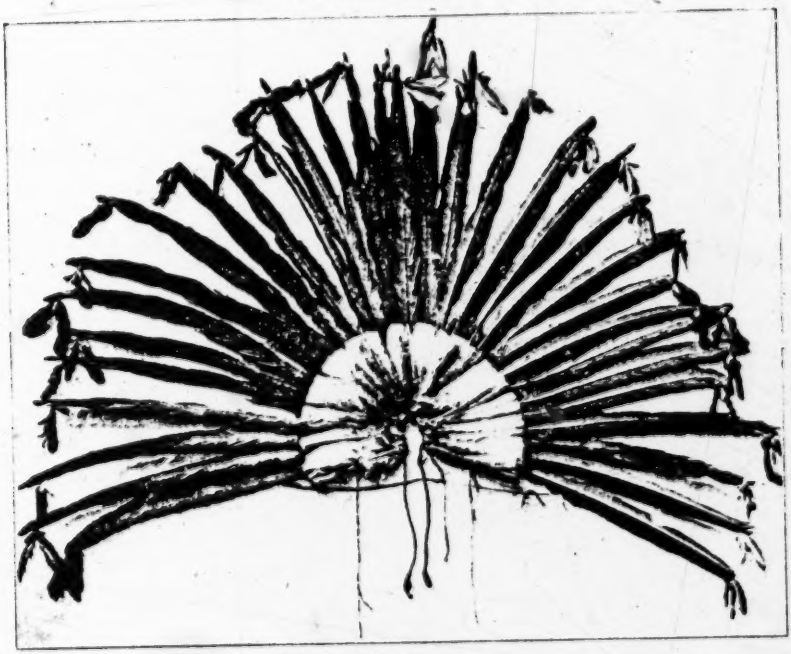


1. Hindhead feather-wheel.



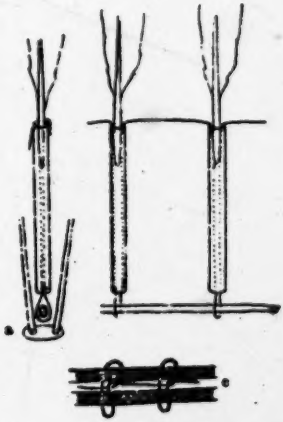
2. Hindhead feather wheel.

/357 cont./

301 Of feather wheels (lăhĭdŏ) I obtained four specimens from the
● 237 Šavajé on Bananal, one from those in Schischá. Of these only the one specimen from Bananal is like those of the Karajá. It consists of a large fan of pink heron feathers and blue arara feathers, which alternate with each other in groups of five or six and four pieces. The longer covering layer consists of blue arara feathers; the shorter

[283]

Ill. 191a, b.
Double-pad band with long string-hangings.
b) in storage form.



Ill. 192 a-c.
Construction of the lũliná ornament.
a) Cross-section through the two surfaces and the middle layer.
b) Fastening of the cane rods (feather bearers).
c) Tying the two surfaces together (seen from the inner edge).

upper covering layer, of pink heron feathers. Little yellow feathers are tied to the upper ends of the feathers of the main layer (Pl. 60, Ill. 1). All the other specimens bear on the main course of feathers only one covering layer, which consists, in the one specimen, of blue arara feathers, in another, of white jabiru feathers, and in the last two,

/357 cont./

301 of blue-green feathers. The main course of feathers shows the
237 following feathers in like sequences: pink heron and owl feathers, which alternate with each other, blue arara feathers (Pl. 60, Ill. 2), white jabiru /358/ feathers which, in the specimen from Schischá, are interrupted three times by two blue arara feathers. The little end feathers are yellow throughout.

I acquired two specimens of forehead feathers, which could perhaps belong to such feather wheels, but perhaps might also be worn standing up vertically, with the hoop placed around the face. In the case of one (wāidŏhĕ) the hoop is wound with a black cotton string; its ends are joined by a thin string. In front there are two feather tufts, each consisting of a rod with red feathers, which bears a yellow feather wreath on top, out of which project long dark green feathers. At the base, both rods are wound with white raw cotton (Pl. 59, Ill. 7). In the case of the other one (kōdšŭlŭkŭădšiŏ) the hoop is set with white down feathers; the tuft consists of several red arara feathers up to 35 centimeters long, which below are surrounded with bushy small red and yellow feathers and below that are wound with raw cotton (Pl. 59, Ill. 6).

Fine little red feathers (wālālă), little wing coverts of the roseate spoonbill, are fastened on a fine string and wound spindle-fashion on a rod. The string is many meters long. Ehrenreich brought back the same ornamental feathers from the Karajá. Allegedly they are used for head ornaments.

Of other ornaments there are:

[824] Necklaces of small, reddish-white fruits (šiūlâiiădĭ), which were very common, then feather arm-bands, some of which correspond to those of the Karajá. They bear either bunches of feathers at one place (Pl. 59, Ill. 8), or colorful layers of feathers on either side of a string (Pl. 59, Ill. 9).

Finger rings (dăbŏ) are likewise made from the tail rings of lizards and chameleons.

Plate 61

252

1. Grill of the Šavajé.

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[237]
[285]
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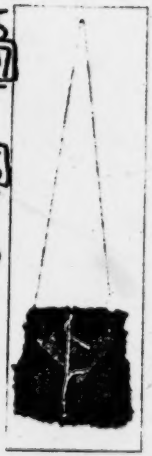
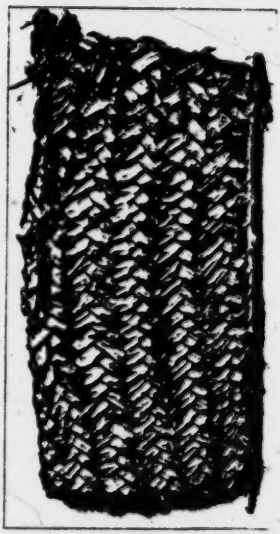
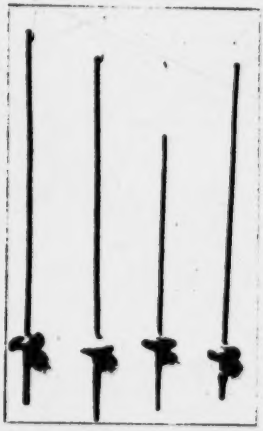


2. Tobacco pouch of monkey skin.



3. Carrying sack, plaited out of a palm frond.



a b c d

5. Spindles.
a Wax, b unfired, c and d fired clay.

283

4. Bow for picking cotton apart.

/361 cont./

411 (Ill. 196a). I did not see here clubs with plaiting around them or flat clubs.

[412] [237] [184] For grooving the clubs, the cutia tooth (haŭlidjŭ) mounted on a rod is also used by the Šavajé (Ill. 197).

As for lances (dōnōli), I acquired only one specimen, which looks very old. It is constructed like those of the Karajá. The shaft is 2.5 centimeters thick and 200 centimeters long, the bone

411
412
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[531]

Ill. 196 a, b. Savajé club. b) Handle end of a second specimen.

Ill. 197. Club groover.

Ill. 198. Arrow thrower. Savajé.

Ill. 199. Savajé oar.

411 point 19.2 centimeters, the red winding 11.5 and the plaiting 63 centimeters long. The feather tassels hang down 42 centimeters. The plaiting pattern is the vertical zigzag pattern.

/364 cont./

286 The making of the net coverings corresponds to that of the
184 Karajá, and the apparatus is just as primitive as it is there. A small apparatus is used for plaiting the girls' belts: on a long stick, at some distance from either end, a short cross-stick is tied. Around these the warp is then wound (Ill. 203 a, b). The weft is intertwined by hand.

Here, too, crocheting is done with iron crochet needles
[531] (deši̇̆dūnă). The handle is only rarely decorated and then only simply wound with red cotton thread (Ill. 204).

386 Coloring and adhesive substances are identical with those
314 of the Karajá. I obtained red dòmāle and black resin, zōbăda̧la,
184 both in pieces 12-15.5 centimeters long, 5.5-6 centimeters wide, and 2 centimeters thick, and convex on one side (Ill. 205). These are pressed in rod sieves, the texture of which is sometimes still recognizable on the surface.

524
531

Ill. 207 a-d.
Toy dishes.
a, b) Bowls, c) painted vessel, d) its design.

237 Feathers, for storing, are either tied in small bundles or, as among the Karajá, arranged as wings.

524 10. As children's toys, I brought back: small bows and arrows, of which the bows are very crudely made, whereas the arrows either consist of the pointed shaft, on which, in front, a small /365/ nut with lateral hole is sometimes pushed (Ill. 206 a-c), or exhibit a round, inserted wooden point. The feathering is the ordinary bunch-feathering. I did not see any imitations of guns
[531] here. As toy clay dishes I acquired two small bowls (wăd̆jiwĭ̆lĭōlȩĕ) and, in Schischá, a bowl and a vessel painted red on the outside, which is an imitation of a gourd spoon (207 a-d).

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

609 of them are painted black and red, and have their faces daubed Many
[302] with a thick layer of black soot; others wear upon their heads
[301] crowns made of beautiful feathers; while others again, have
[231] their hair braided and decorated with the brilliant crimson
[411] and gold feathers of the macaw. All are armed with spears beautifully decorated with feathers, and with bows and arrows and heavy killing clubs. They present quite a military spectacle.

Disembarking, the first thing the visitors do is to show the savages their arms, especially the repeating rifles, which fill them with awe. The chief now hastens to declare that he and his people are friends of the white man, saying: "The Karayá is the friend of the white man; there is no lie with us," repeating this twice. Confidence established, some trading may be done without difficulty. Small children, and particularly, young girls, are very shy of the strangers, and usually creep into their huts and cover their faces with their hands. The visitor is never troubled by beggars, and rarely has anything stolen from him.

131 The Karayáhy division live along the main stream of the
162 Araguaya between São José and Santa Maria in twelve or
[648] fifteen villages or encampments, one of which, near Santa Maria, was completely wiped out in 1881 by the Kayapó
361 tribe. Their villages are not so clean as those of the Sambiõa, nor are the huts so well constructed.

191 Observing the speech of the Karayá, one can scarcely notice any movement of the lips; nor do they seem able to repeat exactly a sentence just uttered. They have many sounds which they produce with the tongue and swallow the
192 last syllable. Apparently, their speech is not related to any Brazilian aboriginal language. The most remarkable thing about it is that they have one dialect for the men and another for the women; though only a few words are entirely different, and with most of them there is but a slight, unimportant change.

142 Physically, the Karayá are one of the finest of the aboriginal races of Brazil. They are of medium size, slender and

302 crown, leaving it two inches long and standing erect, pompa-
[437] dour fashion; while the back hair is braided neatly in a single braid, with a bunch of brilliant feathers fastened at the point, or it may be folded up in three or four folds and tied at the base of the head with a cotton string, to which is secured a bunch of long, bright feathers.

301 The ears of both sexes are pierced in infancy, and they
304 wear in them a reed six or eight inches in length and as large as a lead pencil, the greater length of which protudes toward the front and terminates in a bit of shell set in a rosette of crimson feathers.

304 The males, and they only, have the lower lip bored. This is done in childhood, and is probably the initiation ceremony into the rights of citizenship or membership in the tribe, just as a civilian is initiated into a lodge, or a child of Roman Catholic parents ceases to be a "pagan" and becomes a "christian" by reason of the baptismal ceremony. A plug,
301 or spíle of piuva wood is inserted into this opening in the lip, which is made larger and larger as the individual grows, until it will admit the thumb. The elderly men who have ceased to care much for display, usually wear nothing in the lip but a plug, cut off short; but the "smart" young men wear an ornament some eight inches in length, flattened like a blade just below the lip. The small boys wear a flat piece of shell an inch or two long, and in the form of a T, the cross-bar of the T holding the ornament in position. A much prized lip ornament, which is worn only on festal occasions, and at other times kept wrapped in cotton and securely laid away, is a long, heavy piece of rose-colored quartz. The lip end of this also is T, or dagger-shaped, so that it may not fall out. It is seven inches in length, and conical at the lower
[439] end. The Karayá do not make these, but get them in trade from the Tupý. This ornament is, of course, very heavy, and one wonders how it is possible to wear it; for even the lightest of these lip ornaments cause the lip to hang down in a very ugly fashion. To drink when the plug is out, the opening must be closed with the fingers.

Brazil.

Both sexes have a blue ring tattooed under the eye, forming a deep ugly scar, which is the special distinguishing mark of the tribe. 304 619

The Karayá take good care of the body, bathing many times each day—though this is more to cool and refresh themselves, and for sport—keep the hair well combed, and pull out the sparse beard. They formerly used the teeth of the piránha fish as a kind of saw with which to cut the hair, but they now have scissors. 515 302 412 237

As already stated, the men wear no clothing, or covering whatever. The sash, or apron, worn by the women, is made of the inner bark of the jangáda tree. It is prepared for use by first soaking it a day or two in water, then pounding it with flat stones, and finally drying it. When the wearer of this primitive apron sits, she passes it back between the limbs and sits upon it. Besides this costume, both sexes wear various armlets, wristlets and leglets, as ornaments, which are peculiar to each division of the tribe. Soon after birth, the child's wrists and legs below the knees, are adorned with broad bands made by weaving together cotton cordage on the limbs themselves; while a black cotton band girts the body as a bandage. When the infant is a few months old, these articles are removed, and broad cotton wristlets, leglets and anklets are woven on the limbs, a tassel of cotton cords being attached to the leglets. The boys wear the leglets, or garterlets, until the lip is pierced, while the girls wear them until married. The wristlets worn by adults, cover nearly the whole forearm. They are not put aside until after marriage, and many females wear them until the first child is born. When one of the couple dies, the survivor puts the wristlets on again. This custom has come down from the ancients. As the wristlets and leglets are usually woven on the limbs themselves, they cannot be removed without being cut off. For this reason, they are never removed, nor washed until finally thrown aside. But I found the Karayá quite ready to cut these articles off and give them to me in exchange for some articles I had which took their fancy. 291 [287] 301 [184] [283] [286] [437] [439]

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

clubs and lances, various kinds of clay pots and pans and 353
gourd-shell vessels occupy the corners of the hut.

A short distance from the encampment is the "Casa do 346
Bicho," or medicine hut; or better yet, the Demon Hut. It is roofed and closed in on three sides only. The side facing away from the village is always left entirely open. The [562]
women of the tribe are not allowed to go near this hut, or to look into it. In front of two Sambiõa villages, two dead 825
kingfishers were secured to the top of a high pole, for the purpose, probably, of keeping away the demons.

The Karayá have a few domestic, or domesticated crea- 231
tures. These are considered members of the family, and live 825
in and out of the family hut, and on equal terms generally with the people. These children of Nature are evidently lovers of Nature, and their mode of life can scarcely be conceived of without these creatures. The way they treat them indicates the idea they entertain regarding them and their doings—that they look upon them as their companions and equals. The feeling of companionship—even of relationship— with the animal world, is characteristic of the Karayá, and [538]
is evidenced by the way the animals are spoken of in their tribal legends, and by the fact that they have quite a treasury of animal fables. Although these people are successful 231
in taming wild creatures, they have never made any economic use of them as have the civilized people. They are captured while still young, and reared, but for no purpose, in most cases, other than to be kept as pets and esteemed members of the families of their captors, where their presence seems to give much pleasure. They are seldom thought of as regards any material benefits they may confer. The only economic [237]
use that is made of any of these creatures, is of those that have bright-colored plumage, which is used in the making of the many feathered adornments that are so much admired by these primitive people. Nor are these animals permitted to multiply themselves, if this can be avoided. Some poultry 235
is kept, which was obtained originally from the "civilized" [177]
Brazilians, and these, of course, multiply rapidly. But even

277 the genipapa or wine fruit, a very soggy, tough fruit as large as a pear. It looks and tastes something like a fig soaked in vinegar, but is much prized by the natives. But, as elsewhere mentioned, the palm is the never-failing friend of the children of Nature. One or another of its multitudinous varieties will have a little food of some kind for them every day in the year, such as nuts, fruits and vegetables; and besides, will furnish them the material for their huts, and [824] for bows, arrows and cordage. Though all else should fail, these trees will remain as a tree of life to them. It seems strange that they have no oranges. This fruit will flourish in this region, even doing well without any care, once it has been given a good start. The absence of this tree is the more remarkable because the Karayá are very fond of oranges, and undertake journeys lasting weeks to obtain them. Wild honey is also a much prized article of food, as it is among most South American savages. They make the wax into [237] black balls, or discs about one inch thick, to be used as a glue.

276 The Karayá have also a kind of tobacco, which contains but a slight percentage of nicotine. The dried leaves are kept in large, square packages covered with palm-leaves. To prepare it for use, it is pulverized between the hands, then smoked in a pipe that looks like a funnel-shaped plug. The pipe most used is one fashioned by Nature herself. It is a certain kind of fruit-shell, or pod, which is funnel-shaped and hollow. Failing this, a pipe is made of a kind of hard wood. The bowl and stem are one straight piece; therefore, when in use, the cavity is in a horizontal position, and not held upright, like the civilized (?) man's flue. The part that enters the mouth is so large that the lips are greatly distended in closing around it, hereby increasing the already ugly appearance of the mouth caused by the repulsive ornament in the lower lip. I have seen the front teeth hollowed somewhat to fit around this huge plug.

252 No less interesting than the kind of food used by these people, is the means whereby it is prepared for eating. In

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

Chapter IX.

KARAYÁ ACTIVITIES.—CANOE MAKING.—WEAPONS.—NATURE MADE UTENSILS.—ORNAMENT MAKING.—FAMILY LIFE.—PRIMITIVE ETHICS.—MARRIAGES.—CHILDREN.—GOVERNMENT.

The industrial activities of the Karayá now make a better showing than in former times, for their primitive tools are now more and more replaced by tools introduced from the civilized world. The old stone-axes have disappeared, and little is known of them. Ancient inscriptions and figures upon the rocks represent men with stone-axes in their hands, but these drawings belong to a remote period. 412 177 [172]

To-day, the only primitive implements of the Karayá are those that Nature furnishes them ready for use. Their scraping tools, for instance, are sharp-edged shells; their chisel-like instruments are the teeth of certain powerful rodents; and smooth, flat stones, formed by the action of the water, are used as discs upon which to beat and prepare the web of bark which is their cloth. 412 [237]

It cannot be said of the Karayá that their primitive industries have fallen, in any degree, into decay because they have begun to use the tools of civilized men. Adaptability, beauty of form, and carefulness of execution, is evident in all their workmanship. Canoe building among them, for instance, has reached a high degree of perfection, though the method of constructing them is very crude. These canoes, which are all dugouts, are long and slim, and taper gradually to a point at both bow and stern. This form is perhaps best 461 396 501

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

as a reserve, are kept wound around the bow. The Karayá take great pride in their bows, ornamenting them beautifully with tassels of brilliant feathers. 411 [531]

They use several different styles of arrows. Some are harpoon-like for fishing purposes; others are made with broad blades for hunting; while still others are for use in war. They are all made with the utmost care, as much as one or two days being consumed in the making of but one. Two or three different kinds of wood are always used in constructing a single arrow, one kind being for the spear, or lance part, another kind—heavy palm wood—for the middle staff, and light bamboo wood for the base, and all are spliced and bound together with the greatest nicety by means of long, narrow strips of bark taken from certain climbers, and finally, the weapon is burnished. It is about four feet in length. [461] [824] [284]

The weapons used for fighting at close quarters, which is the method of warfare liked best, are heavy clubs and lances. The clubs are of two kinds—first, shovel-like clubs and round clubs, resembling base-ball bats, varying in length from three to four and a half feet. The lances are nine or ten feet in length, the shaft being of palm wood, and the point, the shin-bone of the spotted *onca*—jaguar—or of a deer. A beautiful, basket-like work of black and white wooden strips is woven, or braided, tightly over the shaft of the spear, and to this is attached tassels of brilliant plumage. The Karayá have spear-throwing sticks, but I understand they are no longer used in war, but for sport only. The contrivance is a long strip of wood so formed that it can be used, sling-like to hurl a spear. In common with all the savage tribes of South America, the weapons, implements, ornaments and ceremonial instruments are all made by the men of the Karayá, while the women make only the household utensils. [1126] [824] [837] [531] 462 171

The Karayá housewife, therefore, makes several styles of pots and pans; but pottery has not yet reached a very high degree of perfection with this tribe for the forms are simple and crude. They do not make pots in the form of natural objects as do the tribes of the Xingú river. Utility, and this 323

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca.1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

283 between the hand and the leg above the knee. These fine strands, again, are rolled together into cords. This is accomplished by each strand being skillfully rolled independently on the leg as the hand is passed rapidly over them all before they are permitted to come together and twist themselves around each other into a single cord. The same [171] method of making cordage is seen among the "civilized" Brazilians of the far interior, and is probably another relic of their aboriginal ancestry.

286 The Karayá also make fish-nets by means of large wooden needles; small nets, shaped like hand-bags, in which to carry small objects; queer-looking net caps that may be drawn together with cotton strings, and which are embellished with 283 brilliant feathers. Cotton is also used by the Karayá. It is spun by means of a rude spindle of bone or baked clay, which is revolved between the hands.

286 The *loom*, or contrivance for braiding—or weaving—by means of which the hammocks already described are *woven*, is very simple. The warping is wound over two small posts which are planted upright in the ground a foot or two apart. The weaving is done by working the woof thread in by hand over and under the warping threads by means of a long needle, then pressing it back tightly by using a wooden blade instead of the reed employed by more advanced peoples. It is extremely slow work. Various colored warps and woofs are used making stripes in the finished work. On this same framework is woven the strong bands used in carrying heavy baskets; also the forehead bands and the body bands for infants. Armlets and leglets are either knitted or crochetted with a hook-like needle over a cone-shaped block of wood, or are made on the limb itself.

301 Most of the ornaments of the Karayá, as of other tribes, 237 are made of brilliant plumage. They take pleasure in making these articles; and exercise such good taste and introduce so much variety, that they are not excelled by any of the primitive peoples of South America. The work, however, lacks durability; but as they have always an abundance of suitable

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

feathers on hand, they can replace worn-out pieces at any 301
moment. Many of these ornaments are beautiful. One, 237
made of white feathers and secured around the head as a band, looks like a halo encircling the head when seen from a distance when the wind is blowing. These ornaments are worn principally on festal occasions, or when visitors are present. Three styles of a peculiar feather hood are also made. The foundation is a net hood of three different sized meshes, one of which is very closely woven. The stems of the feathers are worked in between the meshes. This is worn at the dance festival.

The ear and arm ornaments have already been described. A dancing belt is made of strong black and white braiding embellished with tassels of beautiful feathers with shell rattles. The legs and ankles of the dancers are also decorated with feather tassels and shell rattles. Sometimes the savages "tar and feather" themselves, besmearing the body with gum, then putting on a thick layer of white down. In former times they wore necklaces of animal teeth, bones, and shell discs. But these have now been replaced by the glass beads ob- [439]
tained in trade.

The Karayá are very fond of black and white beads, and 301
may often be seen wearing a number of strings around the neck, to the lowest one of which is attached little chains terminating in fruit shells, or tiny bunches of feathers.

The only, though much used, article of toilet of the Karayá 412
is the comb, which is made in various sizes, the largest being fourteen inches wide and of equal length. The teeth are flat, slender pieces of palm wood or taquara, which are secured between two small blocks of wood. The spacing between the teeth is made by passing yarn between them. This comb is ornamented with small tassels of bright feathers.

The ornamental work of the Karayá consists of patterns 531
of zig-zag lines, crosses, or lizard-shaped forms, dots, diamond shapes, and peculiar broken, irregular lines; while squares and triangles occur only to fill out, and circles are entirely wanting. The patterns seem to be chosen at random, nevertheless

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

country. Their skin is always hot to the touch, and they perspire but little." (This may be owing, in some degree, to the clogging of the pores of the body with the gummy, red grease with which they keep themselves constantly besmeared.) * * * "They bathe many times each day, but do not plunge into the water, taking merely a sitz bath, as dogs may be seen doing in hot climates, to cool the lower parts of the body. The women and children who have remained at home while the men are away fishing and hunting, generally find some excuse for trooping off to the shade of the forest during the hot hours of the afternoon. They appear restless and discontented in fine, dry weather, but cheerful in cool days, when the rain is pouring down on their naked backs. When suffering from fever, nothing but strict watching can prevent them from going to bathe in the river, or eating immoderate quantities of juicy fruits, although these indulgences are frequently the cause of death. They are much subject to disorders of the liver, dysentery, and other ills of hot climates; and when any epidemic is about, they take it quicker, and suffer more than negroes, or even whites. How different all this is with the negro, the true child of tropical climes! The impression gradually forced itself upon my mind that the Indian lives as a stranger or immigrant in these hot regions, and that his constitution was not originally adapted, and has not since become perfectly adapted to the climate."

The Karayá possess some knowledge of surgery. They know how to open arteries on the temple; how to bleed a patient; how to stop the flow of blood from a wound by binding the artery; understand the efficiency of sprinkling powdered charcoal upon wounds; have knowledge to bind on splints in setting broken bones, and know how to extract thorns from the flesh, which is done by means of sharp fish teeth. To empty the stomach by vomiting, they tickle the throat with the burnt end of a reed.

They make use of a scarification, or bleeding instrument, which is a block or pad set full, and bristling, with the long, lance-like teeth of the piranha fish. It resembles a curry-

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

[757] [413] [237] comb with very long, sharp teeth. With this barbarous tool, the primitive surgeon rakes and tears the back of the patient, who holds himself immovable by firmly grasping a post or tree. The blood is caught and removed on palm-leaves. When sufficient blood has been drawn, sand, and finally pepper, is rubbed into the wounds. Even when a Karayá is not sick, he submits to this very painful operation, believing that it will be beneficial to his health. The bleeding of persons on the back is practiced by low-class civilized Brazilians.

[711] Not much is known concerning the religious belief of the Karayá. But it is fully established that they entertain an animistic conception of the world, which is the lowest form of religious belief and practice; and it expresses itself with them in the same way that it does with the better known South [811] American tribes. Their observation hourly suggests to them the idea that every effect has an intelligent cause; for, whenever they are able to trace an effect to its cause, as, for instance, in the doings of men and animals, that cause appears to be psychical rather than material; an intangible, incomprehensible something that we call Mind. Therefore, they firmly believe that Minds, intelligence, or invisible, immaterial Personalities, dwell, as an Ego, or as Genii, in every material object, animate or inanimate, such as animals, trees and mountains, and direct all the operations of Nature; and that brutes are differentiated from men only by their bodily form, every creature being alike a duality—having a psychical as well as a physical Self. Moreover, the phenomena of the half-[772] life in sleep, together with dreams and visions, and the cessation of all vital activities at death, furnish to their minds clear and positive proofs of the existence of a spirit world that pervades, or lies beyond the world comprehended by the [774] senses. They believe that in sleep and dreams, the Ego, or Shade, or second Self, steals away from the body of the sleeper to roam about and to associate with other shadowy person-[754] alities or spirits. They are convinced, furthermore, that their priests, or conjurers, are endowed with some supernatural, or mysterious powers which enable them to put themselves

9:Gow-Smith T-5 (no date) 1925
SP9 Caraja SP9
Cayapo SP11

Co 301 237 Co 292 237 [824]

plume from the South American ostrich (fig. 96). One especially striking piece of headgear is a Cayapó cap fashioned of a network of pliable grass, vaguely reminiscent of a woman's hairnet (fig. 97). It has a shock of small yellow quills fastened to the center of the crown and surrounded

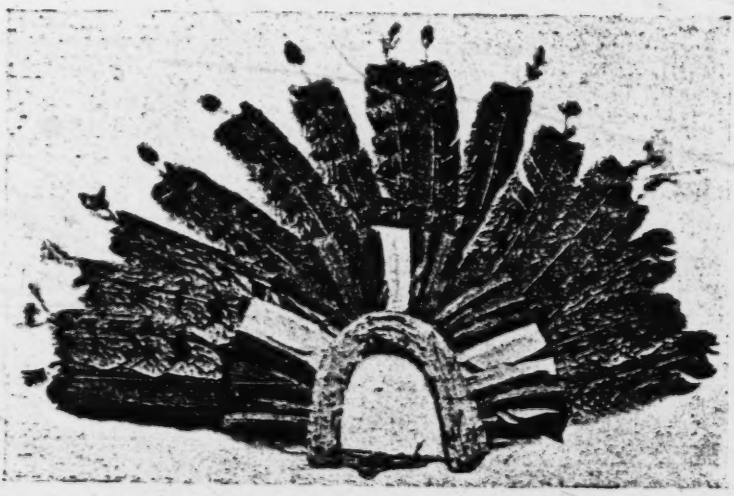

FIG. 95.—Cayapó head-dress

by several rows of small red feathers grouped together to form flowers, with small knots of grass for centers.

C 411

Picturesque and very effective are the seven- and eight-foot spears with which the Caraja go on the warpath (fig. 98). The spear-heads are made of the thigh-bone of the jaguar, and pointed;

C [237]

[text continues on p. 222]

9:Gow-Smith T-5 (no date) 1925
SP9 Caraja SP9
Cayapo SP11

C 411 237 C 411 331

a cluster of feathers hanging below the point guides the spear unerringly when flung at its victim. The spear-shafts are beautifully decorated with a covering of black and white canework woven in intricate designs. No two of these woven handles are of the same pattern, but they all represent the various markings of snakes.

Co 292 237 C Co 411 C Co 824 283

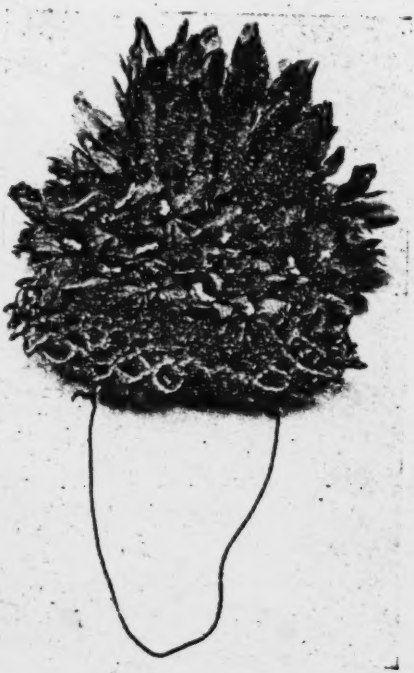

FIG. 97.—Cayapó head-dress

The bow and arrow are a favorite weapon with both the Cayapó and the Caraja. The bows, six feet long, are stoutly made of palm-wood, and are strung with the strong hand-spun cord of wild cotton, with the ends cunningly wrapped to the bow so that the string can be lengthened or mended according to the hunter's needs. Arrows are of wide variety and are used for many purposes, but all of them have long bamboo shafts

C Co 824

9:Gow-Smith T-5 (no date) 1925
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C
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skilfully feathered at the end. The arrowheads are fastened to eighteen-inch foreshafts of hard-wood tipped with bone, fitted in three- to four-foot bamboo shafts and bound in place with the strong cord that the native women spin from wild cotton. The binding is firmly cemented with a kind of resin. Long needle-like arrows tipped with hard-wood are for shooting birds; the sharp bamboo tips curved hollowly are for deer and jaguars, for they permit the wounded animal

C
[264]
[531]
[411]
[501]

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[314]

C
Co
411
224
[223]

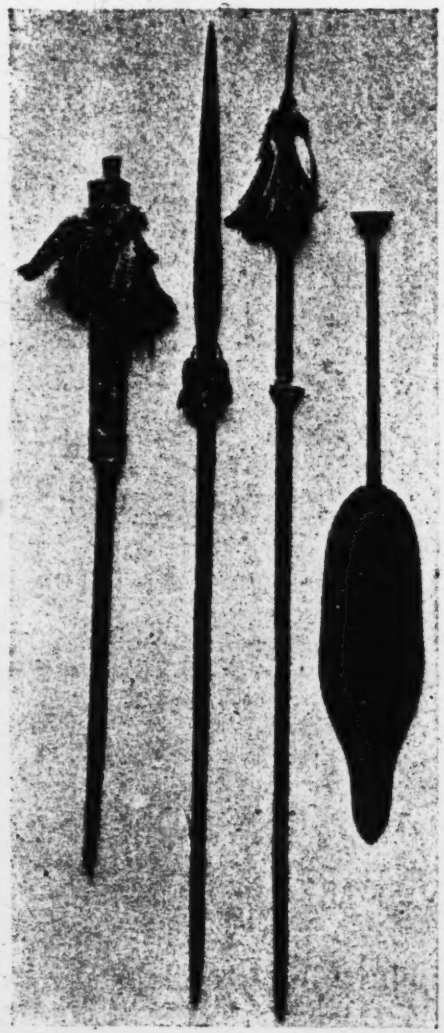

FIG. 98.—Caraja objects (grave-post, two spears, and a paddle)

9:Gow-Smith T-5 (no date) 1925
SP9 Caraja SP9
Cayapo SP11

C Co 411 224 [226] [237]

to bleed freely in order that it will weaken before it can travel far. Barbed arrows are used for killing monkeys and shooting fish. The tail of the sting-ray is also used for tipping arrows.

C 411 [227] 688 888

Co [534] [531]

C [531]

Fig. 99.—Cayapó rattle

Formidable objects are the clubs that the Caraja tribesmen use to kill captives, as well as members of their own tribe who have broken taboo or who are too old to make the periodic migrations. These clubs vaguely resemble a baseball bat, except that they are heavier and a trifle thicker at the end. They are made of hard-wood, the long handle decorated with a beautiful covering of black and white woven canework in designs similar to those of the spears, and the heavy end is stained a sinister red with the juice of the urucú-berry and the blood of its victim.

C [386]

Co 411

The Cayapó clubs are of the same heavy wood,

1:Lipkind E-5 (1937) 1948 SP9 Caraja SP9

ARCHEOLOGY

172 Large circular hollows in the ground are found at various points in *Carajá* territory, always in the close vicinity of a stream. By tradition these are ancient cemeteries; of old, they say, people did not mourn at a funeral but held a feast in the hollow. One of these hollows located on the height above the river bank at Fontoura is 18 m. (about 58 ft.) long, 15 m. (about 50 ft.) wide, and 1½ m. (5 ft.) deep at its center. The mound forming the northern side was excavated, disclosing two lines of burials with associated pottery, bone labrets, and beads.

The pottery is very similar to modern *Carajá* pottery and the labrets are exactly like those now in the possession of the *Carajá*. The cemetery cannot, however, definitely be identified as *Carajá*. The present-day [764] *Carajá* cemetery is different in location and ground plan. There is now secondary urn burial, and in the first burial the bodies are laid at right angles to the river rather than parallel as were those disclosed by the excavation. Still, the remains show even less resemblance to the *Ge* and *Tupí* peoples in the neighborhood. The question must be left open for further archeological study.

HISTORY

648 175 Since the earliest times, the *Carajá* have been at war with their *Ge* and *Tupí* neighbors. The sole exception is the *Tapirapé*, with whom at one time the *Javahé* maintained close and friendly relations. The *Shambioá* were the first to come in contact with the Neo-Brazilians early in the 17th century. Contact with the *Carajá* proper must have begun shortly after the founding of Santa Anna by Bartholomeu Bueno in 1682. The *Carajá* are [439] on good terms with the Neo-Brazilians, trading skins and fish for clothing, beads, knives, axes, guns, sugar, and salt.

161 **Population.**—According to the census made by the author in 1939, the *Carajá* number 1,510, divided as follows: *Carajá* proper, 795; *Javahé*, 650; *Shambioá*, 65. These figures should be contrasted with Castelnau's (1850–59) count in 1845 of 2,000 *Shambioá* in four villages, and his estimate of a total of 100,000 *Carajá*, and with Krause's (1911) estimate of 10,000 *Carajá* in 1908.

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

● 241 **Farming.**—Clearings are made in the thick forest along the watercourses. Gardens must be so located as to be accessible by canoe in the dry season and yet not flooded in the rainy season. The scarcity of such land results in some of the plots being several miles distant from the village. Proximity to fishing grounds is generally held to be more important. The work of clearing is begun in May at the beginning of the dry season. Maize

1:Lipkind E-5 (1937) 1948 SP9 Caraja SP9

is planted in September, when the first rains come, and manioc shortly after. There is little cultivation beyond weeding. The basic crop is manioc, both the sweet and bitter varieties being cultivated, with maize next in importance. Four varieties each of sweet and bitter manioc and 10 varieties of maize are cultivated. Other crops are: Five varieties of potatoes, two varieties of cara, four varieties of watermelon, three varieties of squash, four varieties of beans, and ten varieties of bananas, as well as peanuts, urucú, tobacco, cotton, calabashes, sugarcane, yams, peppers, pineapples, and papayas. Men do all the work with a little assistance in harvesting and weeding from older women. The *Javahé* are more industrious farmers than the other *Carajá*, cultivating extensive plantations. 241 [462] [184]

Collecting.—A large number of vegetable products are gathered for use as food, medicine, and raw material for manufacture, but only a few are of great importance. The babassu and the buriti palms, used for food and textile materials, are among the most valuable. The taquara reed is sought after for arrows. Turtle eggs are a significant item of food during the dry season. Honey is indispensable for feasting. 222 262 [441]

Hunting.—Although the *Carajá* are passionate hunters, very few of the animals available in the region are eaten. Only the peccary is really sought and constitutes a sizable item in the larder. The other animals that are eaten—the cutia, coati, woodsdeer, monkey, iguana, and a few birds, such as the mutum, jao, and jacu—are killed when encountered but are not eaten by everyone. Peccaries are hunted in a communal drive, the most favorable time being shortly after the beginning of the rainy season when large droves are trapped on islands. 224 [262]

The chief purpose of hunting is to get feathers, and the most desirable birds are the various parrots, herons, the male stork, and the flamingo. The nesting of valuable birds is carefully watched, and the young are stolen and tamed. Feathers stored in small baskets almost constitute a currency, because they are readily negotiable at all times and maintain a stable value. 223 237 [231] [436]

The principal weapons are the bow and club. The bow, made of a variety of woods but with a preference for juari when available, is round in cross section and about 6 feet (2 m.) long. The arrow is preferably of taquara reed and variously tipped with wood, animal bone, or fish bone. Clubs are beautifully fashioned of heavy hardwood, decorated with delicate carving, and are swung and thrown with equal skill. The lance is now used only for ceremonial purposes. 441

Fishing.—Fish is the most important food supply. Trapping and drugging fish with timbo is a communal affair; individuals fish with the bow and arrow. There is occasional night fishing, with spearing by torchlight. The pirarucu is killed by harpoon. The hook and line is little used, and apparently was borrowed recently from the Neo-Brazilians. 226 [262] [177]

Food preparation.—Manioc is peeled, grated, squeezed out by hand, and cooked into a soup. When the soup cools, it is masticated for a few 252

121 /43/ Three years ago G. P. Murdock published his "World Ethnographic Sample." It goes without saying that an endeavor of this scope can only be incomplete. Now, as far as the Carajá, one of the nine tribes classified under the heading "Eastern Brazil," are concerned, the set of 30 characteristic features of this society in Murdock's attempt displays significant gaps and serious inaccuracies. It is my intention, here and now, to remedy this state of affairs as well as possible, in order to contribute from my side, while concerning myself with only one case among 565, to a fairer calculation of the human probabilities.

114 [122] [101] [127] To accomplish this task I shall use as a base the data that I was able to collect personally, in the company of my wife and aided by the National Swiss Foundation for Scientific Research, during the rainy season of 1954 to 1955 among the Carajá of the south, as well as, naturally, on the information from our predecessors in the field, Ehrenreich, Krause, Baldus, and Lipkind above all. I am using this opportunity to express the great regret that I feel every time I think of the fact that the rich materials collected by Lipkind have never been published in a satisfactory fashion. The Carajá, although they have been known for a long time, are basically misunderstood. To be fair, it must be added that they themselves do not make the task of investigators easy, and it goes without saying that under these circumstances my own contribution must remain fairly fragmentary in view of the too short period of our stay among them.

121 On the other hand I am convinced that the presentation of facts alone — allegedly pure facts — does not help us to become better acquainted with the human condition, and the second aim of my article is to present to you a first attempt at interpretation of the data concerning the Carajá kinship system, which, not without reason, was left blank in Murdock's attempt.

128 To facilitate the comparison I shall follow the framework of the columns of the "World Ethnographic Sample." The 433 [44] 462 [231] Carajá cultivate primarily tropical tubercles, although maize is not lacking; true domesticated animals are absent.

/43 cont./

241 is not lacking; true domesticated animals are absent. Planting
433 is important as a source of subsistence, but fishing and turtle
462 hunting stand higher in masculine preference as well as being a basis of life. Not only are the men charged with fishing and hunting — less important owing to the scarcity of game — but activity in the gardens is also primarily the business of the men, since the women are satisfied to help as they please, which is undeniably rare among the Amazonian Indians.

433 Up to here we are in perfect agreement with the cate-
462 gories chosen by Murdock (Ro, Im, Oo, Dm; columns 1-4). However, in column 5 we find the /44/ first gap. The division of labor assigns gathering to the female sex, except for the harvesting of wild honey, which is considered more as hunting and belongs among the men's tasks. So the Carajá could, after all, be put in the category of "standard division of labor by sex" (thus Ia; column 5).

114 Real difficulties arise when we take into consideration what is properly called social organization. Categorial decisions
361 are not so easy to make there. It is true that our Indians live
[221] in compact villages, especially during the rainy seasons. During the rest of the year the Carajá proper like to disperse on the beaches, forming smaller local units, which, nevertheless, are always lined up along the river, the houses of the men (if there are any in the encampments) remaining at the rear, as if the periphery of a circle had been opened and rolled back in a straight line, leaving the center — the houses of the men — at
361 the side of the line. Since the large villages of the rainy season,
62 which are all like this and bear a name, are in reality agamous
[114] and without clans, but display a certain tendency toward endogamy, the category assigned by Murdock — compact village observing agamy — (Va; column 6), if it is not definitely wrong, is nevertheless to be taken cum grano salis (tendency toward Sd).

59 As for the family structure, it is normally of the extended type, at least during the rainy season, but the extension is not

/15 cont./

226 Smaller fish are caught in weir baskets (adžuriă), larger ones in stockades or peculiar traps made out of vines (deaurărŏ) which do not know from personal observation.

433 Hunting, in contrast to fishing, plays a much lesser role than those who view all Indians as purely hunting peoples without further ado are inclined to believe. Larger, huntable game is quite sparingly represented in tropical South America and, in view of the lack of firearms, difficult to obtain. In addition, superstition often forbids eating the meat of precisely the largest and most common species. Thus, the Karaya scorn the tapir. Their principal booty is the monkeys common in all the forest along the shore, wild pigs, small rodents such as agoutis and pacas, and furthermore the small camprehe. In the lagoons and marshes of the patanaes the musk duck (Anas moschas) present in large numbers provides excellent food for them.

224 262

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The most important cultivated plant is manioc, of which both the more nourishing poisonous species (M. brava) and the less productive, but immediately edible aipim (M. mansa) are grown. The freshly cleared, dry forest soil of the higher banks is especially suitable for this kind of cultivation.

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[273]

Sugar cane flourishes on the lower shore-land. During the dry season one sees the seedlings planted on the sandbanks everywhere for the next season. Special devices for pressing out the juice are not in use.

[249]

Of the legumes there is found among the Šambioa small brown beans (Dolichos chinensis), as well as peas (komonara) imported from Pará.

/15 cont./

241 Cara tubers /Dioscorea/ are grown in large quantity, excellent quality, and in various species. Most commonly one sees the huge egg-shaped pé d'anta (Cara brasiliensis) with a white cut-surface, as well as a smaller one with an almost violet cut-surface.

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Still to be mentioned is the honey of the countless species of wild bees, the collecting of which presents no difficulties since the animals are entirely stingless. The black wax, which [237] is stored in large, round, inch-thick disks, is used in Indian industry as a glue.

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5: Krause--30 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9

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241

/Ill. 12 appears on p. 145./

Ill. 12. Planting of the Karajá on Bananal. Drawn from a photograph.

/241 cont./

222 gathered at the beginning of October. Of other fruits Ehrenreich
262 mentions: caju /acajou/, jabuticaba, pitangu, and Bromeliaceae, and Königswald also the mangaba. I never saw these fruits in the villages, however. As vegetable plants there are eaten: mormão (dãdẽdãlĩ), which is gathered the end of October; on the other hand, the mandioca do matto (ãzõ) is supposedly not eaten, because it is too poisonous.

241 The following food plants are cultivated: the poisonous
262 (ãndjĩũlã) and the sweet (ĩ(ĩ)lũ) manioc; four varieties of maize, mãĩ, dõlĩmẽ with large, round kernels, ĩzẽlãlã with round kernels, mãĩdũzõ with red kernels; batatas (kõdẽrũtĩ), and cara (kãrã). Of fruits, bananas are probably cultivated. The green banana is called jãdãũãbõ, the ripe one jãdãzõ. I obtained bananas in Indian villages only twice, and, indeed, at the beginning of July; I never saw any in the plantings. Perhaps bananas occur only here and there, for example, according /242/ to the statements of Brazilians, among the Šavajé on Bananal Island, which is supposed to have been named after them. I did not see oranges (nãlãdjã) anywhere. Of other fruits Königswald also lists: gourds, water-
[124] melon, pineapple, and sugar cane (mã(ĩ)ĩtĩ). The gourd is not eaten, but used only for the making of vessels; the watermelon is generally gathered in the wild state, probably only rarely cultivated; only once in a village of the south horde, did I meet a family who stored seeds of these plants in small bast packets. Pineapple is surely not cultivated, and I did not see sugar cane either. If they had had any, they would probably not have begged
[114] me for sugar to the extent that they did. The statement of Ehrenreich that during the dry season sugar-cane shoots are planted on the sandbanks should be corrected to read manioc and maize stalks.

241 Of spice plants, peppers (kãšĩwẽrã), of plants for enjoyment, tobacco (kõtĩ), are cultivated.

Moreover, one finds in the plantings: as industrial plants, cotton and gourds; as plants used in ornamentation, ĩšĩũlã shrub (for necklaces) and the urucú shrub; and a quantity of medicinal plants.

/242 cont./

24 [821] The time for laying out the planting is approximately September to October; it is called bōlǎhũã (1). It is regulated by

1. = Southern Cross?

the Pleiades (bōlŏbĕdŏ = parakeets): if it is low, manioc is planted; if it is somewhat higher, maize is planted. Cotton, batatas, and urucú are not planted until much rain falls, in other words, about November and December. These statements of the Indians coincide with the fact that I often found them absent from the village in October; they were sometimes days distant, in order to lay out the planting. Tall columns of smoke indicated in which direction they were doing this. The planting is usually laid out at a great distance from the village, on flood-safe high banks. As far as possible, the Indians ride there in a boat, but then they often still have long land marches to overcome before [311] they reach the planting. Recently they have begun laying out their plantings in the interior of Bananal Island, because the [361] harvests are supposed to be very good there. One chief, Korumaré, has already moved permanently to the inland river of Bananal. On the ninth of October I did not meet Chief Fotuna in his village; he had traveled two days inland to Bananal in order to prepare a new planting there. Apparently other villages were also considering the plan to betake themselves into the interior of Bananal later on.

The plantings are laid out by the married men, but the male youth seems to help. The underbrush is cut down; the tall forest [412] trees are stripped of their branches and then felled, which was formerly done with stone axes, but is now done with iron axes. [313] Larger timber is brought to the village as firewood, /243/ and the rest is burned as soon as it is dry. Then, between the fallen trees, small, low round beds are laid out, in which are planted three manioc stalks, set in a triangle with their twigs interlaced at the top (Ill. 12). For digging, heaping up the beds, and cutting in the holes for the plants a spade-like implement (mãŭlĕ or ĭdjŏlŏ) is used. It consists of a thick stick that is pointed at one end and at the other runs out into a shovel (Ill. 83). The shovel serves to lift

/243 cont./

● 241 out the earth and heap up the beds, the point to loosen the earth, make holes, and lift out the roots. How the rest of the plants are planted is unknown to me; in the plantings ripe for harvest which I wandered through, they seemed to stand jumbled together. They grew so close together that it was hardly possible to pass through on the narrow path. In view of the height of the growths (three to four meters) a survey was not to be had, in contrast to the plantings of the Kayapó, which was laid out very clearly and in which the individual vegetables were planted in groups.

[462] The division of labor in the planting is such that the men lay out the planting and plant manioc and cara, while the planting of cotton, maize, batatas, and urucú is said to be the duty of the women.

The plantings are apparently so laid out that the families or the villages plant in one clearing; a separation within the planting according to families was not discernible, but nevertheless seems to exist.

Everyone works his plot himself; brothers usually work together. If one of them becomes [465] ill, a relative steps in for him. In this case, or if other assistance is required, the yield from the harvest is either divided into two parts or the helper is paid in arrows, pots, lances, net coverings, axes, spun cotton, etc. If widows [936] have grown sons, they plant for them; otherwise she asks the chief to have someone plant for her. He then appoints one of the villagers to take over this duty and pays him for it.

Ill. 83. Planting implement of the Karajá.

The plantings are not protected against damage. They lie in the midst of the forest, without any kind of enclosure, so that animals, especially pigs and birds, do a great deal of damage. These harmful animals are pursued; the birds above all are chased away by cries.

/243 cont./

241 With the ripening of the foodstuff, the harvest begins. It is not gathered all at once, but rather every two or three days the foodstuffs required for this period are brought in. There are seldom larger supplies on hand in the village. This custom is a great [509] obstacle for a longer stay in the villages, for the Indians /244/ do not leave the villages during the stay of strangers (1), but use up

1. Fonseca already observed this custom in 1773. The Karajá had but little food, because the Chavánte had plundered their plantings and the Karajá therefore did not dare go to their plantings. Nor did they dare go hunting or fishing in Fonseca's presence, nor set out for their plantings with Fonseca's soldiers for fear that he might enter their villages in their absence, which they had refused him up to that time. Rev. trim. 8, p. 385.

their supplies, so that after two days there is nothing more on hand, and the stranger must either donate food or go along to the planting or else depart.

241 Harvesting is generally done by the women. The harvest is 385 packed into large back-baskets (běhũlě), which are plaited out of 482 two palm fronds in such a way that the ribs form the two longi- [462] tudinal poles, and the same sides of the fronds, firmly plaited together, form the bottom, while the other sides, plaited by themselves, make the lattice-like edge (Plate 57, Ill. 1; the back-basket is 116 centimeters long, 34 centimeters wide, and 17 centimeters high). Sometimes the lower edge of the back-baskets is likewise firmly plaited (Plate 57, Ill. 2). The back-basket is worn on two shoulder bands and a forehead band of strong bast. It projects very high above the head, and under the heavy burden people walk with the upper part of the body bent far forward and the knees bent, usually leaning on a staff (Plate 15, Ill. 3). The contents are secured with wide bast bands which are laced across the load from edge to edge.

/281 cont./

824 Most of all, the Indian exploits the vegetable kingdom, and here he has also gone over to the cultivation of plants useful to him. He already has at his disposal, of course, many useful wild plants in the way of trees (leaf trees, palms), shrubs, varieties of cane, etc.

Almost all parts of the plants are utilized, in each case, of course, only certain ones: wood, bark, leaves, stem, bast, [241] blossom. Of plants whose fruits are used technically, the following are planted: /282/ gourds, cotton, urucú. The gluing ma- [314] terials, with the exception of wax, are taken exclusively from plant resins.

324 In the following, the processing and utilization of the in- 412 dividual raw materials will be described.

D. Stones are used above all as stone axes. The material for them is chiefly granular diabase or diorite. Nothing is known about how they are made. At the present time they serve only as striking stones for the preparation of bark cloth and for cracking nuts. Apparently they all come from the Rio Tapirapé, as well as from the mountains north of it, and are perhaps not even made by the Karajá themselves, but acquired from the Tapirapé through trade. In shape, there are flat axes and axes with a shaft groove (Ills. 100-102). As a nutcracker I found a stone apparatus consisting of stone base and small hammer, which, in shape, is quite peculiarly suited for this. Through long use a smooth, round hollow was produced in the slightly convex striking surface of the hammer (Ill. 99). Such stones are said to come from the cachoeira /cataract/ near St. Maria. The small stone knives which are used for tattooing are made anew each time out of the flint rubble of the sandbanks by splitting the flint with a stone or iron ax and using the sharpest splinters without any further treatment (Ill. 52b). Nothing is known about the making of the long stone lip plugs (Ill. 62). Allegedly they are struck into shape with [439] stones. The Karajá do not make them themselves, but barter for them with the Tapirapé.

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

Brazil.

Morning having come, the remainder of our flotilla soon appeared, and the Karayá became more and more friendly. We induced a few of them to go to their little cornfield across the river to get us some green corn and pumpkins. While awaiting their return, we were entertained by another exciting event. One of two or three Karayá men who were insane and haunted the wilds distant from the village, which they made an unwelcome visit to from time to time, suddenly appeared. Nearly all the men of the village were absent, having scattered off to hunt and fish, as is their custom. When the lunatic burst suddenly into view, the women and children were instantly stricken with panic. Amid wild shouting and screaming, chattering and jabbering, a grand rush was made for the canoes, of which there is one for each family; and as the women ran they caught up the children that were too young to care for themselves, and also grabbed up clay pots and other destructible objects, tumbled everybody and everything into the dugouts, then paddled frantically out into the stream. Soon, the mad savage came into the encampment, armed with a large bow and arrows and a heavy killing club; and amused himself by entering the huts and emerging through the roof; or, entering by breaking through the roof and passing out through the established opening. And while going from hut to hut, he shattered clay pots and pans with a heavy blow from his club, besides slaying parrots and macaws in the same manner. As he took turns around the village, he shot his arrow again and again high in the air in advance, taking it up each time as he arrived where it fell. Seeing him doing this, and fearing that we might become a target for his archery, we followed the example of our savage brethren and pushed out into the stream. But he did not appear to take any notice of us, nor of any one, and seemed to be continually muttering and moaning. He did not stay long in the village but was soon swallowed up again in the forest, and the chattering, jabbering, excited horde in the canoes returned to shore.

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

not afflicted. Therefore, they have hidden their villages far 177
away from the slimy trail of the only "civilization" they 186
know, and do not wish to reveal their location. But they, too, well know the great superiority of steel implements over their stone utensils, so desire to obtain them, which they do indirectly through the Karayáhy. They are not unwise in their generation. They do not desire to receive, in its entirety, the "civilization" available to them, for it has been demonstrated to them that its evils outweigh its blessings. Therefore they try to catspaw civilization's good things and leave its evil things. What a pity it is that a civilization, which is the best fruit of the Gospel of Christ, should not have reached the Karayá!

The Sambiõa live in much larger, cleaner, and more or- 511
derly villages than the Karayáhy, and are better fed. They 184
also build better huts than the Karayáhy, and arrange them in regular streets. They have four large villages, located be- 361
tween Pau de Arco and the falls of S. Miguel. They trade 439
hammocks, vegetables, fruits, fowls, and other produce for 241
such articles made by civilized men as they desire. As regards agriculture, they are but little behind the semi-barbarous Brazilians of the far interior. They have many slaves, 727
which are women and children stolen from other tribes with whom they were at war.

Only the inhabitants of the second Sambiõa village are 609
hostile to strangers. When such appear at their port, the women and children are sent to a safe place, while the warriors, fully armed, assemble at the water's edge and assume a threatening attitude. It is necessary to be cautious in approaching them, though they dare not attack a large canoe full of men armed with repeating rifles. They greatly fear these weapons, believing that the rifleman can continue to fire indefinitely without reloading. The villages are always [361]
situated distant from the landing-place; and though they will allow the traveler to visit them, he must be on his guard.

The reception at the landing is interesting and exciting. The naked, bronze-bodied men are assembled in force. Many

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

dant, and to the pecari, the aguti, the musk duck which is 224
found in ponds, and similar small game.

Agriculture among the Sambiõa is highly developed—re- 241
markably so, in fact, for a people living in a state of sav-
agery—and is even more advanced in some respects than that
of the "civilized" Brazilians living near their territory. A
large assortment of vegetable foodstuffs are raised. They
now have the same agricultural implements as the "civilized" [178]
Brazilians, having relegated to oblivion their rude tools of
ancient times, with which they could not till the soil but to
a very limited extent, and that only with excessive toil. The
high agricultural development reached by these savages is
very interesting and important, proving conclusively that the
primitive man, far from being incapable of anything but to
wander over a wide territory, living from hand to mouth by
hunting and fishing, is capable of becoming an agriculturist
of no mean order. The plant most extensively cultivated by
the Sambiõa is the manioc. They raise both kinds, the
"wild" and the "tame." Next to this in importance is corn.
But this is used more to make a fermented drink than for [273]
food. Sugar-cane is also cultivated on the low, alluvial soil
along the river, which is well adapted to this purpose. But
the natives have no suitable contrivance for extracting the
juice from the cane. Several varieties of small, brown beans,
brought from Pará, and which are a staple food among civ- [262]
ilized Brazilians, are also raised. So also, the white and [177]
violet Brazilian *cará*, a kind of potato. Besides these food- 272
stuffs, which were obtained originally from civilized Bra- 262
zilians, the Karayá gather from forest and jungle, many
kinds of wild fruits and vegetables, which introduce a pleas-
ing change in their aliment. A few such are the cajú, a
yellow, olive-shaped plum, which grows on a very large tree;
the jábádacába, a plum which grows clinging to the trunks
of a tree resembling the elm; the morisy, a large yellow
cherry, groves of which may be seen growing on the up-
lands; mongába, the fruit of a kind of upland rubber tree,
which I have elsewhere called a natural baked apple; and

Brazil.

252 Fish and game are sometimes prepared for eating by cooking in a clay pot; but the usual method is to impale the meat on a stake which is set up in the ground by the camp-fire and inclined over it; or else to place it upon glowing coals and allow it to remain there until the outside is burned to a [263] crisp. As a portion of this crisp part is naturally reduced to ashes, a saline substance is produced, which, mingling with the juice, flavors the meat. Various root foods, and also ears of corn, are prepared for eating by roasting over the fire.

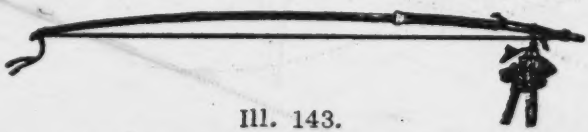
317 Besides the ash salts just mentioned, the Karayá contrive [263] to extract a little sodium chloride from certain earth banks which contain a small percentage of this substance. It is only recently that they have begun to use salt obtained from the civilized world. Banks of saline earth are easy to locate as the wild beasts frequent these places to "lick." In the cattle-raising regions, a herdsman is much pleased to have one or more of these briny spots in his territory so that his cattle may thereby obtain salt.

184 "The poor tame brothers" of the Sambiõa, the Karayáhy [241] branch of the family, though they are supplied to a limited extent with axes and grubbing hoes, do very little planting. [231] Neither have they many domesticated creatures. Those they do have are largely birds of the parrot family, which they regard with affection, though their feathers are plucked to be used in ornament making.

/292 cont./

285 of the lid-half, is pulled through the outer oval of this half from below upward, forms a large carrying /293/ band over the lid, and on the other side leads down to the bottom rods in the same manner. If one wishes to open the basket, the lid-half slides up on the thread (Pl. 57, Ill. 16). At the same time, however, the thread also serves for closure during transport: on either side one makes a loop which is put over the ends of the rod of the lid-half and pulled tight (Ill. 142g).

Sieves and sieve-baskets are made entirely differently [824] (wälilisi; Pl. 55, Ills. 2 and 3). They are made out of shavings of flexible creepers (according to Ehrenreich, arimbamba). The shavings run radially and are interwoven concentrically with similar switches (two each). On the bottom they cross in four groups. In Ehrenreich's specimens the plaiting is in part so tight [283] (Berlin 3898) that the utensil is useless as a sieve. Such tight



Ill. 143.
Bow for picking apart the cotton.

baskets serve as containers for raw cotton in spinning.

Rod-sieves consist of fine rods placed parallel, which are bound together at considerable intervals with two strings (Pl. 55, Ill. 1).

I did not see among the Karajá the other kinds of baskets and bags mentioned by Ehrenreich: small palm-leaf baskets with rectangular bottom, square baskets, small bags with flap lids made of carandasinha palm fiber, bottle-shaped flexible baskets (moti), hanging baskets (Berlin 3879), and lid-baskets (Berlin 3900) made of flexible cipo plaiting.

283 I. Just as varied and skillful are the treatment and the [962] utilization of cotton, which are incumbent on the women. Cotton [248] is grown in the plantings; tending it is the duty of the woman. The harvested cotton is stored in baskets. Before it is spun, it is

/15 cont./

226 Smaller fish are caught in weir baskets (adžuriă), larger ones in stockades or peculiar traps made out of vines (deaurărŏ) which do not know from personal observation.

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/258 cont./

262 scorned red-deer meat and tracajá eggs; others ate these things.
[177] Enlightened (civilized) Indians, who otherwise still believed firmly in all kinds of magic, ate everything.

G. Luxuries.

276 The Indians are familiar with only one luxury item:
[177] tobacco (kōtĭ). They maintain that they adopted the luxury of tobacco only from the Brazilians, and, to be sure, in about the
[249] first half of the nineteenth century. At that time they obtained seed (kōtĭlăti) or shoots; at first they planted these in the mud, where only small plants grew; then they tried it in the plantings, where large plants grew. The custom of smoking is older, however. Fonseca reports in 1773 that they smoked their clay peace pipe in an easterly direction, apparently observing a ceremony (1).

1. Rev. trim. 8, pp. 378 and 387.

Probably they received merely another plant from the Brazilians.
249 /259/ Today tobacco is raised in the plantings, and it is planted by the men during the rainy season by placing seed kernels into the ground. Harvest begins "when the leaves begin to hang" (in July I already saw fresh tobacco leaves hung up to dry). The leaves are picked and brought into the house, where they are hung up to dry. When they are half-dry they are rubbed between the hands ("so that the tobacco becomes black"), then hung outside the house on a pole or a special sloping rack, and com-
[415] pletely dried. It is stored in the oblong baskets called lālă, and, to be sure, rolled up pad-shaped by the south horde (ĭlūlăŭ), plaited into a braid by the north horde (kō(ŭ)ẕă). (See Ill. 194, Šavajé /see p. 323/.)

276 The variety is evidently very light; its fragrance is not very pleasant, but the Indians smoke it passionately. They find
249 the tobacco of the Šavajé to be better and obtain seedlings from
438 them to improve their stock. Thus, on my return journey from
[437] the Šavajé I was accompanied by /Ills. 103-104 appear here/ a
[438]

/259 cont./

249 438 [437] [482] Karajá who had bartered arrows there for tobacco seedlings; his back-basket was fully loaded with the packets in which the plants were packed. The seedlings were well wrapped in leaves and bast into a large cylindrically shaped bundle that was reinforced all around with vertical bamboo rods and firmly laced.

276

They were most particularly mad for the heavy Goyaner /Goyana/ tobacco.

Smoking is done by old and young, men and women. Even babies are sometimes permitted to partake of this pleasure. Pipes are smoked throughout; maize-leaf cigarettes are not customary.

[824]

Ill. 103.
Fruit of the jequitiba tree, out of which tobacco pipes are made.

Ill. 104 a-c.
Tobacco pipes made out of jequitiba fruit. a) Crude form. b) Carefully worked, without groove. c) Carefully worked, with groove.

[824] /260/ The pipe (in men's language, wǎlĭōnā́, wǎlĭkŏkŏ́; in women's language, wǎlĭkŏkŏ́) is made out of the fruit (ǎrĭkŏkŏ́) of of the jequitiba tree (Hymenea sp.) (Ill. 103). The fruit, approximately seven centimeters long, is closed with a stopper. When it is ripe, the stopper falls out and the fruit kernels fall to the ground.

/359 cont./

235 Of tame animals I found among the Šavajé:

Chickens, which were gladly sold to me, but were not eaten by them; vultures, spoonbills, and parakeets sat tethered on the supply racks in front of the houses; vultures in large numbers squatted on the ground near the wall posts in the houses. Araras were totally absent. Instead, a huge white eagle sat tied to a low cross-bar behind the chief's house (Pl. 30, Ill. 2).

264 The women ate even in my presence. Only the girl who traveled back to the Karajá with us ate turned away from us on the trip, and only when she thought she was not being observed.

252 The hearth, as mentioned above, lies in the circular structures of the houses, on both sides of the entrance. As among the Karajá, it consists of the tips of three termite hills or of three clay shards. Roasting is done on grills (Pl. 61, Ill. 1). [412]

The cooking vessels are identical with those of the Karajá. 415 412 The manioc grater (wōlānăkiă; in the women's language, kōlānăkiĕ) and the rod-sieves (brēdjĕ) have the same shape and construction as those of the Karajá. For stirring, an oar-shaped spoon (nālĭhĭ; Ill. 193) is used. For everything else, see the Karajá! [184]

Ill. 193 a, b. Stirring spoon. (b from the side).

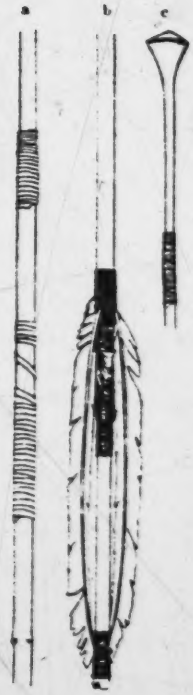
249 The luxury item is tobacco, which is cultivated in a considerably better variety among the Šavajé than among the Karajá. [438] The latter buy large quantities of it from the former, even cuttings, so that they will be able to grow this better variety themselves at home. Tobacco (kōtĭ) is stored plaited into three-part braids (Ill. 194) and is carried in plaited bags or such

/359 cont./

Ill. 194.
Braided tobacco.

of monkey skin (djũlẽnĩ; Pl. 61, Ill. 2). The tobacco pipes (wãlĩõnã) are made of jequitiba fruit; they all bear the groove around the front opening and are colored reddish. 249 276

The Savajé seem to keep supplies at home only in small quantities. 251
/360/ On the second day they were already asking me to depart, since they had nothing more to eat. The food for my five Karajá, in addition to whom there appeared four more from Korumaré's village, had depleted their stores; in view of my presence, however, they hesitated to leave the village, so that I was finally obliged to yield to their wishes. 251 123



Ill. 195 a-c.
Savajé arrows.
a) Lashing at the point of attachment.
b) Feathering.
c) Wooden-knob tip.

7. Concerning the weapons, there is likewise nothing new to report. The bows (djũhãdẽ) are either undecorated or bear white wrappings, a maize leaf, and a feather tassel, like the Karajá bow (Ill. 110). It is handled in such a way that the left hand grasps the bow in the center, so that the arrow goes between the second and third finger; the second to fifth finger of the right hand draws the bow string; the arrow lies between the second and third finger. 411 [184] [284]

As for arrows (wðhũ), I encountered

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252 minutes, then allowed to stand for a while. The resulting fermentation is not allowed to continue long enough to produce an intoxicating drink.
262 This soup, along with a similar soup made of maize, is a daily staple.
252 Manioc and ground maize are also made into cakes, but this is a holiday variation of diet rather than the staff of life as in other regions. The standard methods of cooking meat, fish, and vegetables are boiling, roasting on a spit, roasting on a grate, and roasting in the embers. Occasionally, some vegetables are baked in hot sand. Maize is the only food that [251] is stored. On platform shelves at the top of their rainy-season houses, the *Javahé* pile a supply of maize dried on the cob sufficient to last throughout the dry season.

HOUSES AND VILLAGES

361 The permanent or rainy-season village is erected on a high bank overlooking the river. One or two rows of houses face the river, and the men's [535] house, about 50 feet (15.2 m.) back, faces down river. All the space between the men's house and the family houses is kept perfectly clean and constitutes the dancing plaza of the village. The surrounding clearing extends only a few yards in all directions. All neighboring forest which must be traversed in hunting or gathering is threaded by well-marked [487] trails. A path leads down from the center of the village to the main port where women, married men, and children bathe, and married men land their canoes. Another path cuts diagonally down from the men's house to the bachelor's port where the young men bathe and visitors to the masked dances land their canoes.

342 The house is rectangular in ground plan with supported horizontal ridge poles (fig. 18). Saplings are sunk into the ground at the sides and

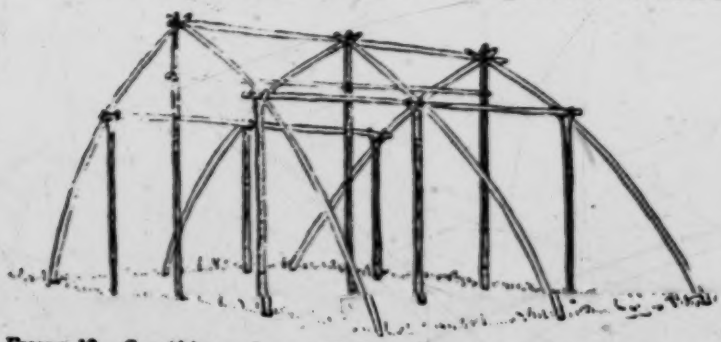

FIGURE 18.—*Carajá* house frame. (Redrawn from Ehrenreich, 1891 b, fig. 3.)

bent over to the ridge pole at the top, where they are firmly tied with bast. Then the whole structure is tightly thatched with successive overlapping layers of palm frond tied to the saplings (pl. 20, *top*). The entrance is a small rectangular opening at the bottom, through which one crawls after

/199 cont./

417 Outside the houses, on the other hand, there are special storage racks (ŏdēdŭ). They consist of four forked sticks about one and a quarter meters high, which are set up in the form of a square and joined together by two crossbeams and many longitudi-
[251] nal beams. On these racks lie supplies of all kinds, manioc roots, unused implements and weapons kept on hand, as well as raw materials of all kinds; hung on them are gourds and baskets full
[287] of maize and feathers; the bast aprons of the women are also often hung here to dry (Ill. 24).

[225] For drying the lines used to fish for turtles, special racks made of two long vertical poles joined at the top by a cross-pole are used. The line, hanging far down, is hung on this to dry (Ill. 25).

Ill. 23.
Arrow-stand in the house.

[824] /200/ Fresh gourds are stuck on sticks to dry; near each house one sees groups of such staked gourds. Later, they are preferably stored by tying a whole number together on a stake (Ill. 26a and b).

354 Other household equipment is lacking. The hearth is outside
184 the house, in contrast to the Šavajé, among whom it is located in the round structures (see "Food" /see pp. 165 ff./); it was only in the modified houses in Schischí at the end of October that cooking was also done in the house. /Ills. 24 and 25 appear here./

364 House and environs are not very clean; food remains such as fish bones, nut shells, and bones, as well as wood, tools, etc., lie about everywhere. While it is dangerous just to come near the
[136] villages and houses with bare feet, the vast number of flies and other insects that gather in masses on the refuse is an obstacle to remaining outside the houses.

/245 cont./

262 The eggs are longish and have an odor and taste somewhat re-
222 sembling train oil. The tartaruga (kŏdūnĭ) and its eggs (kōdūnĭzĭ),
[221] on the other hand, are eaten with great relish. /246/ For them, the Indians undertake distant boat journeys up the tributaries of the Araguaya in September to October, the laying period of this turtle, which deposits up to 160 round eggs in a nest. All the sandbanks are investigated and the often numerous nests emptied (on the Tapirapé I found up to four nests on small sandbanks). Thus, they gather quite enormous quantities of eggs. These are
[251] either eaten raw or they are cooked and dried in the ashes and
[239] then kept for a long time, so that the Indians take them home,
[237] eat them later at leisure, or are able to sell them in the Brazilian towns (Santa Maria, Conceição) on trading expeditions, which they undertake in September and October. The turtles them-
[225] selves are taken by surprise while laying, or in shallow water they are caught with the hands by diving from boats or with iron bottom-tackle. The turtles are brought home alive in great
231 quantities from these expeditions and then eaten or sold. In order to be able to keep them for a longer time, cages are built out of twigs bent together at the top, which are stuck in the sand in a circle, providing shade for them. Here they are tethered and kept until they are consumed (Ill. 6). Small turtles are raised in the villages as a pastime.

262 Ostrich eggs (nâŭĕkĭĕzĭ) are eaten with great relish. The
222 Indians empty the entire nest and take the eggs home with them in order to eat them cooked there.

222 Honey (bădĕrhõ) is a delicacy of which they are passionately fond. On their boat trips they observe the direction of flight of the wild bees (bĕdĭ), designated by them as stingless, until, after a short time, they have discovered their nests high up in the crowns of trees. Quickly the tree is climbed and the nest cut down
[415] with the bush knife or ax. The honey is then taken out down below; it is stored in bent pieces of bark or in gourd vessels. Bees nesting in hollow trees are smoked out and the honey is taken out with the hand. The often giant honeycombs are individually sucked out;

226 /251/ or die, come to the surface as a result, and can then be conveniently gathered in. The fence prevents the fish from escaping
[262] into the river. Eating this fish is not harmful to human beings; even drinking the water merely causes a stomach-ache. The
[199] Karajá maintain that they learned this type of fishing, which is carried on especially during the rainy season when the water is muddy, from the Chavánte (see also, however, the fish fence of the Tapirapé /see p. 342 /).

I did not see or hear anything about weirs for small fish (adžuriã), on which Ehrenreich reports, nor of other fishing apparatus.

C. Storage and Preparation of Food.

● 251 The yield from the plantings as well as from hunting and fishing expeditions is usually consumed at once. The hot climate prohibits the laying away of larger supplies; above all, the preservation of meat is completely out of the question because of the lack of salt. In fact, the Indian is forced to go fishing again in the afternoon, since the fish caught in the morning would already be spoiled by suppertime. It is impossible to keep fresh meat for more than a quarter of a day, and even roasted meat is inedible the next day.

[261] Thus, the Indians have to work hard and be constantly concerned about food, especially in the dry season, when the yield from the plantings is always small. To some extent they help themselves with turtles, which, as mentioned above, they keep alive; turtle eggs, cooked and dried, keep for a very long time. But the Indians do not store even plant produce in large quantities; they have supplies for only two or three days in the manioc lying on their supply racks or in the maize kernels in large gourds with a side opening. They also store water in whole gourds.

252 All foods are eaten cooked; only fruits, as well as turtle eggs, are eaten raw; everything else is boiled or roasted.

/254 cont./

252 415 [412] centimeters wide (kõwõ), which is worked from a tree trunk with a wall three centimeters thick (Plate 40, Ill. 3). This pounded mass is placed on a sieve resting on a bowl or a pot. As such sieves, dome-shaped or hemispherical basket-sieves (wãlĭlĭsĭ) plaited of stout wickerwork are sometimes used, or flat, round sieve-plates (ŭĭtjŭ ōdãmõdĭ; Plate 55, Ills. 2, 3). In Schischá, modern wares are already manufactured sieves with a one-piece wooden edge five centimeters high and fine, patterned bast plaiting, which are made essentially for use by the Brazilians (ŭĭtjŭ(a); Plate 55, Ill. 4). On these sieves impurities are first picked out by hand, then the sieve is taken in the left hand, and, by a rapid beating on it from above with the right hand, the mass is sieved through it. Larger pieces remaining behind go back into the mortar, are again pounded, and then /255/ sieved again. When sufficient flour has been collected, it is put in the large cooking pot, water from a gourd water-container is poured on it, and the pot is put on the fire.

252 [412] For stirring, long flat wooden spoons (hãlădãõ) of tarumá wood are used (Ill. 93).

[251] Ehrenreich reports that the Indians dry this flour in flat pots, in other words, make farinha d'agua, which keeps for a long time; that they leach out the dried mass (puva beero; according to my notes, bãlo) several times and bake thick loaves out of it; that in small pots they make small roasted flat cakes (beiju: ibreʒeko) out of fresh roots. I neither saw nor heard anything about any of this.

Fruits that are still unripe are popularly taken and buried in the sand, where they ripen. Only then are they eaten.

252 263 Of spices only peppers (kãsĭwẽrã: the round-seeded kind) are used. They are grown in the plantings; the pods are pounded and mixed with water, and the roasted fish are dipped in this sauce.

263 [439] Salt (ĭnãtŭ, notàkànà) is lacking; only in Village 6 did they have bitter salt from the salt mine near São José, which was mixed with red earth and which they had bartered for in São José. Their [261] hunger for salt seems to be extremely great; they are constantly begging for this condiment. But it is strange in this connection

/359 cont./

Ill. 194.
Braided tobacco.

of monkey skin (djũlẽnĩ; Pl. 61, Ill. 2). The tobacco pipes (wãliõnã) are made of jequitiba fruit; they all bear the groove around the front opening and are colored reddish. 249 276

The Savajé seem to keep supplies at home only in small quantities. 251

/360/ On the second day they were already asking me to depart, since they had nothing more to eat. The food for my five Karajá, in addition to whom there appeared four more from Korumaré's village, had depleted their stores; in view of my presence, however, they hesitated to leave the village, so that I was finally obliged to yield to their wishes. 251 123

Ill. 195 a-c.
Savajé arrows.
a) Lashing at the point of attachment.
b) Feathering.
c) Wooden-knob tip.

7. Concerning the weapons, there is likewise nothing new to report. The bows (djũhãdẽ) are either undecorated or bear white wrappings, a maize leaf, and a feather tassel, like the Karajá bow (Ill. 110). It is handled in such a way that the left hand grasps the bow in the center, so that the arrow goes between the second and third finger; the second to fifth finger of the right hand draws the bow string; the arrow lies between the second and third finger. 411 [184] [284]

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is planted in September, when the first rains come, and manioc shortly after. There is little cultivation beyond weeding. The basic crop is manioc, both the sweet and bitter varieties being cultivated, with maize next in importance. Four varieties each of sweet and bitter manioc and 10 varieties of maize are cultivated. Other crops are: Five varieties of potatoes, two varieties of cara, four varieties of watermelon, three varieties of squash, four varieties of beans, and ten varieties of bananas, as well as peanuts, urucú, tobacco, cotton, calabashes, sugarcane, yams, peppers, pineapples, and papayas. Men do all the work with a little assistance in harvesting and weeding from older women. The *Javahé* are more industrious farmers than the other *Carajá*, cultivating extensive plantations. 241 [462] [184]

Collecting.—A large number of vegetable products are gathered for use as food, medicine, and raw material for manufacture, but only a few are of great importance. The babassu and the buritĭ palms, used for food and textile materials, are among the most valuable. The taquara reed is sought after for arrows. Turtle eggs are a significant item of food during the dry season. Honey is indispensable for feasting. 222 262 [441]

Hunting.—Although the *Carajá* are passionate hunters, very few of the animals available in the region are eaten. Only the peccary is really sought and constitutes a sizable item in the larder. The other animals that are eaten—the cutia, coati, woodsdeer, monkey, iguana, and a few birds, such as the mutum, jao, and jacu—are killed when encountered but are not eaten by everyone. Peccaries are hunted in a communal drive, the most favorable time being shortly after the beginning of the rainy season when large droves are trapped on islands. 224 [262]

The chief purpose of hunting is to get feathers, and the most desirable birds are the various parrots, herons, the male stork, and the flamingo. The nesting of valuable birds is carefully watched, and the young are stolen and tamed. Feathers stored in small baskets almost constitute a currency, because they are readily negotiable at all times and maintain a stable value. 223 237 [231] [436]

The principal weapons are the bow and club. The bow, made of a variety of woods but with a preference for juari when available, is round in cross section and about 6 feet (2 m.) long. The arrow is preferably of taquara reed and variously tipped with wood, animal bone, or fish bone. Clubs are beautifully fashioned of heavy hardwood, decorated with delicate carving, and are swung and thrown with equal skill. The lance is now used only for ceremonial purposes. 441

Fishing.—Fish is the most important food supply. Trapping and drugging fish with timbo is a communal affair; individuals fish with the bow and arrow. There is occasional night fishing, with spearing by torchlight. The pirarucu is killed by harpoon. The hook and line is little used, and apparently was borrowed recently from the Neo-Brazilians. 226 [262] [177]

Food preparation.—Manioc is peeled, grated, squeezed out by hand, and cooked into a soup. When the soup cools, it is masticated for a few 252

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252 minutes, then allowed to stand for a while. The resulting fermentation is not allowed to continue long enough to produce an intoxicating drink.
362 This soup, along with a similar soup made of maize, is a daily staple.
252 Manioc and ground maize are also made into cakes, but this is a holiday variation of diet rather than the staff of life as in other regions. The standard methods of cooking meat, fish, and vegetables are boiling, roasting on a spit, roasting on a grate, and roasting in the embers. Occasionally, some vegetables are baked in hot sand. Maize is the only food that
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HOUSES AND VILLAGES

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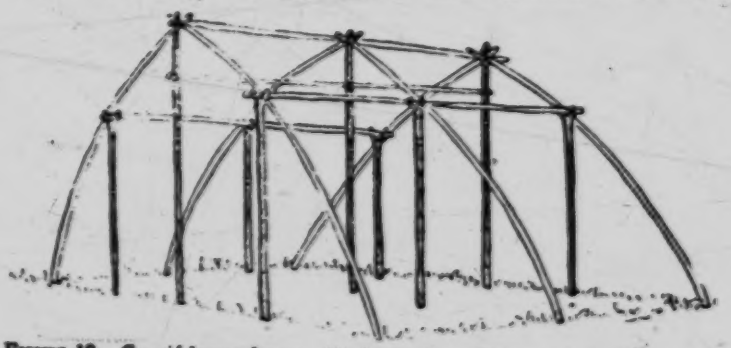

FIGURE 18.—*Carajá* house frame. (Redrawn from Ehrenreich, 1891 b, fig. 3.)

bent over to the ridge pole at the top, where they are firmly tied with bast. Then the whole structure is tightly thatched with successive overlapping layers of palm frond tied to the saplings (pl. 20, *top*). The entrance is a small rectangular opening at the bottom, through which one crawls after

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pushing aside a door of plaited palm. Every married woman in the family cooks at her own fireplace, which consists of two lumps of hardened clay. Mats used for sleeping and sitting are spread over the entire floor. Wooden stools (fig. 19) may also be found. Bows, arrows, and rattles

FIGURE 19.—*Carajá* wooden stool. (Redrawn from Ehrenreich, 1891 b, fig. 13.)

are shoved into the wall thatch. Baskets, used for storing such things as tobacco, urucú, and feathers, are hung by a string from the ridge poles. Large baskets containing vegetables lie on the ground next to the thatch.

The dry-season house is identical in form but smaller and of flimsier construction. Thatching is looser and the walls are thatched only about halfway to the ground, the north and west sides often being left completely open. The dry-season village is generally constructed on a long beach and, as the site grows dirty, is moved along the beach. The ground plan of the dry-season village is identical with the rainy-season village.

DRESS AND ORNAMENTS

The most prominent facial decoration is a blue-black circular scarification about an inch in diameter over each cheekbone. The ears of infants are pierced and an ornament consisting of a small polished capybara tooth with a feather attached is inserted. A common ear ornament for children is a mother-of-pearl disk with a cut feather fringe set on a blackened thin rod. In a perforation of their lower lips, men wear wood or bone labrets of a variety of shapes (pl. 21; fig. 21, *a*), each assigned to a different age grade; old men use simple wooden plugs.

Men wear their hair long, winding it round a plaited cotton rope reddened with urucú. Women wear their hair about shoulder length.

Armlets crocheted of cotton are worn at the wrists and just above the elbow; similar ornaments are worn just below the knee and at the ankle. These are worn particularly by children and are supposed to aid growth.

/16 cont./

276 824 (arikoko). One specimen in the collection is carved out of wood in its natural form (Fig. 4 and Pl. I /see p. 103 /, 1).

252 Preparation of food. Directly in front of the house door is found the cooking place, surrounded by low pole frames on which the squeezed manioc is dried. Large earthen pots stand on stones [364] or clay supports over the fire. The ground around is littered with scraps. These heaps are the breeding places of annoying gray flies [136] (the so-called mosca da aldeia), which sting badly and, when they get out of hand, necessitate abandoning the place.

[462] Untiringly the women are busy throughout the day with dragging in the field produce and firewood, the preparation of manioc, pounding maize, opening palm nuts, and the careful supervision of all the culinary processes, in which the Indian housewife, despite the simplicity of the materials, knows how to achieve a relatively great diversity.

[876]

Fig. 4. Tobacco pipe (1/4).

372 824 Fire is still made wholly in the original way by means of the drill (hădă). It consists of two sticks. The thicker one, wood of the urucú plant, is fixed on the ground after a shallow cavity provided with a deep cut at the side is made near one end. Then the point of the second, thinner stick of taquara /Chusquea sp./ is set in this and is twirled between the palms with strong pressure until a hollow is formed at this point, out of which the glowing dust flows through the notch at the side and can be collected. Thus the procedure is precisely the one illustrated and described by Im Thurn (op. cit., p. 258). As in the method used by the Warrau /Warao/, no special tinder is needed. The pulverized wood itself supplies it. To kindle a livelier flame, dry strips of palm leaf are mixed with the easily flammable red resin (tamararu), which is like sealing wax, and then lighted.

/16 cont./

372 Naturally the Karaya try to maintain the fire as long as possible and make a new one only when necessary. On longer boat trips glowing pieces of wood are always taken along on a bed of sand.

252 Meat and fish are roasted on a spit over a hot fire or laid directly on glowing coals until the uppermost layer, or the skin, is completely charred. The ashy parts of the latter, in combination with the reserved juice, make the use of salt unnecessary to a certain degree. Only the Karayahi have begun to become [243] accustomed to European salt. Salty soils, such as are found [317] in the campos at the so-called barreiros /clay pits/, as well as the ash of various woods, must serve as substitutes. Fish are probably also boiled.

Corn on the cob, aipim roots, sweet potatoes, and some palm fruits are likewise roasted over the fire.

The preparation of manioc is much more primitive than among the Xingu and Amazon tribes. The roots, provided with [412] deep cuts, are put in water for several days for maceration, then freed of the skins with knives or sharp shells, and pulverized on the grating board (ãranã), a biconvex board about three centimeters thick, with several rows of short buriti thorns in the middle (Pl. VIII /see p. 110/, 4).

The pulverized mass is pressed with the hands, probably [415] also with the aid of stones, to remove completely the poisonous juice, the largest part of which has already been taken out by the maceration, and then, washed and drained in peculiar little baskets (uãriri, see p. 41) plaited out of flexible cipos, dried in the air. By drying it in shallow pots one thus obtains the "water flour" (farinha d'agua) also generally widespread on the Amazon. Because of fermentation during the maceration, it has a slightly sour flavor, but can be kept much longer than the "farinha secca" /dry flour/ of trade, made out of the fresh root. This type of preparation, however, does not seem to be the original one practiced by them. More often, in accordance with an old national custom, the dried mass (puva, beerõ) is baked in large loaf-like lumps after several washings. Finally, small flat

/16 cont./

252 cakes (beijus, ibrä∂eko), likewise roasted in pots, are made from the freshly treated root.

273 In combination with maize, manioc flour is also used to make their most popular beverage, uierõ. Pounded maize is poured into the boiling manioc and stirred well. /17/ When it is sufficiently soft, the mixture is allowed to cool. Then the settlings are chewed by the women in true Indian fashion, whereby the whole thing turns sour and ferments after standing for several days. A sourish beverage something like water gruel is produced, to which honey or sugar-cane juice is sometimes added. The effect is slightly intoxicating.

415 The kitchen utensils are simple, but nevertheless somewhat
417 more complete than, say, among the Xingu tribes. Besides earthen
[239] pots and gourd containers, as well as mussel shells of the Anodonta and Hyria avicularis serving as spoons, there are already real spoons made of wood or clay (cf. Fig. 5 /see p. 38 / and Fig. 14 /see p. 51 /).

264 Etiquette demands that everyone eat by himself, turned away from the others. Anyone who transgresses must endure the ridicule of the others.

Tools and Implements. Industry and Skill.

177 The industrial activity of the Karaya no longer presents a wholly unclouded picture inasmuch as the original tools have been supplanted more and more by imported ones.

412 No details are known about the form and material of their
172 old stone axes. Among the petroglyphs of Martirios Island, however, which undoubtedly are to be ascribed to the ancient Karaya, one sees human figures depicted with stone axes in their hands (see p. 94). The same form is exhibited by a stone ax of unknown origin in the Trocadero Museum in Paris, the handle of which is wrapped with the plaiting in zigzag and cross patterns characteristic of Karaya work. Possibly the piece came from the Castelnau expedition.

Plate 12

1. Cooking place of the Karaja Indians.

3. Mask hut in Village 7 (South Horde).

2. Karajá boys.

4. Karajá women and girls.

/Plate 12 faces p. 56. /

/200 cont./

514 water about 5/4 meters deep with their knees slightly bent and there untie the long penis string and tie it on again.

342 The houses are merely living and sleeping houses; cooking
[252] is done outside.

[200] The chiefs in part have better built, larger houses; thus, Plate 41 appears here/ /201/ the one belonging to Chief João III was three to four meters high, five to six meters wide, and equally long (Pl. 39).

[344] There are no meeting houses; in order to bring about a de-
[203] cision or announce regulations, the chief goes to the individual
[209] houses.

Other special houses are:

343 1. Birth houses. These are erected for the woman when birth
844 is imminent; their construction is said to be identical with that of the other houses.

346 2. The mask house in which the dance masks are kept. It always stands apart from the village and in its method of construction is a dry-season house with a round structure on the narrow side turned toward the village. The arches are usually slightly curved and strengthened on top by a ridge beam (Pl. 12, Ill. 3). The mask houses serve as bachelor houses; the young people are said to sleep here. I saw only four mask huts, but cannot confirm
513 these statements from my observations. In any case, the young people do not sleep in the houses, but rather, if there is no mask house,
[609] by a fire which is away from the village. Strangers are given shelter by the chief; they sleep in his house, even though they are unmarried (see the reception which I, with my men, found among the Savajé /pp. 129 ff. in the first part of the work, which is omitted in the translation /).

342 The house belongs to the woman. The man builds it before
443 the marriage, with the assistance of the young people, who are
562 paid for it by the woman with chains of beads. The construction
768 takes one or two days. After death the house is said to be burned.

871 According to the accounts of the Indians, the houses are protected from bolts of lightning by a fish spine stuck on the roof on a pole about half a meter long. Probably only magic is involved here.

[Text continues on p. 84]

/201 cont./

342 The chief's house is a communal structure. It is built by all
496 the married men, while the activity of the young people is limited
437 to cutting out and tying together the leaves for the roofing. The chief pays for this with arrows, lances, and clubs.

342 Besides these houses there are lighter protective walls (1),

> 1. Fonseca already mentioned these protective walls in 1773: The tents consist of two mats, one of which serves as a rug, the other as protection from the sun. Rev. trim. 8, p. 378.

a type of wind screen, in the shade of which the family usually remains during the day, and where the cooking is done. On journeys they serve as the sole dwelling, and in the village as drying racks for the aprons of the women.

There are various kinds of such protective walls.

[824] 1. Walls: Walls of palm leaves are fastened to several vertical poles in the same way as for the house covering (nõbŏ), or mats are tied to them, forming a vertical wall (bŭlĕ). Such walls are encountered in almost all the houses, and they are usually fastened to three poles; also, however, walls of this kind which are twice as
[252] long occur. In their /202/ shade is usually found the hearth for cooking, and in front of them lie mats on which the family remains during the day (Pl. 12, Ill. 1; Pl. 41, Ill. 1).

2. Roofs (wãdŏ): They are horizontally fastened to several poles put at the edge, usually to four, sometimes to three or six poles. Only mats are used here, and they are tied on with ropes. The mats usually fall down to the ground on the sunny side. Sometimes a protective roof of this kind is also built at one end of a mat wall (Pl. 41, Ill. 1; Pl. 10, Ill. 1). /Ills. 27 and 28 appear here./

361 The village (ĩzo).

Ehrenreich says that the houses of the Carayahi usually consist of mat walls and stand in wild confusion, without any order. Only the Šambioá were said to have a street-like arrangement of the houses. This arrangement in rows that run parallel to the shore is also present

226 /251/ or die, come to the surface as a result, and can then be conveniently gathered in. The fence prevents the fish from escaping
[262] into the river. Eating this fish is not harmful to human beings; even drinking the water merely causes a stomach-ache. The
[177] Karajá maintain that they learned this type of fishing, which is carried on especially during the rainy season when the water is muddy, from the Chavánte (see also, however, the fish fence of the Tapirapé /see p. 342 /).

I did not see or hear anything about weirs for small fish (adžuriã), on which Ehrenreich reports, nor of other fishing apparatus.

C. Storage and Preparation of Food.

251 The yield from the plantings as well as from hunting and fishing expeditions is usually consumed at once. The hot climate prohibits the laying away of larger supplies; above all, the preservation of meat is completely out of the question because of the lack of salt. In fact, the Indian is forced to go fishing again in the afternoon, since the fish caught in the morning would already be spoiled by suppertime. It is impossible to keep fresh meat for more than a quarter of a day, and even roasted meat is inedible the next day.

[261] Thus, the Indians have to work hard and be constantly concerned about food, especially in the dry season, when the yield from the plantings is always small. To some extent they help themselves with turtles, which, as mentioned above, they keep alive; turtle eggs, cooked and dried, keep for a very long time. But the Indians do not store even plant produce in large quantities; they have supplies for only two or three days in the manioc lying on their supply racks or in the maize kernels in large gourds with a side opening. They also store water in whole gourds.

● 252 All foods are eaten cooked; only fruits, as well as turtle eggs, are eaten raw; everything else is boiled or roasted.

/251 cont./

252 The hearth lies outside the houses, usually in the shade of mat walls or near them. In the rainy season it is moved to the round structures of the houses. It is constructed in two ways: either three truncated cones, the tops of termite hills [ă(ũ)dŏ, kĕdŏ], are placed in a triangle in the sand, between which the fire is kindled (Plate 12, Ill. 1), or three broken pot bottoms (wăd̆jĭwĭŭlă̆), which are set upended, are used instead. The large cooking pots are set on these supports. For roasting, low roasting hearths (kŏbĭŭdŏ) of twigs are used: Four forked sticks are stuck into the ground in a square, two longitudinal sticks are laid between them and over these cross-sticks are laid. The fire, which is lighted underneath, gradually chars the sticks (Plate 61, Ill. 1, Šavajé; see also below, p.168). Roasting on a spit is also customary: a switch is cut from the bushes, tapered to a point, and, with several piranhas strung on it, is stuck obliquely into the sand so that the upper end with the fish is suspended over the fire. The fish are /252/ first roasted on one side, and later, by turning, also on the other side.

313 Dry wood is used for firewood (hãã), as it is found in abundance everywhere on the sandbanks in trees washed ashore, as well as in the forest.

372 [824] Fire (hearth fire: hãŏtĕ) is produced by twirling. Base and twirler may be of the same wood; usually ãŭtĕ (Brazilian sarão, the root of a goyaba /guava/ species) is used, but ăndōlōkō (Brazilian mŭrĭzĭ) is also supposed to be usable (1). According to

1. The Brazilian names are given in the Indian pronunciation.

Ehrenreich (Berlin 3937), the drilling stick consists of taquara, the base of Bixa orellana. In the case of the /Ills. 87-89 appear here/ fire twirler reproduced in Ill. 87, the base shows three drilling holes; each hole is opened laterally by a notch so that air can enter. The twirler consists of a wooden rod, to the bottom of which is tied another stick of wood three centimeters long as the actual drilling piece. Tinder is not used; dry palm leaves serve for kindling the flame.

/252 cont./

372 The fire is never allowed to go out, but rather care is taken to keep it constantly burning. On boat trips the Indians take along glowing bast (hāŏdĕ; Ill. 88) or pieces of slowly smoldering wood (hädĕkĕ) on a sand base in the boat, and similarly when they go to the plantings. Apparently, therefore, they dislike drilling new fire, but would rather transfer the fire to the new place. I often had the drilling of fire demonstrated for me, but the men never succeeded in getting beyond a huge development of smoke. These attempts, however, all happened to take place in wet weather.

Ill. 87.
Fire twirler.

Ill. 88.
Glow bast.

Ill. 89.
Cooking pot, ordinary shape.

[252] [415] →

To fan the fire, fans (kōlĭ) which are plaited of palm fronds in simple fashion are used. The cooling fans (Plate 21, Ill. 2) differ from them only in that they have patterning.

252 /253/ Meat is merely roasted; fish and vegetables are
[462] eaten roasted and boiled. The preparation of food is the duty of the women; they are busy with it all day. The men, too, however, know how to do it, and on journeys they roast and boil their food themselves in case of emergency. In the villages I never saw roasting hearths; these were found only on sandbanks with traces of camps. Wandering bands use them occasionally. My Karajá always built such roasting hearths

/253 cont./

on the Šavajé journey. Apparently they are used more by the men for the grilling of fish, but the men also understand boiling. 252

Roasting is done on the roasting hearths or on the spit. Meat and fish are roasted until the outer layer is charred. This strong burning makes up for the lack of salt to a certain extent. In the same way, palm nuts and other fruits are roasted in the fire, then later cracked open and eaten. In flat bowls (?) the fruit seeds of the coceiro (hŏlĕnĭ) are roasted from October on. These seeds are then pounded, mixed

[415]

Ill. 90.
Double-bellied cooking pot.

Ill. 91.
Three-legged cooking pot.

with the meat of the nut, and this is then roasted together.

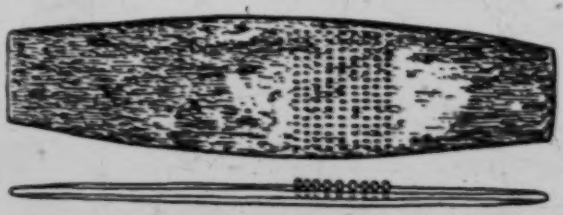
Boiling in large cooking pots preponderates by far, however. The cooking pots (wădjĭwĭ, wădšiwĭ) are made of gray clay; their typical shape is reproduced in Ill. 89. They are generally undecorated. Their diameter is often tremendous, measuring up to 80 centimeters; the height, however, is generally uniform (11-14 centimeters), so that such huge pots appear more bowl-shaped. Sometimes they are covered with clay plates. Vessels of a special type are the double-bellied vessel (Ill. 90), as well as the three-legged cooking pot (Ill. 91); both were likewise called wădjĭwĭ. [323]

Fish, for one thing, are boiled; they are cleaned, scaled, cut into pieces, and thus boiled. When pikĭ fruits are in season, they are boiled with these. The chameleon is likewise skinned and boiled. Above all, manioc is prepared in this way. It constitutes the chief food. The preparation of the poisonous manioc is done as [262]

/253 cont./

[252] follows: The root, provided with incisions, /254/ is placed in
[412] water for several days, then scraped with a sharpened mussel shell,
[237] and after that grated on the wooden grater [(k)ŏlānă]. The longish, rectangular, flat piece of wood bears in the center of one side several transverse rows of inset points of prejauva wood

[412]



Ill. 92.
Manioc grater.

[516] (Ill. 92). The woman kneels while grating and holds
the piece of wood against her body and braced against
[237] the ground. The well-known palates of the pirarucú
[415] fish also serve as graters. After that the mass is mixed
with water and placed on the rod-sieve [bŭlĕĭdjú, pronounced: brĕ(ĭ)djĕ]. This consists of thin little cane rods arranged side by side, which at rather wide intervals are interwoven with two strings, in the same way as the net coverings (Plate 55, Ill. 1). Such rod-

[412]

Ill. 93.
Stirring spoon.

sieves serve, for one thing, as sieves for pounded manioc and for potter's clay, and then, too, as a manioc press, and finally as a base in pottery-making. On such sieves, therefore, the mass of manioc is cleaned, large pieces are picked out, and the sieve, along with the mass, is then rolled up and at the same time pressed hard with the hands, so that the poisonous juice flows out.
[262] The resulting coarse flour (kĕnõdĕ) is cooked to a manioc mush, the common food of the Indians. The sweet manioc (aipim) is
[412] treated somewhat differently. It is cut up and crumbled and then
[412] pounded with the thick wooden pestle approximately one and a half meters long (hăõ) in the mortar about 50 centimeters high and 26

/254 cont./

252 [415] [412] centimeters wide (kōwŏ), which is worked from a tree trunk with a wall three centimeters thick (Plate 40, Ill. 3). This pounded mass is placed on a sieve resting on a bowl or a pot. As such sieves, dome-shaped or hemispherical basket-sieves (wālĭlĭlĭ) plaited of stout wickerwork are sometimes used, or flat, round sieve-plates (ŭĭtjŭ ōdāmōdĭ; Plate 55, Ills. 2, 3). In Schischá, modern wares are already manufactured: sieves with a one-piece wooden edge five centimeters high and fine, patterned bast plaiting, which are made essentially for use by the Brazilians (ŭĭtjon(a); Plate 55, Ill. 4). On these sieves impurities are first picked out by hand, then the sieve is taken in the left hand, and, by a rapid beating on it from above with the right hand, the mass is sieved through it. Larger pieces remaining behind go back into the mortar, are again pounded, and then /255/ sieved again. When sufficient flour has been collected, it is put in the large cooking pot, water from a gourd water-container is poured on it, and the pot is put on the fire.

252 [412] For stirring, long flat wooden spoons (hālĭdāŏ) of tarumá wood are used (Ill. 93).

[251] Ehrenreich reports that the Indians dry this flour in flat pots, in other words, make farinha d'agua, which keeps for a long time; that they leach out the dried mass (puva beero; according to my notes, bālo) several times and bake thick loaves out of it; that in small pots they make small roasted flat cakes (beiju; ibre-ʒeko) out of fresh roots. I neither saw nor heard anything about any of this.

Fruits that are still unripe are popularly taken and buried in the sand, where they ripen. Only then are they eaten.

252 263 Of spices only peppers (kāsĭwēra: the round-seeded kind) are used. They are grown in the plantings; the pods are pounded and mixed with water, and the roasted fish are dipped in this sauce.

263 [439] Salt (ĭnãtŭ, notakànà) is lacking; only in Village 6 did they have bitter salt from the salt mine near São José, which was mixed with red earth and which they had bartered for in São José. Their [261] hunger for salt seems to be extremely great; they are constantly begging for this condiment. But it is strange in this connection

/358 cont./

301 Dance belts (wädäkänä) of the male youth are not as elaborate as those of the Karajá, but are kept essentially simpler. One specimen is striped black and white lengthwise; on its lower edge, on a separate string, hang two bunches of Thevetia fruits and one to three feather rods, alternately. The other one, coming from Schischá, in addition to the lengthwise stripes, exhibits a cross-striping; on its lower edge, directly alternating, are fastened at each place two pairs of Thevetia fruits and one feather rod (Pl. 59, Ill. 12).

262 6. Food. The Šavajé, like the Karajá, live on the fish
136 that they catch and the yield from their plantings. The lake on which they live is extremely rich in fish, in spite of its shallow depth (0.75 to one meter); there were even pirarucús
311 in it. The planting lay far from the village, about six or seven hours away, on the edge of the rainy-season lake. It was growing extremely well and so thickly that one could scarcely follow the path in it. Close beside the new planting there was an older one.
482 Here and there filled back-baskets lay by the wayside, waiting to be picked up.

● 257 The manioc is pounded in a knee-high mortar (kōō) which
[412] has an approximately finger-thick wall, with a pestle (hāâu) of reddish wood 1.6 meters long and 0.10 meters thick, or it is rubbed on a wooden grater (wōlānäkiä), /359/ picked over on the rod-sieve (brēdjē), and pressed in it. Then this meal is
262 mixed with water and cooked. Such manioc mush (iüälü) also constitutes the chief food of the Šavajé. In addition, I also saw yellow mush and green vegetables as festive foods.

286 Fishing was done by the young people with bows and arrows. Early in the morning they would already go out on the
[123] lake and soon return with a good yield. I received my share of everything, even of the huge pirarucú which was caught on the second forenoon. The lucky fisherman took out the entrails of the animal and then cut out the sides of the belly, which were distributed by the chief and placed on different piles. Then the rib pieces of three ribs each were chopped out and likewise distributed. Every family received its share. I, too, was given some.

/359 cont./

235 Of tame animals I found among the Šavajé:

Chickens, which were gladly sold to me, but were not eaten by them; vultures, spoonbills, and parakeets sat tethered on the supply racks in front of the houses; vultures in large numbers squatted on the ground near the wall posts in the houses. Araras were totally absent. Instead, a huge white eagle sat tied to a low cross-bar behind the chief's house (Pl. 30, Ill. 2).

264 The women ate even in my presence. Only the girl who traveled back to the Karajá with us ate turned away from us on the trip, and only when she thought she was not being observed.

252 The hearth, as mentioned above, lies in the circular structures of the houses, on both sides of the entrance. As among the Karajá, it consists of the tips of three termite hills or of three clay shards. Roasting is done on grills (Pl. 61, Ill. 1). [412]

415 The cooking vessels are identical with those of the Karajá.
412 The manioc grater (wōlānǎkiă; in the women's language, kōlānǎkiĕ) and the rod-sieves (brēdjé) have the same shape and construction as those of the Karajá. For stirring, an oar-shaped spoon (nālĭhĭ; Ill. 193) is used. For everything else, see the Karajá! [184]

Ill. 193 a, b. Stirring spoon. (b from the side).

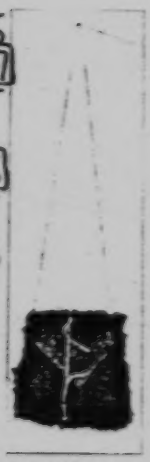
249 The luxury item is tobacco, which is cultivated in a considerably better variety among the Šavajé than among the Karajá. The latter buy large quantities of it from the former, even cuttings, so that they will be able to grow this better variety themselves at home. Tobacco (kōtĭ) is stored plaited into three-part braids (Ill. 194) and is carried in plaited bags or such [438]

Plate 61

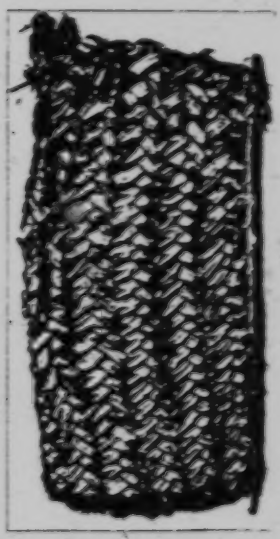
252

1. Grill of the Šavajé.

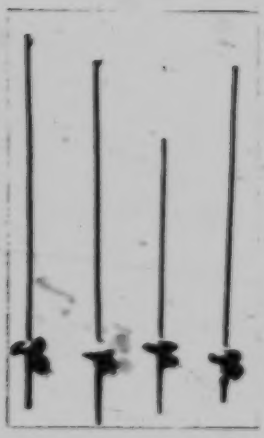
415
[237]
[285]
283



2. Tobacco pouch of monkey skin.



3. Carrying sack, plaited out of a palm frond.



a b c d

5. Spindles.
a Wax, b unfired, c and d fired clay.

283

4. Bow for picking cotton apart.

Brazil.

136 They are as tall as a man, and, standing in line, their uniform black heads, white breasts and long, black legs, gave them a decidedly military appearance. The reflection in the water gave the illusion of a double line. I believe this is the largest bird that flies. It must have a long, clear space or it cannot rise. From standing humped up, like a goose on a cold day, it takes a few hesitating steps, then several determined strides, then breaks into a run, followed by a long series of big jumps and flapping of its huge wings, until, finally, it gets clear of the ground.

114 As we were borne along at night where the river was broad and deep and free of obstructions, all slept, or tried to sleep, excepting one or two watchers. My improvised bed in our large canoe was made of a large, square tin can, the side of a big tin wash-basin and the half of a gourd shell. My companions reclined on similar beds.

609 One obscure night, as we moved silently onward, like a giant phantom, we descried a light some distance ahead and heard Karayá shouting to us from a sand island. Fearing that they might not be friendly, and because of the darkness, our first thought was to pass on and not land where they [206] were. But a moment later, we discovered that they were a friendly fishing party: so we went ashore. As we drew [533] near to land, our Karayá pilot, Pedro Monco, sang one of their familiar tribal songs. It was of a joyful strain, though extremely peculiar, suggesting, somewhat, the running and bleating of a deer. tI is usually sung for the purpose of announcing to those on shore that visitors are arriving, that they are friendly, and that they are happy to meet their friends on land. Our trumpets were also sounded, and I played a hymn on the cornet. Our arrival appeared to give the fishing party much pleasure. The first thing they asked for was manioc meal and fish hooks. They were all in nature's dress, except the captain of the band, who wore a blanket.

268 Soon after we disembarked, which was past midnight, a [252] Karayá appeared with what resembled a skinned cat, and placed it over the fire to broil. "What is this?" I inquired.

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca.1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

the genipapa or wine fruit, a very soggy, tough fruit as large as a pear. It looks and tastes something like a fig soaked in vinegar, but is much prized by the natives. But, as elsewhere mentioned, the palm is the never-failing friend of the children of Nature. One or another of its multitudinous varieties will have a little food of some kind for them every day in the year, such as nuts, fruits and vegetables; and besides, will furnish them the material for their huts, and for bows, arrows and cordage. Though all else should fail, these trees will remain as a tree of life to them. It seems strange that they have no oranges. This fruit will flourish in this region, even doing well without any care, once it has been given a good start. The absence of this tree is the more remarkable because the Karayá are very fond of oranges, and undertake journeys lasting weeks to obtain them. Wild honey is also a much prized article of food, as it is among most South American savages. They make the wax into black balls, or discs about one inch thick, to be used as a glue.

The Karayá have also a kind of tobacco, which contains but a slight percentage of nicotine. The dried leaves are kept in large, square packages covered with palm-leaves. To prepare it for use, it is pulverized between the hands, then smoked in a pipe that looks like a funnel-shaped plug. The pipe most used is one fashioned by Nature herself. It is a certain kind of fruit-shell, or pod, which is funnel-shaped and hollow. Failing this, a pipe is made of a kind of hard wood. The bowl and stem are one straight piece; therefore, when in use, the cavity is in a horizontal position, and not held upright, like the civilized (?) man's flue. The part that enters the mouth is so large that the lips are greatly distended in closing around it, hereby increasing the already ugly appearance of the mouth caused by the repulsive ornament in the lower lip. I have seen the front teeth hollowed somewhat to fit around this huge plug.

No less interesting than the kind of food used by these people, is the means whereby it is prepared for eating. In

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

the open air, just in front of the entrance to each hut, is 252
the cooking place, which is surrounded by a slightly raised platform of sticks on which the manioc meal is evaporated. Large earthen pots are seen resting upon stands over the fire; while the ground around is littered with garbage, which, as previously mentioned, ferments, and attracts and breeds swarms of pestiferous flies. The women are as busy as bees, 462
and toil untiringly throughout the whole of each and every [252]
day, gathering fruits and vegetables from forest and field, going many miles distant and returning, staggering under heavy burdens, gathering firewood, preparing manioc meal, pulverizing corn in wooden mortars, splitting the small cocoa nuts, and attending to the cooking. Dr. Ehrenreich says of the Karayá wife, that though her raw materials are limited, she, nevertheless, succeeds in producing a good assortment of food. Among all savage and semi-barbarous peoples, the females labor more assiduously than the males, and the burden of providing for the family seems to fall more upon them than upon the males. Here again, we observe the similarity between these children of Nature and the wild creatures, upon the female of whom falls the burden of providing for the brood.

The Karayá have no matches, or any of the appliances 372
of civilization for kindling a fire, but still adhere to the ancient method. Fire is produced by means of two sticks of wood, one, which is of urucú, being secured to the ground. This is grooved and morticed in such a way that by setting the point of the second piece, which is a taquára reed, into the groove and causing it to spin rapidly by rolling it between the palms, glowing dust issues from the side of the first piece, with which a fire is kindled. Punk is not used; the piece of wood that is bored takes the place of punk. With this glowing dust, strips of palm-leaves are ignited after being daubed with easily inflammable red resin. But the primitive housekeepers seldom have to resort to this method of producing fire as they do not allow their camp-fires to die out. When on a journey, they carry fire-brands, or glowing coals, which are kept alive at times by being buried in the sand.

Brazil.

252 Fish and game are sometimes prepared for eating by cooking in a clay pot; but the usual method is to impale the meat on a stake which is set up in the ground by the camp-fire and inclined over it; or else to place it upon glowing coals and allow it to remain there until the outside is burned to a crisp. As a portion of this crisp part is naturally reduced [263] to ashes, a saline substance is produced, which, mingling with the juice, flavors the meat. Various root foods, and also ears of corn, are prepared for eating by roasting over the fire.

317 Besides the ash salts just mentioned, the Karayá contrive to extract a little sodium chloride from certain earth banks [263] which contain a small percentage of this substance. It is only recently that they have begun to use salt obtained from the civilized world. Banks of saline earth are easy to locate as the wild beasts frequent these places to "lick." In the cattle-raising regions, a herdsman is much pleased to have one or more of these briny spots in his territory so that his cattle may thereby obtain salt.

184 "The poor tame brothers" of the Sambiõa, the Karayáhy branch of the family, though they are supplied to a limited [241] extent with axes and grubbing hoes, do very little planting. Neither have they many domesticated creatures. Those they [231] do have are largely birds of the parrot family, which they regard with affection, though their feathers are plucked to be used in ornament making.

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/255 cont./

261 that the women usually refused salted food. Instead, however,
263 they all ate whole handfuls of sand. Charcoal and ashes are also eaten, but all this is supposed to be very constipating. They are also said to make little pellets of clay which are eaten; the eating of them is supposed to cause jaundice.

D. Eating.

264 Eating utensils are very few in number. Roasted things, as well as boiled fish, are eaten with the fingers; mush, etc. are spooned out of the large cooking dish or out of small eating dishes.
415 Halved gourds are used as such and are generally decorated on the outside with carved decorations (Ill. 94). Shallow clay bowls are also customary (Ill. 95). I did not see oval clay bowls with a partition (Berlin 3866) or round and elliptical clay plates (Berlin 3863-3865), as described by Ehrenreich. Only in Schischá were [197] [53] tall clay dishes with a red border decoration made (1), evidently

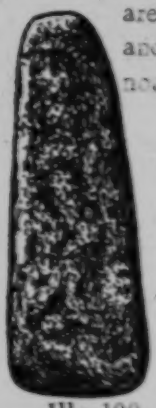
1. See also my article on "Die Kunst der Karaja-Indianer /The Art of the Karaja Indians/," in the Bässler-Archiv, Vol. 2, No. 1, 1911.

412 under Brazilian influence (Ill. 96). Mussel shells serve as spoons, and, to be sure, the three types kădālĕ (Plate 55, Ill. 5a), kădāiă iĭŏlĕ (Ill. 5b), and wălăbōkădālĕ (Ill. 5c), also small half-gourds ĭmă iĭŏlĕ, kăĭsŏ, ŭălĕ, which are generally decorated with pyrography and exhibit various shapes (Ills. 97, 98). I did not come across anywhere the spoons (katarĕ) of wood (Berlin 3934, 35) and clay (Berlin 3870) mentioned by Ehrenreich.

/256/ To crack open the roasted palm nuts striking stones are used. Rather heavy blows are required to split the shells of the nuts. Flat stones serve as a base; as beaters, fist-sized round ones of quartz, ground conical stones, or old stone axes. All these stones come from the regions north of the Tapirapé mouth. For all striking stones the name mănĕ (stone) was given. Ill. 99 a-c

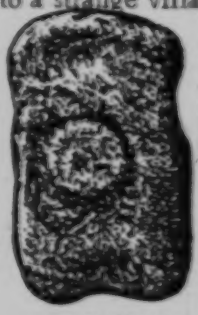
/257 cont./ Much is eaten, but The People do not become fat. While eating, they squat around the pot and spoon out their mush. I could not see that they ate turned away from one another, as Ehrenreich and Königswald state, but the women are usually ashamed to eat in the presence of strangers; and the Indians whom I had with me as companions did not eat my cooking when they came to a strange village 264 [261] [609]

412



Ill. 100.
Flat ax.

Ill. 101.
Short flat-ax.



Ill. 102.
Stone ax with shaft groove.

with me, but went hungry the whole time, if in the village they did not have relatives who gave them something to eat. And they did not work during the stay in the village. They were ashamed, as they expressed it. 264

E. Beverages.

In drinking, the Indian is, understandably, very moderate; water serves as the ordinary beverage. Yet they also know how to prepare other drinks, which, however, are usually not intoxicating. 272 [271]

Buriti fruits (ãdehõ) are pounded and mixed with water; the liquid is allowed to settle, the clear liquid is ladled into a tall pot, boiled, allowed to cool, and then drunk. The liquid is said to be dark red and very sweet, but not intoxicating. On festive days large quantities of it are said to be consumed. [824]

Pikí fruits are boiled, crushed, and, stirred with water, put into a pot. The liquid is left standing overnight and is drunk cold the next morning. The pits are dried and eaten later. [824] [262]

/336 cont./

757 it with water, and drink theliquid, or one takes, in the same
824 way, mixed with cold water, the pounded root of a cipo plant [b(ŭ)dōilūlĕ]. Finally, theroot of a shrub which is cultivated for this purpose in the plantngs is gnawed with the teeth in case of stomach pains. For intesinal disorders, two roots (dĭlüakŏzĕ and bēdĭ) are /337/ crushed each cooked separately, and the two decoctions mixed and dunk.

There are also several laxatives. The root ăjăhĭnŏ (in Brazilian allegedly tiŭ) is pounded, cooked in water, and drunk as a purgative, or one uses ne root of a vine (hĭmbūlādŏè), which is pounded and extracted with cold water.

Jaundice and anemia n young people are cured by pounding the leaves of a red-blosomed creeper (dōwĭlĭzĕ) growing on the goyaba and rubbing the body with it. Jaundice is caused
• 261 chiefly by the eating of clay, which is put into ball form. This eating of clay is probably tobe traced to the lack of salt. Instead of clay, ashes and sand are also eaten, which are said to have a constipating effect. I often observed how the Indians ate the sand from the sandbanksby the handful.

In order to grow fat, ney eat a certain small fruit.

757 In spite of the good teeth which the Indians enjoy, toothache seems to occur more oten than one is inclined to assume.
[164] Though I did not observe any cases, they have a whole number of remedies for it. For exanple, they use the sheath of pieces of root and twigs called kŭsī (in Brazilian the so-called para tudo), as well as a small fruit called sĭbūrĕ. Teeth are not extracted:
[757] if they ache, this remedy is used. Otherwise they are left to drop out by themselves.

[164] I observed only one head cold (wādŏwĕ), in the case of an older man. As a remedy hehad wound a palm-leaf binding around his head. Apparently his head was very dizzy, for he held it in front and back with both hands.

164 I often observed cough (wādŏ): many Indians had a slight
757 cough, probably as a result of the cool nights. The children in Village 17 apparently had whooping cough; when coughing, they had choking spells, until they succeeded in coughing up the

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

large dugout trough near a tree, then a rough slab of wood, 114
fitting loosely into the trough, is placed upon the manioc, and upon this again still other large blocks of wood are built up, all of which become the fulcrum for a heavy beam, the base of which is secured in a mortice in the before mentioned tree; and lastly, heavy weights are piled upon the outer end of the beam. The meal is dried by placing thin layers of it upon an elevated surface, like a huge griddle, under which is a light fire, then stirring it with a wooden hoe.

I saw here, near the dwelling, a valuable fruit tree with 136
hollow limbs in which five or six species of wild honey bees had established themselves. There are a great many kinds of wild bees in Brazil, but none of them, I understand, has [840]
a sting; and what is still more remarkable, all, or nearly all, make acid honey—or *sour* honey, as we commonly say. It is used as a drink, which is much prized, by mixing one part honey to five or six parts water and sweetening it with sugar. The expression, "sweet as honey," would be meaningless to many Brazilians. That honey needs to be sweetened with common sugar appears strange indeed.

At length, all the manioc meal we needed, or could carry, 114
was made and stowed into the canoes, and we resumed our voyage. I was astonished at the great quantity of this food stuff we were taking with us. Our canoes were loaded to the water's edge with it, and we seemed to have sufficient to feed half a dozen horses a month. But as we journeyed, [261]
and I saw the tremendous eating capacity of our Cherente, Karayá and Brazilian canoe men, I was convinced that we had none too much of the meal. These men seemed never to reach their limit—if they had a limit—for they always continued to eat as long as there was anything to levy upon. Their common dinner "plate"—or trough—was a large pan with a capacity of over half a bushel. Around this they all squatted, as it rested upon the ground, and devoured, a few with iron spoons, and the others with nature's five-tyned forks, gathering the food into large balls and tossing it into their mouths. One day, a large, fish-eating bird, called a [136]
manguary,

1:Lipkind E-5 (1937) 1948 SP9 Caraja SP9

is planted in September, when the first rains come, and manioc shortly after. There is little cultivation beyond weeding. The basic crop is manioc, both the sweet and bitter varieties being cultivated, with maize next in importance. Four varieties each of sweet and bitter manioc and 10 varieties of maize are cultivated. Other crops are: Five varieties of potatoes, two varieties of cara, four varieties of watermelon, three varieties of squash, four varieties of beans, and ten varieties of bananas, as well as peanuts, urucú, tobacco, cotton, calabashes, sugarcane, yams, peppers, pineapples, and papayas. Men do all the work with a little assistance in harvesting and weeding from older women. The *Javahé* are more industrious farmers than the other *Carajá*, cultivating extensive plantations. 241 [462] [184]

Collecting.—A large number of vegetable products are gathered for use as food, medicine, and raw material for manufacture, but only a few are of great importance. The babassu and the buriti palms, used for food and textile materials, are among the most valuable. The taquara reed is sought after for arrows. Turtle eggs are a significant item of food during the dry season. Honey is indispensable for feasting. 222 262 [411]

Hunting.—Although the *Carajá* are passionate hunters, very few of the animals available in the region are eaten. Only the peccary is really sought and constitutes a sizable item in the larder. The other animals that are eaten—the cutia, coati, woodsdeer, monkey, iguana, and a few birds, such as the mutum, jao, and jacu—are killed when encountered but are not eaten by everyone. Peccaries are hunted in a communal drive, the most favorable time being shortly after the beginning of the rainy season when large droves are trapped on islands. 224 [262]

The chief purpose of hunting is to get feathers, and the most desirable birds are the various parrots, herons, the male stork, and the flamingo. The nesting of valuable birds is carefully watched, and the young are stolen and tamed. Feathers stored in small baskets almost constitute a currency, because they are readily negotiable at all times and maintain a stable value. 223 237 [251] [436]

The principal weapons are the bow and club. The bow, made of a variety of woods but with a preference for juari when available, is round in cross section and about 6 feet (2 m.) long. The arrow is preferably of taquara reed and variously tipped with wood, animal bone, or fish bone. Clubs are beautifully fashioned of heavy hardwood, decorated with delicate carving, and are swung and thrown with equal skill. The lance is now used only for ceremonial purposes. 441

Fishing.—Fish is the most important food supply. Trapping and drugging fish with timbo is a communal affair; individuals fish with the bow and arrow. There is occasional night fishing, with spearing by torchlight. The pirarucu is killed by harpoon. The hook and line is little used, and apparently was borrowed recently from the Neo-Brazilians. 226 [262] [177]

Food preparation.—Manioc is peeled, grated, squeezed out by hand, and cooked into a soup. When the soup cools, it is masticated for a few 252

1:Lipkind E-5 (1937) 1948 SP9 Caraja SP9

252 minutes, then allowed to stand for a while. The resulting fermentation is not allowed to continue long enough to produce an intoxicating drink.
362 This soup, along with a similar soup made of maize, is a daily staple.
252 Manioc and ground maize are also made into cakes, but this is a holiday variation of diet rather than the staff of life as in other regions. The standard methods of cooking meat, fish, and vegetables are boiling, roasting on a spit, roasting on a grate, and roasting in the embers. Occasionally, some vegetables are baked in hot sand. Maize is the only food that
[251] is stored. On platform shelves at the top of their rainy-season houses, the *Javahé* pile a supply of maize dried on the cob sufficient to last throughout the dry season.

HOUSES AND VILLAGES

361 The permanent or rainy-season village is erected on a high bank overlooking the river. One or two rows of houses face the river, and the men's
[535] house, about 50 feet (15.2 m.) back, faces down river. All the space between the men's house and the family houses is kept perfectly clean and constitutes the dancing plaza of the village. The surrounding clearing extends only a few yards in all directions. All neighboring forest which must be traversed in hunting or gathering is threaded by well-marked
[487] trails. A path leads down from the center of the village to the main port where women, married men, and children bathe, and married men land their canoes. Another path cuts diagonally down from the men's house to the bachelor's port where the young men bathe and visitors to the masked dances land their canoes.

342 The house is rectangular in ground plan with supported horizontal ridge poles (fig. 18). Saplings are sunk into the ground at the sides and

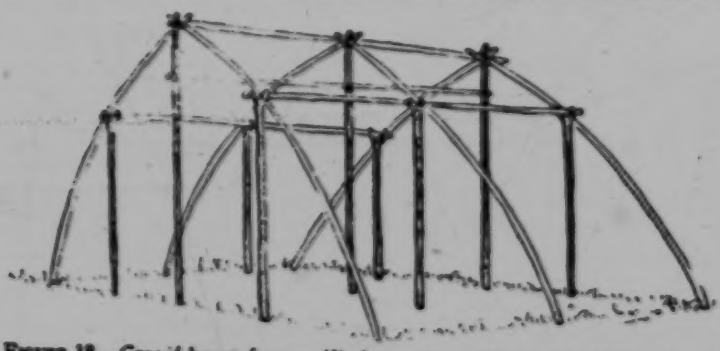


FIGURE 18.—*Carajá* house frame. (Redrawn from Ehrenreich, 1891 b, fig. 3.)

bent over to the ridge pole at the top, where they are firmly tied with bast. Then the whole structure is tightly thatched with successive overlapping layers of palm frond tied to the saplings (pl. 20, *top*). The entrance is a small rectangular opening at the bottom, through which one crawls after

/13 cont./

231 825 Domestic animals. In a description of the Indian house its animal fellow-lodgers must not be passed over. A genuine Indian still-life is inconceivable without them. The naïve joy of primitive man in animals and their behavior is expressed in his care for them. He considers the animal as [181] [538] his equal. The feeling of solidarity, indeed, of relationship with the animal world, which expresses itself in tribal tales and a rich treasury of animal fables, is a principal characteristic trait of the Indian national-spirit. This at the same time explains the often stressed contradiction that the savage Indian, in spite of his astonishing ability to tame the wild, timid animals of his country, has never brought this to the actual breeding of domestic animals in our sense. The animals are captured young and reared, but only to please themselves, for entertainment, out of joy in associating with them, not in order to make them useful. Therefore they 235 are not mated. Even the domestic chicken, which the 171 Araguaia tribes have had for a long time in a domesticated [262] state and which multiplies in great numbers, is not, as a member of the household, /14/ used for food, nor are its [439] eggs (1). In recent times, however, it serves as a trade item

[113]

1. Im Thurn, Among the Indians of Guyana /Guiana/, p. 265, reports the same thing.

in the trade with the commercial travelers, who sell the poultry in the first settlements of the province of Pará at a great profit.

231 Of the imported domestic animals, dogs and cats are already widespread. On the other hand, the pig is absent, but, in contrast, it is raised and traded by preference by the Kayapo tribes.

235 825 A large Šambioa village is always at the same time a kind of menagerie. The bird kingdom is most noticeable. The largest and most colorful birds are made use of, at least insofar as they must give up their feathers for feather ornaments.

/14 cont./

Way of Life. Food and Its Preparation

433 Like most South American tribes, the Karaya are first of all fishermen, but, in addition, carry on a not insignificant agriculture. 326 [221] The principal season for fishing is the dry months from May to October, when the larger fish strive toward the deeper parts of the river, the so-called poços, which are formed in particular above the small rapids and the masses of rock projecting out here and there.

The fish kingdom of the Araguaia, in all of the middle course, already bears throughout the character of the fauna of Amazonas. The giant three-meter long pirarucú/arapaima/ (Sudis gigas) is common everywhere, as is the electric eel (Gymnotus electricus) and the thick-bodied pirarara (Phractocephalus discolor) armored with its strong shield of bone. The poços abound with cannibalistic piranhas; in the shallow places along the bank the no less feared thornback, buried in the sand, lies in wait for its prey.

[262] Prized as the tastiest fish are the blue-grey spotted pintado (Pimelodus sorubim), reaching up to two meters in length, the matrincham /Caracinidae/, the tucunaré (Cichla temensis), the trahira (Macrodon), and various species of the pacu (Myletes). Certain fish, particularly scaleless ones, are not pursued because of superstitious fear, and likewise the fresh-water dolphins, [225] present everywhere in great numbers. Tortoises and their delicious eggs, however, are hunted all the more zealously.

At high water, when the fish are no longer easy to get in the clay-yellow flood, the many lagoons along the river provide the most productive fishing places. They form large natural traps for the larger species, in which they can easily be isolated.

[439] /15/ Whereas formerly the fish were killed almost exclusively with an arrow, angling is now used more and more, since hooks are imported in large quantities. In many places, however, angling and net fishing cannot be done because of the countless piranhas whose teeth cannot be withstood by any line or net.

/15 cont./

226 Smaller fish are caught in weir baskets (adžuriă), larger ones in stockades or peculiar traps made out of vines (deaurărŏ) which do not know from personal observation.

433 Hunting, in contrast to fishing, plays a much lesser role than those who view all Indians as purely hunting peoples without 224 further ado are inclined to believe. Larger, huntable game is 262 quite sparingly represented in tropical South America and, in view of the lack of firearms, difficult to obtain. In addition, superstition often forbids eating the meat of precisely the largest and most common species. Thus, the Karaya scorn the tapir. Their principal booty is the monkeys common in all the forest along the shore, wild pigs, small rodents such as agoutis and pacas, and furthermore the small camprebe. In the lagoons and marshes of the patanaes the musk duck (Anas moschas) present in large numbers provides excellent food for them.

241 Agriculture. The great distance of the plantings from the [262] villages prevented a visit to them. Judging by the wealth of vegetable foods among the Šambioa, their agriculture seems to be on a relatively high level. The "savages" have in this respect outdone their civilized neighbors by far. In general, [177] iron agricultural implements have already supplanted the original ones.

The most important cultivated plant is manioc, of which both the more nourishing poisonous species (M. brava) and the less productive, but immediately edible aipim (M. mansa) are grown. The freshly cleared, dry forest soil of the higher banks is especially suitable for this kind of cultivation.

[273] Next, maize comes into consideration as a grain product, which is used less in substance than for the production of fermented beverages.

Sugar cane flourishes on the lower shore-land. During the dry season one sees the seedlings planted on the sandbanks [249] everywhere for the next season. Special devices for pressing out the juice are not in use.

Of the legumes there is found among the Šambioa small brown beans (Dolichos chinensis), as well as peas (komonara) imported from Pará.

/15 cont./

241 Cara tubers /Dioscorea/ are grown in large quantity, excellent quality, and in various species. Most commonly one sees the huge egg-shaped pé d'anta (Cara brasiliensis) with a white cut-surface, as well as a smaller one with an almost violet cut-surface.

228 The wild food plants and fruits which the river forests and [242] camp-woods supply constitute a desirable change. These are primarily palm fruits, such as the nuts of the uaguassú, the pineapple-like fruits of the buriti (Mauritia vinifera), and various small species of coconut; furthermore, the wild acaju tree, the jaboticaba, the pitanga /Surinam cherry/ the oily piquia (Caryocar brasiliense), various Bromeliaceae, and, finally, the finest fruit of the campos, the mangaba (Hancornia speciosa). One sees the latter, however, much more rarely than in the Xingu villages. The tree does not seem to be planted as it is there.

[262] It is noteworthy that the orange, which flourishes extremely well here, is not cultivated, although the Indians esteem it most [439] highly. Only rarely do they undertake week-long journeys to the Brazilian settlements to trade for these fruits. A principal goal of such excursions is the site of the old, now abandoned mission and military post Chambioas, just above the rapids of S. Miguel, where rather large stands of this noble tree have maintained themselves. Cacao, too, was formerly obtained from there.

Still to be mentioned is the honey of the countless species of wild bees, the collecting of which presents no difficulties since the animals are entirely stingless. The black wax, which [237] is stored in large, round, inch-thick disks, is used in Indian industry as a glue.

249 The only luxury item of the Karaya is tobacco (koti). It is a Nicotiniana, but not N. tabacum, of a mild quality. The dried leaves are stored (see p. 40) in large rectangular packages plaited out of palm-leaf strips and are pulverized between the 276 hands for use. /16/ The fruit capsule of the jequitiba tree 824 (Hymenaea sp.), filed smooth on the outside, serves as a pipe

/182 cont./

142 [962] Very distended abdomens, probably a result of the predominantly vegetable diet, are not a rarity, especially among the male sex; almost throughout the children of both sexes have a drumlike distended abdomen (Pl. 11, Ill. 4; Pl. 12, Ill. 2; Pl. 43, Ill. 2; Pl. 51, Ill. 2). The musculature of the abdomen among the men is usually so well developed that its individual parts are visible under the skin (Pl. 36; 38, Ill. 1). The pelvis is narrow; girls and maidens in particular have pelves that are no broader than those of the male sex, and even those of the women are not essentially broader than those of the men. The strikingly broad pelvis of one woman observed by me is an exception, contrary to Ehrenreich, who describes them as figures tending toward broadness (1). Hand in hand with this slight development in the breadth of the pelvis goes the almost total absence of a waist (Pl. 16; 17; 42, Ill. 1), which is occasionally clearly present only among women /183/ (Pl. 42, Ill. 3). Peculiar to the male sex is the often strongly prominent inguinal line (Pl. 36; 44, Ill. 1).

1. Page 119. On page 101, however, he describes the hips of the women as relatively narrow.

The paddings of fat over the glutei are generally normal. Where they are more strongly developed (Pl. 16), the accumulation of fat appears more in the lower parts. A well-developed [826] [832] padding of fat is part of the Indians' ideal of beauty.

The Arms. As far as the length of the upper and lower arms is concerned, the upper arm seems to be proportioned like ours; the lower arm, on the other hand, seems long in relation to the upper arm (Pl. 43, Ill. 1), and the female sex has proportionately longer lower arms than the male (Pl. 17). The musculature of the upper arm is extraordinarily well developed among the men (Pl. 15, Ill. 1; 36; 43, Ill. 3); among young men and boys, as well as among the female sex, on the other hand, it is only slightly developed, so that one is obliged to call

/241 cont./

000 136 yields. The country is also relatively poor in useful animals, and [224] almost all of the few animal species that can be hunted are not [262] eaten by the Indians, with the exception, to be sure, of the wild pig. The birds are very numerous; with the exception of the [223] mutum, however, the Indians do not seem to hunt any other bird. Thus, the water must supply the principal food. The river is extremely rich in fish and turtles; everywhere, in shallow places, in the depths, in lakes, but above all in the tributaries, one comes across a quite startling abundance of fish. But even this abundance is not fully exploited, since a few types of fish are not eaten.

A. The Acquisition of Plant Food.

462 The women essentially are responsible for the gathering of wild plants and fruits, while the men engage above all in pro-
222 curing animal food (1). The following come under consideration:

> 1. This division of labor is ancient. In the myth, "How the Karajá acquired manioc," it is said of the father that he would not notice the theft of maize because he only knows fishing (see there /see pp. 302-303/).

the small oitŭ fruits, which are gathered in the forest during the first half of October; the pikĭ fruits (lămă), which ripen during the second half of October; the watermelon (kūblăkĕ), which grows on the sandbanks at the place where the banks are connected with the shore. The Indians know exactly those sandbanks on which the melons grow and gather them as early as the end of October when
222 the fruit is not yet quite ripe. Of palm fruits the following are
262 eaten: the seeds of the tucum palm (hălŭ), of the so-called coceiro (ăhăndĕtĕ), and of the oaguassu palm (haŭlĕnĭ), the roasted seeds of which are called haŭlĕnĭdŏ. The fruits of the jatobá tree (kūwă) and of the genipap (bădĕnă) are likewise eaten. Another fruit, from which a black dish is prepared, was called ādomŏ; it is

/241 cont./

222 gathered at the beginning of October. Of other fruits Ehrenreich
262 mentions: caju /acajou/, jabuticaba, pitangu, and Bromeliaceae, and Königswald also the mangaba. I never saw these fruits in the villages, however. As vegetable plants there are eaten: mormão (dãdẽdãlĩ), which is gathered the end of October; on the other hand, the mandioca do matto (ãzõ) is supposedly not eaten, because it is too poisonous.

241 The following food plants are cultivated: the poisonous
262 (ãndjĭũlã) and the sweet (ĩ(ĭ)lũ) manioc; four varieties of maize, mãĩ, dõlĩmẽ with large, round kernels, ĭzẽlãlã with round kernels, mãĩdũzõ with red kernels; batatas (kõdẽrũtĩ), and cara (kãrã). Of fruits, bananas are probably cultivated. The green banana is called jãdãũãbõ, the ripe one jãdàzõ. I obtained bananas in Indian villages only twice, and, indeed, at the beginning of July; I never saw any in the plantings. Perhaps bananas occur only here and there, for example, according /242/ to the statements of Brazilians, among the Šavajé on Bananal Island, which is supposed to have been named after them. I did not see oranges (nãlãdjã) anywhere. Of other fruits Königswald also lists: gourds, water-
[824] melon, pineapple, and sugar cane (mã(ĩ)ĭtĩ). The gourd is not eaten, but used only for the making of vessels; the watermelon is generally gathered in the wild state, probably only rarely cultivated; only once in a village of the south horde, did I meet a family who stored seeds of these plants in small bast packets. Pineapple is surely not cultivated, and I did not see sugar cane either. If they had had any, they would probably not have begged me for sugar to the extent that they did. The statement of
[114] Ehrenreich that during the dry season sugar-cane shoots are planted on the sandbanks should be corrected to read manioc and maize stalks.

241 Of spice plants, peppers (kãšĭwẽrã), of plants for enjoyment, tobacco (kõtĩ), are cultivated.

Moreover, one finds in the plantings: as industrial plants, cotton and gourds; as plants used in ornamentation, ĭšĭũlã shrubs (for necklaces) and the urucú shrub; and a quantity of medicinal plants.

/244 cont./

527 Regular harvest festivals probably do not take place; the time of the ripening of the food plants, that is to say, the time when they have a great deal to eat, is their chief festival time, however.

B. The Acquisition of Animal Food.

433 The acquisition of animal food is as yet limited to the appropriative form; the Indians have not arrived at animal breeding.

231 To be sure, they keep a great many animals in their
825 houses, but do not use them for food, nor do they mate them,
[262] but rather, after loss, they catch young specimens again to tame these anew. This pleasure in animals arises from the belief that animals are related to man, are the same in essence; they believe that animals speak and act like human beings, only in a different form. And so they surround themselves with them, in
[235] order to divert themselves by their behavior. Only birds are kept for practical purposes, namely, as suppliers of feathers; they are repreatedly robbed of their feathers, which are then made into ornaments. Tamed quadrupeds, as well as chickens, usually run around free; birds have their wings clipped or they are tied to a pole on the roof, in the house, or under a special protective
[438] roof (Plate 54, Ill. 1). Apparently there is a trade in birds, for several times I observed wandering Indians who carried little birds with them in small gourds, in order to sell them in other places. /Plate 53 appears here./

231 /245/ Of such domestic animals, I observed the following:
[136] Of foreign, imported animals there were: chickens [(h)ăni(k)ĕ], pigs [(i)šā(nĕ)], dogs (kjŏlŏzā), cats [(găh)ănlōĕnĕ]. These
[262] animals are not eaten; the Indians are not even acquainted with the eating of chicken eggs (hăniĕkĕsi). Pigs are very rare; I saw only one large domestic pig, which was quite obviously kept only out of curiosity.

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 155]

/245 cont./

231 Of native animals, monkeys [kălōbĭ(dĕrŭ), klăŏbĭ] were only very rarely encountered. I did not see any examples of the animals mentioned by Ehrenreich, capybara, agouti, peccary, 231 tapir, etc., in the villages of the Karajá. The bird world is 235 more abundantly represented. Of the araras the red arara (Macrocercus militaris) is preferred, whereas the hyancinth-blue arara (ăndādōlă: M. hyacinthinus) and the blue-yellow one (bīzā: M. macao) were seen only rarely. Usually they stayed on the roofs of the houses. Small green parrots (bōlŏbĕdŏ - parakeets; dōlă) were more frequently encountered, mostly as the property of young girls who carried them around sitting on their heads and let them drink from their hands out of small mussel shells. The caracara [ĭ(h)ī(ŏ)lĕ, īlă], a predatory bird, was seen only occasionally. Its feathers were apparently little used. It is probably kept in the houses because it plays a certain role in the legends. Very sporadically I saw a young ostrich [kŭsā(hā)wĕ, nāŭĕkĭĕ], a small water bird, and a young, tame mutum (kŭlĭtĭ), around whose legs had been crocheted small red calf-bands. I did not see the other birds mentioned by Ehrenreich, white heron, roseate spoonbill, and jabiru, tamed among the Karajá. Nor did I observe or learn that small feather tassels are tied into the wings of birds, or that their feathers were artificially changed in color.

231 Of reptiles and other animals I came across small turtles, which were kept by girls in small gourd shells filled with water, lizards (so-called chameleons: kū(ū)lā), which, generally with white down feathers glued on, were carried by the women on the head or shoulders, and, finally, young crocodiles [kăb(ŏ)lōlĕ] about 20 centimeters long, which lay in the shallow puddles on the edge of the sandbanks, tied to the string of a stick planted vertically into the sand; little children would come running, take out the stick, and let the animals walk and swim on the tautly stretched string.

262 These animals kept in the village are never eaten; in order 222 to obtain their meat food, the Indians are much more dependent [225] on gathering and hunting. They gather turtles and turtle eggs, ostrich eggs, and honey.

Of turtles, the tracajá (kōdŭ) and its eggs (kōdŭzĭ) are for the most part scorned; only older people eat them. The laying time is August to early September; the nest contains about 16 eggs.

/245 cont./

262 The eggs are longish and have an odor and taste somewhat re-
222 sembling train oil. The tartaruga (kŏdūnĭ) and its eggs (kŏdūnĭzĭ),
[221] on the other hand, are eaten with great relish. /246/ For them,
the Indians undertake distant boat journeys up the tributaries of
the Araguaya in September to October, the laying period of this
turtle, which deposits up to 160 round eggs in a nest. All the
sandbanks are investigated and the often numerous nests emptied
(on the Tapirapé I found up to four nests on small sandbanks).
Thus, they gather quite enormous quantities of eggs. These are
[251] either eaten raw or they are cooked and dried in the ashes and
[439] then kept for a long time, so that the Indians take them home,
[437] eat them later at leisure, or are able to sell them in the Brazilian
towns (Santa Maria, Conceição) on trading expeditions, which
they undertake in September and October. The turtles them-
[225] selves are taken by surprise while laying, or in shallow water they
are caught with the hands by diving from boats or with iron
bottom-tackle. The turtles are brought home alive in great
231 quantities from these expeditions and then eaten or sold. In order
to be able to keep them for a longer time, cages are built out of
twigs bent together at the top, which are stuck in the sand in a
circle, providing shade for them. Here they are tethered and kept
until they are consumed (Ill. 6). Small turtles are raised in the
villages as a pastime.

262 Ostrich eggs (nâuĕkĭĕzĭ) are eaten with great relish. The
222 Indians empty the entire nest and take the eggs home with them
in order to eat them cooked there.

222 Honey (bădĕrhõ) is a delicacy of which they are passionately
fond. On their boat trips they observe the direction of flight of
the wild bees (bēdĭ), designated by them as stingless, until, after
a short time, they have discovered their nests high up in the
crowns of trees. Quickly the tree is climbed and the nest cut down
[415] with the bush knife or ax. The honey is then taken out down below;
it is stored in bent pieces of bark or in gourd vessels. Bees nesting
in hollow trees are smoked out and the honey is taken out with the
hand. The often giant honeycombs are individually sucked out;

/246 cont./

222 the wax (tăbōlă)[1] is stored in large lumps; it constitutes one of
[237] their most important gluing and packing mediums and as such is
[232] everywhere offered in quantities by the women to passing boats.
The chief gathering period of the honey seems to commence in
October.

224 While the gathering of these foods is bound to specific
[221] seasons and requires journeys often weeks long, in order to collect
large amounts, the daily animal food is obtained in short expedi-
tions from the villages by means of all kinds of traps.

[233] It should be noted that the hunting of birds and land
[226] animals is completely overshadowed by fishing. In general, of
course, the land is poor in animals as compared to the water.
There is only a little big game to be hunted: red deer (bŏlōlă),
roe, tapirs [(k)ōlĭ], monkeys (1), wild pigs (ĭsă), and possibly

[237] [262] 1. Howling monkeys are shot only for the bones, which are used for arrow points, lip plugs, and arrows, but not for food.

also /247/ jaguars (ănlōă); smaller animals are more frequent, but
very shy and difficult to hunt (agouti, tsŭsŭ; capybara, hūă, etc.).
223 The choice of birds is likewise not very large. Above all,
gallinaceous birds (jacu, bĕdjūă; mutum, etc.) and pigeons, as
well as ducks (hăăkŏlĭnĭ, hĕdaûlĕ, dōăläläă) and divers, come into
262 consideration. I was unable to find out whether they eat ostriches,
or how they feel about lizards, crocodiles, and boa constrictors,
which Königswald reports are eaten. The small choice of game
animals is even more restricted by all kinds of so-called food pro-
hibitions. Thus, this person will not eat this animal, and that
person that one. Some animals are generally not eaten, though
224 they could furnish a great deal of meat. Hunting only plays a
secondary role in the economy of these Indians.

For wild game they set out individually or in company;
wild pigs in particular are always hunted in company. It is
[222] strange that the chief never goes along on the hunt, though he
does engage in fishing. Only large animals are hunted; the young
ones are allowed to run away.

[1] [i.e., bee's wax --Analyst]

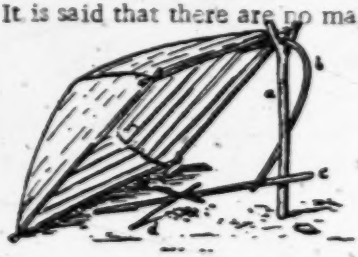
/248 cont./

223 until the uppermost one, finally, closed the opening of the little pyramid. Strings ran down along the edges, were fastened to the lowest rods, and crossed at the top on the surface; they barely held the whole construction together. The type of release is clearly shown in the sketch, Ill. 84.

[198] To lure birds and game the Indians use specific calls which differ according to the particular species of animal, as they know how to imitate animal sounds masterfully.

Birds must be plucked on the spot; they may not be brought to the village unplucked ("otherwise the chief will be angry"). While plucking, the fingertips are dipped in wood ashes.

223 224 [538] It is said that there are no magic devices for making the hunt productive; on the other hand, the Indians are fond of telling one another hunting stories, and, in doing so, they like to exaggerate and tell improbable things.



Ill. 84.
Construction of the bird trap.

226 562 Fishing supplies by far the largest portion of the meat food; the subsistence of the Indians is to a large extent based on it.

136 The Araguaya is extremely rich in fish (kǎdōlǎ); still richer, however, are the tributaries, especially the Rio Tapirapé and the many lakes that accompany these rivers on either side.

In the deep water of the lakes and on the high, steep banks, especially where fallen trees lie in the water, live the pirarucú (b'dōlěkě; Sudis gigas), three to four meters long, and the pirarara (dōlě; Phractocephalus discolor), which is equipped with strong bone armor and is up to two meters long. Upon being [533] [825] pulled out of the water, it emits air with strange sounds; the humorous Indian likes to imitate these sounds in his songs. Furthermore, the dogfish (lãdǎ), with its powerful teeth, lives here, and above all the worst predatory fish, the piranha. Various

/248 cont./

136 kinds are distinguished: the small yellowish one with a black circle on its cheeks, the whitish-red one (dũẽtã, kjũẽtã), and the huge black, red-eyed piranha (dũũlĩ), the largest specimens of which reach a length of 48 centimeters. The piranhas are vicious predators. When they scent wounded animals or fish, they hasten to them in droves and in a few minutes reduce a whole animal to a skeleton. They leap high out of the water in their greed, so that at such places huge eddies of water and fish are produced and gradually collapse again. It even happens that they injure
206 and devour each other. They live in vast numbers and huge specimens in the Tapirapé especially, and even the Karajá were /Plates 54 and 55 appear here/ /249/ astonished when a dogfish, hit in the head by a vertical shot from the boat, was pulled up after a few minutes as a mere skeleton on the arrow. The meat of the piranha is very tasty; but since the animals seldom come to the surface and can be caught only with the fishhook, they play only a minor role in the economy of the Indians. The latter, however, prize them and, whenever they can, seek to obtain possession of strong fishhooks that can withstand the strong teeth of the animal, and similarly tin to surround the part of the fishline around the hook like a mantle and thus protect it from being bitten through. In spite of this, a number of hooks thus equipped are regularly lost.

The pintado (Pimelodus sorulum), which is up to two meters long and has good yellowish meat, lives in shallow water, where the Indian can hunt better with bow and arrow, I saw matrincham, tokunaré, pacú (ãĩwã) caught relatively rarely. The carí fish lives in the caves of the steep banks and may be pulled out by the tail; it is an extremely tasty fish, which, however, has only a little meat in its armor.

136 Many fish, especially scaleless ones, such as aruana (ĩdjãzõ)
262 and others, are not eaten. Similarly the giant dolphin (boto: bũhã) is not utilized; its droll movements and its puffing merely afford the Indian occasion for mirth and humorous imitation.

[Text continues on p. 163]

226 /251/ or die, come to the surface as a result, and can then be conveniently gathered in. The fence prevents the fish from escaping
[262] into the river. Eating this fish is not harmful to human beings; even drinking the water merely causes a stomach-ache. The
[177] Karajá maintain that they learned this type of fishing, which is carried on especially during the rainy season when the water is muddy, from the Chavánte (see also, however, the fish fence of the Tapirapé /see p. 342 /).

I did not see or hear anything about weirs for small fish (adžuriã), on which Ehrenreich reports, nor of other fishing apparatus.

C. Storage and Preparation of Food.

251 The yield from the plantings as well as from hunting and fishing expeditions is usually consumed at once. The hot climate prohibits the laying away of larger supplies; above all, the preservation of meat is completely out of the question because of the lack of salt. In fact, the Indian is forced to go fishing again in the afternoon, since the fish caught in the morning would already be spoiled by suppertime. It is impossible to keep fresh meat for more than a quarter of a day, and even roasted meat is inedible the next day.

[261] Thus, the Indians have to work hard and be constantly concerned about food, especially in the dry season, when the yield from the plantings is always small. To some extent they help themselves with turtles, which, as mentioned above, they keep alive; turtle eggs, cooked and dried, keep for a very long time. But the Indians do not store even plant produce in large quantities; they have supplies for only two or three days in the manioc lying on their supply racks or in the maize kernels in large gourds with a side opening. They also store water in whole gourds.

252 All foods are eaten cooked; only fruits, as well as turtle eggs, are eaten raw; everything else is boiled or roasted.

/253 cont./

on the Šavajé journey. Apparently they are used more by the men for the grilling of fish, but the men also understand boiling. 252

Roasting is done on the roasting hearths or on the spit. Meat and fish are roasted until the outer layer is charred. This strong burning makes up for the lack of salt to a certain extent. In the same way, palm nuts and other fruits are roasted in the fire, then later cracked open and eaten. In flat bowls (?) the fruit seeds of the coceiro (hõlẽnĩ) are roasted from October on. These seeds are then pounded, mixed

Ill. 90.
Double-bellied cooking pot.

Ill. 91.
Three-legged cooking pot.

[415]

with the meat of the nut, and this is then roasted together.

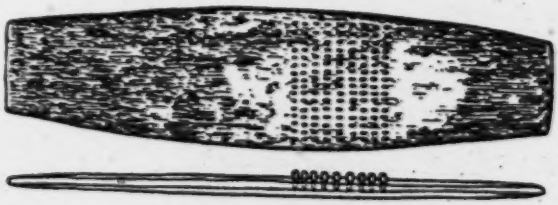
Boiling in large cooking pots preponderates by far, however. The cooking pots (wãdjĭwĭ, wãdšĭwĭ) are made of gray clay; their typical shape is reproduced in Ill. 89. They are generally undecorated. Their diameter is often tremendous, measuring up to 80 centimeters; the height, however, is generally uniform (11-14 centimeters), so that such huge pots appear more bowl-shaped. Sometimes they are covered with clay plates. Vessels of a special type are the double-bellied vessel (Ill. 90), as well as the three-legged cooking pot (Ill. 91); both were likewise called wãdjĭwĭ. [323]

Fish, for one thing, are boiled; they are cleaned, scaled, cut into pieces, and thus boiled. When pikĩ fruits are in season, they are boiled with these. The chameleon is likewise skinned and boiled. Above all, manioc is prepared in this way. It constitutes the chief food. The preparation of the poisonous manioc is done as [262]

/253 cont./

[262] follows: The root, provided with incisions, /254/ is placed in [412] water for several days, then scraped with a sharpened mussel shell, [237] and after that grated on the wooden grater [(k)ŏlãnă]. The longish, rectangular, flat piece of wood bears in the center of one side several transverse rows of inset points of prejauva wood

[412]



Ill. 92.
Manioc grater.

[516] (Ill. 92). The woman kneels while grating and holds the piece of wood against her body and braced against the ground. The well-known palates of the pirarucú [237] fish also serve as graters. After that the mass is mixed [415] with water and placed on the rod-sieve [bŭlĕĭdjú, pronounced brẽ(ĭ)djĕ]. This consists of thin little cane rods arranged side by side, which at rather wide intervals are interwoven with two strings, in the same way as the net coverings (Plate 55, Ill. 1). Such rod-

[412]

Ill. 93.
Stirring spoon.

sieves serve, for one thing, as sieves for pounded manioc and for potter's clay, and then, too, as a manioc press, and finally as a base in pottery-making. On such sieves, therefore, the mass of manioc is cleaned, large pieces are picked out, and the sieve, along with the mass, is then rolled up and at the same time pressed hard with the hands, so that the poisonous juice flows out. [262] The resulting coarse flour (kĕnõdĕ) is cooked to a manioc mush, the common food of the Indians. The sweet manioc (aipim) is [412] treated somewhat differently. It is cut up and crumbled and then [412] pounded with the thick wooden pestle approximately one and a half meters long (hãŏ) in the mortar about 50 centimeters high and 26

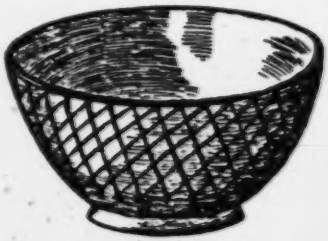
/256 cont./

412 shows a pointed cone-shaped striking stone with hollowed-out striking place and with flat base; Ills. 100-102 show three stone axes, namely, a long flat-ax, a short flat-ax, and an ax with a shaft groove running around it, whose blade is already heavily worn as a result of the pounding.

415 [531] 199

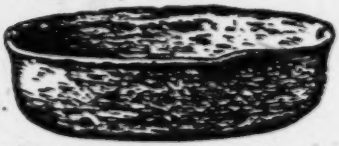
Ill. 94.

Gourd vessel for eating.

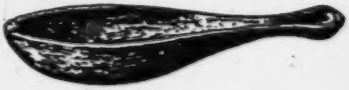


Ill. 96.
Modern eating dish.

Ill. 95.

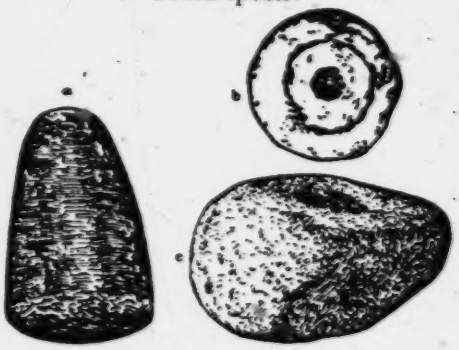


412 Shallow eating dish made of clay.



Ill. 97.
Gourd spoon.

Ill. 98.
Gourd spoon.



Ill. 99 a-c.
a) Striking stone, b) its striking surface, c) base.

264 There are two meals, breakfast (andoldoho) at about eight or nine /257/ o'clock, and supper (lirosik) at about five or six o'clock. In between, [262] however, this and that is munched, fruits, nuts, etc., at noon they like to eat grilled piranhas (fish jacuba: djūdeã). The menu consists mostly of boiled manioc mush and fish. Much is eaten, but the people do not

/257 cont./ Much is eaten, but The People do not become fat. While eating, they squat around the pot and spoon out their mush. I could not see that they ate turned away from one another, as Ehrenreich and Königswald state, but the women are usually ashamed to eat in the presence of strangers; and the Indians whom I had with me as companions did not eat my cooking when they came to a strange village 264 [261] [609] 412

Ill. 100.
Flat ax.

Ill. 101.
Short flat-ax.

Ill. 102.
Stone ax with shaft groove.

with me, but went hungry the whole time, if in the village they did not have relatives who gave them something to eat. And they did not work during the stay in the village. They were ashamed, as they expressed it. 264

E. Beverages.

In drinking, the Indian is, understandably, very moderate; water serves as the ordinary beverage. Yet they also know how to prepare other drinks, which, however, are usually not intoxicating. 272 [271]

Buriti fruits (ãdehõ) are pounded and mixed with water; the liquid is allowed to settle, the clear liquid is ladled into a tall pot, boiled, allowed to cool, and then drunk. The liquid is said to be dark red and very sweet, but not intoxicating. On festive days large quantities of it are said to be consumed. [824]

Pikĩ fruits are boiled, crushed, and, stirred with water, put into a pot. The liquid is left standing overnight and is drunk cold the next morning. The pits are dried and eaten later. [824] [262]

/257 cont./

273 From maize they allegedly make a drink kănūā́, with the preparation of which, however, I am unfamiliar.

The most common festive drink, which is drunk on all visits and other /258/ occasions, is made out of manioc mush (ĭūārŭk). The way of making it is described by Ehrenreich ("Beiträge," pp. 16-17). The slight fermentation is brought about by chewing the residuum of the cooled mush. The Indians, men and women, scoop out the drink in huge quantities. It is slightly intoxicating; the people quickly get puffy faces, watery eyes, and are inclined to chatter. It tastes like unseasoned diced-potato soup.

[199] Sugar-cane liquor (cachaça: ĭbūālĕ) is already penetrating here, too, through the Brazilians. There is only one village, however, Schischá, in which liquor is drunk by all, presumably because liquor is made in the vicinity and the drink is therefore very cheap. Otherwise I found very few Indians who accepted liquor (for [illegible]ample, Chief Ilk); women never drank any, except in S[illegible]há. Usually it was also refused by the men and young p[illegible]

F. Food Prohibitions.

262 It has already been mentioned above that the potentialities for food are not fully utilized, that some foodstuffs are scorned. [114] The reason for this is difficult to find. I already thought that I was on the trail of a totemistic system, but I did not succeed in proving it. Apparently, along with superstitious notions, personal taste also plays a role in this.

The following are quite generally not eaten: the meat of domestic animals, eggs, howling monkeys, capybaras, dolphins, crayfish, and mussels. The tracajá turtle and its eggs are eaten only by old people; young people scorn them, because eating them is said to have a bad effect. Allegedly chiefs are said not to eat red-deer meat. Grilled piranha is regarded as the sole food for sick persons; pregnant women, too, are forbidden many foods. Individual persons did not eat certain things: thus, Pedro

/258 cont./

262 scorned red-deer meat and tracajá eggs; others ate these things.
[177] Enlightened (civilized) Indians, who otherwise still believed firmly in all kinds of magic, ate everything.

G. Luxuries.

276 The Indians are familiar with only one luxury item:
[177] tobacco (kōtĭ). They maintain that they adopted the luxury of tobacco only from the Brazilians, and, to be sure, in about the
[249] first half of the nineteenth century. At that time they obtained seed (kōtĭlăti) or shoots; at first they planted these in the mud, where only small plants grew, then they tried it in the plantings, where large plants grew. The custom of smoking is older, however. Fonseca reports in 1773 that they smoked their clay peace pipe in an easterly direction, apparently observing a ceremony (1).

1. Rev. trim. 8, pp. 378 and 387.

Probably they received merely another plant from the Brazilians.
249 /259/ Today tobacco is raised in the plantings, and it is planted by the men during the rainy season by placing seed kernels into the ground. Harvest begins "when the leaves begin to hang" (in July I already saw fresh tobacco leaves hung up to dry). The leaves are picked and brought into the house, where they are hung up to dry. When they are half-dry they are rubbed between the hands ("so that the tobacco becomes black"), then hung outside the house on a pole or a special sloping rack, and com-
[415] pletely dried. It is stored in the oblong baskets called lālá, and, to be sure, rolled up pad-shaped by the south horde (ĭlūlăū), plaited into a braid by the north horde (kō(ŭ)ẑă). (See Ill. 194, Šavajé /see p. 323/.)

276 The variety is evidently very light; its fragrance is not very pleasant, but the Indians smoke it passionately. They find
249 the tobacco of the Šavajé to be better and obtain seedlings from
438 them to improve their stock. Thus, on my return journey from
[437] the Šavajé I was accompanied by /Ills. 103-104 appear here/ a
[438]

/277 cont./

501 The boat is pushed over shallow places; to get over ex-
[502] posed sandbanks extending crosswise, wooden rollers are laid down on which the boat is rolled across (Ill. 9).

There are no anchors for securing the boat; stones with plaiting around them serve only as anchors for the bottom tackle for turtles. The boats are easily pulled up on the bank, and the boat pole is stuck into the sand through the loop; this is the whole mooring.

[415] Half-gourds are used to scoop out the water that enters.

[532] I saw decorated boats only in Village No. 20. Here, on
[484] the inner wall of a boat, there were light-colored human figures;
[211] another boat had 36 notches on the edge, which were said to be the number of nights required for a journey to the Sambioá.

484 Such trips lasting for weeks are usually undertaken in a large company; often the entire village sets out in a great number of boats packed high. By themselves the Indians only make
[242] journeys of one or two days. By way of /278/ provisions they take only a little with them: manioc, maize, and the cooking pot; the fish are caught on the way twice a day. Rower and helmsman change places daily on longer journeys, especially if only two men are traveling in the boat.

502 Shipwrecks sometimes occur, especially while crossing the
132 river in a storm. Such accidents, in which Indians lost their lives and of which several examples were recounted to me, are easily explainable in view of the high waves which storms create on the river and the narrow, low boats of the Indians. In fact, I myself with my boats (dugouts with one or two side planks set on them) was often forced to seek refuge from wind and waves for hours on high banks or on sandbanks.

The Indians endure bad weather on the journey rather simply. They quickly build themselves small sheltering walls out of poles and prepared palm leaves, which they always carry with them on longer journeys, or they pull the boat on land, turn it upside down, and lie down under it wrapped in their coverings beside a fire which they light in the center. They spend the worst nights of storm and rain in this manner.

/337 cont./

164 mucus. The mothers would pound them on the back; no other
757 remedy was known. The coughing was explained as a consequence of the cold nights and the lack of blankets. They do not know any remedy for coughs.

164 I did not observe any tuberculosis. Ehrenreich reports ("Beiträge," p. 32) that the Karajá suffered from it, that they were aware of its danger and greeted every stranger with the question: "ahi catarrho não tem?" Now this custom has disappeared, probably with the decline of the disease.

[759] For chest pains they use ipipokama emetic powder (hãdãõ).

Fevers apparently are rare from May to October. At any rate, I did not see any attacks of fever in the villages. Only one of my Indian rowers was afflicted with a severe fever for three days in August. Fevers are said to be frequent, however, at the end of the rainy period, especially in the swamp region between São José and the Rio das Mortes; this stretch is therefore not
757 permanently occupied by the Indians. As a remedy they use the
[824] /338/ plant kŏdūlāẑĭ; it is pounded and mixed with hot water, and with this infusion the body, especially arms, shoulders, and chest, is washed. When this has been done four times in one day, the fever is said to be gone.

[164] Smallpox is unfailingly cured (as I was several times assured in answer to my question), and, indeed, the cure takes place on the eleventh day of the illness. It occurs as follows:
[824] The four roots, nãŭĕkĭedĭẑŭ, sĭndăkăĭlăndŏ, klăklă, lŏlŭŏ, are pounded, mixed with water, and drunk. The drink is followed by profuse sweating. For eleven days this is taken three times a day, noon, afternoon, and evening, and during this time only very small, boiled fish are eaten. On the eleventh day the sickness is gone.

[164] Measles cannot be cured. In 1906/07 a severe measles epidemic must have afflicted the Karajá. Many people are supposed to have died because they bathed in the river during the fever. For this reason bathing is not permitted during any
• [262] illness now. Grilled piranhas and manioc mush serve as food for the sick; even the parents of the sick eat only these foods during the illness of their children.

/358 cont./

301 Dance belts (wăděkănă) of the male youth are not as elaborate as those of the Karajá, but are kept essentially simpler. One specimen is striped black and white lengthwise; on its lower edge, on a separate string, hang two bunches of Thevetia fruits and one to three feather rods, alternately. The other one, coming from Schischá, in addition to the lengthwise stripes, exhibits a cross-striping; on its lower edge, directly alternating, are fastened at each place two pairs of Thevetia fruits and one feather rod (Pl. 59, Ill. 12).

262 6. Food. The Šavajé, like the Karajá, live on the fish
136 that they catch and the yield from their plantings. The lake on which they live is extremely rich in fish, in spite of its shallow depth (0.75 to one meter); there were even pirarucús
311 in it. The planting lay far from the village, about six or seven hours away, on the edge of the rainy-season lake. It was growing extremely well and so thickly that one could scarcely follow the path in it. Close beside the new planting there was an older one.
482 Here and there filled back-baskets lay by the wayside, waiting to be picked up.

252 The manioc is pounded in a knee-high mortar (kōŏ) which
[912] has an approximately finger-thick wall, with a pestle (hāẫ) of reddish wood 1.6 meters long and 0.10 meters thick, or it is rubbed on a wooden grater (wōjānăkiă), /359/ picked over on the rod-sieve (brēdjĕ), and pressed in it. Then this meal is
262 mixed with water and cooked. Such manioc mush (ĩnālŭ) also constitutes the chief food of the Šavajé. In addition, I also saw yellow mush and green vegetables as festive foods.

226 Fishing was done by the young people with bows and arrows. Early in the morning they would already go out on the
[123] lake and soon return with a good yield. I received my share of everything, even of the huge pirarucú which was caught on the second forenoon. The lucky fisherman took out the entrails of the animal and then cut out the sides of the belly, which were distributed by the chief and placed on different piles. Then the rib pieces of three ribs each were chopped out and likewise distributed. Every family received its share. I, too, was given some.

Brazil.

136 They are as tall as a man, and, standing in line, their uniform black heads, white breasts and long, black legs, gave them a decidedly military appearance. The reflection in the water gave the illusion of a double line. I believe this is the largest bird that flies. It must have a long, clear space or it cannot rise. From standing humped up, like a goose on a cold day, it takes a few hesitating steps, then several determined strides, then breaks into a run, followed by a long series of big jumps and flapping of its huge wings, until, finally, it gets clear of the ground.

114 As we were borne along at night where the river was broad and deep and free of obstructions, all slept, or tried to sleep, excepting one or two watchers. My improvised bed in our large canoe was made of a large, square tin can, the side of a big tin wash-basin and the half of a gourd shell. My companions reclined on similar beds.

609 One obscure night, as we moved silently onward, like a giant phantom, we descried a light some distance ahead and heard Karayá shouting to us from a sand island. Fearing that they might not be friendly, and because of the darkness, our first thought was to pass on and not land where they [206] were. But a moment later, we discovered that they were a friendly fishing party: so we went ashore. As we drew [533] near to land, our Karayá pilot, Pedro Monco, sang one of their familiar tribal songs. It was of a joyful strain, though extremely peculiar, suggesting, somewhat, the running and bleating of a deer. tI is usually sung for the purpose of announcing to those on shore that visitors are arriving, that they are friendly, and that they are happy to meet their friends on land. Our trumpets were also sounded, and I played a hymn on the cornet. Our arrival appeared to give the fishing party much pleasure. The first thing they asked for was manioc meal and fish hooks. They were all in nature's dress, except the captain of the band, who wore a blanket.

268 Soon after we disembarked, which was past midnight, a [252] Karayá appeared with what resembled a skinned cat, and placed it over the fire to broil. "What is this?" I inquired.

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

262

"Monkey."
"What are you going to do with him?"
"Eat him—me like him much." [224]
"How did you catch him?"
"Me shoot him with an arrow."

Continuing our voyage at dawn, we encountered before 609
noon another cluster of Karayá huts on a sand island. Before [361]
we could get to shore, the natives ran out into the water [439]
to meet us, and surrounding our canoes, eagerly offered us
balls of black beeswax and pottery in trade for what they
supposed we had. It was amusing to see a Karayá couple
trying to make a trade with our only woman voyager for a
man's gauze undershirt. I could not but think of how the poor
savage would appear with only that shirt on. He wanted it, [291]
he motioned, to shield himself from the cold at night, and
from the flies by day.

We passed the next night at another group of huts on [361]
the sand. These Karayá who were very cordial, were expect-
ing us for the news of our approach had preceded us;
so they gave us a royal welcome. The *mayor of the city*— [622]
the chief of the local horde—appeared arrayed in a complete [292]
suit of civilian's clothes, consisting of white linen trousers
and vest, black coat and hat. These he wore merely as decora-
tions, not as a covering, for these people consider themselves
fully and properly dressed without any such apparel. It was
a remarkable sight indeed to us to descry in the gloaming,
as we approached the land, what appeared to be a well-dressed
representative of advanced civilization entirely alone in a re-
mote, howling wilderness, surrounded by nude and painted
savages. He had obtained these garments somewhere from
a trading boat. We were escorted in state to a large hut
where were assembled all the human inhabitants of the [526]
island; and after the reception, we witnessed the wrestling
game of which the Karayá are very fond, which will be
described fully in future pages.

The same night, as I was sleeping soundly in the open 123
air in my hammock, which was swung between two stakes

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

000 mas it was to me! How almost infinitely removed it was from the situations and environments of former Christmas days! I seemed to be a wanderer in a world wholly different from 133 that which I had formerly known. The afternoon of Christmas day, we passed the principal mouth of the Rio das Mor- [103] tes—a river with an uncanny name because of a sombre history. It takes its name, I believe, from the fact that a party of explorers, while navigating the Araguaya in canoes long ago, were slain here by the savages. It is a great river, though almost unknown to the world, and drains a vast region 114 that is almost wholly unexplored. While passing the outlet of this mysterious river, a storm burst upon us, and our [132] large canoe, becoming unmanageable, was finally driven ashore. Darkness closing in rapidly we prepared and ate our Christmas dinner in the wind and rain at the edge of the 000 forest. We had no expectation that Santa Claus would penetrate the unknown, mysterious wildernesses that enveloped us to fill our stockings; though a few of our party did fear that the tiger might come to us for *his* Christmas dinner. So we all slept under a large tree close around the fire.

764 The next day, we visited a Karayá cemetery on top of a hill. As we entered the cemetery, I saw one of our Karayá canoe men, who had preceded us, standing over a nice water- [262] melon that had grown there. I wondered why he did not eat it at once as they are fond of this fruit. But he would not touch it, nor would any of the Karayá, because it was a product of the cemetery, and intended, perhaps, as food for those who had gone to the shadow land. Two of our party did eat it, however, one of whom was myself. But I must acknowledge that it tasted unpleasantly like a Karayá smells. Our woman voyager declared that we had eaten the flesh of a defunct Karayá. Broken pottery was lying about in the cemetery together with skulls and other human bones; while sunk into the ground or standing on the surface were large clay urns containing the osseous remains of dead Karayá. Pumpkins also were growing in the cemetery as well as melons.

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

But even

235 these birds are regarded as members of the family, and no
[062] use is made of their flesh, nor even of their eggs. In recent
[237] years, however, the savages have begun to use them as an
231 article of trade with passing canoes. The most important domestic animals possessed by the Karayá besides fowls, are dogs and cats, which are widely distributed. They have no pigs. This animal is raised by the Kaiapó tribe, who obtained it originally from the civilized people, and use it as an article of trade. A veritable menagerie, in which the various bird families figure prominently, may always be seen around the largest Sambîõa villages. Many proud, magnificently plumaged, and ever-watchful macaws are always seen clinging to the tops of bare poles near the huts like watchers in their towers, or roosting on the roof of the hut; and if anything strange should approach, be it man or beast, they give warning in deafening screams—especially when civilized men—men wearing clothes—appear. Dogs, also, where they have such, bark fiercely when civilized men appear. This kind of man seems so extraordinary to them. Our dogs, in turn, make a fearful fuss when they see savage men for the first time—not only because of their exceedingly strange appearance, but also because of their odor.

235 Other birds kept by the Karayá in order to get their feathers to make ornaments, are the military bird, small storks, black-headed giant storks, cranes, the glittering white ardea, the beautiful, pink-feathered spoon bill, various wild ducks such as the canoe beak, rheas, or emus, which are the South American ostrich, and wild chickens. Birds that do not become so much attached to the family that they would not fly away, are held captive by having their wings clipped, or a few feathers plucked out. Many of these birds are decorated artificially. Those having white feathers are dyed red, while others have small bunches of bright feathers attached to their wings.

232 Some of the Brazilian Indians have a curious art by which they make nature change the color of the feathers of many of their captive birds. They jerk out the feathers they wish

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca.1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

226 which attains a length of ten feet, occurs very frequently;
[136] also the electric ell, and the thick-bodied pirarára which is encased in an armor of strong, bony plates; the voracious piránha, the jahú, a scaleless fish nearly as large as a man; the pintado, or spotted fish, which reaches a length of six or seven feet; various pacús, besides many other kinds of fish. All of these are suitable for human consumption.
[262] There are certain scaleless fish which are not used by the Karayá. Neither will they eat the dolphin; but they are quite fond of the turtle and its eggs.

During the time of high water when fish are not easily caught in the yellow, earth-charged flood, the Karayá secure their fish from the lagoons along the river, which they make into great, natural traps for the larger fish by cutting off their retreat. This is accomplished by blocking the outlet of the lagoon with a basket-work of poles and heavy climbing
[178] vines. In former times, fish were taken exclusively by means
[437] of the bow and arrow, but the Karayá now use the hook and line, which is obtained in trade from passing canoes. It is for the most part impossible to fish in the Araguaya with a net because the piránha cut it to pieces, and also because of the many large creatures that infest the river.

224 Hunting is not so important an occupation with the Karayá as fishing, hence they are more expert anglers than hunters; nor do they display much skill in the chase. This may appear strange to persons who believe that all Indians
[262] are hunters, par excellence. South America is not so rich in large game as Africa; moreover, some superstition, the taboo, doubtless, prevents the savages from eating the flesh of some species of game which are most numerous. For this reason, the Karayá do not hunt the tapir, which abounds along the Araguaya, though the meat is excellent, being much like beef, yet richer. Deer also, of which there are many varieties, exist in great numbers; yet few, if any, of the savage tribes touch these animals. The Karayá never hunt large game, confining themselves to monkeys, which are abun-

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

dant, and to the pecari, the aguti, the musk duck which is 224
found in ponds, and similar small game.

Agriculture among the Sambiõa is highly developed—re- 241
markably so, in fact, for a people living in a state of sav-
agery—and is even more advanced in some respects than that
of the "civilized" Brazilians living near their territory. A
large assortment of vegetable foodstuffs are raised. They
now have the same agricultural implements as the "civilized" [178]
Brazilians, having relegated to oblivion their rude tools of
ancient times, with which they could not till the soil but to
a very limited extent, and that only with excessive toil. The
high agricultural development reached by these savages is
very interesting and important, proving conclusively that the
primitive man, far from being incapable of anything but to
wander over a wide territory, living from hand to mouth by
hunting and fishing, is capable of becoming an agriculturist
of no mean order. The plant most extensively cultivated by
the Sambiõa is the manioc. They raise both kinds, the
"wild" and the "tame." Next to this in importance is corn.
But this is used more to make a fermented drink than for [273]
food. Sugar-cane is also cultivated on the low, alluvial soil
along the river, which is well adapted to this purpose. But
the natives have no suitable contrivance for extracting the
juice from the cane. Several varieties of small, brown beans,
brought from Pará, and which are a staple food among civ- [262]
ilized Brazilians, are also raised. So also, the white and [177]
violet Brazilian *cará*, a kind of potato. Besides these food- 272
stuffs, which were obtained originally from civilized Bra- 262
zilians, the Karayá gather from forest and jungle, many
kinds of wild fruits and vegetables, which introduce a pleas-
ing change in their aliment. A few such are the cajú, a
yellow, olive-shaped plum, which grows on a very large tree;
the jábádacába, a plum which grows clinging to the trunks
of a tree resembling the elm; the morisy, a large yellow
cherry, groves of which may be seen growing on the up-
lands; mongába, the fruit of a kind of upland rubber tree,
which I have elsewhere called a natural baked apple; and

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
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the genipapa or wine fruit, a very soggy, tough fruit as large as a pear. It looks and tastes something like a fig soaked in vinegar, but is much prized by the natives. But, as elsewhere mentioned, the palm is the never-failing friend of the children of Nature. One or another of its multitudinous varieties will have a little food of some kind for them every day in the year, such as nuts, fruits and vegetables; and besides, will furnish them the material for their huts, and for bows, arrows and cordage. Though all else should fail, these trees will remain as a tree of life to them. It seems strange that they have no oranges. This fruit will flourish in this region, even doing well without any care, once it has been given a good start. The absence of this tree is the more remarkable because the Karayá are very fond of oranges, and undertake journeys lasting weeks to obtain them. Wild honey is also a much prized article of food, as it is among most South American savages. They make the wax into black balls, or discs about one inch thick, to be used as a glue.

The Karayá have also a kind of tobacco, which contains but a slight percentage of nicotine. The dried leaves are kept in large, square packages covered with palm-leaves. To prepare it for use, it is pulverized between the hands, then smoked in a pipe that looks like a funnel-shaped plug. The pipe most used is one fashioned by Nature herself. It is a certain kind of fruit-shell, or pod, which is funnel-shaped and hollow. Failing this, a pipe is made of a kind of hard wood. The bowl and stem are one straight piece; therefore, when in use, the cavity is in a horizontal position, and not held upright, like the civilized (?) man's flue. The part that enters the mouth is so large that the lips are greatly distended in closing around it, hereby increasing the already ugly appearance of the mouth caused by the repulsive ornament in the lower lip. I have seen the front teeth hollowed somewhat to fit around this huge plug.

No less interesting than the kind of food used by these people, is the means whereby it is prepared for eating. In

/16 cont./

372 Naturally the Karaya try to maintain the fire as long as possible and make a new one only when necessary. On longer boat trips glowing pieces of wood are always taken along on a bed of sand.

252 Meat and fish are roasted on a spit over a hot fire or laid directly on glowing coals until the uppermost layer, or the skin, is completely charred. The ashy parts of the latter, in combination with the reserved juice, make the use of salt unnecessary to a certain degree. Only the Karayahi have begun to become accustomed to European salt. Salty soils, such as are found [243] [311] in the campos at the so-called barreiros /clay pits/, as well as the ash of various woods, must serve as substitutes. Fish are probably also boiled.

Corn on the cob, aipim roots, sweet potatoes, and some palm fruits are likewise roasted over the fire.

The preparation of manioc is much more primitive than among the Xingu and Amazon tribes. The roots, provided with [412] deep cuts, are put in water for several days for maceration, then freed of the skins with knives or sharp shells, and pulverized on the grating board (ãranã), a biconvex board about three centimeters thick, with several rows of short buriti thorns in the middle (Pl. VIII /see p. 110/, 4).

[415] The pulverized mass is pressed with the hands, probably also with the aid of stones, to remove completely the poisonous juice, the largest part of which has already been taken out by the maceration, and then, washed and drained in peculiar little baskets (uäriri, see p. 41) plaited out of flexible cipos, dried in the air. By drying it in shallow pots one thus obtains the "water flour" (farinha d'agua) also generally widespread on the Amazon. Because of fermentation during the maceration, it has a slightly sour flavor, but can be kept much longer than the "farinha secca" /dry flour/ of trade, made out of the fresh root. This type of preparation, however, does not seem to be the original one practiced by them. More often, in accordance with an old national custom, the dried mass (puva, beerõ) is baked in large loaf-like lumps after several washings. Finally, small flat

/254 cont./

252 415 [412] centimeters wide (kōwŏ̄), which is worked from a tree trunk with a wall three centimeters thick (Plate 40, Ill. 3). This pounded mass is placed on a sieve resting on a bowl or a pot. As such sieves, dome-shaped or hemispherical basket-sieves (wālĭlĭsĭ) plaited of stout wickerwork are sometimes used, or flat, round sieve-plates (ŭĭtjŭ ōdāmõdĭ; Plate 55, Ills. 2, 3). In Schischá, modern wares are already manufactured sieves with a one-piece wooden edge five centimeters high and fine, patterned bast plaiting, which are made essentially for use by the Brazilians (ŭitjou(a); Plate 55, Ill. 4). On these sieves impurities are first picked out by hand, then the sieve is taken in the left hand, and, by a rapid beating on it from above with the right hand, the mass is sieved through it. Larger pieces remaining behind go back into the mortar, are again pounded, and then /255/ sieved again. When sufficient flour has been collected, it is put in the large cooking pot, water from a gourd water-container is poured on it, and the pot is put on the fire.

252 [412] For stirring, long flat wooden spoons (hālădāŏ) of tarumá wood are used (Ill. 93).

[251] Ehrenreich reports that the Indians dry this flour in flat pots, in other words, make farinha d'agua, which keeps for a long time; that they leach out the dried mass (puva· beero; according to my notes, bälò) several times and bake thick loaves out of it; that in small pots they make small roasted flat cakes (beiju: ibreϑeko) out of fresh roots. I neither saw nor heard anything about any of this.

Fruits that are still unripe are popularly taken and buried in the sand, where they ripen. Only then are they eaten.

252 263 Of spices only peppers (kāšĭwērā; the round-seeded kind) are used. They are grown in the plantings; the pods are pounded and mixed with water, and the roasted fish are dipped in this sauce.

263 [439] Salt (ĭnãtŭ, nòtàkànà) is lacking; only in Village 6 did they have bitter salt from the salt mine near São José, which was mixed with red earth and which they had bartered for in São José. Their [261] hunger for salt seems to be extremely great; they are constantly begging for this condiment. But it is strange in this connection

/255 cont./

261 that the women usually refused salted food. Instead, however,
263 they all ate whole handfuls of sand. Charcoal and ashes are also eaten, but all this is supposed to be very constipating. They are also said to make little pellets of clay which are eaten; the eating of them is supposed to cause jaundice.

D. Eating.

264 Eating utensils are very few in number. Roasted things, as well as boiled fish, are eaten with the fingers; mush, etc. are spooned out of the large cooking dish or out of small eating dishes.
415 Halved gourds are used as such and are generally decorated on the outside with carved decorations (Ill. 94). Shallow clay bowls are also customary (Ill. 95). I did not see oval clay bowls with a partition (Berlin 3866) or round and elliptical clay plates (Berlin 3863-3865), as described by Ehrenreich. Only in Schischá were
[197] tall clay dishes with a red border decoration made (1), evidently
[53]

1. See also my article on "Die Kunst der Karaja-
[113] Indianer /The Art of the Karaja Indians/," in the Bässler-Archiv, Vol. 2, No. 1, 1911.

412 under Brazilian influence (Ill. 96). Mussel shells serve as spoons, and, to be sure, the three types kădālă (Plate 55, Ill. 5a), kădālă liŏlĕ (Ill. 5b), and wălăbōkădālă (Ill. 5c); also small half-gourds ĭsă liŏlĕ, kāĭsŏ, ŭālĭ), which are generally decorated with pyrography and exhibit various shapes (Ills. 97, 98). I did not come across anywhere the spoons (katară) of wood (Berlin 3934, 35) and clay (Berlin 3870) mentioned by Ehrenreich.

/256/ To crack open the roasted palm nuts striking stones are used. Rather heavy blows are required to split the shells of the nuts. Flat stones serve as a base; as beaters, fist-sized round ones of quartz, ground conical stones, or old stone axes. All these stones come from the regions north of the Tapirapé mouth. For all striking stones the name mānă (stone) was given. Ill. 99 a-c

Brazil.

252 Fish and game are sometimes prepared for eating by cooking in a clay pot; but the usual method is to impale the meat on a stake which is set up in the ground by the camp-fire and inclined over it; or else to place it upon glowing coals and allow it to remain there until the outside is burned to a [263] crisp. As a portion of this crisp part is naturally reduced to ashes, a saline substance is produced, which, mingling with the juice, flavors the meat. Various root foods, and also ears of corn, are prepared for eating by roasting over the fire.

317 Besides the ash salts just mentioned, the Karayá contrive [263] to extract a little sodium chloride from certain earth banks which contain a small percentage of this substance. It is only recently that they have begun to use salt obtained from the civilized world. Banks of saline earth are easy to locate as the wild beasts frequent these places to "lick." In the cattle-raising regions, a herdsman is much pleased to have one or more of these briny spots in his territory so that his cattle may thereby obtain salt.

184 "The poor tame brothers" of the Sambiõa, the Karayáhy [241] branch of the family, though they are supplied to a limited extent with axes and grubbing hoes, do very little planting. [231] Neither have they many domesticated creatures. Those they do have are largely birds of the parrot family, which they regard with affection, though their feathers are plucked to be used in ornament making.

/16 cont./

252 cakes (beijus, ibräʒeko), likewise roasted in pots, are made from the freshly treated root.

273 In combination with maize, manioc flour is also used to make their most popular beverage, uierõ. Pounded maize is poured into the boiling manioc and stirred well. /17/ When it is sufficiently soft, the mixture is allowed to cool. Then the settlings are chewed by the women in true Indian fashion, whereby the whole thing turns sour and ferments after standing for several days. A sourish beverage something like water gruel is produced, to which honey or sugar-cane juice is sometimes added. The effect is slightly intoxicating.

415 412 [239] The kitchen utensils are simple, but nevertheless somewhat more complete than, say, among the Xingu tribes. Besides earthen pots and gourd containers, as well as mussel shells of the Anodonta and Hyria avicularis serving as spoons, there are already real spoons made of wood or clay (cf. Fig. 5 /see p. 38 / and Fig. 14 /see p. 51 /).

264 Etiquette demands that everyone eat by himself, turned away from the others. Anyone who transgresses must endure the ridicule of the others.

Tools and Implements. Industry and Skill.

177 The industrial activity of the Karaya no longer presents a wholly unclouded picture inasmuch as the original tools have been supplanted more and more by imported ones.

412 172 No details are known about the form and material of their old stone axes. Among the petroglyphs of Martirios Island, however, which undoubtedly are to be ascribed to the ancient Karaya, one sees human figures depicted with stone axes in their hands (see p. 94). The same form is exhibited by a stone ax of unknown origin in the Trocadero Museum in Paris, the handle of which is wrapped with the plaiting in zigzag and cross patterns characteristic of Karaya work. Possibly the piece came from the Castelnau expedition.

/255 cont./

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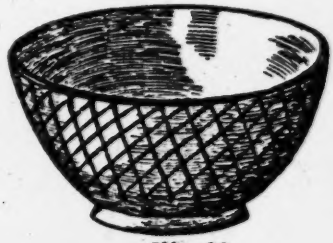
/256 cont./

412 shows a pointed cone-shaped striking stone with hollowed-out striking place and with flat base; Ills. 100-102 show three stone axes, namely, a long flat-ax, a short flat-ax, and an ax with a shaft groove running around it, whose blade is already heavily worn as a result of the pounding.

415 [531] 199

Ill. 94.

Gourd vessel for eating.



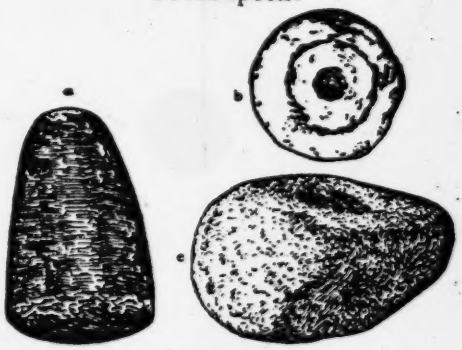
Ill. 96.
Modern eating dish.

Ill. 95.

412 Shallow eating dish made of clay.

Ill. 97.
Gourd spoon.

Ill. 98.
Gourd spoon.



Ill. 99 a-c.
a) Striking stone, b) its striking surface, c) base.

•264 There are two meals, breakfast (andoldoho) at about eight or nine
/257/ o'clock, and supper (lirosik) at about five or six o'clock. In between,
[262] however, this and that is munched, fruits, nuts, etc.; at noon they like to eat grilled piranhas (fish jacuba: djudeã). The menu consists mostly of boiled manioc mush and fish. Much is eaten, but the people do not

/257 cont./ Much is eaten, but The People do not become fat. While eating, they squat around the pot and spoon out their mush. I could not see that they ate turned away from one another, as Ehrenreich and Königswald state, but the women are usually ashamed to eat in the presence of strangers; and the Indians whom I had with me as companions did not eat my cooking when they came to a strange village 264 [261] [609]

412

Ill. 100.
Flat ax.

Ill. 101.
Short flat-ax.

Ill. 102.
Stone ax with shaft groove.

with me, but went hungry the whole time, if in the village they did not have relatives who gave them something to eat. And they did not work during the stay in the village. They were ashamed, as they expressed it. 264

E. Beverages.

272 [271]

In drinking, the Indian is, understandably, very moderate; water serves as the ordinary beverage. Yet they also know how to prepare other drinks, which, however, are usually not intoxicating.

Buriti fruits (ãdehõ) are pounded and mixed with water; the liquid is allowed to settle, the clear liquid is ladled into a tall pot, boiled, allowed to cool, and then drunk. The liquid is said to be dark red and very sweet, but not intoxicating. On festive days large quantities of it are said to be consumed. [824]

Pikí fruits are boiled, crushed, and, stirred with water, put into a pot. The liquid is left standing overnight and is drunk cold the next morning. The pits are dried and eaten later. [824] [262]

/325 cont./

589 [587] he pleases, there is no "must." Widowers, too, usually marry again only out of consideration for their children. If they have no children, or if they can avoid marriage in any way, they are only too glad to do so.

593 [264] The two sexes take their meals together. In general, married life is very peaceful, quarrels and disputes are rare. Nevertheless, I observed a few marital scenes: In Village 17 one evening the loud shouting and screaming of a woman arose, followed by a half hour of loud abusive speeches by the woman. The next evening the husband came to me and asked me for food, because, he said, his wife would not give him anything to eat on account of the previous day's quarrel. /326/ I was unable to discover the reason for the quarrel. In Village 13, Chief Ilk beat his wife because, on a visit to Village 11, she had been stealing. That is what he said; the others, however, said that the wife had greeted him angrily when he returned from Village 11 because he had had something to do with a woman there; it was only then [587] that he beat her. In Village 7, Kuriší already had his third wife. The first had run away from him, the second died, the third and present one was much older than he and very jealous. On the first evening of my stay she observed how he had twice given a girl tobacco, at the latter's request. As a result, a quarrel was said to have broken out at home; she pulled his hair, he beat her. The result was that the wife departed during the night with her children; I then met her again in Village No. 8. The husband was therefore a grass widower, had nothing to eat, and was obliged to move into the bachelor house. On my return journey I met the two reunited; they were living in peace and, smiling in some embarrassment, spoke of the incident.

586 Divorce occurs in the aforementioned case, when the woman becomes too old. The husband then sends her away and usually marries a young girl. Thus, in Village No. 5 the husband sent his old wife to São José to her brother and married a younger one. He kept the children; he was obliged to go on providing the older wife with food supplies. The mother of the wife supervises the separation of the spouses; both parties turn to her if one no

/359 cont./

235 Of tame animals I found among the Šavajé:

Chickens, which were gladly sold to me, but were not eaten by them; vultures, spoonbills, and parakeets sat tethered on the supply racks in front of the houses; vultures in large numbers squatted on the ground near the wall posts in the houses. Araras were totally absent. Instead, a huge white eagle sat tied to a low cross-bar behind the chief's house (Pl. 30, Ill. 2).

264 The women ate even in my presence. Only the girl who traveled back to the Karajá with us are turned away from us on the trip, and only when she thought she was not being observed.

252 The hearth, as mentioned above, lies in the circular structures of the houses, on both sides of the entrance. As among the Karajá, it consists of the tips of three termite hills or of three clay shards. Roasting is done on grills (Pl. 61, Ill. 1). [412]

415 The cooking vessels are identical with those of the Karajá.
412 The manioc grater (wōlānǎkiă; in the women's language, kōlānǎkiĕ) and the rod-sieves (brēdjĕ) have the same shape and construction as those of the Karajá. For stirring, an oar-shaped spoon (nālĭhĭ; Ill. 193) is used. For everything else, see the Karajá! [184]

Ill. 193 a, b. Stirring spoon. (b from the side).

249 The luxury item is tobacco, which is cultivated in a considerably better variety among the Šavajé than among the Karajá. The latter buy large quantities of it from the former, even cuttings, so that they will be able to grow this better variety themselves at home. Tobacco (kōtĭ) is stored plaited into three-part braids (Ill. 194) and is carried in plaited bags or such [438]

Brazil.

593 The husband does not eat with his family, but instead
[964] with the family of his married sister, and is considered a member of his sister's family. Secondly, his share of the pro-
[768] ceeds of the day's hunting and fishing, does not go to his own hut, but to that of his sister; and, lastly, if his wife should die leaving dependent children, they are taken in charge by her parents and the widower again becomes one of the bachelors.

582 A Karayá woman is not permitted to marry an alien, unless
648 he will become adopted, or naturalized, into the tribe, and will consent to reside permanently at the wife's native village.
593 The Karayá wife appears to be considered the equal of her husband in many respects, for he never takes any important step in life without first consulting her. Even the village chief divides his honors with his wife. Furthermore, the wife as
[962] well as the husband, has an important part to perform, not only in the family, but in the social economy of the village; though her part is to do the heavy, laborious work, while her man does the light and fancy-work; his only heavy work being to hunt and fish.

595 The men usually have but one wife, though a few have
582 two. One reason for having two wives seems to be owing to the custom prevailing among nearly all South American tribes that the young men marry the older women, and the old men marry the young women. Therefore, when the first wife becomes old, her young husband takes to himself a youth-
163 ful wife. Perhaps this custom of the young men marrying the
[582] older women will account in part for the small number of
[862] children born to these primitive races; though another reason may be that children are allowed to nurse until they are six
171 or seven years of age. The custom of aged men marrying girls fourteen or fifteen years of age is common among the
847 civilized people of Brazil. Abortion among the Karayá is practiced only when the husband demands it. Whenever a
586 couple cannot live together harmoniously, the husband is al-
587 lowed to trade his wife for another woman. If he should drive her away, he will not be permitted to marry another
000 woman, though he may take a concubine. The adulterous

/257 cont./ Much is eaten, but The People do not become fat. While eating, they squat around the pot and spoon out their mush. I could not see that they ate turned away from one another, as Ehrenreich and Königswald state, but the women are usually ashamed to eat in the presence of strangers; and the Indians whom I had with me as companions did not eat my cooking when they came to a strange village 264 [261] [609]

412

Ill. 100.
Flat ax.

Ill. 101.
Short flat-ax.

Ill. 102.
Stone ax with shaft groove.

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1:Lipkind E-5 (1937) 1948 SP9 Caraja SP9

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Narcotics and stimulants.—Like the other tribes in this region, the *Carajá* have no alcoholic beverages. They smoke tobacco in short cylindrical pipes (fig. 21, *c*). They are heavy smokers, some of the children beginning before they are weaned. 273 276

SUPERNATURALISM

Cults.—*Carajá* religion consists of two distinct cults: a cult of the dead and a mask cult (fig. 24). The cult of the dead, which is under the direction of the priest, has for its object the placation of ghosts by a periodical ceremonial which comes to its climax in several large calendrical feasts. The most important of these feasts is the Big House Feast, which is celebrated shortly after the beginning of the rainy season. All the villages which comprise a ceremonial unit come to the one village where the feast is conducted. There is a great mass of ceremonial addressed to various classes of ghosts, but the central portion of the ceremony is the impersonation of animal ghosts. Another important feast, already mentioned, occurs at the height of the dry season and is directed toward the control of enemy ghosts. Two other feasts held in the dry season are chiefly for the entertainment of the ancestors. 795 769 796 [792 793] [628]

The mask cult is concerned with the worship of another class of supernaturals. It consists of an elaborate routine of feasts, interrupted only by death. In these feasts, conducted by the shaman, the supernaturals are impersonated in the complex dances mentioned above. 795 796 [706]

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There is a considerable amount of sorcery. The main technique is bottling a supernatural being into a small image and then directing it into the body of the victim. As almost all deaths are interpreted as the result of sorcery, feuding is continual. 754 [761] [628]

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Castlenau, 1850–59; Ehrenreich, 1891 b; Krause, 1911. 113

/15 cont./

226 Smaller fish are caught in weir baskets (adžuriă), larger ones in stockades or peculiar traps made out of vines (deaurărŏ) which do not know from personal observation.

433 Hunting, in contrast to fishing, plays a much lesser role than those who view all Indians as purely hunting peoples without further ado are inclined to believe. Larger, huntable game is 274 262 quite sparingly represented in tropical South America and, in view of the lack of firearms, difficult to obtain. In addition, superstition often forbids eating the meat of precisely the largest and most common species. Thus, the Karaya scorn the tapir. Their principal booty is the monkeys common in all the forest along the shore, wild pigs, small rodents such as agoutis and pacas, and furthermore the small camprehe. In the lagoons and marshes of the patanaes the musk duck (Anas moschas) present in large numbers provides excellent food for them.

241 Agriculture. The great distance of the plantings from the villages prevented a visit to them. Judging by the wealth of [262] vegetable foods among the Šambioa, their agriculture seems to be on a relatively high level. The "savages" have in this respect outdone their civilized neighbors by far. In general, [177] iron agricultural implements have already supplanted the original ones.

The most important cultivated plant is manioc, of which both the more nourishing poisonous species (M. brava) and the less productive, but immediately edible aipim (M. mansa) are grown. The freshly cleared, dry forest soil of the higher banks is especially suitable for this kind of cultivation.

[273] Next, maize comes into consideration as a grain product, which is used less in substance than for the production of fermented beverages.

Sugar cane flourishes on the lower shore-land. During the dry season one sees the seedlings planted on the sandbanks [249] everywhere for the next season. Special devices for pressing out the juice are not in use.

Of the legumes there is found among the Šambioa small brown beans (Dolichos chinensis), as well as peas (komonara) imported from Pará.

/16 cont./

252 cakes (beijus, ibrä-ʒeko), likewise roasted in pots, are made from the freshly treated root.

273 In combination with maize, manioc flour is also used to make their most popular beverage, uierõ. Pounded maize is poured into the boiling manioc and stirred well. /17/ When it is sufficiently soft, the mixture is allowed to cool. Then the settlings are chewed by the women in true Indian fashion, whereby the whole thing turns sour and ferments after standing for several days. A sourish beverage something like water gruel is produced, to which honey or sugar-cane juice is sometimes added. The effect is slightly intoxicating.

415 The kitchen utensils are simple, but nevertheless somewhat
412 more complete than, say, among the Xingu tribes. Besides earthen
[239] pots and gourd containers, as well as mussel shells of the Anodonta and Hyria avicularis serving as spoons, there are already real spoons made of wood or clay (cf. Fig. 5 /see p. 38 / and Fig. 14 /see p. 51 /).

264 Etiquette demands that everyone eat by himself, turned away from the others. Anyone who transgresses must endure the ridicule of the others.

Tools and Implements. Industry and Skill.

177 The industrial activity of the Karaya no longer presents a wholly unclouded picture inasmuch as the original tools have been supplanted more and more by imported ones.

412 No details are known about the form and material of their
172 old stone axes. Among the petroglyphs of Martirios Island, however, which undoubtedly are to be ascribed to the ancient Karaya, one sees human figures depicted with stone axes in their hands (see p. 94). The same form is exhibited by a stone ax of unknown origin in the Trocadero Museum in Paris, the handle of which is wrapped with the plaiting in zigzag and cross patterns characteristic of Karaya work. Possibly the piece came from the Castelnau expedition.

/257 cont./

273 From maize they allegedly make a drink kănūā́, with the preparation of which, however, I am unfamiliar.

The most common festive drink, which is drunk on all visits and other /258/ occasions, is made out of manioc mush (īūārŭk). The way of making it is described by Ehrenreich ("Beiträge," pp. 16-17). The slight fermentation is brought about by chewing the residuum of the cooled mush. The Indians, men and women, scoop out the drink in huge quantities. It is slightly intoxicating; the people quickly get puffy faces, watery eyes, and are inclined to chatter. It tastes like unseasoned diced-potato soup.

[177] Sugar-cane liquor (cachaça: ĭbūālĕ) is already penetrating here, too, through the Brazilians. There is only one village, however, Schischá, in which liquor is drunk by all, presumably because liquor is made in the vicinity and the drink is therefore very cheap. Otherwise I found very few Indians who accepted liquor (for example, Chief Ilk); women never drank any, except in Schischá. Usually it was also refused by the men and young people.

F. Food Prohibitions.

262 It has already been mentioned above that the potentialities for food are not fully utilized, that some foodstuffs are scorned. [114] The reason for this is difficult to find. I already thought that I was on the trail of a totemistic system, but I did not succeed in proving it. Apparently, along with superstitious notions, personal taste also plays a role in this.

The following are quite generally not eaten: the meat of domestic animals, eggs, howling monkeys, capybaras, dolphins, crayfish, and mussels. The tracajá turtle and its eggs are eaten only by old people; young people scorn them, because eating them is said to have a bad effect. Allegedly chiefs are said not to eat red-deer meat. Grilled piranha is regarded as the sole food for sick persons; pregnant women, too, are forbidden many foods. Individual persons did not eat certain things: thus, Pedro

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

dant, and to the pecari, the aguti, the musk duck which is 224
found in ponds, and similar small game.

Agriculture among the Sambiõa is highly developed—re- 241
markably so, in fact, for a people living in a state of sav-
agery—and is even more advanced in some respects than that
of the "civilized" Brazilians living near their territory. A
large assortment of vegetable foodstuffs are raised. They [178]
now have the same agricultural implements as the "civilized"
Brazilians, having relegated to oblivion their rude tools of
ancient times, with which they could not till the soil but to
a very limited extent, and that only with excessive toil. The
high agricultural development reached by these savages is
very interesting and important, proving conclusively that the
primitive man, far from being incapable of anything but to
wander over a wide territory, living from hand to mouth by
hunting and fishing, is capable of becoming an agriculturist
of no mean order. The plant most extensively cultivated by
the Sambiõa is the manioc. They raise both kinds, the
"wild" and the "tame." Next to this in importance is corn.
But this is used more to make a fermented drink than for [273]
food. Sugar-cane is also cultivated on the low, alluvial soil
along the river, which is well adapted to this purpose. But
the natives have no suitable contrivance for extracting the
juice from the cane. Several varieties of small, brown beans,
brought from Pará, and which are a staple food among civ- [262]
ilized Brazilians, are also raised. So also, the white and [177]
violet Brazilian *cará*, a kind of potato. Besides these food- 222
stuffs, which were obtained originally from civilized Bra- 262
zilians, the Karayá gather from forest and jungle, many
kinds of wild fruits and vegetables, which introduce a pleas-
ing change in their aliment. A few such are the cajú, a
yellow, olive-shaped plum, which grows on a very large tree;
the jábádacába, a plum which grows clinging to the trunks
of a tree resembling the elm; the morisy, a large yellow
cherry, groves of which may be seen growing on the up-
lands; mongába, the fruit of a kind of upland rubber tree,
which I have elsewhere called a natural baked apple; and

1:Lipkind E-5 (1937) 1948 SP9 Caraja SP9

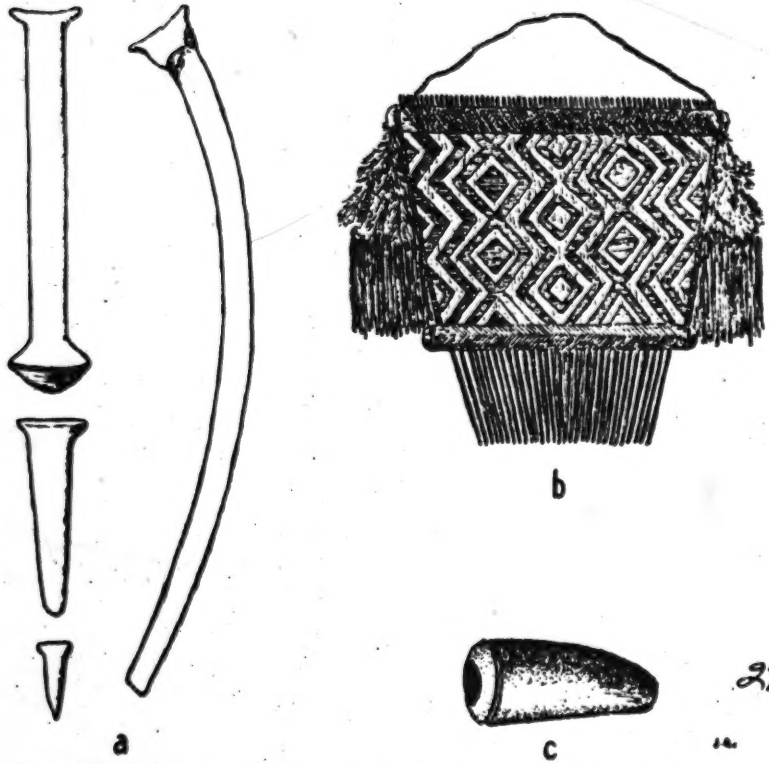
Basketry.—The *Carajá* excel in the variety and solidity of their plaitwork, which includes burden baskets, strainers, shoulder bags, bottles, elliptical feather cases, and boat-shaped containers for suspension. Twilling and twining are the dominant techniques (pl. 22). 285

Textiles.—The *Carajá* produce some taffetalike fabrics, but in 1775 Pinto da Fonseca found them using cotton solely for fish nets and bowstrings, so that he himself introduced a loom and taught the women how to work it. 286 177

Featherwork.—In contrast to their *Ge* neighbors of Eastern Brazil, the *Carajá* are outstanding for featherwork. They make wide-meshed and close-meshed caps with feathers tied to the intersection of the interlaced splints and arranged into rosettes, diadems of feathers stuck into radially mounted cane tubes, and other types of ornaments (pl. 21). 287

Axes.—Stone axes figure in old *Carajá* petroglyphs and have been found by many travelers in the area. They were used for adzing, chopping, and warfare, and as chief's badges. Iron axes have rapidly replaced them. 412 172

301 412 531



276

FIG. 21.—*Carajá* manufactures. *a*, Labrets; *b*, comb; *c*, pipe. (Approximately ⅓ actual size.) (Redrawn from Ehrenreich, 1891 b, figs. 2, 9, and 4.)

1:Lipkind E-5 (1937) 1948 SP9 Caraja SP9

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/4 cont./

*532 are cut in as horizontal lines. The ears are missing; the breasts are lightly indicated. The torso above the apron is deeply notched, a type of representation of the female body which is repeated in all the clay figures. The sexual organs are reproduced in naturalistic fashion under the bast apron. On the legs the thighs and calves are worked out plastically. The feet are represented by offset wooden blocks; calf and ankle bands are reproduced by a wrapping of red cotton thread. /5/ The figure is painted; on one side of the head small red feathers are affixed with wax as an ear rosette.

*532 352 Also belonging here are the wooden stools (Fig. 13 a and b /see p.48 /), which, with sledge-like runners, are carved out of one piece of wood. The sitting surface runs out to a point on both sides and on each into a triangular head which bears a beak in relief. The whole seat is supposed to depict an arara (see the front view, Fig. 13b). The eyes are reproduced by pasting on shell disks with a wax button in the center; tufts of feathers are attached [386] to the edges of the head as ear tassels. The whole is painted black with the dye of the genipa fruit.

*532 276 Finally, relief-type representations are still to be mentioned here, first the tobacco pipe (Fig. 14) which bears carving in relief

[P31] →

Fig. 14 a and b. Decorated tobacco pipe.

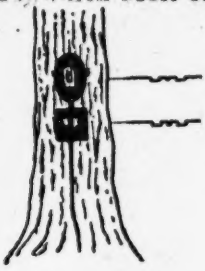


Fig. 15. Relief-type tree-drawing.

on one side, the significance of which I was unfortunately unable to discover. Apart from this, it is decorated on the upper edge with a neat carved pattern recurring only twice elsewhere (half-000 gourd, Pl. XI, Figs. $201a_2$ and 202a /see p. 57 /). Then later,

/28 cont./

black decorations are somewhat reminiscent of the decorations of the men. The clay spinning whorl (Fig. 225a) is provided on one surface with fine incising which is arranged in two concentric circles, with 531 [283]

Fig. 228 a and b. Small clay utensils for play.

Fig. 225. Spinning whorl, a) of clay, b) of white earth.

[524] [283]

Fig. 226 a-d. Tobacco pipes of clay. [276]

Fig. 227 a-e. Decorated eating dishes, export goods. [415] [439]

four spokes divided up several times, in between. /29/ The spinning whorl made of white earth (Fig. 225b) has a circle cut into it on both sides, from which rays extend. These indentations are made red and black. [283]

The decorations on the clay tobacco pipes and the clay bowls were probably taken over from the Brazilians. 531 276

I found clay tobacco pipes only in the villages near S. José. They were evidently taken over altogether, and with them the ornamentation as well, from the Brazilians. It is true that their form is now made by the Indians rather differently from the Brazilian form, with a wide base which is lacking in the Brazilian one (Fig. 226 a to d). 177 [164]

/15 cont./

241 Cara tubers /Dioscorea/ are grown in large quantity, excellent quality, and in various species. Most commonly one sees the huge egg-shaped pé d'anta (Cara brasiliensis) with a white cut-surface, as well as a smaller one with an almost violet cut-surface.

222 [242] The wild food plants and fruits which the river forests and camp-woods supply constitute a desirable change. These are primarily palm fruits, such as the nuts of the uaguassú, the pineapple-like fruits of the buriti (Mauritia vinifera), and various small species of coconut; furthermore, the wild acaju tree, the jaboticaba, the pitanga /Surinam cherry/ the oily piquia (Caryocar brasiliense), various Bromeliaceae, and, finally, the finest fruit of the campos, the mangaba (Hancornia speciosa). One sees the latter, however, much more rarely than in the Xingu villages. The tree does not seem to be planted as it is there.

[260] It is noteworthy that the orange, which flourishes extremely well here, is not cultivated, although the Indians esteem it most [239] highly. Only rarely do they undertake week-long journeys to the Brazilian settlements to trade for these fruits. A principal goal of such excursions is the site of the old, now abandoned mission and military post Chambioas, just above the rapids of S. Miguel, where rather large stands of this noble tree have maintained themselves. Cacao, too, was formerly obtained from there.

Still to be mentioned is the honey of the countless species of wild bees, the collecting of which presents no difficulties since the animals are entirely stingless. The black wax, which [237] is stored in large, round, inch-thick disks, is used in Indian industry as a glue.

249 The only luxury item of the Karaya is tobacco (koti). It is a Nicotiniana, but not N. tabacum, of a mild quality. The dried leaves are stored (see p. 40) in large rectangular packages plaited out of palm-leaf strips and are pulverized between the 276 hands for use. /16/ The fruit capsule of the jequitiba tree 824 (Hymenaea sp.), filed smooth on the outside, serves as a pipe

/16 cont./

276 824 (arikoko). One specimen in the collection is carved out of wood in its natural form (Fig. 4 and Pl. I /see p. 103 /, 1).

252 Preparation of food. Directly in front of the house door is found the cooking place, surrounded by low pole frames on which the squeezed manioc is dried. Large earthen pots stand on stones [364] or clay supports over the fire. The ground around is littered with scraps. These heaps are the breeding places of annoying gray flies [136] (the so-called mosca da aldeia), which sting badly and, when they get out of hand, necessitate abandoning the place.

[462] Untiringly the women are busy throughout the day with dragging in the field produce and firewood, the preparation of manioc, pounding maize, opening palm nuts, and the careful supervision of all the culinary processes, in which the Indian housewife, despite the simplicity of the materials, knows how to achieve a relatively great diversity.

[876]

Fig. 4. Tobacco pipe (1/4).

372 824 Fire is still made wholly in the original way by means of the drill (hädä). It consists of two sticks. The thicker one, wood of the urucú plant, is fixed on the ground after a shallow cavity provided with a deep cut at the side is made near one end. Then the point of the second, thinner stick of taquara /Chusquea sp./ is set in this and is twirled between the palms with strong pressure until a hollow is formed at this point, out of which the glowing dust flows through the notch at the side and can be collected. Thus the procedure is precisely the one illustrated and described by Im Thurn (op. cit., p. 258). As in the method used by the Warrau /Warao/, no special tinder is needed. The pulverized wood itself supplies it. To kindle a livelier flame, dry strips of palm leaf are mixed with the easily flammable red resin (tamararu), which is like sealing wax, and then lighted.

/33/

304 757 While the patient convulsively clasps a pole, the points are pressed deep into the skin of the ailing part of his body, and it is scratched open in various directions with quick movements. The blood is scraped off with strips of palm leaves, the wounds rubbed with sand in the bath. It is said to be not uncommon that pulverized pepper is applied to increase drainage.

Even when there is no special suffering, such blood-lettings are done from time to time on legs and arms, "in order to strengthen muscle power."

753 171 The belief common to all primitive peoples that sickness, as well as death, is something highly unnatural and comes about only through the influence of hostile powers, which the witch doctor alone knows how to ban, prevails among the tribes of South America in such a completely similar manner that everything known about it from one people also holds without additions [114] for the others. One need only refer to the lucid, exhaustive presentation by Im Thurn (1), to which there is hardly anything to add.

1. Im Thurn, op. cit., p. 328 ff.

756 Among the Karaya the rank of witch doctor (kahotebādō, according to Spinola hori), of which every village possesses several, does not belong to a closed caste any more than it does among the Xingu tribes.

Anyone who is willing to undergo the required mortifications can become a sorcerer. Nervous individuals, epileptics, etc. are, of course, especially suited for it. Even women can attain this office.

789 791 We had no opportunity to observe the medicine man treating the sick, but did observe him in his no less important activity [276] as rain conjurer. He stepped ceremoniously in front of the hut, holding a tobacco pipe in one hand, in the other a long switch with thornback spines stuck on the tip. His face turned toward the heavens, he uttered inarticulate sounds in a loud voice, again and again blew smoke towards the clouds, then mumbled, swinging his staff around his head, incomprehensible words

/48 cont./

172 present petroglyphs inasmuch as the rock drawings are completely lacking precisely at the cataracts of the Araguaia; rather, Martirios Island lies in an absolutely clear and quiet stretch. [131] [648] Nevertheless, it is a most important place for the Karaya. It forms the northern boundary of their territory and it is here that the hordes of the Kayapo hostile to them frequently come to the river. Many a battle may have taken place in this region between the two nations.

The interpretation of the rock sculptures as memorials or border markers, to which perhaps family insignia of prominent leaders have been added, seems to be the most acceptable according to the prevailing conditions. /The remainder of p. 48 and pp. 49-77 are not translated./

/78/

Explanation of the Plates [1]

142 291 302 Pl. I. Karaya. Men and Women (of the fourth village of the Šambioa).

[276] [411] [301] 1. Warriors. The man on the left /sic/ with parted hair, the tobacco pipe (Fig. 4 /see p. 28/) in his mouth, holding his weapons in his hand. The one on the right /sic/ shows the hair put in a braid with the feather decoration ušiktamaru (see p. 16) and the national wrapping of the foreskin (see p. 17).

2. Woman and girl with the bast aprons, whose front end is drawn to the rear since both individuals have just got up from [285] the ground (see p. 17). One of the large buriti-fiber mats mentioned on pp. 38 and 39 forms the background for both groups.

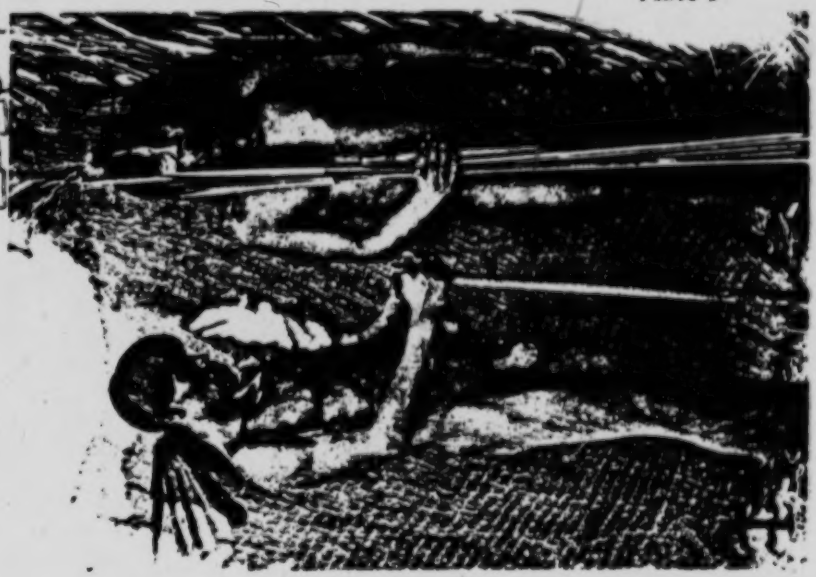
Pl. II. Karaya. Men (of the fourth of the village of the Šambioa).

[301] [304] 1 a and b. Portrait of a young Šambioa man with ear sticks and wooden lip-plug, widely parted hair, and clearly recognizable tribal tattooing on the cheeks.

[1] [Plates appear on pp. 103-115--Analyst]

4. Ehrenreich--103 E-5 (1888) 1891 SP9 Caraja SP9

Plate I



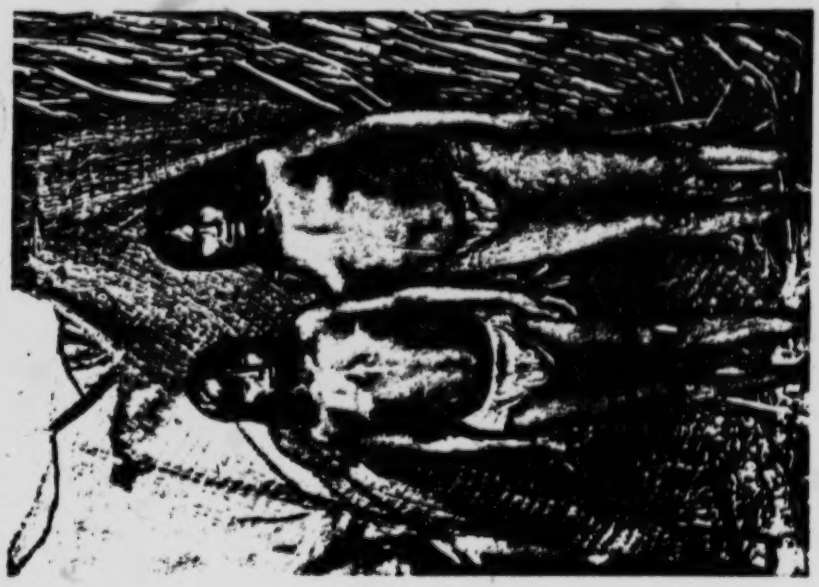


Plate 11

342
351
[361]

1. Dry-season hut of the Karajá.

2. Karajá village.

142
291
516
[276]
[302]

3. Karajá women smoking.

4. Karajá siblings.

/Pl. 11 faces p. 52./

142
291
301
302
516

1. Youth in typical attire.

2. Boy with close-cropped hair and hair-wreath.

142
291
292
296
516

3. Karajá men with straw hat and tobacco pipe.

/258 cont./

262 scorned red-deer meat and tracajá eggs; others ate these things.
[177] Enlightened (civilized) Indians, who otherwise still believed firmly in all kinds of magic, ate everything.

G. Luxuries.

276 The Indians are familiar with only one luxury item:
[177] tobacco (kõtĭ). They maintain that they adopted the luxury of tobacco only from the Brazilians, and, to be sure, in about the
[249] first half of the nineteenth century. At that time they obtained seed (kõtĭlĭ̆ätĭ) or shoots; at first they planted these in the mud, where only small plants grew; then they tried it in the plantings, where large plants grew. The custom of smoking is older, however. Fonseca reports in 1773 that they smoked their clay peace pipe in an easterly direction, apparently observing a ceremony (1).

1. Rev. trim. 8, pp. 378 and 387.

Probably they received merely another plant from the Brazilians.
249 /259/ Today tobacco is raised in the plantings, and it is planted by the men during the rainy season by placing seed kernels into the ground. Harvest begins "when the leaves begin to hang" (in July I already saw fresh tobacco leaves hung up to dry). The leaves are picked and brought into the house, where they are hung up to dry. When they are half-dry they are rubbed between the hands ("so that the tobacco becomes black"), then hung outside the house on a pole or a special sloping rack, and com-
[415] pletely dried. It is stored in the oblong baskets called lälä, and, to be sure, rolled up pad-shaped by the south horde (ĩlũlä̆ũ), plaited into a braid by the north horde (kõ(ũ)zä̆). (See Ill. 194, Šavajé /see p. 323/.)

276 The variety is evidently very light; its fragrance is not very pleasant, but the Indians smoke it passionately. They find
249 the tobacco of the Šavajé to be better and obtain seedlings from
438 them to improve their stock. Thus, on my return journey from
[437] the Šavajé I was accompanied by /Ills. 103-104 appear here/ a
[438]

/259 cont./

249 438 [437] [482] Karajá who had bartered arrows there for tobacco seedlings; his basket-basket was fully loaded with the packets in which the plants were packed. The seedlings were well wrapped in leaves and bast into a large cylindrically shaped bundle that was reinforced all around with vertical bamboo rods and firmly laced.

276

They were most particularly mad for the heavy Goyaner /Goyana/ tobacco.

Smoking is done by old and young, men and women. Even babies are sometimes permitted to partake of this pleasure. Pipes are smoked throughout; maize-leaf cigarettes are not customary.

[824]

Ill. 103.
Fruit of the jequitiba tree, out of which tobacco pipes are made.

Ill. 104 a-c.
Tobacco pipes made out of jequitiba fruit. a) Crude form. b) Carefully worked, without groove. c) Carefully worked, with groove.

[824] /260/ The pipe (in men's language, wǎlĭonǎ, wǎlĭkŏkŏ; in women's language, wǎlĭkŏkŏ) is made out of the fruit (ǎrĭkŏkŏ) of of the jequitiba tree (Hymenea sp.) (Ill. 103). The fruit, approximately seven centimeters long, is closed with a stopper. When it is ripe, the stopper falls out and the fruit kernels fall to the ground.

/260 cont./

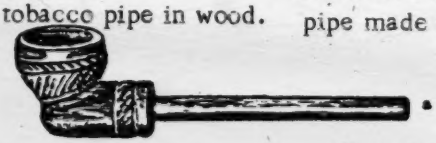
276 The empty capsule is thoroughly cleaned with the knife, cut smooth on the outside, and then usually painted red. There are two kinds of pipes: one without and one with a groove on the upper edge. I saw only a single example of a decorated pipe. In Ill. 104 a-c all the stages from the crudely carved to the

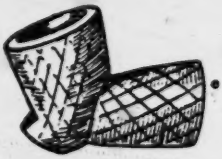
276 531

Ill. 105.
Reproduction of a tobacco pipe in wood.

Ill. 106 a, b.
Decorated tobacco pipe made of wood.

Ill.107
Tobacco pipe with suction tube.





Ill. 108 a-d.
Clay tobacco-pipes.

smoothed, long-used pipe are shown. Ill. 105 shows a reproduction of a pipe in wood, as is likewise occasionally customary. Ill. 106 a, b shows a pipe decorated with raised carving and painted black from a village of the north horde. The pipe in Ill. 107 shows a short suction tube, which is joined to the pipe by a black lashing.

276 These pipes were "invented by the ancestors when they took over tobacco from the Brazilians" (?). In the south horde and in part in the north horde they are now already imitated in wood (Ills. 105, 106); in the uppermost villages, which are in contact with the Brazilians, there is already use of /261/ clay bowls set

/261 cont./

276 on pieces of cane (1), which generally resemble the Brazilian

1. In this connection cf. that Fonseca already mentions clay peace pipes in 1773, without, however, describing their shape. Rev. trim. 8, p. 378.

ones and differ from them only by the flattening of the underside. [531] They are usually provided with incised decoration and the clay (zõŭ), light in itself, has taken on a black color from the burning [415] (Ill. 108 a-d). The daily supply, as well as the pipes, is kept in small baskets (mõdĭ, Plate 55, Ill. 6a) or in small plaited pouches, which, in rectangular shape, are made out of simple bast plaiting (sãhŭ) or out of a bast plaiting similar to the sitting mats (mãši) (Plate 55, Ill. 6 b,c).

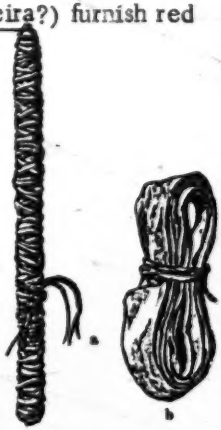
Smoking is done in the following manner: The tobacco is firmly pressed into the pipe until it is about three-quarters full; then a smoldering piece of wood from the fire is laid on it, and the opening is closed off with the hand or a finger. Then one sucks rapidly many times in succession until the tobacco is burning; the charcoal is then usually, but not always, removed. In smoking, they draw the smoke up rapidly many times in succession: it looks as though they were sucking or drinking (Plate 11, Ill. 3); only then do they take the pipe out and expel the smoke.

171 276 It seems remarkable that the Kayapó use the name wălĭkŏkŏ, thus, in the form from the women's language. They likewise use pipes made from the fruit of the jequitiba tree; as a unique specimen I saw a pipe of clay fashioned in the same shape. But they already generally use suction tubes which are stuck into the pipe from the side. Such pipes were present only in small numbers, and the Kayapó were constantly demanding them from me. Apparently the implement, and with it the name, reached them from the Karajá or Šambioá through the Brazilians. The women's word is explained by the fact that the men, too, usually use this form in speaking to strangers.

/286 cont./

000 824 [206] [301] pyrography. Of the other fruits, jequitiba is used for tobacco pipes, hollowed out and crudely carved on the outside (Ills. 103 and 104); Thevetia is used for necklaces or pendants on belts, etc. The latter usually bear a small /287/ bunch of feathers in the hollow. Other small, whitish fruits are bored and strung as [415] chains. In Ehrenreich's collection there is a small bowl, made out of a timbo fruit, for storing the urucú color (Berlin 3876).

287 [824] The bark of trees is made into women's aprons. Above all the bark of the gameleira is used, which furnishes the reddish aprons (ǎndähũlĕ). Other species (also gameleira?) furnish red materials (ǎmbũõdǎ) or white shiny materials (hidẽũlĕ). Ehrenreich, in addition, also mentions Apeiba jangada (Berlin 3696). The preparation is as follows: Thick branches of the trees concerned are hewed off in the required length (one and a half to two meters) and brought into the house. Here the men, with [462] an angular stone, strike off the solid pieces of bark, slit the bark lengthwise, and peel it off. The further treatment is the task of the women: [283] the pieces of bark are soaked, laid folded together on the manioc mortar turned upside down, and are now beaten with a flat stone, usually an old stone ax, until they are completely soft.



Ill. 134 a, b.
Embira: a) wound on a rod,
b) rolled up.

283 H. Bast is used in wide layers as an ornamental binding material and in fine strands as material for strings and for knotting mats.

[824] As ornamental binding material, the bast of Malvaceae (embira: dõdĕ, etc.) is used above all. There are light red, red, and black varieties. It is kept in all widths: the finest (0.3 centimeters wide) is wound on rods (Ill. 134a), the wider (2.5-4 centimeters wide) is rolled up into stout rolls in such a way that the [531] colored, shiny side is on the inside (Ill. 134b). They are used

/359 cont./

Ill. 194.
Braided tobacco.

of monkey skin (djũlẽnĩ; Pl. 61, Ill. 2). The tobacco pipes (wãliõnã) are made of jequitiba fruit; they all bear the groove around the front opening and are colored reddish. 249 276

The Savajé seem to keep supplies at home only in small quantities. 251

/360/ On the second day they were already asking me to depart, since they had nothing more to eat. The food for my five Karajá, in addition to whom there appeared four more from Korumaré's village, had depleted their stores; in view of my presence, however, they hesitated to leave the village, so that I was finally obliged to yield to their wishes. 251 123

Ill. 195 a-c.
Savajé arrows.
a) Lashing at the point of attachment.
b) Feathering.
c) Wooden-knob tip.

7. Concerning the weapons, there is likewise nothing new to report. The bows (djũhãdẽ) are either undecorated or bear white wrappings, a maize leaf, and a feather tassel, like the Karajá bow (Ill. 110). It is handled in such a way that the left hand grasps the bow in the center, so that the arrow goes between the second and third finger; the second to fifth finger of the right hand draws the bow string; the arrow lies between the second and third finger. 411 [184] [284]

As for arrows (wõhũ), I encountered

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca.1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

the genipapa or wine fruit, a very soggy, tough fruit as large as a pear. It looks and tastes something like a fig soaked in vinegar, but is much prized by the natives. But, as elsewhere mentioned, the palm is the never-failing friend of the children of Nature. One or another of its multitudinous varieties will have a little food of some kind for them every day in the year, such as nuts, fruits and vegetables; and besides, will furnish them the material for their huts, and for bows, arrows and cordage. Though all else should fail, these trees will remain as a tree of life to them. It seems strange that they have no oranges. This fruit will flourish in this region, even doing well without any care, once it has been given a good start. The absence of this tree is the more remarkable because the Karayá are very fond of oranges, and undertake journeys lasting weeks to obtain them. Wild honey is also a much prized article of food, as it is among most South American savages. They make the wax into black balls, or discs about one inch thick, to be used as a glue.

The Karayá have also a kind of tobacco, which contains but a slight percentage of nicotine. The dried leaves are kept in large, square packages covered with palm-leaves. To prepare it for use, it is pulverized between the hands, then smoked in a pipe that looks like a funnel-shaped plug. The pipe most used is one fashioned by Nature herself. It is a certain kind of fruit-shell, or pod, which is funnel-shaped and hollow. Failing this, a pipe is made of a kind of hard wood. The bowl and stem are one straight piece; therefore, when in use, the cavity is in a horizontal position, and not held upright, like the civilized (?) man's flue. The part that enters the mouth is so large that the lips are greatly distended in closing around it, hereby increasing the already ugly appearance of the mouth caused by the repulsive ornament in the lower lip. I have seen the front teeth hollowed somewhat to fit around this huge plug.

No less interesting than the kind of food used by these people, is the means whereby it is prepared for eating. In

/335 cont./

755 ends, as well as by the utilization of medicines to be used in-
757 ternally and externally. Altogether I learned of seven doctors,
756 but their number may be larger. One of these, in Village 16, was regarded as an evil witch doctor. The sick chief of this village was not being treated by him, but rather downstream in Village 19 by a famous doctor to whom the Karajá came from
758 afar to be cured. He had opened a sort of hospital: several
756 mat walls had been stretched, in the shade of which the sick lay on mats, tended and supported by their relatives. There were three or four sick persons of both sexes lying here.

114 I did not see any curing ceremonies. In Village 14 I heard
755 singing and rattling coming from the west end of the village, but I was not permitted to go there when I announced my intention of observing Chief Ilk from Village 13 during his activity as doctor.

756 The doctors are paid for their services in boats, pots, food, etc. If the patient dies, they allegedly receive no payment.

752 The Karajá have considerable knowledge of surgery.

[278] Minor wounds are brushed with the decoction of a red tree bark (ōdŭdĕwŏ) which is kept in large quantities in pots with a little water. Or ashes are sprinkled on bleeding wounds (for example, cutting the umbilical cord), or a little urucú oil color is brushed on minor injuries, so that flies do not get on them. Applying tourniquets to injured limbs also seems to be known already. Festering leg wounds (as a result of injury: kūdjŭ) are washed with warm water; in this way they heal by themselves.

Deep wounds, such as those from arrow shots and the like, are /336/ also cauterized. For this, a human lower-leg bone is used (Ill. 187; dēĭ or wŏlĭsŏtĭ), which is wound with bast. Its lower end is browned from the fire. In the case of arrow shots, another remedy is said to be used, one that brings about complete healing in a very short time, allegedly in one day (?).

Broken limbs, according to Ehrenreich ("Beiträge," p. 32), are healed with splints. The chief of Village 16, whom I met in the hospital, /Ill. 187 appears here/ allegedly had a broken leg, but there was no splint bandage. According to Kurišĭ's statement, they do not know how to heal broken arms and legs.

/236 cont./

*301 flexible that it may be folded together into a roundish cylinder,
*237 in which case the front side is on the outside; they are stored in this fashion (Pl. 50, Ill. 4). The lower parts of the feathers are covered with covering layers, of which the longer, directly supporting one (layer b) always consists of dark green feathers, while the shorter one, supporting at the top (layer a), usually consists of greenish parrot feathers. At the upper ends of the feathers of layer c smaller, little yellow or variegated parrot-feathers are attached. Either they are tied directly to the quill by a winding
[284] of cotton thread (Pl. 49, Ill. 2), or they are fastened to a small rod that runs up along the lower side of the quills of the long feathers, projects above the feathers, is here wound with raw cotton, and bears the small little feathers at the end (layer d) (Pl. 49, Ill. 3). These rods sometimes project to the same length as the long feathers above the latter. Concerning the combination of colors, see below under "Feather Technique" /see pp. 237ff./.

*301 The bast rings consist of a bast pad that is tightly wound
28 with wide bast thread. The pad is bent U-shaped; twisted bast threads are at the ends as tie-strings (Pl. 50, Ill. 3). I obtained three specimens and for each a different name: ähäwŏ, dōlähŭnäni, äsiklŏrŏ.

The U-shaped disks are of two kinds: either they are made of wood (ähäwŏ; Pl. 49, Ill. 5, from the village on the Tapirapé mouth), or they consist of fine cane strips, which are laid on top of one another with the flat sides, then bent U-shaped as a whole, and interlaced with black cotton strings into a solid disk (lähĭdōlähŭnäni, ähēdŏläliŭ(ŏ); Pl. 49, Ill. 4).

In the same way, we distinguish two types of forehead bands. In one case, wide bands of gameleira bast are used, to the outer side of which are glued white down feathers (ämbulötä, idūlä; Pl. 50, Ill. 2); in the other, narrow black plaited cotton bands (wōliĕdäkän(ä); Pl. 50, Ill. 1).

/288 cont./

286 is knotted in such a way that the knots come in the center of the length of the mesh. The meshes of the second and subsequent rows are hooked into those of the preceding one and knotted on their lower end. The method of the knot formation is shown in Ill. 136 a, b.

285 For knotting the large sleeping and sitting mats, untwisted
284 buriti bast-fibers are used. These are laid side by side in bunches and these bunches are wound alternately with two twisted bast-fiber strings, so that a continuous weft runs from side to side. On the edge the two strings are twisted together, led along the edge for about three and a half centimeters, and then again plaited through the bunches. Thus, one /Plate 58 appears here/ /289/ weft runs through the whole mat. (See the sample plaiting, Ill. 137 /see p. 217/.) At greater intervals, every 10-20 centimeters, a twisted bast string runs between the bunches and parallel to them, in order to give the mat more firmness (b in Ill. 138). The weft does not start at the end of the mat and is not led through to the other end; rather, on both of the narrow sides the ends of
285 the bunches remain free as fringe. Such mats in large dimensions are used to make the protective walls and protective roofs, as well as sleeping and sitting mats. Smaller mats are carried by pregnant women; they are put around the lower body and held together in front with the hands. I never saw small mats patterned with black embira threads as an underlayer for the feet during the continuous standing on the hot sandbanks, such as Ehrenreich describes (Berlin 3907; "Beiträge," p. 21). I obtained a patterned sleeping mat, however, the design of which was made by plaiting in black-colored bast strips (Ill. 22).

Small carrying-sacks (mãsĩ) are made in the same way as these mats; the bottoms of these are sometimes plaited cross-shaped (Pl. 57, Ills. 5, 6). The edge is reinforced; the carrying-band likewise consists of buriti bast-fibers.

28 The division of labor in ropemaking and knotting is such
462 that the making of the fiber material is usually incumbent on the women, whereas the twisting of the cords is practiced by men and women, but is usually done only as needed. The knotting of the

[Text Continues on p. 220]

28 /289 cont. /
462 nets is a task for the men, that of the mats a task for the women.
285 Usually several women work together on a mat; it is not difficult work, but the hard pulling and constant twisting of the weft threads (they are twisted only when they are plaited through) affects the fingers so much that deep, calloused ridges run across
[963] the finger tips of the plaiters. Apparently there are women in the villages who provide the entire village with mats; at least large supplies of them were found in certain houses, and to buy them I was sent into specific huts where mats were made.

[824] For the plaiting which is done by the men, strips of buriti
[962] bast and the leaf pinnae of the oaguassu palm are used. The
294 strips of buriti bast are used only in the making of hats. Appar-
[177] ently the method of making hats is copied from the neighboring Brazilians. At least the shape is the same; but whether all the types of plaited strips which are sewed together spirally into a hat correspond to Brazilian designs, or whether there are innovations here, I do not know. The most common design, consisting of four-part strips with a notched edge, seems to be Brazilian, the other two, the eleven-part strip with a smooth edge and the nine-part strip with a smooth, double edge, may be original forms in view of the plaiting skill of the Indians (Ill. 139 a-c). These strips are sewed together with fine bast threads and a bone needle four centimeters long (Ill. 140).

285 For all other plaiting the leaf pinnae of the oaguassu palm are used. The material for this is stored in the houses in large /290/ quantities, mostly lying on the floor under mats; in Schischá it also lay on special forked racks on the long sides and in the roundings of the houses.

In the same way as for the house covering, two oaguassu fronds are laid with the ribs one on top of the other in the making of walls, fans, and eye shades, except that in this case the individual pinnae /Ills. 139 and 140 appear here/ are then plaited together. See the beginning of a piece of plaiting in Ill. 5 on Plate 58 /see p. 219/.

/28 cont./

black decorations are somewhat reminiscent of the decorations of the men. The clay spinning whorl (Fig. 225a) is provided on one surface with fine incising which is arranged in two concentric circles, with 531 [283]

Fig. 228 a and b. Small clay utensils for play.

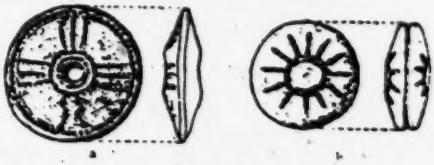


Fig. 225. Spinning whorl, a) of clay, b) of white earth. [524] [283]

Fig. 226 a-d. Tobacco pipes of clay. [276]

Fig. 227 a-e. Decorated eating dishes, export goods. [415] [439]

four spokes divided up several times, in between. /29/ The spinning whorl made of white earth (Fig. 225b) has a circle cut into it on both sides, from which rays extend. These indentations are made red and black. [283]

The decorations on the clay tobacco pipes and the clay bowls were probably taken over from the Brazilians. 531 276

I found clay tobacco pipes only in the villages near S. José. They were evidently taken over altogether, and with them the ornamentation as well, from the Brazilians. It is true that their form is now made by the Indians rather differently from the Brazilian form, with a wide base which is lacking in the Brazilian one (Fig. 226 a to d). 177 [184]

/12 cont./

286 They most probably owe their mat to the civilized Brazilians.
177 Insofar as the latter use hammocks at all, they make them out of cotton. Now Pinto da Fonseca says (op. cit., p. 387) that the
[283] Karaya used cotton only for making fish nets and bow strings, but were unacquainted with the art of weaving. He himself made them a weaving apparatus and instructed the women in this skill.

[184] This would agree with the fact that still today the Yavahē of Bananal Island, among whom Pinto undertook his first civilizing attempts, are designated as the most skillful weavers. The uncommonly firm, taffeta-like, woven "rede" in the collection is supposed to be Yavahē work. A visit among them would definitively settle this interesting question.

293 Also to be mentioned here as a noteworthy elaborate piece
[285] belonging to the Karaya are the eyeshades (ȯodi) plaited out of
[824] uaguassú palm leaves, with which they protect themselves from the blinding reflected sunlight while walking over the sandbanks (Pl. VIII /see p. 110/, 10). They have not arrived at the construction of protective apparatus of the type of the Eskimo snow-goggles, but they prize European dark glasses.

[197] The adding on to the eyeshade to make a complete top-hat (taă) is probably to be traced back to European influence. There were two specimens of it in all.

Settlements, Houses, and Domestic Animals.

621
361 The Karaya do not live in small troops of two or three families, as the forest Indians of Amazonas and the rude hunting nomads of the coastal region do, but always in larger communities. Only the southernmost Karayahi are forced by the lack of means of subsistence to divide up somewhat more. In the vicinity of S. José during the dry season one continually meets small bands of eight to ten persons. The farther one comes downstream, the more populous their camps become. Some of them may number at least 150-200 inhabitants.
342 The Karayahi huts erected on the sandbanks usually consist of large
[824] buriti-fiber mats stretched over pole frames, standing about without any order, like gypsy tents (Pl. III /see p.105 /, 2).

/21 cont./

285 vertical striping. By turning the diagonal splints toward the outside, there arises on each side a diagonal cross-pattern in dark color. All the splints come together at right angles at the bottom.

10. Round shallow baskets (uäriri) made of pliable vines,
[415] whose vertical splints join at the bottom in four groups intersecting at right angles (Pl. VIII /see p. 110 /, 14), serve as sieves.

11. A spherical basket for storing raw cotton has a quite similar plaiting. The vertical strips are of less pliable material (Pl. VIII /see p. 110/, 16).

•283 The textile industry of the Karaya is essentially still plaited
[824] work. Primarily natural vegetable materials, the fiber of the buriti and certain Bromeliaceae, as well as the varieties of bast of the Malvaceae (embira and jangada) known for extraordinary cohesion, provide material for threads. Finer threads are made by rubbing the fibers between moistened hands or between hand and thigh. Stronger ones are then twisted out of these in the manner described by Im Thurn, op. cit., p. 284, a method which, moreover, is also practiced by every Brazilian sertanejo /inlander/. The thread and strands thus obtained are, however, used almost
[286] exclusively for twine, cords, and bow strings. To be sure, mesh goods is knitted out of them with long wooden needles, for example, fishing and carrying nets, as well as peculiar, collapsible caps of cotton thread, which are decorated in various ways with feathers (see p.44).

The true weaving material is cotton. The hand spindle (ä-θondäǎ) in the usual form, a round disk of bone or fired clay, serves for making thread. It bears in its pierced center a palmwood stick about a foot long, provided on the lower end with a sharply /22/ offset knob. The stick is set in motion by stroking
[532] it on the hip in a turning motion. One of the clay whorls here is spherically decorated with four human faces carved around it (Fig. 7 /see p. 42/).

286 The loom, or rather plaiting apparatus, on which the sleeping nets are made, is as simple as possible. Two strong wooden poles are rammed into the ground at a distance of 2-2 1/2 meters. The central roof-supports of the hut can serve as such. The warp

/22 cont./

286 is wound around these without crossing and thus consists of two parallel rows of thread. The woof threads are now led in pairs from top to bottom with a long needle and knotted to a pair of warp threads one after another. Two woof threads always encircle two warp threads. Their distance from each other is always twice as great as that of the pair of warp threads. The woof threads are knotted at both edges.

Since various colors are chosen for different warp strands, one gets "redes" with red and black stripes. The background color is usually white.

On the same apparatus, however, real weaving of a taffeta-like texture can also be made. For example, the above-mentioned "rede" of the Yavahē consists of such material. Also the strong

[283] [532]

Fig. 7. Spindles (1/4).

[482] [531] [237] Also the strong carrying-bands of certain baskets, the black forehead-bands decorated with mother-of-pearl disks (Pl. VII /see p. 109/, 7), the black body-bands for children (Pl. VII, 3, 4), and the dance belts decorated with feather strips hanging down are made in this manner.

In this smaller weaving a single continuous woof thread runs through the whole warp. It was not learned whether special, handier tools were used for this.

The arm cuffs and leg bands are knitted over a heavy, cone-shaped wooden block (kauarū) with a crochet needle (desi-tan), now usually of iron, insofar as this is not done on the body itself (Pl. VII, 9).

283 [301] The long fringe hangings falling over the chest and neck (Pl. VII, 2), as well as the shorter ones which are tied under the knee, a popular adornment for young people, are simple knotted work. Two strong parallel strands are entwined with a number of

/22 cont./

283 equally long pairs of threads in eight-twists /Achtertouren/ in such a way that the beginning and end pieces of the latter hand down.

301 Children wear around their necks black cotton tassels (nohoñ-ã) hanging on long strong cords, the size and thickness of which are determined by the age of the child. On some the [237] colored shells of Castalia dolabella are placed above the tassels (Pl. VII /see p. 109/, 5).

237 301 Of the ornamental objects the feather ornaments primarily, represented in the richest assortment, deserve detailed treatment.

Delight in color which, as is well known, is being lost more and more by civilized people, lets these children of nature work the feathers of the very colorful birds of their native land into a wealth of the most colorful ornamental objects, such as are achieved in the same diversity of form and taste of composition by only a few other tribes of South America.

To be sure, their execution is not very durable. With the rich source of suitable feathers at the disposal of the Karaya, they are always able to replace pieces that may have become damaged.

1. Feathers for the head. A bundle of arara or black mutum feathers surrounds the root of the braid, at the ends of which small white feathers are tied. Standing up in the wind, they surround the head of the wearer like a halo (cf. Pl. I /see p. 103/, 1).

2. Small diadems (uarakure-ã) are worn when greeting foreigners, at meetings, etc. Small red and yellow arara feathers are put in a row around a wooden ring, forming a rosette in front from the middle of which black cotton cords hang down to the forehead (Pl. IX /see p. 111/, 6).

/23/ 3. In the same category there is a peculiar headdress in the form of a truncated cone made out of thin sticks of cane covered with small red feathers and set on a wooden ring (Pl. IX /see p. 111/, 3).

4. One specimen was a small headdress worn on the crown of the head (Fig. 8 /see p. 44/).

/204 cont./

4. Clothing.

291 Clothing of the men. The male sex wears but little clothing. While children and boys go about completely naked, the youths and men wear the penis and hip cord as their only clothing.

[283] The penis cord (nötěkaná, nòòdăkăn; from nŏŏ = penis, wădăkaná = belt) is a long, red (1), sometimes also black cotton

1. All three specimens in Ehrenreich's collection are black.

string which is wound roll-like around the foreskin drawn forward over the glans. The penis is thereby pushed back and takes on a spherical appearance, so that the scrotum looks like three balls with a small roll standing obliquely upright (Pl. 36; 38; 43).

[834] The cord is put on at the age of nine or ten, in other words, at the beginning of puberty, and, according to the unanimous statements of the Indians, it has the purpose of hiding the glans from the eyes of the women. Perhaps however, this is a secondary

Ill. 29.
Cotton belt of the smallest girls.

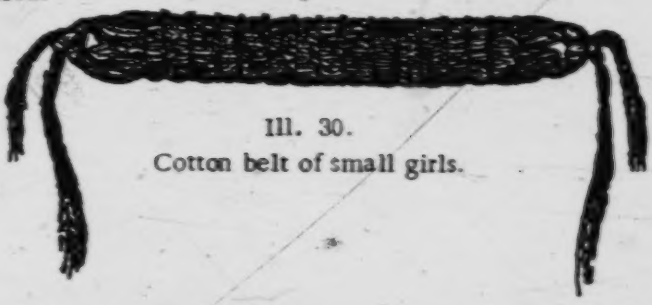
feeling of modesty originating from the constant covering for the purpose of protection.

In combination with the penis cord, the older youths /205/ and the men wear the hip cord (ĕtŭ), whereas children, boys, and younger people do not put it on. Not all men, however, wear it, or perhaps not always. This seems to be left to the discretion of the individual (Pls. 36-38, 43-44).

/205 cont./

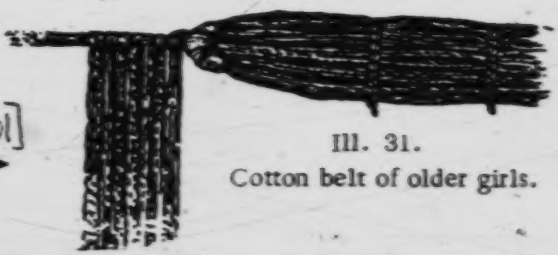
291 It consists of a red cotton string one to two meters long and
283 from 0.2-0.3 centimeters wide, which is either twisted out of two threads or plaited with four edges.

Whether it was connected in any way with the penis cord in former times could no longer be determined. From a second name for it, nõhõmõdĩ (from nõõ = penis), one might perhaps
[114] conclude this. In any case, Königswald's statement (Globus, Vol. 94, p. 223) that it serves as a penis support is not conclusive.



Ill. 30.
Cotton belt of small girls.

[301]



Ill. 31.
Cotton belt of older girls.

Ill. 32.
Youth with bast band. Drawn from a photograph.

On the other hand, it sometimes serves for fastening small
[412] implements to it. Knives are commonly stuck through it at the back; one man shoved a piece of tobacco given to him, out of lack of a pocket, simply under the hip cord at the small of his back.

/205 cont./

791 Clothing of the women. In contrast to the male sex, the
283 female one is clothed from youth onward, and, to be sure, in childhood with belts of black cotton (wädakána). The older the girl becomes, the tighter and stronger the belt that is worn. The smallest children wear only a couple of black strings wrapped around horizontally, which are joined by a cross-thread, and the ends of which are knotted in front so that /206/ the fringes hang down in a small bundle (Ill. 29). Smaller girls from two to five years old wear loosely interlaced belts likewise tied in front.
[284] The horizontal threads of the plaiting are knotted looplike at the ends, and into this loop are tied other cotton threads which serve to tie the belt together and at the same time form the bundle of fringe /Ills. 33-36 appear here/ /207/ (Ill. 30; Pl. 11, Ill. 4). Older girls from about five to ten years old already wear more tightly plaited belts, on which separate tie strands are likewise knotted in the loops, but from these strands separate bunches of fringe hang down (Ill. 31). From then until puberty the girls wear tightly and strongly plaited cotton belts. The tie strands are drawn through the two loops, but bear no fringe. In-
[287] stead, a gray tree-bast apron is drawn through the belt, which hangs down in front, is pulled between the legs, and is again fastened to the belt in the back (Pl. 18; Pl. 51, Ill. 2).

791 With the onset of maturity, the female sex dons bands made
287 of the bast of the gameleira. There are three kinds of such bands:
[824]
1. of red bast from a long-leafed tree (ämbūòdä),
2. of reddish bast (ändähúlé or ïnaùdù),
3. of white bast, from a round-leaved tree (hïdēūlĕ), the Apeiba jangada, according to Ehrenreich.

These bands are made in the following way: with an edged stone the men cut the outer bark from pieces of trees hewed to the desired length. Later the bast is slit open lengthwise, peeled off, and soaked. Then it is folded together by the women, laid on an inverted mortar, and pounded with a flat rubble stone or an old stone ax.

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 92]

/227 cont./

*301 a) Cotton ornaments for the neck, hips, arms, and legs. They represent a large part of the Karajá ornaments, but are worn only occasionally, probably because of their weight. With [827] reference to color, the black ornaments for children are distinguished from the red ornaments for young people.

A narrow head-band of black cotton plaiting set with small shell disks was brought back by Ehrenreich from the Karajá [114] (Berlin 3676). I doubt that this object is really a head band. For one thing, I never saw such an ornament, and then the band seems much too long for a head band. Similar bands, on the other hand, are found as belts for girls' string aprons and as bands for the cylindrical dance-masks.

*301 On their necks the youths wear long red tassels (nõhõzãzõ) ● 283 on a braided string which is hung on the necklace by an eyelet in back. Two such tassels are always worn. The ornament (Ill. 68a) is very rare. In place of it children wear black strings, on each end of which there is a thick, short black tassel (nõhõzã). Two such strings are placed one on top of the other, so that the tassels coincide, and are then folded in half so that all four tassels hang down at the bottom. The upper loops are knotted [237] and then drawn through the necklace. In the case of the neck tassels of girls, /228/ snail shells (Castalia dolabella) are often drawn over the tassels from above (Ill. 68b; Pl. 18, right).

Around the hips the girls sometimes wear an apron [(g)ũõhĩ] that falls far down and is made of black cotton strings which are plaited into a belt at the top, and this is sometimes trimmed with mother-of-pearl disks. The apron, closed, is drawn up from below over the hips. The strings fall down to the feet; in walking the thighs are visible between them. This ornament was also very rare (Ill. 69; Pl. 18). /Ills. 68 and 69 appear here./

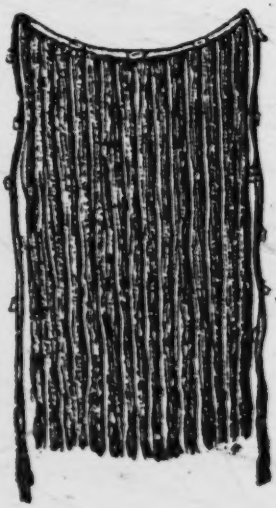
Arms and legs correspond with regard to the type of cotton ornaments. We distinguish between three different kinds:

The first kind consists of long black strings, each with two tassels at one end. These strings are wound around the upper arm in the following way: first one holds the tassels against the shoulder, then wraps the upper arm beginning at the top, and leads the wrapping from the elbow upwards again, until the entire string is used up. The end is knotted, and the tassels are then allowed

/228 cont./

*301 283 to fall down over the wrapping, where they naturally always lie on the outside. This ornamentation is worn only by children. Such tassel strings for the upper arm are called dõlŭ, for the lower arm dẽsidẽbẽ (though I never saw such lower-arm tassels;

Ill. 68 a, b.
Neck tassels: a) youths, red;
b) children, black.



Ill. 69.
String skirt of the girls.

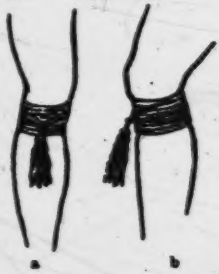
Kurisĩ merely told me about them), for the calves deobudã; I was unable to discover any special name for ankle tassels of this kind. The strings often have a quite enormous length: in the case of the upper-arm ornamentation (Ill. 70), the strings are 275 centimeters long, the tassels /Pl. 46 appears here/ /229/ /Ills. 70-73 appear here/ /230/ 75 centimeters; in the case of the calf strings, the strings are 210-220 centimeters long, the tassels 17-18 centimeters (Ill. 71 a, b). Ehrenreich states that soon after birth black cotton strings are tied around the lower arms and the lower leg (aʒoñrubẽ; "Beiträge," p. 11); as for black self-contained strings nine centimeters long, to which tie-strings are joined on both sides, which represent such bindings for babies, see Plate 45, Ill. 5. Bigger children, too, occasionally still wear such black calf-bands.

[Text continues on p. 127]

*301
283

Ill. 70.
Tassel-string for upper arm.

Ill. 72.
Upper-arm band with long string-hangings.



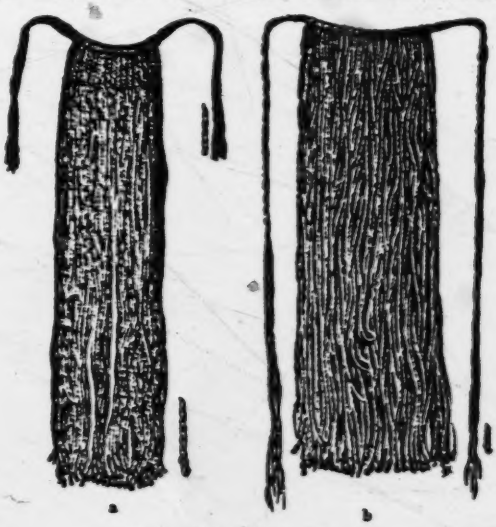
Ill. 71 a, b.
Manner of wearing the tassel-strings for the legs.

Ill. 73.
Manner of wearing the calf band with string hangings.

/230 cont./

*301
283

The second kind consists of flat, plaited or tasseled bands with long string hangings. This ornamentation, too, is worn almost solely by children. For the upper arm, it is customary to wear black plaited bands (lõlŭ), which are so fashioned that when they are put around the arm the tassels hang down tress-like on the outer side of the arm. The hangings reach a length of up to 127 centimeters (Ill. 72). Below the calf bands, on the other hand, there are more



Ill. 74 a, b.
Double-pad bands with string hangings for the upper arm. b) Tasseled.

Ill. 75.
Double-pad band with string hangings, as calf band.

often tied the red tasseled bands [(k)ūljāŭ], the hangings of which reach a length of 16 centimeters and encircle the entire leg (Ill. 73). The hangings on the specimen in Ill. 6 of Plate 45, in which gaps have been left at regular intervals, are especially pretty.

The third kind, finally, consists of two adjacent, parallel, thick pads which are plaited together and from which long red hangings hang down. This ornamentation is generally worn by bigger children and the youth of both sexes. For the upper and lower arm these bands

/230 cont./

*301 are called kōdēsĭ, in both cases their hangings hang down only
283 on the outer side of the arm. The lower-arm bands are worn behind the arm cuffs (dēsĭ). In this ornament, too, a plaiting of the upper part sometimes occurs (Ill. 74 a, b). For such calf bands, which are worn underneath the real calf bands, /231/ two names were mentioned: ūljāŭ and wŏdāĭdĭ. In this case the fringe hangs all around the leg (Ill. 75).

*301 b) All other ornaments are worn only by the unmarried;
[237] married persons have no feather ornaments, whereas young people are abundantly provided with them, though they seldom wear them. The ornaments most often worn are the feather caps (boys), bead necklaces, and finger rings, as well as cotton belts with feather hangings. All other ornaments seem to be worn only occasionally
[415] for dances, festivities, etc. In between times they are carefully stored in the elegant, long, covered baskets. The female youth wear only necklaces and finger rings; the girls also wear feather caps and feather arm-bands. One girl nine to eleven years old wore the following ornaments: feather cap, red ear-rosettes, black neck-tassels with snail shells, feather arm-bands behind the red cuffs, black belt with gray bast-apron over it, a long black string-skirt to go with it, and, finally, calf bands (Pl. 18).

[484] On journeys my Indians had no ornaments; some of them
[177] wore Brazilian clothing, as well as lip plugs and native finger-rings. Almost all of the single ones tied a piece of fish line
[184] around their ankles. It was remarkable that in the villages of the north horde located north of the Tapirapé mouth there was only a little ornamentation and feather ornaments were almost entirely lacking.

[184] The village on the Tapirapé mouth occupies a special posi-
tion. All strikingly divergent forms, which will be specially discussed in the following, come from this village. I cannot decide whether this is a coincidence or whether there is Tapirapé influence here.

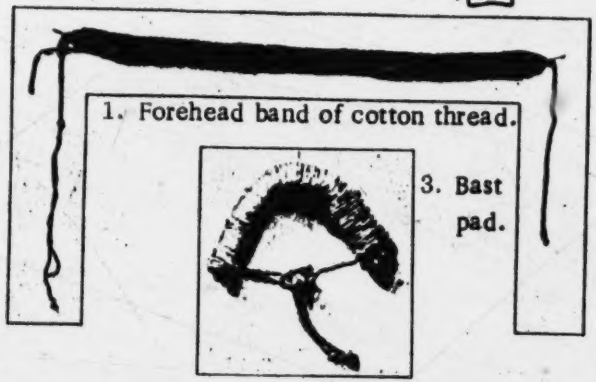
[237] Of the feather head-ornaments mentioned by Ehrenreich,
[114] I did not see the following

*301 *231 284

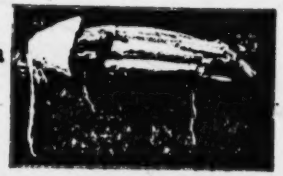
[287]

[283]

Plate 50



2. Forehead band of gameleira bast.



4. Hindhead wheel, folded up (storage form).

a b c d e

5 a-e. Forehead feathers, are tied over forehead bands (1 and 2).

/238 cont./

*301 The modern ornaments consist of glass beads, which are threaded on chains. For these, too, the name iši̇ũ̇ḷã is used. All [822] colors were taken, but green ones generally found little favor. [184] The fashions were entirely different in the individual villages: in one village people preferred large beads, in another small embroidery beads; in one white opaque beads, in another blue, black, or red ones. All the beads were first tested for their fragility and those that did not withstand a bite were rejected [436] forthwith. The unit of exchange was chains of beads with approximately 100 small embroidery beads. Children and women wore these just as they received them; boys and youths, on the other hand, reworked them according to their taste. The beads were strung on several horizontal strings arranged parallel to one another and knotted at several places with vertical threads. The entire necklace was tied in back. It usually fitted the neck closely; the various colors were arranged in varying groups, but in such a way that white constituted the basic color (Pl. 36, Ill. 2). Sometimes appendages of various kinds also hung down from it.

[283] Other neck ornaments consisted of cotton strings. These are either wound around the neck several times by the men (black), [237] or they consist of simple strings with pendants. For example, neck bones (?, bŭhãnãũnĭ) of the dolphin are used as such ornamental appendages. It looked quite dangerous to see children, especially boys, who on the neck band wore shards of colored porcelain plates, which often reached the size of half a plate, with the broken edge toward the neck (1).

1. These appendages are already mentioned by Rufino in 1846/47 for the Šambioá. Rev. trim. 10 (1848), p. 196.

*301 There are three kinds of arm ornaments. First, there are *237 arm bands which have bunches of feathers in one place; then there are those with a plaited band to which are attached several layers of feathers; finally, fine strings from which pendants of all kinds are suspended. They are worn on the upper arm (dẽrõzĭ) and on the

/264 cont./

411 and terminates in offset thorn extensions. The length of the bowstring for my specimens amounts to 184-204 centimeters.

[283] The bowstring (ãnzŭ, mbãŭ; according to Ehrenreich, manhũga) is made by each person for himself by twisting together three twisted imbauva fiber strings. Its strength gradually decreases from the thicker end to the other one, and it finally terminates in a thin string. Ill. 110 shows how it is attached. The bowstring proper is the strong part, which is attached so that it can be lifted off at one end. The weaker part is led from the firm bow-end along the front side of the bow-wood to approximately the center of the bow, is fastened there, and then is tightly wound around the bow, back to the bow-end. The last [531] little end hangs down freely; it often bears a feather tassel. This winding is usually rubbed with white-earth coloring. In the middle of the bow, where it begins, a maize leaf is fastened as an ornament by means of a black cotton winding. The unwound part of the bow sometimes bears black and yellow plaiting around it (Ill. 111).

The arrows. In order to give a survey of the arrows, it is advisable first of all to group them according to the shapes of the points, for the formation of this part of the arrow depends, of course, on what it is to be used for, which is, after all, the most important thing about the arrow. In addition, however, I also wish to point out other varying characteristics, some of which seem to represent ownership and tribal signs.

First of all, it should be noted that each one makes his own [436] arrows. In view of the custom of using arrows as a means of pay- [431] ment, however, and exchanging them with the chief on visits to strange villages, as well as in turn receiving some as gifts from him, arrows of the most diverse origins are assembled in the hands of one individual; nevertheless, in view of the brief life-span of the arrows, those made by each one for himself predominate. Poisoning is not customary.

Before being shot, the arrows are examined with regard to their curvature by being turned between the right hand lifted up to the right shoulder and the left hand stretched far downward. If

/267 cont./

411 The shaft (b'dõlẽ) consists of taquara cane. This cane
[824] seems to occur south of the Rio Tapirapé only in the region of the south horde. At the southern end of Bananal Island I came across a village that was on the move southward in order to obtain taquara for their arrows near Leopoldina. The shaft is 0.8-1.0 centimeters thick on the average; its length fluctuates, depending on the type of point (see above). I never saw shaft decorations.

411 The feathering, on the average, is 17-22 centimeters long.
237 Of all my arrows there are only two exceptions, one of which is 15 centimeters long, the other 31. The feathering is attached directly to the lower end of the shaft. Ehrenreich reports that the feathered end is often set into the shaft separately. His assump-
[114] tion that in this case the arrows had been repaired /268/ is confirmed by a specimen in my collection which was thus restored (Ill. 119a).

Great care is used in the construction of the feathering. It
[284] consists of two feathers standing opposite each other, the upper tips of which are held fast by the notch-lashing, and the inner
[314] vanes of which are clipped short. At the place where the quills are supposed to be fastened, the shaft is rubbed with resin; the halved quill ends are pressed on it, whereupon the vanes are set vertically to the shaft and /Ills. 118 and 119 appear here/ are given a turn (an eighth to a quarter of the circumference of the
[284] shaft) (Ill. 119b). Then the quill ends are tightly wound with
[283] black cotton thread (ãsõdẽbẽ), whereupon the outer vanes are cut to shape (Ill. 119c). In former times, the feathers were given the desired shape by singeing, but since the introduction of iron shears they are cut. Not until the feathering is finished is the point inserted.

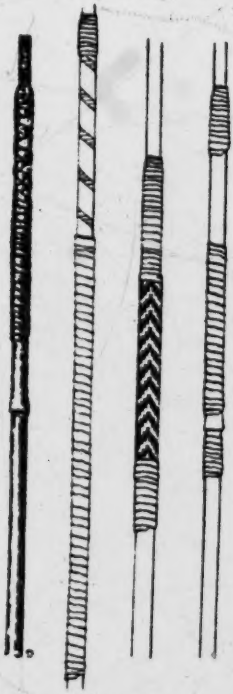
A different kind of feathering (spiral winding through the two halved /269/ /Ill. 120 appears here/ /270/ feathers) is found in the case of a few children's arrows of the north horde (see "Children's Toys" /see p. 241/). It is not yet certain whether this is an old feathering that has now become lost to adults.

/270 cont./

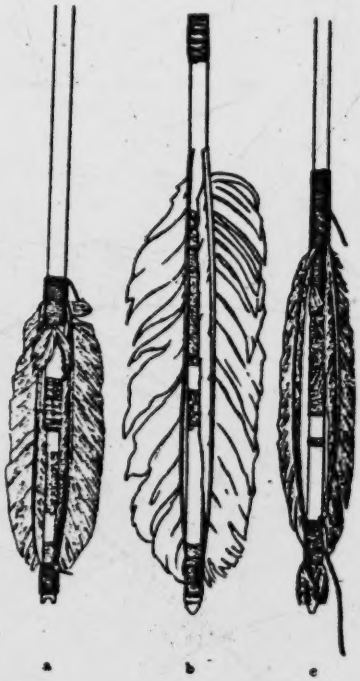
411 237 Little feathers which project in toward the inner part of the feathering and are mostly red, more rarely yellow, are tied into the cotton winding on the quill ends.

[531] The shaft part between the feathers is mostly decorated by bands or rings of red or yellow lacquer (Ill. 120 a-k). This

[284]



Ill. 118.
Point of attachment between the arrow shaft and point stem.



Ill. 119 a-c.
Feathering: a) completed end, b) putting on the feathers, c) complete feathering.

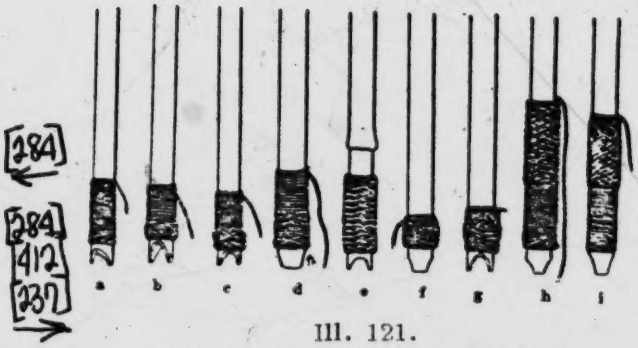
decoration is put on only for the sake of a pleasing appearance.

411 The notch winding consists of fine white cotton thread. ● 283 In the case of the arrows of the Karajá it extends up to the [184] notch. According to Kuriší, the characteristic of Karajá arrows lies in this; the Šavajé arrows are said to exhibit a small space between notch and lashing. Among the Šavajé, however, I also obtained arrows with the Karajá winding; perhaps this

[Text continues on p. 190]

/270 cont./

411 goes back to the lively interchange between the two peoples.
283 The winding consists of parallel circuits; only the uppermost layers show deviations through a crossing of the threads (Ill. 120 a-i). According to Kuriŝ, four cross-threads are supposed to be characteristic for the Karajá, two cross-threads for the Tapirapé. I did not find this remark confirmed; rather, there was a positively magnificent wealth of the most diverse crossings. The arrows with the two cross-threads (Ill. 121b) and the differently executed notch windings in Ill. 121 h, i, however, were present in the village on the Tapirapé mouth.



Ill. 121.
Notch winding of the arrows.

Ill. 122.
Club groover.

Apparently these windings are the insignia of the makers of the arrows; for upon being questioned about the latter, foreign Karajá always examined the notch-end. I could not find out anything more specific about this, however, especially not whether each individual had his particular mark or whether families (or totem groups?) made specific marks which were the same for all members.

411 The notch (dõnãwũdũlõnã) is not cut in very deep and is slightly diagonal. In the case of a few arrows, two little red /271/ feathers are tied into the notch winding and project in the back, beyond the end (Ill. 119c). According to the statement of the Indians, they serve to send off the arrow more easily and do not tire the hand so much.

/286 cont. /

000 824 [276] [301] pyrography. Of the other fruits, jequitiba is used for tobacco pipes, hollowed out and crudely carved on the outside (Ills. 103 and 104); Thevetia is used for necklaces or pendants on belts, etc. The latter usually bear a small /287/ bunch of feathers in the hollow. Other small, whitish fruits are bored and strung as [415] chains. In Ehrenreich's collection there is a small bowl, made out of a timbo fruit, for storing the urucú color (Berlin 3876).

287 [824] The bark of trees is made into women's aprons. Above all the bark of the gameleira is used, which furnishes the reddish aprons (ǎndāhūlĕ). Other species (also gameleira?) furnish red materials (ǎmbūŏdǎ) or white shiny materials (hidēūlĕ). Ehrenreich, in addition, also mentions Apeiba jangada (Berlin 3696). The preparation is as follows: Thick branches of the trees concerned are hewed off in the required length (one and a half to two meters) and brought into the house. Here the men, with [462] an angular stone, strike off the solid pieces of bark, slit the bark lengthwise, and peel it off. The further treatment is the task of the women: [283] the pieces of bark are soaked, laid folded together on the manioc mortar turned upside down, and are now beaten with a flat stone, usually an old stone ax, until they are completely soft.

Ill. 134 a, b.
Embira: a) wound on a rod,
b) rolled up.

283 H. Bast is used in wide layers as an ornamental binding material and in fine strands as material for strings and for knotting mats.

[824] As ornamental binding material, the bast of Malvaceae (embira: dõdĕ, etc.) is used above all. There are light red, red, and black varieties. It is kept in all widths: the finest (0.3 centimeters wide) is wound on rods (Ill. 134a), the wider (2.5-4 centimeters wide) is rolled up into stout rolls in such a way that the [531] colored, shiny side is on the inside (Ill. 134b). They are used

/287 cont./

283 [531] for the ornamental winding on arrow shafts, spear shafts, implement handles, etc. A kind of black bast four centimeters wide (cūnã, ããwũ) is used exclusively to decorate the edge of the pointed-oval baskets (Pl. 57, Ill. 7); it is colored with black loam.

[824] Finely split bast fibers of imbauva and buriti serve as material for ropemaking and mat-knotting. I do not know how the imbauva fiber is made. The buriti bast fibers (cedo de burity: lãdẽhõwũ) are obtained as follows: The not yet unfolded leaves of the buriti palm (so-called olhos de burity), which lie stacked up in heaps in the houses of the plaiters, are beaten against the floor several times with one end, until the stalk has split open sufficiently into many narrow longitudinal pieces. Of these longitudinal pieces the fine, soft inner bast (ĩũ) is then separated from the coarser outer leaf-strips (lãdẽhõdẽhẽ). The latter are used as leaf strips in the manufacture of hats; the former are further prepared for twisting and knotting. The imbauva fibers (Pl. 58, Ill. 4a), as well as the buriti fibers (Pl. 58, Ill. 4b, /288/ Ill. 135), are stored in larger bundles that are made up of thin bunches (according to Ehrenreich, in plaited braids, Berlin 3996).

Cords are made out of these by twisting them between the thigh and the palm of the hand. Stouter cords are made out of two or more /Ills. 135 and 136 appear here/ such fine cords with the spindle. They are used as binding string of all kinds, such as bowstrings, as ropes for strong fish-nets, fishlines, etc.

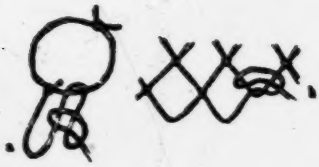
286 Fine twisted bast strings are used to knot the feather-cap nets. The large fish nets are made in the same way as these nets; it is pure netting work. Implements are not used for this: I did not see any in use, and the Indians denied to me that they existed. In Ehrenreich's collection, however, there is the beginning of a net of fine bast threads (Berlin 3938) bearing two small wooden rods at the upper edge, which Ehrenreich is inclined to regard as knitting needles. The cap-nets are made as follows: Out of a string twisted on the thigh a loop is knotted and hung over the great toe of the sitting worker. A second thread is knotted to it, and with this the first /Ills. 137 and 138 appear here/ row of meshes

[Text continues on p. 218]

286 →

283 ←

Ill. 135.
Bunch of buriti fibers.



Ill. 136 a, b.
Net knots.

285
284

Ill. 137.
Sample of sleeping-mat plaiting.

Ill. 138.
Schema of the sleeping mat
a) weft,
b) stiffening cords.

Plate 58

1. Addition to pottery clay.

2. Pot bottom with rod-sieve texture.

3 a-c. Feather gourd vessels.

4. a Bunch of imbauva fibers. b Bunch of buriti fibers.

5. Sample of basket plaiting.

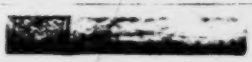
8 a and b. Manner of storing feathers.

7. Ball of cotton.

6. Spindle with picked-cotton band.

10. Monkey-skull rattles.

11. Funerary urn.



9. Bamboo trumpet.

313 415 285 283 764 415 534 [237]

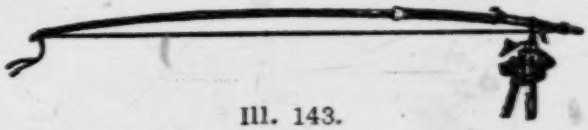
/292 cont./

285 of the lid-half, is pulled through the outer oval of this half from below upward, forms a large carrying /293/ band over the lid, and on the other side leads down to the bottom rods in the same manner. If one wishes to open the basket, the lid-half slides up on the thread (Pl. 57, Ill. 16). At the same time, however, the thread also serves for closure during transport: on either side one makes a loop which is put over the ends of the rod of the lid-half and pulled tight (Ill. 142g).

Sieves and sieve-baskets are made entirely differently

[824] (wālilisi; Pl. 55, Ills. 2 and 3). They are made out of shavings of flexible creepers (according to Ehrenreich, arimbamba). The shavings run radially and are interwoven concentrically with similar switches (two each). On the bottom they cross in four groups. In Ehrenreich's specimens the plaiting is in part so tight

[283] (Berlin 3898) that the utensil is useless as a sieve. Such tight



Ill. 143.
Bow for picking apart the cotton.

baskets serve as containers for raw cotton in spinning.

Rod-sieves consist of fine rods placed parallel, which are bound together at considerable intervals with two strings (Pl. 55, Ill. 1).

I did not see among the Karajá the other kinds of baskets and bags mentioned by Ehrenreich: small palm-leaf baskets with rectangular bottom, square baskets, small bags with flap lids made of carandasinha palm fiber, bottle-shaped flexible baskets (moti), hanging baskets (Berlin 3879), and lid-baskets (Berlin 3900) made of flexible cipo plaiting.

283 I. Just as varied and skillful are the treatment and the

[462] utilization of cotton, which are incumbent on the women. Cotton

[248] is grown in the plantings; tending it is the duty of the woman. The harvested cotton is stored in baskets. Before it is spun, it is

/293 cont./

● 283 first cleaned and picked. A small bow (wǎ̃sĩhũãtã̃; Ill. 143) is used for this purpose. One puts the cotton on a mat in front of one, holds the bow close to it, and lets the bowstring snap into it. In this way the cotton is loosened up, the impurities are taken out, and it is picked apart into a thin band about four centimeters wide. This band is then twisted at one end and fastened to the top of the spindle (Pl. 58, Ill. 6).

Spinning. The thread is twisted with the palm of the hand on the thigh; then one lets the spindle spin, in order to tighten the twist. When a thread about one meter long has been made in this way, the spindle is stopped, any irregularities of the thread are evened out by pulling it apart and retwisting it, the thread is wound on the spindle, it is again fastened to the knob on top, and the twisting begins anew. Thicker threads, too, are twisted together out of two spun threads in this manner. /294/
[462] Spinning is the task of the women, especially the girls, who acquire this skill at an early age.

The spindles consist of a black wooden stem 32-44 centimeters long (ãsõtã̃), which bears a small knob at the top and exhibits an extended thickening at the bottom. The spindle whorl [(kŭ)dã̃wã̃], which consists of bone, clay, a mass of white earth, or wax, is pushed up on it. I came across spindle whorls of bark, such as Ehrenreich brought back (Berlin 3939), only in children's spindles (see "Toys" /see p. 241 /). Bone whorls are plane-parallel, 4 1/2-6 1/2 centimeters in diameter (Ill. 144a). Breastplate bones of the tartaruga turtle are usually used for this. Clay whorls consist of crudely fired, gray pottery clay and are usually attached to the staff with wax. /Ills. 144 and 145 appear here./ Their shape is flat or slightly double-conical. Only
[531] rarely are they decorated; I once saw a cross-like decoration (Ill. 144c), another whorl bears an incised decoration on its red-colored surface. Whorls of white earth [mãũlẽ̃, mãnã(k)ũlã̃] are usually slightly double-conical in shape (Ill. 144b). In the village on the Tapirapé mouth I obtained two whorl-like objects made out of such white earth, but they are not perforated. Incised on

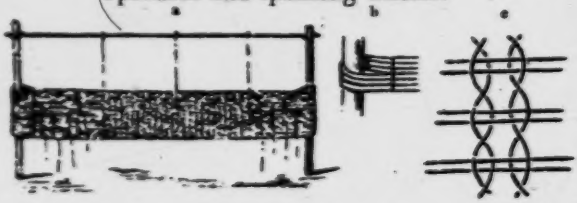
/294 cont./

283 both sides, they bear a circle with rays; the grooves are drawn in red and black (Ill. 144d). Whorls of wax in a double-conical shape are very common. I did not happen to acquire any from the Karajá; they are the same, however, as those brought back from the Šavajé (see below /see p. 328 /).

/295/ The thread (ãsõtãkẽ) is stored wound in balls (Pl. 58, Ill. 7). These balls are apparently an Indian invention; at any rate the Karajá were extremely astonished when they saw my balls of string. Their balls are roughly cube-shaped, from nine

Ill. 144 a-d.
Spindles and spinning whorls.

[286]



Ill. 145 a-c.
Plaiting of the net coverings.
a) Plaiting apparatus. b) Winding the warp.
c) The plaiting in of the weft.

to ten centimeters long on each side.

283 286 Working with cotton threads, which either retain their natural color or are blackened with earth color, is done by plaiting, crocheting, and knotting.

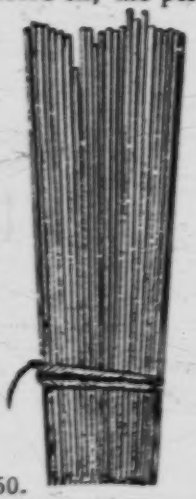
[462] Plaiting is the work of the men, crocheting and knotting that of the women. The cotton threads are plaited into four-edged cords, for example, hip cords.

/298 cont./

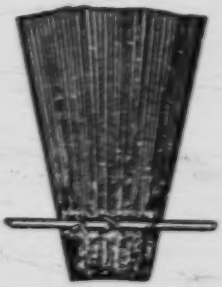
286 correspond to the other plaiting patterns such as we find on
[531] bows, lances, on baskets, fans, etc. The arm cuffs are crocheted over the club or the pestle; I never saw crocheting blocks such as Ehrenreich describes and illustrates in "Beiträge," Plate VII, Fig. 9. I did not observe nor could I find out how the thicker edge is made. The sample of crocheting (Ill. 149) is already more advanced and shows only how the meshes are made. Calf and ankle bands are crocheted directly on the body itself. They remain there until they become too tight; then they are carefully cut off, during which one pushes flat sticks underneath in order not to injure oneself. When they are crocheted on, the person concerned lies down on the mat in

303

Ill. 150. Small rod for making a comb.



Ill. 151. First interlacing of the comb rods.



Ill. 152. Fastening of the cross-rod.

Ill. 153 a, b. Cross-threads on the narrow edges of the combs.

286 the hut, has a bundle of coverings shoved under his knees, and has the bands crocheted by a female relative.

283 The various methods of knotting cotton threads into fringes and tassels is shown on Ills. 4 and 6 of Plate 45 (arm cuffs, calf hangings) and Ill. 68 (neck tassels).

303 K. Finally, comb manufacture should be mentioned here. Small fine wooden rods about 15 centimeters long and pointed at one end /299/ (Ill. 150) serve as the material. They are laid

[See P. 119 -- Analyst]

/306 cont./

868 501 In order to learn to row, boys use small oars, which in general are similar in shape to those of the adults, but sometimes deviate in the shape of the blade (Ill. 166a). They are 64-96 centimeters long. Only one specimen /Ills. 162-166 appear here/ /307/ showed painting with red and black squares (Ill. 166b). They, too, have two grooves in the handle cylinder.

868 287 For learning to fish, boys use small anchored nets (hãdeke, lãhole) knotted out of bast, which they set up in the water on the edge of the sandbanks; they are mounted on two long side rods and are kept stretched by several vertical struts (Ill. 86). /Ill. 167 appears here/

868 283 Girls learn to spin and cook. They have small spindles on which they twist serviceable threads at an early age. One sees girls from six to seven years old already spinning almost constantly. The spinning whorls are either double-conical clay whorls or wooden whorls that are dome-shaped on one side (Ill. 167). This primitive shape has thus been preserved among the children, whereas it seems to have been lost to the adults.

868 415 Small clay dishes appear in all sizes; the larger ones may actually be used for cooking, whereas the smaller ones serve only as playthings. The actual cooking utensils are partly blackened with soot on the outside, in other words, have been exposed to the fire. Besides the usual forms (pot, Ill. 168a) and bowl (Ill. 168 b, c), other forms also appear: bowl with convex bottom (Ill. 168d), dish (Ill. 168 e, f); a four-part dish (Ill. 168g), the use of which did not become clear to me despite the long Indian explanation of the mother concerned, seems to be used for a very special purpose. /Ill. 168 appears here./

524 415 /308/ All the other dishes are used only for play; some of them are not fired and are so small that cooking with them is impossible. It is surprising in this connection that in addition to the [184] usual types there are quantities of different, almost European-looking vessels, which, strangely enough, all come from the village on the Tapirapé mouth. I did not see these peculiar forms

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 246]

5: Krause- 245 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9

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283

Ill. 167.
Child's spindle
with wooden
whorl.

524
415

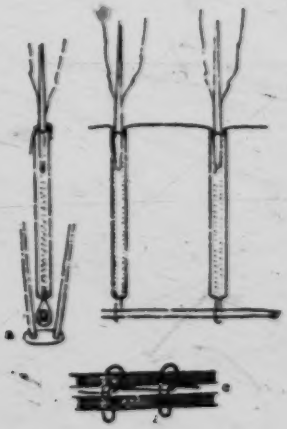
Ill. 168 a-g.
Small clay dishes for children.

/357 cont./

301
237 Of feather wheels (lăhĭdŏ) I obtained four specimens from the Savajé on Bananal, one from those in Schischá. Of these only the one specimen from Bananal is like those of the Karajá. It consists of a large fan of pink heron feathers and blue arara feathers, which alternate with each other in groups of five or six and four pieces. The longer covering layer consists of blue arara feathers; the shorter

[283]

Ill. 191a, b.
Double-pad band with long string-hangings.
b) in storage form.



Ill. 192 a-c.
Construction of the lũliná ornament.
a) Cross-section through the two surfaces and the middle layer.
b) Fastening of the cane rods (feather bearers).
c) Tying the two surfaces together (seen from the inner edge).

upper covering layer, of pink heron feathers. Little yellow feathers are tied to the upper ends of the feathers of the main layer (Pl. 60, Ill. 1). All the other specimens bear on the main course of feathers only one covering layer, which consists, in the one specimen, of blue arara feathers, in another, of white jabiru feathers, and in the last two,

/362 cont./

312 Water was transported in long gourds (rŭkŭ) with short
415 hanging bands; the gourds were usually crudely decorated with
531 pyrography (Ill. 200).

184 9. The techniques are even more primitive than those of
[438] the Karajá; in fact, the Šavajé obtain their iron implements and all foreign wares only through barter with the Karajá. Hence, everything that was said about the latter also applies to the Šavajé.

412 I still found a few examples of stone axes [ūōmădū(ĕ)]; they were used as beaters in pounding soft the women's bast aprons on mortars turned upside down. The two specimens acquired by me are strong, wedge-shaped axes 14 and 20.5 centimeters long; on one, the cutting edge is considerably hollowed out, probably through use as a nutcracker (Ill. 201 a, b).

323 The pottery is as primitive as that of the Karajá. Here,
184 too, we find no decorated vessels. The two vessels acquired by me consist of red clay, are of the Karajá type, and represent a cooking pot (wădjĭwĭ) and a bowl (wădjĭwāŭdă). /363/ /Ills. 200-206 appear here./

283 /364/ Working with cotton. For picking cotton apart, a small, quite crudely worked bow is used (Pl. 61, Ill. 4). The spindles (āzõdāŏ, Pl. 61, Ill. 5) consist of round rods 32.5-49 centimeters long, with whorls of wax, unfired or fired clay, or bone. By far the most prevalent are wax whorls, which in part are clumsy disks, in part have sharp edges and taper conically
[323] at the top and bottom. The unfired or crudely fired whorls usually have a double-conical form with a sharp edge; only one specimen consists of a thick plate with a rounded edge. Fired clay whorls are disk-shaped and have two sharp edges and flat, conical elevations on both surfaces. Bone whorls consist of quite flat disks, as among the Karajá.

Balls of thread of white (ăzõ) or black (āzõdĕbĕ) cotton are also customary among the Šavajé; some of them are kept tied up in a bast covering (Ill. 202).

[Text Continues on p. 330]

Plate 61

252

1. Grill of the Šavajé.

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[237]
[285]
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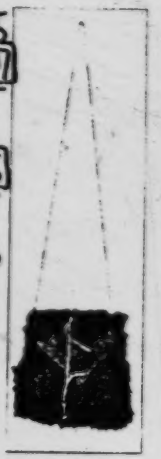
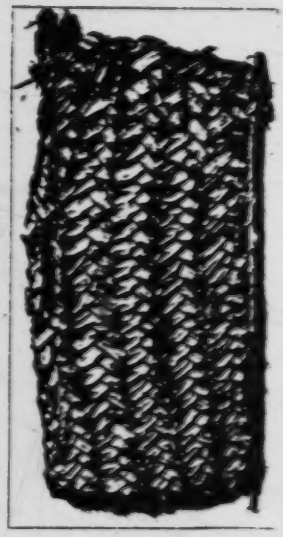


2. Tobacco pouch of monkey skin.

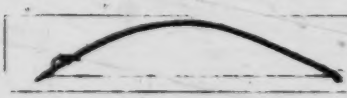


3. Carrying sack, plaited out of a palm frond.

a b c d

5. Spindles. a Wax, b unfired, c and d fired clay.

283



4. Bow for picking cotton apart.

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

Brazil.

Both sexes have a blue ring tattooed under the eye, forming a deep ugly scar, which is the special distinguishing mark of the tribe. 304 619

The Karayá take good care of the body, bathing many times each day—though this is more to cool and refresh themselves, and for sport—keep the hair well combed, and pull out the sparse beard. They formerly used the teeth of the piránha fish as a kind of saw with which to cut the hair, but they now have scissors. 515 302 412 237

As already stated, the men wear no clothing, or covering whatever. The sash, or apron, worn by the women, is made of the inner bark of the jangáda tree. It is prepared for use by first soaking it a day or two in water, then pounding it with flat stones, and finally drying it. When the wearer of this primitive apron sits, she passes it back between the limbs and sits upon it. Besides this costume, both sexes wear various armlets, wristlets and leglets, as ornaments, which are peculiar to each division of the tribe. Soon after birth, the child's wrists and legs below the knees, are adorned with broad bands made by weaving together cotton cordage on the limbs themselves; while a black cotton band girts the body as a bandage. When the infant is a few months old, these articles are removed, and broad cotton wristlets, leglets and anklets are woven on the limbs, a tassel of cotton cords being attached to the leglets. The boys wear the leglets, or garterlets, until the lip is pierced, while the girls wear them until married. The wristlets worn by adults, cover nearly the whole forearm. They are not put aside until after marriage, and many females wear them until the first child is born. When one of the couple dies, the survivor puts the wristlets on again. This custom has come down from the ancients. As the wristlets and leglets are usually woven on the limbs themselves, they cannot be removed without being cut off. For this reason, they are never removed, nor washed until finally thrown aside. But I found the Karayá quite ready to cut these articles off and give them to me in exchange for some articles I had which took their fancy. 291 [287] 301 [184] [283] [286] [437] [439]

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

eyes from the strong reflection of the sun on the sand-bars. 293
When trading with travelers, they are eager to get blue or [439]
smoked glasses, or goggles.

The Karayá live in a more advanced state than do some 162
of the other tribes of the Amazon basin, especially the rough, 361
nomadic peoples, who exist in small groups of a few families.
They prefer to live in large groups containing hundreds of
individuals, and in permanent habitations, constituting fixed
villages or encampments. True, the Karayá living near San [221]
José, rove about somewhat in small parties during the dry
season; but farther down the Araguaya, the encampments
are more permanent and populous, numbering one hundred
fifty to two hundred souls. During the rainless season when 361
the river is low, they live on the sandy river bottoms, called
praias. Here they set up their easily portable huts, in order
to be convenient to their canoes and to the fishing grounds,
and also to be more free from troublesome insects.

The *villages* of the Karayáhy division, in common with
those of all other primitive peoples, are merely clusters or
groups of huts, huddled together in complete disorder. Each 342
hut is constructed by planting in the sand, fifteen or twenty
feet apart, two parallel rows of saplings, then bending over
each pair of opposites and tying them together. To these ribs
are bound bamboo rods in a horizontal position, *sipo*—creepers [283]
—being used as cordage; and upright poles are planted at the
gables. Over this frame-work is bound the skin, or covering, [824]
which consists of giant, feather-like palm-branches. Sometimes
plates, resting on forked posts, are used to further strengthen
the frame. This dwelling, when completed, is shaped like
the bottom of an inverted barge, and looks like a very squatty,
ancient haystack, with a hole—the door—eaten in one end
by cattle.

Garbage, such as watermelon rinds, pumpkin skins, green 364
corn cobs, and other fruit and vegetable refuse, is dumped
just outside the hut. Here, the mass festers and stinks in
the fierce rays of a tropical sun, and attracts swarms of [361]
insects, especially sand flies, that torment the nude savages

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

For this work, large, fan-like palm leaves are slit into narrow strips, skeins or bundles of which are kept always on hand ready for use. 285 [824] A very small mat is made especially for the fisherman to stand upon to protect his feet when he has to remain a long time at one spot on the hot sand.

A great variety of beautiful baskets are also made of braid-work. These are made of sipós—climbing vines—reeds, split stems and the like. [824] Large baskets, resembling sacks, are made of very coarse palm-leaves for use in carrying heavy loads of food material gathered from the forest. The smaller baskets are made not only of fine materials of various colors, but are braided into nice patterns. They are of many sizes and shapes and used for numerous purposes. Some are hand or shoulder bags in which to carry small articles; many others of various sizes may be seen hanging from the roof of the hut which serve as receptacles for numerous small household articles or personal effects; others are double, or covered baskets, like telescope traveling bags, in which much-prized feather ornaments are carefully guarded; while still others are canoe-shaped hanging baskets, beautifully designed. Nearly all these baskets are flexible, and some are even elastic, bottle-shaped baskets. To carry the tobacco when on a journey, a square basket is used, to which is attached a bark shoulder strap. A large, basket-work disc, finely and closely braided, is used as a sieve, or colander. [171] As the civilized Brazilians everywhere have the same kind of utensil, it may be inferred that it has come down to them from their aboriginal South American ancestors.

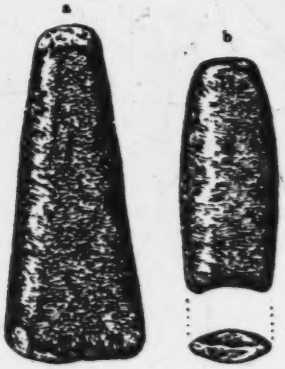
The "textile industry" of the Karayá is nothing more than braid-work. 283 Natural resources once again furnish them an unlimited supply of material nearly ready for use. The burity-palm once more manifests its unfailing utility, yielding a splendid fibre which can be readily stripped from its long leaves. [824] Another kind of fibre, which possesses great adhesive qualities, is obtained from the inner bark of the mallow tree. The finest threads are *spun* by rolling a number of single fibres together between the moistened hands, or

412 →

415
531 ←

283 →

Ill. 200.
Gourd for carrying water.



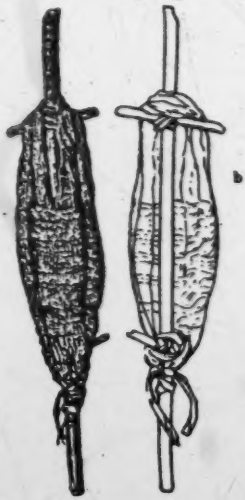
Ill. 201 a, b.
Stone ax.

Ill. 202.
Cotton ball in bast covering.

314 →

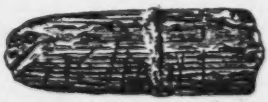
286 ←

524 →



Ill. 203 a, b.
Plaiting apparatus for girls' belt.
b) = rear view.

Ill. 204.
Crochet needle.



Ill. 205.
Black resin.

Ill. 206 a-c.
Child's bow with arrows.

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

283 between the hand and the leg above the knee. These fine strands, again, are rolled together into cords. This is accomplished by each strand being skillfully rolled independently on the leg as the hand is passed rapidly over them all before they are permitted to come together and twist themselves around each other into a single cord. The same [171] method of making cordage is seen among the "civilized" Brazilians of the far interior, and is probably another relic of their aboriginal ancestry.

286 The Karayá also make fish-nets by means of large wooden needles; small nets, shaped like hand-bags, in which to carry small objects; queer-looking net caps that may be drawn together with cotton strings, and which are embellished with 283 brilliant feathers. Cotton is also used by the Karayá. It is spun by means of a rude spindle of bone or baked clay, which is revolved between the hands.

286 The *loom*, or contrivance for braiding—or weaving—by means of which the hammocks already described are *woven*, is very simple. The warping is wound over two small posts which are planted upright in the ground a foot or two apart. The weaving is done by working the woof thread in by hand over and under the warping threads by means of a long needle, then pressing it back tightly by using a wooden blade instead of the reed employed by more advanced peoples. It is extremely slow work. Various colored warps and woofs are used making stripes in the finished work. On this same framework is woven the strong bands used in carrying heavy baskets; also the forehead bands and the body bands for infants. Armlets and leglets are either knitted or crochetted with a hook-like needle over a cone-shaped block of wood, or are made on the limb itself.

301 Most of the ornaments of the Karayá, as of other tribes, 237 are made of brilliant plumage. They take pleasure in making these articles; and exercise such good taste and introduce so much variety, that they are not excelled by any of the primitive peoples of South America. The work, however, lacks durability; but as they have always an abundance of suitable

9:Gow-Smith T-5 (no date) 1925
SP9 Caraja SP9
Cayapo SP11

C 411 237 C 411 531

a cluster of feathers hanging below the point guides the spear unerringly when flung at its victim. The spear-shafts are beautifully decorated with a covering of black and white canework woven in intricate designs. No two of these woven handles are of the same pattern, but they all represent the various markings of snakes.

Co 292 237 C Co 411 C Co 824 283

Fig. 97.—Cayapó head-dress

The bow and arrow are a favorite weapon with both the Cayapó and the Caraja. The bows, six feet long, are stoutly made of palm-wood, and are strung with the strong hand-spun cord of wild cotton, with the ends cunningly wrapped to the bow so that the string can be lengthened or mended according to the hunter's needs. Arrows are of wide variety and are used for many purposes, but all of them have long bamboo shafts

C Co 824

9:Gow-Smith T-5 (no date) 1925
SP9 Caraja SP9
Cayapo SP11

C
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411
237
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skilfully feathered at the end. The arrowheads are fastened to eighteen-inch foreshafts of hard-wood tipped with bone, fitted in three- to four-foot bamboo shafts and bound in place with the strong cord that the native women spin from wild cotton. The binding is firmly cemented with a kind of resin. Long needle-like arrows tipped with hard-wood are for shooting birds; the sharp bamboo tips curved hollowly are for deer and jaguars, for they permit the wounded animal

C
[264]
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411
224
[223]

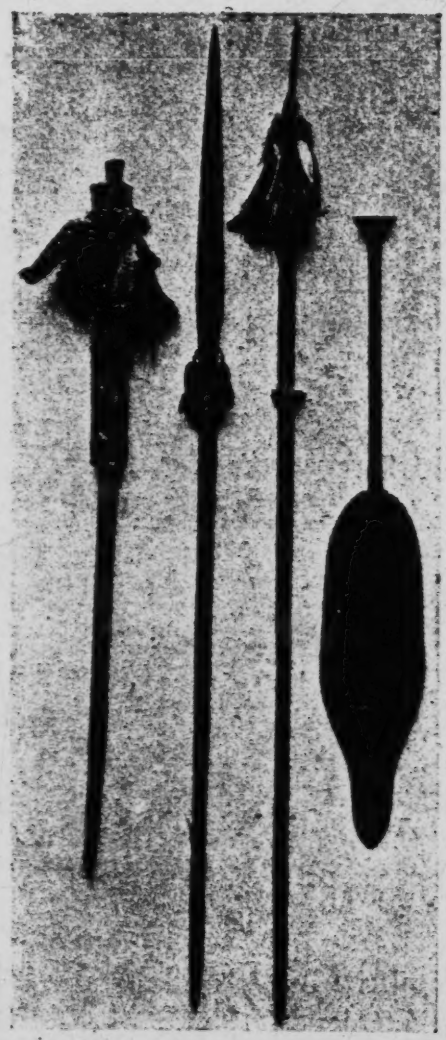

FIG. 98.—Caraja objects (grave-post, two spears, and a paddle)

9:Gow-Smith T-5 (no date) 1925
SP9 Caraja SP9
Cayapo

images found in the Old World. Though the 532
little figures are usually nude, occasionally one
is adorned with bits of red-colored home-made [283]
cotton twine.

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[P. 227]

/17 cont./ Elegant

501 oars are painted black. The middle third of the blade is covered
[531] by a decoration made up of black zigzag lines and dots on a white background (see p. 49).

411 The weapons of the Karaya are still the original ones throughout.

The bows (šuahětě) are of various sizes according to the age and strength of the owner. The longest of the collection measures 220 centimeters, the shortest child's bow 70 centimeters. They
[824] consist in part of the wood of the brejauba palm (Astrocaryum sp.) or the so-called pau d'arco (Tecoma sp.). The front side is usually somewhat smoothed down, the ends tapered with thornlike, offset tips (Pl. VI /see p.108 /, 1).

/18/ The string (mahūga) and the way it is fastened show
411 certain peculiarities similar to those found among the Guiana
284 tribes. The material is embira bast (Malvaceae sp.), the leaf
[824] fiber of a Bromelia (caraguatá) or that of the pati palm (Syagrus botryophora). The length of the string twisted from it exceeds that of the bow by six to eight times. Of a appropriate thickness at one end, it tapers more and more toward the other, finally ending in a thin thread. The strong end is wound around the upper tip of the bow. From there the string goes directly to the lower end and along the front side of the bow upward to about the middle. Then it runs back again and is wound fast around the lower part of the bow with its thinner end. The last, thread-like part hangs down, decorated with a feather tassel.

In order that the wound end does not slip up, it is wound at the place of the curve with a layer of maize leaves which are tied fast with black cotton cords. Sometimes the ends of the bow are also wrapped with thin white threads below the tip. A similar, but looser cotton binding ties the part of the string running on the outside of the bow to the bow wood. This prevents too great a strain on the string. If the upper end of the string breaks, a replacement can easily be brought up by unwinding from below. A break at the lower end is not easily possible because of the counter pressure present there.

/18 cont./

411 The form of the arrows (uehẽ) is very manifold.

The shaft of the arrow consists of two pieces, a lower one of cane and the one inserted in it of wood. The latter bears either a special tip or, sharpened and correspondingly shaped, serves in some way as one itself.

In general the length of the cane shaft amounts to two-thirds of the length of the whole arrow, and that of the wooden shaft one-third.

411 239 The feathers of the lower cane-end are always placed so that their uppermost tip, wound around itself, lies at the level of the notch. The quill describes a 1/8 to 1/4 turn around the shaft. The heavy arrows, especially those provided with a broad cane tip, usually have a heavier winding of feathers.

Through the twisting of the feather tip, the outer feathers of the quill are sharply bent outward. The inner feathers are cut off short in order to lie closer to the shaft.

In the case of many arrows the lowest piece, which bears the notches and feathering, is separately inserted into the cane shaft. Probably the original arrow end was split here during the cutting or bending the bow and was supplemented by an insert.

411 239 284 [531] [824] The feathers are tied with black cotton strings, between which are usually placed small red and yellow decorative feathers. The attached pieces are held together by waimbẽ (Philodendron sp.) bast bands. The feathered part of the cane end often has crossbands touched up with red lacquer (tamararu).

The following arrow types are represented in the collection:

411 [126] 1. War arrows, with point made from the tail-spine of a thornback, 150-180 centimeters long, two-thirds of which makes up the cane shaft. The spine, six to eight centimeters long and supplied on both sides with countless small barbs, is tied to the wooden shaft with thread and wax in such a way that the lower part projects as a long barb. The wooden shaft itself is painted with red lines, wavy lines, and dots (Pl.VI/See p.108 /, 8).

2. War arrows with cane tip cut in the shape of a knife, related to the Bororo arrows in their form. Total length 140-160 centimeters, of which the cane shaft takes up only one-third. On the upper end of the 3/4 centimeter thick wooden shaft made

/205 cont./

291 Clothing of the women. In contrast to the male sex, the
283 female one is clothed from youth onward, and, to be sure, in childhood with belts of black cotton (wǎdakána). The older the girl becomes, the tighter and stronger the belt that is worn. The smallest children wear only a couple of black strings wrapped around horizontally, which are joined by a cross-thread, and the ends of which are knotted in front so that /206/ the fringes hang down in a small bundle (Ill. 29). Smaller girls from two to five years old wear loosely interlaced belts likewise tied in front.
[284] The horizontal threads of the plaiting are knotted looplike at the ends, and into this loop are tied other cotton threads which serve to tie the belt together and at the same time form the bundle of fringe /Ills. 33-36 appear here/ /207/ (Ill. 30; Pl. 11, Ill. 4). Older girls from about five to ten years old already wear more tightly plaited belts, on which separate tie strands are likewise knotted in the loops, but from these strands separate bunches of fringe hang down (Ill. 31). From then until puberty the girls wear tightly and strongly plaited cotton belts. The tie strands are drawn through the two loops, but bear no fringe. In-
[288] stead, a gray tree-bast apron is drawn through the belt, which hangs down in front, is pulled between the legs, and is again fastened to the belt in the back (Pl. 18; Pl. 51, Ill. 2).

291 With the onset of maturity, the female sex dons bands made
287 of the bast of the gameleira. There are three kinds of such bands:
[824]
1. of red bast from a long-leafed tree (ǎmbūŏdǎ),
2. of reddish bast (ǎndāhūlē or ĭnaùdŭ),
3. of white bast, from a round-leaved tree (hĭdēūlĕ), the Apeiba jangada, according to Ehrenreich.

These bands are made in the following way: with an edged stone the men cut the outer bark from pieces of trees hewed to the desired length. Later the bast is slit open lengthwise, peeled off, and soaked. Then it is folded together by the women, laid on an inverted mortar, and pounded with a flat rubble stone or an old stone ax.

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 92]

/231 cont./

*301 *237 The headdresses for the crown of the head, which consist of a rhombic plaited plate, from which rise two Cacicus feathers, each mounted on two feather-sheathed quills ("Beiträge," Ill. 8); the hindhead dance ornament lurinã (ibid., Pl. II, 2; IX, 2), which I came across only among the Šavajé in an incomplete specimen; the diadems ahetõ (ibid., Pl. IX, 5) which spread out at the top when they are tied on; the ornament õdjĩ (Pl. 48, Ill. 7) brought back by me from the village on the Tapirapé mouth is similarly constructed.

*301 114 The reasons for this lack among the Karajá may be of three kinds: either the Ehrenreich specimens come from the Šambioá, whose culture, after all, does deviate somewhat from that of the Karajá, or it is only a coincidence that the Karajá did not have these particular ornaments on hand during my presence, or, and this seems to me the most plausible, a different fashion prevailed in Ehrenreich's time. The circumstance that Ehrenreich brought back several specimens of the lurinã, whereas I did not come across any among the Karajá and only a single specimen among the Šavajé, seems /232/ to point to the fact that the ornament, formerly so common, is now no longer worn to such an extent.

*301 *237 The ordinary head ornament is represented by the feather caps (dõlĩdõlĩ). They are worn by children of both sexes; usually one sees boys walking about all day in this ornament. They con- [284] sist of a net, into the threads of which individual feathers or feather rosettes fastened to rods are knotted. The caps are drawn over the back of the head and fastened with a chin string (lẽrũdĩ) [287] (Ill. 76). The nets are made of fine bast fiber or thick bast plaiting. They can be turned inside out, and the chin string serves as a drawstring to close them; they are stored in this manner (Pl. 47, Ill. 1). Stiffened nets are very rare. The nets that can be turned inside out may be grouped according to two characteristics: according to the way the feathers are fastened, [284] and according to their arrangement in zones. According to the type of fastening we distinguish between two chief types: by far the greater number of them show in each case two small feathers tied to the threads (not into the knots) by means of separate threads (Ill. 77a).

/232 cont./

*301 separate threads (Ill. 77a). A few bear in addition short or long-
*237 stemmed rosettes fastened to small rods (Ehrenreich calls this type hatukõ; Ill. 77b). Added to this there are two special types: first, bunches of long white feathers are tied on, which makes the entire cap look very bushy (Pl. 46, Ill. 3); such caps are usually worn by black-painted boys with short-cropped hair. The other, very rare exception is a cap in each of which a long white heron feather is tied (Pl. 46, Ill. 1). These feathers are laid back when worn.

According to the arrangement into zones, they are classified as follows: Nets completely covered with feathers, where no zones are distinguishable; caps with two zones, the lower of which con-

[284]

Ill. 76.
Manner of wearing the feather cap.

Ill. 77 a, b.
Fastening of the feathers in the nets of the feather caps a) 2 feathers each, b) rosette sticks.

sists of bunches of two feathers each, the upper of long feathers (Ill. 3 in Plate 47 is an exception, the lower zone of which consists of feather rosettes, the upper of long feathers); caps with three zones, which consist either of differently colored feathers, or whose lower zone consists of small feather-rods, the middle one of small feathers, and the /Plates 47 and 48 appear here/ /233/ upper one of long feathers, or the lower one of individual feathers, the middle one of rosettes, and the upper one of long feathers (Pl. 47, Ill. 2)

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 133]

/233 cont./

*30 *237 Diadems, namely, head bands with the feathers standing vertically, are ornamental pieces which occur only very rarely. There are various kinds of such diadems:

In the case of one, to a string which is tied horizontally around the head, there is fastened by means of vertical plaiting colorful feathers whose quills are usually covered with glued-on [184] white down feathers (Pl. 48, Ill. 5). My three specimens (dōlĭdŏ) all come from the village on the Tapirapé mouth; I did not see [171] any in the other villages. They are very reminiscent of the diadems of the Kayapó (see there /untranslated/).

/234/ A technically very superior ornamental piece is the small head-band (lūwjĭ) reproduced in Ill. 4 on Plate 48. On the [284] fine head-cord fine little whitish feathers with a brown border are fastened in several layers on top of one another by being tied together with several strings and gummed over with a light-colored adhesive substance. The little feathers are slightly bent outward [184] with the crowns. This unique specimen also comes from the village on the Tapirapé mouth.

In the case of another diadem (ōdjĭ), which likewise comes from this village, small vertical cane rods are fastened side by side to the head cord by a second cord that runs through the rods alternately from above and below and is joined each time to the first cord. The rods are also tightly wound with black and white cotton string, and this winding runs from one rod to another and joins them firmly together. Into the upper openings /Ill. 78 appears here/ of the rods are stuck red and yellow parrot feathers (Pl. 48, Ill. 7; Ill. 78). I saw this ornamental piece only in this one specimen. Similar to it are the diadems called ahetó by Ehrenreich ("Beiträge," Pl. IX, 5), in which, besides the little short feathers, long arara feathers project out of the canes, and on which the side edges are not vertical, but diverge at the top.

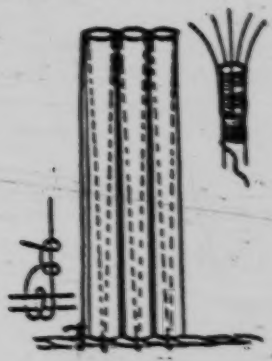
[184] I also saw the closed cane hoop (ăndādăđŭ), around which are fastened vertical, red arara feathers 55 centimeters long (Pl. 48, Ill. 6), only in the village at the Tapirapé mouth.

/234 cont. /

*301 Hindhead feathers (wǎšiwǎšidelõhi) were only rarely ob-
*237 served. They consist of long feathers, several of which are usually fastened side by side to a string, and the quills of which are sometimes covered with small feathers of a different color. The string is tied around the tuft of hair, and the feathers stand up vertically (see also "tuft feathers" above under "Hair Style" /see p. 96/). Similar feathers are worn on a thread around the neck, hanging down the back from the nape of the neck (dʒãʒõ-lãhĕdŏ).

One of the most common and most striking ornamental pieces is the hindhead wheel (lãhĭdŏ; Pl. 49, Ills. 2, 3). This ornamental piece is worn by the male youth at festivities, especially at the wrestling festival; between times it is stored folded in the long, covered basket. To the complete ornament belongs the following five constituent parts: the feather wheel, the bast ring, the horseshoe-shaped disk, the forehead band, and the forehead feathers.

•[284]



Ill. 78.
Construction of the stiff cane diadems.

*301 The ornament is worn in the following manner (Ill. 79):
*237 The hair /235/ is tied into a tuft in back; the ends hanging down
284 are again tied up so that a thick knot of hair is produced at the back of the head. The bast ring is first placed around this knot and tied together at the bottom. Over the ring and around the knot the fan-shaped, outspread wheel is then tied. The wheel shape is achieved by the knotting of several strings which run through the feathers and emerge at the rim feathers. Further support is provided by the horseshoe-shaped disk which is placed on the middle part of the wheel and likewise tied around the knot.
*301 Thus, the wheel rests securely between pad and disk, the pad
*237 providing the necessary distance from the hair, while the disk

/235 cont./

*301 holds it spread apart. The wheel, however, is not entirely
*237 closed at the bottom; the size of the open angle varies among the individual specimens. In addition there is still the forehead band, which is placed horizontally around the head and over which the forehead feathers are tied (Pl. 49, Ill. 1).

[114] Ehrenreich did not know how this ornament was worn. He distinguished two kinds: wheels with a one-sided covering layer of small feathers, which he regarded as mantles for feather helmets, and wheels with a two-sided covering of small feathers, which were worn crosswise over the head or as

[284]

Ill. 79.
Schematic representation of the fastening of the hindhead wheel.

Ill. 80.
Schematic representation of the construction of the hindhead wheel.

a collar around the neck or as a complement to the tuft feathers. With the second and last of these four assumptions he comes closest to actuality. The one-sided or two-sided covering layer has no further significance for the way it is worn. The Indians like to conceal the lower portions of the feathers with feather layers; since both sides are visible in the case of the above-mentioned manner of wearing it, the double-sided covering layer is easily explained, whereas the one-sided covering layer, always found on the front side, is perhaps explained by the fact that on the back side the quills are covered by the disk.

[284] The feather wheels (lãhido) consist of long feathers which are strung fan-shaped on a cord (see Ill. 8, layer c). They are, moreover, connected together by several continuous strings which emerge at the two lateral walls of the fan and, tied together, /236/ hold the wheel open. The whole is so

/236 cont./

*301 flexible that it may be folded together into a roundish cylinder,
*237 in which case the front side is on the outside; they are stored in this fashion (Pl. 50, Ill. 4). The lower parts of the feathers are covered with covering layers, of which the longer, directly supporting one (layer b) always consists of dark green feathers, while the shorter one, supporting at the top (layer a), usually consists of greenish parrot feathers. At the upper ends of the feathers of layer c smaller, little yellow or variegated parrot-feathers are attached. Either they are tied directly to the quill by a winding
[284] of cotton thread (Pl. 49, Ill. 2), or they are fastened to a small rod that runs up along the lower side of the quills of the long feathers, projects above the feathers, is here wound with raw cotton, and bears the small little feathers at the end (layer d) (Pl. 49, Ill. 3). These rods sometimes project to the same length as the long feathers above the latter. Concerning the combination of colors, see below under "Feather Technique" /see pp. 237ff./.

*301 The bast rings consist of a bast pad that is tightly wound
28 with wide bast thread. The pad is bent U-shaped; twisted bast threads are at the ends as tie-strings (Pl. 50, Ill. 3). I obtained three specimens and for each a different name: āhāwŏ, dōḷāhŭnăni, asikḷŏrŏ.

The U-shaped disks are of two kinds: either they are made of wood (āhāwŏ; Pl. 49, Ill. 5, from the village on the Tapirapé mouth), or they consist of fine cane strips, which are laid on top of one another with the flat sides, then bent U-shaped as a whole, and interlaced with black cotton strings into a solid disk (lăhĭdōḷāhŭnăni, ăhēdŏḷăḷĭn(ŏ); Pl. 49, Ill. 4).

In the same way, we distinguish two types of forehead bands. In one case, wide bands of gameleira bast are used, to the outer side of which are glued white down feathers (ămbùlotä, idūḷă; Pl. 50, Ill. 2); in the other, narrow black plaited cotton bands (wōliĕdăkăn(ă); Pl. 50, Ill. 1).

/236 cont./

*301 *237 284 The forehead feathers are tied to these forehead bands (Pl. 50, Ill. 5 a-e). These consist of a stiffened cord or rod, to which are fastened two feather rods with long black end-feathers. They are tied over the forehead band with a band in such a way that the two feather tufts project horizontally forward.

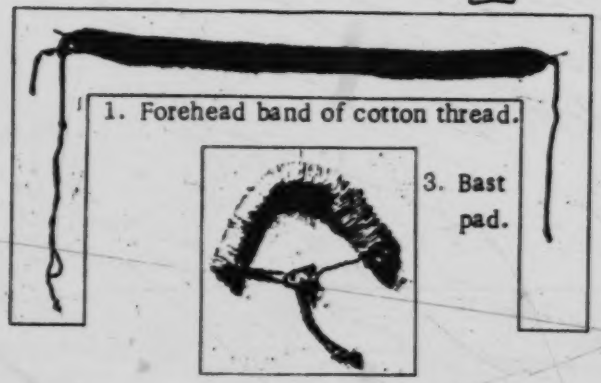
One specimen consists of a plaited cotton band, like the forehead band; a small thread, tightly wound, is set on horizontally in front. To it is fastened a rod bound with raw cotton, which forks into two parts. Each part is wound with yellow parrot feathers, out of the center of which project long black feathers (name: kŏdšŭlŭkŭ-wădjĭŏ). In the case of another specimen, a long wound thread serves as the holder for the feather tufts, in the case of a third, even a wound rod. Perhaps two other ornamental pieces which terminate in similar tufts belong here. The one consists of a U-shaped /Plates 49 and 50 appear here/ /237/ bent cane rod whose ends are joined together with tie-strings. It is tightly wound with black cotton string and then wrapped with raw cotton. In front, two feather tufts project out of red feather rods with black end feathers. The other consists of a cane rod which is wound in two places in opposite directions with little red feathers. The center piece is free; to it are tied two little cane rods with little red-yellow feathers, which at the ends bear long red-green feathers.

A most peculiar ornamental piece is the feather helmet (ladēnina, Pl. 33). Ehrenreich reproduces it in Plate IX, 5, of his "Beiträge" and calls it tatenera. His specimens are incomplete, since the mantle has no feathers and only a piece of it is covered with white down feathers. My specimen consists of a bast plaiting with red parrot feathers glued to it. White down feathers adorn the lower edge. At the top there is a circle of short vertical canes in which are inserted long red arara feathers. These canes are uncovered in my specimen, whereas in Ehrenreich's specimens, around the narrowed neck below the little canes, four feather wreaths, which in part cover the little canes, are tied one above the other at intervals of two to three fingerbreadths.

[Text continues on p. 141]

[283] [287] *30! *231? ●284

Plate 50



2. Forehead band of gameleira bast.

4. Hindhead wheel, folded up (storage form).

5 a-e. Forehead feathers, are tied over forehead bands (1 and 2).

/250 cont./

226 [857] The way such anchored nets are set up is shown by the imitations with which children play (hãdĕkĕ). They are fastened to two long end rods; the net is stretched by means of several spaced sticks (Ill. 86). These stakes are driven down in front of the lake inlets, and by stretching the net on them the entrance to the lakes is blocked. From the boat the Indians beat the water and drive the thus frightened fish of the lake toward the entrance into the net, where they are then caught. (Such a device for catching piraruc̃ũ is called dãõ'lãlũ; see piraruc̃ũ net above.) Other nets (hãnduhũ[ĩ]) are allegedly set up along the sandbanks; the carĩ fish, which

[524]

Ill. 85.
[289] Knot formation of the fish nets.

Ill. 86. Barrier fish-net. Child's toy.

swims against the sandbanks at night, is caught in them and taken out in the morning. I never saw nets of this type set up; probably the narrow nets are used for this.

The largest mass catches are made by poisoning the water of the lakes; but this is at the same time the worst plundering exploitation. The lakes are blocked off by fences (lĩklõ), which consist of driven piles to which palm leaves [824] are fastened. The stems of the poisonous cipo (timbo: ãnzĩ) are placed on a forked stick and beaten soft with another stick, whereupon they are shaken out over the lake and a fine dust falls out. Then they are beaten a second time and shaken out. From the boat a second man stirs the water, which takes on a black coloring. The fish are stupefied by it

5: Krause--184 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9

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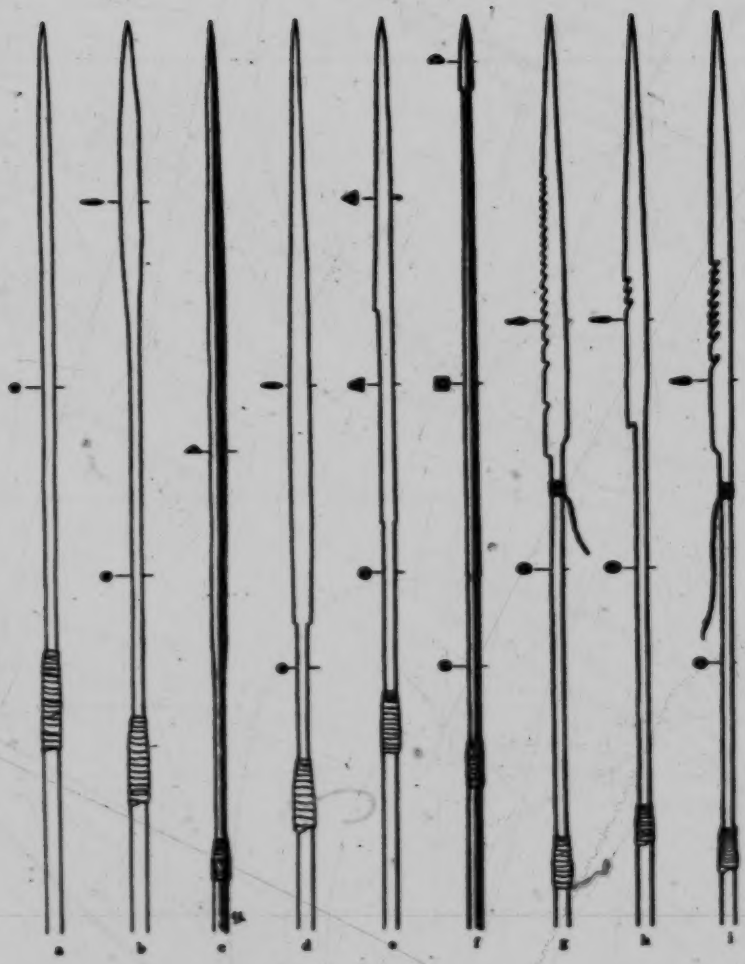


Ill. 113 a-i.
Arrows with wooden points.

411
284

[287]
[237]

Ill. 114 a-c.
Arrows with bamboo knives as points.

Ill. 117.
Bone point to be stuck on arrow.

Ill. 115.
Arrow with bone points.

Ill. 116.
Arrow with ray-spine point.

/267 cont./

411 The arrows with the bone point set on them are used ex-
227 clusively for fishing. The bone point is set on in such a way
237 that its rear end projects laterally and thus forms a small barb.
[284] It is four to six centimeters long and is fastened to the wooden
[314] stem by a fine bast winding and a coating of black resin (Ill. 115). On my specimens this bone point is round throughout, whereas Ehrenreich brought back a second type of such arrow with a flat bone point (Berlin 4008) (1) and a third type with a tubular

1. I obtained arrows with flat bone points only from the Kayapó.

bone set on as a point (Berlin 4009). The stem in the case of these arrows is 40-50 centimeters long, sometimes natural color or painted red, but mostly painted black; the shaft has a length of 100-200 centimeters. The one reproduced in Ill. 117 was probably to be used as a point for an arrow with a monkey bone stuck on it (ūhĭdŏ, dūrŏlēnĭdĭ).

A single arrow bears, instead of the bone point, one made of a ray spine (Ill. 116); it comes from the village on the Tapirapé mouth.

411 The stem of the point has no other ornamentation than the
314 black or red painting. It is inserted in the shaft and made fast
[531] in it with resin. In order to detach it from the broken shaft and set it on a new one, the tube is warmed over the fire until the resin melts and the stem can be pulled out. The shaft end is cut to fit for the insertion of the stem, so that the transition into the stem is gradual. When the stem is set into the shaft, the latter often splits; the cracks are glued over with black resin.

411 A black, narrow strip of embira is wound over the place
284 of insertion; it is fastened to the shaft with light-colored resin.
[314] This winding (dŏdĕ) is done in different ways; it either covers stem and shaft in a continuous course, or, separated from the short attachment-winding, there is a longer shaft winding whose intermediate space is sometimes bridged by spirally wound or
[531] crossed winding. At this place one arrow will bear spiral incised ornamentation (ŭŏhūlădĭ, ĭlādĭ), another a black and yellow plaiting. A three-part attachment-winding is very rare (Ill. 118).

/267 cont./

411 [824] The shaft (b'dõlẽ) consists of taquara cane. This cane seems to occur south of the Rio Tapirapé only in the region of the south horde. At the southern end of Bananal Island I came across a village that was on the move southward in order to obtain taquara for their arrows near Leopoldina. The shaft is 0.8-1.0 centimeters thick on the average; its length fluctuates, depending on the type of point (see above). I never saw shaft decorations.

411 237 The feathering, on the average, is 17-22 centimeters long. Of all my arrows there are only two exceptions, one of which is 15 centimeters long, the other 31. The feathering is attached directly to the lower end of the shaft. Ehrenreich reports that the feathered end is often set into the shaft separately. His assump- [114] tion that in this case the arrows had been repaired /268/ is confirmed by a specimen in my collection which was thus restored (Ill. 119a).

[284] Great care is used in the construction of the feathering. It consists of two feathers standing opposite each other, the upper tips of which are held fast by the notch-lashing, and the inner [314] vanes of which are clipped short. At the place where the quills are supposed to be fastened, the shaft is rubbed with resin; the halved quill ends are pressed on it, whereupon the vanes are set vertically to the shaft and /Ills. 118 and 119 appear here/ are given a turn (an eighth to a quarter of the circumference of the [284] shaft) (Ill. 119b). Then the quill ends are tightly wound with [283] black cotton thread (ãsõdẽbẽ), whereupon the outer vanes are cut to shape (Ill. 119c). In former times, the feathers were given the desired shape by singeing, but since the introduction of iron shears they are cut. Not until the feathering is finished is the point inserted.

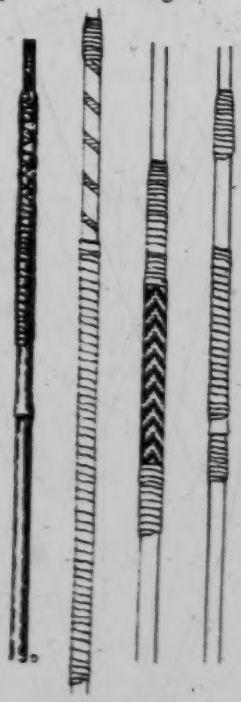
A different kind of feathering (spiral winding through the two halved /269/ /Ill. 120 appears here/ /270/ feathers) is found in the case of a few children's arrows of the north horde (see "Children's Toys" /see p. 241/). It is not yet certain whether this is an old feathering that has now become lost to adults.

/270 cont./

411 Little feathers which project in toward the inner part
237 of the feathering and are mostly red, more rarely yellow, are tied into the cotton winding on the quill ends.

[531] The shaft part between the feathers is mostly decorated by bands or rings of red or yellow lacquer (Ill. 120 a-k). This

[284]



Ill. 118.
Point of attachment between the arrow shaft and point stem.

Ill. 119 a-c.
Feathering: a) completed end, b) putting on the feathers, c) complete feathering.

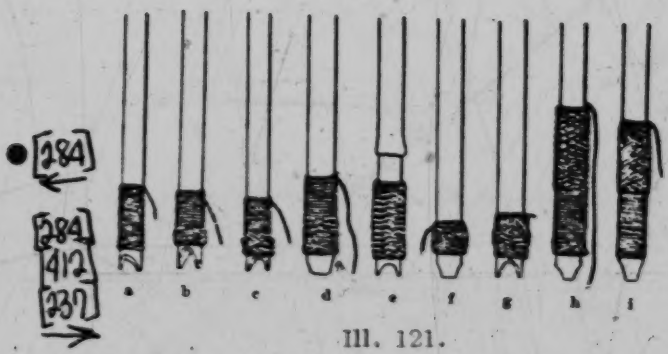
decoration is put on only for the sake of a pleasing appearance.

411 The notch winding consists of fine white cotton thread.
283 In the case of the arrows of the Karajá it extends up to the
[184] notch. According to Kuriš, the characteristic of Karajá arrows lies in this; the Šavajé arrows are said to exhibit a small space between notch and lashing. Among the Šavajé, however, I also obtained arrows with the Karajá winding; perhaps this

[Text continues on p. 190]

/270 cont./

411 goes back to the lively interchange between the two peoples.
283 The winding consists of parallel circuits; only the uppermost layers show deviations through a crossing of the threads (Ill. 120 a-i). According to Kuriŝĭ, four cross-threads are supposed to be characteristic for the Karajá, two cross-threads for the Tapirapé. I did not find this remark confirmed; rather, there was a positively magnificent wealth of the most diverse crossings. The arrows with the two cross-threads (Ill. 121b) and the differently executed notch windings in Ill. 121 h, i, however, were present in the village on the Tapirapé mouth.



Ill. 121.
Notch winding of the arrows.

Ill. 122.
Club groover.

Apparently these windings are the insignia of the makers of the arrows; for upon being questioned about the latter, foreign Karajá always examined the notch-end. I could not find out anything more specific about this, however, especially not whether each individual had his particular mark or whether families (or totem groups?) made specific marks which were the same for all members.

411 The notch (dõnăwŭdŭlõnă) is not cut in very deep and is slightly diagonal. In the case of a few arrows, two little red /271/ feathers are tied into the notch winding and project in the back, beyond the end (Ill. 119c). According to the statement of the Indians, they serve to send off the arrow more easily and do not tire the hand so much. /

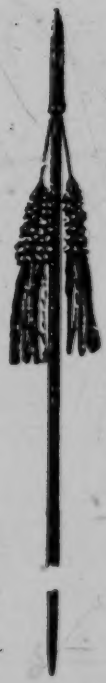
/272 cont./

411 [237] [284] The point is formed by a sharpened thigh bone of the jaguar; /Pl. 56 appears here/ /273/ it is about 20 centimeters long. Where it is mounted on the shaft, the latter is wound for about ten centimeters with red cotton string, from the upper circuits of which long tassels of arara feathers hang down. To

Ill. 123.
Club.

Ill. 124.
Club with plaiting around the handle end.

Ill. 125.
Child's club.
Karajá.



Ill. 126.
Lance.

411 285 To this winding is joined below a patterned plaiting which consists of yellow longitudinal strips of taquara interwoven crosswise all [531] around with strips of embira. The plaiting is 50-80 centimeters long; its ornaments are the common plaited ornaments (1).

[113] 1. See my article, "Die Kunst der Karajá-Indianer /The Art of the Karajá Indians/," Bässler Archiv, Vol. II, No. 1, 1911.

[Text continues on p. 195]

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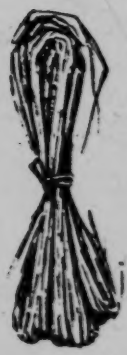
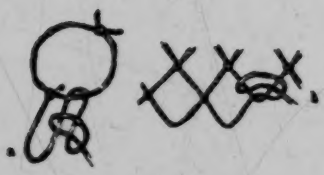


Ill. 135.
Bunch of buriti fibers.



Ill. 136 a, b.
Net knots.

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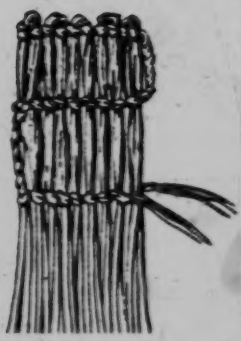
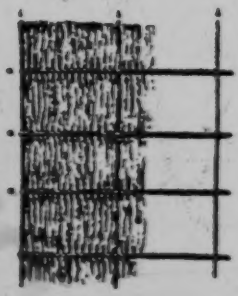


Ill. 137.
Sample of sleeping-mat plaiting.



Ill. 138.
Schema of the sleeping mat
a) weft,
b) stiffening cords.

/288 cont./

286 is knotted in such a way that the knots come in the center of the length of the mesh. The meshes of the second and subsequent rows are hooked into those of the preceding one and knotted on their lower end. The method of the knot formation is shown in Ill. 136 a, b.

285 For knotting the large sleeping and sitting mats, untwisted
284 buriti bast-fibers are used. These are laid side by side in bunches and these bunches are wound alternately with two twisted bast-fiber strings, so that a continuous weft runs from side to side. On the edge the two strings are twisted together, led along the edge for about three and a half centimeters, and then again plaited through the bunches. Thus, one /Plate 58 appears here/ /289/ weft runs through the whole mat. (See the sample plaiting, Ill. 137 /see p. 217/.) At greater intervals, every 10-20 centimeters, a twisted bast string runs between the bunches and parallel to them, in order to give the mat more firmness (b in Ill. 138). The weft does not start at the end of the mat and is not led through to the other end; rather, on both of the narrow sides the ends of
285 the bunches remain free as fringe. Such mats in large dimensions are used to make the protective walls and protective roofs, as well as sleeping and sitting mats. Smaller mats are carried by pregnant women; they are put around the lower body and held together in front with the hands. I never saw small mats patterned with black embira threads as an underlayer for the feet during the continuous standing on the hot sandbanks, such as Ehrenreich describes (Berlin 3907; "Beiträge," p. 21). I obtained a patterned sleeping mat, however, the design of which was made by plaiting in black-colored bast strips (Ill. 22).

Small carrying-sacks (masi) are made in the same way as these mats; the bottoms of these are sometimes plaited cross-shaped (Pl. 57, Ills. 5, 6). The edge is reinforced; the carrying-band likewise consists of buriti bast-fibers.

28 The division of labor in ropemaking and knotting is such
462 that the making of the fiber material is usually incumbent on the women, whereas the twisting of the cords is practiced by men and women, but is usually done only as needed. The knotting of the

[TEXT Continues on p. 220]

/299 cont./

237 284 [314] Fastening of the feathers to the underlayer. Down feathers are generally glued on, and, to be sure, with light resin. All other feathers are fastened differently according to the underlayer.

On rods. Long feathers are either stuck on with the quill on top of the wooden rod (feather wheels) or laid with the halved quill flat on the wooden rod, in which case quill and rod are joined at several places with fine bast (Ill. 154). Concerning arrow feathering, see above under "Weapons" /see pp. 183 ff./.

In order to fasten small little feathers, wide strips of cane are wound spirally with fine thread, whereby the small feathers are tied in in one direction (feather rod; Ill. 155a). Round rods are likewise spirally wound, and while doing so feathers are continuously bound in on all sides /300/ (rosette rod; Ill. 155b). The same principle is applied in the case of ear rosettes and ear tulips, except that there the winding is very tight and the feathers stand very close together; the latter are also spread out by means of the shell disk pressed on top of them; the same is true of the small rosettes which are knotted into the feather caps, except that here everything is done on the smallest scale.

In the fastening to threads, we must distinguish between the feathers standing vertically and the hanging /Ills. 154-156 appear here/ feathers. In order to fasten feathers standing vertically to a string, the quills are bent at the bottom around a thicker string and then the bent end and the quill are wound with a cotton thread. There are differences only in the manner of winding. Either each feather is fastened separately (as in the feather caps, Ill. 77), or one thread joins the feathers continuously in that it is either wound once around each feather or is tied around each feather /301/ (Ill. 156), or, finally, in that the thread is wrapped or tied continuously twice around each feather (Ill. 154).

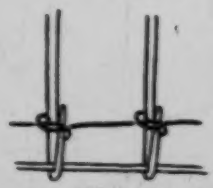
Hanging feathers are fastened to the thread in the same way as the upright feathers; the mutual joining of the individual feathers is achieved throughout by a continuous thread that is wound around the feathers.

/301 cont./

237 284 As in the case of the rosette rods, thick cotton strings are also sometimes wound around spirally, and feathers are continuously tied on.

The fastening of the feathers among themselves is peculiar. Feathers of the same size are either united in bunches which are made by joining two feathers at the bottom by the quills, and the

Ill. 154.
Tying on the long feathers of the feather wheels to the wooden rods.



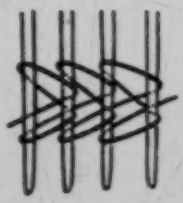
Ill. 156.
Fastening the feathers side by side by means of a continuous string.

Ill. 155 a, b.
a) Feather rod.
b) Rosette rod.

threads of a number of such feather pairs are tied together into a bundle, /Ills. 157 and 158 appear here/ or by arranging them side by side (see above, feathers fastened to threads , as well as in Ill. 157 /see p. 236/, the joining of the feathers for storage wings [Pl. 58, Ill. 8 a, b]). Sometimes these feathers are joined halfway up by a thread which is drawn from quill to quill (Ill. 154).

/301 cont./

Smaller feathers are popularly fastened to larger ones. They are attached to the upper end of the large feather by the removal of the upper vane so that a piece of the quill remains standing; this quill end is coated with resin, and the small feathers are glued on it and wound. This winding is often covered further with white down feathers glued on it or with white raw cotton wrapped around it. It is especially popular to cover the lower quill ends of upright tall feathers with small feathers. In this case, the ends of the quills are wound spirally, whereby the little covering-feathers are tied in on the front side. 237 284



Ill. 157. Joining the feathers of the storage wing.

Ill. 158 a-d. Mountings of the pendant feathers: a) in small fruit, b) in Thevetia fruit, c) snail shell, d) in claw.

Frequently feathers are mounted in fruits, claws, etc., by having a thread drawn through the latter, at the end of which the small feathers are tied as a small cluster (Ill. 158 a-d).

/302/ Feathers (on feather caps) are sometimes reinforced by sewing together two halved feathers by means of a spiral winding with fine threads, in which case, however, the upper ends of the feathers are kept in complete form and overlap each other. The seam is then not visible from the front (Ill. 159).

With regard to the grouping of the feathers, the general rule is that the lower ends must be covered. Hence almost everywhere we find covering layers in the form of smaller feathers which are 237

/360 cont./

411 arrows with angular wooden points, which were in part colored red, with wooden knob tips (dŏbōlă), the knob of which was up to four centimeters thick (Ill. 195c), with bamboo-blade points on a separate wooden intermediate rod, with round bone points which are fastened to a wooden insert colored red on the lower part, and with ray-spine points. Especially noteworthy for the Šavajé are the ray-spine points and the arrows with the red-colored intermediate stem. The length of the arrows amounts to 130-160 centimeters; the fish arrows are the longest. The winding with [284] black embira at the place where the point is inserted in the shaft is of one to three parts and popularly shows a spiral binding between the individual parts (Ill. 195a). The feathered end is formed analogously to that of the Karajá arrows (Ill. 195b). Its upper winding generally consists of black cotton yarn, into which are usually tied little yellow, seldom red, feathers. (In the case of the Karajá, the situation is exactly reversed.) [531] Among the Šavajé, too, the intermediate part between the feathers is decorated with rings and bands of red lacquer, which usually are arranged in two groups. The notch lashing, usually white, is only rarely colored red. On the basis of my specimens, [284] I cannot confirm Kurisť's statement that the Šavajé arrows are recognizable by the notch lashing, which does not quite reach as far as the notch; on these, the lashing always reaches as far as the notch. In the arrangement of this lashing we again find the Karajá types, /Pl. 61 appears here/ /361/ but in simpler form. I did not see little end feathers in connection with the Šavajé arrows.

[184] The clubs (gŏhŏrdĕ), like the Karajá clubs, are grooved only halfway, but differ from the latter by the fact that the intermediate piece on the handle end bears more than three grooves [531] (four or five) (1) (Ill. 196b). In one specimen, as ornamentation

1. Cf. Karajá, club handles /see pp. 191-193/.

within the grooving, two narrow bands with incised points diametrically opposite each other have been left standing (Ill. 196a).

[Text Continues on P. 326]

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

as a reserve, are kept wound around the bow. The Karayá take great pride in their bows, ornamenting them beautifully with tassels of brilliant feathers. 411 [531]

They use several different styles of arrows. Some are harpoon-like for fishing purposes; others are made with broad blades for hunting; while still others are for use in war. They are all made with the utmost care, as much as one or two days being consumed in the making of but one. Two or three different kinds of wood are always used in constructing a single arrow, one kind being for the spear, or lance part, another kind—heavy palm wood—for the middle staff, and light bamboo wood for the base, and all are spliced and bound together with the greatest nicety by means of long, narrow strips of bark taken from certain climbers, and finally, the weapon is burnished. It is about four feet in length. [461] [824] [284]

The weapons used for fighting at close quarters, which is the method of warfare liked best, are heavy clubs and lances. The clubs are of two kinds—first, shovel-like clubs and round clubs, resembling base-ball bats, varying in length from three to four and a half feet. The lances are nine or ten feet in length, the shaft being of palm wood, and the point, the shin-bone of the spotted *onca*—jaguar—or of a deer. A beautiful, basket-like work of black and white wooden strips is woven, or braided, tightly over the shaft of the spear, and to this is attached tassels of brilliant plumage. The Karayá have spear-throwing sticks, but I understand they are no longer used in war, but for sport only. The contrivance is a long strip of wood so formed that it can be used, sling-like to hurl a spear. In common with all the savage tribes of South America, the weapons, implements, ornaments and ceremonial instruments are all made by the men of the Karayá, while the women make only the household utensils. [726] [824] [237] [531] 462 171

The Karayá housewife, therefore, makes several styles of pots and pans; but pottery has not yet reached a very high degree of perfection with this tribe for the forms are simple and crude. They do not make pots in the form of natural objects as do the tribes of the Xingú river. Utility, and this 323

9:Gow-Smith T-5 (no date) 1925
SP9 Caraja SP9
Cayapo SP11

skilfully feathered at the end. The arrowheads are fastened to eighteen-inch foreshafts of hard-wood tipped with bone, fitted in three- to four-foot bamboo shafts and bound in place with the strong cord that the native women spin from wild cotton. The binding is firmly cemented with a kind of resin. Long needle-like arrows tipped with hard-wood are for shooting birds; the sharp bamboo tips curved hollowly are for deer and jaguars, for they permit the wounded animal

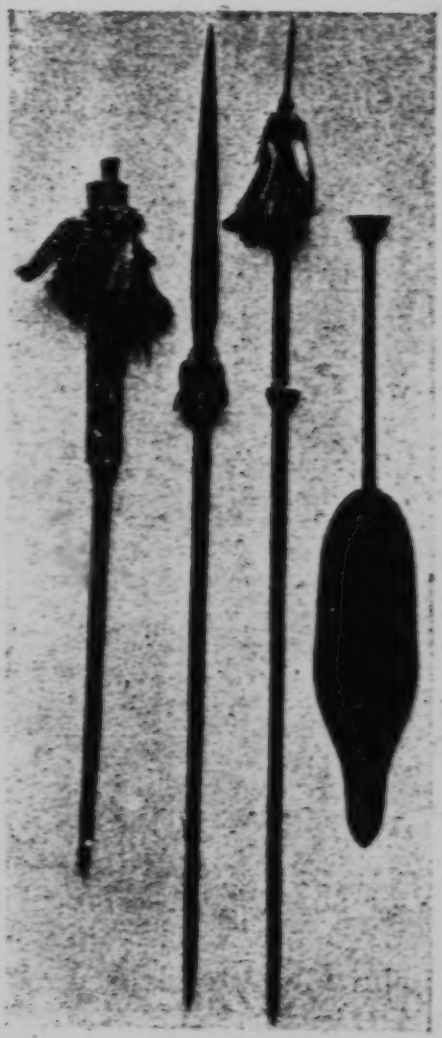


FIG. 98.—Caraja objects (grave-post, two spears, and a paddle)

1:Lipkind E-5 (1937) 1948 SP9 Caraja SP9

Basketry.—The *Carajá* excel in the variety and solidity of their plaitwork, which includes burden baskets, strainers, shoulder bags, bottles, elliptical feather cases, and boat-shaped containers for suspension. Twilling and twining are the dominant techniques (pl. 22). 285

Textiles.—The *Carajá* produce some taffetalike fabrics, but in 1775 Pinto da Fonseca found them using cotton solely for fish nets and bowstrings, so that he himself introduced a loom and taught the women how to work it. 286 177

Featherwork.—In contrast to their *Ge* neighbors of Eastern Brazil, the *Carajá* are outstanding for featherwork. They make wide-meshed and close-meshed caps with feathers tied to the intersection of the interlaced splints and arranged into rosettes, diadems of feathers stuck into radially mounted cane tubes, and other types of ornaments (pl. 21). 287

Axes.—Stone axes figure in old *Carajá* petroglyphs and have been found by many travelers in the area. They were used for adzing, chopping, and warfare, and as chief's badges. Iron axes have rapidly replaced them. 412 172

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412
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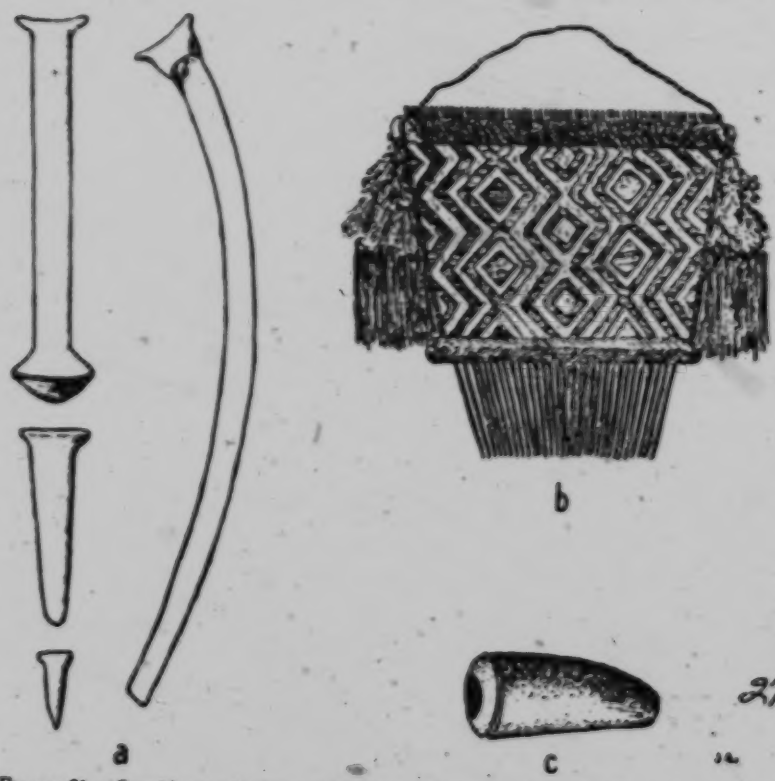

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FIGURE 21.—*Carajá* manufactures. *a*, Labrets; *b*, comb; *c*, pipe. (Approximately ⅓ actual size.) (Redrawn from Ehrenreich, 1891 b, figs. 2, 9, and 4.)

1:Lipkind E-5 (1937) 1948 SP9 Caraja SP9

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PLATE 22.—Carajá paddles, gourds, and basketry. (After Ehrenreich, 1891 b.)

[End Plate 2]

/3 cont./

a) Plaiting with Caguassu Pinnae

(Plate I) 1

*532 285

In plaiting the form is most strongly dependent on the material, which during the plaiting makes all kinds of bends and angles, and these are adapted only with difficulty to the form to be represented. The artist cannot create so freely as, for example, in clay or wax. Therefore if a figure coming very close to the natural form is achieved with plaiting, this must be acknowledged as very high artistic skill.

The Karajá Indians are basically good plaiters; all their baskets, mats, and the plaiting around objects are neatly and tastefully executed. It is therefore not surprising that they have also reached a high level in plaiting figures. It is to be noted in [462] this connection that the /4/ plaiting of figures is practiced only by the male sex, just as only the objects plaited by men show patterns, whereas all the plaited work produced by women is unpatterned.

*532 285 123 The plaited figures described below were made by boys and youths as a pastime, in part before my eyes and on their own initiative. Thus, for example, I obtained those of the Šavajé when we were holding a conversation hour in the evening by the mask hut, and I, in order to stimulate the people, pulled a leaf pinna from my sitting-mat and began to plait. Scarcely had I begun than the young people immediately followed my example and produced for me a great number of interesting figures.

*532 285 [17] The method of plaiting is in part the one customary among us. For example, figures such as the small basket (Fig. 1 /see p. 47 /) and the honeycombs (Fig. 2 /see p.47 /) are also made in our kindergartens.

The reproductions of the rattlesnake (Fig. 3 /see p.47/), the tobacco pipe (Fig. 4 /see p.47 /), and the very accomplished representations of birds (Fig. 5 a and b /see p.47 /), however, are already more complicated.

1 [see p. 47--Analyst]

/4 cont./

*532 Procreation and the genital organs play a large role in the
● 285 thought world of the Indians. Thus it is not surprising to find
P31 representations of the sexual parts also. They are conscientiously affixed everywhere, on dolls, wax figures, tree and sand drawings. The male youth, above all, delight in such representations, in all harmlessness, and especially enjoy reproducing the penis in plaited work. Fig. 6 /see p.47 / represents such a penis. It was characteristic of the harmlessness of the people that, when I asked what this was supposed to be, a woman who happened to be present held out a wax cylinder of a small doll, about 30 centimeters in length, as a penis.

*532 The meaning of the following figures of the Savajé is un-
285 known: Fig. 7 (djēdjá) /see p.47 /, Fig. 8 (dālá, kōdié, probably representing the black vulture (urubu)) /see p. 47 /, Fig. 9 (idjōlié, a very elegant piece of work; the method of production of this puzzling figure is unkown to me /see p. 47/), Fig. 10 /see p. 47 /, and Fig. 11 a and b (kōdōdí or inauin; a, position of rest; b, tensed) /see p. 47 /. This last figure is plaited like the preceding ones, but in such a way that the leaf ribs form one edge. If one pulls on the part of the leaf stalk which projects out free at the bottom of the plaiting, then the upper tip makes nodding movements.

*532 b) Wood carvings.

(Plate II) 1/A

[462] only rarely encountered and likewise made by men, are somewhat less dependent on the material. The form can therefore already be better reproduced.

I obtained only one wooden doll (Fig. 12 /see p. 48 /), which represents a maiden. It is made out of a /Fig. 14 a and b and Fig. 15 appear here/ 2/A forked piece of wood in such a way that the forked twigs form the two legs, and the trunk forms the body. Arms are thus absent and are not painted on either. The head is set off, nose and forehead are carved in relief, eyes and mouth

1/A [see p. 48--Analyst]
2/A [Figs. 14a & b & 15 appear on p. 7--Analyst]

/11 cont./

*532 on the nose slightly in relief. The tattooing is cut in as a small circle. The apron is reproduced in bast. The necklaces on two are made of bast, on the third of cotton. All three wear cuffs of cotton thread, which is wound around the arm between two raised rolls of wax. Likewise, all three wear ear rods. The shapes are thus reproduced fairly proportionately. The fashioning of the chin, the arms and legs, hands and feet is particularly good. Gentle reminders of the schematic representation of the clay figures are found in the formation of the fat buttocks and the stomach plate.

Other human figures are a rider and a gourd figure.

The rider (Fig. 67 /see p. 51 /) is represented very true to life. On the horse the head and tail /12/ are depicted, the legs supplied by long sticks. The rider has long cylindrical arms and legs; hands and feet are lacking; the head is offset. The lower body and legs are wrapped with raw cotton as trousers. At his belt he carries a sword and revolver, in both arms the gun ready to fire, all fashioned in wax.

The gourd figure (Fig. 68 /see p. 51 /), which represents a youth, is formed in most peculiar fashion. The torso consists [124] of a small round gourd, on the top of which a well-fashioned wax head is placed. On the head are attached a topknot, a braid wound with red thread, ear rosettes, and necklaces of cotton thread. /Figs. 69 and 70 appear here./ 2/1

*532 535 I would like to add here the reproduction of masked dancers. Masked dances resting on an animistic foundation take place [122] among the Karajá particularly in the rainy season (from October to April). Dance masks are used for this, and for the most part they represent animals. These masks are either plaited out of [125] [124] palm leaves and conceal the whole form of the dancer, or they [123] consist of a cane cylinder with a brightly colored mosaic of feathers stuck on, which is put on the head. The face is concealed by a covering attached to the lower edge of the cylinder; a leaf covering is tied around the shoulders and hips, so that of the dancer only the feet and the hands with the dance rattle are

2/1 [see p. 21 -- Analyst]

/12 cont./

The two other figures of masks are known only in these reproductions. Fig. 71 represents the ïoonï mask which in its natural form has the shape of a triangular paper-screw about two meters high and consists entirely of palm-leaf plaiting. On the front, above the lower edge, there are two holes through which the arms are inserted when dancing. In the reproduction the body consists of a wax roll to which two rolls are attached at the bottom as legs. The covering is made from a piece of maize leaf, bent at the top and stuck together with wax at the front; another maize leaf sticks up on the back and ends in a long point. The arms

532*
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RAS

Fig. 71. Reproduction of the ïoonï mask in wax.

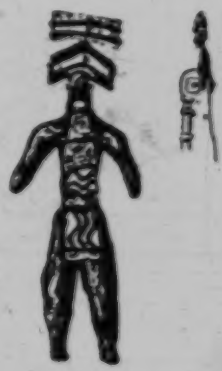

Fig. 72. Reproduction of the inauinï mask in wax.

are of wax; they are attached to the maize leaf, and thus the arm holes are not reproduced.

The ináuinï mask (Fig. 72) has no mask costume, but instead a patterned headdress at the back of the head. A long, wide, brightly painted leaf-strip, patterned with rolls of wax, hangs down from the chin; it evidently represents a painted lip plug.

/23 cont./

531 whereas in general they did not recognize the figures and drawings created from free imagination, but asked me first what the latter were supposed to mean. Thus, these are well-established, apparently very old decorations.

We find the decorations plaited on fans and baskets, on the handles of crotchet needles, on lances, clubs, bows, arrows, rattles, combs; carved on whole- and half-gourd containers, gourd rattles, ear rods; pictured by poker work on gourd ladles and small gourds, and by color on gourd ladles.

[442] All these objects are made by the men; they are the bearers of this art. The women, too, sometimes decorate objects made by them, such as mats, spinning whorls, bast aprons. The patterns, however, in general differ from those of the men. Re-
[177] cently the women have gone over to decorating tobacco pipes and clay vessels under Brazilian influence; the decorations used for this, however, are quite alien, probably taken over from the Brazilians.

531 The patterns with which the Indians paint their bodies
302 have nothing in common with plaiting patterns. The patterns sometimes painted on the thighs appear similar to the plaiting patterns; they are probably connected with the masked dances
[535] at which we find similar decorations, usually depicting animals, on the cylinder masks and bask aprons.

531 The animal patterns are not line patterns, but surface
[285] patterns; thus, in plaiting, the strips plaited in one direction represent the pattern; in the same way, in the sketches, it is not the lines which stand for the pattern, but the surfaces enclosed by them. This follows from the fact that in the case of carved patterns these surfaces are in relief or indented, but in any case contrasted as surfaces from the background; in the same way in the sketches the surfaces are sometimes set off by dots or dashes. Only it is difficult in this case to decide which of the surfaces represents the background and which the pattern; here only inquiry among the Indians helps. For the characteristic features do not penetrate our awareness at all, accustomed as we are to seeing such patterns in terms of lines and not surfaces.

/23 cont./

531 In some patterns I was successful in separating pattern and back-
[128] ground from each other; others still await satisfactory investiga-
tion.

531 These patterns are made in the following manner. On
285 baskets, fans, etc., they are produced simply through different,
diagonal plaiting of the leaf pinnae. For plaiting around some-
thing with yellow cane and black embira, the black embira is
plaited horizontally in spirals through the strips of cane hanging
531 down vertically. Carved decorations are made with the knife;
322 the latter is then held almost vertically to the surface to be
carved, and /24/ in this way small pieces of the upper layer are
chipped off broadside with the point. Finer and deeper lines are
carved out naturally. In poker work a splinter of cane is used
as the cautery, which is made to glow on an adjacent block of
wood and then quickly pressed on the spot concerned. This is,
[412] of course, very slow work, which is practiced almost exclusively
[517] by the male sex, apparently only for fun.

531 The Indians always drew the patterns in the sketchbook on
[153] their own initiative. When they had barely drawn some figures,
they would already go over to the patterns. Many refused to draw
figures altogether, but just treated themselves to making patterns.
531 Now it was extremely interesting to observe how the people ar-
151 ranged the patterns. As an example I shall take the one in Fig.
199 (Plate X /see p. 56 /). First of all the space was divided up
by four vertical lines according to exact calculation. The Indians
sitting nearby already knew which decoration the artist wanted to
draw, without the latter saying anything. Then each new line to
be drawn was discussed in detail beforehand, criticized afterwards.
Thus, the sketch was put together as a common task. During this
the lines, once the people were completely clear about direction
531 and length, were drawn with a quick sure stroke. It should further
151 be noted that the Indians had observed how I wrote my remarks
153 about artist and pattern on the edge of the page, and now on
their own initiative they left a narrow margin free on one side, as
I ascertained through questions, so that I could write on it. They

/24 cont./

531 first bordered off this part; then they divided up the rest of the
151 space. Of course, not all of them calculated so skillfully;
153 there were some among them who were very clumsy, managed no straight line, and never quite succeeded with complicated patterns. (Plate XI /see p.57 /, Fig. 202b.)

531 About the arrangement of the patterns, it is to be noted that on baskets and fans they are restricted to the middle zone, but on plaiting around something they extend over the whole plaiting. Half-gourds are almost always completely carved, usually with four vertical zones set off, which show patterns differing in part. The edge is set off by special patterns on only a very few examples. Whole gourds bear carved patterns, each according to its purpose; gourds for oil are decorated only on the upper part around the opening, gourds for feathers over the whole surface, rattles likewise, but in a vertical zone arrangement or in individual vertical stripes. Ear rods are decorated only on the front part. On half-gourds poker-work covers the edge, vertical or horizontal zones, or the whole curved upper surface; on whole gourds, the upper part, the whole surface, or two symmetrically positioned zones.

531 285 1. Patterns borrowed from the plaiting technique (Plates VII-XI)[1]

we know from all the plaited objects and objects with plaiting around them, then as they are transferred in carving to gourd utensils and gourd rattles, and finally as sketchbook drawings. The meaning of the patterns was obtained only with difficulty. Either the Indians called them hõdjũdjũ = plaiting, or they gave names for which a translation could not be obtained. Only for a few could they give the Brazilian term.

1. Horizontal zigzag lines; dũlĕhã̄lõkõ, the bat. As a carved pattern on gourds it was also called õdãbŭlã (cf. Ehrenreich, "Beiträge," Fig. 11b). Found in plaiting, on combs (Fig. 184a

[1] [see pp. 53-57 -- Analyst]

/24 cont./ Found in plaiting, on combs (Fig. 184a) /see p.53 /), crotchet needles, arrow (Fig. 184b /see p. 53 /), bow, carved on the signal horn (Fig. 184c$_{1,2}$ /see p.53 /; c$_2$ represents a rubbing from the carved end). It is probably derived from the simple basket plaiting pattern as the center part of the basket in Fig. 184d /see p. 53/ shows. Fig. 184e /see p.53 / represents the artistic reproduction. Perhaps the lance pattern in Fig. 184f /see p.53 / is a further development of it. /Plates I-XI appear here./

/25/ 2. Vertical zigzag line (according to Ehrenreich, "Beiträge," Fig. 11c, the rattlesnake). Only found plaited on combs, lances, clubs, and rattle handles (Fig. 185 a and b /see p. 54 /). Further developments are to be found in the lance plaiting (Fig. 185c /see p. 54/) and the comb plaiting (Fig. 185d /see p. 54 /). It probably arose from the basket plaiting pattern, as the edge strips of the basket in Fig. 184d.

3. A pattern of unknown meaning present on a lance plaiting (Fig. 186a /see p. 54 /). The negative of it is similar to the sketchbook pattern (Fig. 186b /see p. 54 /) called dogfish (lǎdǎ), the developments of which are reproduced in Fig. 186 c and d /see p. 54/.

4. Patterns of unknown meaning, occurring as plaiting patterns on combs (Fig. 187 a$_{1,2}$ /see p. 54 /) (1), lances,

1. On combs both sides are almost always reproduced (marked 1 and 2).

club-sticks (Fig. 187b /see p. 54 /), crotchet-needle handles; as carving patterns on gourd rattles and whole gourds (Fig. 187c /see p. 54 /).

5. This pattern is perhaps a development of the previous one, produced by the side attachment of hooks to the ends of the bars (Fig. 188 /see p.54 /).

6. The urubu pattern (lǎlǎdjǎ). It occurs plaited on a club-stick (Fig. 189a /see p. 55 /) and on a drawing (Fig. 189b /see p.55 /). This representation goes back to the way /Fig. 206 appears here/ in which the urubu customarily sits on the sand

[see p. 58 -- Analyst]

[Text continues on p. 58]

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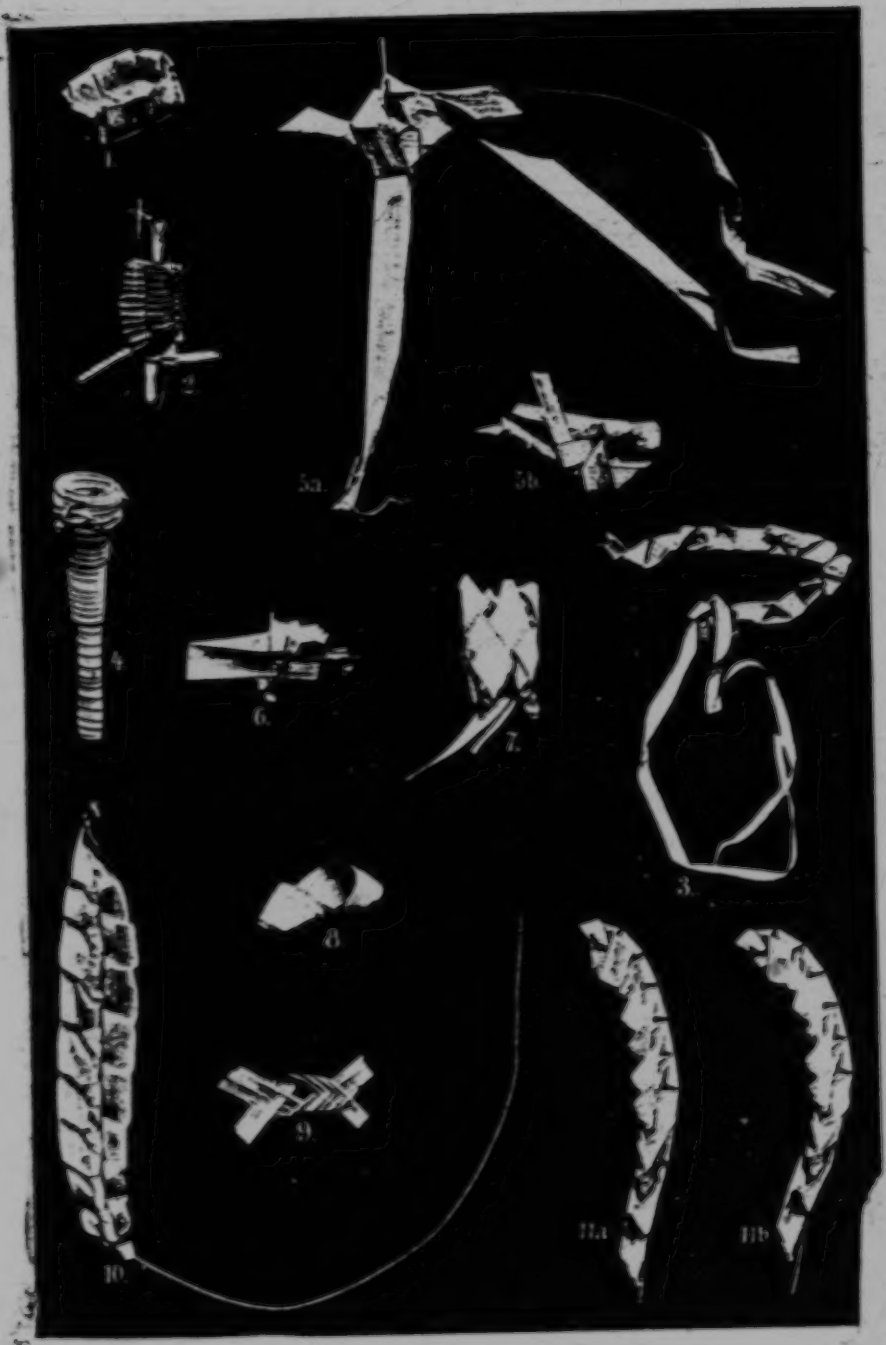
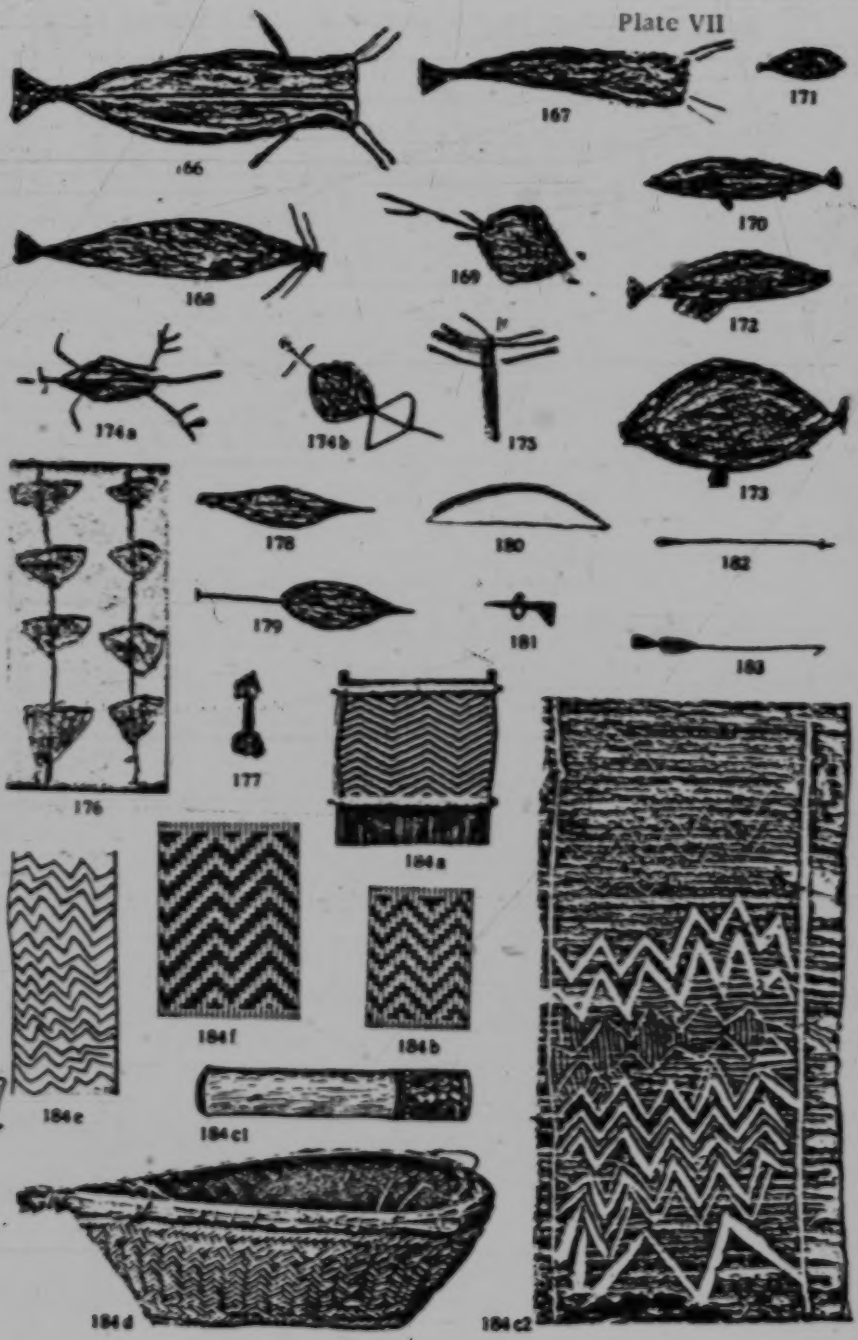
Plate I

*532
285



*532

Plate VII



531
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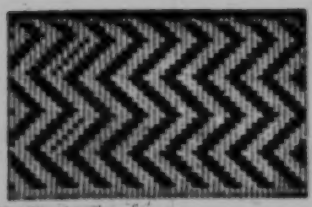
[412]

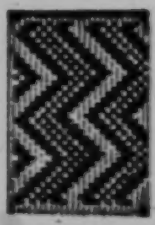
[534]

531/285

Plate VIII



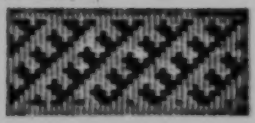
185 b



185 c

185 d

185 a



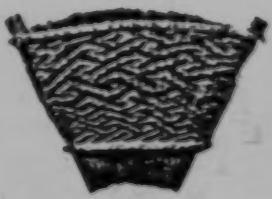
186 a

186 d

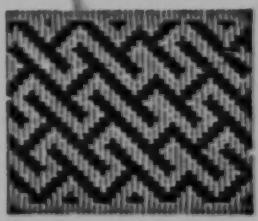
186 b

186 c

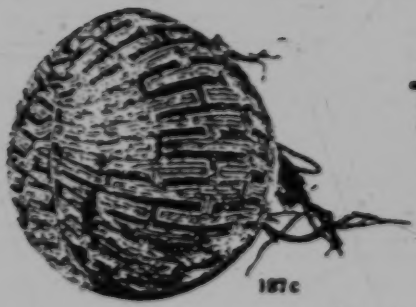
187 a1



187 a2



187 b

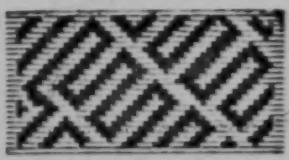


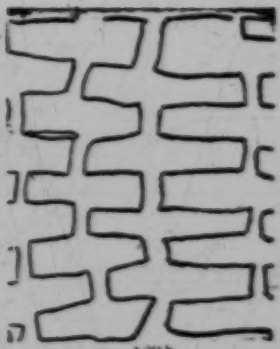
187 c

188 a1

188 a2

Plate IX


189a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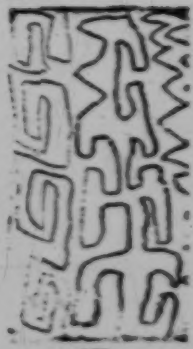
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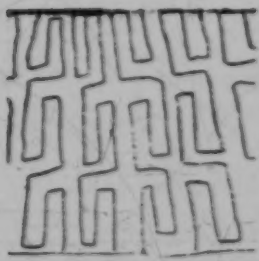
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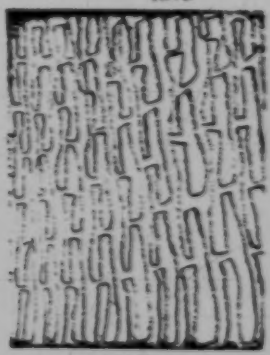
189f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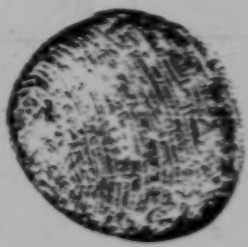
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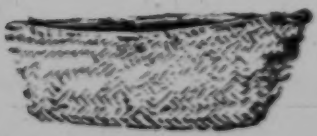
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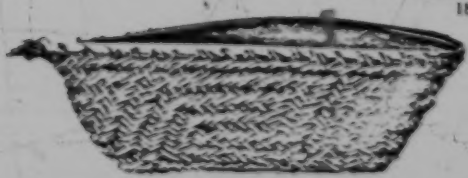
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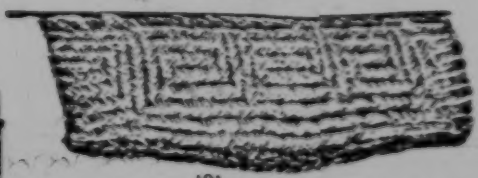
190d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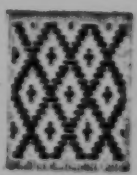
190e

193

192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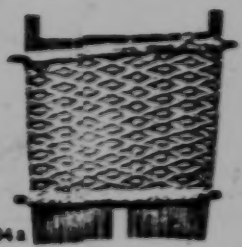
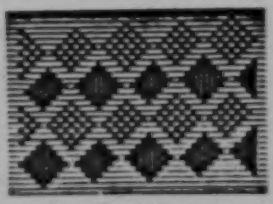

194a

Plate X

531
785

195 a1

195 a2


195 b

195 c

195 d1

195 d2

195 e1

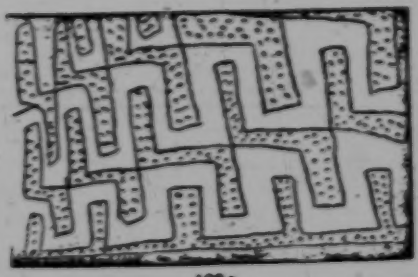
196 a1

196 a2

195 e2

197 a1

197 a2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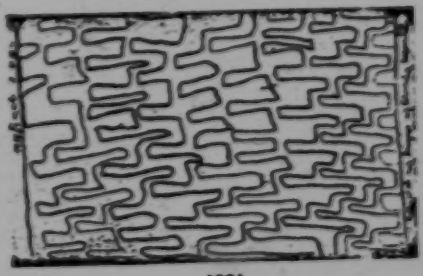
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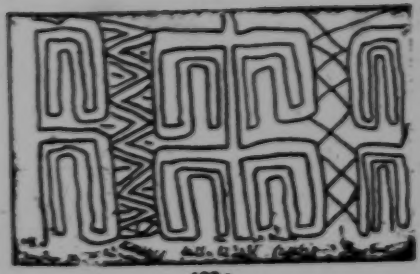
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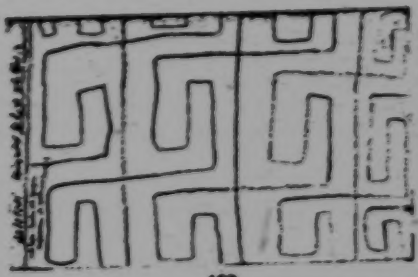
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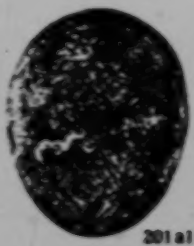
Plate XI

531
265
[534]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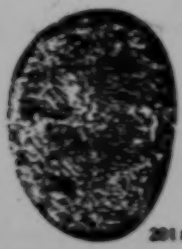
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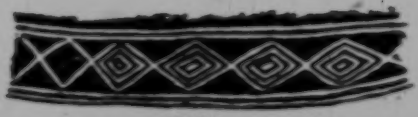
200 a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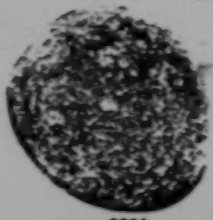
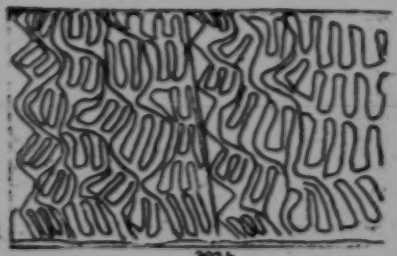
201 b2


200 b

201 c1

201 c2

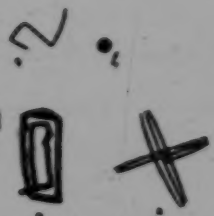

202 b

[534]

202 a

203 a

203 b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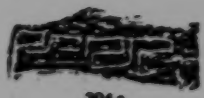
204 a

/25 cont./

531/285 with outspread wings, not unlike the Austrian double eagle. It is further developed by hooks attached vertically to the side bars; see the drawing in Fig. 189c /see p. 55/ and the carving on the half-gourd in Fig. 189d /see p. 55/. It should be noted here that I received other names for this decoration in simple line execution without the counterpart of two corresponding continuous lines; the decoration in Fig. 189e /see p. 55/ was also called kadã

[415]

Fig. 206 a-d. Oil gourds, carved.

blĕhĕ, hãdõ, and tõmã, the simple serrated pattern (Fig. 189f /see p. 55/) õlĩõmaudĩ.

7. Serrated patterns õãõã = gavião. Found plaited on baskets (Fig. 190a /see p. 55/), carved on gourds (see Fig. 204a /see p. 57/). The sketch reproduction which follows singly and with counterpart (Fig. 190b /see p. 55/), was also called dũbõtẽ. The basket pattern (Fig. 190c /see p. 55/) is similar; the basket patterns in Fig. 190 d and e /see p. 55/ are further developments.

8. The meander, also called ãõã, is found plaited on baskets and fans (Fig. 191 /see p. 55/), carved on rattles (Plate VI /see p. 52/, Fig. 105). The sketch reproduction is given by the left pattern in Fig. 189c.

9. Small spirals. Basket patterns (Fig. 192 /see p. 55/).

10. Spirals standing on the tips. Comb pattern (Fig. 193 /see p. 55/).

11. Pattern of unknown meaning; found plaited on combs (Fig. 194a /see p. 55/), crotchet needles (Fig. 194b /see p. 55/), and bows.

/25 cont./

53/ 12. The pattern probably represents a snake. It is exemplified as a comb pattern (Fig. 195a /see p. 56/). On a crotchet needle (Fig. 195b /see p. 56/), it is present in two varieties, one of which designates the dorsal design, the other the ventral design, on the sucuriu /anaconda/ snake (leĭ). Developments of the decoration are the same pattern (Fig. 195c /see p. 56/and the two comb /26/ patterns of the Šavajé (Fig. 195 d and e /see p. 56/). Similar decorations are illustrated by Ehrenreich in his "Beiträge," namely, in Fig. 11a as a wasp's nest, in Fig. 11c as a caninanha snake. /Fig. 207 appears here./

13. Comb pattern of unknown meaning (Fig. 196 /see p. 56 /).

14. Snake pattern (according to Ehrenreich, "Beiträge," Fig. 11d); represented as a comb decoration (Fig. 197 /see p. 56/).

15. There were delivered to me as plaiting patterns a few other sketches, the originals of which I never saw in plaiting. They all portray the tail of the coati (tšusŏn-hālālū) (Fig. 198 a, b, and c /see p. 56/).

531 I must add here several patterns which may have arisen from the plaiting technique, but which the Indians did not designate for me as plaiting patterns. They are found as carved decorations and drawings.

16. dūlālĭdĭ (Fig. 199) /see p. 56/).

[534] 17. kŏdūnĭ = tartaruga /Chelonia/. Found on rattles (Fig. 200a /see p. 57/) and on half-gourds (Fig. 200b /see p. 57/).

18. kŏdūbōnăblōlōdĕ = river turtle. As a filled-in surface found on half-gourds (Fig. 201a /see p. 57/) and rattles, arranged in a row as rim patterns of a half-gourd (Fig. 201b$_{1,2}$ /see p. 57 /). Further developed on the gourd rattle (Plate VI /see p. 52 /, Fig. 105) and in the Šavajé comb (Fig. 201c /see p. 57 /). /Figs. 208 and 209 appear here./

19. ālĭwă = pacu /Prochilodus/ fish. Square standing on the point (Fig. 198c /see p. 56/).

20. Gourd pattern of unknown meaning (Fig. 202a /see p. 57/), with which /Figs. 210-212 and 214 appear here/ the artist in question, as a result of the difficulty of the pattern and in

2 [see p. 60 -- Analyst]

[Text continues on p. 61]

/27 cont./

531 horizontal sectioning (Fig. 210a to c /see p. 60/), vertical sectioning (Fig. 211a and b /see p. 60/).

3. The half-gourds and whole gourds decorated by painting have a quite different character.

[415] Only one gourd ladle colored with paint is found (Fig. 212 /see p. 60/). It shows a black edge, simple zigzag line, and a cross in the middle.

/28/ All the others show poker work. Fig. 213 (Plate XI /see p. 57/) represents the first attempt at this by a small girl. The gourd ladles are very diversely decorated. The edge has a row of triangles (Fig. 214 /see p. 60/), or tree-like branched figures usually extend from it toward the center (Fig. 215 a to c /see p. 62/). /Fig. 221 appears here. /2/A The patterns in Fig. 216 a to c /see p. 62/ are arranged in horizontal strips, in Fig. 217 /see p. 62/ in vertical strips. In Fig. 218 a and b /see p. 62/ the whole surface is filled in with one pattern, in Fig. 219 /see p. 62/ with different patterns. Plaiting patterns are represented only in Figs. 216c and 219. Whole gourds are either decorated only on the upper part (Fig. 220 /see p. 62/), or in a central zone reaching around them (Fig. 221 a to c /see p. 64/; b and c with three parts), or only on two opposite sides (Fig. [415] 222 a and b /see p. 64/). The water-carrying vessel of the Šavajé (in Fig. 223 /see p. 64/) shows very crude poker work.

531 462 [512] [173] 4. The artistic activity of the women is quite different from this of the men. It is very rare and in part has been taken over from the Brazilians. The women do not use the patterns of the men. It must be said that the women stand far behind /Figs. 222-224 appear here/2/A the men artistically; for although they also plait and make pottery, they decorate their products only in the rarest cases. Homemade decorations are found on a mat, the apron of a clay doll, and on spinning whorls. The mat 531 [415] (Fig. 224 /see p. 64/) is patterned by plaiting in bundles of black-dyed fibers in the fashion illustrated. One sees immediately that on the right the upper pattern is the negative of the lower one. On the doll's apron (Plate II /see p. 48/, Fig. 26) the red and

2/A, 2/A [see p. 64--Analyst]

[Text continues on p. 65]

/28 cont./

531

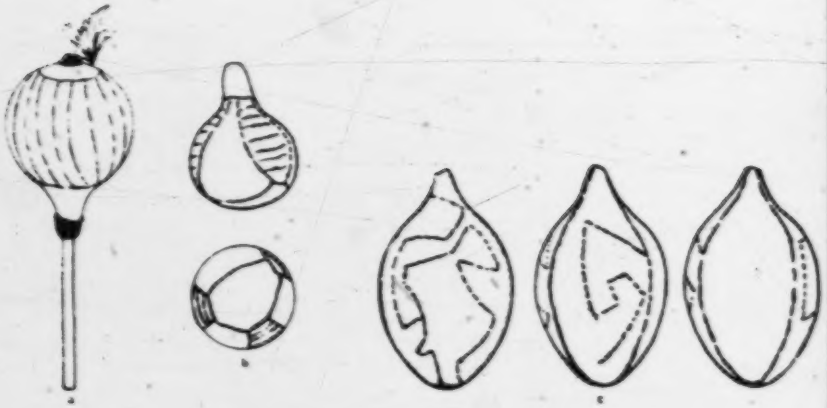

Fig. 221 a-c. Three whole gourds (b with bottom view, c unrolled).

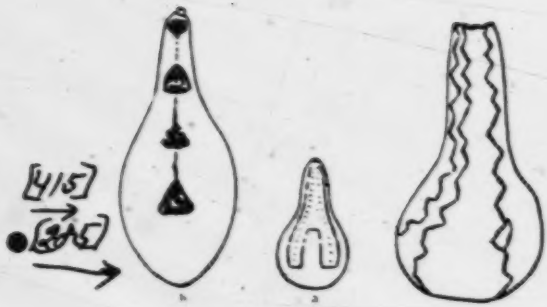

Fig. 222 a and b. Whole gourds.

Fig. 223. Water vessel.

Fig. 224. Decorated mat.

/12 cont./

286 They most probably owe their mat to the civilized Brazilians.
197 Insofar as the latter use hammocks at all, they make them out of
cotton. Now Pinto da Fonseca says (op. cit., p. 387) that the
[283] Karaya used cotton only for making fish nets and bow strings, but
were unacquainted with the art of weaving. He himself made
them a weaving apparatus and instructed the women in this skill.

This would agree with the fact that still today the Yavahē of
[184] Bananal Island, among whom Pinto undertook his first civilizing
attempts, are designated as the most skillful weavers. The uncommonly firm, taffeta-like, woven "rede" in the collection is supposed to be Yavahē work. A visit among them would definitively settle this interesting question.

293 Also to be mentioned here as a noteworthy elaborate piece
[285] belonging to the Karaya are the eyeshades (ȯodi) plaited out of
[824] uaguassú palm leaves, with which they protect themselves from the blinding reflected sunlight while walking over the sandbanks (Pl. VIII /see p. 110/, 10). They have not arrived at the construction of protective apparatus of the type of the Eskimo snow-goggles, but they prize European dark glasses.

The adding on to the eyeshade to make a complete top-hat
[197] (taă) is probably to be traced back to European influence. There were two specimens of it in all.

Settlements, Houses, and Domestic Animals.

621
361 The Karaya do not live in small troops of two or three families, as the forest Indians of Amazonas and the rude hunting nomads of the coastal region do, but always in larger communities. Only the southernmost Karayahi are forced by the lack of means of subsistence to divide up somewhat more. In the vicinity of S. José during the dry season one continually meets small bands of eight to ten persons. The farther one comes downstream, the more populous their camps become. Some of them may number at least 150-200 inhabitants.
342 The Karayahi huts erected on the sandbanks usually consist of large
[824] buriti-fiber mats stretched over pole frames, standing about without any order, like gypsy tents (Pl. III /see p.105 /, 2).

/19 cont./

415 1. The most common form can be described as two truncated cones with their bases touching. A tall model with a narrow opening and a shorter one with a wide opening are in use.

2. Wide open, deep bowls of similar basic form serve as cooking pots.

3. Flat, round plates, perhaps imitated from European forms.

4. Low elliptical double bowls with a partition running lengthwise.

5. Cylindrical pots with bent or projecting rim.

[191] 6. Small bowls (uatiui) with three feet, used especially by children; an analogous form is found in Ecuador.

7. Clay spoons.

The vessels do not have handles; instead bast cords are wound around the neck of the pot or drawn through the edge.

[824] The gourd bowls (ũšã) (fruit of Crescentia cuyete) also belong among the vessels. They are not found here in the size and diversity of form as among the Xingu /20/ tribes by far. On the other hand, they are much more carefully prepared and dried, and possess incomparably greater durability. They are usually [531] blackened inside and out and provided with engraved decorations (Fig. 6 /see p. 38/ and Fig. 10 /see p. 47 /). Painted gourds, like those of the Xingu tribes, do not occur.

415 534 In their natural shape, i.e., not cut through and provided with a round opening only at one pole, and also with hanging cords (Pl. VIII /see p. 110 /, 7), they serve as bottles or containers for smaller /Fig. 5 appears here/ objects, such as seeds, decorative feathers, and such things; with a wooden handle and the seeds left inside, or pebbles, they serve as a dance rattle (uãrõ). [531] As such, they are often decorated with bands of feathers hanging down (Pl. X /see p. 112/, 1 and 2). /Fig. 6 appears here./

• 285 Plaited work, in view of the inexhaustible wealth of plant material which the bounteous nature of South America puts at the disposal of the savage primitive inhabitants, occupies the most prominent place in Indian home industry. Actually it forms the yardstick of the culture of these tribes. The Karaya are second to no other nation in this art, but their works are distinguished

/20 cont./

285 less by decorativeness than by practicality, care in execution, and diversity of form.

[824] The leaves of the uaguassú and buriti palms serve them for making mats. The diagonally plaited leaf pinnae of the former provide, as was mentioned above, an important material for

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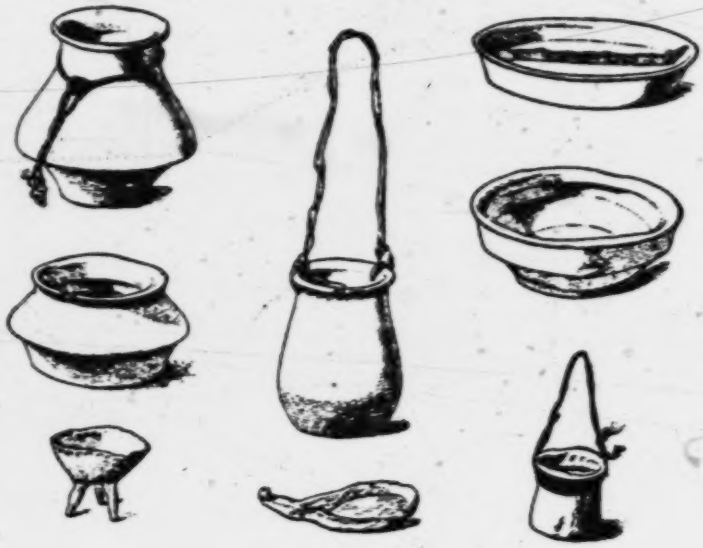


Fig. 5. Types of clay vessels (1/6).

[531]

Fig. 6. Gourd bowl with decorations.

285 house construction. These simple mats are also used for floor covering; because they are so easy to make, they are usually put together at the moment of need.

The true mats (esteiras), which are used as an underlayer while sleeping and as tent roofs, are made from the finely divided fan-leaves of the buriti palm. The tender fibers, split lengthwise, are always stored for use in braidlike plaited skeins.

/21/

285 Long parallel bundles of them are held together by twisted threads running through them in pairs. A single, continuous weft string is drawn through the whole. Where the string bends at the edge of the mat for the next woof, there are alternating loops, by which the plaiting is hung up. The woofs are placed at intervals of about three centimeters. The dimensions of these uncommonly durable, soft, and flexible mats are often very considerable. The two specimens in the collection are fan-shaped, almost twice as wide on one end as on the other. The length of the plaited part of the larger one amounts to 196 centimeters, and an unplaited width of 58 centimeters is left over. The width measures 135 centimeters on top, 234 centimeters on the bottom.

If a Karaya must remain standing for some time on the scorching hot sand of the praias, he protects the soles of his feet with a small mat of similar execution placed under them. The corresponding piece in the collection is plaited with black embira bast in a complementary pattern (Pl. VIII /see p. 110 /, 13).

[824] For basket plaiting, besides the palms named, the smaller Mauritia species, carandasinha, split taquara cane, flexible cipos, as well as the so-called arimbamba, various species of vines, split maranta stalks, etc. are also used.

[482] 1. For transporting larger loads huge carrying-baskets (behãra) are made by simply plaiting two uaguassú leaves together. They are laid parallel to each other so that there is an interval of 30-40 centimeters between the ribs. The leaf pinnae, turned toward one another make up the back wall of the basket in diagonal crossing; those lying toward the outside, knotted one under the other on each side, make up the side parts. The bottom is formed by tying together their lower ends. The length of such a basket, supplied with strong carrying cords, can amount to three meters (1).

1. Concerning a quite similar utensil on the Congo, cf. Smithson. Reports, 1877, p. 287, with illustration.

[482] 2. The same palm provides the material for the round carrying-baskets (rorã). The edge consists of the middle rib split

/21 cont./

285 lengthwise. The sides and the double bottom are formed by the leaf pinnae crossing twill-like (Pl. VIII /see p. 110/, 17).

3. Rucksack-like bags with cords to hang them up (mansi) are made out of buriti leaf-fibers. Black waimbē strips are plaited in longitudinally (Pl. VIII, 15).

4. The elastic, bottle-like baskets of buriti leaf-strips in twill plaiting (moti) present a peculiar shape. In the smaller specimen the expansibility is increased by tying a row of new leaf-strips below the neck, which are knotted to each other above the base strips (Pl. VIII, 9 and 11).

[415] 5. For the storing of feather ornaments and the like, there are the double baskets of uaguassū pinnae in an elliptical shape. They consist of two completely equal halves, one of which is pushed over the other as a cover (uarabehā). The leaf strips, each covering half of the other, are sewed together over an elliptically curved palm-wood edging as a rim. A longitudinal stick gives the bottom solidity and is connected with the other half by a string (Pl. VIII, 6).

6. Boat-shaped hanging baskets (lala) of carandasinha leaves. In the more complete specimens the edge formed by a split leaf-stalk is covered with black jangada bast and provided with a similar hanging-cord. The plaiting shows a rectangular [531] mirror-pattern, in which a cross decoration is drawn with red lacquer (Pl. VIII, 6).

[415] 7. A large, rectangular bag with carrying band serves for storing tobacco. Two pieces of palm leaf are fastened together with a middle rib to make one long side of the bag. Their pinnae are interwoven and with their knotted ends form the opposite long side (Pl. VIII, 12).

8. The small tobacco pouches of the men, made out of carandasinha, are very nice. A continuous piece provides the front and back sides, bottom, and cover-flap. The side parts are sewed in separately with a strip running over the bottom. The entire plaiting is horizontally running twill.

9. Small baskets of split cane with a rectangular bottom, but round opening, in three-splint twill plaiting. The sides show

/21 cont./

285 vertical striping. By turning the diagonal splints toward the outside, there arises on each side a diagonal cross-pattern in dark color. All the splints come together at right angles at the bottom.

10. Round shallow baskets (uäriri) made of pliable vines, [415] whose vertical splints join at the bottom in four groups intersecting at right angles (Pl. VIII /see p. 110 /, 14), serve as sieves.

11. A spherical basket for storing raw cotton has a quite similar plaiting. The vertical strips are of less pliable material (Pl. VIII /see p. 110/, 16).

283 The textile industry of the Karaya is essentially still plaited [824] work. Primarily natural vegetable materials, the fiber of the buriti and certain Bromeliaceae, as well as the varieties of bast of the Malvaceae (embira and jangada) known for extraordinary cohesion, provide material for threads. Finer threads are made by rubbing the fibers between moistened hands or between hand and thigh. Stronger ones are then twisted out of these in the manner described by Im Thurn, op. cit., p. 284, a method which, moreover, is also practiced by every Brazilian sertanejo /inlander/. The thread and strands thus obtained are, however, used almost [286] exclusively for twine, cords, and bow strings. To be sure, mesh goods is knitted out of them with long wooden needles, for example, fishing and carrying nets, as well as peculiar, collapsible caps of cotton thread, which are decorated in various ways with feathers (see p.44).

The true weaving material is cotton. The hand spindle (ä-θondää) in the usual form, a round disk of bone or fired clay, serves for making thread. It bears in its pierced center a palmwood stick about a foot long, provided on the lower end with a sharply /22/ offset knob. The stick is set in motion by stroking [532] it on the hip in a turning motion. One of the clay whorls here is spherically decorated with four human faces carved around it (Fig. 7 /see p. 42/).

286 The loom, or rather plaiting apparatus, on which the sleeping nets are made, is as simple as possible. Two strong wooden poles are rammed into the ground at a distance of 2-2 1/2 meters. The central roof-supports of the hut can serve as such. The warp

/48 cont./

172 present petroglyphs inasmuch as the rock drawings are completely lacking precisely at the cataracts of the Araguaia; rather, Martirios Island lies in an absolutely clear and quiet stretch. Nevertheless, it is a most important place for the Karaya. It [131] forms the northern boundary of their territory and it is here that [648] the hordes of the Kayapo hostile to them frequently come to the river. Many a battle may have taken place in this region between the two nations.

The interpretation of the rock sculptures as memorials or border markers, to which perhaps family insignia of prominent leaders have been added, seems to be the most acceptable according to the prevailing conditions. /The remainder of p. 48 and pp. 49-77 are not translated./

/78/

Explanation of the Plates [1]

Pl. I. Karaya. Men and Women (of the fourth village of the Šambioa).

192
291
302

1. Warriors. The man on the left /sic/ with parted hair, [296] the tobacco pipe (Fig. 4 /see p. 28/) in his mouth, holding his [411] weapons in his hand. The one on the right /sic/ shows the hair [301] put in a braid with the feather decoration ušiktamaru (see p. 16) and the national wrapping of the foreskin (see p. 17).

2. Woman and girl with the bast aprons, whose front end is drawn to the rear since both individuals have just got up from [285] the ground (see p. 17). One of the large buriti-fiber mats mentioned on pp. 38 and 39 forms the background for both groups.

Pl. II. Karaya. Men (of the fourth of the village of the Šambioa).

[301] 1 a and b. Portrait of a young Šambioa man with ear [304] sticks and wooden lip-plug, widely parted hair, and clearly recognizable tribal tattooing on the cheeks.

[1] [Plates appear on pp. 103-115--Analyst]

/79 cont./ [Plate VIII. Karaya. (Cont'd.)]

415 6. Large, boat-shaped hanging basket with red cross-
285 decorations put on it (1/9).

7. Round gourd container with hanging cord (1/13). Pattern for it, see Fig. 10 /see p. 47/.

8. Double basket for storing feather decorations (1/9).

9. Large, bottle-shaped basket (1/8).

[293] 10. Eyeshade (1/8).

11. Small, expansible bottle-basket (1/8).

[286] 12. Large tobacco pouch with cotton, black-patterned carrying band (1/8).

13. Buriti foot-mat with black bast woof (1/8).

14. Flexible sieve-basket (1/8).

15. Rucksack-like bag (1/8).

16. Round basket for raw cotton (1/8).

17. Large, round carrying-basket with strong carrying-cord of bast (1/8).

Pl. IX. Karaya. Feather Decorations

237
292
301

1. Helmet-like headdress, probably belonging to 7 (1/6).

2. Horseshoe-shaped headdress to be worn on the back of the head. Edge feathers white. Red arara feathers in the center and on the ends. Cover feathers blue, red, and green mixed (1/6).

3. Cylindrical headdress of thin sticks covered with small yellow and red feathers (1/6).

4. Plaited cap with yellow-red feather rosettes (1/6).

5. Large diadem of white-red feathers (1/6).

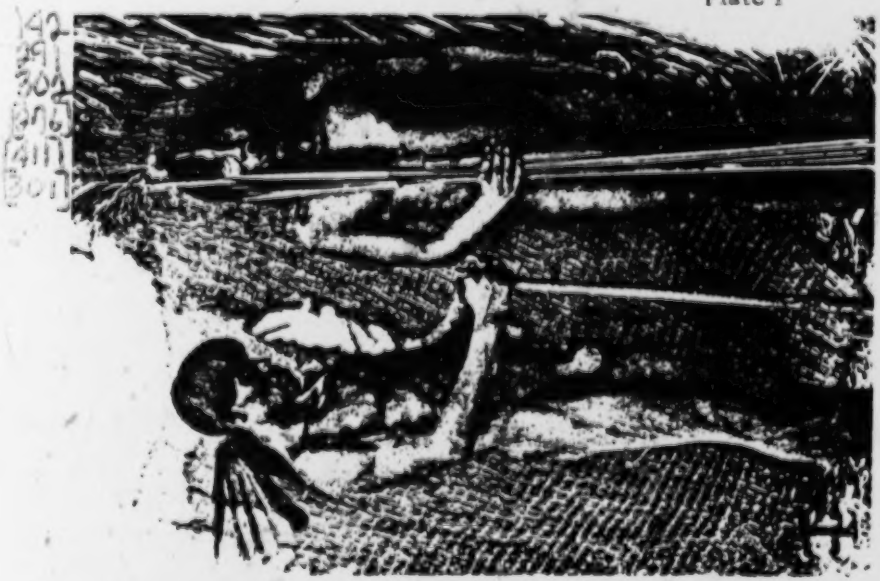
6. Everyday diadem of the warrior. A ring covered with red-yellow feathers (1/6).

7. Large, fan-shaped feather decoration, three-quarters closed, probably to be put around the lower part of 1 (1/6).

8 and 9. Festive arm-bands made of ounce skin with tufts of feathers (1/8).

10. Ear decorations. Feather rosettes with central shell plates (1/8).

Plate I



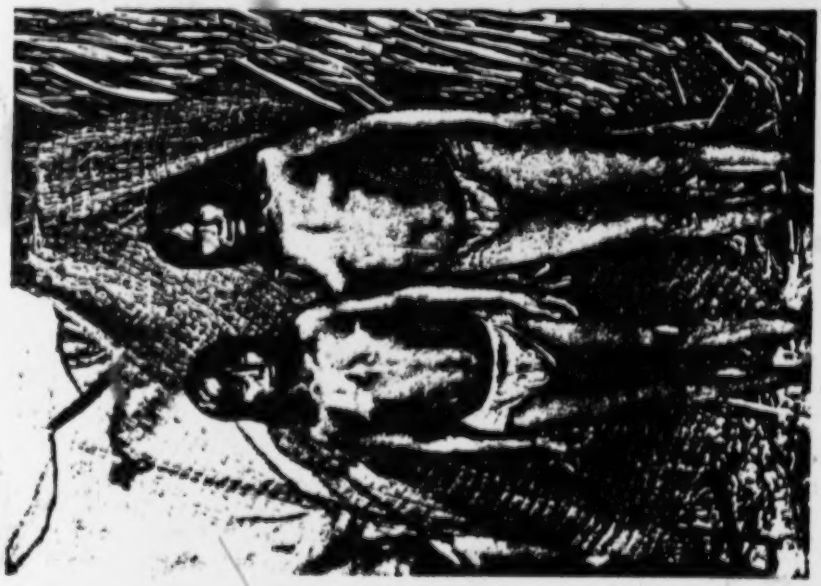


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Plate VIII

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[412]

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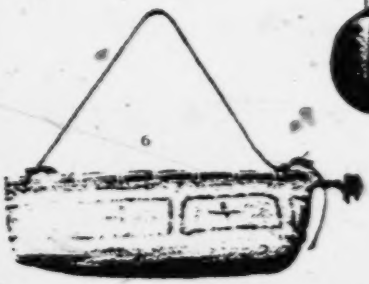

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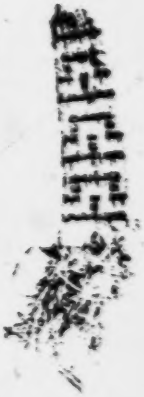

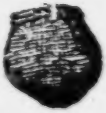

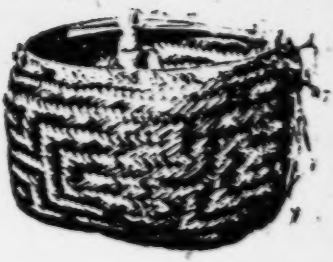

Plate 21

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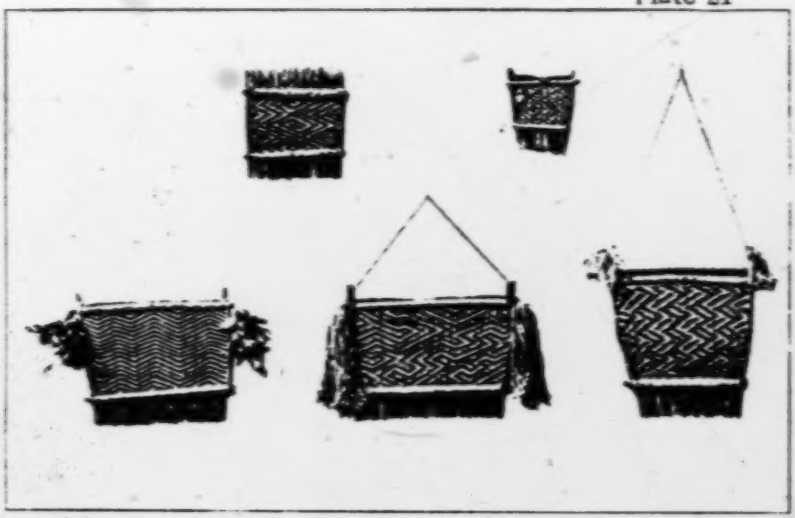
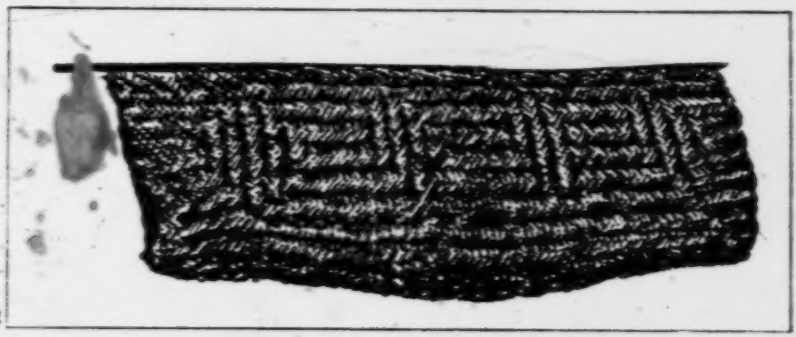
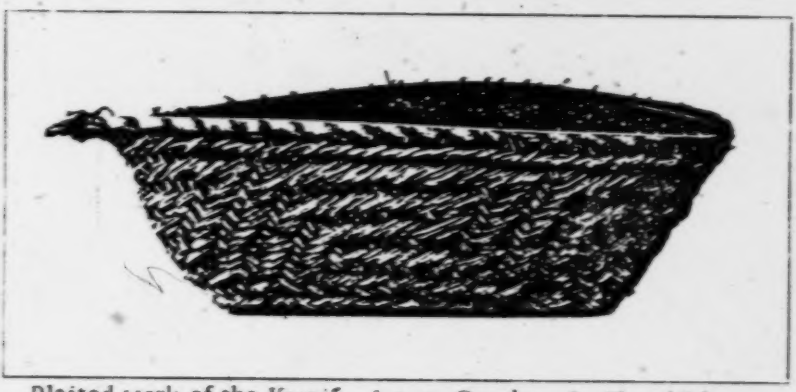






Plaited work of the Karajá: 1 a-e: Combs. 2. Fly whisk.
3. Oblong basket.

/Pl. 21 faces p. 84./

293

[285]

Ill. 33.
Eye-shade made of palm leaves.

Ill. 34.
Manner of wearing the eye-shade. Drawn from a photograph.

292

293
285

Ill. 35.
Open cylindrical hat:
a) from the side;
b) from below.

Ill. 36.
Ring-shaped eye-shade: a) from above; b) from the side.

/207 cont./

291 The bands are worn in the following manner: one end is held against the small of the back, then the band is wound around the body and the long end is twisted with the short end: in this way the belt is secured. The long end is drawn between the legs and twisted into a roll and is then drawn in its full width from below through the belt in front and falls down over it in front. This end is now worn either hanging down to the knee or to the ground, or else it is again drawn between the legs, this time, however, in its full width, and is pulled up in back, a procedure which is used particularly when the women wish to sit down (Pl. 12, Ill. 4; Pl. 16; 17; 42).

292 Besides this clothing worn constantly, there are a few articles of clothing worn only temporarily for special purposes. These are the following:

293 The eye-shade (ō(ō)dĭ, ōdjĭ). It is worn only by the male sex.
[287] The original form of this protection is probably to be seen in the bast band (Ill. 32) which the Indians sometimes wrapped around their hair (in cases of death, in sickness). The true eye-shade
[824] consists of an oaguassu /babassu/ palm leaf, the pinnae of which are plaited together. In the simplest form, the ends of these
292 pinnae jut out free at the top (Ills. 33 and 34). This eye-shade
293 has passed through a development up to the complete hat: the
285 upper pinnae ends are likewise plaited, and to be sure, into a cylinder open at the top (Ill. 35). Among the Šambioá, Ehrenreich observed such a cylindrical hat (taǎ), which was already /208/ closed at the top by plaiting (Berlin 3904). This final form was not represented among the Karajá; on the other hand, they had two other forms: first, a ring-shaped, wide-brimmed eye-shade plaited out of bast, with a stiff brim and a chin cord (Ill. 36), and then regular hats of plaited bast strips which are sewed together spirally (Pl. 43, Ill. 3). The method of plaiting these
[287] strips is purely Indian, but the shape of the hats probably goes back to Brazilian influence, as the name (šǎpēo, Braz. chapeo)
292 shows. These eye-shades and hats are worn as a protection from
293 the sun and only by married men; I only rarely saw any, however.

5. Krause- 139 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Carajá SP9

2. Hindhead wheel.

1. Manner of wearing the hindhead wheel.

3. Hindhead wheel.

4. Plaited disk for the hindhead wheel.

5. Wooden disk for the hindhead wheel.

/243 cont./

241 With the ripening of the foodstuff, the harvest begins. It is not gathered all at once, but rather every two or three days the foodstuffs required for this period are brought in. There are seldom larger supplies on hand in the village. This custom is a great [409] obstacle for a longer stay in the villages, for the Indians /244/ do not leave the villages during the stay of strangers (1), but use up

1. Fonseca already observed this custom in 1773. The Karajá had but little food, because the Chavánte had plundered their plantings and the Karajá therefore did not dare go to their plantings. Nor did they dare go hunting or fishing in Fonseca's presence, nor set out for their plantings with Fonseca's soldiers for fear that he might enter their villages in their absence, which they had refused him up to that time. Rev. trim. 8, p. 385.

their supplies, so that after two days there is nothing more on hand, and the stranger must either donate food or go along to the planting or else depart.

241 Harvesting is generally done by the women. The harvest is 285 packed into large back-baskets (bĕhūlĕ), which are plaited out of 482 two palm fronds in such a way that the ribs form the two longi- [462] tudinal poles, and the same sides of the fronds, firmly plaited together, form the bottom, while the other sides, plaited by themselves, make the lattice-like edge (Plate 57, Ill. 1; the back-basket is 116 centimeters long, 34 centimeters wide, and 17 centimeters high). Sometimes the lower edge of the back-baskets is likewise firmly plaited (Plate 57, Ill. 2). The back-basket is worn on two shoulder bands and a forehead band of strong bast. It projects very high above the head, and under the heavy burden people walk with the upper part of the body bent far forward and the knees bent, usually leaning on a staff (Plate 15, Ill. 3). The contents are secured with wide bast bands which are laced across the load from edge to edge.

/271 cont./

411 The club (gõhõrdẽ) is the true war weapon of the Indians. The Karajá do not undertake a boat trip without having the club in the boat, along with arrows and bows, and on land journeys it is usually their sole companion. Even in the villages one sees the Indians, if they are armed at all, walking around with clubs.

The clubs are made of heavy wood (wõãlũõ). They are round, become thicker toward the striking end, and terminate in a pointed convexity with a sharp edge. The handle end terminates in a knob which is separated from the club by a thicker intermediate piece with two or three deep grooves. In Ehrenreich, the number of grooves varies between one deep one and four or five shallow grooves, while his Šambioá clubs show three grooves throughout. The type of clubs (and oar handles) which Ehrenreich brought back from the Šambioá, on which the intermediate piece is divided by a long, thin, smooth piece with wide, thick pieces projecting over it at both ends and each bearing a groove (3979 and elsewhere), does not occur among the Karajá.

The upper half of the club (from the striking end) is provided with lengthwise grooves. I did not see any smooth clubs such as Ehrenreich brought back. This lengthwise grooving is [412] made with the tooth of a rodent (cutia: haûlĩ; according to [337] Ehrenreich, also agouti or capybara) fastened to a wooden stick (Ill. 122). This grooving instrument, called haûlĩdjũ (= cutia tooth), is therefore not used to make arrows, as Ehrenreich assumed.

Occasionally there have remained standing in the length- [531] wise grooving two diametrally placed smooth stripes about one centimeter wide, which, for the entire length, are decorated with incised decorations (Ill. 123).

411 Only rarely does one find clubs that bear a patterned plait- 285 ing of yellow taquara cane and black embira around them (Ill. 124).

This plaiting is always present in the small club-sticks, which I never saw in use and which Königswald designates as dance clubs. They either have the shape of the clubs, without, however, having a special handle, or they end in a wide blade and have an offset handle (Pl. 56, Ill. 3 a-c). The first type is

/271 cont./

411 approximately 70 centimeters long, the second approximately 50
285 centimeters long.

Ehrenreich speaks of a second type of club: flat, shovel-like clubs that have a four-sided, prismatic blade with sharp edges and a lancet-shaped point. The handle is plaited all around, and at both ends of the plaiting cotton tassels hang down ("Beiträge," Pl. VI, Ill. 11). He obtained two such clubs from the Šambioá (Berlin 3980), whereas he saw a cruder form among the Karajá. The question is whether this club form belonged to the Karajá
[171] originally. For I came across such forms neither among the Karajá nor among the Šavajé, but certainly among the Kayapó, /272/ among whom broad cutting-clubs seem to be indigenous. It may be that the Šambioá took over this form from the Kayapó. Only a small child's club of the Karajá (Ill. 125) shows a similar type (1),

1. Cf. also, however, the club stick above (Pl. 56, Ill. 3c).

but it comes from the village on the Tapirapé mouth, so that here, too, it is not certain whether an old, now extinct club form has been preserved in this child's toy or whether it is not more likely that there is influence from the Tapirapé or the Kayapó.

411 The lances (dõnõlǐ; Ill. 126) play a minor role. They are a weapon peculiar to the Karajá. Today they are probably used
[224] only as a display weapon for festivities, visits, etc. In former
[825] times they were put to use in hunting for jaguars: the bunches of feathers on the tip were supposed to make the animal fearful and uncertain, so that the Indian, at the most auspicious moment, /Ills. 123-126 appear here/ was able to deliver the death blow (according to the statements of the Indians). I never heard that they were ever used in war.

[824] The shaft consists of heavy palm wood (aruera); it is almost always 240-260 centimeters long and about three centimeters thick; only two specimens of my collection are a little over 200 centimeters long.

/272 cont./

411 [237] [284] The point is formed by a sharpened thigh bone of the jaguar; /Pl. 56 appears here/ /273/ it is about 20 centimeters long. Where it is mounted on the shaft, the latter is wound for about ten centimeters with red cotton string, from the upper circuits of which long tassels of arara feathers hang down. To

Ill. 123. Club.

Ill. 124. Club with plaiting around the handle end.

Ill. 125. Child's club. Karajá.

Ill. 126. Lance.

411 285 this winding is joined below a patterned plaiting which consists of yellow longitudinal strips of taquara interwoven crosswise all [531] around with strips of embira. The plaiting is 50-80 centimeters long; its ornaments are the common plaited ornaments (1).

[113] 1. See my article, "Die Kunst der Karajá-Indianer /The Art of the Karajá Indians/," Bässler Archiv, Vol. II, No. 1, 1911.

[Text continues on p. 195]

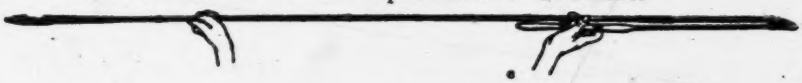
/273 cont./

411 [531] [285] Ehrenreich also says that this plaiting is decorated above and below with small feather wreaths; this is not the case among my specimens.

According to statements by the Indians, in olden times their spears did not have bone points, but rather ran out in front into the pointed shafts; otherwise they were equipped like the spears of today.

[178] The following weapons no longer serve a serious purpose. Either they have become sporting weapons, like the arrow thrower, or children's toys (pellet-bow), or they have died out.

The arrow thrower (ãŭbĭ, ōbĭrŭ; Ill. 127a) is reminiscent in its form of the arrow throwers of the Xingu tribes, except that it is considerably larger (67 centimeters long). The hook at the upper end consists of bone and is attached by means of white cotton lashing (Ill. 127b). The arrow belonging to it (kŏhūlã) should [824] really be made of hĕdžĭwã cane (Canna brava). In my model specimen the shaft consists of cambayuva cane and is about one and a half meters long; in front it bears a bulbous point of heavy palm wood (Ill. 127c). Other arrows are said to have points of stone which are fastened with wax, but I did not see such specimens.. The shaft



Ill. 127 a-c.
a) Arrow thrower, b) detail of the hook, c) handling the arrow-thrower.

is unfeathered; it has no notch. Ehrenreich's arrows of ubã cane, on the other hand, have at the end a cut-out section that contains the notch hole. The specimen of throwing stick and arrow reproduced here was made by the Indians at my request.

The manner of handling it is shown in Ill. 127c. The thrower is held in the right hand; the arrow, with the rear, hollow end hooked into the peg, is laid on the board and grasped here with the right hand as follows: the thumb lies on the right edge of the /274/ throwing board, the second finger is stuck into the hole of the handle, the third finger reaches from the left edge over the arrow, the fourth extends from the left edge under the arrow, in other

Plate 57

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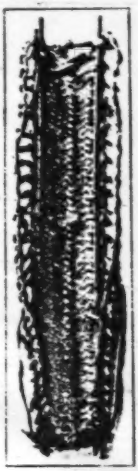
1. Back basket.

3. Round carrying-basket with forehead band.



2. Back basket.

12.

4. Carrying bag.

5. Carrying sack.

6. Carrying sack.

13.

12 and 13. Oblong basket plaited out of a leaf pinna.

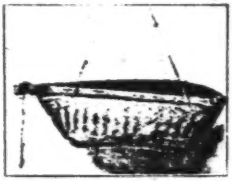
8.

9.

10.

11.

8-11. Baskets with square bottoms and round openings.



7. Pointed-oval basket.

14. Basket-bowl, both plaited out of two pinnae each.

15. Basket,

16. Two-piece basket, opened.

17. Two-piece basket, closed.

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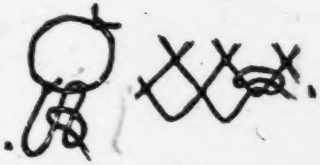
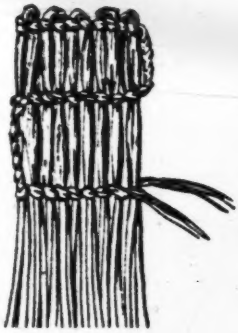
Ill. 135.
Bunch of buriti fibers.

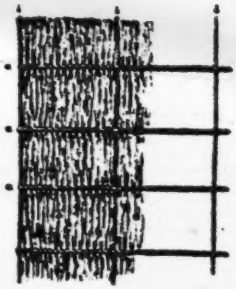


Ill. 136 a, b.
Net knots.

285
284



Ill. 137.
Sample of sleeping-mat plaiting.



Ill. 138.
Schema of the sleeping mat
a) weft,
b) stiffening cords.

/288 cont./

286 is knotted in such a way that the knots come in the center of the length of the mesh. The meshes of the second and subsequent rows are hooked into those of the preceding one and knotted on their lower end. The method of the knot formation is shown in Ill. 136 a, b.

285 For knotting the large sleeping and sitting mats, untwisted
284 buriti bast-fibers are used. These are laid side by side in bunches and these bunches are wound alternately with two twisted bast-fiber strings, so that a continuous weft runs from side to side. On the edge the two strings are twisted together, led along the edge for about three and a half centimeters, and then again plaited through the bunches. Thus, one /Plate 58 appears here/ /289/ weft runs through the whole mat. (See the sample plaiting, Ill. 137 see p. 217/.) At greater intervals, every 10-20 centimeters, a twisted bast string runs between the bunches and parallel to them, in order to give the mat more firmness (b in Ill. 138). The weft does not start at the end of the mat and is not led through to the other end; rather, on both of the narrow sides the ends of
285 the bunches remain free as fringe. Such mats in large dimensions are used to make the protective walls and protective roofs, as well as sleeping and sitting mats. Smaller mats are carried by pregnant women; they are put around the lower body and held together in front with the hands. I never saw small mats patterned with black embira threads as an underlayer for the feet during the continuous standing on the hot sandbanks, such as Ehrenreich describes (Berlin 3907; "Beiträge," p. 21). I obtained a patterned sleeping mat, however, the design of which was made by plaiting in black-colored bast strips (Ill. 22).

Small carrying-sacks (masi) are made in the same way as these mats; the bottoms of these are sometimes plaited cross-shaped (Pl. 57, Ills. 5, 6). The edge is reinforced; the carrying-band likewise consists of buriti bast-fibers.

28 The division of labor in ropemaking and knotting is such
462 that the making of the fiber material is usually incumbent on the women, whereas the twisting of the cords is practiced by men and women, but is usually done only as needed. The knotting of the

[Text Continues on p. 220]

Plate 58

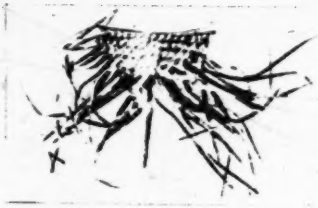
1. Addition to pottery clay.

2. Pot bottom with rod-sieve texture.

3 a-c. Feather gourd-vessels.

4. a Bunch of imbauva fibers. b Bunch of buriti fibers.

5. Sample of basket plaiting.



8 a and b. Manner of storing feathers.

7. Ball of cotton.

6. Spindle with picked-cotton band.

10. Monkey-skull rattles.

11. Funerary urn.

9. Bamboo trumpet.

28 /289 cont. /
462 nets is a task for the men, that of the mats a task for the women.
285 Usually several women work together on a mat; it is not difficult work, but the hard pulling and constant twisting of the weft threads (they are twisted only when they are plaited through) affects the fingers so much that deep, calloused ridges run across
[963] the finger tips of the plaiters. Apparently there are women in the villages who provide the entire village with mats; at least large supplies of them were found in certain houses, and to buy them I was sent into specific huts where mats were made.

[824] For the plaiting which is done by the men, strips of buriti
[962] bast and the leaf pinnae of the oaguassu palm are used. The
294 strips of buriti bast are used only in the making of hats. Appar-
[177] ently the method of making hats is copied from the neighboring Brazilians. At least the shape is the same; but whether all the types of plaited strips which are sewed together spirally into a hat correspond to Brazilian designs, or whether there are innovations here, I do not know. The most common design, consisting of four-part strips with a notched edge, seems to be Brazilian, the other two, the eleven-part strip with a smooth edge and the nine-part strip with a smooth, double edge, may be original forms in view of the plaiting skill of the Indians (Ill. 139 a-c). These strips are sewed together with fine bast threads and a bone needle four centimeters long (Ill. 140).

285 For all other plaiting the leaf pinnae of the oaguassu palm are used. The material for this is stored in the houses in large /290/ quantities, mostly lying on the floor under mats; in Schischá it also lay on special forked racks on the long sides and in the roundings of the houses.

In the same way as for the house covering, two oaguassu fronds are laid with the ribs one on top of the other in the making of walls, fans, and eye shades, except that in this case the individual pinnae /Ills. 139 and 140 appear here/ are then plaited together. See the beginning of a piece of plaiting in Ill. 5 on Plate 58 /see p. 219/.

/290 cont./

285 The baskets show great variety. The individual types are similar to those described by Max Schmidt, so I can limit myself

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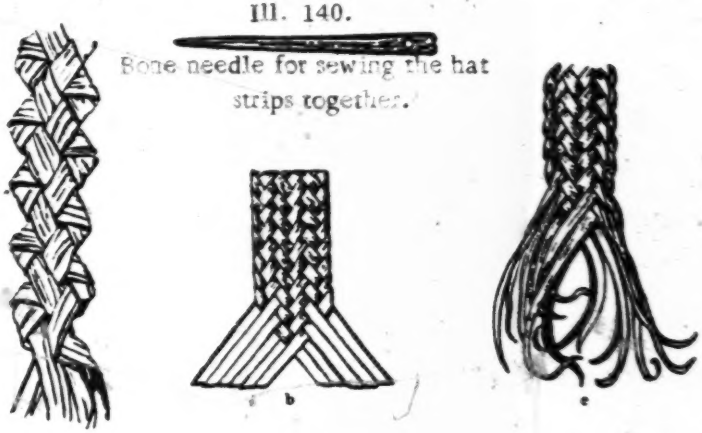
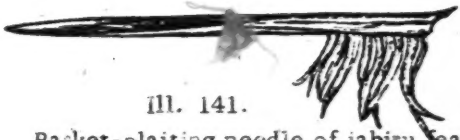
Ill. 140.

Bone needle for sewing the hat strips together.



Ill. 139 a-c.
Hat-plaiting strips: a) four-part, b) eleven-part, c) nine-part.

285
[237]



Ill. 141.
Basket-plaiting needle of jabiru feather quill.

to very brief descriptions.

In the case of large round baskets (wälili, Ehrenreich rorä; Pl. 57, Ill. 3) with a forehead carrying-strap, which are used to transport manioc, the edge consists of the split palm-rib. The pinnae are interwoven and provide a meander-type design. The bottom is reinforced by being interwoven with a second layer of individual pinnae which are cut to the specific length
[237] with piranha teeth. A thick jabiru feather quill 16.5 centimeters

/290 cont./

285 (237) long and pointed at one end serves to lift the plaiting strips of the first layer and to push the pinnae of the second layer under them. This feather-quill plaiting-needle is called wālĭsĭlūdŏsonă (Ill. 141).

Back-baskets (bĕhūlĕ) consist of two caguassu fronds, the ribs of which form the two longitudinal stiffneners. The inner halves of the pinnae are plaited crosswise for the bottom, the outer pinnae are made into the openwork edge /291/ by twisting several pinnae together to form a support and the ends of these supports are joined together to form a longitudinal edge. In one specimen the lower edge is likewise tightly plaited (Pl. 57, Ills. 1 and 2).

In the case of pointed-oval (lālă; Pl. 57, Ill. 7) and canoe-shaped baskets (dālĭdŭn) with a broad bottom, which become narrow at the top, the edge is formed by two palm-leaf ribs placed one on top of the other, while the sides and the bottom are made with the pinnae plaited in a design; the bottom is double. Sometimes the upper edge is decorated with a wide strip of black embira sewed on it.

Small baskets with square bottoms and a round opening (mŏdĭ; Pl. 57, Ills. 8-11) usually have patterned walls, the designs of which are sometimes accentuated by black painting. Such baskets are used by small girls for storing cotton, crochet needles, crochet work, threads, etc. In the same manner, such little baskets are also plaited out of split cane. On these four black cotton strings which are drawn all around the basket serve as carrying-band.

Baskets and bags made out of one palm-leaf pinna. Oblong baskets (lōŭlĕ) are plaited diagonally only halfway, while the other half is formed by the strong under parts of the pinna, which are bent outward from the stems projecting into the interior of the basket (Pl. 57, Ills. 12 and 13).

The rib bent all the way around forms the edge of the oblong, sack-like carrying bags (lōlŭ; Pl. 57, Ill. 4), while the walls are formed by the pinna plaited in the center of the wall, the ends of

/291 cont./

285 which also make the handle. On either side of the center plaiting a palm leaf is drawn through the pinna lengthwise to close up the walls.

Ehrenreich brought back a similar carrying-bag (Berlin 3886), but here the rib forms only the one longitudinal side, while the pinnae are plaited together on the second longitudinal side. This bag of Ehrenreich's corresponds to the bag that I brought back from the Savajé (see Šavajé /see p.327 /).

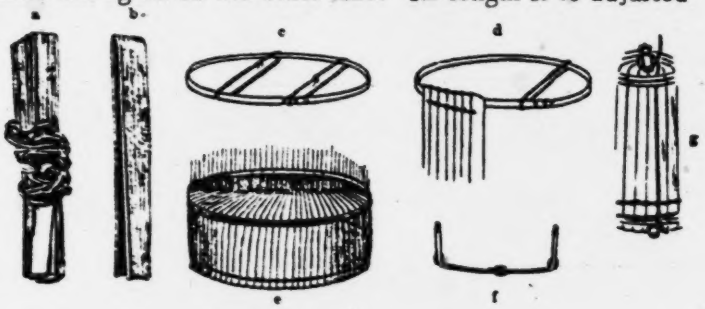
Baskets plaited out of two pinnae correspond to the one-pinna oblong baskets; among them the two stems project from the bottom into the interior of the baskets near the narrow sides (Pl. 57, Ills. 14 and 15).

Two kinds are made differently from all these baskets: the double baskets and the sieve-baskets.

The oblong double-baskets [wrãbǎ(h)ĩ], in which the Indians, men as well as women, store their smaller, personal belongings, consist of two similarly worked baskets, one of which is somewhat larger and forms the lid. As material the pinnae of the oaguassu palm are used; they are cut to a certain length (40-45 centimeters long, 2-2 1/2 centimeters wide), folded together lengthwise, then bent in half (Ill. 142b) and, with many laid on top of one another and tied together, are stored in this fashion in large supplies (Ill. 142a). Usually in this case the bent corners opposite the rib edges have already been cut off diagonally /292/ in order to avoid great bulk with putting them on top of one another. From these leaves the baskets are now made in the following manner: A split cane rod is tied together in such a way that it forms an oval corresponding to the size of the basket; by means of two or three light temporary bast bindings the oval shape is preserved until the completion of the basket (Ill. 142c). Now the leaf strips are hung over this oval in such a way that they cover one another about halfway, whereby the rib edges come to lie on top (Ill. 142d). With a needle and a cotton thread they are sewed together directly under the rod. Then a second oval, almost as large, is made and pushed about two-thirds of the way up into this oval leaf cylinder. Now a third, /Ill. 142 appears here/

/292 cont./

285 slightly larger oval is made and, on the outside, is pushed over the place under which the second oval rests. Both are then sewed together through the leaves. The projecting ends of the pinnae, one by one, are bent inward over the inner oval toward the center and shortened sufficiently so that they overlap there one to two centimeters (Ill. 142c /sic/). These ends are then sewed together. Now two split cane rods are taken up, one of which is stuck through the wall under the second and third oval, pulled through under the bottom, and pushed out again on the other side. Its length is so adjusted



Ill. 142 a-g.

Manufacture of the oval two-piece basket.

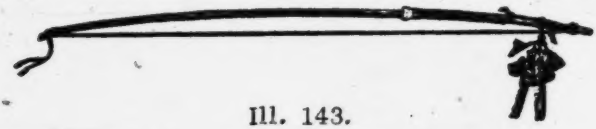
a) Packing of the plaiting strips. b) Individual plaiting strip. c) Inner oval. d) Sewing the strips to the oval. e) Bending the strips to form the bottom. f) Cross-section. g) String closing.

that it projects about one-half centimeter on either side. The second rod is laid in the same direction on the outside of the bottom and then sewed to the first rod (Pl. 57, Ill. 17; Ill. 142f). By this means the bottom is given a firm stiffening. The other half of the basket, which serves as the lid, is made in exactly the same way; it has somewhat larger dimensions, so that it can be fitted over the bottom half. The closure of these baskets is peculiar. There is fastened to the bottom rods of the lower half a cotton thread which leads up along the edge

/292 cont./

285 of the lid-half, is pulled through the outer oval of this half from below upward, forms a large carrying /293/ band over the lid, and on the other side leads down to the bottom rods in the same manner. If one wishes to open the basket, the lid-half slides up on the thread (Pl. 57, Ill. 16). At the same time, however, the thread also serves for closure during transport: on either side one makes a loop which is put over the ends of the rod of the lid-half and pulled tight (Ill. 142g).

Sieves and sieve-baskets are made entirely differently
[824] (wälilisi; Pl. 55, Ills. 2 and 3). They are made out of shavings of flexible creepers (according to Ehrenreich, arimbamba). The shavings run radially and are interwoven concentrically with similar switches (two each). On the bottom they cross in four groups. In Ehrenreich's specimens the plaiting is in part so tight
[283] (Berlin 3898) that the utensil is useless as a sieve. Such tight



Ill. 143.
Bow for picking apart the cotton.

baskets serve as containers for raw cotton in spinning.

Rod-sieves consist of fine rods placed parallel, which are bound together at considerable intervals with two strings (Pl. 55, Ill. 1).

I did not see among the Karajá the other kinds of baskets and bags mentioned by Ehrenreich: small palm-leaf baskets with rectangular bottom, square baskets, small bags with flap lids made of carandasinha palm fiber, bottle-shaped flexible baskets (moti), hanging baskets (Berlin 3879), and lid-baskets (Berlin 3900) made of flexible cipo plaiting.

283 I. Just as varied and skillful are the treatment and the
[462] utilization of cotton, which are incumbent on the women. Cotton
[248] is grown in the plantings; tending it is the duty of the woman. The harvested cotton is stored in baskets. Before it is spun, it is

Plate 61

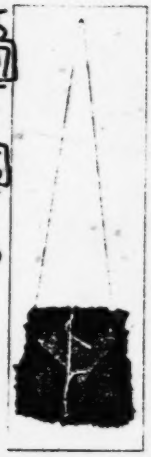
252

1. Grill of the Šavajé.

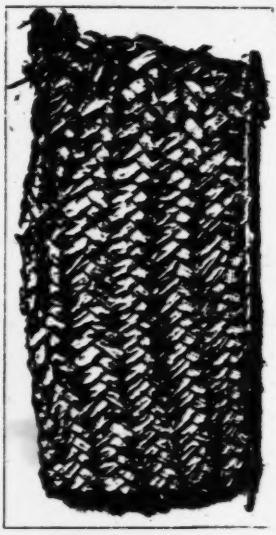
415
[237]

[285]

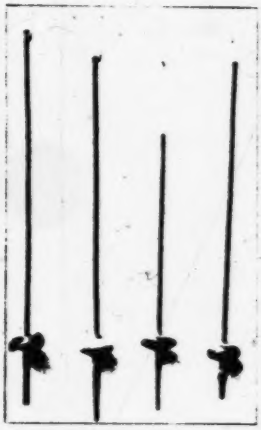
283



2. Tobacco pouch of monkey skin.



3. Carrying sack, plaited out of a palm frond.



a b c d

5. Spindles.
a Wax, b unfired, c and d fired clay.

283

4. Bow for picking cotton apart.

/362/

411 The arrow thrower (hãðbĭ) was relatively common. Whereas in the 22 villages of the Karajá I did not see any, but merely acquired a model, I found three specimens in this one small Šavajé village (Ill. 198). The implement is still used for fishing, bird hunting, and as a weapon for sport. One can execute high, horizontal, and low shots with it. The handle, 36-40 centimeters long, 3.5-6.5 centimeters wide, is edged and curved and has a small button at the lower end. The hole for the index finger is quite large and rectangular or square in shape. The staff, 30-35 centimeters long, is round and bears a small hook of bone, which is fastened with tight, fine lashing. Sometimes a few little feathers hang down from this lashing as an ornament.

I did not come across any other weapons among the Šavajé.

501 184 8. Transportation and communication. The boats are the same as those of the Karajá, but usually very long and very wide. The oars differ from those of the Karajá mostly by the fact that 482 the cylinder on the handle bears four grooves (Ill. 199). Back- 184 baskets and other baskets are likewise similar to those of the Karajá. The back-basket [bãh(ĭ)ũlă] is also plaited at the lower edge, so that, when it is carried, the contents have firmer support than is the case in the Karajá back-baskets. It is 158 centimeters long, 27 centimeters wide, and has an edge 12 centimeters ●285 high. Among the baskets I observed large carrying-baskets (wălĭlĭ) plaited, with patterns, out of oaguassu palm pinnae, which are carried with a bast carrying-band, also oblong baskets (dãdă), which likewise show patterning and are carried on a carrying band, oval baskets with a cover (wălăbăhĭ), and, finally, carrying sacks, and, to be sure, some of mat plaiting (mănsĭ), some which are plaited diagonally out of one palm leaf (lõlĭ), and rectangular sacks plaited out of two palm leaves (lõlĭ), the two ribs forming one longitudinal edge, whereas on the other and on the bottom edge the pinnae of both fronds are plaited together (Pl. 61, Ill. 3). [184] (Cf. Ehrenreich, Berlin 3886, Karajá.) All other baskets and such mentioned are identical with those of the Karajá.

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca.1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

361 beyond endurance, compelling them, finally, to pull down
[364] their huts and move to a new site, perhaps to some other sand-bar. This is a case of moving the residence instead of the garbage. During the rainy season, or when the sand bottoms are submerged, which may not occur until two or three months after the rains begin, the Karayá dwell on the
[342] high banks of the mainland. Here, the huts are much better constructed, resembling the dwellings of "civilized" Brazilians.

342 It is seldom one sees among primitive peoples, such sub-
184 stantially constructed huts as those of the Sambiõa division. Here is seen the greater industry, the greater activity, and the better condition in every respect of the free, unmolested sons of the wilderness in comparison with their "tame" brethren who exist in more destitute circumstances, though in contact with, and under the influence of the "civilized" people—the semi-barbarous Brazilians. The dwellings of
342 the Sambiõa are not placed in disorder, but are arranged in
363 long rows, forming regular streets. "They make a favorable impression upon the visitor, because the streets appear clean and the huts orderly, comfortable and inviting." The four
361 Sambiõa villages each contain sixty, thirty, forty-five and
162 ninety huts, respectively, and each hut is occupied by one or
592 two, or more, families.

352 The furniture in these primitive abodes is very simple.
[285] The floor, which is bare earth, is covered with matting made by braiding together the long, slender leaves of the burity-
[513] palm. The occupants sleep on this matting without any other bedding whatever, save a round billet of wood for a pillow upon which the neck rests, but not the head, Japanese
353 fashion. From the plates, or roof supports, hang baskets of various forms and sizes, in which are kept the bright feathers that are used in decorative work and ornament making. Finished ornaments and decorations made of brilliant feathers, pieces of regalia, bows and arrows in a finished and unfinished state, spear-throwing sticks and various small articles are also seen stuck into or suspended from the roof; while

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca.1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

323 only, is sought. The Karayá once more like all the South American tribes, form the pots without the use of the potter's wheel, the work being done by building up rings of clay, stroking and shaping, first with the hands, then with bones and shells until the vessel reaches the desired form and strength. The ashes of certain plants are mixed with the clay to give it greater firmness.

To secure an oven in which to bake the pots, these children of Nature again look to their common Mother. In the large, dome-shaped ant-hills which abound in their world, they find a nearly complete natural oven. They further prepare this oven for use by carving a hole in one side and starting a fire in it. This done, they put the pot, previously sun-baked into the kiln; then open a second hole on another side of the ant-hill to communicate with the first, by which to feed the fire. A draft is secured by opening a vent in the top of the natural oven. The women make clay spoons as well as pots. Though a few of these clay vessels are provided with legs, none of them have handles, except as cords are secured around them to serve as handles.

415 824 Besides these manufactured vessels, Nature again comes to the aid of these primitive people and furnishes them jugs, bottles, basins and pans of a great variety of shapes and sizes from calabash or gourd-shells. These vegetable vessels are not only as hard as wood, but very durable, though they cannot, of course, be placed over the fire. Large rattles for 534 824 ceremonial purposes are also made from the gourd by replacing the seeds with pebbles, and attaching handles of wood.

285 Nature has supplied the Karayá with such a rich and varied material that braid-work is the principal household industry, a product notable for its utility and variety of form. The long, [824] slender leaves of the oaguasse, or burity-palm, are braided together diagonally into mats to serve as flooring for the huts, and even for roofing. The flooring mats, being so easily produced, are made only as wanted. The finest grades of matting are made to sleep upon and to roof the hut. For this work,

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

For this work, large, fan-like palm leaves are slit into narrow strips, skeins or bundles of which are kept always on hand ready for use. 285 [824] A very small mat is made especially for the fisherman to stand upon to protect his feet when he has to remain a long time at one spot on the hot sand.

A great variety of beautiful baskets are also made of braid-work. These are made of sipós—climbing vines—reeds, split stems and the like. [824] Large baskets, resembling sacks, are made of very coarse palm-leaves for use in carrying heavy loads of food material gathered from the forest. The smaller baskets are made not only of fine materials of various colors, but are braided into nice patterns. They are of many sizes and shapes and used for numerous purposes. Some are hand or shoulder bags in which to carry small articles; many others of various sizes may be seen hanging from the roof of the hut which serve as receptacles for numerous small household articles or personal effects; others are double, or covered baskets, like telescope traveling bags, in which much-prized feather ornaments are carefully guarded; while still others are canoe-shaped hanging baskets, beautifully designed. Nearly all these baskets are flexible, and some are even elastic, bottle-shaped baskets. To carry the tobacco when on a journey, a square basket is used, to which is attached a bark shoulder strap. A large, basket-work disc, finely and closely braided, is used as a sieve, or colander. As the civilized [171] Brazilians everywhere have the same kind of utensil, it may be inferred that it has come down to them from their aboriginal South American ancestors.

The "textile industry" of the Karayá is nothing more 283 than braid-work. Natural resources once again furnish them an unlimited supply of material nearly ready for use. The burity-palm once more manifests its unfailing utility, yielding a splendid fibre which can be readily stripped from its long leaves. [824] Another kind of fibre, which possesses great adhesive qualities, is obtained from the inner bark of the mallow tree. The finest threads are *spun* by rolling a number of single fibres together between the moistened hands, or

1:Lipkind E-5 (1937) 1948 SP9 Caraja SP9

Basketry.—The *Carajá* excel in the variety and solidity of their plaitwork, which includes burden baskets, strainers, shoulder bags, bottles, elliptical feather cases, and boat-shaped containers for suspension. Twilling and twining are the dominant techniques (pl. 22). 285

Textiles.—The *Carajá* produce some taffetalike fabrics, but in 1775 Pinto da Fonseca found them using cotton solely for fish nets and bowstrings, so that he himself introduced a loom and taught the women how to work it. 286 177

Featherwork.—In contrast to their *Ge* neighbors of Eastern Brazil, the *Carajá* are outstanding for featherwork. They make wide-meshed and close-meshed caps with feathers tied to the intersection of the interlaced splints and arranged into rosettes, diadems of feathers stuck into radially mounted cane tubes, and other types of ornaments (pl. 21). 287

Axes.—Stone axes figure in old *Carajá* petroglyphs and have been found by many travelers in the area. They were used for adzing, chopping, and warfare, and as chief's badges. Iron axes have rapidly replaced them. 412 172

301 412 531 276

FIG. 21.—*Carajá* manufactures. *a*, Labrets; *b*, comb; *c*, pipe. (Approximately ½ actual size.) (Redrawn from Ehrenreich, 1891 b, figs. 2, 9, and 4.)

/11 cont./

854 Some months later the broad, knitted cotton cuffs (deši) are
291 put around the wrists and ankles, while narrower bands provided with tassels hanging down in front are tied under the knee. The former are cylindrical, five to six centimeters wide, with thicker edges projecting out like a hat brim, the latter smooth and only one to two centimeters wide. With increasing growth these bands are gradually replaced by larger ones (Pl. VII /see p. 109/, 6 and 8).

291 The boys wear the ankle bands until after the lips have been pierced, the girls until they marry. The cuffs, which cover almost the whole forearm among the adults, are, like the knee bands, not taken off by either sex until after marriage, and by the women usually
[301] not before the birth of the first child. Upon the death of one of the two spouses, the surviving one puts them on again.

571 The sharp external division of single persons from married ones by such distinguishing marks is deeply rooted in the whole social life of this people, as we shall see later. Other ornamental objects will be discussed below.

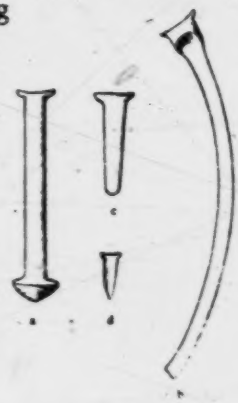


Fig. 2. Lip ornaments (1/4).

291 Also to be included among the articles of clothing is an object quite peculiar to the Karaya, the "riiŏ," incorrectly called "rede" (hammock) by the Brazilians and also designated as such by Castelnau and Martius (Pl. VII /see p. 109/, 1).

[584] This cotton plaiting looks very similar to an actual hammock, to be sure, but it is not used as such and is not hung up at all, not
[513] even having any cords for this purpose. It serves, rather, as a cloak by day and as an underlayer at night when sleeping on the ground.

/12 cont./

286 They most probably owe their mat to the civilized Brazilians.
177 Insofar as the latter use hammocks at all, they make them out of
[283] cotton. Now Pinto da Fonseca says (op. cit., p. 387) that the Karaya used cotton only for making fish nets and bow strings, but were unacquainted with the art of weaving. He himself made them a weaving apparatus and instructed the women in this skill.

[184] This would agree with the fact that still today the Yavahē of Bananal Island, among whom Pinto undertook his first civilizing attempts, are designated as the most skillful weavers. The uncommonly firm, taffeta-like, woven "rede" in the collection is supposed to be Yavahē work. A visit among them would definitively settle this interesting question.

293 Also to be mentioned here as a noteworthy elaborate piece
[285] belonging to the Karaya are the eyeshades (ȧodi) plaited out of
[824] uaguassú palm leaves, with which they protect themselves from the blinding reflected sunlight while walking over the sandbanks (Pl. VIII /see p. 110/, 10). They have not arrived at the construction of protective apparatus of the type of the Eskimo snow-goggles, but they prize European dark glasses.

[197] The adding on to the eyeshade to make a complete top-hat (taă) is probably to be traced back to European influence. There were two specimens of it in all.

Settlements, Houses, and Domestic Animals.

621
361 The Karaya do not live in small troops of two or three families, as the forest Indians of Amazonas and the rude hunting nomads of the coastal region do, but always in larger communities. Only the southernmost Karayahi are forced by the lack of means of subsistence to divide up somewhat more. In the vicinity of S. José during the dry season one continually meets small bands of eight to ten persons. The farther one comes downstream, the more populous their camps become. Some of them may number at least 150-200 inhabitants.
342 The Karayahi huts erected on the sandbanks usually consist of large
[824] buriti-fiber mats stretched over pole frames, standing about without any order, like gypsy tents (Pl. III /see p.105 /, 2).

/21 cont./

285 vertical striping. By turning the diagonal splints toward the outside, there arises on each side a diagonal cross-pattern in dark color. All the splints come together at right angles at the bottom.

10. Round shallow baskets (uäriri) made of pliable vines,
[415] whose vertical splints join at the bottom in four groups intersecting at right angles (Pl. VIII /see p. 110 /, 14), serve as sieves.

11. A spherical basket for storing raw cotton has a quite similar plaiting. The vertical strips are of less pliable material (Pl. VIII /see p. 110/, 16).

283 The textile industry of the Karaya is essentially still plaited
[824] work. Primarily natural vegetable materials, the fiber of the buriti and certain Bromeliaceae, as well as the varieties of bast of the Malvaceae (embira and jangada) known for extraordinary cohesion, provide material for threads. Finer threads are made by rubbing the fibers between moistened hands or between hand and thigh. Stronger ones are then twisted out of these in the manner described by Im Thurn, op. cit., p. 284, a method which, moreover, is also practiced by every Brazilian sertanejo /inlander/. The thread and strands thus obtained are, however, used almost
[286] exclusively for twine, cords, and bow strings. To be sure, mesh goods is knitted out of them with long wooden needles, for example, fishing and carrying nets, as well as peculiar, collapsible caps of cotton thread, which are decorated in various ways with feathers (see p.44).

The true weaving material is cotton. The hand spindle (ä-θondäǎ) in the usual form, a round disk of bone or fired clay, serves for making thread. It bears in its pierced center a palmwood stick about a foot long, provided on the lower end with a sharply /22/ offset knob. The stick is set in motion by stroking
[532] it on the hip in a turning motion. One of the clay whorls here is spherically decorated with four human faces carved around it (Fig. 7 /see p. 42/).

286 The loom, or rather plaiting apparatus, on which the sleeping nets are made, is as simple as possible. Two strong wooden poles are rammed into the ground at a distance of 2-2 1/2 meters. The central roof-supports of the hut can serve as such. The warp

/22 cont./

286 is wound around these without crossing and thus consists of two parallel rows of thread. The woof threads are now led in pairs from top to bottom with a long needle and knotted to a pair of warp threads one after another. Two woof threads always encircle two warp threads. Their distance from each other is always twice as great as that of the pair of warp threads. The woof threads are knotted at both edges.

Since various colors are chosen for different warp strands, one gets "redes" with red and black stripes. The background color is usually white.

On the same apparatus, however, real weaving of a taffeta-like texture can also be made. For example, the above-mentioned "rede" of the Yavahē consists of such material. Also the strong

[283] [532]

Fig. 7. Spindles (1/4).

[482] [531] [237] Also the strong carrying-bands of certain baskets, the black forehead-bands decorated with mother-of-pearl disks (Pl. VII /see p. 109/, 7), the black body-bands for children (Pl. VII, 3, 4), and the dance belts decorated with feather strips hanging down are made in this manner.

In this smaller weaving a single continuous woof thread runs through the whole warp. It was not learned whether special, handier tools were used for this.

The arm cuffs and leg bands are knitted over a heavy, cone-shaped wooden block (kauarū) with a crochet needle (desi-tan), now usually of iron, insofar as this is not done on the body itself (Pl. VII, 9).

283 [301] The long fringe hangings falling over the chest and neck (Pl. VII, 2), as well as the shorter ones which are tied under the knee, a popular adornment for young people, are simple knotted work. Two strong parallel strands are entwined with a number of

/78 cont./ [Plate VI. Karaya. (Cont'd.)]

411 2, 3. Arrows with palm-wood knives (1/6).

4. Arrow with bird-bone tip (1/6).

5. Bird-arrow with blunt, knob-shaped tip (1/6).

6. Throwing board (1/6).

7. Arrow thrown by it, with blunt wooden tip (1/6).

8. War arrow with ray-spine tip (1/6).

9. War arrow with taquara-cane knife(1/6).

[531] 10. Lance with shaft-plaiting (1/9).

11. Flat club of the Šambioa chief Ambura (from the collection of Leite Moraes (1/9).

12. Plaiting pattern of the latter (2/3).

13. Grooved, round club of Ambura (1/9).

/79/

286 291 301 Pl. VII. Karaya. Cotton Work.

1. Large black and white striped sleeping-mat or cape (1/8).

2. Fringed hangings of twisted cotton thread to be worn hanging down from the neck over the chest and back. Dyed with urucũ red (1/8).

3, 4. Black, closely woven body-belts for small children (1/8).

5. Black tassels with pierced snail shells tied on in pairs with plaited cords taken doubled. Worn by small children around the neck (1/6).

6. Knee band of unmarried persons (1/8).

7. Black, closely woven forehead-band with rectangular mother-of-pearl disks sewed on (1/8).

8. A pair of tightly knitted, red, lower-arm cuffs, mark of the unmarried state (1/6).

501 531 412 415 Pl. VIII. Karaya. Oars, Gourds, Plaited Work.

1-3. Oars with fish patterns (1/9).

4. Cassava grater (1/9).

5. Small tobacco pouch (1/8).

/79 cont./ [Plate VIII. Karaya. (Cont'd.)]

415 6. Large, boat-shaped hanging basket with red cross-
285 decorations put on it (1/9).

7. Round gourd container with hanging cord (1/13). Pattern for it, see Fig. 10 /see p. 47/.

8. Double basket for storing feather decorations (1/9).

9. Large, bottle-shaped basket (1/8).

[293] 10. Eyeshade (1/8).

11. Small, expansible bottle-basket (1/8).

[286] 12. Large tobacco pouch with cotton, black-patterned carrying band (1/8).

13. Buriti foot-mat with black bast woof (1/8).

14. Flexible sieve-basket (1/8).

15. Rucksack-like bag (1/8).

16. Round basket for raw cotton (1/8).

17. Large, round carrying-basket with strong carrying-cord of bast (1/8).

Pl. IX. Karaya. Feather Decorations

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1. Helmet-like headdress, probably belonging to 7 (1/6).

2. Horseshoe-shaped headdress to be worn on the back of the head. Edge feathers white. Red arara feathers in the center and on the ends. Cover feathers blue, red, and green mixed (1/6).

3. Cylindrical headdress of thin sticks covered with small yellow and red feathers (1/6).

4. Plaited cap with yellow-red feather rosettes (1/6).

5. Large diadem of white-red feathers (1/6).

6. Everyday diadem of the warrior. A ring covered with red-yellow feathers (1/6).

7. Large, fan-shaped feather decoration, three-quarters closed, probably to be put around the lower part of 1 (1/6).

8 and 9. Festive arm-bands made of ounce skin with tufts of feathers (1/8).

10. Ear decorations. Feather rosettes with central shell plates (1/8).

/79 cont./

535 Pl. X. Karaya. Ornaments and Equipment for Dancing.

1. Dance rattle with feather hangings and incised ornamentation (1/7).

2. Dance rattle without feather hangings (1/8).

[532] 3. Mask of the bird tirehäñ (see p. 74) with long buriti-fiber hangings in front and black feather decoration in back (1/9).

4. Dance rattles of Thevetia pods to be tied around the knee, with cross-sticks and down covering (partly removed) (1/8).

5. Simple dance-rattles to be tied on the arms or legs (1/8).

6. Dance belts made of strung Thevetia fruit capsules (1/7).

[534] 7. Trumpet made of gourd shell with an inserted taquara mouthpiece (1/9).

[286] [239] 8-10. Dance belts made of strong black or black-white cotton weave with feather hangings (9 and 10 also with Thevetia pods) (1/7).

532 Plate XI. Karaya. Clay and Wax Figures.

1. Simplest form without indication of the sex (1/2).

2. Simple female figure (1/2).

3. Female figure with wax hair, without facial modeling, but with the lower extremities. Probably gravidity is indicated (3/4).

4. Female figure with wax hair, face and upper body modeled. Legs as stumps (3/4).

5. Male figure in similar execution with zigzag painting indicated (3/4).

6. Large female figure with stump feet, but clearly modeled face. The apron is lacking. The neck is adorned with a chain of strung Ricinus kernels and snail shells (1/2).

4: Ehrenreich--109 E-5 (1888) 1891 SP9 Caraja SP9

Plate VII

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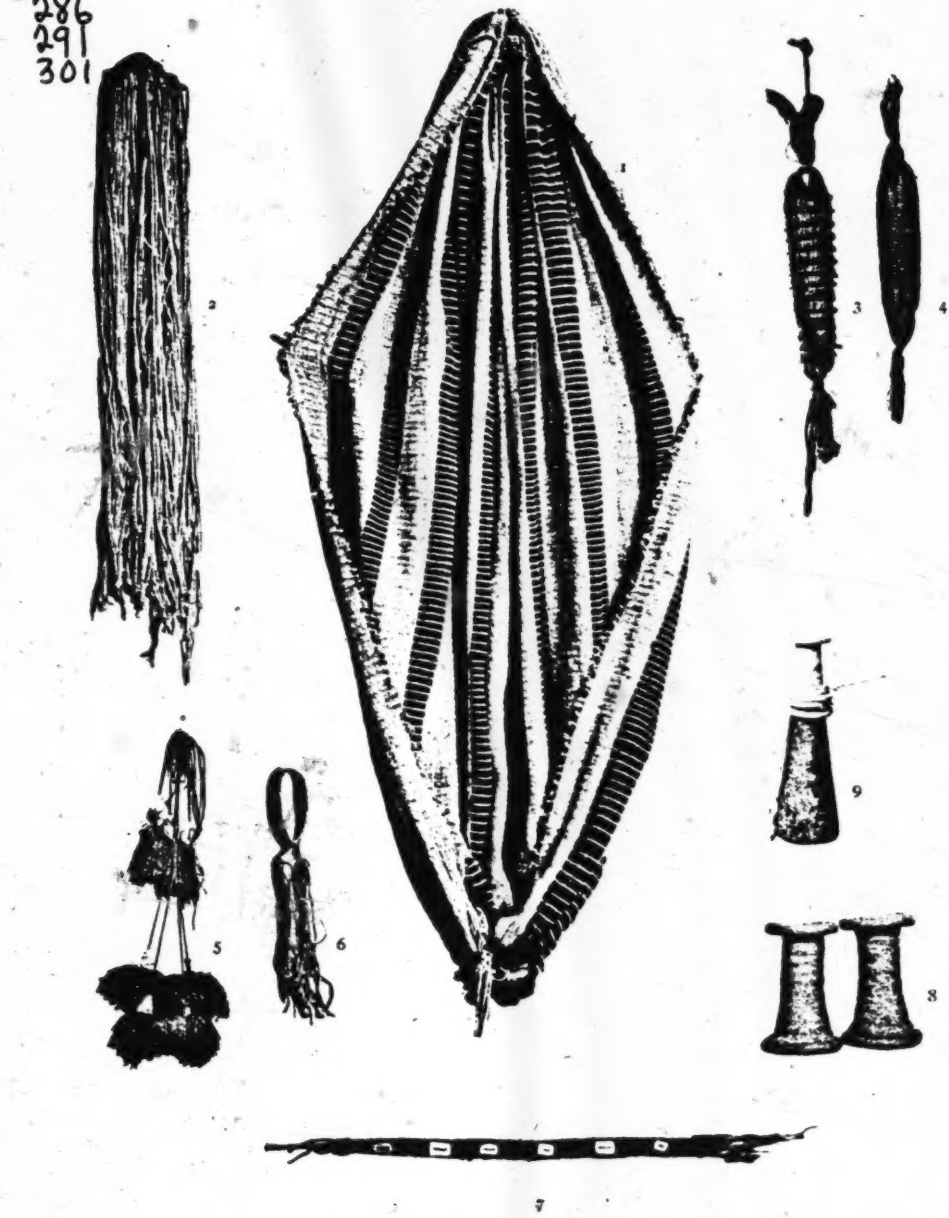

4: Ehrenreich--110 E-5 (1888) 1891 SP9 Caraja SP9

Plate VIII

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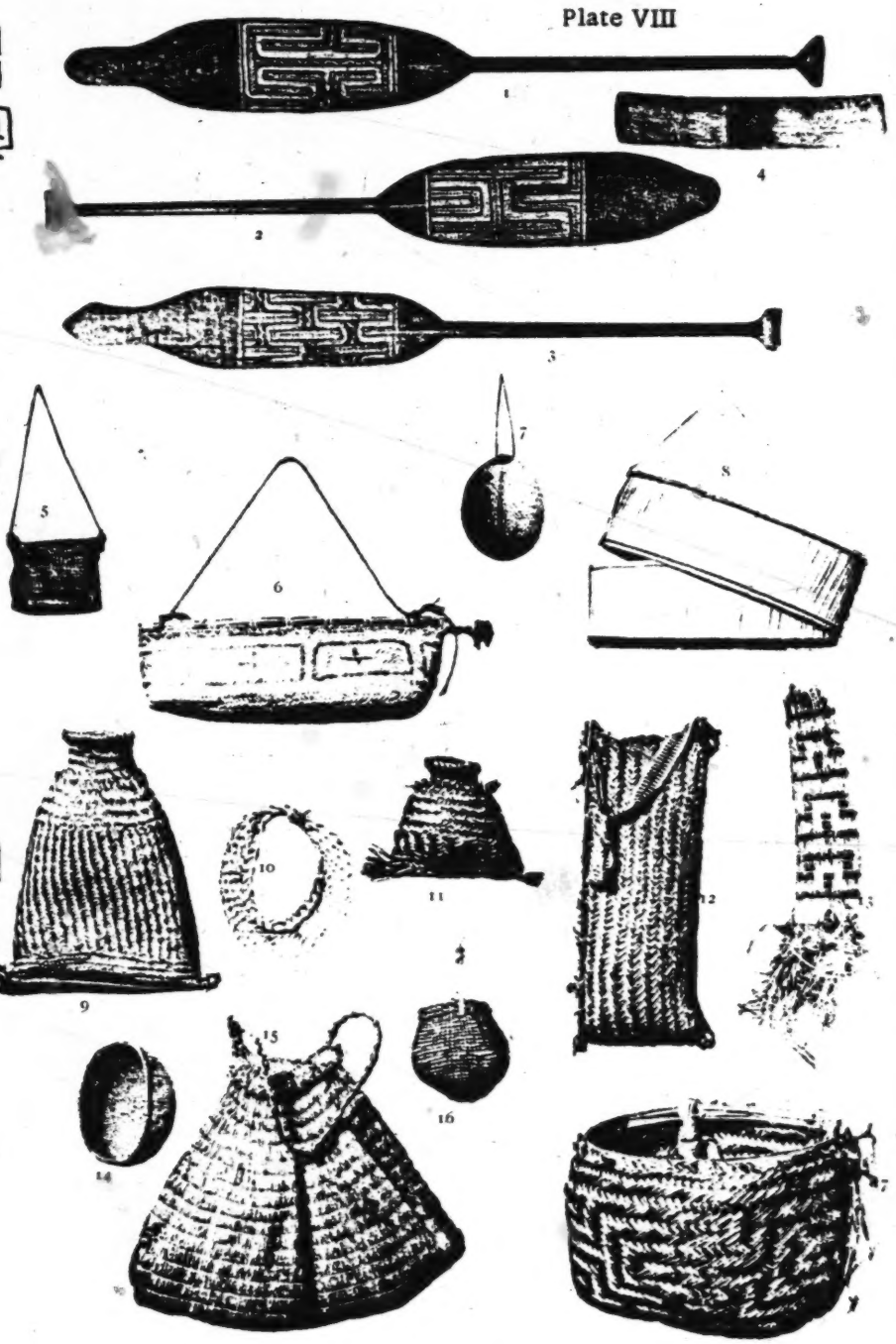

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[286]

Plate X

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[532]

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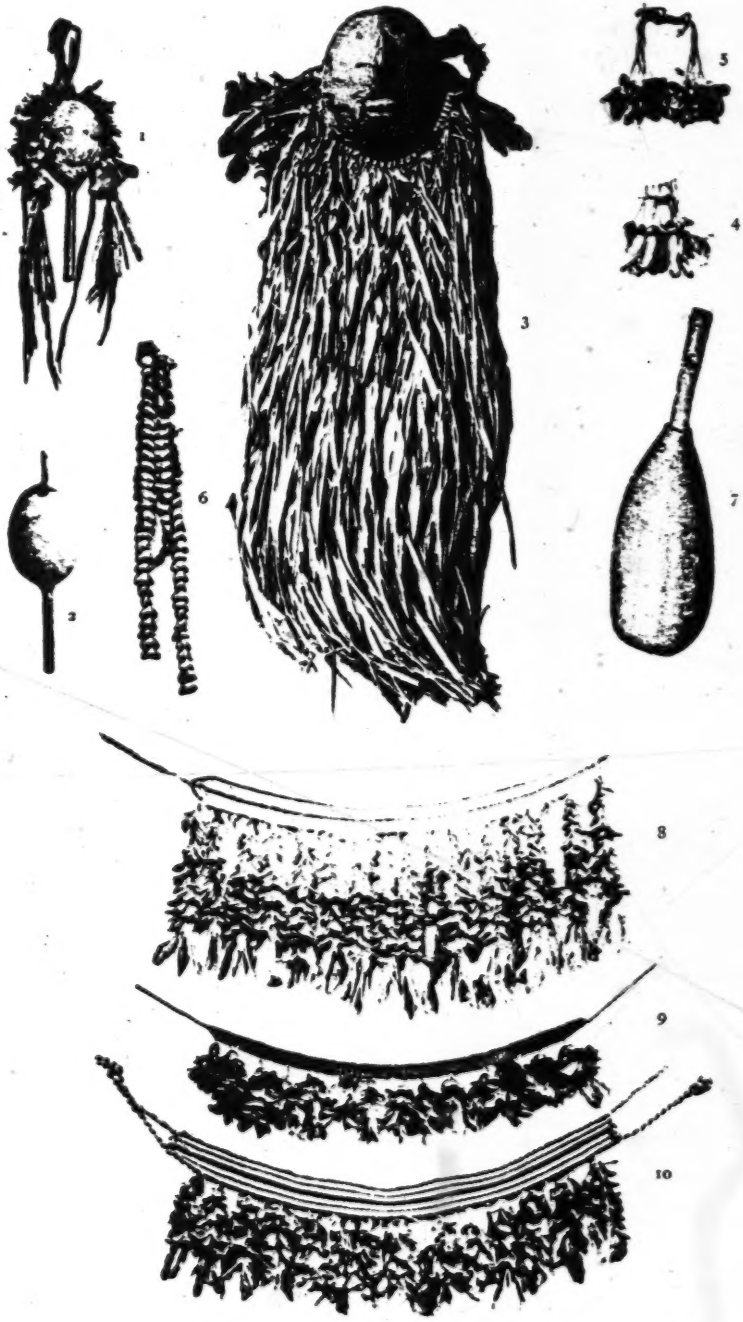

/226 cont./

*301 c) Arm and leg ornaments of red-colored cotton. These ornaments, consisting of arm cuffs and calf and ankle bands and worn by both sexes, are the insignia of the unmarried and are therefore worn from earliest youth until marriage and then again by widowed persons.

*301 The arm cuff (dẽsĩ) is crocheted out of cotton with the
286 crochet hook as a long cylinder the thickened edges of which are bent outward like a rim (Pl. 45, Ill. 3; see on Pl. 16, 18; 44, Ill. 2). The upper opening is wider than the lower one. They are made by the women, and, to be sure, are crocheted over a club or a manioc pounder (according to Ehrenreich, also over a
[386] special wooden cone not observed by me anywhere). When the cuffs are finished, they are colored red with urucú oil-color.
*301 They may be put on and taken off; they are laid aside especially for heavy work. On the whole, they are not worn constantly, but
[412] most of the time. Young men sometimes insert their knives into them from behind, so that the blade sticks out toward the elbow. If they become too tight, they are removed and new ones are made. They are ultimately removed only at marriage. There
[554] is a possibility, however, that they may be put on again later, and, to be sure, in three instances: first, widowed persons wear them again; then, men may wear them again if their wives are satisfied with them and put them on for them; and, finally, the best wrestler may wear them again.

Ankle bands (wãlãũ) and calf bands (dẽõbutã) are likewise
[286] crocheted out of cotton and colored red. These are narrow bands with thickened edges, which are crocheted together in front. At this closing place a long tassel of thread hangs down from both edges (Pl. 45, Ill. 4 a, b; see also Pl. 15, Ill. 1; 16; 36, Ill. 1, 43, Ill. 1). The tassels of the calf bands are often tied together in back for long marches or rapid sprints, in order not to impede the movement of the wearer (Pl. 44, Ill. 2). On the calf bands bast bindings are sometimes also tied (perhaps a sign of mourning?).

/226 cont./

*301 In the case of the ankle bands the upper edge, in the case of the calf bands the lower edge, is somewhat wider than the other one. The small circumference of the calf and ankle bands is noteworthy. In the case of a 16-year-old girl the circumference of the calf band is 24 centimeters, that of the ankle band, 17 centimeters; in the case of a young man, that of the calf band, 29 centimeters.

*301 286 Both bands are crocheted by women directly onto the leg of the wearer. The person concerned lies on a mat on the ground, the head put on /227/ a bundle; a rolled-up net covering is [602] pushed under his knees. A woman related to him crochets the bands out of white cotton thread on each leg; only after they are finished are they colored red.

The bands are put on soon after birth. If they become too tight, they are cut and replaced by new ones. In the meantime people often walk around without the bands. To cut them off, they insert a small stick between the band and the leg, so as not to injure themselves with the knife, which, because of the strong, firm netting, must be pressed quite hard to cut through it.

Boys remove their ankle bands at an early age; girls wear them constantly until marriage, when the two sexes cut off each other's calf and ankle bands. Widowed persons put the calf bands on again.

*301 [554] [622] [824] Ornamentation as a sign of rank scarcely exists; at any rate I did not see anything of the sort. Kurišĭ, however, said that chiefs' wives wear a necklace of chains made of Thevetia fruits (mālǎnĭ). The chains are arranged vertically on two threads, which are tied at the back of the neck, in such a way that the chains increase in length in front and extend down the body to the navel.

C. Other Ornamentation.

All the other ornaments are limited to unmarried persons (children and young people) and are worn only occasionally.

/239 cont./

*30 *237 In the case of small children the body, as well as the arms and legs, is sometimes covered with white down feathers which are fastened on with light resin. One child wore such down on the upper arm and calves; the little feathers had already become dirty and look like skin scabs. The dead are treated similarly (see there /see p. 277 /).

[764]

Hip ornamentation consists only of dance belts of the male youth. Along with feather belts, there are patterned plaited cotton belts with appendages of all sorts.

[286]

The feather belts consist of long ostrich feathers which are fastened to two fine strings (Ill. 82). I saw such belts in only two specimens and only in the Karajá village in the interior of Bananal, where they were worn by youths for the greeting.

[286]

The patterned, plaited belts made of black and white cotton with appendages of the most varied kinds (wädäkäná) are worn by the male youth, usually at wrestling, and otherwise only occasionally. The pendants are of a very diverse nature (Pl. 53, Ills. 1-5). Very popular are /240/ small feather rods or rosettes with long end feathers, which, on long strings, are attached in a long row to the lower edge of the belt; usually Thevetia fruits or mussel shells hang between them, individually or in bunches. In the case of the other belts, the feathers are not fastened to separate threads, but directly to the lower edge.

[825]

Ill. 81 a, b. Finger rings made of the tail rings from a) chameleon, b) teju lizard.

Especially handsome is the arrangement on the belt of Ill. 4, whose small feather rods alternately bear little white end feathers or red string bundles, as well as on the belt of Ill. 5, between each of the small rods of which three to four Thevetia fruits with red-yellow rosettes and like-colored end feathers hang garland-fashion on a separate string, and the two center rods of which each have two long red arara feathers. The ornamentation on the belt

5: Krause--154 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9

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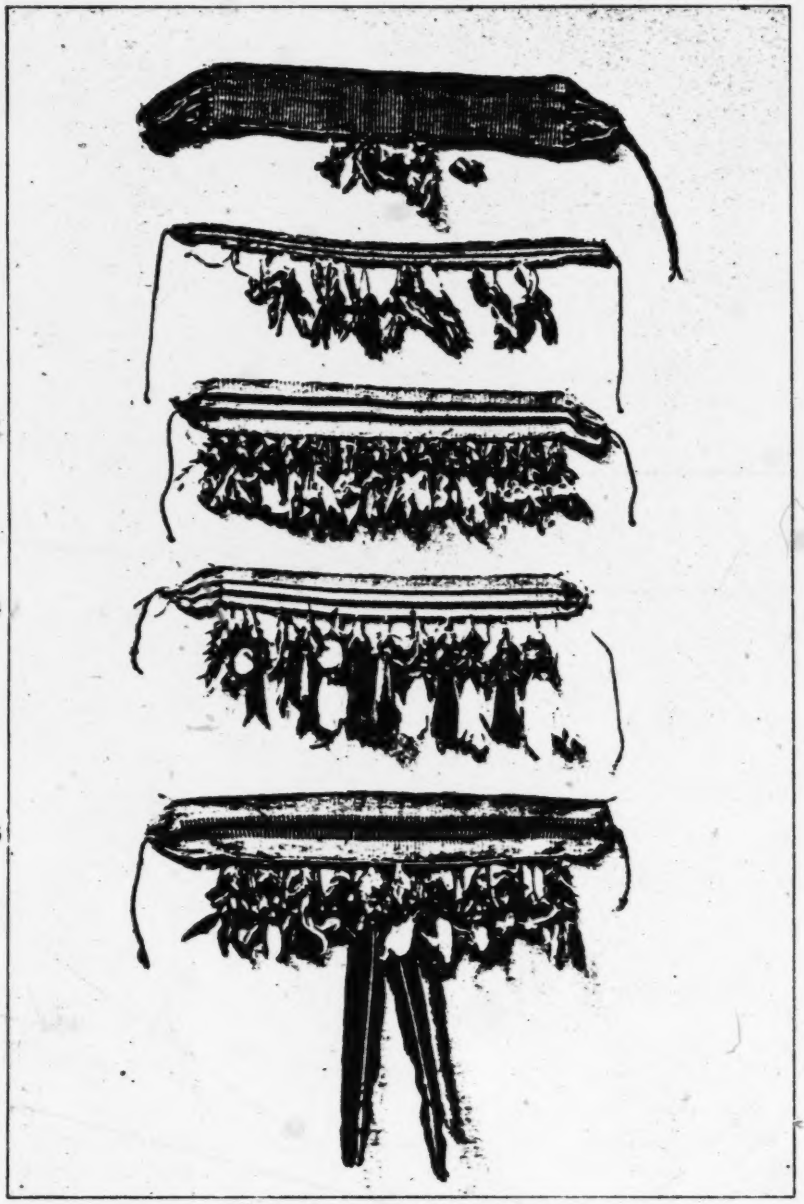

1.—5. Plaited cotton belts with feather pendants.

/287 cont./

283 [531] for the ornamental winding on arrow shafts, spear shafts, implement handles, etc. A kind of black bast four centimeters wide (ōūnā, āāwū) is used exclusively to decorate the edge of the pointed-oval baskets (Pl. 57, Ill. 7); it is colored with black loam.

[824] Finely split bast fibers of imbauva and buriti serve as material for ropemaking and mat-knotting. I do not know how the imbauva fiber is made. The buriti bast fibers (cedo de burity: lādĕhōwū) are obtained as follows: The not yet unfolded leaves of the buriti palm (so-called olhos de burity), which lie stacked up in heaps in the houses of the plaiters, are beaten against the floor several times with one end, until the stalk has split open sufficiently into many narrow longitudinal pieces. Of these longitudinal pieces the fine, soft inner bast (īū) is then separated from the coarser outer leaf-strips (lādĕhŏăĕhĕ). The latter are used as leaf strips in the manufacture of hats; the former are further prepared for twisting and knotting. The imbauva fibers (Pl. 58, Ill. 4a), as well as the buriti fibers (Pl. 58, Ill. 4b; /288/ Ill. 135), are stored in larger bundles that are made up of thin bunches (according to Ehrenreich, in plaited braids, Berlin 3996).

Cords are made out of these by twisting them between the thigh and the palm of the hand. Stouter cords are made out of two or more /Ills. 135 and 136 appear here/ such fine cords with the spindle. They are used as binding string of all kinds, such as bowstrings, as ropes for strong fish-nets, fishlines, etc.

• 286 Fine twisted bast strings are used to knot the feather-cap nets. The large fish nets are made in the same way as these nets; it is pure netting work. Implements are not used for this: I did not see any in use, and the Indians denied to me that they existed. In Ehrenreich's collection, however, there is the beginning of a net of fine bast threads (Berlin 3938) bearing two small wooden rods at the upper edge, which Ehrenreich is inclined to regard as knitting needles. The cap-nets are made as follows: Out of a string twisted on the thigh a loop is knotted and hung over the great toe of the sitting worker. A second thread is knotted to it, and with this the first /Ills. 137 and 138 appear here/ row of meshes

[Text continues on p. 218]

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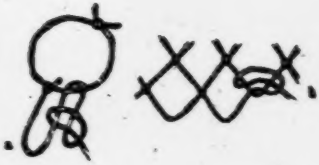
Ill. 135.
Bunch of buriti fibers.



Ill. 136 a, b.
Net knots.

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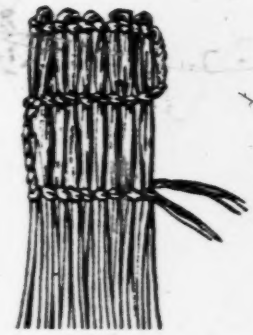
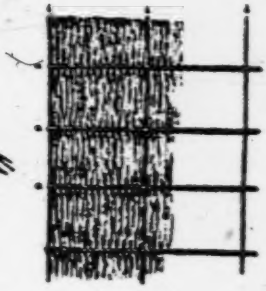


Ill. 137.
Sample of sleeping-mat plaiting.



Ill. 138.
Schema of the sleeping mat
a) weft,
b) stiffening cords.

/288 cont./

286 is knotted in such a way that the knots come in the center of the length of the mesh. The meshes of the second and subsequent rows are hooked into those of the preceding one and knotted on their lower end. The method of the knot formation is shown in Ill. 136 a, b.

285 For knotting the large sleeping and sitting mats, untwisted
284 buriti bast-fibers are used. These are laid side by side in bunches and these bunches are wound alternately with two twisted bast-fiber strings, so that a continuous weft runs from side to side. On the edge the two strings are twisted together, led along the edge for about three and a half centimeters, and then again plaited through the bunches. Thus, one /Plate 58 appears here/ /289/ weft runs through the whole mat. (See the sample plaiting, Ill. 137 see p. 217/.) At greater intervals, every 10-20 centimeters, a twisted bast string runs between the bunches and parallel to them, in order to give the mat more firmness (b in Ill. 138). The weft does not start at the end of the mat and is not led through to the other end; rather, on both of the narrow sides the ends of
285 the bunches remain free as fringe. Such mats in large dimensions are used to make the protective walls and protective roofs, as well as sleeping and sitting mats. Smaller mats are carried by pregnant women; they are put around the lower body and held together in front with the hands. I never saw small mats patterned with black embira threads as an underlayer for the feet during the continuous standing on the hot sandbanks, such as Ehrenreich describes (Berlin 3907; "Beiträge," p. 21). I obtained a patterned sleeping mat, however, the design of which was made by plaiting in black-colored bast strips (Ill. 22).

Small carrying-sacks (masi) are made in the same way as these mats; the bottoms of these are sometimes plaited cross-shaped (Pl. 57, Ills. 5, 6). The edge is reinforced; the carrying-band likewise consists of buriti bast-fibers.

28 The division of labor in ropemaking and knotting is such
462 that the making of the fiber material is usually incumbent on the women, whereas the twisting of the cords is practiced by men and women, but is usually done only as needed. The knotting of the

[Text Continues on p. 220]

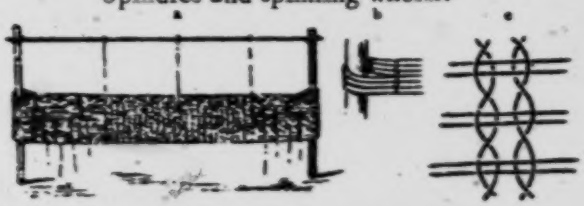
/294 cont. /

283 both sides, they bear a circle with rays; the grooves are drawn in red and black (Ill. 144d). Whorls of wax in a double-conical shape are very common. I did not happen to acquire any from the Karajá; they are the same, however, as those brought back from the Šavajé (see below /see p. 328 /).

/295/ The thread (ãsõtãkẽ) is stored wound in balls (Pl. 58, Ill. 7). These balls are apparently an Indian invention; at any rate the Karajá were extremely astonished when they saw my balls of string. Their balls are roughly cube-shaped, from nine

Ill. 144 a-d.
Spindles and spinning whorls.

[286]



Ill. 145 a-c.
Plaiting of the net coverings.
a) Plaiting apparatus. b) Winding the warp.
c) The plaiting in of the weft.

to ten centimeters long on each side.

283 286 Working with cotton threads, which either retain their natural color or are blackened with earth color, is done by plaiting, crocheting, and knotting.

[462] Plaiting is the work of the men, crocheting and knotting that of the women. The cotton threads are plaited into four-edged cords, for example, hip cords.

/295 cont. /

•286 There is no actual weaving; the Indians have not progressed beyond plaiting. For this they use very simple apparatus to make their net coverings, dance belts, and girls' belts.

To make the net coverings [ri(i)ŏ, riŭ] two thick posts are driven into the ground vertically, the length of the covering apart. The warp is wound around the two continuously, and, indeed, in such a way that the rear layer of threads is pulled into the front one during the work, so that there is only one layer. This is made possible by the fact that every four to eight circuits a new thread is taken and the rear threads of the first bundle are pulled over those of the front one (Ill. 145b). In four or five places a weft is now interlaced and tied to a special cross-rod fastened to the upper end of the two posts or to the lowest leaf ribs of the roof covering. The rest of the weft threads are then interlaced at a distance of about two and a half centimeters from one another (Ill. 145a). The weft threads consist of four cotton threads which are knotted to the lowest warp thread. Two weft threads are in front of the warp, two behind it. Over the second warp thread the front pair is led to the back, the back pair to the front, whereby the pair of threads coming from the back embraces the front one. The same occurs over the fourth, sixth, eighth, etc. warp thread (Ill. 145c). Instruments are not used in this; the interlacing is done only with the fingers. On the uppermost pair of warp threads the weft threads are knotted, and their ends are cut off. When the covering is finished, it is lifted off the posts; a thick string is drawn through the end loops of the warp threads on either side and tied together tightly; its ends are cut off. In this way the two lappets of the covering are produced.

The net coverings of the Karajá are of one color, usually yellowish-brown. Sometimes white ones also occur. I do not know whether the yellowish-brown color is produced only by long wear on the oiled body, but I am inclined to regard this as probable. Among the Karajá there are no net coverings patterned by plaiting in black or red weft threads. In general, they make very few (altogether I saw such plaiting apparatus only three times), but prefer to buy them from the Šavajé and Tapirapé,

/295 cont./

286 who make better and, as far as the Tapirapé are concerned, patterned, thicker coverings (1).

1. The net coverings are mentioned for the first time in 1791 among the Šambioá.

174 /296/ Ehrenreich ("Beiträge," p. 12) assumes that the
286 Karajá learned this technique from the Brazilians. Fonseca in
114 1773 is supposed to have taught weaving to the Šavajé on Bananal. Ehrenreich believes that he can support these statements by the fact that the Šavajé to this day make better coverings. In my opinion this is not a substantiation of this assumption, for the Tapirapé make still better coverings than the Šavajé, and the Karajá bought a great many coverings from them in former, peaceful times. Hence the Karajá could just as well have adopted this technique from the Tapirapé. Now, in the houses of the Tapirapé and at their large fishing sites I found no signs of sleeping places, so I must assume that the Tapirapé sleep in hammocks. It would be peculiar then that the Karajá bought the hammocks (for in shape the coverings are nothing else), but removed the suspension ropes and used the coverings as shawls and blankets. Furthermore, the taffeta-like woven covering which Ehrenreich describes as probably belonging to the Šavajé undoubtedly comes, not from the Šavajé, but from the Tapirapé, for the Šavajé use and make coverings which are exactly like those of the Karajá, whereas the Tapirapé produce the taffeta-like texture. Hence the Karajá, who, of course, live closer to the Tapirapé than the Šavajé and have the role of intermediaries between these two peoples, could not have taken over this texture from the Šavajé. To be sure, Fonseca reports that he built a loom for the Karajá and gave them their first instruction in weaving
286 (Rev. trim. 8, p. 387). It seems to me that this note more likely
174 refers to the making of the girls' belts and the dance belts, which actually show a sort of weaving. The technique by which the coverings are made is not weaving, but knotting, and it is a purely

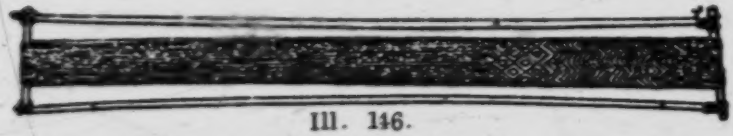
/296 cont. /

174 286 Indian technique, which we find distributed over a large part of South America. Finally, in the creation myth the woman is shown by the Urubu-re how the net coverings are made. In the myth, the Urubu-re teaches the Indians to become familiar with the textile plants, with spinning and the making of the net coverings, and the manufacture and use of bows and arrows. This points to the fact that this technique has been familiar to the Karajá since ancient times. Hence I believe that it is an ancient art which the Karajá brought along from their former home north or northwest of their present-day territory, where they probably used hammocks. In their present territory they have adopted another way of sleeping, perhaps under the influence of the surrounding Ge peoples. Indeed, their entire culture shows a strong impact by elements of the Ge cultures. The Karajá proper have gradually lost the method of manufacture, for, with the iron goods bartered from the Brazilians, they were able to barter for good coverings from their neighbors without any trouble. That is why their technique is so poor today and that of the Šavajé, who still live untouched by civilization, so much better.

286 A similar, but smaller apparatus is used for making the dance belts and girls' belts and the forehead bands. The warp, in contrast to the net covers, /297/ is stretched continuously between the short rods of an elongated cane frame (Ill. 146). On one apparatus a bow and a lance took the place of the long side rods (Ill. 147). The frame is kept horizontal or slightly sloping upward. The warp threads are picked up with the hand, and the weft is drawn through with the hand, a toilsome task, especially in the case of the dance belts, which are patterned in black and white. /Ills. 146-148 appear here. / The weft consists of only one thread, with which one warp thread after the other is picked up. This type of plaiting is already very close to weaving.

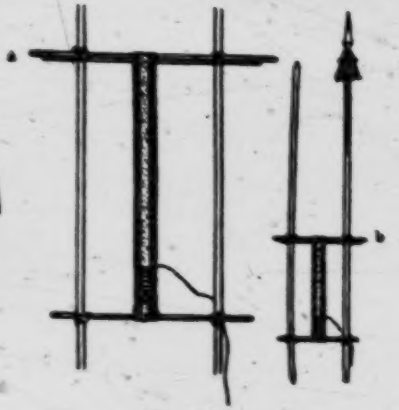
/297 cont./

•286 The art of crocheting is peculiar to the women; it is practiced by them from childhood on. Arm cuffs and calf and ankle bands are crocheted. As a crochet needle (dēšidūnā) an iron needle about 12-16 centimeters long, /298/ with a barb, is now used; it is inserted into a cane handle 17-23



Ill. 146.
Frame for plaiting belts.

[531]



Ill. 147 a, b.
Apparatus for plaiting belts.

Ill. 149.
Sample of crocheting.

Ill. 148 a, b.
Crochet needles.

286 531 centimeters long and fastened in it with resin. The handle is usually decorated: both ends are wound with red cotton threads, between which there is a patterned plaiting made of yellow longitudinal stripes with black stripes running through them (Ill. 148a). Sometimes, too, the entire handle is wound with red and bears a few tassels on the end (Ill. 148b). The patterns

/298 cont./

286 [531] correspond to the other plaiting patterns such as we find on bows, lances, on baskets, fans, etc. The arm cuffs are crocheted over the club or the pestle; I never saw crocheting blocks such as Ehrenreich describes and illustrates in "Beiträge," Plate VII, Fig. 9. I did not observe nor could I find out how the thicker edge is made. The sample of crocheting (Ill. 149) is already more advanced and shows only how the meshes are made. Calf and ankle bands are crocheted directly on the body itself. They remain there until they become too tight; then they are carefully cut off, during which one pushes flat sticks underneath in order not to injure oneself. When they are crocheted on, the person concerned lies down on the mat in

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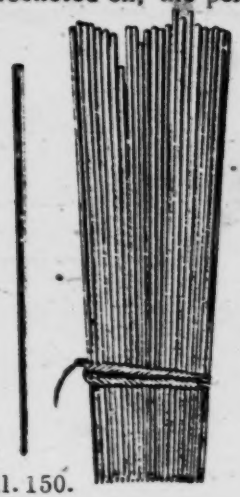
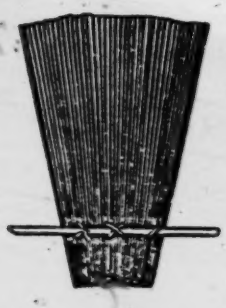


Ill. 150. Small rod for making a comb.

Ill. 151. First interlacing of the comb rods.



Ill. 152. Fastening of the cross-rod.

Ill. 153 a, b. Cross-threads on the narrow edges of the combs.

286 the hut, has a bundle of coverings shoved under his knees, and has the bands crocheted by a female relative.

283 The various methods of knotting cotton threads into fringes and tassels is shown on Ills. 4 and 6 of Plate 45 (arm cuffs, calf hangings) and Ill. 68 (neck tassels).

303 K. Finally, comb manufacture should be mentioned here. Small fine wooden rods about 15 centimeters long and pointed at one end /299/ (Ill. 150) serve as the material. They are laid

[See P. 119 -- Analyst]

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Ill. 200.
Gourd for carrying water.

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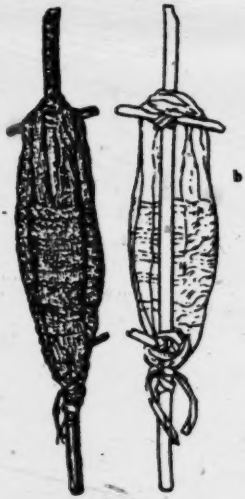

Ill. 203 a, b.
Plaiting apparatus for girls' belt.
b) = rear view.

Ill. 204.
Crochet needle.

Ill. 201 a, b.
Stone ax.

Ill. 202.
Cotton ball in bast covering.

Ill. 205.
Black resin.

Ill. 206 a-c.
Child's bow with arrows.

/364 cont./

286 184 The making of the net coverings corresponds to that of the Karajá, and the apparatus is just as primitive as it is there. A small apparatus is used for plaiting the girls' belts: on a long stick, at some distance from either end, a short cross-stick is tied. Around these the warp is then wound (Ill. 203 a, b). The weft is intertwined by hand.

Here, too, crocheting is done with iron crochet needles [531] (dĕšidūnă). The handle is only rarely decorated and then only simply wound with red cotton thread (Ill. 204).

386 314 184 Coloring and adhesive substances are identical with those of the Karajá. I obtained red dōmāle and black resin, zōbădāla, both in pieces 12-15.5 centimeters long, 5.5-6 centimeters wide, and 2 centimeters thick, and convex on one side (Ill. 205). These are pressed in rod sieves, the texture of which is sometimes still recognizable on the surface.

524 531

Ill. 207 a-d.
Toy dishes.
a, b) Bowls, c) painted vessel, d) its design.

237 Feathers, for storing, are either tied in small bundles or, as among the Karajá, arranged as wings.

524 10. As children's toys, I brought back: small bows and arrows, of which the bows are very crudely made, whereas the arrows either consist of the pointed shaft, on which, in front, a small /365/ nut with lateral hole is sometimes pushed (Ill. 206 a-c), or exhibit a round, inserted wooden point. The feathering is the ordinary bunch-feathering. I did not see any imitations of guns here. As toy clay dishes I acquired two small bowls [531] (wădjĭwĭliŏlĕ) and, in Schischá, a bowl and a vessel painted red on the outside, which is an imitation of a gourd spoon (207 a-d).

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca.1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

Brazil.

Both sexes have a blue ring tattooed under the eye, forming a deep ugly scar, which is the special distinguishing mark of the tribe. 304 619

The Karayá take good care of the body, bathing many times each day—though this is more to cool and refresh themselves, and for sport—keep the hair well combed, and pull out the sparse beard. They formerly used the teeth of the piránha fish as a kind of saw with which to cut the hair, but they now have scissors. 515 302 412 237

As already stated, the men wear no clothing, or covering whatever. The sash, or apron, worn by the women, is made of the inner bark of the jangáda tree. It is prepared for use by first soaking it a day or two in water, then pounding it with flat stones, and finally drying it. When the wearer of this primitive apron sits, she passes it back between the limbs and sits upon it. Besides this costume, both sexes wear various armlets, wristlets and leglets, as ornaments, which are peculiar to each division of the tribe. Soon after birth, the child's wrists and legs below the knees, are adorned with broad bands made by weaving together cotton cordage on the limbs themselves; while a black cotton band girts the body as a bandage. When the infant is a few months old, these articles are removed, and broad cotton wristlets, leglets and anklets are woven on the limbs, a tassel of cotton cords being attached to the leglets. The boys wear the leglets, or garterlets, until the lip is pierced, while the girls wear them until married. The wristlets worn by adults, cover nearly the whole forearm. They are not put aside until after marriage, and many females wear them until the first child is born. When one of the couple dies, the survivor puts the wristlets on again. This custom has come down from the ancients. As the wristlets and leglets are usually woven on the limbs themselves, they cannot be removed without being cut off. For this reason, they are never removed, nor washed until finally thrown aside. But I found the Karayá quite ready to cut these articles off and give them to me in exchange for some articles I had which took their fancy. 291 [287] 301 [184] [283] [286] [437] [439]

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

301 [286] fancy. Sometimes, however, these ornaments are woven on a wooden form.

292 513 Another article of dress, which is peculiar to the Karayá, is the *hammock*. It is made of cotton cords. Strange to say, it is never used as a hammock; nor can it even be swung up, as it is not provided with any cords for this purpose. It is only the body of a hammock. During the day, it is used as a kind of cloak, and is hooked over the head so as to cover the shoulders and back; and at night, it is used as a mat to sleep upon, *on the ground*. Both adults and children may be seen going about during the day with these huge, half-open-pea-pod like objects hooked over them. It reminds one of a snail with its shell on its back. Even clay dolls have this hammock cloak. It is, however, occasionally fastened up [354] like a hammock in order that it may be used as a cradle for an infant.

513 171 This *hammock* is of great ethnological interest, because the primitive races of Brazil are classified ethnographically according to whether they sleep in a hammock or do not. It is [352] known that all the tribes occupying the eastern half of Brazil, which includes the Karayá, sleep on the ground, or on slightly raised platforms made of poles; while those that are really hammock using tribes—that sleep in hammocks—make their hammocks of cordage twisted from cotton and palm-leaf fibre. But the Karayá *hammock* is made of cotton only; moreover, it is not a complete hammock and is not used to sleep in. This proves that the Karayá are not to be classified as one [177] of the hammock tribes. We are to understand, therefore, that they got the idea of the hammock comparatively recently from some other people, probably from the "civilized" Brazilians, who make them of cotton only; and though they value them, they are yet unwilling to give up their old custom of sleeping on the ground. A certain Brazilian explorer asserts that [286] he taught the Karayá to make a simple loom and how to weave.

293 Another article of dress used by the Karayá, is a kind of eye-shade, called an eye-umbrella. It is used to protect the

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

283 between the hand and the leg above the knee. These fine strands, again, are rolled together into cords. This is accomplished by each strand being skillfully rolled independently on the leg as the hand is passed rapidly over them all before they are permitted to come together and twist themselves around each other into a single cord. The same [171] method of making cordage is seen among the "civilized" Brazilians of the far interior, and is probably another relic of their aboriginal ancestry.

286 The Karayá also make fish-nets by means of large wooden needles; small nets, shaped like hand-bags, in which to carry small objects; queer-looking net caps that may be drawn together with cotton strings, and which are embellished with 283 brilliant feathers. Cotton is also used by the Karayá. It is spun by means of a rude spindle of bone or baked clay, which is revolved between the hands.

286 The *loom*, or contrivance for braiding—or weaving—by means of which the hammocks already described are *woven*, is very simple. The warping is wound over two small posts which are planted upright in the ground a foot or two apart. The weaving is done by working the woof thread in by hand over and under the warping threads by means of a long needle, then pressing it back tightly by using a wooden blade instead of the reed employed by more advanced peoples. It is extremely slow work. Various colored warps and woofs are used making stripes in the finished work. On this same framework is woven the strong bands used in carrying heavy baskets; also the forehead bands and the body bands for infants. Armlets and leglets are either knitted or crochetted with a hook-like needle over a cone-shaped block of wood, or are made on the limb itself.

301 Most of the ornaments of the Karayá, as of other tribes, 237 are made of brilliant plumage. They take pleasure in making these articles; and exercise such good taste and introduce so much variety, that they are not excelled by any of the primitive peoples of South America. The work, however, lacks durability; but as they have always an abundance of suitable

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301 Young men wear large armlets almost 12 inches (30 cm.) long crocheted of cotton with hanging fringes.

291 Women wear a bark-cloth girdle, which is wound round the body and under the crotch and looped over, hanging down in front. Feather head-
[292] dresses of a number of different designs are worn by men on festal occasions. Men tie the prepuce with a firmly wound string and wear a string belt.

302 Elaborately decorated woven belts with hanging ema feathers are worn
[292] for wrestling matches. Bird down is glued on the shoulders, arms, and
[237] legs. Body painting is very elaborate, and designs covering the entire body are carefully executed with genipa. Urucú is spread generally, with accents on the cheekbones, the nose, and the upper arm.

TRANSPORTATION

501 The *Carajá* manufacture elongated dugouts, neatly adapted to landing and freeing their craft among the sandbanks.

MANUFACTURES

287 **Bark cloth.**—Bark cloth is made of *Apeiba* bast, soaked, beaten with flat stones, and dried until it becomes very soft and white.

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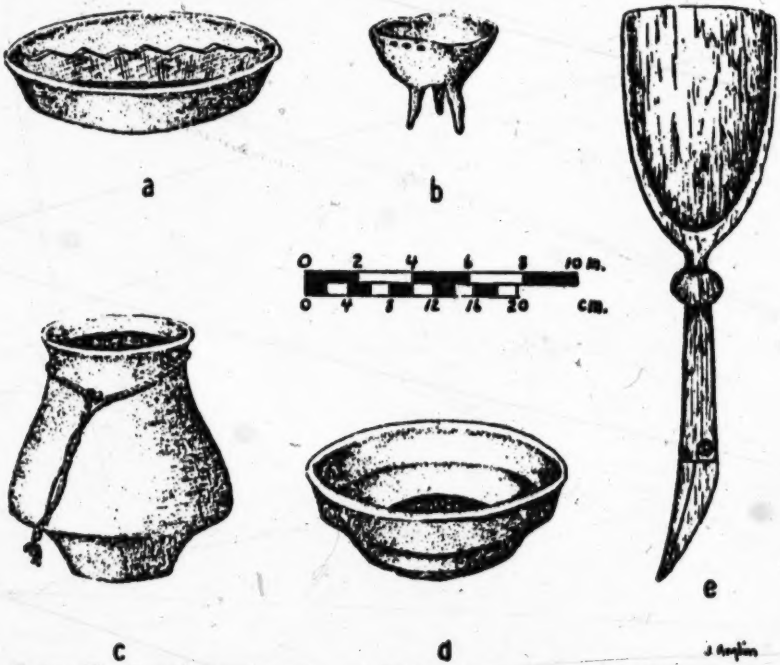

FIGURE 20.—*Carajá* manufactures. *a-d*, Pottery; *e*, wooden scoop. (Redrawn from Ehrenreich, 1891 b, figs. 5 and 14.)

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Basketry.—The *Carajá* excel in the variety and solidity of their plaitwork, which includes burden baskets, strainers, shoulder bags, bottles, elliptical feather cases, and boat-shaped containers for suspension. Twilling and twining are the dominant techniques (pl. 22). 285

Textiles.—The *Carajá* produce some taffetalike fabrics, but in 1775 Pinto da Fonseca found them using cotton solely for fish nets and bowstrings, so that he himself introduced a loom and taught the women how to work it. 286 177

Featherwork.—In contrast to their *Ge* neighbors of Eastern Brazil, the *Carajá* are outstanding for featherwork. They make wide-meshed and close-meshed caps with feathers tied to the intersection of the interlaced splints and arranged into rosettes, diadems of feathers stuck into radially mounted cane tubes, and other types of ornaments (pl. 21). 287

Axes.—Stone axes figure in old *Carajá* petroglyphs and have been found by many travelers in the area. They were used for adzing, chopping, and warfare, and as chief's badges. Iron axes have rapidly replaced them. 412 172

301 412 531

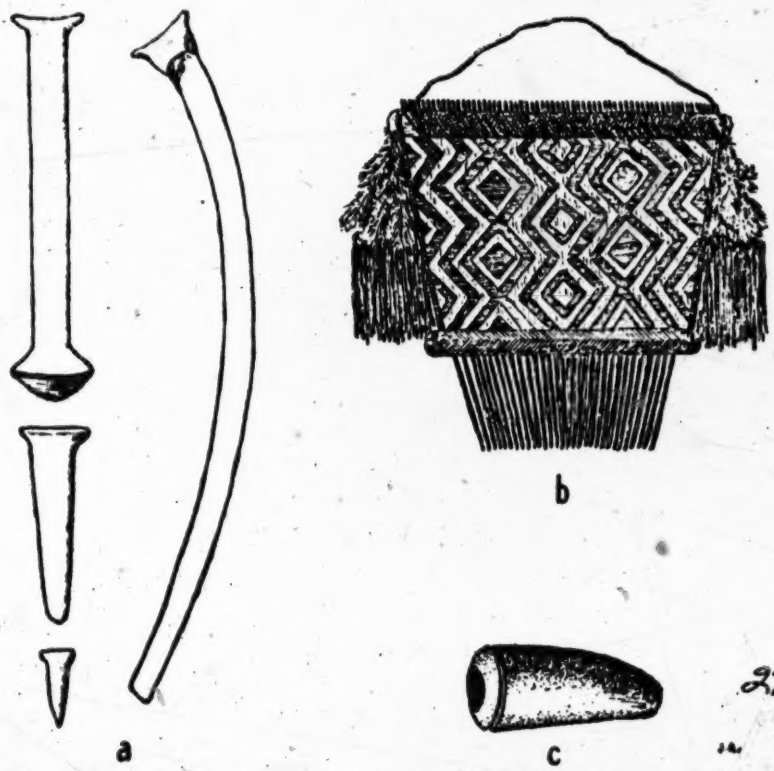

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FIGURE 21.—*Carajá* manufactures. *a*, Labrets; *b*, comb; *c*, pipe. (Approximately ⅓ actual size.) (Redrawn from Ehrenreich, 1891 b, figs. 2, 9, and 4.)

/5 cont./

*532 Then the next stage of production can begin. In the case of female figures the apron [287] is now tied on; a piece of tree bast is cut to the necessary length, and the inner layer is pulled off and made pliable by being pulled through the mouth several times. The way it is fastened as an [314] apron is shown on Fig. 24 /see p. 48 /. Then the hair is put on. Black resin is warmed on a block of wood, rolled out on a gourd or on the thigh into a long roll, and this is then pressed tightly on the head. A thick layer of resin is put on the back of the head. If the resin becomes hard too quickly, it is warmed up again with [388] the block of wood. Only now does the painting with black genipa and red urucú dye follow. A slender bamboo rod is dipped into the paint and drawn along the indented lines. Larger red areas of color are also put on with the index finger.

/6/ The adornment characteristic of the different sexes and ages is usually put on as well. Almost all figures are painted; I [302] do not know whether the patterns correspond to the patterns of body painting customary otherwise; in any case I never saw patterns of that kind on the bodies of the people themselves, though it must be remarked that I very seldom encountered patterning on the body at all.

Ear rods are represented here and there by fine rods (Figs. 17, 23 /see p.48 /); ear rosettes are made very small from feathers (Fig. 16 a and b /see p48 /). Long narrow strips of cane serve the men as lip plugs (Fig. 18 /see p.48 /).

Necklaces are either painted on (Fig. 19b /see p. 48 /) or reproduced by beads (Fig. 16 /see p. 48 /) or, in the majority of cases, by cotton threads, which either fit tightly (Figs. 18, 22 /see p. 48 /) or hang down (Fig. 21 /see p.48 /, Fig. 35 /see p.48 /).

Neck tassels for the children are formed in wax; they lie tightly against the back of the figures (Figs. 20, 21 /see p.48 /).

Cuffs are sometimes attached to the extensions of the wax hair-roll by attaching two fine rolls of wax, with the space between them painted red (Figs. 17, 18, 20, 21, 22, 35).

Arm tassels of string are shown in Fig. 22.

Calf bands are represented by two fine rolls of wax, with the space between them only rarely painted red (Figs. 18, 22, 23).

/11 cont./

291 Clothing. The men go about completely naked, but tie the foreskin over the penis glans with a black cotton thread, like the end of a sausage (Pl. I /see p. 103/, 1). The women wear the nantŏ, [824] a kind of sash made of the bast of the jangada tree (Apeiba jangada). [287] /Fig. 2 appears here./ Softened in water and beaten and dried with flat stones, it acquires a high degree of pliability and a gleaming white, almost cloth-like appearance, very similar to the Polynesian tapa cloth made in the same way. A piece one span wide and 1 1/2 meters long is placed around the hips, both ends drawn be-

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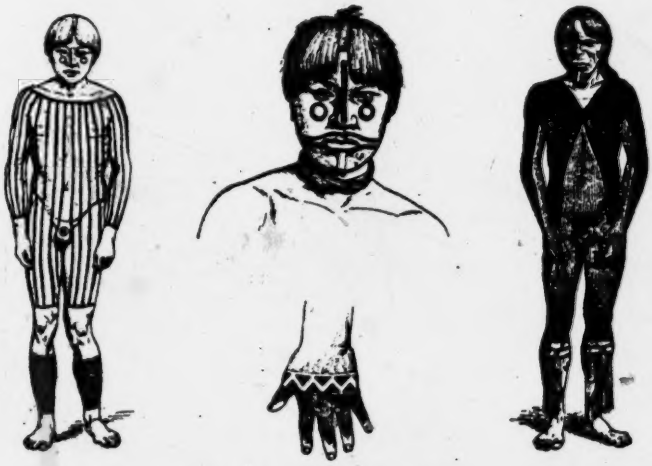

Fig. 1. Body painting.

291 tween the legs from back to front and knotted below the navel, so that the ends hang down to the feet. When sitting down, the ends are thrown back under the seat (Pl. I /see p. 103 /, 2).

This primitive costume is supplemented by various arm and leg bands which represent a special tribal peculiarity.

854 Soon after birth the lower arm and lower leg of the child are
291 wrapped with heavy black cotton cords (aʒonrubĕ), while a band five centimeters wide and likewise black is put around the body (uaitakaui) (Pl. VII /see p. 109/, 3 and 4).

/199 cont./

417 Outside the houses, on the other hand, there are special storage racks (ŏdēdŭ). They consist of four forked sticks about one and a quarter meters high, which are set up in the form of a square and joined together by two crossbeams and many longitudi-
[251] nal beams. On these racks lie supplies of all kinds, manioc roots, unused implements and weapons kept on hand, as well as raw materials of all kinds; hung on them are gourds and baskets full
[287] of maize and feathers; the bast aprons of the women are also often hung here to dry (Ill. 24).

[225] For drying the lines used to fish for turtles, special racks made of two long vertical poles joined at the top by a cross-pole are used. The line, hanging far down, is hung on this to dry (Ill. 25).

Ill. 23.
Arrow-stand in the house.

[824] /200/ Fresh gourds are stuck on sticks to dry; near each house one sees groups of such staked gourds. Later, they are preferably stored by tying a whole number together on a stake (Ill. 26a and b).

354 Other household equipment is lacking. The hearth is outside
184 the house, in contrast to the Šavajé, among whom it is located in the round structures (see "Food" /see pp. 165 ff./); it was only in the modified houses in Schischá at the end of October that cooking was also done in the house. /Ills. 24 and 25 appear here./

364 House and environs are not very clean; food remains such as fish bones, nut shells, and bones, as well as wood, tools, etc., lie about everywhere. While it is dangerous just to come near the
[136] villages and houses with bare feet, the vast number of flies and other insects that gather in masses on the refuse is an obstacle to remaining outside the houses.

/205 cont./

291 Clothing of the women. In contrast to the male sex, the
283 female one is clothed from youth onward, and, to be sure, in childhood with belts of black cotton (wädakana). The older the girl becomes, the tighter and stronger the belt that is worn. The smallest children wear only a couple of black strings wrapped around horizontally, which are joined by a cross-thread, and the ends of which are knotted in front so that /206/ the fringes hang down in a small bundle (Ill. 29). Smaller girls from two to five years old wear loosely interlaced belts likewise tied in front.
[284] The horizontal threads of the plaiting are knotted looplike at the ends, and into this loop are tied other cotton threads which serve to tie the belt together and at the same time form the bundle of fringe /Ills. 33-36 appear here/ /207/ (Ill. 30; Pl. 11, Ill. 4). Older girls from about five to ten years old already wear more tightly plaited belts, on which separate tie strands are likewise knotted in the loops; but from these strands separate bunches of fringe hang down (Ill. 31). From then until puberty the girls wear tightly and strongly plaited cotton belts. The tie strands are drawn through the two loops, but bear no fringe. In-
[287] stead, a gray tree-bast apron is drawn through the belt, which hangs down in front, is pulled between the legs, and is again fastened to the belt in the back (Pl. 18; Pl. 51, Ill. 2).

291 With the onset of maturity, the female sex dons bands made
287 of the bast of the gameleira. There are three kinds of such bands:
[824] 1. of red bast from a long-leafed tree (ämbüödä),
2. of reddish bast (ändähülë or ïnaùdù),
3. of white bast, from a round-leaved tree (hïdëülë), the Apeiba jangada, according to Ehrenreich.

These bands are made in the following way: with an edged stone the men cut the outer bark from pieces of trees hewed to the desired length. Later the bast is slit open lengthwise, peeled off, and soaked. Then it is folded together by the women, laid on an inverted mortar, and pounded with a flat rubble stone or an old stone ax.

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 92]

/207 cont./

291 The bands are worn in the following manner: one end is held against the small of the back, then the band is wound around the body and the long end is twisted with the short end; in this way the belt is secured. The long end is drawn between the legs and twisted into a roll and is then drawn in its full width from below through the belt in front and falls down over it in front. This end is now worn either hanging down to the knee or to the ground, or else it is again drawn between the legs, this time, however, in its full width, and is pulled up in back, a procedure which is used particularly when the women wish to sit down (Pl. 12, Ill. 4; Pl. 16; 17; 42).

292 Besides this clothing worn constantly, there are a few articles of clothing worn only temporarily for special purposes. These are the following:

293 The eye-shade (ō(ō)dĭ, ōdjĭ). It is worn only by the male sex.
[287] The original form of this protection is probably to be seen in the bast band (Ill. 32) which the Indians sometimes wrapped around their hair (in cases of death, in sickness). The true eye-shade
[824] consists of an oaguassu /babassu/ palm leaf, the pinnae of which are plaited together. In the simplest form, the ends of these
292 pinnae jut out free at the top (Ills. 33 and 34). This eye-shade
293 has passed through a development up to the complete hat: the
285 upper pinnae ends are likewise plaited, and to be sure, into a cylinder open at the top (Ill. 35). Among the Šambioá, Ehrenreich observed such a cylindrical hat (taă), which was already /208/ closed at the top by plaiting (Berlin 3904). This final form was not represented among the Karajá; on the other hand, they had two other forms: first, a ring-shaped, wide-brimmed eye-shade plaited out of bast, with a stiff brim and a chin cord (Ill. 36), and then regular hats of plaited bast strips which are sewed together spirally (Pl. 43, Ill. 3). The method of plaiting these
[107] strips is purely Indian, but the shape of the hats probably goes back to Brazilian influence, as the name (šăpēo, Braz. chapeo)
292 shows. These eye-shades and hats are worn as a protection from
293 the sun and only by married men; I only rarely saw any, however.

/208 cont./

290 The net covering [rĩ(ĩ)ỏ, rĩũ], on the other hand, is worn by both sexes at all ages. It is knotted of cotton threads and has the shape of a hammock, the two ends of which are each tied together, but lack the cords for hanging it up. The net coverings of the Karajá are of a solid color; the original white color gradually becomes a dirty yellowish-brown with use. Patterned coverings come from the Šavajé or Tapirapé. They are worn for protection against mosquitoes, against sunburn, against the dew of the night, whether the Indians stand, lie, or sit. The manner of wearing them differs: either one end is pulled over the head so that the covering falls down the back (Pl. 12, Ill. 1), or the covering is wrapped around the shoulders so that the two ends fall down in front (Pl. 9, Ill. 1; Pl. 42, Ill. 1). At night they serve [513] as coverings: the feet of the drawn-up legs, in the side or back position, are stuck into one end, the head into the other end, so that the covering protects the body lying beneath it from mosquitoes and dew. Thus, they are not used as an underlayer, as Ehrenreich says, but as coverings. Small net coverings hung on strings as [854] [114] cradles for infants, such as Ehrenreich mentions, I did not see anywhere, despite the fact that I visited almost all the huts (1).

1. See, however, Šavajé, small net covering /see pp. 314 -315/.

[287] Small plaited mats of bast are worn by pregnant women before and after birth, and, to be sure, in such a way that they are wrapped around the body from the back and held together in front with the hands (Pl. 42, Ills. 2, 3). They serve as a protection against wind and rain. Above all, women with nursing babies take such mats with them when they go out, so as to be able to protect the child and themselves to some extent in a sudden downpour.

834 I should like to add a very few words here about the Indians' feeling of modesty. As far as the men are concerned, I should [177] like to refer to my remarks above about the purpose of the penis cord /see p. 88/: the question is, however, whether the explanation given by the Indians does not go back to Brazilian influence.

/231 cont./

*301 *237 The headdresses for the crown of the head, which consist of a rhombic plaited plate, from which rise two Cacicus feathers, each mounted on two feather-sheathed quills ("Beiträge," Ill. 8); the hindhead dance ornament lurinã (ibid., Pl. II, 2; IX, 2), which I came across only among the Šavajé in an incomplete specimen; the diadems ahesõ (ibid., Pl. IX, 5) which spread out at the top when they are tied on; the ornament õdjĩ (Pl. 48, Ill. 7) brought back by me from the village on the Tapirapé mouth is similarly constructed.

*301 114 The reasons for this lack among the Karajá may be of three kinds: either the Ehrenreich specimens come from the Šambioá, whose culture, after all, does deviate somewhat from that of the Karajá, or it is only a coincidence that the Karajá did not have these particular ornaments on hand during my presence, or, and this seems to me the most plausible, a different fashion prevailed in Ehrenreich's time. The circumstance that Ehrenreich brought back several specimens of the lurinã, whereas I did not come across any among the Karajá and only a single specimen among the Šavajé, seems /232/ to point to the fact that the ornament, formerly so common, is now no longer worn to such an extent.

*301 *237 [284] The ordinary head ornament is represented by the feather caps (dõlidõlĩ). They are worn by children of both sexes; usually one sees boys walking about all day in this ornament. They consist of a net, into the threads of which individual feathers or feather rosettes fastened to rods are knotted. The caps are drawn over the back of the head and fastened with a chin string (lẽrũdĩ) [287] (Ill. 76). The nets are made of fine bast fiber or thick bast plaiting. They can be turned inside out, and the chin string serves as a drawstring to close them; they are stored in this manner (Pl. 47, Ill. 1). Stiffened nets are very rare. The nets that can be turned inside out may be grouped according to two characteristics: according to the way the feathers are fastened, [284] and according to their arrangement in zones. According to the type of fastening we distinguish between two chief types: by far the greater number of them show in each case two small feathers tied to the threads (not into the knots) by means of separate threads (Ill. 77a).

Plate 47

1. Inside-out feather cap (storage form).

2. Feather cap with three zones of feathers.

3. Feather cap with two zones of feathers.

4. Feather cap with feather hoop on the lower edge.

5. Feather cylinder.

6. Feather cap with feather hoop in the upper part.

/233 cont./

*301 *237 287 Another kind of net is made of thick bast plaiting and is covered with white down feathers (Pl. 46, Ill. 2).

Stiffened nets are likewise very rare. A feather hoop is attached either to the lower edge of the net or high up in the net (Pl. 47, Ills. 4, 6).

The feather cylinder in Ill. 5 on Plate 47 represents a deviation. The cylinder consists of small vertical rods which are fastened at the top and bottom to a hoop and seem to be decorated in their entire length on the outside with ascending feathers. The upper opening of the cylinder has a net stretched over it, into which are tied tufts of two small feathers each. This ornament is somewhat reminiscent of Ehrenreich's feather-rod helmet /Federstabhelm/ ("Beiträge," Pl. IX, 3), an ornamental piece that I have not seen elsewhere.

[184] It is strange that these last three types, the nets of thick bast plaiting (Village 20), the stiffened nets (Village 2), and the feather cylinder (camp near Santa Maria) occur at the two end points of the Karajá area, which are in close connection with Brazilian culture, whereas those that can be turned inside out are limited to the as yet less influenced Indian territory.

*301 *237 Feather hoops (nătăkăn) consist of a cane hoop, into the string wrapping of which small feathers are tied on the outside. These little feathers, mostly yellow or red parrot-feathers, are seldom tied in one direction all around, but usually go in both directions, starting from the back; and there where the feathers meet in front a couple of longer variegated feathers are attached (Pl. 48, Ill. 1). These hoops, placed horizontally on the head, are usually worn by boys, but they were seen relatively rarely; at any rate they were not an everyday ornament, as Ehrenreich reports in 1888. Sometimes there is set on the hoop in front a feather tuft (ōdĭ), which either consists of a couple of huge arara feathers (Pl. 48, Ill. 2) or is built in very complicated fashion, as in the specimen in Ill. 3 on Plate 48: two small wooden rods are encircled by red-yellow parrot-feather rosettes and each bears at the end a long blue-yellow arara feather, which is clipped off at the top, so that the quill is left standing. This free quill piece is wound with raw cotton; red feathers with small yellow covering-feathers are attached at the ends.

[283] [287] *301 *239 284

Plate 50

2. Forehead band of gameleira bast.

4. Hindhead wheel, folded up (storage form).

5 a-e. Forehead feathers, are tied over forehead bands (1 and 2).

/285 cont./

237 two holes in the center are sewed on the belt of the long string-
321 skirts of the girls (Ill. 69), as well as on the cylinder-bands of the dance masks. As spoons and scrapers they use mother-of-pearl mussel shells, which are only slightly worked, but are usually used in the crude state.

287 Concerning the feather technique, see below in connection with the tying, knotting, and plaiting technique /see pp. 233 ff./.

824 The utilization of the vegetable kingdom is very extensive. The cane species are used remarkably little; apparently the region is poor in them.

G. The wood of trees is made into boats, poles, oars, mortars and pestles, stools, lances, bows, throwing boards, arrow points, manioc grating boards, lip plugs, comb teeth, etc. Soft or hard woods are used, depending on the purpose. I was not always able to learn which kinds of wood were used for the individual implements. Spears consist of so-called aruera wood, bows of hard palm wood, boat poles of long, slender trees with very light wood. Soft wood is used for stools, lip plugs, and manioc grating boards; all the other implements consist of hard wood. Of the cane species, taquara is used as arrow shafts, gibade and similar types as ear rods.

396 I am most fully informed about boatbuilding. The boats
[462] are built by the men. All of them understand this art, though
[437] many confine themselves to buying boats from others in exchange
[463] for an iron axe. /286/ Apparently certain persons make boats in larger numbers for the village and then sell them. Thus, a few hours downstream from Schischá I met two families from this village who had erected temporary huts for themselves here in the wilderness, in order to build boats in the vicinity. The making of a small boat is said to take four days, a larger one eight days. These time estimates, however, seem to me to be
[824] very low. The trunk of the lantim tree (Calophyllum: dãjiõ) is used as material for the boats; Ehrenreich mentions pau d'arco and jatoba, Königswald also jatahy and others. The trees are felled in the forest and crudely worked; first the outer shape is hewed out with an ax and then the interior is likewise hollowed

/286 cont./

000 824 [276] [301] pyrography. Of the other fruits, jequitiba is used for tobacco pipes, hollowed out and crudely carved on the outside (Ills. 103 and 104); Thevetia is used for necklaces or pendants on belts, etc. The latter usually bear a small /287/ bunch of feathers in the hollow. Other small, whitish fruits are bored and strung as [415] chains. In Ehrenreich's collection there is a small bowl, made out of a timbo fruit, for storing the urucú color (Berlin 3876).

287 [824] The bark of trees is made into women's aprons. Above all the bark of the gameleira is used, which furnishes the reddish aprons (ǎndähülĕ). Other species (also gameleira?) furnish red materials (ǎmbüödä) or white shiny materials (hideülĕ). Ehrenreich, in addition, also mentions Apeiba jangada (Berlin 3696). The preparation is as follows: Thick branches of the trees concerned are hewed off in the required length (one and a half to two meters) and brought into the house. Here the men, with [462] an angular stone, strike off the solid pieces of bark, slit the bark lengthwise, and peel it off. The further treatment is the task of the women: [283] the pieces of bark are soaked, laid folded together on the manioc mortar turned upside down, and are now beaten with a flat stone, usually an old stone ax, until they are completely soft.

Ill. 134 a, b.
Embira: a) wound on a rod,
b) rolled up.

283 H. Bast is used in wide layers as an ornamental binding material and in fine strands as material for strings and for knotting mats.

[824] As ornamental binding material, the bast of Malvaceae (embira: dödĕ, etc.) is used above all. There are light red, red, and black varieties. It is kept in all widths: the finest (0.3 centimeters wide) is wound on rods (Ill. 134a), the wider (2.5-4 centimeters wide) is rolled up into stout rolls in such a way that the [531] colored, shiny side is on the inside (Ill. 134b). They are used

/303 cont. /

237 301 531 Arm bands bear either rosette-rods which carry short feathers on top and long ones on the bottom (yellow on top, red on the bottom, or the reverse) or layers of feathers which are usually gaily-colored in the same color, but which, in one specimen, consist of a red covering layer on a yellow main layer.

287 531 301 The transition to the cluster-like feather ornamentation is represented by the feather caps, which have either single feathers tied into them or small rosettes, which are often arranged in zones of the same color. Feather caps of one color consist of yellow, red-yellow, variegated, and white feathers; one cap, as a rarity, bears long white heron feathers. In the case of multicolored feather caps, we distinguish the border feathers from those of the cover. The cover feathers are usually one color (red, seldom white), seldom multicolored (red and blue arara feathers, the same mixed with vulture feathers or even with pink heron feathers). The border feathers consist either of a zone of red or mixed red and yellow feathers, or pink heron feathers, or of two zones, which from bottom to top are pale blue and green, or of a yellow hoop and red rosettes, or of white feathers and red and pale blue rosettes. Only one specimen shows three border zones, namely, a yellow hoop at the bottom, above it red feathers, and above them yellow feathers.

237 301 The cluster-like feather ornamentation is not very diverse. Feather tassels in fruits, snail shells, and the like are red throughout, irrespective of whether they appear on arm bands, ear pendants, combs, or the like. Feather tassels as arm bands consist of red rosette-rods or variegated feathers; as tuft feathers they bear long, colorful parrot feathers on red rosettes. On bows they consist of red rosettes, from which usually hang long, red or yellow feather clusters; on spears they are made up of red or red-yellow rosettes with long clusters of colorful arara and parrot feathers, and on gourd rattles they consist either of /304/ individual feathers or of clusters of yellow or variegated feathers or of rosette rods with clusters of long arara feathers.

Brazil.

Both sexes have a blue ring tattooed under the eye, forming a deep ugly scar, which is the special distinguishing mark of the tribe. 304 619

The Karayá take good care of the body, bathing many times each day—though this is more to cool and refresh themselves, and for sport—keep the hair well combed, and pull out the sparse beard. They formerly used the teeth of the piránha fish as a kind of saw with which to cut the hair, but they now have scissors. 515 302 412 237

As already stated, the men wear no clothing, or covering whatever. The sash, or apron, worn by the women, is made of the inner bark of the jangáda tree. It is prepared for use by first soaking it a day or two in water, then pounding it with flat stones, and finally drying it. When the wearer of this primitive apron sits, she passes it back between the limbs and sits upon it. Besides this costume, both sexes wear various armlets, wristlets and leglets, as ornaments, which are peculiar to each division of the tribe. Soon after birth, the child's wrists and legs below the knees, are adorned with broad bands made by weaving together cotton cordage on the limbs themselves; while a black cotton band girts the body as a bandage. When the infant is a few months old, these articles are removed, and broad cotton wristlets, leglets and anklets are woven on the limbs, a tassel of cotton cords being attached to the leglets. The boys wear the leglets, or garterlets, until the lip is pierced, while the girls wear them until married. The wristlets worn by adults, cover nearly the whole forearm. They are not put aside until after marriage, and many females wear them until the first child is born. When one of the couple dies, the survivor puts the wristlets on again. This custom has come down from the ancients. As the wristlets and leglets are usually woven on the limbs themselves, they cannot be removed without being cut off. For this reason, they are never removed, nor washed until finally thrown aside. But I found the Karayá quite ready to cut these articles off and give them to me in exchange for some articles I had which took their fancy. 291 [287] 301 [184] [283] [286] [437] [439]

1:Lipkind E-5 (1937) 1948 SP9 Caraja SP9

361 Young men wear large armlets almost 12 inches (30 cm.) long crocheted of cotton with hanging fringes.

291 Women wear a bark-cloth girdle, which is wound round the body and under the crotch and looped over, hanging down in front. Feather head-
[292] dresses of a number of different designs are worn by men on festal occasions. Men tie the prepuce with a firmly wound string and wear a string belt.

302 Elaborately decorated woven belts with hanging ema feathers are worn
[292] for wrestling matches. Bird down is glued on the shoulders, arms, and
[237] legs. Body painting is very elaborate, and designs covering the entire body are carefully executed with genipa. Urucú is spread generally, with accents on the cheekbones, the nose, and the upper arm.

TRANSPORTATION

501 The *Carajá* manufacture elongated dugouts, neatly adapted to landing and freeing their craft among the sandbanks.

MANUFACTURES

287 **Bark cloth.**—Bark cloth is made of *Apeiba* bast, soaked, beaten with flat stones, and dried until it becomes very soft and white.

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FIGURE 20.—*Carajá* manufactures. *a-d*, Pottery; *e*, wooden scoop. (Redrawn from Ehrenreich, 1891 b, figs. 5 and 14.)

1:Lipkind E-5 (1937) 1948 SP9 Caraja SP9

PLATE 20.—**Carajá house and physical types.** *Top:* House. (Courtesy University Museum, Philadelphia.) *Bottom, left:* Warriors. *Bottom, right:* Girls. (After Ehrenreich, 1891 b.)

[Facing P. 186]

1:Lipkind E-5 (1937) 1948 SP9 Caraja SP9

are the product of intermarriage and formal friendship. Intervillage feuds are common and are restrained only by the religious community, sanctuary being granted at all religious ceremonials.

ETIQUETTE

All dealings with visitors are conducted according to elaborate formal patterns. The language is rich in formal appellations, exclamations, and honorific phrases. The most remarkable feature is that women are permitted to behave with perfect freedom, whereas men, until they become fathers, behave with a shy and deferential modesty resembling but exceeding that of the Victorian maiden. Normal relations between members of the same village are formal and dignified; only in the men's house or on fishing and hunting trips is the behavior of men relaxed enough to permit horseplay and casual joking.

LIFE CYCLE

Childbirth and Childhood.—The child gets two sets of names, one male and one female, as soon as the mother is known to be pregnant. These are one's own names given by grandparents of both lines. Taboos in regard to diet and behavior are required of both parents before and after birth. There is a well-developed couvade based on the notion of an intimate connection between the infant and its father. Babies are nursed until they turn to other food of their own volition; sometimes ridicule is used as a sanction against particularly recalcitrant children. No intercourse is allowed during the period of lactation. Babies are carried on the hip, and sleep with the mother until weaning, when they are paired off with other children or with a grandparent. The girl child wears no clothing until weaned and then receives a fringed belt.

Puberty and Initiations.—At menstruation, a girl's cheeks are scarified and she assumes the girdle.

A boy passes through a first initiation at about the age of 8 or 9, when his lower lip is pierced and a small bone labret inserted. A couple of years later, he passes through a second initiation, when his hair is cut short to a tonsure, his entire body is stained black with genipa, and he assumes the penis cord. When his hair has grown out to shoulder length, it is put up in a braid, and he attains full status as a young man. The next change of status for both boys and girls occurs at marriage, when, for the first time, they take on the responsibilities of regular work. Teknonymy is a matter of pride and follows the birth of the first child. The name is retained permanently thereafter, even though the child should die. At about 45 both parents discard their ornaments and accept the status of old age. All the above age grades are named and involve differential behavior and dietary observances.

1:Lipkind E-5 (1937) 1948 SP9 Caraja SP9

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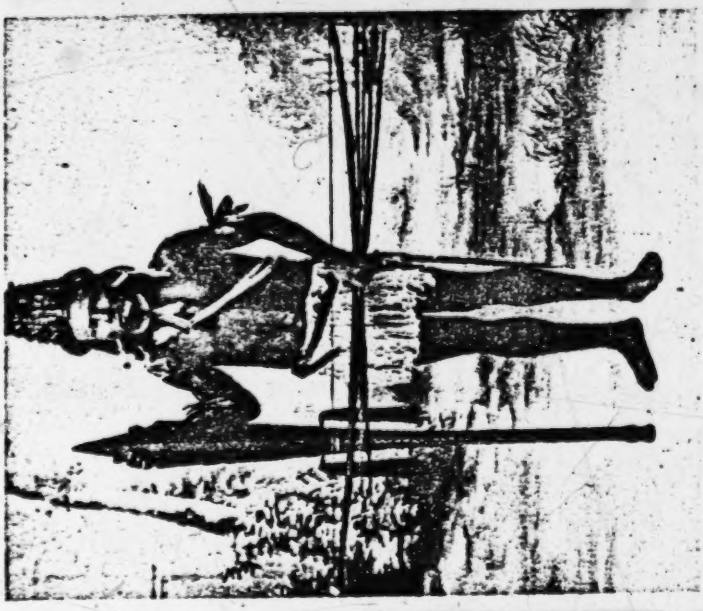

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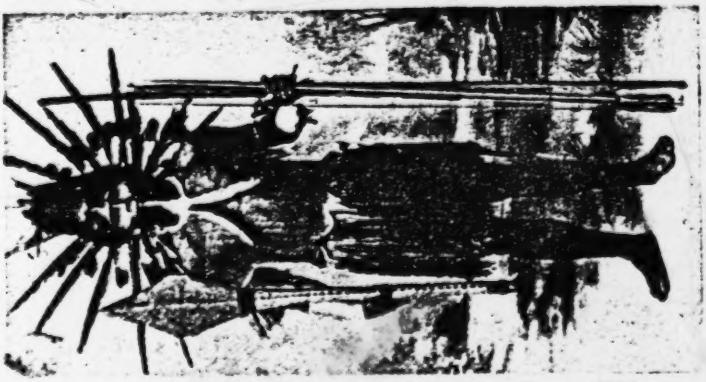

PLATE 21.—Carajá types. (Courtesy University Museum, Philadelphia.)

[End Plate 1]

/6 cont./

*532 the rolls there is put on, with a strong lacing, a second spherical roll, which runs out into a point at the bottom (Figs. 18, 21, 22, 23 /see p.48 /, Fig. 45 /see p.49 /) or in an attached foot (Fig. 24 /see p.48 /, Figs. 28 and 34 /see p.49 /). The feet come in all forms from the short stump to the fully fashioned foot (Fig. 28 /see p. 49 /). Worthy of [illegible] is the great exaggeration of the calves, thighs, and hi[illegible]se of the second and third forms, /7/ and parallel with [illegible] formation of /Fig. 29 appears here/[1] buttocks often a[illegible]g enormous dimensions (Figs. 23, 24b /see p.48 /, Figs. 28b, 30, 34b /see p.49 /), two phenomena which are lacking in the first form. They are explicable by a comparison with the body shapes of the Indians (Fig. 29 a and b [142] [301] /see p. 12/). They possess extremely strong musculature on the thighs, the calves stand out prominently because of the tightly tied cal[illegible]bands of the young people, and even the cushion of fat on the seat is exceedingly strongly developed. The ideal of the [826] Indians is the strongest possible development of these phenomena and this ideal is apparently represented in the figures.

Only one figure falls outside of these three types (Fig. 30); it probably arose out of an extension of the second form. Stretching downward from the upper projections there are two long cylinders which remain uniformly thick to the bottom and are cut off horizontally.

The torso shows nothing remarkable in the case of the male figures. It has the deeply bored navel which is surrounded by indented painting. On the other hand, the torso of the female figures is singularly formed in that it juts out into a plate, sometimes projecting out quite far, on which the navel is found. The apron is [142] [291] attached below this plate. This phenomenon probably goes back to the protrusion of the belly caused by the tightly drawn bast apron, as was sometimes to be seen (Fig. 31 /see p. 12/).

An equally difficult subject is the representation of the arms and breasts; I must deal with them together, since it is not immediately obvious which of the two is represented.

[1] [see p. 12--Analyst]

/7 cont./

*532 Both are completely lacking on some male and female figures (Fig. 32 /see p. 49 /).

[142] [301] [302] On one female figure, a bulge is marked only by a small roll (Fig. 33 /see p. 49 /). These would, therefore, fall outside of our considerations.

The male figures show the following types:

a) Only one figure has fully formed arms and, in addition, small breasts (Fig. 18 /see p.48 /).

a b

Fig. 29 a and b. Painted Karajá maiden.

b) Side protuberances from the upper body, which clearly signify arms, are present on a fairly large number of dolls (Figs. 28, 30 /see p.49 /).

Now follow three types on which it is at first not clear whether arms or breasts are represented.

c) On the upper body, in front, there is attached a transverse roll which ends in two breast-like cones on the sides (Figs. 16, 17, 19 /see p.48 /).

[142] [29] d) This roll is somewhat idented in the middle, so that the cones even more approximate a breast form (Fig. 36 /see p. 49 /).

Fig. 31. Protrusion of the belly of Karajá women in front and on the sides because of the tightly drawn bast-belt.

/11 cont./

●291 Clothing. The men go about completely naked, but tie the foreskin over the penis glans with a black cotton thread, like the end of a sausage (Pl. I /see p. 103/, 1). The women wear the nantŏ, [824] a kind of sash made of the bast of the jangada tree (Apeiba jangada). [287] /Fig. 2 appears here./ Softened in water and beaten and dried with flat stones, it acquires a high degree of pliability and a gleaming white, almost cloth-like appearance, very similar to the Polynesian tapa cloth made in the same way. A piece one span wide and 1 1/2 meters long is placed around the hips, both ends drawn be-

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Fig. 1. Body painting.

291 tween the legs from back to front and knotted below the navel, so that the ends hang down to the feet. When sitting down, the ends are thrown back under the seat (Pl. I /see p. 103/, 2).

This primitive costume is supplemented by various arm and leg bands which represent a special tribal peculiarity.

854 Soon after birth the lower arm and lower leg of the child are
291 wrapped with heavy black cotton cords (aʒonrubĕ), while a band five centimeters wide and likewise black is put around the body (uaitakaui) (Pl. VII /see p. 109/, 3 and 4).

/11 cont./

854 Some months later the broad, knitted cotton cuffs (deši) are
291 put around the wrists and ankles, while narrower bands provided with tassels hanging down in front are tied under the knee. The former are cylindrical, five to six centimeters wide, with thicker edges projecting out like a hat brim, the latter smooth and only one to two centimeters wide. With increasing growth these bands are gradually replaced by larger ones (Pl. VII /see p. 109/, 6 and 8).

291 The boys wear the ankle bands until after the lips have been pierced, the girls until they marry. The cuffs, which cover almost the whole forearm among the adults, are, like the knee bands, not taken off by either sex until after marriage, and by the women usually
[301] not before the birth of the first child. Upon the death of one of the two spouses, the surviving one puts them on again.

571 The sharp external division of single persons from married ones by such distinguishing marks is deeply rooted in the whole social life of this people, as we shall see later. Other ornamental objects will be discussed below.

Fig. 2. Lip ornaments (1/4).

291 Also to be included among the articles of clothing is an object quite peculiar to the Karaya, the "riiŏ," incorrectly called "rede" (hammock) by the Brazilians and also designated as such by Castelnau and Martius (Pl. VII /see p. 109/, 1).

[288] This cotton plaiting looks very similar to an actual hammock, to be sure, but it is not used as such and is not hung up at all, not
[513] even having any cords for this purpose. It serves, rather, as a cloak by day and as an underlayer at night when sleeping on the ground.

/11 cont./

291 ground. One end is drawn hoodlike over the head, while the other covers the seat. Thus the riiõ is really part of the national costume.

[524] One sees, not only the adults, but also small children /12/ parading about with it, and even the little clay dolls of the latter are not

854 without it. Mats hung up by strings are used only for cradles for the newborn.

171 The question as to how the Karaya came to have this original

352 article of clothing is of great ethnographic interest. It is well-known that a large part of the Brazilian tribes does not use the hammock. These are chiefly the Gẽs nations occupying the entire eastern part of the country, such as the Kayapo, Akuã, Kaingan /Caingang/, Botocudo, etc., as well as the Bororo corresponding to them throughout, not in language, to be sure, but in their way of life, usage, and customs. They all sleep on the ground or on wooden frames.

Of the other tribes using hammocks, the Karaib /Carib/ make them out of cotton, the Nu-Aruak out of palm fiber.

This situation is so characteristic that the presence or absence of the hammock for a people, as well as the method of making it, is decisive for their ethnographic classification.

[513] Only the Karaya cannot be fitted into this scheme, because they make cotton hammocks, to be sure, but sleep in them on the ground.

[177] This permits one to conjecture that they only recently adopted the "rede" from another people and did not want to give up their old custom of sleeping on the ground (1).

1. Therefore the anonymous author of an old travel report in Revista trim., Vol. 25, p. 251, states correctly: "These Indians sleep on their redes and the same rede serves as a blanket. This idea is neither innate nor did it arise out of necessity. They learned it from someone." /Translated from the Portuguese./

/27 cont./

684 Adultery on the part of the husband is avenged by the closest relatives of the wife.

Everywhere in the social order of the Karaya the endeavor to preserve the peace of family life from any disturbance is prominent. The young people are for that reason kept under strict
836 discipline. Virginity is highly prized and protected (4);
837
[113]

4. Couto Magelhães, Peterm. Mitth., 1876, p. 222.

extramarital intercourse between the sexes is punished with strict
848 penalties and under certain conditions with death. Children originating from such relationships are not, as among other primitive peoples, likewise killed, however, but rather are turned over to the chief's care, like other orphans.

589 /28/ Single persons, distinguished externally from the married
[291] ones by the above-mentioned cotton bands, are not obliged to
[736] support themselves, but rather are supported by the community.
[591] Bachelors and widowers live together in a special hut and take part in hunting expeditions only when they please. Likewise, unmarried and widowed women are excused from supporting themselves. They live in the house of one of their nearest relatives.

589 According to a communication from Couto Magelhães, the
736 latter seem to have some freedom in intercourse with unmarried
[836] men: "There are in the Karaya villages men destined to be viri viduarum /men deprived of a wife/. These people have no other occupation; they are supported by the tribe and do not, like the others, undergo the hardships of long travels and raids." To my remark that it did not seem right to me that the community take on the support of these people, Chief Koinama replied that the peace which the families enjoyed because of this far outweighed the effort spent on their support." (Selvagem, p. 116.)

836 For the rest, the unmarried men who wish to turn to the
[725] female sex are dependent on intercourse with the captured Kayapo
[589] women kept in half-slavery, of which among the Šambioa every village shelters at least a few. They are considered common

/30/

852 The wound holes are kept open with cotton threads passed
304 through them and changed often. The patient must fast for one day and is permitted to take only liquid nourishment for some time. The whole post-operative treatment is handled by an older woman experienced at it.

852 From now on the boys wear the T-shaped lip ornaments
301 of mother-of-pearl, not until later the piuva wood plugs. On
291 this occasion the bast apron of the women is put on the girls.

With the onset of puberty the young people of both sexes
881 receive the tribal tattooing amid similar ceremonies. The out-
304 line of a circle is marked on both cheeks with a stamp made
[824] out of a piece of gourd (tešiã). Then the place is cut out with
[952] a small sharp stone, and cotton lint is put in the wound. After stopping the bleeding, genipa juice rubbed in causes the blue color of the scar.

881 The first appearance of the period is not celebrated with special ceremonies. The menstruating woman is considered unclean and must live apart from the others during this time. She is not permitted to bathe, but is washed by other women from a gourd bowl especially intended for this purpose.

857 Games and dancing. At an early age the children imitate the activities of adults. The boys practice archery and fishing; the girls give their mothers a hand in the household as soon as
524 possible. The clay figures have already been mentioned as children's toys. There are also small tops (kotauã, Fig. 15 /see p. 61/), canoes and oars, cooking dishes, etc. represented in the collection.

Games popular with the adults as well are the feather ball made of corncobs with ring-shaped inset, and furthermore the "game of cats cradle" /cited in English/ common in North America, as is well known, and recently described by Boas for the Eskimo. Strings drawn from hand to hand through the fingers represent certain animal figures by changing their arrangement. /Fig. 15 appears here./

/48 cont./

172 present petroglyphs inasmuch as the rock drawings are completely lacking precisely at the cataracts of the Araguaia; rather, Martirios Island lies in an absolutely clear and quiet stretch. Nevertheless, it is a most important place for the Karaya. It [131] forms the northern boundary of their territory and it is here that [648] the hordes of the Kayapo hostile to them frequently come to the river. Many a battle may have taken place in this region between the two nations.

The interpretation of the rock sculptures as memorials or border markers, to which perhaps family insignia of prominent leaders have been added, seems to be the most acceptable according to the prevailing conditions. /The remainder of p. 48 and pp. 49-77 are not translated./

/78/

Explanation of the Plates [1]

Pl. I. Karaya. Men and Women (of the fourth village of the Šambioa).

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1. Warriors. The man on the left /sic/ with parted hair, [276] the tobacco pipe (Fig. 4 /see p. 28/) in his mouth, holding his [411] weapons in his hand. The one on the right /sic/ shows the hair [301] put in a braid with the feather decoration ušiktamaru (see p. 16) and the national wrapping of the foreskin (see p. 17).

2. Woman and girl with the bast aprons, whose front end is drawn to the rear since both individuals have just got up from [285] the ground (see p. 17). One of the large buriti-fiber mats mentioned on pp. 38 and 39 forms the background for both groups.

Pl. II. Karaya. Men (of the fourth of the village of the Šambioa).

[301] 1 a and b. Portrait of a young Šambioa man with ear [304] sticks and wooden lip-plug, widely parted hair, and clearly recognizable tribal tattooing on the cheeks.

[1] [Plates appear on pp. 103-115--Analyst]

/78 cont./ [Plate II. Karaya. (cont'd)]

142 2. Two Šambioa warriors en face. The man on the left with
291 the feather diadem lurina on the back of the head (see p. 44),
301 bow, arrows, and club in his hand, the one on the right with the
302 small wreath-diadem (Pl. IX /see p. /, 6) and strings of glass
411 beads wound tightly around the neck. The large lower-arm cuffs identify him as unmarried.

Pl. III. Karaya. Karayahi Groups (taken in the last "summer camp" on a river island above the northern tip of Bananal Island).

1. Men, two of which wear arm-cuffs and knee-bands. One has the small feather rosettes with a central disk of mother-of-pearl in his ears (see. p. 46). Face painting with soot is recognizable. The straw hat of the older man sitting in front is not the one mentioned on p. 20, but a model directly borrowed
[501] from the settlers. In the background two long canoes and farther to the left in the distance the small Araguaia steamer.

342 2. Women, children, and young people sitting on the
361 ground in front of the tent-roofs of the summer camp, which are
516 made of mats. Two araras on the pole to the right, at the left on the bank a jabiru (black-headed stork).

Pl. IV. Karaya. Villages.

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342 1. Full view of the first village of the Šambioa.
361 2. Reception scene in the third village of the Šambioa.
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291 Pl. V. Karaya. Chief's hut (fourth village of the
342 Šambioa).
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354 Group at the cooking place in front of the entrance.
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411 Pl. VI. Karaya. Weapons.

1. Bow with wound bowstring and feather tassel (1/8).

/78 cont./ [Plate VI. Karaya. (Cont'd.)]

411 2, 3. Arrows with palm-wood knives (1/6).

4. Arrow with bird-bone tip (1/6).

5. Bird-arrow with blunt, knob-shaped tip (1/6).

6. Throwing board (1/6).

7. Arrow thrown by it, with blunt wooden tip (1/6).

8. War arrow with ray-spine tip (1/6).

9. War arrow with taquara-cane knife(1/6).

[531] 10. Lance with shaft-plaiting (1/9).

11. Flat club of the Sambioa chief Ambura (from the collection of Leite Moraes (1/9).

12. Plaiting pattern of the latter (2/3).

13. Grooved, round club of Ambura (1/9).

/79/

286 291 301 Pl. VII. Karaya. Cotton Work.

1. Large black and white striped sleeping-mat or cape (1/8).

2. Fringed hangings of twisted cotton thread to be worn hanging down from the neck over the chest and back. Dyed with urucú red (1/8).

3, 4. Black, closely woven body-belts for small children (1/8).

5. Black tassels with pierced snail shells tied on in pairs with plaited cords taken doubled. Worn by small children around the neck (1/6).

6. Knee band of unmarried persons (1/8).

7. Black, closely woven forehead-band with rectangular mother-of-pearl disks sewed on (1/8).

8. A pair of tightly knitted, red, lower-arm cuffs, mark of the unmarried state (1/6).

501 531 412 415 Pl. VIII. Karaya. Oars, Gourds, Plaited Work.

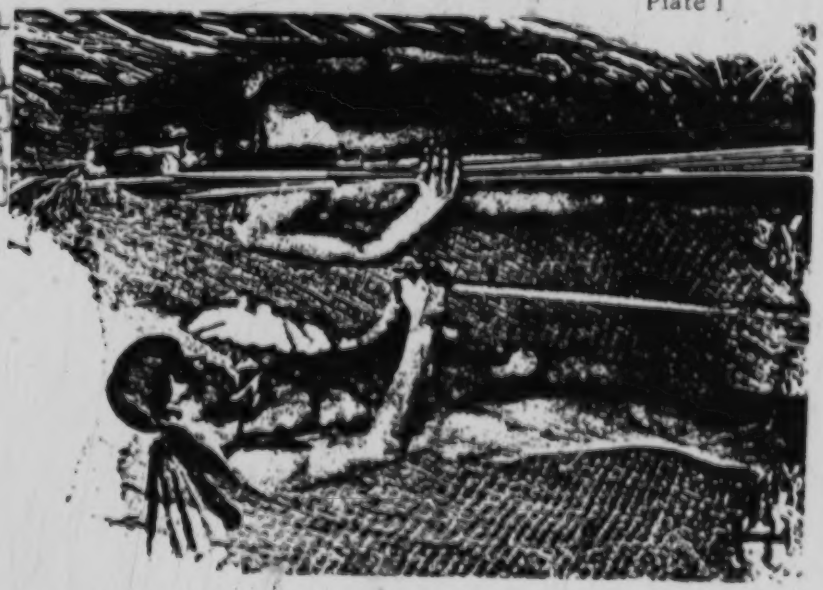
1-3. Oars with fish patterns (1/9).

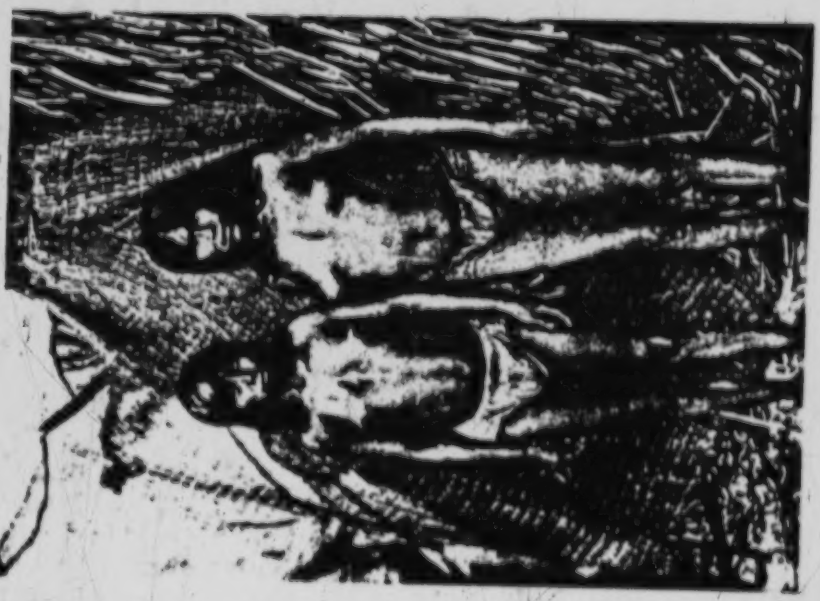
4. Cassava grater (1/9).

5. Small tobacco pouch (1/8).

4. Ehrenreich--103 E-5 (1888) 1891 SP9 Cara ja SP9

Plate I





4: Ehrenreich--104 E45 (1888) 1891 SP9 Caraja SP9

Plate II

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4: Ehrenreich--105 E-5 (1888) 1891 SP9 Caraja SP9

Plate III

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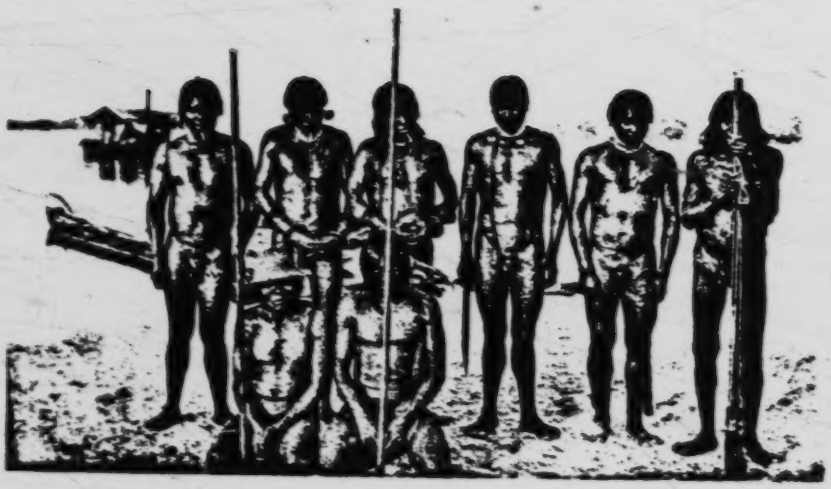

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4: Ehrenreich--107 E-5 (1888) 1891 SP9 Caraja SP9

Plate V

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4: Ehrenreich--109 E-5 (1888) 1891 SP9 Caraja SP9

Plate VII

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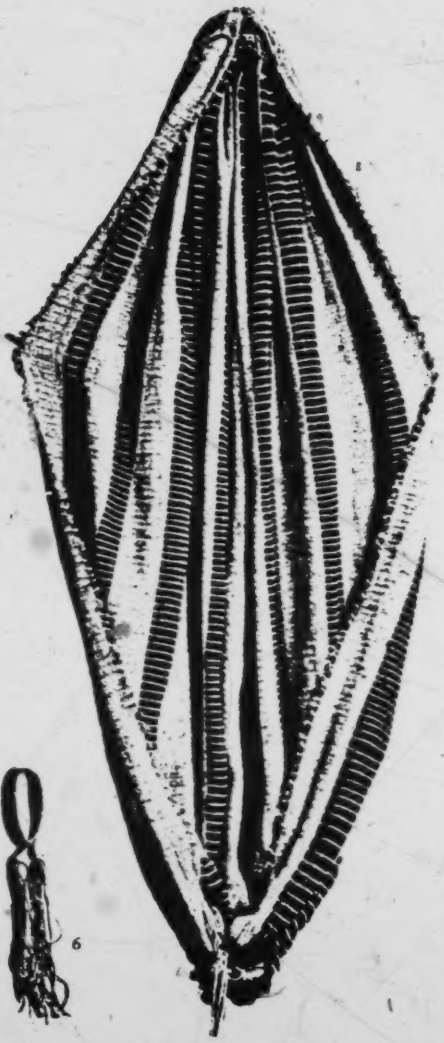

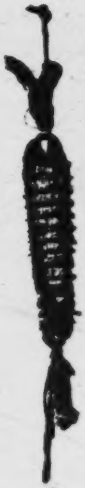

5: Krause--i E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9

Plate I

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Karajá boatman.

/Frontispiece facing the title page. /

Plate 11

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[361]

1. Dry-season hut of the Karajá.

2. Karajá village.

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[302]

3. Karajá women smoking.

4. Karajá siblings.

/Pl. 11 faces p. 52./

↑ 859 340 415 ↓ 301 142 291 207 516 ↓ 142 891 307 516 231 854 ↑ 346 516

Plate 12

1. Cooking place of the Karaja Indians.

3. Mask hut in Village 7 (South Horde).

2. Karajá boys.

4. Karajá women and girls.

/Plate 12 faces p. 56./

Plate 15

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[482]

1. Youth in full ornamentation. Karajá.

3. Back-basket carrier. Karajá.

2. A Karajá youth's braid wrapped in bast.

4a. Youths with braids wrapped in red cotton cord.

4b. The same youths from the front.

/Pl. 15 faces p. 68./

Plate 16

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Painted Karajá maiden.

/Pl. 16 faces p. 72./

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Plate 17

Karajá Indians.

/Pl. 17 faces p. 76./

5: Krause--11 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9

5: Krause--19 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9
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/Pl. 30 faces p. 136./

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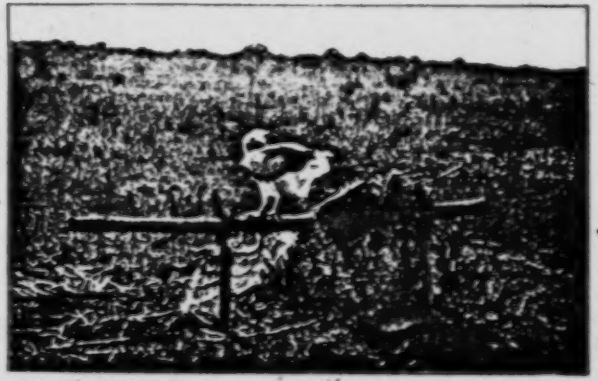
Plate 30

1. Houses of the Šavajé on Bananal.



2. Village bird of the Šavajé.

3. Šavajé women and children.

4. Šavajé men and youths.

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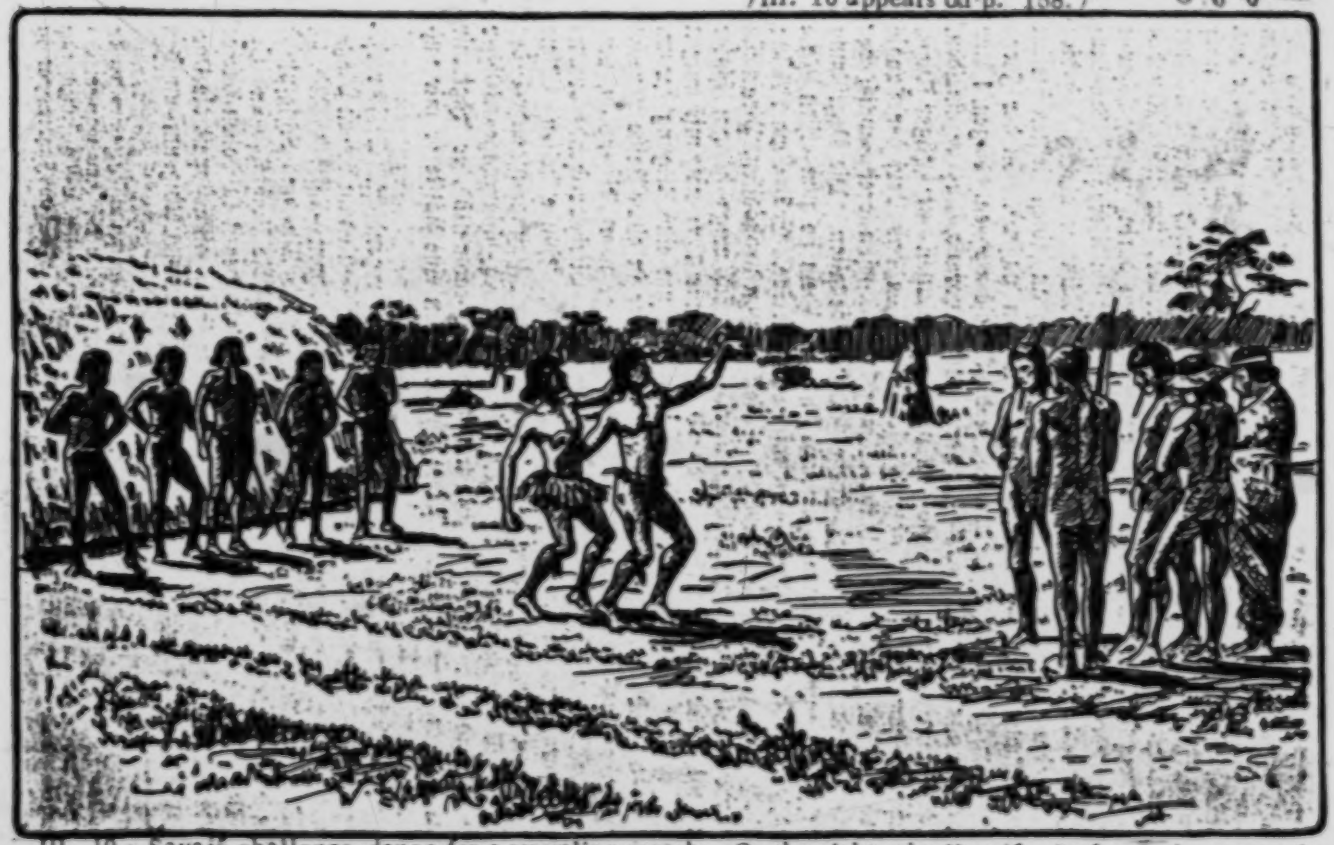
5. Krause--28 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Carajá SP9

/Ill. 10 appears on p. 138./



Ill. 10. Savajé challenge-dance for a wrestling match. On the right, the Karajá. In front, the two paths on which the masked dances take place. Drawn from a photograph.

S. Krause--29 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9

29/516/526

/Ill. 11 appears on p. 139./

Ill. 11. Wrestling match between Karajá (right) and Šavajč (left). Drawn from a photograph.

5: Krause--47 F-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9

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Plate 36

1. Three Karajá men.

2. Youth, boy, man. Karajá.

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1. Karajá youths.

[854]

2. Karajá women and children.

5: Krause--61 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9

49 291 30 202 516

Plate 38

1. Two men, a youth, two boys. Karajá.

2. Painted boy. Karajá.

Plate 41

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1 Shade roof, mat wall behind it.

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2. Unfinished village. mat-wall camp beside newly built hut.

/204 cont./

4. Clothing.

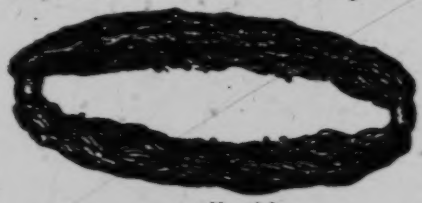
•291 Clothing of the men. The male sex wears but little clothing. While children and boys go about completely naked, the youths and men wear the penis and hip cord as their only clothing.

[283] The penis cord (notekana, nöödakăn; from nöö = penis, wädakana = belt) is a long, red (1), sometimes also black cotton

1. All three specimens in Ehrenreich's collection are black.

string which is wound roll-like around the foreskin drawn forward over the glans. The penis is thereby pushed back and takes on a spherical appearance, so that the scrotum looks like three balls with a small roll standing obliquely upright (Pl. 36; 38; 43).

[834] The cord is put on at the age of nine or ten, in other words, at the beginning of puberty, and, according to the unanimous statements of the Indians, it has the purpose of hiding the glans from the eyes of the women. Perhaps however, this is a secondary



Ill. 29.
Cotton belt of the smallest girls.

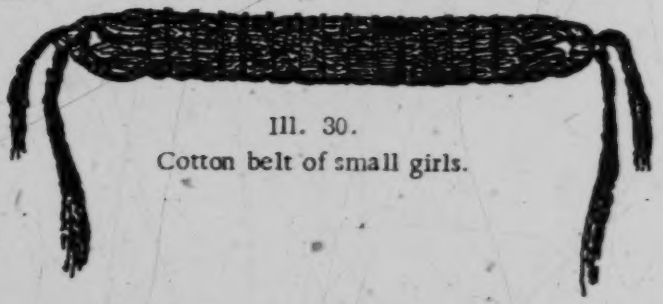
feeling of modesty originating from the constant covering for the purpose of protection.

In combination with the penis cord, the older youths /205/ and the men wear the hip cord (ĕtŭ), whereas children, boys, and younger people do not put it on. Not all men, however, wear it, or perhaps not always. This seems to be left to the discretion of the individual (Pls. 36-38, 43-44).

/205 cont./

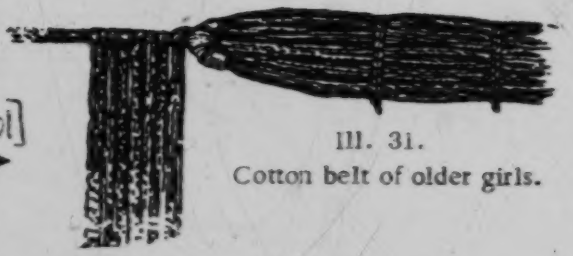
291 It consists of a red cotton string one to two meters long and
[283] from 0.2-0.3 centimeters wide, which is either twisted out of two threads or plaited with four edges.

Whether it was connected in any way with the penis cord in former times could no longer be determined. From a second name for it, nõhõmõdĩ (from nõõ = penis), one might perhaps
[114] conclude this. In any case, Königswald's statement (Globus, Vol. 94, p. 223) that it serves as a penis support is not conclusive.



Ill. 30.
Cotton belt of small girls.

[301]



Ill. 31.
Cotton belt of older girls.

Ill. 32.
Youth with bast band. Drawn from a photograph.

On the other hand, it sometimes serves for fastening small
[412] implements to it. Knives are commonly stuck through it at the back; one man shoved a piece of tobacco given to him, out of lack of a pocket, simply under the hip cord at the small of his back.

/205 cont./

291 283 Clothing of the women. In contrast to the male sex, the female one is clothed from youth onward, and, to be sure, in childhood with belts of black cotton (wädakana). The older the girl becomes, the tighter and stronger the belt that is worn. The smallest children wear only a couple of black strings wrapped around horizontally, which are joined by a cross-thread, and the ends of which are knotted in front so that /206/ the fringes hang down in a small bundle (Ill. 29). Smaller girls from two to five years old wear loosely interlaced belts likewise tied in front. [284] The horizontal threads of the plaiting are knotted looplike at the ends, and into this loop are tied other cotton threads which serve to tie the belt together and at the same time form the bundle of fringe /Ills. 33-36 appear here/ /207/ (Ill. 30; Pl. 11, Ill. 4). Older girls from about five to ten years old already wear more tightly plaited belts, on which separate tie strands are likewise knotted in the loops, but from these strands separate bunches of fringe hang down (Ill. 31). From then until puberty the girls wear tightly and strongly plaited cotton belts. The tie strands are drawn through the two loops, but bear no fringe. In- [287] stead, a gray tree-bast apron is drawn through the belt, which hangs down in front, is pulled between the legs, and is again fastened to the belt in the back (Pl. 18; Pl. 51, Ill. 2).

291 287 [314] With the onset of maturity, the female sex dons bands made of the bast of the gameleira. There are three kinds of such bands:

1. of red bast from a long-leafed tree (ämbüòdä),
2. of reddish bast (ändähülë or ïnaùdù),
3. of white bast, from a round-leaved tree (hïdëülë), the Apeiba jangada, according to Ehrenreich.

These bands are made in the following way: with an edged stone the men cut the outer bark fom pieces of trees hewed to the desired length. Later the bast is sit open lengthwise, peeled off, and soaked. Then it is folded together by the women, laid on an inverted mortar, and pounded with a flat rubble stone or an old stone ax.

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 92]

/207 cont./

291 The bands are worn in the following manner: one end is held against the small of the back, then the band is wound around the body and the long end is twisted with the short end; in this way the belt is secured. The long end is drawn between the legs and twisted into a roll and is then drawn in its full width from below through the belt in front and falls down over it in front. This end is now worn either hanging down to the knee or to the ground, or else it is again drawn between the legs, this time, however, in its full width, and is pulled up in back, a procedure which is used particularly when the women wish to sit down (Pl. 12, Ill. 4; Pl. 16; 17; 42).

292 Besides this clothing worn constantly, there are a few articles of clothing worn only temporarily for special purposes. These are the following:

293 The eye-shade (ō(ō)dĭ, ōdji). It is worn only by the male sex.
[287] The original form of this protection is probably to be seen in the bast band (Ill. 32) which the Indians sometimes wrapped around their hair (in cases of death, in sickness). The true eye-shade
[824] consists of an oaguassu /babassu/ palm leaf, the pinnae of which are plaited together. In the simplest form, the ends of these
292 pinnae jut out free at the top (Ills. 33 and 34). This eye-shade
293 has passed through a development up to the complete hat: the
285 upper pinnae ends are likewise plaited, and to be sure, into a cylinder open at the top (Ill. 35). Among the Sambioá, Ehrenreich observed such a cylindrical hat (taš), which was already /208/ closed at the top by plaiting (Berlin 3904). This final form was not represented among the Karajá; on the other hand, they had two other forms: first, a ring-shaped, wide-brimmed eye-shade plaited out of bast, with a stiff brim and a chin cord (Ill. 36), and then regular hats of plaited bast strips which are sewed together spirally (Pl. 43, Ill. 3). The method of plaiting these
[109] strips is purely Indian, but the shape of the hats probably goes back to Brazilian influence, as the name (šāpēo, Braz. chapeo)
292 shows. These eye-shades and hats are worn as a protection from
293 the sun and only by married men; I only rarely saw any, however.

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1. Women's clothing and hair style.

2. Karajá women and children.

3. Karajá women and children.

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1. Youth in typical attire.

2. Boy with close-cropped hair and hair-wreath.

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3. Karajá men with straw hat and tobacco pipe.

5: Krause--102 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9

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1. Karajá youths.

2. Karajá youth and boy.

/213 cont./

386
[438]
[415]

Ill. 40 a, b.
Urucú oil-color in trade packaging.

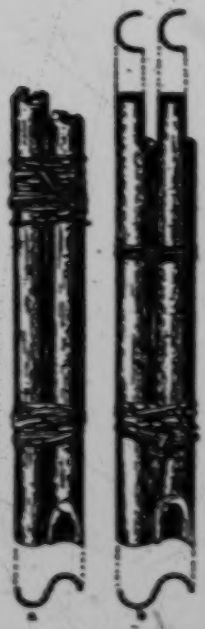
Ill. 41 a, b.
Color bowls.

302 a serpentine line (bũlti; according to Kurisi,
413 however, naũěkiělãzi = ostrich crown-tuft). These stamps are usually only one-sided (Ill. 42a); only once did I come across a two-sided stamp, which at one end bore the serpentine line, at the other two semi-circles, one above the other (Ill. 42b). The boy in Ill. 2 on Plate 38 is painted with the serpentine-line stamp.

302 In the painting we distinguish between full painting and patterning.

[291] The full painting "is their suit of clothes" (Kurisi's statement); "it protects them from mosquitoes just as their suit does for the Christians" (Mauzí's statement).

The patterning, on the other hand, is executed only for special occasions. It is a kind of festive ornamentation. For
[609] receiving strangers, for example, the villagers paint themselves with red and black designs; the arriving strangers also paint themselves before they /214/ enter the village, even if they only draw a black eye-band from ear to ear with soot scraped from the charred Campo trees.



Ill. 42 a, b.
Genipap stamps.

Plate 49

2. Hindhead wheel.

3. Hindhead wheel.

1. Manner of wearing the hindhead wheel.

4. Plaited disk for the hindhead wheel.

5. Wooden disk for the hindhead wheel.

/327 cont./

844 washed once more and again rubbed. After this it is wrapped
845 in a small net covering. Deformed children (blind ones, too)
[847] are drowned in the river by the mother; this is not regarded as
wrong. Only well-formed children are raised, even when they are
all girls. Nothing could be learned about the treatment of twins;
163 such a case had "not yet occurred." The families, on the aver-
age, have two to four /328/ children; five are already regarded
as many. There are said to be even more children in one family,
862 however. The child is nursed for several years, and even chil-
dren five or six years old still run to their mother in order to
appease their hunger.

553 Children are given their names at birth by the grandparents
[603] on the paternal and maternal side. They keep these names all
[551] through life. Many Karajá bore Christian names, which were
[797] given them by the Brazilian boatmen; there are said to be only
551 one or two actually baptized Karajá in São José. I obtained
quite a number of given names for persons of both sexes; unfortu-
nately, translations of them could not be obtained. It is only in
the following names that familiar syllables may be separated out:
mãŭzĭ = addition to pottery clay (see above, p. 209); kũlĭ =
tapir; ănănlŏã = cat; ănlŭãzĭ = jaguar-zi (zi = egg; possibly
misheard for ti = bone). For the rest of the names, see the word
list /untranslated; see the foreign text, pp. 454-455/.

852 Soon after birth the children have their ear lobes pierced
for the insertion of the ear tulips (kũãdjŭ), which are later re-
placed by the ear rods; it is only later that the lip-hole is pierced
for the boys. Both procedures take place without any further
ceremony.

291 The boys run about naked; girls wear a black string-belt.
561 It is only at the age of 9-12 that the boys tie the penis up and the
girls hang the bast apron over the belt. From then on the boys
301 live with the young men. As insignia the children wear arm cuffs,
calf and ankle bands, the latter of which are already removed by
the boys at the age of six to eight years.

/329 cont./

000 go fishing, but loitered around me in the camp). Children obey
593 their parents implicitly, and even adults still unquestioningly follow the advice of their mothers. Thus, Pedro's mother gave him the following good advice on his journey (Pedro was a widower with three children): Do not lend money (Pedro therefore flatly refused the attempts to borrow on the part of other comrades, with the argument that his mother had forbidden it); do not bring back a wife (in this respect, too, Pedro obeyed his mother and refused several attempts at matchmaking); men who run after women grow lean, but a person who eats a great deal grows fat.

Legally, too, parents, especially the mother, seem to retain authority over their grown sons. For I was obliged to conduct with his mother the final negotiations about Pedro's taking his children along. I did not negotiate at all with Pedro himself.

859 The result of this rearing is that the children are never ill-behaved and seldom quarrel among themselves; they are merry and gay and soon trusting toward the stranger, without being guilty of rude familiarity.

576 In general, great value is put on dignified and polite behavior. In the huts, the members of the family were separately
[126] introduced to me. When, in the evening beside the fire, I wanted to write down their information, they blew upon a chunk of wood and held it up to me in order to give me light. When they were looking for honey on the way, they always brought me part of it in a piece of tree bark.

514 Modesty is part of the Indians' good behavior. Defecation takes place far outside the village, if possible hidden from the
[291] glances of others. When a girl about eight years old was supposed to sell me her string belt, she ran behind the nearest mat wall, put on a new one there, and then brought me the old one. It is only in farting that they are somewhat more negligent. Loud sounds are greeted with laughter or accompanied by dog-barks. In some places this seemed actually to be good form, and one would outdo the other. On the other hand, foul smells were taken amiss; they would all glance indignantly at the presumed offender and would give expression to their annoyance with disapproving bw and hm̃ sounds.

/355 cont./

292 Karajá, the Šavajé are supposed to make such coverings, whereas the coverings with a wide, black center stripe come, not from the Šavajé, but from the Tapirapé.

184 [301] Even the smallest girls already wore firmly plaited, black belts which correspond to those of the Karajá. I did not see anywhere the loosely plaited string belts (Karajá, Ills. 30 and 31).

[291] Adult women wore the bast apron, called hăbĭodă here, made mostly out of white and only rarely of reddish bast.

303 184 [302] The hair style does not show anything that is foreign to the Karajá. The combs are plaited by the men in the same manner as among the Karajá. Forms and designs correspond to the others; the decorating by means of feather clusters or bundles of cotton is rare, however.

[304] The side cross-threads are also often absent.

302 184 Body painting is identical with that of the Karajá. As oil, coconut oil is used; as color, chiefly urucú, which, with the seeds removed, is stored in huge hollow gourds.

Ill. 189 a, b.
Scarifier (b = back side).

301

Ill. 190.
Ear rod.

304 Scarification is also customary among the Šavajé. The instrument for it (lālēdjŭ; Ill. 189), however, is covered with a thin coating of wax on the entire back side (cf. Ehrenreich's specimens, Berlin 3953 a b, from the Karajá).

515 As for body care, it should be remarked that the Šavajé go to bathe in the lake every morning at sunrise, even when there is heavy fog over the water and it is very cold. They then warm and dry themselves at the hearth fire in the hut.

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

123 less strange to them than they did to me. Charles Darwin describes the deep feelings he experienced when he found himself face to face for the first time with primitive man. I, too, can never forget the hour when I first gazed upon man in his primitive state. The memory of it will ever remain vivid, and as one of the most interesting experiences of my life. One could easily imagine, at first, that he belonged to a lower order of creatures than the *homo sapien*. If so, better acquaintance soon revealed him to be truly a man in every respect—a true human soul, though far from God in the jungles of ignorance and superstition—one of the lost ones whom Christ came to seek and to save.

291 [302] The men were entirely nude, and painted from head to foot a dull, yellowish red with a mixture of fish oil and the fruit of the burity-palm. The women were painted like the men, but wore an item of covering made of a strip of inner bark eight feet long and ten inches broad. It is passed around the body and between the legs, and hangs down in front like an apron. At a distance, it resembles a strip of brown canvas. It is beaten and worked, when taken from the tree, until it has some degree of flexibility. Nevertheless, it must be uncomfortable to wear.

764 A Karayá died while we were detained at São José. We were made aware of the event by the incessant howling, wailing and loud lamentations of the female relatives of the deceased. Visiting the hut of mourning at dawn, we found the family busy decorating the corpse for burial by gumming rings of white feathers around the limbs, wailing and chanting as they worked. Afterward, the body was rolled in the palm-leaf mat which had been the bed of the deceased during life, placed in a canoe, and taken down the river to the tribal cemetery. Karayá funerals will be more fully described in future pages.

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

"Monkey." 262
"What are you going to do with him?"
"Eat him—me like him much." [224]
"How did you catch him?"
"Me shoot him with an arrow."

Continuing our voyage at dawn, we encountered before 609
noon another cluster of Karayá huts on a sand island. Before [361]
we could get to shore, the natives ran out into the water [439]
to meet us, and surrounding our canoes, eagerly offered us balls of black beeswax and pottery in trade for what they supposed we had. It was amusing to see a Karayá couple trying to make a trade with our only woman voyager for a man's gauze undershirt. I could not but think of how the poor savage would appear with only that shirt on. He wanted it, [291] he motioned, to shield himself from the cold at night, and from the flies by day.

We passed the next night at another group of huts on [361] the sand. These Karayá who were very cordial, were expecting us for the news of our approach had preceded us; so they gave us a royal welcome. The *mayor of the city*— [422] the chief of the local horde—appeared arrayed in a complete [292] suit of civilian's clothes, consisting of white linen trousers and vest, black coat and hat. These he wore merely as decorations, not as a covering, for these people consider themselves fully and properly dressed without any such apparel. It was a remarkable sight indeed to us to descry in the gloaming, as we approached the land, what appeared to be a well-dressed representative of advanced civilization entirely alone in a remote, howling wilderness, surrounded by nude and painted savages. He had obtained these garments somewhere from a trading boat. We were escorted in state to a large hut where were assembled all the human inhabitants of the [526] island; and after the reception, we witnessed the wrestling game of which the Karayá are very fond, which will be described fully in future pages.

The same night, as I was sleeping soundly in the open 123 air in my hammock, which was swung between two stakes

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

truded below the coat. They eyed it carefully from head 609
to foot, riveting their gaze for a moment on the feet, then slyly opened the hood a little to peer in; and when they saw the physiognomy of their savage brother with nearly all the paint wore off, grinning at them from away back in the dark, they were highly amused.

A Karayá village we visited near the mouth of the Rio das 36
Mortes—River of the Deaths—is so remote and out of touch [191]
with civilization that the inhabitants understand scarcely anything of the Brazilian language. Nor are they cordial to 609
strangers, regarding them, instead, with suspicion, for the [72]
reason that they are subject to attacks by the Chavante Indians who live up the Rio das Mortes. While we were 123
calling here, one of the women sought to obtain a shirt from [291]
me for her young son. To make me understand what she [201]
wanted, she used the sign language, imitating one's movements when a mosquito bites one on the shoulder and he crushes it, the drawing on of a shirt, and the feeling of contentment that "mosquito no bite more."

My umbrella aroused the curiosity of the savages wherever we went. Knowing that it opened somehow, one of them took it once and stood it point downward, apparently expecting it to open. As it did not do so, he passed it to me to show him and his companions how it worked. As I opened it suddenly and it spread its wings, like some old, black goblin about to fly on an evil errand, the women uttered a low scream of fear and surprise. They often felt of my linen coat and trousers, and my shirt, then made signs to me that these articles were very good to protect one from the flies and mosquitoes. They evidently thought that this was my only reason for wearing clothes. They also fingered my hat and boots, and pulled my mustache to ascertain if it were real, or false, and gazed at me as I wrote my journals for writing was a mystery to them. To many of them I was a freak well worth going a long way to see.

The Christmas season occurred while we were in the sav- 600
age world of the Araguaya. What an extraordinary Christ-

Brazil.

Both sexes have a blue ring tattooed under the eye, forming a deep ugly scar, which is the special distinguishing mark of the tribe. 304 619

The Karayá take good care of the body, bathing many times each day—though this is more to cool and refresh themselves, and for sport—keep the hair well combed, and pull out the sparse beard. They formerly used the teeth of the piránha fish as a kind of saw with which to cut the hair, but they now have scissors. 515 302 412 237

As already stated, the men wear no clothing, or covering whatever. The sash, or apron, worn by the women, is made of the inner bark of the jangáda tree. It is prepared for use by first soaking it a day or two in water, then pounding it with flat stones, and finally drying it. When the wearer of this primitive apron sits, she passes it back between the limbs and sits upon it. Besides this costume, both sexes wear various armlets, wristlets and leglets, as ornaments, which are peculiar to each division of the tribe. Soon after birth, the child's wrists and legs below the knees, are adorned with broad bands made by weaving together cotton cordage on the limbs themselves; while a black cotton band girts the body as a bandage. When the infant is a few months old, these articles are removed, and broad cotton wristlets, leglets and anklets are woven on the limbs, a tassel of cotton cords being attached to the leglets. The boys wear the leglets, or garterlets, until the lip is pierced, while the girls wear them until married. The wristlets worn by adults, cover nearly the whole forearm. They are not put aside until after marriage, and many females wear them until the first child is born. When one of the couple dies, the survivor puts the wristlets on again. This custom has come down from the ancients. As the wristlets and leglets are usually woven on the limbs themselves, they cannot be removed without being cut off. For this reason, they are never removed, nor washed until finally thrown aside. But I found the Karayá quite ready to cut these articles off and give them to me in exchange for some articles I had which took their fancy. 291 [287] 301 [184] [283] [286] [437] [439]

1:Lipkind E-5 (1937) 1948 SP9 Caraja SP9

301 Young men wear large armlets almost 12 inches (30 cm.) long crocheted of cotton with hanging fringes.

291 Women wear a bark-cloth girdle, which is wound round the body and under the crotch and looped over, hanging down in front. Feather head-
[292] dresses of a number of different designs are worn by men on festal occasions. Men tie the prepuce with a firmly wound string and wear a string belt.

302 Elaborately decorated woven belts with hanging ema feathers are worn
[292] for wrestling matches. Bird down is glued on the shoulders, arms, and
[237] legs. Body painting is very elaborate, and designs covering the entire body are carefully executed with genipa. Urucú is spread generally, with accents on the cheekbones, the nose, and the upper arm.

TRANSPORTATION

501 The *Carajá* manufacture elongated dugouts, neatly adapted to landing and freeing their craft among the sandbanks.

MANUFACTURES

287 **Bark cloth.**—Bark cloth is made of *Apeiba* bast, soaked, beaten with flat stones, and dried until it becomes very soft and white.

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FIGURE 20.—*Carajá* manufactures. *a-d*, Pottery; *e*, wooden scoop. (Redrawn from Ehrenreich, 1891 b, figs. 5 and 14.)

1:Lipkind E-5 (1937) 1948 SP9 Caraja SP9

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•[292]

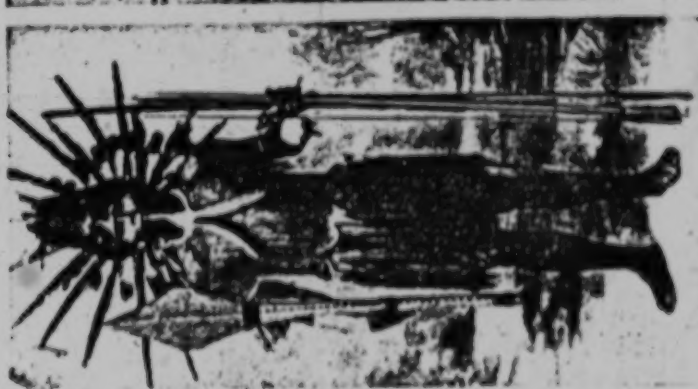

PLATE 21.—Carajá types. (Courtesy University Museum, Philadelphia.)

[End Plate 1]

/23 cont./

237 301 A small rhomboidal base-plate bears two strong feather-covered quills, into which two pairs of Cacicus feathers, standing out fork like, are inserted.

237 292 5. Feather caps in three shapes are used:

[171] a) The simplest (ǫori-ǫori) consist of a wide-meshed plaiting of bast, with feathers tied in the knots. They appear again in the same execution among the Xingu tribes of the Kamayura, Trumai, and Suya, who may have borrowed them from the local Karaya or Aruma.

[301]

Fig. 8. Feather ornament to be worn on the crown of the head.

b) The second type has greater durability and decorativeness. A narrow-meshed cap plaited out of strong palm fibers forms the base for the tying (hatukö). Small yellow and red feathers, fastened rosette-like around a little piece of cane, are tied into the meshes (Pl. IX /see p. 111/, 4).

c) Tightly knitted, narrow-meshed caps, which are covered on the outside with a layer of down feathers. In the examples here the latter are no longer present.

535 237 301 6. The true dance ornament (lurinä) is worn on the back of the head on a string running around the forehead (Pl. IX, 2; cf. Pl. II /see p. 104/, 2). The base is a horseshoe-shaped support. It consists of two layers of palm leaf-ribs bent together and held together by patterned cotton plaiting daubed with white clay. Between these two plates lie short canes arranged next to one

/79 cont./ [Plate VIII. Karaya. (Cont'd.)]

415 6. Large, boat-shaped hanging basket with red cross-
285 decorations put on it (1/9).

7. Round gourd container with hanging cord (1/13). Pattern for it, see Fig. 10 /see p. 47/.

8. Double basket for storing feather decorations (1/9).

9. Large, bottle-shaped basket (1/8).

[293] 10. Eyeshade (1/8).

11. Small, expansible bottle-basket (1/8).

[286] 12. Large tobacco pouch with cotton, black-patterned carrying band (1/8).

13. Buriti foot-mat with black bast woof (1/8).

14. Flexible sieve-basket (1/8).

15. Rucksack-like bag (1/8).

16. Round basket for raw cotton (1/8).

17. Large, round carrying-basket with strong carrying-cord of bast (1/8).

Pl. IX. Karaya. Feather Decorations

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1. Helmet-like headdress, probably belonging to 7 (1/6).

2. Horseshoe-shaped headdress to be worn on the back of the head. Edge feathers white. Redarara feathers in the center and on the ends. Cover feathers blue, red, and green mixed (1/6).

3. Cylindrical headdress of thin sticks covered with small yellow and red feathers (1/6).

4. Plaited cap with yellow-red feather rosettes (1/6).

5. Large diadem of white-red feathers (1/6).

6. Everyday diadem of the warrior. A ring covered with red-yellow feathers (1/6).

7. Large, fan-shaped feather decoration, three-quarters closed, probably to be put around the lower part of 1 (1/6).

8 and 9. Festive arm-band made of ounce skin with tufts of feathers (1/8).

10. Ear decorations. Feather rosettes with central shell plates (1/8).

4: Ehrenreich--111 E-5 (1888) 1891 SP9 Caraja SP9

Plate IX

5: Krause SP9 Caraja SP9

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[For the description and use of feathered ornaments such as caps, helmets, belts, hoops, etc. on festive and ceremonial occasions, see category 301.]

Plate 9

1. Mauzi and Maudihi, with net coverings.

2. Camarada Antonio.

/Pl. 9 faces p. 44.

5: Krause--12 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9

Plate 18

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301

Karajá girl in full ornamentation.

/Pl. 18 precedes p. 77. /

/184 cont./

142 The skin is thin and delicate and feels very soft, a regular tropical skin, such as the Whites in the tropics also have. A certain part of this may also be due to the oiling of the skin. The [302] color of the skin is difficult to determine, since the Indians mostly go about painted or even with an over-all coating of oil color. The hot sun, which shines with particular intensity on the sandbanks, burns the parts exposed to it the most, such as upper arms, chest, shoulders, belly, and thighs, so that here the skin is considerably darker (Nos. 26-28 on the Martin Chart, with a touch of violet) than on the protected parts of the body, such as the inner side of the upper arm, etc. (No. 25). The cheeks are strikingly light, mostly /Pl. 37 appears here/ /185/ only No. 21, and among many definitely sallow, yellowish (Nos. 18-19). Whether this is the result of pathological conditions I am unable to say, the phenomenon was frequent, especially among young people and girls. The actual skin-color can be seen only under the cotton bands, especially under the calf bands; here it is No. 17. The palms of the hands (Nos. 13-15) and soles of the feet (Nos. 10-16) are very light, almost as among us. The women [292] often seemed lighter than the men, undoubtedly a result of the fact that they live more in the shadows of the houses and, when they go out, generally put on their net coverings. My Indian rowers, too, in the course of months took on a lighter coloring 826 under the clothing. I did not see albinos. The ideal of the Karajá Indians is a skin as light as possible; they particularly appreciated my white skin color, and they themselves wanted to be entirely white (see the role of the Whites in the legends).

147 A particular body odor is probably characteristic of the Indians; it is rather strong and unpleasant to us. It cannot be [302] said, however, how much of it is due to the rancid oil on the skin and in the hair.

142 The hair. The head hair is generally straight; hair hanging down long, however, if it is not combed out for a long time, becomes wavy in the case of men and women (Pl. 17; 36; 42, [302] Ills. 1 and 3). If it is freshly combed and oiled, it hangs down smooth naturally. The formation of curls is relatively frequent; among men I observed it ten times; among women, on the

[Text continues on p. 55]

293
[285]

Ill. 33.
Eye-shade made of palm leaves.

Ill. 34.
Manner of wearing the eye-shade. Drawn from a photograph.

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Ill. 35.
Open cylindrical hat:
a) from the side;
b) from below.

Ill. 36.
Ring-shaped eye-shade: a) from above: b) from the side.

/207 cont./

291 The bands are worn in the following manner: one end is held against the small of the back, then the band is wound around the body and the long end is twisted with the short end: in this way the belt is secured. The long end is drawn between the legs and twisted into a roll and is then drawn in its full width from below through the belt in front and falls down over it in front. This end is now worn either hanging down to the knee or to the ground, or else it is again drawn between the legs, this time, however, in its full width, and is pulled up in back, a procedure which is used particularly when the women wish to sit down (Pl. 12, Ill. 4; Pl. 16; 17; 42).

292 Besides this clothing worn constantly, there are a few articles of clothing worn only temporarily for special purposes. These are the following:

293 The eye-shade (ō(ō)dĭ, ōdjĭ). It is worn only by the male sex.
[287] The original form of this protection is probably to be seen in the bast band (Ill. 32) which the Indians sometimes wrapped around their hair (in cases of death, in sickness). The true eye-shade
[824] consists of an oaguassu /babassu/ palm leaf, the pinnae of which are plaited together. In the simplest form, the ends of these
294 pinnae jut out free at the top (Ills. 33 and 34). This eye-shade
293 has passed through a development up to the complete hat: the
285 upper pinnae ends are likewise plaited, and to be sure, into a cylinder open at the top (Ill. 35). Among the Sambioá, Ehrenreich observed such a cylindrical hat (taă), which was already /208/ closed at the top by plaiting (Berlin 3904). This final form was not represented among the Karajá; on the other hand, they had two other forms: first, a ring-shaped, wide-brimmed eye-shade plaited out of bast, with a stiff brim and a chin cord (Ill. 36), and then regular hats of plaited bast strips which are sewed together spirally (Pl. 43, Ill. 3). The method of plaiting these
[107] strips is purely Indian, but the shape of the hats probably goes back to Brazilian influence, as the name (šăpēo, Braz. chapeo)
294 shows. These eye-shades and hats are worn as a protection from
293 the sun and only by married men; I only rarely saw any, however.

/208 cont./

292 The net covering [rĩ(ĩ)ỏ̃, rĩũ̃], on the other hand, is worn by both sexes at all ages. It is knotted of cotton threads and has the shape of a hammock, the two ends of which are each tied together, but lack the cords for hanging it up. The net coverings of the Karajá are of a solid color; the original white color gradually becomes a dirty yellowish-brown with use. Patterned coverings come from the Šavajé or Tapirapé. They are worn for protection against mosquitoes, against sunburn, against the dew of the night, whether the Indians stand, lie, or sit. The manner of wearing them differs: either one end is pulled over the head so that the covering falls down the back (Pl. 12, Ill. 1), or the covering is wrapped around the shoulders so that the two ends fall down in front (Pl. 9, Ill. 1; Pl. 42, Ill. 1). At night they serve [513] as coverings: the feet of the drawn-up legs, in the side or back position, are stuck into one end, the head into the other end, so that the covering protects the body lying beneath it from mosquitoes and dew. Thus, they are not used as an underlayer, as Ehrenreich says, but as coverings. Small net coverings hung on strings as [854] [114] cradles for infants, such as Ehrenreich mentions, I did not see anywhere, despite the fact that I visited almost all the huts (1).

1. See, however, Šavajé, small net covering /see pp. 314 -315/.

[287] Small plaited mats of bast are worn by pregnant women before and after birth, and, to be sure, in such a way that they are wrapped around the body from the back and held together in front with the hands (Pl. 42, Ills. 2, 3). They serve as a protection against wind and rain. Above all, women with nursing babies take such mats with them when they go out, so as to be able to protect the child and themselves to some extent in a sudden downpour.

834 I should like to add a very few words here about the Indians' feeling of modesty. As far as the men are concerned, I should [177] like to refer to my remarks above about the purpose of the penis cord /see p. 88/: the question is, however, whether the explanation given by the Indians does not go back to Brazilian influence.

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1. Women's clothing and hair style.

2. Karajá women and children.

3. Karajá women and children.

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1. Youth in typical attire.

2. Boy with close-cropped hair and hair-wreath.

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3. Karajá men with straw hat and tobacco pipe.

5: Krause--102 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9

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Plate 44

1. Karajá youths.

2. Karajá youth and boy.

[294]

/354 cont./

184 5. Clothing and ornamentation. In clothing, ornamentation, and body care no essential difference from the Karajá is to be noted.

[301] The men wear the hip cord and penis cord in the same
292 manner as the Karajá. Eye shades were not observed. Net coverings were worn by both sexes; they are made by the Šavajé

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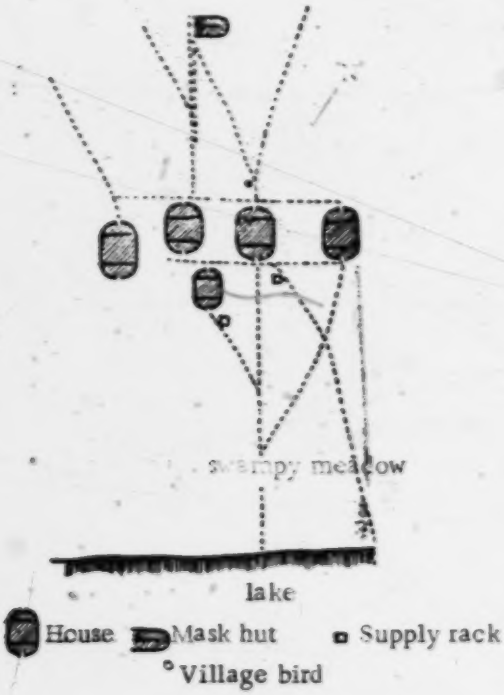

Ill. 188.
Ground plan of the village of the
Šavajé on Bananal.

292 themselves. The manner /355/ of knotting is the same as among the Karaja. Ill. 3 in Plate 59 shows a net covering only 24 centimeters long, which is knotted in the manner of the loose belts
[854] of the girls. Apparently it serves as a bed for a newborn child. Occasionally the brown warp threads of the coverings were shot through with white threads; on the basis of inquiries among the

/355 cont./

292 Karajá, the Šavajé are supposed to make such coverings, whereas the coverings with a wide, black center stripe come, not from the Šavajé, but from the Tapirapé.

184 [301] Even the smallest girls already wore firmly plaited, black belts which correspond to those of the Karajá. I did not see anywhere the loosely plaited string belts (Karajá, Ills., 30 and 31).

[291] Adult women wore the bast apron, called hăbĭŏdă here, made mostly out of white and only rarely of reddish bast.

303 184 [302] The hair style does not show anything that is foreign to the Karajá. The combs are plaited by the men in the same manner as among the Karajá. Forms and designs correspond to the others; the decorating by means of feather clusters or bundles of cotton is rare, however.

[304] The side cross-threads are also often absent.

302 184 Body painting is identical with that of the Karajá. As oil, coconut oil is used; as color, chiefly urucú, which, with the seeds removed, is stored in huge hollow gourds.

Ill. 189 a, b.
Scarifier (b = back side).

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Ill. 190.
Ear rod.

304 Scarification is also customary among the Šavajé. The instrument for it (lālēdjŭ; Ill. 189), however, is covered with a thin coating of wax on the entire back side (cf. Ehrenreich's specimens, Berlin 3953 a b, from the Karajá).

515 As for body care, it should be remarked that the Šavajé go to bathe in the lake every morning at sunrise, even when there is heavy fog over the water and it is very cold. They then warm and dry themselves at the hearth fire in the hut.

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

262

"Monkey."
"What are you going to do with him?"
"Eat him—me like him much." [224]
"How did you catch him?"
"Me shoot him with an arrow."

Continuing our voyage at dawn, we encountered before 609
noon another cluster of Karayá huts on a sand island. Before [361]
we could get to shore, the natives ran out into the water [439]
to meet us, and surrounding our canoes, eagerly offered us balls of black beeswax and pottery in trade for what they supposed we had. It was amusing to see a Karayá couple trying to make a trade with our only woman voyager for a man's gauze undershirt. I could not but think of how the poor savage would appear with only that shirt on. He wanted it, [291] he motioned, to shield himself from the cold at night, and from the flies by day.

We passed the next night at another group of huts on [361] the sand. These Karayá who were very cordial, were expecting us for the news of our approach had preceded us; so they gave us a royal welcome. The *mayor of the city*— [622] the chief of the local horde—appeared arrayed in a complete [292] suit of civilian's clothes, consisting of white linen trousers and vest, black coat and hat. These he wore merely as decorations, not as a covering, for these people consider themselves fully and properly dressed without any such apparel. It was a remarkable sight indeed to us to descry in the gloaming, as we approached the land, what appeared to be a well-dressed representative of advanced civilization entirely alone in a remote, howling wilderness, surrounded by nude and painted savages. He had obtained these garments somewhere from a trading boat. We were escorted in state to a large hut where were assembled all the human inhabitants of the [526] island; and after the reception, we witnessed the wrestling game of which the Karayá are very fond, which will be described fully in future pages.

The same night, as I was sleeping soundly in the open 123
air in my hammock, which was swung between two stakes

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca.1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

301 [286] fancy. Sometimes, however, these ornaments are woven on a wooden form.

292 513 Another article of dress, which is peculiar to the Karayá, is the *hammock*. It is made of cotton cords. Strange to say, it is never used as a hammock; nor can it even be swung up, as it is not provided with any cords for this purpose. It is only the body of a hammock. During the day, it is used as a kind of cloak, and is hooked over the head so as to cover the shoulders and back; and at night, it is used as a mat to sleep upon, *on the ground*. Both adults and children may be seen going about during the day with these huge, half-open-pea-pod like objects hooked over them. It reminds one of a snail with its shell on its back. Even clay dolls have this hammock cloak. It is, however, occasionally fastened up [854] like a hammock in order that it may be used as a cradle for an infant.

513 171 This *hammock* is of great ethnological interest, because the primitive races of Brazil are classified ethnographically according to whether they sleep in a hammock or do not. It is known that all the tribes occupying the eastern half of Brazil, [352] which includes the Karayá, sleep on the ground, or on slightly raised platforms made of poles; while those that are really hammock using tribes—that sleep in hammocks—make their hammocks of cordage twisted from cotton and palm-leaf fibre. But the Karayá *hammock* is made of cotton only; moreover, it is not a complete hammock and is not used to sleep in. This proves that the Karayá are not to be classified as one [177] of the hammock tribes. We are to understand, therefore, that they got the idea of the hammock comparatively recently from some other people, probably from the "civilized" Brazilians, who make them of cotton only; and though they value them, they are yet unwilling to give up their old custom of sleeping on the ground. A certain Brazilian explorer asserts that [286] he taught the Karayá to make a simple loom and how to weave.

293 Another article of dress used by the Karayá, is a kind of eye-shade, called an eye-umbrella. It is used to protect the

● 292

[For a description of the special dress used in the Arawaja or fish dance, see category 535.]

/12 cont./

286 They most probably owe their mat to the civilized Brazilians.
177 Insofar as the latter use hammocks at all, they make them out of cotton. Now Pinto da Fonseca says (op. cit., p. 387) that the
[283] Karaya used cotton only for making fish nets and bow strings, but were unacquainted with the art of weaving. He himself made them a weaving apparatus and instructed the women in this skill.

This would agree with the fact that still today the Yavahē of
[184] Bananal Island, among whom Pinto undertook his first civilizing attempts, are designated as the most skillful weavers. The uncommonly firm, taffeta-like, woven "rede" in the collection is supposed to be Yavahē work. A visit among them would definitively settle this interesting question.

293 Also to be mentioned here as a noteworthy elaborate piece
[285] belonging to the Karaya are the eyeshades (ȯodi) plaited out of
[824] uaguassú palm leaves, with which they protect themselves from the blinding reflected sunlight while walking over the sandbanks (Pl. VIII /see p. 110/, 10). They have not arrived at the construction of protective apparatus of the type of the Eskimo snow-goggles, but they prize European dark glasses.

[697] The adding on to the eyeshade to make a complete top-hat (taă) is probably to be traced back to European influence. There were two specimens of it in all.

Settlements, Houses, and Domestic Animals.

621
361 The Karaya do not live in small troops of two or three families, as the forest Indians of Amazonas and the rude hunting nomads of the coastal region do, but always in larger communities. Only the southernmost Karayahi are forced by the lack of means of subsistence to divide up somewhat more. In the vicinity of S. José during the dry season one continually meets small bands of eight to ten persons. The farther one comes downstream, the more populous their camps become. Some of them may number at least 150-200 inhabitants.
342 The Karayahi huts erected on the sandbanks usually consist of large
[824] buriti-fiber mats stretched over pole frames, standing about without any order, like gypsy tents (Pl. III /see p.105 /, 2).

/79 cont./ [Plate VIII. Karaya. (Cont'd.)]

415 285 6. Large, boat-shaped hanging basket with red cross-decorations put on it (1/9).

7. Round gourd container with hanging cord (1/13). Pattern for it, see Fig. 10 /see p. 47/.

8. Double basket for storing feather decorations (1/9).

9. Large, bottle-shaped basket (1/8).

[293] 10. Eyeshade (1/8).

11. Small, expansible bottle-basket (1/8).

[286] 12. Large tobacco pouch with cotton, black-patterned carrying band (1/8).

13. Buriti foot-mat with black bast woof (1/8).

14. Flexible sieve-basket (1/8).

15. Rucksack-like bag (1/8).

16. Round basket for raw cotton (1/8).

17. Large, round carrying-basket with strong carrying-cord of bast (1/8).

Pl. IX. Karaya. Feather Decorations

237 292 301 1. Helmet-like headdress, probably belonging to 7 (1/6).

2. Horseshoe-shaped headdress to be worn on the back of the head. Edge feathers white. Red arara feathers in the center and on the ends. Cover feathers blue, red, and green mixed (1/6).

3. Cylindrical headdress of thin sticks covered with small yellow and red feathers (1/6).

4. Plaited cap with yellow-red feather rosettes (1/6).

5. Large diadem of white-red feathers (1/6).

6. Everyday diadem of the warrior. A ring covered with red-yellow feathers (1/6).

7. Large, fan-shaped feather decoration, three-quarters closed, probably to be put around the lower part of 1 (1/6).

8 and 9. Festive arm-bands made of ounce skin with tufts of feathers (1/8).

10. Ear decorations. Feather rosettes with central shell plates (1/8).

4: Ehrenreich--110 E-5 (1888) 1891 SP9 Caraja SP9

Plate VIII

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[412]

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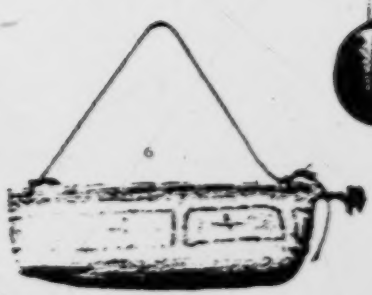

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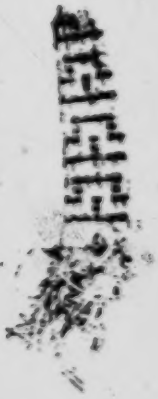

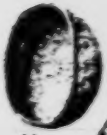

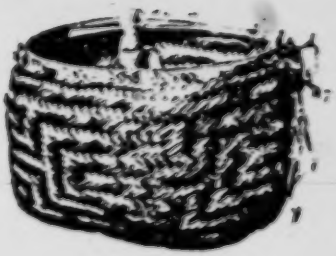

/198 cont./

513 head high when sleeping. When they sleep in the open in the sand, they hollow out a pit for their bodies, put a mat over it and themselves on top of that, but in such a way that the head lies on the elevated edge of the pit; they cover themselves with the rest of the mat. It is very agreeable to sleep in this fashion, /199/ as I discovered for myself. In contrast to this, however, I also saw them lying flat on the level floor in the houses, without elevating their heads at all.

293 For fanning cool air and to drive away mosquitoes during the midday rest, plaited, patterned fans (kōlĭ; Pl. 21, Ill. 2) made of palm leaves are used.

352 532 [622] Seats are provided only for chiefs. They are the stool in animal form carved out of one piece of wood: the seat runs out on either side into a head that bears mother-of-pearl eyes with wax pupils; tassels of red-yellow parrot feathers are hung in the ear holes. The mother-of-pearl eyes are cut round on a stone and then glued on with wax. Finally, the entire stool is colored black with genipap coloring, which is applied with the palm of the hand. These stools are called kōlĭšŭ, the feather tassels kōlĭšŭlăbĕdŏsĭ. The stools are said to represent an arara (Pl. 19, Ill. 1a and b).

516 Ordinarily the Indians sit on the mats with their legs crossed under them, hand on hip, or they squat on the ground (Pl. 12, Ill. 1; Pl. 38, Ill. 1).

353 Usually no arrangement for the storing of ornaments, articles of clothing, implements, and weapons is found in the huts. Small things are stuck into the roof /Ill. 23 appears here/ or hung on [411] the posts. Bows, arrows, and lances usually lie along the side walls [415] on the floor or lean in a corner. For the rest, baskets, gourd vessels, and pots hang, stand, and lie around everywhere in the house, some of them filled with other household equipment. In [352] only two houses, in Village 6 and in Schischá, did I see along the wall stands made out of two forked sticks on which bows and arrows were placed (Ill. 23). They, too, seem to go back to Šavajé influence, for the Šavajé in Schischá used such stands.

293
[285]

Ill. 33.
Eye-shade made of palm leaves.

Ill. 34.
Manner of wearing the eye-shade. Drawn from a photograph.

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293
285

Ill. 35.
Open cylindrical hat:
a) from the side;
b) from below.

Ill. 36.
Ring-shaped eye-shade: a) from above; b) from the side.

/207 cont./

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6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

eyes from the strong reflection of the sun on the sand-bars. 293
When trading with travelers, they are eager to get blue or [439]
smoked glasses, or goggles.

The Karayá live in a more advanced state than do some 162
of the other tribes of the Amazon basin, especially the rough, 361
nomadic peoples, who exist in small groups of a few families. They prefer to live in large groups containing hundreds of individuals, and in permanent habitations, constituting fixed villages or encampments. True, the Karayá living near San [221]
José, rove about somewhat in small parties during the dry season; but farther down the Araguaya, the encampments are more permanent and populous, numbering one hundred fifty to two hundred souls. During the rainless season when 361
the river is low, they live on the sandy river bottoms, called *praias*. Here they set up their easily portable huts, in order to be convenient to their canoes and to the fishing grounds, and also to be more free from troublesome insects.

The *villages* of the Karayáhy division, in common with those of all other primitive peoples, are merely clusters or groups of huts, huddled together in complete disorder. Each 342
hut is constructed by planting in the sand, fifteen or twenty feet apart, two parallel rows of saplings, then bending over each pair of opposites and tying them together. To these ribs are bound bamboo rods in a horizontal position, *sipo*—creepers [283]
—being used as cordage; and upright poles are planted at the gables. Over this frame-work is bound the skin, or covering, [324]
which consists of giant, feather-like palm-branches. Sometimes plates, resting on forked posts, are used to further strengthen the frame. This dwelling, when completed, is shaped like the bottom of an inverted barge, and looks like a very squatty, ancient haystack, with a hole—the door—eaten in one end by cattle.

Garbage, such as watermelon rinds, pumpkin skins, green 364
corn cobs, and other fruit and vegetable refuse, is dumped just outside the hut. Here, the mass festers and stinks in the fierce rays of a tropical sun, and attracts swarms of [361]
insects, especially sand flies, that torment the nude savages

28 /289 cont./
462 nets is a task for the men, that of the mats a task for the women.
285 Usually several women work together on a mat; it is not difficult work, but the hard pulling and constant twisting of the weft threads (they are twisted only when they are plaited through) affects the fingers so much that deep, calloused ridges run across
[963] the finger tips of the plaiters. Apparently there are women in the villages who provide the entire village with mats; at least large supplies of them were found in certain houses, and to buy them I was sent into specific huts where mats were made.

[824] For the plaiting which is done by the men, strips of buriti
[962] bast and the leaf pinnae of the oaguassu palm are used. The
294 strips of buriti bast are used only in the making of hats. Appar-
[177] ently the method of making hats is copied from the neighboring Brazilians. At least the shape is the same; but whether all the types of plaited strips which are sewed together spirally into a hat correspond to Brazilian designs, or whether there are innovations here, I do not know. The most common design, consisting of four-part strips with a notched edge, seems to be Brazilian, the other two, the eleven-part strip with a smooth edge and the nine-part strip with a smooth, double edge, may be original forms in view of the plaiting skill of the Indians (Ill. 139 a-c). These strips are sewed together with fine bast threads and a bone needle four centimeters long (Ill. 140).

285 For all other plaiting the leaf pinnae of the oaguassu palm are used. The material for this is stored in the houses in large /290/ quantities, mostly lying on the floor under mats; in Schischá it also lay on special forked racks on the long sides and in the roundings of the houses.

In the same way as for the house covering, two oaguassu fronds are laid with the ribs one on top of the other in the making of walls, fans, and eye shades, except that in this case the individual pinnae /Ills. 139 and 140 appear here/ are then plaited together. See the beginning of a piece of plaiting in Ill. 5 on Plate 58 /see p. 219/.

/290 cont./

285 The baskets show great variety. The individual types are similar to those described by Max Schmidt, so I can limit myself

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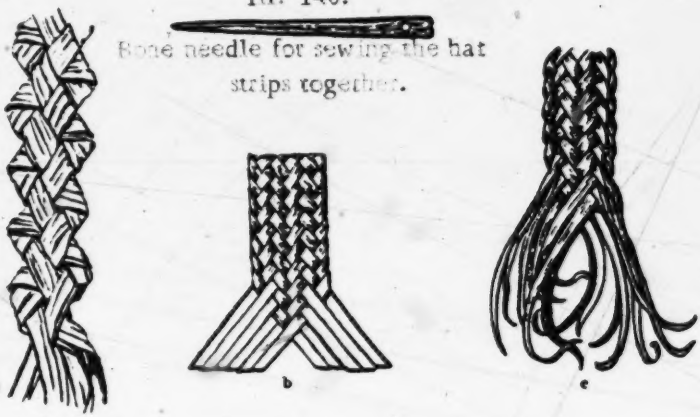
Ill. 140.

Bone needle for sewing the hat strips together.



Ill. 139 a-c.
Hat-plaiting strips: a) four-part, b) eleven-part, c) nine-part.

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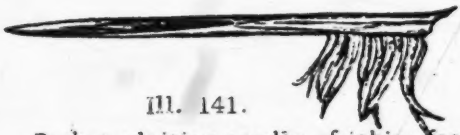
[237]



Ill. 141.
Basket-plaiting needle of jabiru feather quill.

to very brief descriptions.

In the case of large round baskets (wälilí, Ehrenreich rorä; Pl. 57, Ill. 3) with a forehead carrying-strap, which are used to transport manioc, the edge consists of the split palm-rib. The pinnae are interwoven and provide a meander-type design. The bottom is reinforced by being interwoven with a second layer of individual pinnae which are cut to the specific length
[237] with piranha teeth. A thick jabiru feather quill 16.5 centimeters

1:Lipkind E-5 (1937) 1948 SP9 Caraja SP9

pushing aside a door of plaited palm. Every married woman in the family cooks at her own fireplace, which consists of two lumps of hardened clay. Mats used for sleeping and sitting are spread over the entire floor. Wooden stools (fig. 19) may also be found. Bows, arrows, and rattles

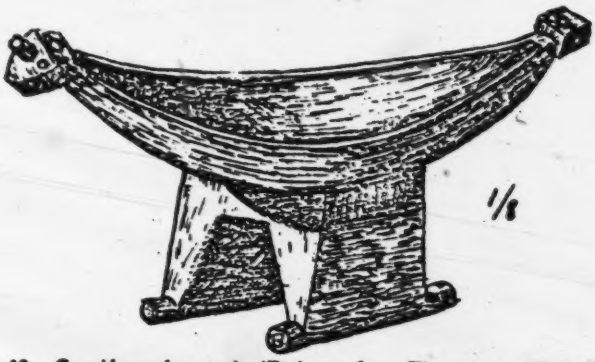


FIGURE 19.—*Carajá* wooden stool. (Redrawn from Ehrenreich, 1891 b, fig. 13.)

are shoved into the wall thatch. Baskets, used for storing such things as tobacco, urucú, and feathers, are hung by a string from the ridge poles. Large baskets containing vegetables lie on the ground next to the thatch.

The dry-season house is identical in form but smaller and of flimsier construction. Thatching is looser and the walls are thatched only about halfway to the ground, the north and west sides often being left completely open. The dry-season village is generally constructed on a long beach and, as the site grows dirty, is moved along the beach. The ground plan of the dry-season village is identical with the rainy-season village.

DRESS AND ORNAMENTS

The most prominent facial decoration is a blue-black circular scarification about an inch in diameter over each cheekbone. The ears of infants are pierced and an ornament consisting of a small polished capybara tooth with a feather attached is inserted. A common ear ornament for children is a mother-of-pearl disk with a cut feather fringe set on a blackened thin rod. In a perforation of their lower lips, men wear wood or bone labrets of a variety of shapes (pl. 21; fig. 21, *a*), each assigned to a different age grade; old men use simple wooden plugs.

Men wear their hair long, winding it round a plaited cotton rope reddened with urucú. Women wear their hair about shoulder length.

Armlets crocheted of cotton are worn at the wrists and just above the elbow; similar ornaments are worn just below the knee and at the ankle. These are worn particularly by children and are supposed to aid growth.

1:Lipkind E-5 (1937) 1948 SP9 Caraja SP9

301 Young men wear large armlets almost 12 inches (30 cm.) long crocheted of cotton with hanging fringes.

291 Women wear a bark-cloth girdle, which is wound round the body and under the crotch and looped over, hanging down in front. Feather head-
[272] dresses of a number of different designs are worn by men on festal occasions. Men tie the prepuce with a firmly wound string and wear a string belt.

302 Elaborately decorated woven belts with hanging ema feathers are worn
[292] for wrestling matches. Bird down is glued on the shoulders, arms, and
[237] legs. Body painting is very elaborate, and designs covering the entire body are carefully executed with genipa. Urucú is spread generally, with accents on the cheekbones, the nose, and the upper arm.

TRANSPORTATION

501 The *Carajá* manufacture elongated dugouts, neatly adapted to landing and freeing their craft among the sandbanks.

MANUFACTURES

287 **Bark cloth.**—Bark cloth is made of *Apeiba* bast, soaked, beaten with flat stones, and dried until it becomes very soft and white.

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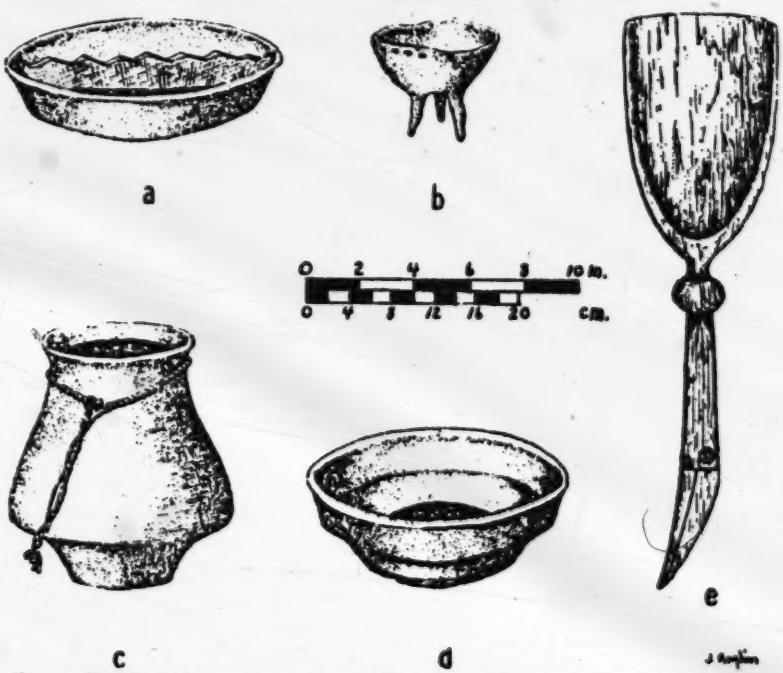


FIGURE 20.—*Carajá* manufactures. *a-d*, Pottery; *e*, wooden scoop. (Redrawn from Ehrenreich, 1891 b, figs. 5 and 14.)

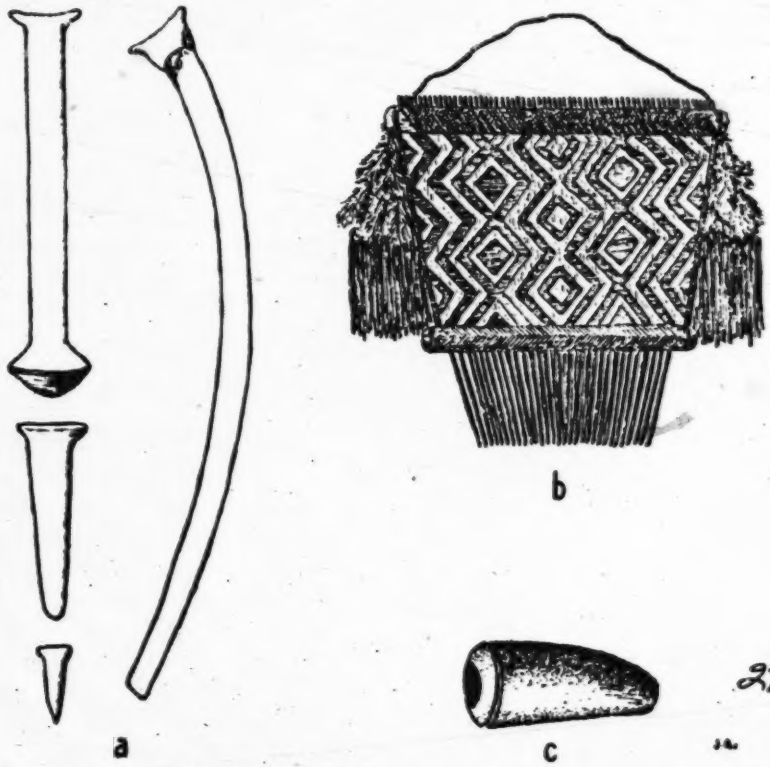
1:Lipkind E-5 (1937) 1948 SP9 Caraja SP9

Basketry.—The *Carajá* excel in the variety and solidity of their plaitwork, which includes burden baskets, strainers, shoulder bags, bottles, elliptical feather cases, and boat-shaped containers for suspension. Twilling and twining are the dominant techniques (pl. 22). 285

Textiles.—The *Carajá* produce some taffetalike fabrics, but in 1775 Pinto da Fonseca found them using cotton solely for fish nets and bowstrings, so that he himself introduced a loom and taught the women how to work it. 286 177

Featherwork.—In contrast to their *Ge* neighbors of Eastern Brazil, the *Carajá* are outstanding for featherwork. They make wide-meshed and close-meshed caps with feathers tied to the intersection of the interlaced splints and arranged into rosettes, diadems of feathers stuck into radially mounted cane tubes, and other types of ornaments (pl. 21). 287

Axes.—Stone axes figure in old *Carajá* petroglyphs and have been found by many travelers in the area. They were used for adzing, chopping, and warfare, and as chief's badges. Iron axes have rapidly replaced them. 412 172



301 412 531 276

FIG. 21.—*Carajá* manufactures. *a*, Labrets; *b*, comb; *c*, pipe. (Approximately ⅓ actual size.) (Redrawn from Ehrenreich, 1891 b, figs. 2, 9, and 4.)

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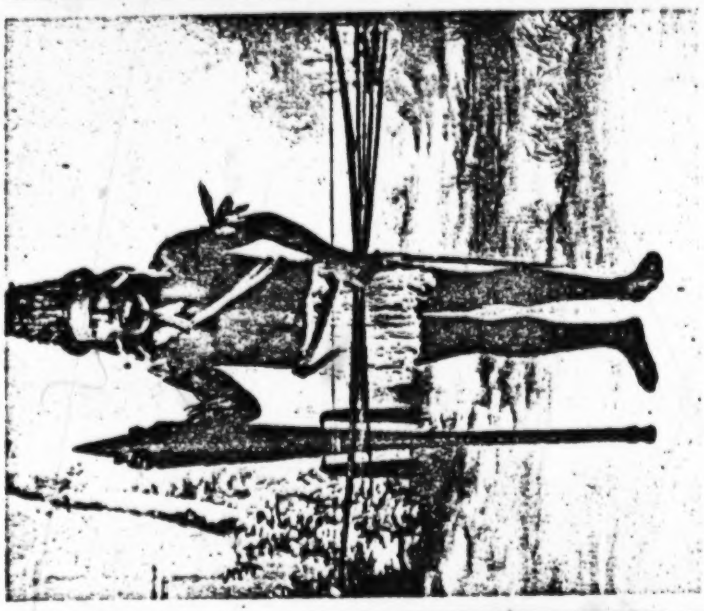

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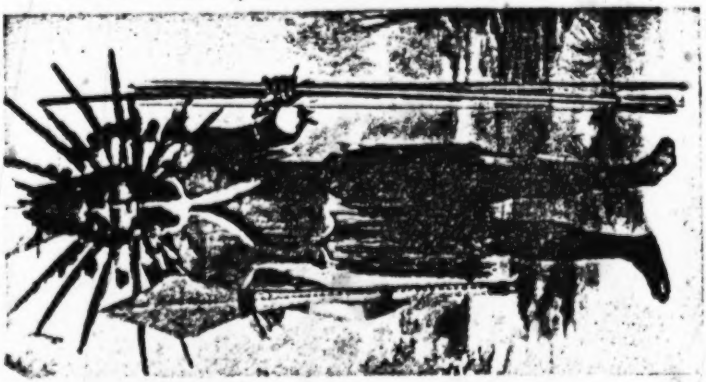

PLATE 21.—Carajá types. (Courtesy University Museum, Philadelphia.)

[End Plate 1]

/6 cont./

*532 the rolls there is put on, with a strong lacing, a second spherical roll, which runs out into a point at the bottom (Figs. 18, 21, 22, 23 /see p.48 /, Fig. 45 /see p.49 /) or in an attached foot (Fig. 24 /see p.48 /, Figs. 28 and 34 /see p.49 /). The feet come in all forms from the short stump to the fully fashioned foot (Fig. 28 /see p. 49 /). Worthy of note is the great exaggeration of the calves, thighs, and hips in the case of the second and third forms, /7/ and parallel with it goes the formation of /Fig. 29 appears here/ 1 buttocks often assuming enormous dimensions (Figs. 23, 24b /see p.48 /, Figs. 28b, 30, 34b /see p.49 /), two phenomena which are lacking in the first form. They are explicable by a comparison with the body shapes of the Indians (Fig. 29 a and b [142] /see p. 12/). They possess extremely strong musculature on the [301] thighs, the calves stand out prominently because of the tightly tied calf-bands of the young people, and even the cushion of fat on the seat is exceedingly strongly developed. The ideal of the [826] Indians is the strongest possible development of these phenomena and this ideal is apparently represented in the figures.

Only one figure falls outside of these three types (Fig. 30); it probably arose out of an extension of the second form. Stretching downward from the upper projections there are two long cylinders which remain uniformly thick to the bottom and are cut off horizontally.

The torso shows nothing remarkable in the case of the male figures. It has the deeply bored navel which is surrounded by indented painting. On the other hand, the torso of the female figures is singularly formed in that it juts out into a plate, sometimes projecting out quite far, on which the navel is found. The apron is [142] attached below this plate. This phenomenon probably goes back [291] to the protrusion of the belly caused by the tightly drawn bast apron, as was sometimes to be seen (Fig. 31 /see p. 12/).

An equally difficult subject is the representation of the arms and breasts; I must deal with them together, since it is not immediately obvious which of the two is represented.

1 [see p. 12--Analyst]

/7 cont./

*532 Both are completely lacking on some male and female figures (Fig. 32 /see p. 49 /). [142] [301] [302] On one female figure, a bulge is marked only by a small roll (Fig. 33 /see p. 49 /). These would, therefore, fall outside of our considerations.

The male figures show the following types:

a) Only one figure has fully formed arms and, in addition, small breasts (Fig. 18 /see p.48 /).

Fig. 29 a and b. Painted Karajá maiden.

b) Side protuberances from the upper body, which clearly signify arms, are present on a fairly large number of dolls (Figs. 28, 30 /see p.49 /).

Now follow three types on which it is at first not clear whether arms or breasts are represented.

c) On the upper body, in front, there is attached a transverse roll which ends in two breast-like cones on the sides (Figs. 16, 17, 19 /see p.48 /).

[142] [291] d) This roll is somewhat idented in the middle, so that the cones even more approximate a breast form (Fig. 36 /see p. 49 /).

Fig. 31. Protrusion of the belly of Karajá women in front and on the sides because of the tightly drawn bast-belt.

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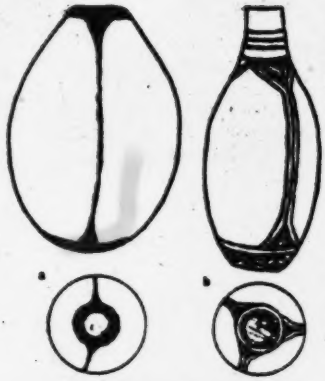

Fig. 207 a and b. Resonance gourds. (Including their bottom surfaces.)

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Fig. 208 a and b. Ear rods.

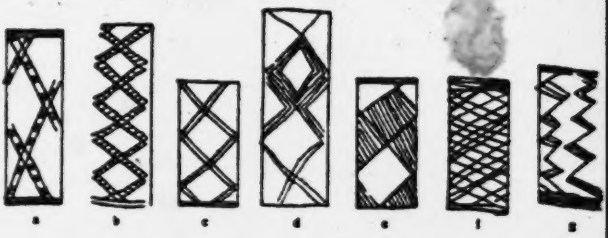

Fig. 209 a-g. Ear rods.

[415]

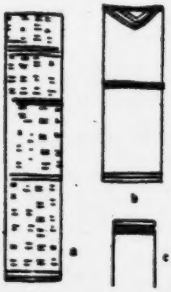

Fig. 210 a-c. Ear rods.

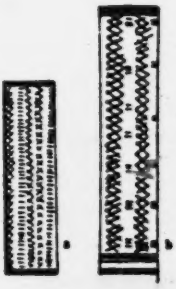

Fig. 211 a and b. Ear rods.

Fig. 212. Gourd ladle.

Fig. 214. Gourd ladle.

/26 cont./

53/ spite of two attempts, did not quite succeed, is similar.

21. The cross, lālādjā = urubu. Found as gourd-carving [534] on a rattle (Fig. 203a /see p. 57/) and as a sketchbook drawing (Fig. 203b /see p. 57/). According to Ehrenreich ("Beiträge," Fig. 16c) a lizard is represented in the form of a cross.

/27/ I furthermore obtained a gourd (Fig. 204 /see p. 57/) which bears no fewer than 20 different figures, five of which are patterns discussed above. The individual figures are as follows:

a) ŏāoā = gavião; b) dōlĕ = parrot; c) ăndādōlā = arara; d) lālā = urubu; e) kŭōlĭ; f) klāŏbĭ = monkey; g) wātĭ = stag; h) tĭlŭ = excrement; i) krādjāĭdŭ /Fig. 215 appears here/ = sexual parts of the Karajá Indian women; k) bĭŭ = rain; l) bĕnŭ = navel; m) ōmālūdĭ; n) djūĕtā = piranha; o) kjŏlŏzā = dog; p) ūŏhŭ = arrows; q) dōnōlĭ = lance; r) ŏdābŭlā; s) ŭōmā; t) hādŏ = house; u) kŏdūnĭ = tartaruga.

Unfortunately it was broken on the journey, so that, apart from the plaiting patterns, only the figures a, e, k, l, o can be recognized with certainty.

2. Carved decorations

are in part different from these plaiting patterns; they show quite distinctive features. Two half-gourds have distinct edge strips (Plate XI /see p. 57/, Figs. 201a and 202a). Two gourd con- [415] tainers for feathers are decorated with strange decorations (Plate XI, Fig. 205). The gourds for oil bear the ornamentation on the /Figs. 216 and 217 appear here/ 1 upper part around the opening, usually in four parts (Fig. 206 a to c/see p. 57/), rarely with [534] more parts (Fig. 206d /see p. 58/). The resonance gourds for the signal trumpets are decorated over the whole expanse, in two parts in Fig. 207a /see p. 60/, in three parts in Fig. 207b /see [30] p. 60/. Of other carvings only carved ear-rods are found. These have the following decorations; spirals (Fig. 208a /Figs. 218-220 appear here/ 2 and b /see p. 60/), intersections (Fig. 209 a to g /see p. 60/; the decoration in Fig. 209f was called ĭlĕdĭlĕgā),

1, 2 [see p. 62--Analyst]

[Text continues on p. 63]

/8 cont./

609 Nevertheless, caution must be used in dealing with the Sambioa. To be sure, they will hardly dare to attack well-manned and armed boats, but, in view of the great distance from the landing place to the villages, the traveler who unarmed -- only in this way is he admitted -- visits their huts can get into a very dangerous situation in case of a sudden quarrel.

The reception at the landing places usually makes a most picturesque scene. The naked brown forms stream by in groups, [301] many adventurously painted black and red, the face often daubed [302] with a thick layer of soot, some with a decorative feather diadem on their heads, others with hair hanging down in a long braid and decorated with bunches of arara feathers fluttering in the wind. All [411] are armed with long spears decorated with feathers, clubs, bows, and arrows. The discussion is held in dignified quiet, without wild shouting, the new arrivals first showing the savages their firearms, and expressly any breechloaders /9/ or revolvers, which never fail to make a deep impression. The chief asserts time after time: Karaya amigo tori, ahi mentira não tem! The Karaya is a friend of the White (tori), here there are no lies! And the bartering begins immediately (Pl. IV /see p. 106/, 2).

Once one has won their confidence, the dealings become quite unconstrained, especially with the men and boys. The small children, and especially the young girls, are very shy and usually crawl into a corner of their hut, nervously covering their faces with their hands. A stranger is never troubled by beggars. Thefts, too, are exceedingly rare.

Language.

126 A rather extensive vocabulary, as well as a number of short sentences, was written down, from which, however, little of the grammatical structure of this idiom is evident. The extremely 194 unclear diction of the people, who hardly make any perceptible 126 movement of their lips, their inability to repeat exactly what was said, and finally the swallowing of the final syllables, favored by the abundance of vowels and lingual sounds, make linguistic reception uncommonly difficult.

/10 cont./

302 The bristly or wavy black hair of both sexes is cut off straight above the eyebrows and hangs down in back over the neck. Dandies [301] wear a part about three centimeters wide up to the crown /Fig. 1 appears here/, let the short crown-hair stick up like a brush, and with cotton strings tie the part hanging down in back into a braid, at the roots of which the men sometimes tie a decoration of blue arara or black mutum /curassow/ feathers (ušiktamaru).

301 In the pierced ear-lobes both sexes wear sticks of cane 15-20 [304] centimeters long for everyday.

The plug in the lower lip (anʒōŏ) is used only by the men. It [814] consists of the light, flaky wood of the piuva tree and is either cut obliquely with a short point or runs out into a long, thin lamina hanging down on the chest (Fig. 2, b /see p. 18 /).

Boys primarily wear, instead of this, small T-shaped pieces of shell (idžä) (Fig. 2, d /see p. 18 /).

The most precious lip ornament, which is worn only on festive occasions, but otherwise is kept carefully wrapped in cotton, is a long, heavy, stone plug (manuterĕ) of hyaline or rose-colored quartz, the T-shaped end of which is stuck through the lower lip while the conical button hangs down (Fig. 2, a /see p. 18 /). Of the four specimens in the collection the largest is 17.5 centimeters long.

301 /11/ These lip stones, of which only a few have reached 439 European collections, are not made by the Karaya themselves, but are bartered from the Tapirapé, the Tupi people on the like- [135] named left tributary of the Araguaia. The mountain chains of the left riverbank, such as the Serra dos Cayapos, are rich in this material. A Kayapo stone plug acquired in S. Maria is shorter and runs out to a tapered, blunt end (Fig. 2, c /see p. 18 /).

304 Tattooing is limited to the tribal badge which both sexes 619 wear on their cheeks: a blue ring 10-15 millimeters in diameter (auʒamanurĕ) just under the lower edge of the orbit.

515 On the whole the Karaya are distinguished by scrupulous care of the body. They bathe several times a day. Their hair is 302 always carefully combed. All the hair on the face and body is [412] plucked out. Shears are now commonly used for hair cutting, [237] whereas formerly piranha teeth were used for this.

/11 cont./

854 Some months later the broad, knitted cotton cuffs (deši) are
291 put around the wrists and ankles, while narrower bands provided with tassels hanging down in front are tied under the knee. The former are cylindrical, five to six centimeters wide, with thicker edges projecting out like a hat brim, the latter smooth and only one to two centimeters wide. With increasing growth these bands are gradually replaced by larger ones (Pl. VII /see p. 109/, 6 and 8).

291 The boys wear the ankle bands until after the lips have been pierced, the girls until they marry. The cuffs, which cover almost the whole forearm among the adults, are, like the knee bands, not taken off by either sex until after marriage, and by the women usually
● [301] not before the birth of the first child. Upon the death of one of the two spouses, the surviving one puts them on again.

Fig. 2. Lip ornaments (1/4).

571 The sharp external division of single persons from married ones by such distinguishing marks is deeply rooted in the whole social life of this people, as we shall see later. Other ornamental objects will be discussed below.

291 Also to be included among the articles of clothing is an object quite peculiar to the Karaya, the "riiŏ," incorrectly called "rede" (hammock) by the Brazilians and also designated as such by Castelnau and Martius (Pl. VII /see p. 109/, 1).

[88] This cotton plaiting looks very similar to an actual hammock, to be sure, but it is not used as such and is not hung up at all, not
[513] even having any cords for this purpose. It serves, rather, as a cloak by day and as an underlayer at night when sleeping on the ground.

/22 cont./

286 is wound around these without crossing and thus consists of two parallel rows of thread. The woof threads are now led in pairs from top to bottom with a long needle and knotted to a pair of warp threads one after another. Two woof threads always encircle two warp threads. Their distance from each other is always twice as great as that of the pair of warp threads. The woof threads are knotted at both edges.

Since various colors are chosen for different warp strands, one gets "redes" with red and black stripes. The background color is usually white.

On the same apparatus, however, real weaving of a taffeta-like texture can also be made. For example, the above-mentioned "rede" of the Yavahē consists of such material. Also the strong

[283] [532]

Fig. 7. Spindles (1/4).

[482] [531] [237] Also the strong carrying-bands of certain baskets, the black forehead-bands decorated with mother-of-pearl disks (Pl. VII /see p. 109/, 7), the black body-bands for children (Pl. VII, 3, 4), and the dance belts decorated with feather strips hanging down are made in this manner.

In this smaller weaving a single continuous woof thread runs through the whole warp. It was not learned whether special, handier tools were used for this.

The arm cuffs and leg bands are knitted over a heavy, cone-shaped wooden block (kauarū) with a crochet needle (desi-tan), now usually of iron, insofar as this is not done on the body itself (Pl. VII, 9).

283 The long fringe hangings falling over the chest and neck [301] (Pl. VII, 2), as well as the shorter ones which are tied under the knee, a popular adornment for young people, are simple knotted work. Two strong parallel strands are entwined with a number of

/22 cont./

283 equally long pairs of threads in eight-twists /Achtertouren/ in such a way that the beginning and end pieces of the latter hand down.

301 Children wear around their necks black cotton tassels (nohoñ-ʒã) hanging on long strong cords, the size and thickness of which are determined by the age of the child. On some the [237] colored shells of Castalia dolabella are placed above the tassels (Pl. VII /see p. 109/, 5).

237 301 Of the ornamental objects the feather ornaments primarily, represented in the richest assortment, deserve detailed treatment.

Delight in color which, as is well known, is being lost more and more by civilized people, lets these children of nature work the feathers of the very colorful birds of their native land into a wealth of the most colorful ornamental objects, such as are achieved in the same diversity of form and taste of composition by only a few other tribes of South America.

To be sure, their execution is not very durable. With the rich source of suitable feathers at the disposal of the Karaya, they are always able to replace pieces that may have become damaged.

1. Feathers for the head. A bundle of arara or black mutum feathers surrounds the root of the braid, at the ends of which small white feathers are tied. Standing up in the wind, they surround the head of the wearer like a halo (cf. Pl. I /see p. 103/, 1).

2. Small diadems (uarakure-ʒã) are worn when greeting foreigners, at meetings, etc. Small red and yellow arara feathers are put in a row around a wooden ring, forming a rosette in front from the middle of which black cotton cords hang down to the forehead (Pl. IX /see p. 111/, 6).

/23/ 3. In the same category there is a peculiar headdress in the form of a truncated cone made out of thin sticks of cane covered with small red feathers and set on a wooden ring (Pl. IX /see p. 111/, 3).

4. One specimen was a small headdress worn on the crown of the head (Fig. 8 /see p. 44/).

/23 cont./

237 301 A small rhomboidal base-plate bears two strong feather-covered quills, into which two pairs of Cacicus feathers, standing out fork like, are inserted.

237 297 5. Feather caps in three shapes are used:

[171] a) The simplest (ǝori-ǝori) consist of a wide-meshed plaiting of bast, with feathers tied in the knots. They appear again in the same execution among the Xingu tribes of the Kamayura, Trumai, and Suya, who may have borrowed them from the local Karaya or Aruma.

[301]

Fig. 8. Feather ornament to be worn on the crown of the head.

b) The second type has greater durability and decorativeness. A narrow-meshed cap plaited out of strong palm fibers forms the base for the tying (hatukö). Small yellow and red feathers, fastened rosette-like around a little piece of cane, are tied into the meshes (Pl. IX /see p. 111/, 4).

c) Tightly knitted, narrow-meshed caps, which are covered on the outside with a layer of down feathers. In the examples here the latter are no longer present.

535 237 301 6. The true dance ornament (lurinǎ) is worn on the back of the head on a string running around the forehead (Pl. IX, 2; cf. Pl. II /see p. 104/, 2). The base is a horseshoe-shaped support. It consists of two layers of palm leaf-ribs bent together and held together by patterned cotton plaiting daubed with white clay. Between these two plates lie short canes arranged next to one

/23 cont./

535 another radially, the upper opening of which holds the shaft of
237 the ornamental feathers. /Figure 8 appears here./ The part
●301 of the little canes protruding over the supporting plates is covered by a band of feathers placed over it.

This ornament also appears in a less solid form, in which a thick layer of wax holds the ornamental feathers instead of the canes. In order to penetrate the wax better, each of them is sewed to a pointed wooden splint.

7. A second dance ornament in diadem form (ahetŏ) is simpler, but no less stately. Here the support consists of a row of long cane sticks wound with white thread and arranged in a row on a horizontal wooden stick. When the lower corners of the support are drawn together, the upper ones move away from one another to the sides so that the long ornamental feathers are spread far apart (Pl. IX /see p. 111/, 5).

[171] The first Xingu expedition acquired such a headdress of the Xingu Karaya among the Yuruna.

301 8 and 9. The use made of two ornamental pieces is still
239 unclear. There were acquired among the Karayahi two helmet-like headdresses plaited out of buriti leaf-strips and provided with tufts of feathers at the top(tatenerǎ), which the Indians themselves designated as incomplete. Allegedly more feathers should have been placed around the lower part of these helmets. One of them, moreover, is covered with a layer of down feathers (Pl. IX /see p. 111/, 1).

In another locality two feather ornaments were found, one of which perhaps represents the above-mentioned missing piece. It consists of a layer of long arara and short yellow Cascicus feathers in a fan-shaped row on a strong cotton strand. On the lower part of the outside there is yet another covering layer made up of blue and green parrot feathers. In order to make the cacicus feathers equally as long as the arara feathers, each of them is sewed to a wooden stick of corresponding length, whose protruding end piece, wound with cotton, bears a small tuft of feathers at its tip. The little stick is missing on the arara feathers, which are sufficiently long. In their case only a part

/23 cont./

301 of the feathers are removed, and the quill at this point is like-
237 wise wound with cotton. A cord runs through the middle of the whole thing. If one ties its ends and those of the thick strand on which all the feathers stand in a row, the fan can be folded up mantle-like and fits exactly around the above-mentioned helmets (Pl. IX /see p. 111 /, 7).

The second specimen, otherwise quite similarly constructed, cannot be closed completely. It has, outside and inside, a double layer of cover feathers, which proves that both sides were meant to be exposed and thus could hardly have served as a helmet covering. Either it is tied crosswise over the head, or it is the completion of the braid feather-tuft mentioned under No. 1. A third possibility is that both feather fans were worn hanging down over the neck, similar to the feather cloaks customary in Guiana. But the extreme narrowness of the neck opening would argue against this. A definite decision must await further information.

The common ear-ornaments, the cane sticks, are replaced by delicate feather rosettes (ʒohoruã) for festive adornment (Pl. IX, 10). They are round disks made of concentrically arranged small red and yellow feathers on cane stalks, which in the center bear a small mother-of-pearl disk with a black cross or a rodent's tooth (cf. Pl. III /see p. 105 /, 1).

Festive arm-bands for the upper arm (deoʒanã) are made out of ounce or wildcat skin decorated with tufts of parrot or heron feathers (Pl. IX, 9), or they are simple feather tassels tied to cotton cords.

Arm-bands made out of bird bones in parallel rows are not represented in the collection and were not seen in use by me. They seem to have been used more commonly in former times. The private collections of Dr. Leite Moraes and Sertorio in São Paulo, as well as the Museo nacional in Rio have a whole number of them.

535 /24/ Also belonging among the dance ornaments are the belts (uatakanã) worked out of strong black and white striped cotton plaiting and with feather hangings, which on the ends

/24 cont./

535 often bear rattles of Thevetia pods. Other belts are entirely made up of the latter (Pl. X /see p. 112/, 8-10).

Around the knee or ankle joints the dancer places bands from which strands ending in rattles and tufts of feathers hang down. They are held apart by a horizontal wooden stick and are sometimes covered with a thick layer of white down feathers (Pl. X, 4).

412 531

301 237 439

Fig. 9. Comb (1/4).

Necklaces in their original form are no longer seen. Pierced animal teeth and stones, shell disks, etc. have long been supplanted by glass beads imported in great quantities. The white and black beads of the cheap "rosaries" widespread everywhere

415 531

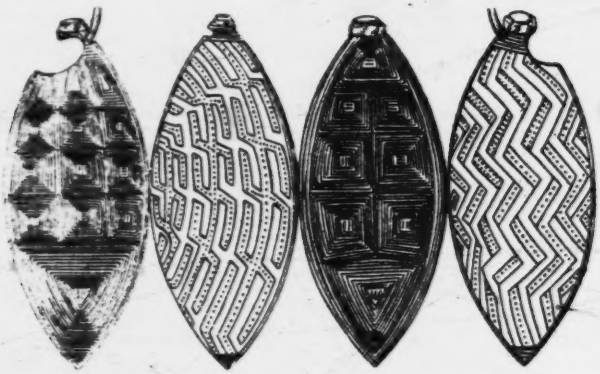

Fig. 10. Decorations on the gourd vessel of Pl. VIII /see p. /, 7 (1/4).

301 in Goyaz are the most prized, but they are strung in a manner corresponding to the national taste. A whole series of short strings goes around the neck as tightly as possible (cf. Pl. II /see p. 104/, 2; III /see p. 105/, 1). From the lowermost hangs a number of small chains which have small fruit shells or tufts of feathers at the ends.

/30/

852 The wound holes are kept open with cotton threads passed
304 through them and changed often. The patient must fast for one day and is permitted to take only liquid nourishment for some time. The whole post-operative treatment is handled by an older woman experienced at it.

852 From now on the boys wear the T-shaped lip ornaments
301 of mother-of-pearl, not until later the piuva wood plugs. On
291 this occasion the bast apron of the women is put on the girls.

With the onset of puberty the young people of both sexes
881 receive the tribal tattooing amid similar ceremonies. The out-
304 line of a circle is marked on both cheeks with a stamp made
[824] out of a piece of gourd (tešiä). Then the place is cut out with
[952] a small sharp stone, and cotton lint is put in the wound. After stopping the bleeding, genipa juice rubbed in causes the blue color of the scar.

881 The first appearance of the period is not celebrated with special ceremonies. The menstruating woman is considered unclean and must live apart from the others during this time. She is not permitted to bathe, but is washed by other women from a gourd bowl especially intended for this purpose.

857 Games and dancing. At an early age the children imitate the activities of adults. The boys practice archery and fishing; the girls give their mothers a hand in the household as soon as
524 possible. The clay figures have already been mentioned as children's toys. There are also small tops (kotauä, Fig. 15 /see p. 61/), canoes and oars, cooking dishes, etc. represented in the collection.

Games popular with the adults as well are the feather ball made of corncobs with ring-shaped inset, and furthermore the "game of cats cradle" /cited in English/ common in North America, as is well known, and recently described by Boas for the Eskimo. Strings drawn from hand to hand through the fingers represent certain animal figures by changing their arrangement. /Fig. 15 appears here./

/48 cont./

172 present petroglyphs inasmuch as the rock drawings are completely lacking precisely at the cataracts of the Araguaia; rather, Martirios Island lies in an absolutely clear and quiet stretch. Nevertheless, it is a most important place for the Karaya. It [131] forms the northern boundary of their territory and it is here that [648] the hordes of the Kayapo hostile to them frequently come to the river. Many a battle may have taken place in this region between the two nations.

The interpretation of the rock sculptures as memorials or border markers, to which perhaps family insignia of prominent leaders have been added, seems to be the most acceptable according to the prevailing conditions. /The remainder of p. 48 and pp. 49-77 are not translated./

/78/

Explanation of the Plates [1]

142 291 302 Pl. I. Karaya. Men and Women (of the fourth village of the Šambioa).

1. Warriors. The man on the left /sic/ with parted hair, [276] the tobacco pipe (Fig. 4 /see p. 28/) in his mouth, holding his [411] weapons in his hand. The one on the right /sic/ shows the hair [301] put in a braid with the feather decoration ušiktamaru (see p. 16) and the national wrapping of the foreskin (see p. 17).

2. Woman and girl with the bast aprons, whose front end is drawn to the rear since both individuals have just got up from [285] the ground (see p. 17). One of the large buriti-fiber mats mentioned on pp. 38 and 39 forms the background for both groups.

Pl. II. Karaya. Men (of the fourth of the village of the Šambioa).

[301] 1 a and b. Portrait of a young Šambioa man with ear [304] sticks and wooden lip-plug, widely parted hair, and clearly recognizable tribal tattooing on the cheeks.

[1] [Plates appear on pp. 103-115--Analyst]

/78 cont./ [Plate II. Karaya. (cont'd)]

142 2. Two Šambioa warriors en face. The man on the left with
291 the feather diadem lurina on the back of the head (see p. 44),
301 bow, arrows, and club in his hand, the one on the right with the
302 small wreath-diadem (Pl. IX /see p. /, 6) and strings of glass
411 beads wound tightly around the neck. The large lower-arm cuffs identify him as unmarried.

Pl. III. Karaya. Karayahi Groups (taken in the last "summer camp" on a river island above the northern tip of Bananal Island).

1. Men, two of which wear arm-cuffs and knee-bands. One has the small feather rosettes with a central disk of mother-of-pearl in his ears (see. p. 46). Face painting with soot is recognizable. The straw hat of the older man sitting in front is not the one mentioned on p. 20, but a model directly borrowed
[501] from the settlers. In the background two long canoes and farther to the left in the distance the small Araguaia steamer.

342 2. Women, children, and young people sitting on the
361 ground in front of the tent-roofs of the summer camp, which are
516 made of mats. Two araras on the pole to the right, at the left on the bank a jabiru (black-headed stork).

Pl. IV. Karaya. Villages.

133
342 1. Full view of the first village of the Sambioa.
361 2. Reception scene in the third village of the Šambioa.
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291 Pl. V. Karaya. Chief's hut (fourth village of the
342 Šambioa).
351
354 Group at the cooking place in front of the entrance.
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411 Pl. VI. Karaya. Weapons.

1. Bow with wound bowstring and feather tassel (1/8).

/78 cont./ [Plate VI. Karaya. (Cont'd.)]

411 2, 3. Arrows with palm-wood knives (1/6).

4. Arrow with bird-bone tip (1/6).

5. Bird-arrow with blunt, knob-shaped tip (1/6).

6. Throwing board (1/6).

7. Arrow thrown by it, with blunt wooden tip (1/6).

8. War arrow with ray-spine tip (1/6).

9. War arrow with taquara-cane knife(1/6).

[531] 10. Lance with shaft-plaiting (1/9).

11. Flat club of the Šambioa chief Ambura (from the collection of Leite Moraes (1/9).

12. Plaiting pattern of the latter (2/3).

13. Grooved, round club of Ambura (1/9).

/79/

286 291 ●301 Pl. VII. Karaya. Cotton Work.

1. Large black and white striped sleeping-mat or cape (1/8).

2. Fringed hangings of twisted cotton thread to be worn hanging down from the neck over the chest and back. Dyed with urucú red (1/8).

3, 4. Black, closely woven body-belts for small children (1/8).

5. Black tassels with pierced snail shells tied on in pairs with plaited cords taken doubled. Worn by small children around the neck (1/6).

6. Knee band of unmarried persons (1/8).

7. Black, closely woven forehead-band with rectangular mother-of-pearl disks sewed on (1/8).

8. A pair of tightly knitted, red, lower-arm cuffs, mark of the unmarried state (1/6).

501 531 412 415 Pl. VIII. Karaya. Oars, Gourds, Plaited Work.

1-3. Oars with fish patterns (1/9).

4. Cassava grater (1/9).

5. Small tobacco pouch (1/8).

/79 cont./ [Plate VIII. Karaya. (Cont'd.)]

415 285 6. Large, boat-shaped hanging basket with red cross-decorations put on it (1/9).

7. Round gourd container with hanging cord (1/13). Pattern for it, see Fig. 10 /see p. 47/.

8. Double basket for storing feather decorations (1/9).

9. Large, bottle-shaped basket (1/8).

[293] 10. Eyeshade (1/8).

11. Small, expansible bottle-basket (1/8).

[286] 12. Large tobacco pouch with cotton, black-patterned carrying band (1/8).

13. Buriti foot-mat with black bast woof (1/8).

14. Flexible sieve-basket (1/8).

15. Rucksack-like bag,(1/8).

16. Round basket for raw cotton (1/8).

17. Large, round carrying-basket with strong carrying-cord of bast (1/8).

Pl. IX. Karaya, Feather Decorations

237 292 301 1. Helmet-like headdress, probably belonging to 7 (1/6).

2. Horseshoe-shaped headdress to be worn on the back of the head. Edge feathers white. Red arara feathers in the center and on the ends. Cover feathers blue, red, and green mixed (1/6).

3. Cylindrical headdress of thin sticks covered with small yellow and red feathers (1/6).

4. Plaited cap with yellow-red feather rosettes (1/6).

5. Large diadem of white-red feathers (1/6).

6. Everyday diadem of the warrior. A ring covered with red-yellow feathers (1/6).

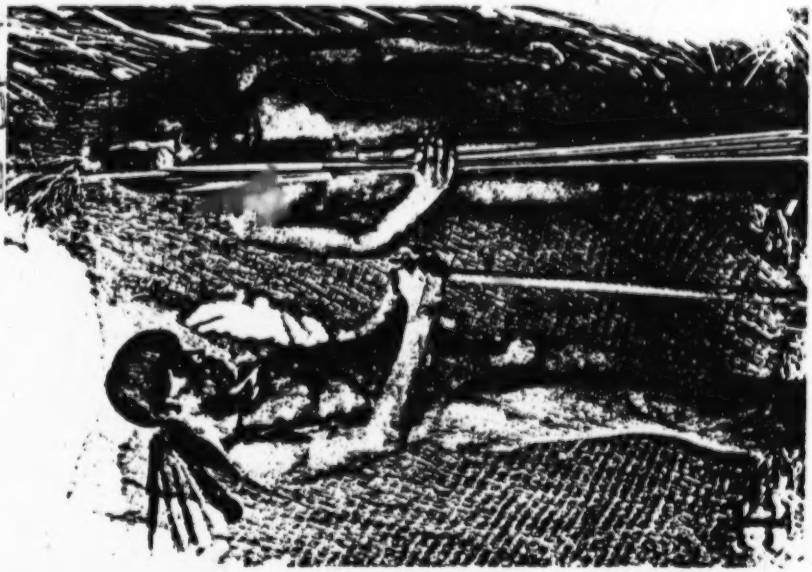
7. Large, fan-shaped feather decoration, three-quarters closed, probably to be put around the lower part of 1 (1/6).

8 and 9. Festive arm-bands made of ounce skin with tufts of feathers (1/8).

10. Ear decorations. Feather rosettes with central shell plates (1/8).

4. Ehrenreich--103 E-5 (1888) 1891 SP9 Cara ja SP9

Plate I



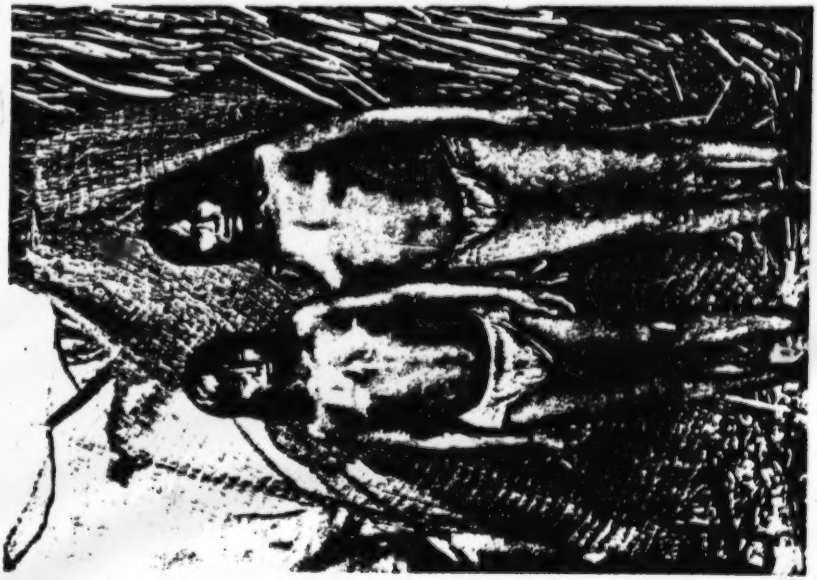


Plate II

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4: Ehrenreich--105 E-5 (1888) 1891 SP9 Caraja SP9

Plate III

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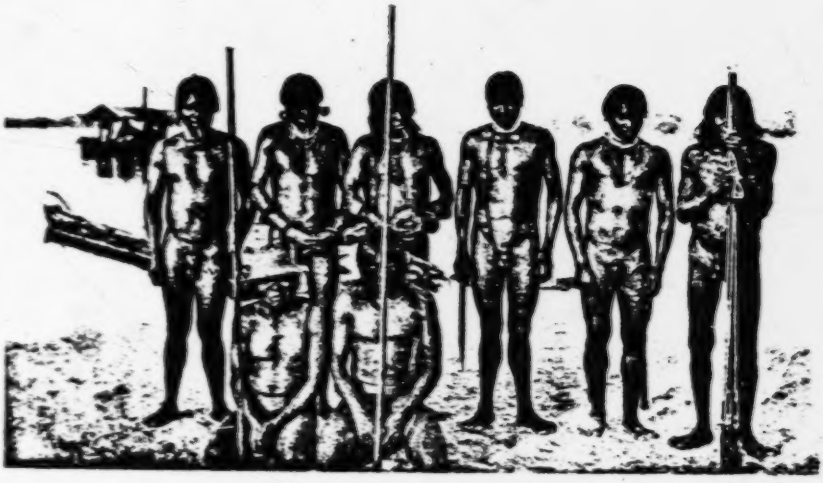

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4: Ehrenreich--109 E-5 (1888) 1891 SP9 Caraja SP9

Plate VII

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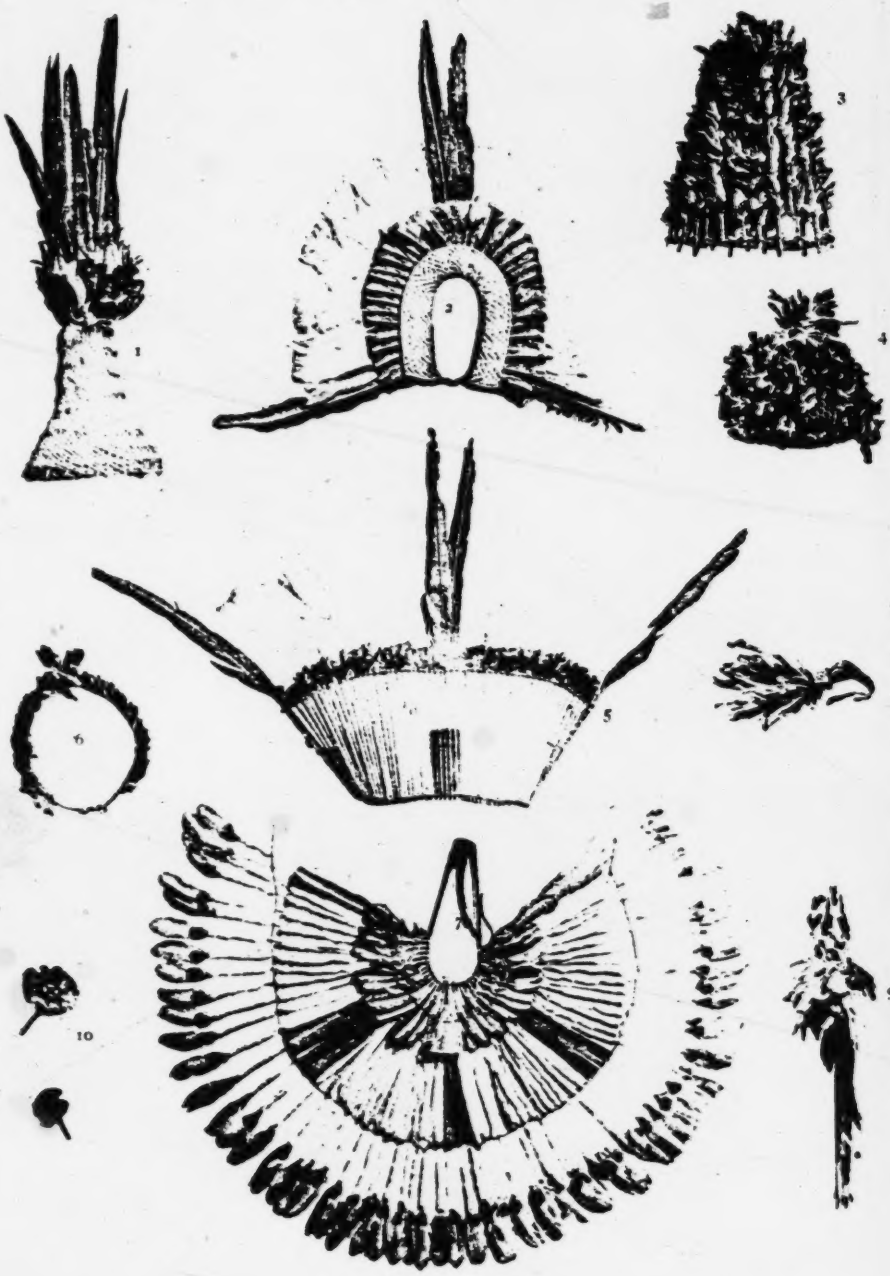
4: Ehrenreich--111 E-5 (1888) 1891 SP9 Caraja SP9

Plate IX



[For additional, detailed information concerning ornaments and ornamentation of all kinds, see category 116, pp. 112-147; particularly notable are the descriptions of labrets on pp. 112-116, and feather head-ornaments on pp. 129-141.]

346 516 142 891 302 516 231 854 301 142 291 302 516 346 516

Plate 12

1. Cooking place of the Karaja Indians.

3. Mask hut in Village 7 (South Horde).

2. Karajá boys.

4. Karajá women and girls.

/Plate 12 faces p. 56. /

Plate 15

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[482]

1. Youth in full ornamentation. Karajá.

3. Back-basket carrier. Karajá.

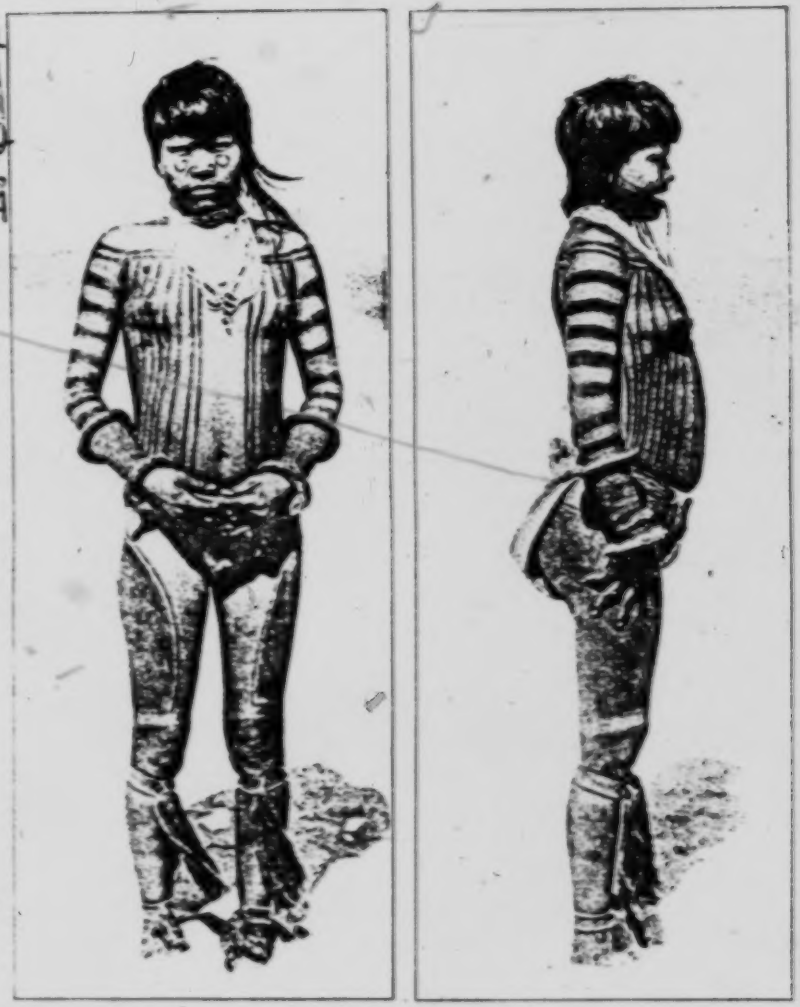
2. A Karajá youth's braid wrapped in bast.

4a. Youths with braids wrapped in red cotton cord.

4b. The same youths from the front.

/Pl. 15 faces p. 68./

Plate 16



Painted Karajá maiden.

/Pl. 16 faces p. 72./

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Plate 17

Karajá Indians.

/Pl. 17 faces p. 76./

5: Krause--11 E-5 (1908) 191 SP9 Caraja SP9

5: Krause--12 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9

Plate 18

292
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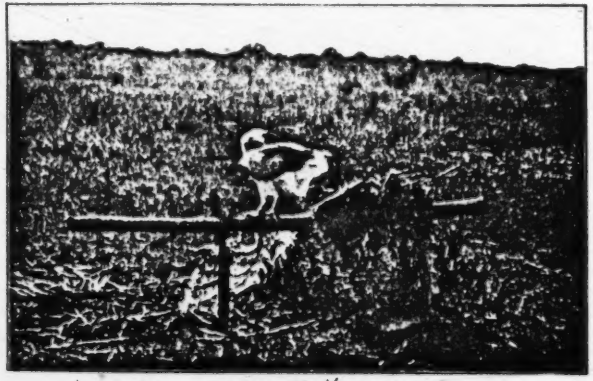
Karajá girl in full ornamentation.

/Pl. 18 precedes p. 77. /

/Pl. 30 faces p. 136./

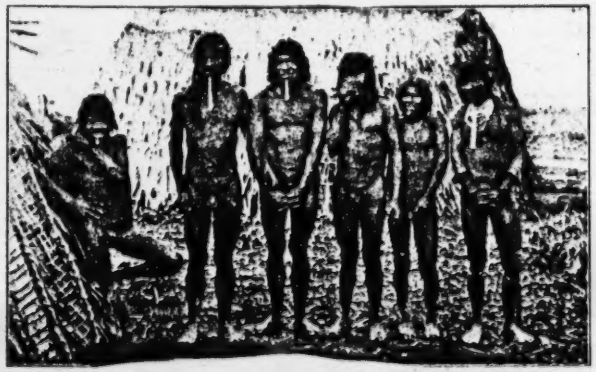
Plate 30

1. Houses of the Šavajé on Bananal.



2. Village bird of the Šavajé.

3. Šavajé women and children.



4. Šavajé men and youths.

Plate 33

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Karajá boys' adornment:
Top, feather helmet; right and left, ear tulips with bead pendants; in the center, neck ornament with nape-tassels.

/Pl. 33 faces p. 152./

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Plate 36

5: Krause--47 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9

1. Three Karajá men.

2. Youth, boy, man. Karajá.

/183 cont./

142 them thin-armed (Pl. 11, Ill. 4; 17; 38, Ill. 2; 47, Ill. 2).
[147] Quite obviously, the powerful development among the married men is the result of rowing and of tree-cutting for the planting. On the lower arm among the adult men, the stronger development of the inner muscle (toward the elbow) is striking (Pl. 36, Ill. 1; 49, Ill. 1); among the women, on the other hand, the outer muscle is more strongly developed (Pl. 17). Hands and fingers are small in comparison with ours.

The legs. The women, in comparison with the men, have shorter legs, whereas the proportion between thigh and calf does not differ essentially for the two sexes. The legs in general, especially in youth, are gracile. The individual bulges of the muscles on the thigh, however, are relatively prominent under the skin (Pl. 44, Ill. 1). A further phenomenon is restricted to the children and young people; in later years it gradually recedes and is only rarely visible. This is a marked prominence
[301] of stretches of skin on the inner side of the thigh, just above the knee joint, common among our children as well, which is probably caused by the strong pressure of the cotton bands worn around the calves as a sign of the unmarried state, which are crocheted directly on the body and are cut off and renewed only when they have become too tight and cut deeply into the leg (Pl. 11, Ill. 4; 12, Ill. 2; 38: 42, Ill. 1; 43, Ill. 1; 44, Ill. 1). This
[826] marked bulging of the parts above the knee is shown particularly
[832] among the clay dolls and is apparently regarded as beautiful (Pl. 8). The legs always grew straight; I never saw knock-knees; only two men showed bowlegs, namely, bowed lower legs (Pl. 15, Ill. 4b, and Pedro). The fetlocks are narrow (1); the foot

1. See under "Distinguishing Ornamentation": calf and ankle bands /see pp. 120 -123/.

is generally compact and well formed. The position of the foot, as among us, is outward, which is shown in the illustrations, and only rarely inward /184/ (Pl. 16; 42, Ill. 3; see Ehrenreich, p. 101). In walking they are likewise placed outward. I never

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1. Karajá youths.

[854]

2. Karajá women and children.

5: Krause--61 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9.

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Plate 38

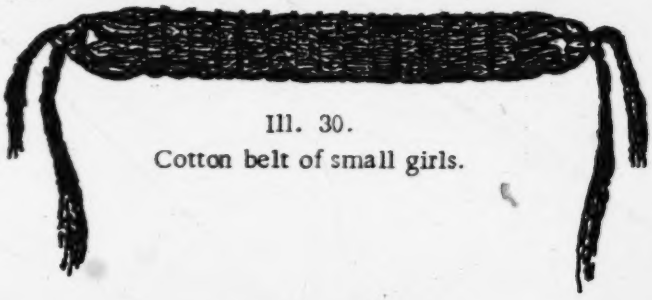
1. Two men, a youth, two boys. Karajá.

2. Painted boy. Karajá.

/205 cont./

291 It consists of a red cotton string one to two meters long and
[283] from 0.2-0.3 centimeters wide, which is either twisted out of two threads or plaited with four edges.

Whether it was connected in any way with the penis cord in former times could no longer be determined. From a second name for it, nõhõmõdi (from nõõ = penis), one might perhaps
[114] conclude this. In any case, Königswald's statement (Globus, Vol. 94, p. 223) that it serves as a penis support is not conclusive.



Ill. 30.
Cotton belt of small girls.

[301]

Ill. 31.
Cotton belt of older girls.

Ill. 32.
Youth with bast band. Drawn from a photograph.

On the other hand, it sometimes serves for fastening small
[412] implements to it. Knives are commonly stuck through it at the back; one man shoved a piece of tobacco given to him, out of lack of a pocket, simply under the hip cord at the small of his back.

Plate 43

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1. Youth in typical attire.

2. Boy with close-cropped hair and hair-wreath.

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3. Karajá men with straw hat and tobacco pipe.

5: Krause--102 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9

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1. Karajá youths.

2. Karajá youth and boy.

5: Krause--154 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9

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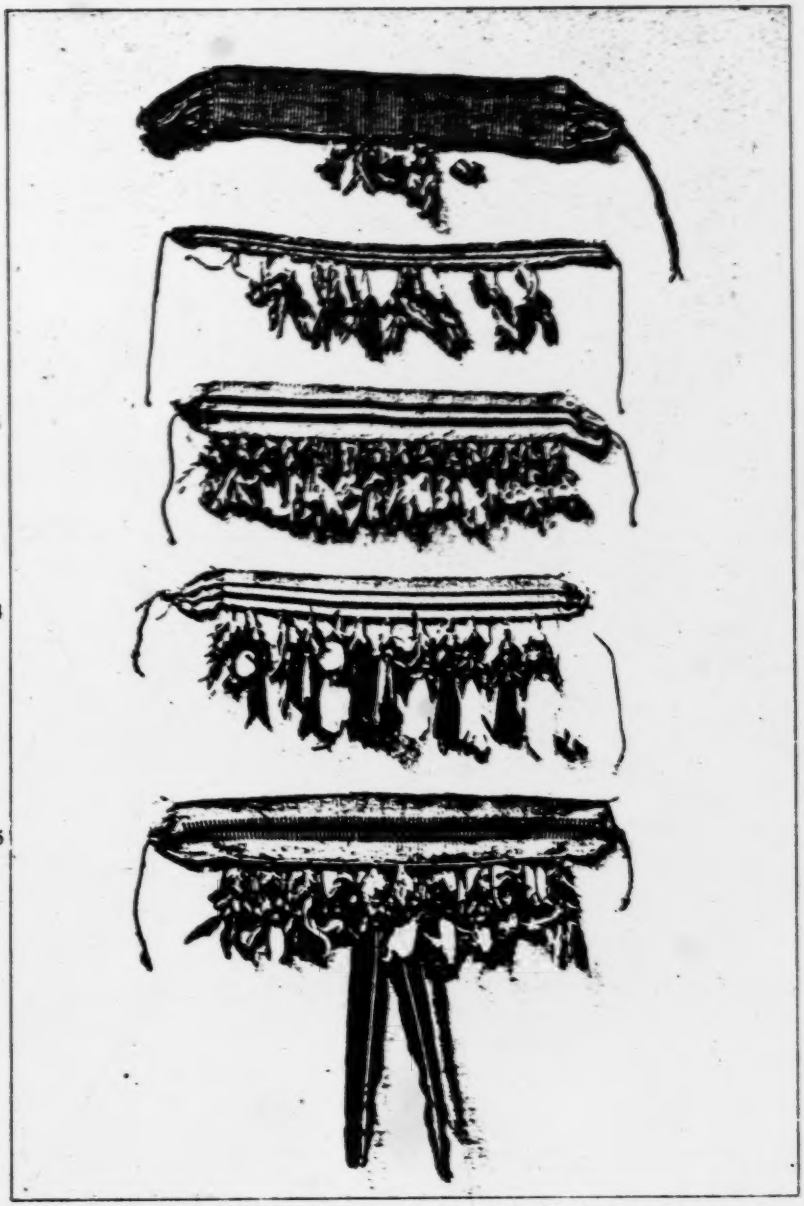


1.—5. Plaited cotton belts with feather pendants.

/286 cont./

000 824 [276] [301] pyrography. Of the other fruits, jequitiba is used for tobacco pipes, hollowed out and crudely carved on the outside (Ills. 103 and 104); Thevetia is used for necklaces or pendants on belts, etc. The latter usually bear a small /287/ bunch of feathers in the hollow. Other small, whitish fruits are bored and strung as [415] chains. In Ehrenreich's collection there is a small bowl, made out of a timbo fruit, for storing the urucú color (Berlin 3876).

287 [824] The bark of trees is made into women's aprons. Above all the bark of the gameleira is used, which furnishes the reddish aprons (ǎndähülĕ). Other species (also gameleira?) furnish red materials (ǎmbüödä) or white shiny materials (hidĕulĕ). Ehrenreich, in addition, also mentions Apeiba jangada (Berlin 3696). The preparation is as follows: Thick branches of the trees concerned are hewed off in the required length (one and a half to two meters) and brought into the house. Here the men, with [462] an angular stone, strike off the solid pieces of bark, slit the bark lengthwise, and peel it off. The further treatment is the task of the women: [283] the pieces of bark are soaked, laid folded together on the manioc mortar turned upside down, and are now beaten with a flat stone, usually an old stone ax, until they are completely soft.

Ill. 134 a, b.
Embira: a) wound on a rod,
b) rolled up.

283 H. Bast is used in wide layers as an ornamental binding material and in fine strands as material for strings and for knotting mats.

[824] As ornamental binding material, the bast of Malvaceae (embira: dödĕ, etc.) is used above all. There are light red, red, and black varieties. It is kept in all widths: the finest (0.3 centimeters wide) is wound on rods (Ill. 134a), the wider (2.5-4 centimeters wide) is rolled up into stout rolls in such a way that the [531] colored, shiny side is on the inside (Ill. 134b). They are used

/299 cont./

303 next to one another and, at the place where the lower pair of cross-rods is fastened, lightly interlaced with cotton threads (Ill. 151). Then the two lower cross-rods are fastened over them, at first loosely with fine bast thread (Ill. 152), then permanently by means of a firm winding with cotton thread. Then the surface plaiting is put on; it is likewise only made by hand. Finally, the two upper cross-rods are put on and plaited over in the same manner as the lower ones. The patterns on the surfaces are the customary plaiting patterns. Cross-threads are often put on at the narrow edges (ill. 153).

237 L. The feather technique. In fastening, arrangement, and
[301] color combinations of the feathers, the feather ornaments of the Karajá present a rich diversity, richer probably than in any other Indian tribe. As material they use white down feathers from ducks and diving birds, small fine red feathers, small body feathers from parrots of all kinds, wing and tail feathers from araras, vultures, owls, and herons. I did not observe any coloring of the feathers, on which Ehrenreich reported in "Beiträge," page
[415] 14, nor was I able to find out anything about this. The down feathers are kept in special, small gourds which are closed with a wax knob or a bast stopper (Pl. 58, Ill. 3 a-c). The small fine red feathers are tied side by side on a string and wound spirally on a rod. Parrot feathers are placed in the baskets in small bundles or arranged fanlike side by side (Pl. 58, Ill. 8b). Wing and tail feathers are arranged in wings, and, indeed, in decreasing length. Two such wings are usually placed with one on top of the other, so that the rows of feathers descend in the opposite directions (Pl. 58, Ill. 8a). This kind of arrangement is very durable and at the same time makes it possible to find easily the very feathers required.

Usually the feathers are used in complete form. Sometimes, however, they are clipped, and, to be sure, in the long direction for arrow feathering, but crosswise for feather ornaments of all kinds. Whereas at present this clipping is done with the shears, the feathers were formerly singed off in order to obtain the desired shape.

/302 cont./

237 tied in front of the large feathers, or down feathers glued on with
[301] resin. In the case of the feather wheels, for example, entire bands of feathers are tied in front of the main layer of the wheel as covering layers, and, to be sure, among the Karajá these are always two layers of feathers of different lengths and different colors.

237 Color combinations play an important role in surface
301 feather-ornamentation, whether it be upright or hanging; a
531 lesser one, on the other hand, in the case of cluster-like ornamentation. The following combinations are most popular: yellow and red feathers side by side or on top of each other; dark green, white, and yellow feathers.

Ill. 159
Reinforcing feathers by sewing two halved feathers together.

Surface feather-ornamentation. In the case of the feather wheels the covering layers appear only on the front side, and, to be sure, there are always two, of which the uppermost, shorter one is white, green, or variegated, the second, longer one generally dark green. The main layer, but for one exception (feathers of the roseate spoonbill), consists of white jabiru feathers. In one specimen these are interrupted in three places by three inserted blue arara feathers. The little end feathers which are put on the upper end of the feathers of the main layer are yellow or variegated and usually bear small red covering-feathers.

Diadems consist of colorful feathers of various birds or of green and red feathers that alternate in groups. In the case of the solid diadem (Pl. 48, Ill. 7) small red feathers are fastened to the rods wound with white, and small yellow feathers to the rods wound with black.

/302 cont./

237 Forehead feathers usually consist of long, dark green
301 feathers, the quills of which are covered with yellow-green
531 parrot feathers. Deviating from this, one tuft has one red and one green feather, which are covered at the bottom with a red and yellow feather-rod; another has two blue feathers including a red feather, and the quills are covered with small yellow feathers.

Tufts on forehead hoops consist of long, blue arara feathers. The forehead hoops themselves are made of red or yellow feathers (forehead hoops without feather tufts are generally made of only red feathers). One such feather tuft bears covering feathers at the bottom, which are tied on in the manner of the feather rods, and, to be sure, from the bottom up, first little yellow, then little red feathers. At the upper end the long tuft feathers bear yellow end feathers with small little red covering feathers.

/303/ Flat ear rosettes, if they are of one color, always consist of little red feathers; if they are multicolored, of red and yellow feathers, and, to be sure, a yellow outer and a red inner layer occur, as well as the opposite of this. Ear-tulips consist of yellow, reddish, or variegated parrot feathers and on the inside bear a red feather wreath, if they have one at all.

The pendant feather ornamentation on the waist belts is shaped very diversely. Rosette-rods, which essentially consist of yellow feathers, are usually attached to them. In the case of one belt the lower ends of these yellow rosette-rods are formed by bluish feathers; in another the two center rods bear long red arara feathers as end pieces. In the case of a third belt, the feather rods are red in the upper half, yellow in the lower; finally, in the case of a last belt, the yellow feather-rods alternately bear white, long feathers or red cotton strings at the lower ends. Other hangings alternate with these feather rods on the lower edge of the belt: three to four Thevetia pendants at a time, small shells, shell and Thevetia pendants together. One belt alternately bears two Thevetia fruits with little variegated end feathers at a time and in between a red feather set directly on the edge of the belt.

/303 cont./

237 Arm bands bear either rosette-rods which carry short feathers
301 on top and long ones on the bottom (yellow on top, red on the
531 bottom, or the reverse) or layers of feathers which are usually gaily-colored in the same color, but which, in one specimen, consist of a red covering layer on a yellow main layer.

287 The transition to the cluster-like feather ornamentation is
531 represented by the feather caps, which have either single feathers
301 tied into them or small rosettes, which are often arranged in zones of the same color. Feather caps of one color consist of yellow, red-yellow, variegated, and white feathers; one cap, as a rarity, bears long white heron feathers. In the case of multicolored feather caps, we distinguish the border feathers from those of the cover. The cover feathers are usually one color (red, seldom white), seldom multicolored (red and blue arara feathers, the same mixed with vulture feathers or even with pink heron feathers). The border feathers consist either of a zone of red or mixed red and yellow feathers, or pink heron feathers, or of two zones, which from bottom to top are pale blue and green, or of a yellow hoop and red rosettes, or of white feathers and red and pale blue rosettes. Only one specimen shows three border zones, namely, a yellow hoop at the bottom, above it red feathers, and above them yellow feathers.

237 The cluster-like feather ornamentation is not very diverse.
301 Feather tassels in fruits, snail shells, and the like are red throughout, irrespective of whether they appear on arm bands, ear pendants, combs, or the like. Feather tassels as arm bands consist of red rosette-rods or variegated feathers; as tuft feathers they bear long, colorful parrot feathers on red rosettes. On bows they consist of red rosettes, from which usually hang long, red or yellow feather clusters; on spears they are made up of red or red-yellow rosettes with long clusters of colorful arara and parrot feathers, and on gourd rattles they consist either of /304/ individual feathers or of clusters of yellow or variegated feathers or of rosette rods with clusters of long arara feathers.

/327 cont./

844 washed once more and again rubbed. After this it is wrapped
845 in a small net covering. Deformed children (blind ones, too)
[847] are drowned in the river by the mother; this is not regarded as wrong. Only well-formed children are raised, even when they are all girls. Nothing could be learned about the treatment of twins;
163 such a case had "not yet occurred." The families, on the average, have two to four /328/ children; five are already regarded as many. There are said to be even more children in one family,
862 however. The child is nursed for several years, and even children five or six years old still run to their mother in order to appease their hunger.

553 Children are given their names at birth by the grandparents
[603] on the paternal and maternal side. They keep these names all
[551] through life. Many Karajá bore Christian names, which were
[799] given them by the Brazilian boatmen; there are said to be only
551 one or two actually baptized Karajá in São José. I obtained quite a number of given names for persons of both sexes; unfortunately, translations of them could not be obtained. It is only in the following names that familiar syllables may be separated out: mãũzĩ = addition to pottery clay (see above, p. 209); kũlĩ = tapir; ãnãnlõã = cat; ãnlũãzĩ = jaguar-zi (zi = egg; possibly misheard for ti = bone). For the rest of the names, see the word list /untranslated; see the foreign text, pp. 454-455/.

852 Soon after birth the children have their ear lobes pierced for the insertion of the ear tulips (kũãdjũ), which are later replaced by the ear rods; it is only later that the lip-hole is pierced for the boys. Both procedures take place without any further ceremony.

291 The boys run about naked; girls wear a black string-belt.
561 It is only at the age of 9-12 that the boys tie the penis up and the girls hang the bast apron over the belt. From then on the boys
301 live with the young men. As insignia the children wear arm cuffs, calf and ankle bands, the latter of which are already removed by the boys at the age of six to eight years.

/328 cont./

881 With the onset of puberty both sexes have the tribal rings
[304] cut on their cheeks; apparently no further ceremonies take place
561 in connection with this. From then on the maidens wear the
301 complete costume of the women, and the cotton pendant orna-
ment is given the red color instead of the black, which was proper
561 for children. The youths live by themselves; where there is a
591 mask house, they spend the day in it and sleep there at night or
beside a fire in its vicinity. Where there is none, they sleep
beside a fire away from the village. In small settlements with
one or two houses, they, too, live in the house.

855 Parents love their children very much. It is touching to
observe with what tenderness they cling to them, and how, far
from them, they are constantly with them in their thoughts.
When Pedro received the (false) message that his children had
died, he scarcely spoke for hours and even after that he was
noticeably more silent than he had been otherwise. The mothers
play with their small children; I even observed the kissing of
855 children. All conceivable ornamentation is put on the little
301 ones; the older the children become, the less ornamentation is
put on, until, finally, married persons give it up almost entirely.
One woman about 50 years old laughed at her own vanity when she
put chains of beads which I had given to her grandchild around
her own neck and looked down on them with pleasure. This
mania /329/ for adorning children goes so far that they hang
around their necks large pieces of broken colorful porcelain
[842] plates, without being aware of the danger (1). "Boys mean more

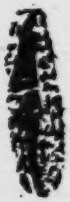
1. This custom is already reported for the Šambioá by Rufino in the year 1846 (Rev. trim. X, p. 196).

to the father, the mother would rather have girls" (Kuriší). The
861 father teaches the son, the mother the daughter. Contrary to
other reports, I was assured that beating as a punishment also
occurs. Otherwise I observed only the denial of food as a means
of punishment (in Village 17, because the boy in question did not
go fishing, but loitered around me in the camp).

301
237

1. Arm wrapping with three string tassels.

2. Leg binding with tasseled fringe-hangings.



3. Small net-covering.

6. Forehead feathers.

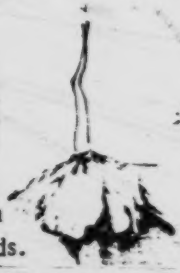
4. Lulinā ornament.

5. Feather loop with tuft.

7. Forehead feathers.

9.

8. Arm bands.



10.

11.

10, 11. Feather caps.

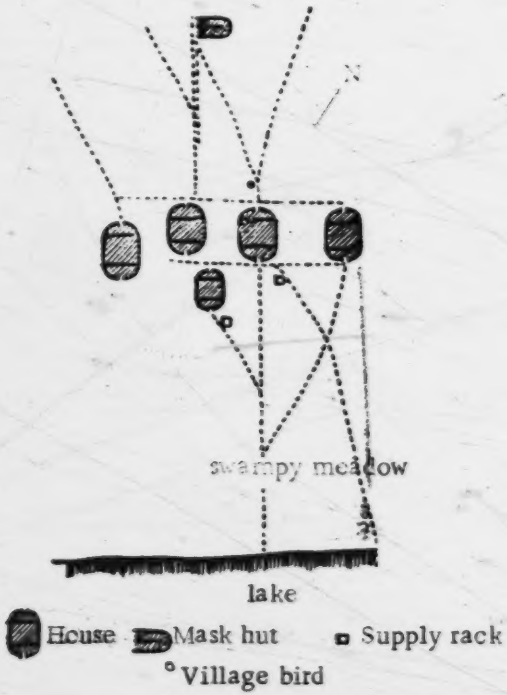
12. Cotton belt with hangings.

/354 cont./

184 5. Clothing and ornamentation. In clothing, ornamentation, and body care no essential difference from the Karajá is to be noted.

[301] The men wear the hip cord and penis cord in the same
292 manner as the Karajá. Eye shades were not observed. Net coverings were worn by both sexes, they are made by the Šavajé

361



Ill. 188.
Ground plan of the village of the
Šavajé on Bananal.

292 themselves. The manner /355/ of knotting is the same as among the Karaja. Ill. 3 in Plate 59 shows a net covering only 24 centimeters long, which is knotted in the manner of the loose belts
[854] of the girls. Apparently it serves as a bed for a newborn child. Occasionally the brown warp threads of the coverings were shot through with white threads; on the basis of inquiries among the

/355 cont./

292 Karajá, the Šavajé are supposed to make such coverings, whereas the coverings with a wide, black center stripe come, not from the Šavajé, but from the Tapirapé.

184 Even the smallest girls already wore firmly plaited, black [301] belts which correspond to those of the Karajá. I did not see anywhere the loosely plaited string belts (Karajá, Ills. 30 and 31). [291] Adult women wore the bast apron, called hăbiodă here, made mostly out of white and only rarely of reddish bast.

303 The hair style does not show anything that is foreign to the 184 Karajá. The combs are plaited by the men in the same manner [302] as among the Karajá. Forms and designs correspond to the others; the decorating by means of feather clusters or bundles of cotton is rare, however. [304] The side cross-threads are also often absent.

302 Body painting is identi- 184 cal with that of the Karajá. As oil, coconut oil is used; as color, chiefly urucú, which, with the seeds removed, is stored in huge hollow gourds.

Ill. 189 a, b.
Scarifier (b = back side).

301

Ill. 190.
Ear rod.

304 Scarification is also customary among the Šavajé. The instrument for it (lālēdjŭ; Ill. 189), however, is covered with a thin coating of wax on the entire back side (cf. Ehrenreich's specimens, Berlin 3953 a b, from the Karajá).

515 As for body care, it should be remarked that the Šavajé go to bathe in the lake every morning at sunrise, even when there is heavy fog over the water and it is very cold. They then warm and dry themselves at the hearth fire in the hut.

/355 cont./

301 184 Ornaments as marks of distinction. The lip plugs assume tremendous proportions among the young men. The longest wooden lip-plug (ōdŭŏ) was 31.5 centimeters long and 2.2 centimeters wide. The shell lip-plugs (īdjĕ) of boys almost all terminate in a turned-up point. I did not see stone lip-plugs.

As for ear ornaments, there are yellow rods (dŏhŏ), rods with red feather rosettes and a dot of wax in the middle of the mother-of-pearl disk (dōlĭĕ, dòhōdŭĕ), and tulip-like rosettes with a rodent tooth in the center (gūēdjŭ). /356/ The latter are almost universal among children; the two former kinds appeared only rarely, especially the simple ear rods, in contrast to the Karajá, almost all of whom wear them. Also, the ear [531] rods are only quite simply decorated with a few rings cut in at the front end (Ill. 190).

The arm cuffs (dēši), calf bands (dēōbĭdă) and ankle bands (wālālĭ) are similar to those of the Karajá. Young men often wore a bast band bound over the arm cuffs and calf bands.

As for other ornaments, very many cotton ornaments were worn. Black neck-tassels of the girls (wādjīklīdjă) sometimes bore snail shells pushed on, as among the Karajá. The long string skirts (gūŏhĭ) are also worn by the Šavajé girls. The arm and leg ornaments with hangings were very elaborate. Of the three kinds among the Karajá, I observed the first kind, strings with tassels, as upper-arm and lower-arm ornaments, the second kind, flat-plaited or tasseled bands with long hangings, only as calf ornaments, and the third kind, two thick pads with long hangings, only as arm ornaments. Whereas among the Karajá each of the strings of the first kind (dōlŭ) have two tassels at the end, those of the Šavajé always have three (Pl. 59, Ill. 1). These tassels, along with the strings, are always dyed black. In the case of one specimen, intended for the upper arm of a child, the wrapping strings are 325 centimeters long; on the other hand, in the case of another, which allegedly was intended for the lower arm of a man, 925 centimeters! The second kind was encountered [822] only as a calf ornament, and, to be sure, dyed black for children (dēăhūlă), dyed red for youths (lūdjaûwŭ). The fringe hangings,

/356 cont./

301 184 as is always the case among the leg bands, reaches all around (Pl. 59, Ill. 2). The third kind, observed only as an arm ornament (dēšiādǎži) and, dyed red, worn by youths on the lower arm behind the arm cuffs, is identical with the calf hangings of the Karajá (Ill. 75), whereas those intended for the upper arm resemble the fringed bands of the Karajá (Ill. 74 a, b). In these specimens the fringe reaches a length of 55 centimeters and is stored away plaited into thick braids (Ill. 191 a, b).

301 237 Among the feather ornaments, I obtained the hindhead ornament lōlinǎ (Pl. 59, Ill. 4), many specimens of which were acquired by Ehrenreich from the Karajá, but which I did not find there. The specimen I acquired is incomplete, since the cane rods between the two plaited surfaces, into which the pink heron feathers are stuck, are not covered with feather wreaths. The plaiting is patterned and smeared with white color (cf. Ill. 192 a-c /see p. 319/, the construction of this ornament).

With regard to feather caps (dōlidōli), I acquired two specimens from the Šavajé in Schischá. Both bore the feathers arranged in three zones. In one specimen the lowest zone consisted of red feather rosettes, the middle one of clusters of two small blue-yellow arara feathers, the uppermost one of single [531] long, colored feathers tied in (Pl. 59, Ill. 11). In the second specimen the lowest zone consisted of two rows of red rosettes, the middle zone /Pl. 60 appears here/ /357/ of two rows of yellow rosettes, the uppermost one of clusters of two colorful parrot feathers each (Pl. 59, Ill. 10). The feathers and rosettes, like those of the Karajá, are fastened, not in the knots, but on the threads of the net.

Of feather hoops I likewise obtained from the Šavajé in Schischá a specimen with a tuft (hǎnǎnǎ). The hoop bears little [531] yellow feathers; in front, six long blue-black arara feathers are fastened standing upright, the quills of which are covered with small feathers (Pl. 59, Ill. 5).[2]

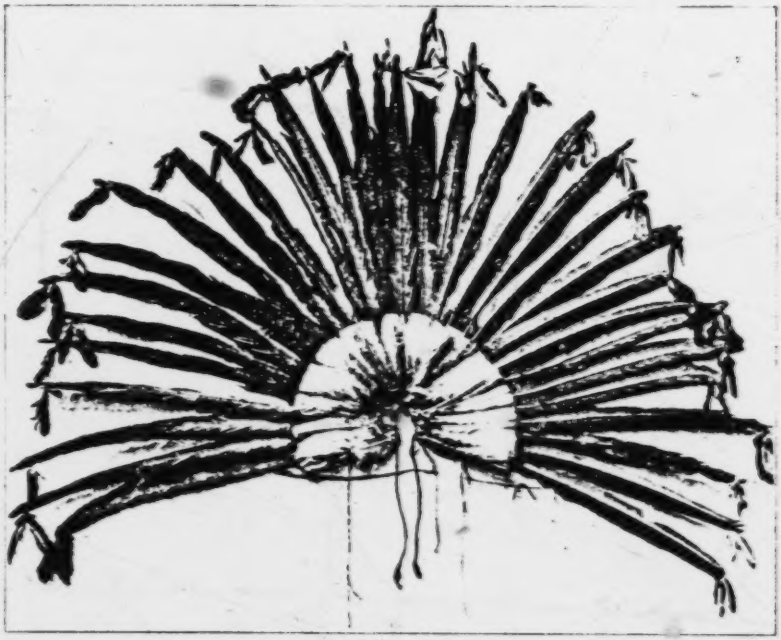
[2] See p. 311 -- Analyst

[Text continues on p. 319]

Plate 60

301
237

1. Hindhead feather-wheel.



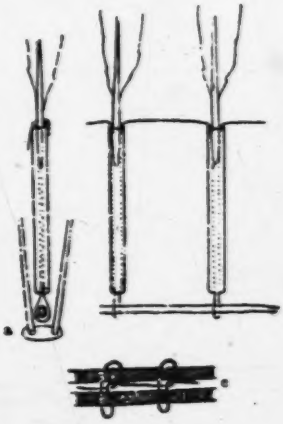
2. Hindhead feather wheel.

/357 cont./

301 237 Of feather wheels (lăhidŏ) I obtained four specimens from the Šavajé on Bananal, one from those in Schischá. Of these only the one specimen from Bananal is like those of the Karajá. It consists of a large fan of pink heron feathers and blue arara feathers, which alternate with each other in groups of five or six and four pieces. The longer covering layer consists of blue arara feathers; the shorter

[283]

Ill. 191a, b.
Double-pad band with long string-hangings.
b) in storage form.



Ill. 192 a-c.
Construction of the lūliná ornament.
a) Cross-section through the two surfaces and the middle layer.
b) Fastening of the cane rods (feather bearers).
c) Tying the two surfaces together (seen from the inner edge).

upper covering layer, of pink heron feathers. Little yellow feathers are tied to the upper ends of the feathers of the main layer (Pl. 60, Ill. 1). All the other specimens bear on the main course of feathers only one covering layer, which consists, in the one specimen, of blue arara feathers, in another, of white jabiru feathers, and in the last two,

/357 cont./

301 of blue-green feathers. The main course of feathers shows the
237 following feathers in like sequences: pink heron and owl feathers, which alternate with each other, blue arara feathers (Pl. 60, Ill. 2), white jabiru /358/ feathers which, in the specimen from Schischá, are interrupted three times by two blue arara feathers. The little end feathers are yellow throughout.

I acquired two specimens of forehead feathers, which could perhaps belong to such feather wheels, but perhaps might also be worn standing up vertically, with the hoop placed around the face. In the case of one (wa͡ĭdŏhĕ) the hoop is wound with a black cotton string; its ends are joined by a thin string. In front there are two feather tufts, each consisting of a rod with red feathers, which bears a yellow feather wreath on top, out of which project long dark green feathers. At the base, both rods are wound with white raw cotton (Pl. 59, Ill. 7). In the case of the other one (kōdšŭlŭkŭădšĭŏ) the hoop is set with white down feathers; the tuft consists of several red arara feathers up to 35 centimeters long, which below are surrounded with bushy small red and yellow feathers and below that are wound with raw cotton (Pl. 59, Ill. 6).

Fine little red feathers (wālālă), little wing coverts of the roseate spoonbill, are fastened on a fine string and wound spindle-fashion on a rod. The string is many meters long. Ehrenreich brought back the same ornamental feathers from the Karajá. Allegedly they are used for head ornaments.

Of other ornaments there are:

[824] Necklaces of small, reddish-white fruits (šĭūlâĭĭădĭ), which were very common, then feather arm-bands, some of which correspond to those of the Karajá. They bear either bunches of feathers at one place (Pl. 59, Ill. 8), or colorful layers of feathers on either side of a string (Pl. 59, Ill. 9).

Finger rings (dābŏ) are likewise made from the tail rings of lizards and chameleons.

/358 cont./

•301 Dance belts (wăděkănă) of the male youth are not as elaborate as those of the Karajá, but are kept essentially simpler. One specimen is striped black and white lengthwise; on its lower edge, on a separate string, hang two bunches of Thevetia fruits and one to three feather rods, alternately. The other one, coming from Schischá, in addition to the lengthwise stripes, exhibits a cross-striping; on its lower edge, directly alternating, are fastened at each place two pairs of Thevetia fruits and one feather rod (Pl. 59, Ill. 12).

262 6. Food. The Šavajé, like the Karajá, live on the fish that they catch and the yield from their plantings. The lake
136 on which they live is extremely rich in fish, in spite of its shallow depth (0.75 to one meter); there were even pirarucús
311 in it. The planting lay far from the village, about six or seven hours away, on the edge of the rainy-season lake. It was growing extremely well and so thickly that one could scarcely follow the path in it. Close beside the new planting there was an older one.
482 Here and there filled back-baskets lay by the wayside, waiting to be picked up.

252 The manioc is pounded in a knee-high mortar (kōŏ) which
[912] has an approximately finger-thick wall, with a pestle (hāâŭ) of reddish wood 1.6 meters long and 0.10 meters thick, or it is rubbed on a wooden grater (wōlānăkiă), /359/ picked over on the rod-sieve (brēdjĕ), and pressed in it. Then this meal is
262 mixed with water and cooked. Such manioc mush (iūālŭ) also constitutes the chief food of the Šavajé. In addition, I also saw yellow mush and green vegetables as festive foods.

226 Fishing was done by the young people with bows and arrows. Early in the morning they would already go out on the
[123] lake and soon return with a good yield. I received my share of everything, even of the huge pirarucú which was caught on the second forenoon. The lucky fisherman took out the entrails of the animal and then cut out the sides of the belly, which were distributed by the chief and placed on different piles. Then the rib pieces of three ribs each were chopped out and likewise distributed. Every family received its share, I, too, was given some.

Brazil.

609 of them are painted black and red, and have their faces daubed Many
[302] with a thick layer of black soot; others wear upon their heads
[301] crowns made of beautiful feathers; while others again, have
[237] their hair braided and decorated with the brilliant crimson
[411] and gold feathers of the macaw. All are armed with spears beautifully decorated with feathers, and with bows and arrows and heavy killing clubs. They present quite a military spectacle.

Disembarking, the first thing the visitors do is to show the savages their arms, especially the repeating rifles, which fill them with awe. The chief now hastens to declare that he and his people are friends of the white man, saying: "The Karayá is the friend of the white man; there is no lie with us," repeating this twice. Confidence established, some trading may be done without difficulty. Small children, and particularly, young girls, are very shy of the strangers, and usually creep into their huts and cover their faces with their hands. The visitor is never troubled by beggars, and rarely has anything stolen from him.

131 The Karayáhy division live along the main stream of the
162 Araguaya between São José and Santa Maria in twelve or
[648] fifteen villages or encampments, one of which, near Santa Maria, was completely wiped out in 1881 by the Kayapó
361 tribe. Their villages are not so clean as those of the Sambiõa, nor are the huts so well constructed.

191 Observing the speech of the Karayá, one can scarcely notice any movement of the lips; nor do they seem able to repeat exactly a sentence just uttered. They have many sounds which they produce with the tongue and swallow the
192 last syllable. Apparently, their speech is not related to any Brazilian aboriginal language. The most remarkable thing about it is that they have one dialect for the men and another for the women; though only a few words are entirely different, and with most of them there is but a slight, unimportant change.

142 Physically, the Karayá are one of the finest of the aboriginal races of Brazil. They are of medium size, slender and

302 [237] crown, leaving it two inches long and standing erect, pompadour fashion; while the back hair is braided neatly in a single braid, with a bunch of brilliant feathers fastened at the point, or it may be folded up in three or four folds and tied at the base of the head with a cotton string, to which is secured a bunch of long, bright feathers.

301 304 The ears of both sexes are pierced in infancy, and they wear in them a reed six or eight inches in length and as large as a lead pencil, the greater length of which protudes toward the front and terminates in a bit of shell set in a rosette of crimson feathers.

304 The males, and they only, have the lower lip bored. This is done in childhood, and is probably the initiation ceremony into the rights of citizenship or membership in the tribe, just as a civilian is initiated into a lodge, or a child of Roman Catholic parents ceases to be a "pagan" and becomes a "christian" by reason of the baptismal ceremony. A plug, 301 or spile of piuva wood is inserted into this opening in the lip, which is made larger and larger as the individual grows, until it will admit the thumb. The elderly men who have ceased to care much for display, usually wear nothing in the lip but a plug, cut off short; but the "smart" young men wear an ornament some eight inches in length, flattened like a blade just below the lip. The small boys wear a flat piece of shell an inch or two long, and in the form of a T, the cross-bar of the T holding the ornament in position. A much prized lip ornament, which is worn only on festal occasions, and at other times kept wrapped in cotton and securely laid away, is a long, heavy piece of rose-colored quartz. The lip end of this also is T, or dagger-shaped, so that it may not fall out. It is seven inches in length, and conical at the lower [439] end. The Karayá do not make these, but get them in trade from the Tupý. This ornament is, of course, very heavy, and one wonders how it is possible to wear it; for even the lightest of these lip ornaments cause the lip to hang down in a very ugly fashion. To drink when the plug is out, the opening must be closed with the fingers.

Brazil.

Both sexes have a blue ring tattooed under the eye, forming a deep ugly scar, which is the special distinguishing mark of the tribe. 304 619

The Karayá take good care of the body, bathing many times each day—though this is more to cool and refresh themselves, and for sport—keep the hair well combed, and pull out the sparse beard. They formerly used the teeth of the piránha fish as a kind of saw with which to cut the hair, but they now have scissors. 515 302 412 237

As already stated, the men wear no clothing, or covering whatever. The sash, or apron, worn by the women, is made of the inner bark of the jangáda tree. It is prepared for use by first soaking it a day or two in water, then pounding it with flat stones, and finally drying it. When the wearer of this primitive apron sits, she passes it back between the limbs and sits upon it. Besides this costume, both sexes wear various armlets, wristlets and leglets, as ornaments, which are peculiar to each division of the tribe. Soon after birth, the child's wrists and legs below the knees, are adorned with broad bands made by weaving together cotton cordage on the limbs themselves; while a black cotton band girts the body as a bandage. When the infant is a few months old, these articles are removed, and broad cotton wristlets, leglets and anklets are woven on the limbs, a tassel of cotton cords being attached to the leglets. The boys wear the leglets, or garterlets, until the lip is pierced, while the girls wear them until married. The wristlets worn by adults, cover nearly the whole forearm. They are not put aside until after marriage, and many females wear them until the first child is born. When one of the couple dies, the survivor puts the wristlets on again. This custom has come down from the ancients. As the wristlets and leglets are usually woven on the limbs themselves, they cannot be removed without being cut off. For this reason, they are never removed, nor washed until finally thrown aside. But I found the Karayá quite ready to cut these articles off and give them to me in exchange for some articles I had which took their fancy. 291 [287] 301 [184] [283] [286] [437] [439]

301 [286] fancy. Sometimes, however, these ornaments are woven on a wooden form.

292 513 Another article of dress, which is peculiar to the Karayá, is the *hammock*. It is made of cotton cords. Strange to say, it is never used as a hammock; nor can it even be swung up, as it is not provided with any cords for this purpose. It is only the body of a hammock. During the day, it is used as a kind of cloak, and is hooked over the head so as to cover the shoulders and back; and at night, it is used as a mat to sleep upon, *on the ground*. Both adults and children may be seen going about during the day with these huge, half-open-pea-pod like objects hooked over them. It reminds one of a snail with its shell on its back. Even clay dolls have this hammock cloak. It is, however, occasionally fastened up [854] like a hammock in order that it may be used as a cradle for an infant.

513 171 This *hammock* is of great ethnological interest, because the primitive races of Brazil are classified ethnographically according to whether they sleep in a hammock or do not. It is [352] known that all the tribes occupying the eastern half of Brazil, which includes the Karayá, sleep on the ground, or on slightly raised platforms made of poles; while those that are really hammock using tribes—that sleep in hammocks—make their hammocks of cordage twisted from cotton and palm-leaf fibre. But the Karayá *hammock* is made of cotton only; moreover, it is not a complete hammock and is not used to sleep in. This proves that the Karayá are not to be classified as one [177] of the hammock tribes. We are to understand, therefore, that they got the idea of the hammock comparatively recently from some other people, probably from the "civilized" Brazilians, who make them of cotton only; and though they value them, they are yet unwilling to give up their old custom of sleeping on the ground. A certain Brazilian explorer asserts that [286] he taught the Karayá to make a simple loom and how to weave.

293 Another article of dress used by the Karayá, is a kind of eye-shade, called an eye-umbrella. It is used to protect the

283 between the hand and the leg above the knee. These fine strands, again, are rolled together into cords. This is accomplished by each strand being skillfully rolled independently on the leg as the hand is passed rapidly over them all before they are permitted to come together and twist themselves around each other into a single cord. The same [171] method of making cordage is seen among the "civilized" Brazilians of the far interior, and is probably another relic of their aboriginal ancestry.

286 The Karayá also make fish-nets by means of large wooden needles; small nets, shaped like hand-bags, in which to carry small objects; queer-looking net caps that may be drawn together with cotton strings, and which are embellished with 283 brilliant feathers. Cotton is also used by the Karayá. It is spun by means of a rude spindle of bone or baked clay, which is revolved between the hands.

286 The *loom*, or contrivance for braiding—or weaving—by means of which the hammocks already described are *woven*, is very simple. The warping is wound over two small posts which are planted upright in the ground a foot or two apart. The weaving is done by working the woof thread in by hand over and under the warping threads by means of a long needle, then pressing it back tightly by using a wooden blade instead of the reed employed by more advanced peoples. It is extremely slow work. Various colored warps and woofs are used making stripes in the finished work. On this same framework is woven the strong bands used in carrying heavy baskets; also the forehead bands and the body bands for infants. Armlets and leglets are either knitted or crochetted with a hook-like needle over a cone-shaped block of wood, or are made on the limb itself.

301 Most of the ornaments of the Karayá, as of other tribes, 237 are made of brilliant plumage. They take pleasure in making these articles; and exercise such good taste and introduce so much variety, that they are not excelled by any of the primitive peoples of South America. The work, however, lacks durability; but as they have always an abundance of suitable

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

feathers on hand, they can replace worn-out pieces at any 301
moment. Many of these ornaments are beautiful. One, 237
made of white feathers and secured around the head as a band, looks like a halo encircling the head when seen from a distance when the wind is blowing. These ornaments are worn principally on festal occasions, or when visitors are present. Three styles of a peculiar feather hood are also made. The foundation is a net hood of three different sized meshes, one of which is very closely woven. The stems of the feathers are worked in between the meshes. This is worn at the dance festival.

The ear and arm ornaments have already been described. A dancing belt is made of strong black and white braiding embellished with tassels of beautiful feathers with shell rattles. The legs and ankles of the dancers are also decorated with feather tassels and shell rattles. Sometimes the savages "tar and feather" themselves, besmearing the body with gum, then putting on a thick layer of white down. In former times they wore necklaces of animal teeth, bones, and shell discs. But these have now been replaced by the glass beads ob- [439]
tained in trade.

The Karayá are very fond of black and white beads, and 301
may often be seen wearing a number of strings around the neck, to the lowest one of which is attached little chains terminating in fruit shells, or tiny bunches of feathers.

The only, though much used, article of toilet of the Karayá 412
is the comb, which is made in various sizes, the largest being fourteen inches wide and of equal length. The teeth are flat, slender pieces of palm wood or taquara, which are secured between two small blocks of wood. The spacing between the teeth is made by passing yarn between them. This comb is ornamented with small tassels of bright feathers.

The ornamental work of the Karayá consists of patterns 531
of zig-zag lines, crosses, or lizard-shaped forms, dots, diamond shapes, and peculiar broken, irregular lines; while squares and triangles occur only to fill out, and circles are entirely wanting. The patterns seem to be chosen at random, nevertheless

1:Lipkind E-5 (1937) 1948 SP9 Caraja SP9

pushing aside a door of plaited palm. Every married woman in the family 342
cooks at her own fireplace, which consists of two lumps of hardened clay. [354]
Mats used for sleeping and sitting are spread over the entire floor. [258]
Wooden stools (fig. 19) may also be found. Bows, arrows, and rattles [352]
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352

FIGURE 19.—*Carajá* wooden stool. (Redrawn from Ehrenreich, 1891 b, fig. 13.)

are shoved into the wall thatch. Baskets, used for storing such things as tobacco, urucú, and feathers, are hung by a string from the ridge poles. Large baskets containing vegetables lie on the ground next to the thatch.

The dry-season house is identical in form but smaller and of flimsier 342
construction. Thatching is looser and the walls are thatched only about 361
halfway to the ground, the north and west sides often being left completely open. The dry-season village is generally constructed on a long beach and, as the site grows dirty, is moved along the beach. The ground plan of the dry-season village is identical with the rainy-season village.

DRESS AND ORNAMENTS

The most prominent facial decoration is a blue-black circular scarification about an inch in diameter over each cheekbone. The ears of infants 361 304
are pierced and an ornament consisting of a small polished capybara tooth with a feather attached is inserted. A common ear ornament for children is a mother-of-pearl disk with a cut feather fringe set on a blackened thin rod. In a perforation of their lower lips, men wear wood or bone labrets of a variety of shapes (pl. 21; fig. 21, *e*), each assigned to a different age [561]
grade; old men use simple wooden plugs.

Men wear their hair long, winding it round a plaited cotton rope red- 302
dened with urucú. Women wear their hair about shoulder length.

Armlets crocheted of cotton are worn at the wrists and just above the 361
elbow; similar ornaments are worn just below the knee and at the ankle. [856]
These are worn particularly by children and are supposed to aid growth. [789]

1:Lipkind E-5 (1937) 1948 SP9 Caraja SP9

301 Young men wear large armlets almost 12 inches (30 cm.) long crocheted of cotton with hanging fringes.

291 Women wear a bark-cloth girdle, which is wound round the body and under the crotch and looped over, hanging down in front. Feather head-
[292] dresses of a number of different designs are worn by men on festal occasions. Men tie the prepuce with a firmly wound string and wear a string belt.

302 Elaborately decorated woven belts with hanging ema feathers are worn
[292] for wrestling matches. Bird down is glued on the shoulders, arms, and
[237] legs. Body painting is very elaborate, and designs covering the entire body are carefully executed with genipa. Urucú is spread generally, with accents on the cheekbones, the nose, and the upper arm.

TRANSPORTATION

501 The *Carajá* manufacture elongated dugouts, neatly adapted to landing and freeing their craft among the sandbanks.

MANUFACTURES

287 **Bark cloth.**—Bark cloth is made of *Apeiba* bast, soaked, beaten with flat stones, and dried until it becomes very soft and white.

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FIGURE 20.—*Carajá* manufactures. *a-d*, Pottery; *e*, wooden scoop. (Redrawn from Ehrenreich, 1891 b, figs. 5 and 14.)

1:Lipkind E-5 (1937) 1948 SP9 Caraja SP9

PLATE 20.—**Carajá house and physical types.** *Top:* House. (Courtesy University Museum, Philadelphia.) *Bottom, left:* Warriors. *Bottom, right:* Girls. (After Ehrenreich, 1891 b.)

[Facing P. 186]

1:Lipkind E-5 (1937) 1948 SP9 Caraja SP9

are the product of intermarriage and formal friendship. Intervillage feuds are common and are restrained only by the religious community, sanctuary being granted at all religious ceremonials.

ETIQUETTE

All dealings with visitors are conducted according to elaborate formal patterns. The language is rich in formal appellations, exclamations, and honorific phrases. The most remarkable feature is that women are permitted to behave with perfect freedom, whereas men, until they become fathers, behave with a shy and deferential modesty resembling but exceeding that of the Victorian maiden. Normal relations between members of the same village are formal and dignified; only in the men's house or on fishing and hunting trips is the behavior of men relaxed enough to permit horseplay and casual joking.

LIFE CYCLE

Childbirth and Childhood.—The child gets two sets of names, one male and one female, as soon as the mother is known to be pregnant. These are one's own names given by grandparents of both lines. Taboos in regard to diet and behavior are required of both parents before and after birth. There is a well-developed couvade based on the notion of an intimate connection between the infant and its father. Babies are nursed until they turn to other food of their own volition; sometimes ridicule is used as a sanction against particularly recalcitrant children. No intercourse is allowed during the period of lactation. Babies are carried on the hip, and sleep with the mother until weaning, when they are paired off with other children or with a grandparent. The girl child wears no clothing until weaned and then receives a fringed belt.

Puberty and Initiations.—At menstruation, a girl's cheeks are scarified and she assumes the girdle.

A boy passes through a first initiation at about the age of 8 or 9, when his lower lip is pierced and a small bone labret inserted. A couple of years later, he passes through a second initiation, when his hair is cut short to a tonsure, his entire body is stained black with genipa, and he assumes the penis cord. When his hair has grown out to shoulder length, it is put up in a braid, and he attains full status as a young man. The next change of status for both boys and girls occurs at marriage, when, for the first time, they take on the responsibilities of regular work. Teknonymy is a matter of pride and follows the birth of the first child. The name is retained permanently thereafter, even though the child should die. At about 45 both parents discard their ornaments and accept the status of old age. All the above age grades are named and involve differential behavior and dietary observances.

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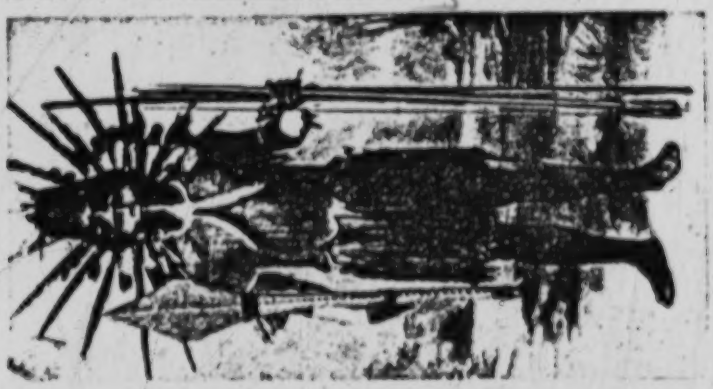

PLATE 21.—Carajá types. (Courtesy University Museum, Philadelphia.)

[End Plate 1]

/5 cont./

*532 Then the next stage of production can begin. In the case of female figures the apron [287] is now tied on; a piece of tree bast is cut to the necessary length, and the inner layer is pulled off and made pliable by being pulled through the mouth several times. The way it is fastened as an [314] apron is shown on Fig. 24 /see p. 48 /. Then the hair is put on. Black resin is warmed on a block of wood, rolled out on a gourd or on the thigh into a long roll, and this is then pressed tightly on the head. A thick layer of resin is put on the back of the head. If the resin becomes hard too quickly, it is warmed up again with [308] the block of wood. Only now does the painting with black genipa and red urucú dye follow. A slender bamboo rod is dipped into the paint and drawn along the indented lines. Larger red areas of color are also put on with the index finger.

/6/ The adornment characteristic of the different sexes and ages is usually put on as well. Almost all figures are painted; I do not know whether the patterns correspond to the patterns of [302] body painting customary otherwise; in any case I never saw patterns of that kind on the bodies of the people themselves, though it must be remarked that I very seldom encountered patterning on the body at all.

Ear rods are represented here and there by fine rods (Figs. 17, 23 /see p. 48 /); ear rosettes are made very small from feathers (Fig. 16 a and b /see p48 /). Long narrow strips of cane serve the men as lip plugs (Fig. 18 /see p.48 /).

Necklaces are either painted on (Fig. 19b /see p. 48 /) or reproduced by beads (Fig. 16 /see p. 48 /) or, in the majority of cases, by cotton threads, which either fit tightly (Figs. 18, 22 /see p. 48 /) or hang down (Fig. 21 /see p.48 /, Fig. 35 /see p.48 /).

Neck tassels for the children are formed in wax; they lie tightly against the back of the figures (Figs. 20, 21 /see p.48 /).

Cuffs are sometimes attached to the extensions of the wax hair-roll by attaching two fine rolls of wax, with the space between them painted red (Figs. 17, 18, 20, 21, 22, 35).

Arm tassels of string are shown in Fig. 22.

Calf bands are represented by two fine rolls of wax, with the space between them only rarely painted red (Figs. 18, 22, 23).

/7 cont./

*532 Both are completely lacking on some male and female figures (Fig. 32 /see p. 49 /).

[142] [301] [302] On one female figure, a bulge is marked only by a small roll (Fig. 33 /see p. 49 /). These would, therefore, fall outside of our considerations.

The male figures show the following types:

a) Only one figure has fully formed arms and, in addition, small breasts (Fig. 18 /see p.48 /).

Fig. 29 a and b. Painted Karajá maiden.

b) Side protuberances from the upper body, which clearly signify arms, are present on a fairly large number of dolls (Figs. 28, 30 /see p.49 /).

Now follow three types on which it is at first not clear whether arms or breasts are represented.

c) On the upper body, in front, there is attached a transverse roll which ends in two breast-like cones on the sides (Figs. 16, 17, 19 /see p.48 /).

[142] [29] d) This roll is somewhat idented in the middle, so that the cones even more approximate a breast form (Fig. 36 /see p. 49 /).

Fig. 31. Protrusion of the belly of Karajá women in front and on the sides because of the tightly drawn bast-belt.

/9 cont./

*S32 reaching down to the small of the back. These braids are narrow (Fig. 19a /see p. 48 /) or wide (Fig. 23 /see p. 48 /), bear a ribbon (Fig. 16b /see p. 48 /), or are completely entwined in string (Fig. 36 /see p. 49 /) and correspond to the braids woven round [302] with bast or entwined in red-dyed cotton string, which the young people customarily wear (Fig. 37).

Of specially formed dolls of this type the following should be mentioned:

[142] [302] 1. Representations of children (Fig. 32 /see p. 49 /). These dolls have legs of type 1 and hair of type 1. Arms, breasts, eyes,

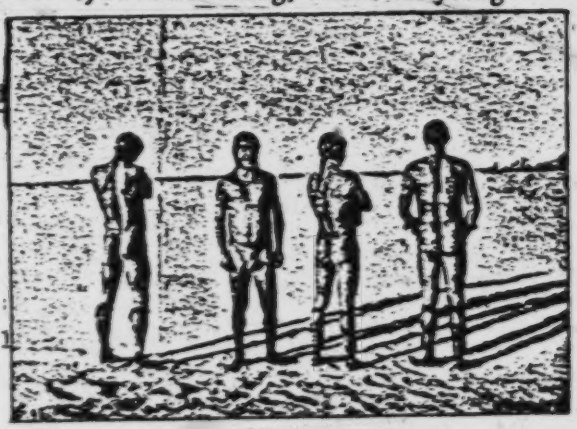

Fig. 37. Youths with long braids.

tattooing, navel, and stomach plate are missing. The male figures are characterized by a small penis; the female ones by a black string belt. Some wear necklaces, others neck-tassels and ear rosettes.

2. Seated figures (Fig. 21 /see p. 48 /, Fig. 38 /see p. 49 /). The upper body leans far back.

3. Bulky figures (Figs. 39, 40 /see p. 49/) represent pregnant women. The bulky abdomen is put on separately. On Fig. 40 it had broken off while drying and was stuck on again with wax.

I also obtained a male figure (Fig. 41 /see p. 49/) which is [84] made in similar fashion. When I asked what the bulky abdomen meant, they said: a child. Unfortunately I was unable to acquire further information on this, which might perhaps have thrown light on the origin of the custom of the male childbed.

4. Portrait of the old grandmother walking in a bent position (Fig. 42 /see p. 49 /). The figure is made like all the other female dolls; the upper body is bent very far forward. When I asked what this figure meant, the mother pointed, amidst the joyful shouts of her children, to the age-enfeebled grandmother, who was lying under a mat by the hearth fire.

/23 cont./

531 whereas in general they did not recognize the figures and drawings created from free imagination, but asked me first what the latter were supposed to mean. Thus, these are well-established, apparently very old decorations.

We find the decorations plaited on fans and baskets, on the handles of crotchet needles, on lances, clubs, bows, arrows, rattles, combs; carved on whole- and half-gourd containers, gourd rattles, ear rods; pictured by poker work on gourd ladles and small gourds, and by color on gourd ladles.

[442] All these objects are made by the men; they are the bearers of this art. The women, too, sometimes decorate objects made by them, such as mats, spinning whorls, bast aprons. The patterns, however, in general differ from those of the men. Re-
[177] cently the women have gone over to decorating tobacco pipes and clay vessels under Brazilian influence; the decorations used for this, however, are quite alien, probably taken over from the Brazilians.

531 The patterns with which the Indians paint their bodies
● 302 have nothing in common with plaiting patterns. The patterns sometimes painted on the thighs appear similar to the plaiting patterns; they are probably connected with the masked dances
[535] at which we find similar decorations, usually depicting animals, on the cylinder masks and bask aprons.

531 The animal patterns are not line patterns, but surface
[285] patterns; thus, in plaiting, the strips plaited in one direction represent the pattern; in the same way, in the sketches, it is not the lines which stand for the pattern, but the surfaces enclosed by them. This follows from the fact that in the case of carved patterns these surfaces are in relief or indented, but in any case contrasted as surfaces from the background; in the same way in the sketches the surfaces are sometimes set off by dots or dashes. Only it is difficult in this case to decide which of the surfaces represents the background and which the pattern; here only inquiry among the Indians helps. For the characteristic features do not penetrate our awareness at all, accustomed as we are to seeing such patterns in terms of lines and not surfaces.

/8 cont./

609 Nevertheless, caution must be used in dealing with the Sambioa. To be sure, they will hardly dare to attack well-manned and armed boats, but, in view of the great distance from the landing place to the villages, the traveler who unarmed -- only in this way is he admitted -- visits their huts can get into a very dangerous situation in case of a sudden quarrel.

The reception at the landing places usually makes a most picturesque scene. The naked brown forms stream by in groups, [301] many adventurously painted black and red, the face often daubed [302] with a thick layer of soot, some with a decorative feather diadem on their heads, others with hair hanging down in a long braid and decorated with bunches of arara feathers fluttering in the wind. All [411] are armed with long spears decorated with feathers, clubs, bows, and arrows. The discussion is held in dignified quiet, without wild shouting, the new arrivals first showing the savages their firearms, and expressly any breechloaders /9/ or revolvers, which never fail to make a deep impression. The chief asserts time after time: Karaya amigo tori, ahi mentira não tem! The Karaya is a friend of the White (tori), here there are no lies! And the bartering begins immediately (Pl. IV /see p. 106/, 2).

Once one has won their confidence, the dealings become quite unconstrained, especially with the men and boys. The small children, and especially the young girls, are very shy and usually crawl into a corner of their hut, nervously covering their faces with their hands. A stranger is never troubled by beggars. Thefts, too, are exceedingly rare.

Language.

126 A rather extensive vocabulary, as well as a number of short sentences, was written down, from which, however, little of the grammatical structure of this idiom is evident. The extremely 194 unclear diction of the people, who hardly make any perceptible 126 movement of their lips, their inability to repeat exactly what was said, and finally the swallowing of the final syllables, favored by the abundance of vowels and lingual sounds, make linguistic reception uncommonly difficult.

/9 cont./

142 The bridge is narrow, markedly convex with a somewhat pendulous tip. The alae are usually somewhat drawn up, so that the round nostrils seem to be directed toward the front.

In size the women stand significantly behind the men, but are just as well proportioned. Their figures tend to be somewhat full in their youth. Almost all the younger individuals have uncommonly delicate hands and feet and a perfect form of the bust, but, like [853] all Indian women, they lose their charms very early; in particular the long breast-feeding causes excessive lengthening of the [481] breasts. In the case of older women, the weak development of the lower extremities and the waddling gait of the inwardly turned feet make an unpleasant impression.

The real skin-color of the Karaya is difficult to determine at first glance. Staying on the sun-scorched praias changes the bright yellow-brown of their complexions, which one can still confirm only under their large cotton cuffs and knee-bands, into a dark copper-brown. Even this is not easy to see in the case of many individuals because of the /10/ body painting used to the broadest extent (Fig.. 1 /see p. 17 /). People painted black or red from head to foot are not rare. Others combine the black or red color into patterns which almost give the impression of European clothing. Black line-drawings on the face and extremities are the most popular.

302 Used for body painting are:

302 386 1. Urucú (uareriõ). Paste made from the red berries of Bixa [824] orellana.

[824] 2. The blue-black dye (beõẽna) obtained from the seeds of the genipa (Genipa brasiliensis).

3. Soot. This is either simply scraped from the cooking pots and rubbed into the face or, mixed with genipa, it serves for diffuse painting of the whole body.

302 413 The line-decoration is put on with the fingers or little wooden sticks, the diffuse coloring with a rag.

/10 cont./

302 The bristly or wavy black hair of both sexes is cut off straight above the eyebrows and hangs down in back over the neck. Dandies [301] wear a part about three centimeters wide up to the crown /Fig. 1 appears here/, let the short crown-hair stick up like a brush, and with cotton strings tie the part hanging down in back into a braid, at the roots of which the men sometimes tie a decoration of blue arara or black mutum /curassow/ feathers (uśiktamaru).

301 In the pierced ear-lobes both sexes wear sticks of cane 15-20 [304] centimeters long for everyday.

The plug in the lower lip (anʒōō) is used only by the men. It [824] consists of the light, flaky wood of the piuva tree and is either cut obliquely with a short point or runs out into a long, thin lamina hanging down on the chest (Fig. 2, b /see p. 18 /).

Boys primarily wear, instead of this, small T-shaped pieces of shell (idžä) (Fig. 2, d /see p. 18 /).

The most precious lip ornament, which is worn only on festive occasions, but otherwise is kept carefully wrapped in cotton, is a long, heavy, stone plug (manuterĕ) of hyaline or rose-colored quartz, the T-shaped end of which is stuck through the lower lip while the conical button hangs down (Fig. 2, a /see p. 18 /). Of the four specimens in the collection the largest is 17.5 centimeters long.

301 /11/ These lip stones, of which only a few have reached 439 European collections, are not made by the Karaya themselves, but are bartered from the Tapirapé, the Tupi people on the like- [135] named left tributary of the Araguaia. The mountain chains of the left riverbank, such as the Serra dos Cayapos, are rich in this material. A Kayapo stone plug acquired in S. Maria is shorter and runs out to a tapered, blunt end (Fig. 2, c /see p. 18 /).

304 Tattooing is limited to the tribal badge which both sexes 619 wear on their cheeks: a blue ring 10-15 millimeters in diameter (auʒamanurĕ) just under the lower edge of the orbit.

515 On the whole the Karaya are distinguished by scrupulous care of the body. They bathe several times a day. Their hair is 302 always carefully combed. All the hair on the face and body is [412] plucked out. Shears are now commonly used for hair cutting, [237] whereas formerly piranha teeth were used for this.

/11 cont./

291 Clothing. The men go about completely naked, but tie the foreskin over the penis glans with a black cotton thread, like the end of a sausage (Pl. I /see p. 103/, 1). The women wear the nantŏ, [824] a kind of sash made of the bast of the jangada tree (Apeiba jangada). [287] /Fig. 2 appears here./ Softened in water and beaten and dried with flat stones, it acquires a high degree of pliability and a gleaming white, almost cloth-like appearance, very similar to the Polynesian tapa cloth made in the same way. A piece one span wide and 1 1/2 meters long is placed around the hips, both ends drawn be-

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531

Fig. 1. Body painting.

291 tween the legs from back to front and knotted below the navel, so that the ends hang down to the feet. When sitting down, the ends are thrown back under the seat (Pl. I /see p. 103 /, 2).

This primitive costume is supplemented by various arm and leg bands which represent a special tribal peculiarity.

854 Soon after birth the lower arm and lower leg of the child are
291 wrapped with heavy black cotton cords (aʒonrubĕ), while a band five centimeters wide and likewise black is put around the body (uaitakaui) (Pl. VII /see p. 109/, 3 and 4).

/48 cont./

172 present petroglyphs inasmuch as the rock drawings are completely lacking precisely at the cataracts of the Araguaia; rather, Martirios Island lies in an absolutely clear and quiet stretch. Nevertheless, it is a most important place for the Karaya. It [131] forms the northern boundary of their territory and it is here that [648] the hordes of the Kayapo hostile to them frequently come to the river. Many a battle may have taken place in this region between the two nations.

The interpretation of the rock sculptures as memorials or border markers, to which perhaps family insignia of prominent leaders have been added, seems to be the most acceptable according to the prevailing conditions. /The remainder of p. 48 and pp. 49-77 are not translated./

/78/

Explanation of the Plates [2]

192 291 302 Pl. I. Karaya. Men and Women (of the fourth village of the Šambioa).

[276] [411] [301] 1. Warriors. The man on the left /sic/ with parted hair, the tobacco pipe (Fig. 4 /see p. 28/) in his mouth, holding his weapons in his hand. The one on the right /sic/ shows the hair put in a braid with the feather decoration ušiktamaru (see p. 16) and the national wrapping of the foreskin (see p. 17).

2. Woman and girl with the bast aprons, whose front end is drawn to the rear since both individuals have just got up from [285] the ground (see p. 17). One of the large buriti-fiber mats mentioned on pp. 38 and 39 forms the background for both groups.

Pl. II. Karaya. Men (of the fourth of the village of the Šambioa).

[301] [304] 1 a and b. Portrait of a young Šambioa man with ear sticks and wooden lip-plug, widely parted hair, and clearly recognizable tribal tattooing on the cheeks.

[2] [Plates appear on pp. 103-115--Analyst]

/78 cont./ [Plate II. Karaya. (cont'd)]

142 2. Two Šambioa warriors en face. The man on the left with
291 the feather diadem lurina on the back of the head (see p. 44),
301 bow, arrows, and club in his hand, the one on the right with the
302 small wreath-diadem (Pl. IX /see p. /, 6) and strings of glass
411 beads wound tightly around the neck. The large lower-arm cuffs identify him as unmarried.

Pl. III. Karaya. Karayahi Groups (taken in the last "summer camp" on a river island above the northern tip of Bananal Island).

1. Men, two of which wear arm-cuffs and knee-bands. One has the small feather rosettes with a central disk of mother-of-pearl in his ears (see. p. 46). Face painting with soot is recognizable. The straw hat of the older man sitting in front is not the one mentioned on p. 20, but a model directly borrowed
[501] from the settlers. In the background two long canoes and farther to the left in the distance the small Araguaia steamer.

342 2. Women, children, and young people sitting on the
361 ground in front of the tent-roofs of the summer camp, which are
516 made of mats. Two araras on the pole to the right, at the left on the bank a jabiru (black-headed stork).

Pl. IV. Karaya. Villages.

133
342 1. Full view of the first village of the Sambioa.
361 2. Reception scene in the third village of the Sambioa.
574

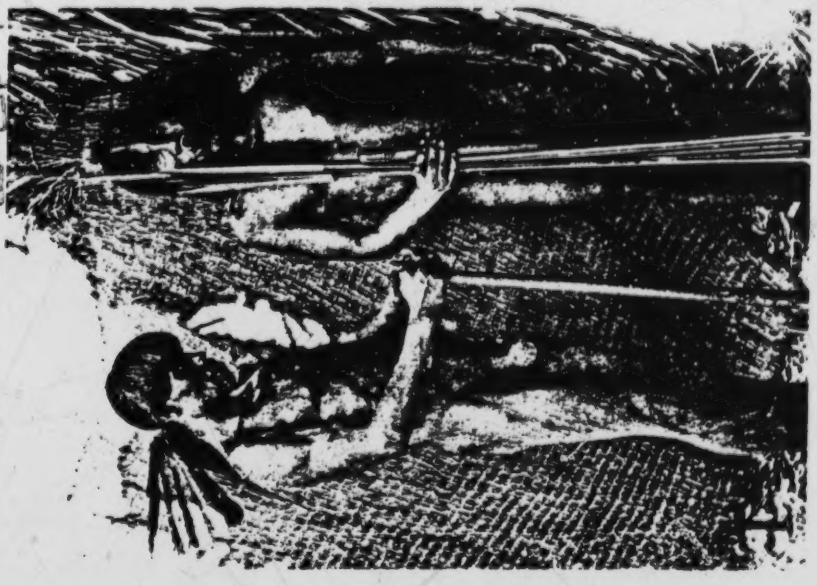
291 Pl. V. Karaya. Chief's hut (fourth village of the
342 Šambioa).
351
354 Group at the cooking place in front of the entrance.
415

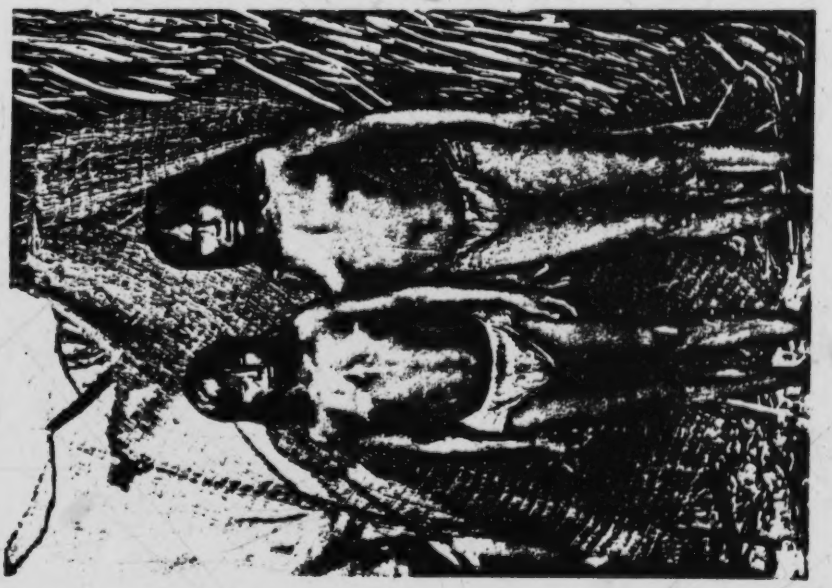
411 Pl. VI. Karaya. Weapons.

1. Bow with wound bowstring and feather tassel (1/8).

4. Ehrenreich--103 E-5 (1888) 1891 SP9 Caraja SP9

Plate I





4: Ehrenreich--104 E-5 (1888) 1891 SP9 Caraja SP9

Plate II

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4: Ehrenreich--105 E-5 (1888) 1891 SP9 Caraja SP9

Plate III

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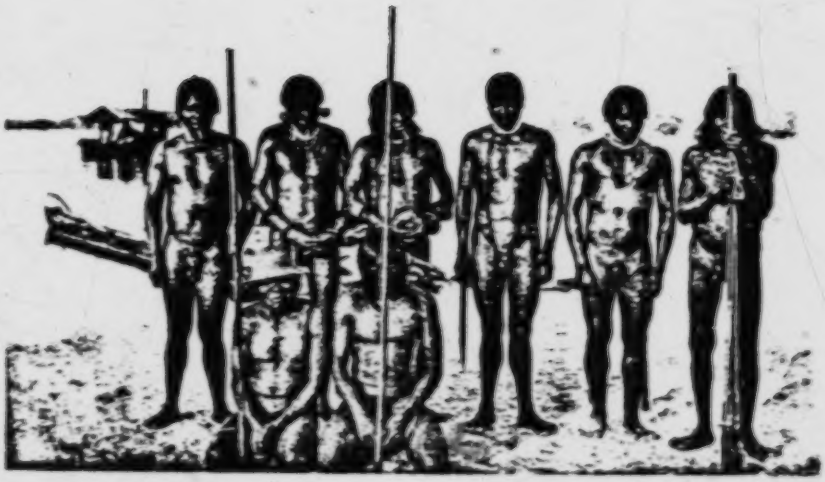

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Plate 11

342
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[36]

1. Dry-season hut of the Karajá.

2. Karajá village.

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3. Karajá women smoking.

4. Karajá siblings.

/Pl. 11 faces p. 52./

Plate 12

1. Cooking place of the Karaja Indians.

3. Mask hut in Village 7 (South Horde).

2. Karajá boys.

4. Karajá women and girls.

/Plate 12 faces p. 56. /

Plate 14

142
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Facial expressions of Chief Ilk.

/Pl. 14 faces p. 64. /

Plate 15

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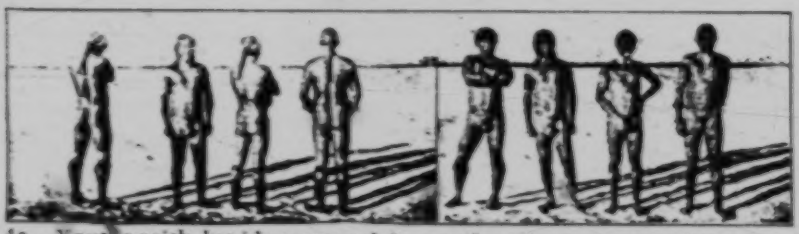
[482]

1. Youth in full ornamentation. Karajá.

3. Back-basket carrier. Karajá.

2. A Karajá youth's braid wrapped in bast.



4a. Youths with braids wrapped in red cotton cord.

4b. The same youths from the front.

/Pl. 15 faces p. 68./

Plate 16

142
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Painted Karajá maiden.

/Pl. 16 faces p. 72./

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Plate 17

Karajá Indians.

/Pl. 17 faces p. 76./

5: Krause--11 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9

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Plate 36

5: Krause--47 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9

1. Three Karajá men.

2. Youth, boy, man. Karajá.

/184 cont./

142 The skin is thin and delicate and feels very soft, a regular tropical skin, such as the Whites in the tropics also have. A certain part of this may also be due to the oiling of the skin. The [302] color of the skin is difficult to determine, since the Indians mostly go about painted or even with an over-all coating of oil color. The hot sun, which shines with particular intensity on the sandbanks, burns the parts exposed to it the most, such as upper arms, chest, shoulders, belly, and thighs, so that here the skin is considerably darker (Nos. 26-28 on the Martin Chart, with a touch of violet) than on the protected parts of the body, such as the inner side of the upper arm, etc. (No. 25). The cheeks are strikingly light, mostly /Pl. 37 appears here/ /185/ only No. 21, and among many definitely sallow, yellowish (Nos. 18-19). Whether this is the result of pathological conditions I am unable to say, the phenomenon was frequent, especially among young people and girls. The actual skin-color can be seen only under the cotton bands, especially under the calf bands; here it is No. 17. The palms of the hands (Nos. 13-15) and soles of the feet (Nos. 10-16) are very light, almost as among us. The women [292] often seemed lighter than the men, undoubtedly a result of the fact that they live more in the shadows of the houses and, when they go out, generally put on their net coverings. My Indian rowers, too, in the course of months took on a lighter coloring 826 under the clothing. I did not see albinos. The ideal of the Karajá Indians is a skin as light as possible; they particularly appreciated my white skin color, and they themselves wanted to be entirely white (see the role of the Whites in the legends).

147 A particular body odor is probably characteristic of the Indians, it is rather strong and unpleasant to us. It cannot be [302] said, however, how much of it is due to the rancid oil on the skin and in the hair.

142 The hair. The head hair is generally straight; hair hanging down long, however, if it is not combed out for a long time, becomes wavy in the case of men and women (Pl. 17; 36; 42, [302] Ills. 1 and 3). If it is freshly combed and oiled, it hangs down smooth naturally. The formation of curls is relatively frequent; among men I observed it ten times; among women, on the

[Text continues on p. 55]

142
291
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1. Karajá youths.

[854]

2. Karajá women and children.

/185 cont./

142 the other hand, only four times (Pl. 11, Ill. 4; 38, Ill. 1; 44, Ill. 2). The color of the hair is black, with a reddish shimmer [302] in an oblique light. Beard hair is sparse and is plucked out. Underarm hair is present, though not thick; it is sometimes pulled out, sometimes left. Pubic hair is heavily developed among the male sex; it does not extend much beyond the pubic bone and is not removed. I was unable to observe among the Indians any fine skin hair on the rest of the body; their skin is completely smooth. They, on the contrary, were astonished to see hair on my arms, hands, and fingers, the white sheen of which on my sunburned [302] skin did indeed look peculiar. Eyebrows and lashes are plucked out.

164 Pathological formations on bodies were only rarely observed; I saw only one umbilical rupture in the case of a boy of about 12. Chief Ilk apparently suffered from an inguinal hernia 142 (Pl. 36, Ills. 1 and 2, right). Signs of past pregnancies were less noticeable on the body than on the breast.

The general picture of the Karajá is thus the following: Small to medium height, brown in color, with straight, sometimes curly hair; broad-shouldered, wide-chested, narrow-hipped figures with long lower arms and short hands and feet. Well- [146] nourished, extremely muscular human beings. The women lag behind the men in every respect.

/186/ 2. Dwelling Sites, Arrangement, Number.

101 131 One large Indian nation, that of the Karajá, inhabits the banks of the Araguaya from 15 1/4-7° southern latitude. It is divided into the three tribes of the Šambioá, Savajé, and Karajá. The Šambioá inhabit the stretch of rapids between 7° and 8°. southern latitude, the Šavajé the middle section of the river island of Bananal, between 11° and 12° southern latitude, while the settlements of the Karajá proper extend along the rapids-free course of the river from 10° 12' to 15° 15' southern latitude.

5: Krause--61 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Carajá SP9

516 203 301 397 453

Plate 38

1. Two men, a youth, two boys. Karajá.

2. Painted boy. Karajá.

/208 cont./

634 explanation given by the Indians does not go back to Brazilian influence. Women never removed or changed their bands in our presence, and small girls from whom I bought belts stepped behind the nearest mat wall, in order to put on a new one there before /Pl. 42 appears here/ /209/ they brought me the belt that they had been wearing. Thus, there seems to be a certain feeling of modesty corresponding to ours. Concerning the peculiar modesty about eating in front of strangers, see under "Eating" /see p. 172 /.

5. Ornamentation.

A. Ornamentation on the Body Itself.

302 a) Hair style and care. The head hair is worn by the female sex in a simple style that remains much the same throughout life, whereas the male sex prefers different hair styles according to age.

Small girls wear their hair hanging down to the neck at the sides and in back, while in front it reaches halfway down the forehead or to the eyebrows (Pl. 11, Ill. 4). At the onset of maturity, the girls have a parting about two fingers wide cut out, extending up in the center from the forehead to the /Ill. 37 appears here/ top of the head and usually painted red. The crown hair, which bounds it at the upper end, is shortened to a tuft. At the sides and in back, adults let the hair grow long (Pl. 17; 42). Older women no longer renew the parting, but comb over it so that it is seldom to be seen.

The hair style of the male sex is more elaborately worked out. Children either have the same hair style as girls, or their hair is cut in steps from the sides toward the back (Ill. 37), or they wear the well-known bowl cut (Pl. 11, Ill. 4; Pl. 12, Ill. 2). For the boys, the back hair is shortened several times. When the boy is bigger, about eight to ten years old, all of the hair is cut short to half a centimeter, except for a wreath of hair of uniform length left standing all around ((ì)djūlĕ, Pl. 43, Ill. 2). No clarity was to be obtained as to whether this cutting is done only once or whether this hair style is fashioned anew annually with the

[Text continues on p. 96]

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1. Women's clothing and hair style.

2. Karajá women and children.

3. Karajá women and children.

/209 cont./

302 beginning of the dry season, the statements of the Indians about it varied. There were also boys with close-cropped hair who had no wreath of hair. Perhaps the explanation is that the first time (or the first times) the head is shorn quite smooth, while with the last cutting the wreath of hair is left standing. During this time almost all the boys are painted completely black. From [304] then on they let the hair grow until it reaches down to the eyes in front and to the shoulders in back; then the boys are declared grown-up and are given the tribal tattooing. Youths cut off the front hair over the eyebrows; the side and back hair reaches down about halfway to the shoulder blades. The wreath of hair, however, is still kept under the long hair. They, too, like the maidens, wear the red-colored /210/ parting (lāwōlū, lāūlū) and the crown tuft (lāzī) (Pl. 43, Ill. 1; Pl. 44, Ill. 1).

Ill. 37.
Boy with stepped hair.

The long dangling hair, annoying while rowing, fishing, and walking through the forest, is tied together in various ways. Either the side hair is knotted over the forehead on either side, or /Ill. 38 appears here/ it is tied together with bast into a little braid over the forehead (hōsīdodānā). The back hair is often tied together in the back into a tuft in which clusters of [237] feathers are sometimes knotted (Ill. 38). Such a cluster of feathers (wāšīwāšīdelōhī) consists of seven little sticks with red feathers, which are fastened as a tassel to a twisted cotton string and from which long colorful parrot feathers hang down at the bottom (Pl. 45, Ill. 2). Usually, however, it is twisted into a braid (lāōdūā), which is either plaited round with narrow yellow bast (Pl. 15, Ills. 1 and 2) or wrapped from top to bottom in a thick red cotton string (Pl. 15, Ill. 4 a, b). This cotton string (lāodūēzō) consists of two separate strings, each of which has a tassel at the end; these tassels hang out from the wrapping at the upper end of the braid. With this type of hair style, which is not, as Ehrenreich assumes, restricted merely to dandies, but is now worn quite generally by the young people, the hair wreath shows very nicely.

/210 cont./

302 Men sometimes wear the bowl cut, but usually they have the same hair style as the youths, except that they do not tie their hair, but let it hang freely. Among them, too, the wreath of hair can still be seen under the long hair. In later years no value is any longer attached to the parting and the crown tuft (Pl. 17; Pl. 36, Ill. 1; Pl. 43, Ill. 3).

Ill. 38.
Youth with tuft feather-cluster and hair wreath.

The parting (lãwõlũ), which both sexes wear from puberty on, is achieved through the plucking out of the individual hairs. In the [184] south horde it is narrow, so that at first I did not even notice it; in the north horde, on the other hand, it is about two fingers wide. Young people almost always paint it with red color, whereas older ones do not wear this ornamentation. The crown tuft always goes with it.

The hair wreath is restricted to the male sex from boyhood on; women do not have it.

[412] [239] The cutting of the hair is now done with shears. According to Ehrenreich, they formerly cut it with piranha teeth. To my questions as to how they cut their hair before they had shears, they always told me that in those days they did not cut it, because they did not have any shears. Thus, the former custom has completely vanished from their memory. The hair that was cut off was thrown away, as I myself observed. The purpose of the long hair, they say, is for protection against mosquitoes.

[765] /211/ For mourning they are said to cut off the hair, and the women, too, are said to cut themselves a hair wreath called nakulau (?). I did not observe this custom, however, in Kabiñ's family, which was in deep mourning.

The hair is very carefully tended. In the morning and evening it is combed out and oiled. Before they start on a journey, when they return to the village from hunting, fishing, or from the plantings, their hair is combed out for them by the mother, wife, or another female relative. When they arrive in a strange village on a visit, the chief's wife combs and oils their hair.

/211 cont./

303 are tossed in until there is no longer any liquid oil. For use, a
[302] tuft is pulled out, squeezed out between the hands, and the oil is rubbed into the hair, on the skin of the body, mixed with pigments, etc. The tuft is again tossed into the gourd vessel.

302 b) Body hair. The beard growth is little developed. When a
[142] small hair appears, it is plucked out. Cheek and chin hair allegedly does not grow at all among them; some, however, have short, faint /212/ mustache hairs. Since they find them ugly, however (they compared our mustaches with the long barbs of the
[535] pirarara), they pluck them out. On the other hand, they are supposed to wear artificial beards of human hair in the cascudo dance, according to their statements. The mustache-like beard is placed between the lower lip and the chin, pulled up toward the ears, and fastened in back of the head with strings (1).

[113] 1. See Jahrbuch des Museums für Völkerkunde zu Leipzig, Vol. 3, 1910, p. 114.

Eye hair. Eyebrows and lashes are removed, and, to be sure, pulled out with the fingers. For this purpose, the fingers are first dipped in ashes, probably so that they will not slip off the smooth hair. This plucking is said to be very painful; it is undertaken even in the case of small children and repeated when the hair has grown in again. As a reason for it they could only say that they did not want this hair to grow. Why they do not want this, they could not explain.

142 The rest of the body hair is usually only slightly developed.
302 The fine hairs of the skin were scarcely to be seen. Underarm hair, too, was only slightly developed; its removal is left to the discretion of the individual. The pubic hair was heavily developed; it was not removed, as far as I could see, at least among the men.

302 c) Body painting. For body painting, red, black, and white color is used.

/212 cont. /

386 824 The red color is obtained from the seeds of the fruit of the urucú bush. There are many different varieties, which produce a more or less intense red color, in part also inclining to yellow. Treasured above all is the kind with round seeds (wõlĕlŏnĭ), whereas the kind with long seeds is not esteemed very highly (wõlĕnò). The kind with round seeds grows particularly in the [438] region north of the Tapirapé mouth; it is obtained here in large quantities by the Indians and further traded to the Indians south of the Tapirapé mouth, especially to those of the south horde. The 386 dyestuff is produced from the seeds in the following manner. The many small seeds contained in the beechnut-like fruits are removed, some palm oil is put in the hands, and then the seeds are rubbed between the oiled hands until all the dyestuff on the shells of the seeds has come off. In this way an oil color is produced, which is scraped off the hand with a knife or stick and is put in a gourd vessel. The rubbed seeds are thrown away. In this fresh state the oil color is immediately ready for use. For [438] trading, it is boiled in oil (thickened), then put into solid forms, and dried in the sun (Ill. 40 a, b).

[824] For the black color either soot, which is scraped from the charred trees of the plantings or from the cooking pots, or the blue-black juice of the genipap fruit [b(à)dēnà] is used. This juice is mixed in small spoon-like gourd vessels or in larger, carved half-gourds /Pls. 43 and 44 appear here. /213/ (Ill. 41 a, b). at first it is light, but soon after it is applied to the skin, under the influence of the air, it becomes a handsome black-blue color.

A white earth (mãnãũla) is used as a white color. I never 302 observed white body /Ills. 40 and 41 appear here/ painting, to be sure. The small clay dolls, however, bear white patterning, and the Indians told me that with this color they paint rings around their arms, as well as transverse stripes on their chests.

302 413 The fingers serve as paint brushes, the flat hand for full body painting. /Ill. 42 appears here. / I never observed sticks or rags for applying the colors. On the other hand, for the genipap patterning a stamp (ũlĩnò) consisting of two sticks of cane lashed together, the cut surfaces of which are cut to form two semicircles, is popularly used. These semicircles are now placed together to form

[Text Continues on P. 103]

Plate 43

142
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1. Youth in typical attire.

2. Boy with close-cropped hair and hair-wreath.

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3. Karajá men with straw hat and tobacco pipe.

5: Krause--102 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9

142
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516

1. Karajá youths.

2. Karajá youth and boy.

/213 cont./

386
[438]
[415]

Ill. 40. a, b.
Urucú oil-color in trade packaging.

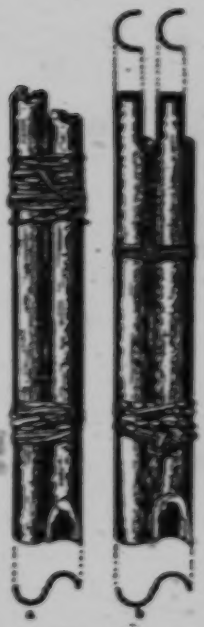
Ill. 41 a, b.
Color bowls.

302 413 a serpentine line (bũltĩ; according to Kuriśi, however, naũẽkiẽlãzĩ = ostrich crown-tuft). These stamps are usually only one-sided (Ill. 42a); only once did I come across a two-sided stamp, which at one end bore the serpentine line, at the other two semi-circles, one above the other (Ill. 42b). The boy in Ill. 2 on Plate 38 is painted with the serpentine-line stamp.

302 In the painting we distinguish between full painting and patterning.

[291] The full painting "is their suit of clothes" (Kuriśi's statement); "it protects them from mosquitoes just as their suit does for the Christians" (Mauzí's statement).

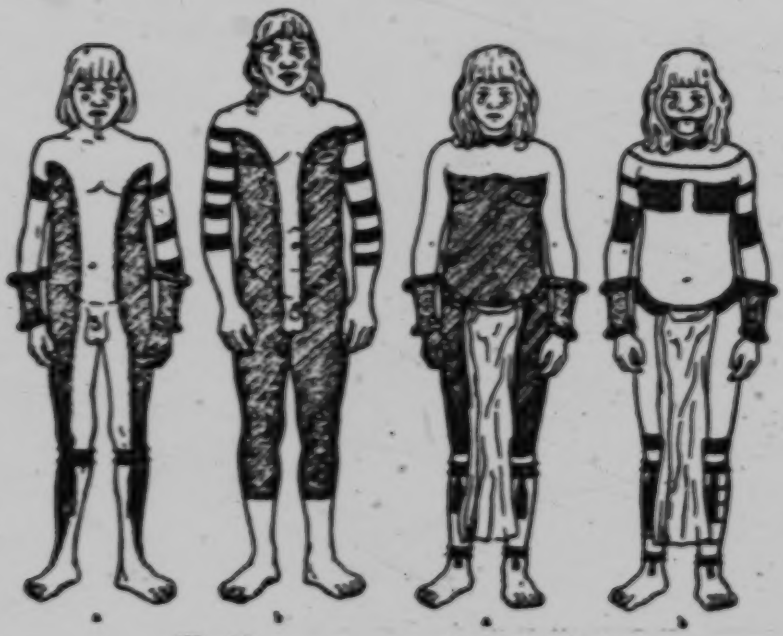
The patterning, on the other hand, is executed only for special occasions. It is a kind of festive ornamentation. For [609] receiving strangers, for example, the villagers paint themselves with red and black designs; the arriving strangers also paint themselves before they /214/ enter the village, even if they only draw a black eye-band from ear to ear with soot scraped from the charred Campo trees.



Ill. 42 a, b.
Genipap stamps.

/214 cont./

302 from ear to ear with soot scraped from the charred campo trees. [535] For dance festivities the men and youths are painted by the women. In general, this patterning is their ornamentation, [226] their festive clothing. Mothers often painted their sons when the latter were to set out with us on a fishing expedition.



Ill. 43.
Boy (a) and man (b) with full patterning.

Ill. 44.
Two girls with full patterning.

[1065] For mourning, the entire body, even the face, is said to be provided with genipap painting. I did not see this custom, however, in the case of Kabisá's family.

There are no differences in the painting between the two sexes, except that perhaps the men, who have more to do out in the open than the women, who essentially remain in the village and in the houses, wear the full painting more than the women. The patterns themselves are the same for both sexes, except that the men like a somewhat more extensive patterning.

/214 cont./

307 [822] The painting of the body is done with red or black color, and, to be sure, the red color is for the most part restricted to men and youths, the black to boys and girls, for black is generally the color of youth (see "Cotton Ornaments" /see p. 123/). Only once was there seen a woman painted entirely red.

/215/ Patterns that extend over the entire body are relatively rare. In Ill. 43 a, b the boy and the man have almost the same patterning: both sides of the body from the armpits to halfway down the calves are painted black, while only a long middle strip in the front and back is left free. The boy in Ill. 2 on Plate 38 is patterned all over with the genipap stamp. Another boy was decorated over his whole body by means of lines intersecting at right angles, which had been drawn with a four-tined fork. In the case of all these persons the arms, too, were patterned. Fully patterned persons of the female sex were rare; the maiden on Plate 16 displayed the most beautiful decoration. One girl was painted black from the breast down to the knee, and her right hand was colored as well; in the case of another, only the bosom, arms, and legs were painted (Ill. 44 a, b).

Ill. 45 a-c.
Thigh patterning.

Individual parts of the body are seldom decorated and then mostly in connection with the full patterning. The decoration on the arms and thighs generally consists of black or red rings which run around the extremities (Ill. 43, 44). Only on the thighs, and, to be sure, mostly on the inner side, more rarely on the outer side, are there separate designs, the meaning of which unfortunately could not be ascertained (Ill. 45). I did not see decorated hands, of which Ehrenreich reproduces a fine example; only one boy and one girl each had a hand painted black.

More important than the body patterning is the painting of the face: if a person has himself painted, the face comes first and only then the remaining parts of the body. Characteristic

/215 cont./

302 for the Karajá is a cross-band that runs from ear to ear over the eyes, is cut off at the top across the forehead, and the lower edge of which often takes a curved course below the tribal tattooing (Ill. 46 a, b). This cross-band is usually painted on with urucú color, rarely with soot or genipap. This type of painting is customary for both sexes. Some deviations could be observed: both were encountered in the south horde. Once the nose was left blank (Ill. 46c); another time a red cross-band ran over the tribal tattooing, below the black cross-band that was cut off at the eyes (Ill. 46d).

Isolated painting of the nose is only rare. One maiden wore a red triangle painted over the nose, another a red angle which /216/ /Ills. 46 and 47 appear here/ rose from the left jaw to the root of the nose and then ran down to the right jaw (Ill. 47 a, b). Both paintings were encountered in the south horde. In connection with other facial painting, there occurred, likewise only twice, a vertical black stroke that ran from the tip of the nose upward over the forehead to the hair, and which in one case was intersected by small cross-strokes (Ills. 50 and 48d). /Ill. 48 appears here./

/217/ Frequently, the lower face was decorated, namely, mouth, cheeks, and chin, and, to be sure, generally only with black color. The simplest of these decorations is a black bordering around the mouth (Ill. 48a). This is further developed in two directions: first, horizontally from the corners of the mouth across the cheeks are drawn two or four cross-strokes which occasionally may also form a black band in which a zigzag line is left blank (Ill. 48 b-d), then lines running vertically downward are drawn from the corners of the mouth (Ill. 48e). In most cases, both types are combined, so that angles, the points of which are turned toward the corners of the mouth, are formed on the cheeks. The sides of these angles are often multiple (Ill. 48 f, g). Another type of decoration is a black rectangle on the chin, which is usually found in combination with cheek cross-strokes or cheek angles (Ill. 49 a-d).

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 108]

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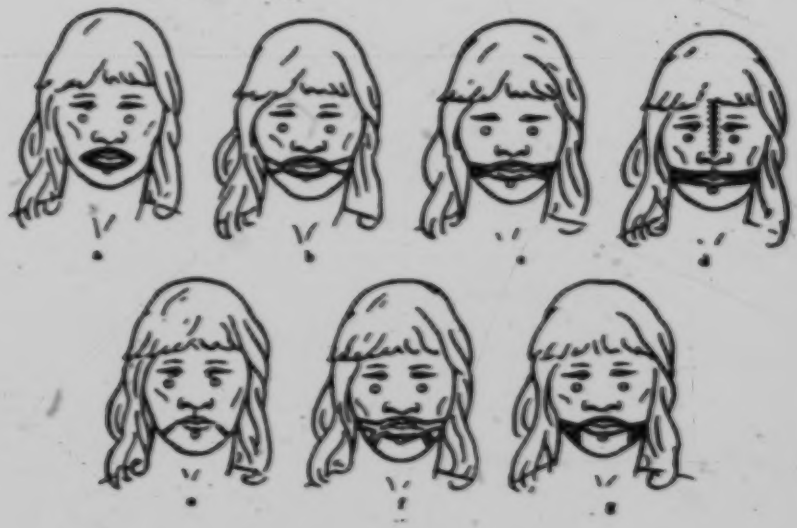
Ill. 46 a-d.
Tribal painting of the Karajá. Eye cross-band.

Ill. 47 a, b.
Nose painting.



Ill. 48 a-g.
Lower-face painting.

/217 cont./

302 In general, either only the upper face or merely the lower face is decorated, and a combination of both decorations occurs only occasionally (see Ill. 50).

304 [237] d) Tattooing. For scarifying the skin, the scarifier (lãdji) is used, a piece of gourd shell into which, close to the upper edge, a row of small fish-teeth (kõlãdju, allegedly dogfish) is set, which is held in place in back by a narrow pad of wax (Ill. 51). This specimen corresponds to one brought back by Ehrenreich (Berlin 3953c), whereas in the case of his other two, the entire back side is covered with a thick layer of wax; I never saw scarifiers of this type among the Karajá, but certainly among the Šavajé (see

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Ill. 49 a-d.
Chin painting.

304 there /see p. 315/). The skin on the arms and thighs is scratched with these scarifiers; I was unfortunately never able to observe the process itself (in this connection see Ehrenreich, "Beiträge," p. 33).

I saw decorative scars only once, namely, on my rower Antonio. They consisted of several ridges running across the chest. These incisions are made with the tooth of the dogfish (cachorra) and rubbed with soot and water, so that they remain visible for a long time. The operation must be done early in the morning by a single man; other onlookers, above all women, may not be present. The wounds are said to heal well, but /218/ a great deal of blood is said to flow in the process. The number of incisions is indefinite. The bearer of such an incision is called wõlĩ (1).

[191] 1. Cunha Mattos reports on this same custom

/218 cont./

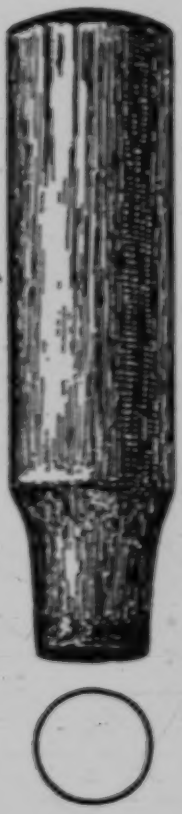
304 [171]

1. (cont.)
from among the Cherentes (Rev. trim. 38, p. 23), although he does not give full credence to his informant.

[307]

Ill. 50.
Full facial painting.

Ill. 51.
Scarifier.



Ill. 52.
a) Tattooing stamp with cross-section and circular surface in natural size.
b) Tattooing knife of stone, natural size.

[554] Concerning such decorative scars Kurisí told me that only a person who had killed an enemy was permitted to have such incisions made across the chest and back.

Tattooing. We distinguish between two types of tattooing: tribal and chief's tattooing.

/219 cont./

304 the two circles drawn with black color on small children. In
881 the case of boys, the time is determined according to when, after the last cropping, the hair reaches down to the tip of the nose in front and to the shoulders in back.

304 The tattooing is done by special persons who own stamps
463 and stone knives and are called wairãdu. There was only one such person in the south horde (in Village 6), whereas in the north horde there were several (for example, Ilk in Village 13). They are paid for this operation. No ceremonies of any kind are said to take place, and the children are not always tattooed together, but also singly on occasion, whenever one happens to be able to get hold of the master.

304 The chief's tattooing, which is characteristic of chiefs
[624] and their wives, consists of vertical black strokes between the lower lip and the lower edge of the face, which are arranged side by side in one or sometimes also in two lines, one above the other (Ill. 53 a, b). According to Kurik, this tattooing is supposed to be peculiar to women. Even girls are said to have such lines of blue dots on the chin, which is supposed to be regarded as very beautiful. I never observed this last phenomenon, however.

515 /220/ e) Body care. The Indians bathe a great deal; usually they take a bath early in the morning, and even during the day they plunge into the water whenever they feel like it, in most cases probably to cool off by means of the subsequent evaporation of the water in drying.

515 Two plant products serve as soap in washing; first, a
824 bark (ũãbãkã = sabão do matto), from which one scrapes off a
388 little, /Ills. 54-57 appear here/, rubs this in water, and washes himself with the lather thus produced; then there is a tree bast (dõũ) which is also used as soap for cleansing.

302 The rubbing of the body, the arms, and especially the
824 hair with the fragrant resin (ãndilã) of the almecegeira (Hedwigia balsamifera), which is ordinarily stored in gourds, is very popular.

/330 cont./

764 Large cemeteries are found near São José, S. Izabel do Morro (1).

1. Apparently this is the cemetery that Rufino visited on December 6, 1846; Rev. trim. X, p. 206.

In the smaller cemeteries the grave is dug and the corpse is hung in it horizontally on the pole. Then poles are placed over the opening and the whole is covered with earth. Concerning the equipment of these graves in more detail, none of which I saw, unfortunately, see in Ehrenreich ("Beiträge," p. 31). A dish
765 of food is placed on the grave for six days. When the body is decayed, the grave is dug up again (according to Pedro, after one month; according to Kurišť, after a year). The bones are cleaned and gathered together in a large funeral urn. This cleaning from the bones the bits of flesh still clinging to them is said to be done by means of a bone like the one customarily used for cauterizing wounds; one end of the bone is held in the fire and the flesh is then scraped off with this heated end. Special ceremonies no longer seem to take place in connection with this. The urns are placed under trees in the large cemeteries, where they gradually become filled with sand (see Pl. 13 /see p. 7/, Ill. 2). Their shape corresponds to that of the cooking pots, except /331/ that they are provided with a lid (Pl. 58, Ill. 11). The largest such urn that I saw had a diameter of 80 centimeters.
[766] Corpses of small children are said to be immediately deposited in such urns.

[768] The hut of the deceased is abandoned and then burned. If
[302] the husband died, the hair of the wife and of the mother of the man is cut short, except for a wreath of hair running all around (nǎkŭlǎŭ); the hair of the children, however, is not cut. Upon the death of the wife, the husband, mother, and children do not cut their hair. As a further sign of mourning, both sexes wear bast or cotton bands around their heads. One woman wore, in addition, a narrow bast-belt around her waist; one boy had tied bast strips on the calf bands. Otherwise all ornaments are taken off. Laments for the dead are shouted out by both sexes with a

/355 cont./

292 Karajá, the Šavajé are supposed to make such coverings, whereas the coverings with a wide, black center stripe come, not from the Šavajé, but from the Tapirapé.

184 Even the smallest girls already wore firmly plaited, black [301] belts which correspond to those of the Karajá. I did not see anywhere the loosely plaited string belts (Karajá, Ills. 30 and 31). [291] Adult women wore the bast apron, called hăbiŏdă here, made mostly out of white and only rarely of reddish bast.

303 The hair style does not show anything that is foreign to the 184 Karajá. The combs are plaited by the men in the same manner [302] as among the Karajá. Forms and designs correspond to the others; the decorating by means of feather clusters or bundles of cotton is rare, however. [304] The side cross-threads are also often absent.

302 Body painting is identical with that of the Karajá. 184 As oil, coconut oil is used; as color, chiefly urucú, which, with the seeds removed, is stored in huge hollow gourds.

Ill. 189 a, b.
Scarifier (b = back side).

301

Ill. 190.
Ear rod.

304 Scarification is also customary among the Šavajé. The instrument for it (lālēdjŭ; Ill. 189), however, is covered with a thin coating of wax on the entire back side (cf. Ehrenreich's specimens, Berlin 3953 a b, from the Karajá).

515 As for body care, it should be remarked that the Šavajé go to bathe in the lake every morning at sunrise, even when there is heavy fog over the water and it is very cold. They then warm and dry themselves at the hearth fire in the hut.

/365 cont./

574 eyes with soot. Having arrived in the chief's house, my men sat down on the mats in a row extending across the house. The chief sat in front of them at one end, his wife at the other; not a word was spoken, the Karajá sat there with bowed heads and made ex-
[302] tremely distressed faces. Then the chief's wife moved along the row from behind, oiled and combed out the hair of all of them. After that, they had to come to her one by one to have themselves painted by her with urucú. During this whole time the challenging shouts for the wrestling match kept coming over from the mask hut.

/366/ Finally the chief spoke a few words; the Karajá arose and went with him in front of the house. A second Šavajé man from the neighboring hut joined them. Now the procession formed: in front the two Šavajé, behind them the Karajá in twos or threes,
[346] all with arms crossed over shoulders. Women and children followed the procession to the mask hut, where the Šavajé young people were standing in an irregular row. All were painted with urucú; two wore dance belts and feather arm-bands. As soon as the Karajá arrived, the shouting ceased and the wrestling began.
526 574 The two adorned youths danced forward first, shouting and swinging their arms, as we know it from the Karajá (Ills. 10 and 11). The Karajá did not accept. Then they danced forward a second time and were accepted. The wrestling followed; the Karajá were the victors. In the second round, the Karajá challenged, and so it went on, five or six times. Some bouts were not accepted; then the challengers turned around to the right, flinging their arms wide, and returned to the center. Here they stood in the resting position with their backs to the Karajá and shouted until one of the opponents accepted them. A few bouts remained indecisive, otherwise the Karajá won. This was astonishing, since the Šavajé were all larger figures and gave the impression of being more powerful; moreover, they did not have three difficult days of travel behind them. Perhaps the explanation is that the Karajá on the average were five to ten years older and therefore had better developed muscles. Scarcely had the chief announced the end when the Šavajé again shouted their cries; the women and children hastened away and hid in the huts, toward which all the participants betook themselves in an irregular procession.

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
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[142]
[304]

A Karaja.

A Patagonian Indian Chief.

Sons in the Sunnis of Bahia.

[facing p. 60]

123 less strange to them than they did to me. Charles Darwin describes the deep feelings he experienced when he found himself face to face for the first time with primitive man. I, too, can never forget the hour when I first gazed upon man in his primitive state. The memory of it will ever remain vivid, and as one of the most interesting experiences of my life. One could easily imagine, at first, that he belonged to a lower order of creatures than the *homo sapiens*. If so, better acquaintance soon revealed him to be truly a man in every respect—a true human soul, though far from God in the jungles of ignorance and superstition—one of the lost ones whom Christ came to seek and to save.

291 [302] The men were entirely nude, and painted from head to foot a dull, yellowish red with a mixture of fish oil and the fruit of the burity-palm. The women were painted like the men, but wore an item of covering made of a strip of inner bark eight feet long and ten inches broad. It is passed around the body and between the legs, and hangs down in front like an apron. At a distance, it resembles a strip of brown canvas. It is beaten and worked, when taken from the tree, until it has some degree of flexibility. Nevertheless, it must be uncomfortable to wear.

764 A Karayá died while we were detained at São José. We were made aware of the event by the incessant howling, wailing and loud lamentations of the female relatives of the deceased. Visiting the hut of mourning at dawn, we found the family busy decorating the corpse for burial by gumming rings of white feathers around the limbs, wailing and chanting as they worked. Afterward, the body was rolled in the palm-leaf mat which had been the bed of the deceased during life, placed in a canoe, and taken down the river to the tribal cemetery. Karayá funerals will be more fully described in future pages.

Brazil.

Many
609 of them are painted black and red, and have their faces daubed
[302] with a thick layer of black soot; others wear upon their heads
[301] crowns made of beautiful feathers; while others again, have
[239] their hair braided and decorated with the brilliant crimson
[411] and gold feathers of the macaw. All are armed with spears beautifully decorated with feathers, and with bows and arrows and heavy killing clubs. They present quite a military spectacle.

Disembarking, the first thing the visitors do is to show the savages their arms, especially the repeating rifles, which fill them with awe. The chief now hastens to declare that he and his people are friends of the white man, saying: "The Karayá is the friend of the white man; there is no lie with us," repeating this twice. Confidence established, some trading may be done without difficulty. Small children, and particularly, young girls, are very shy of the strangers, and usually creep into their huts and cover their faces with their hands. The visitor is never troubled by beggars, and rarely has anything stolen from him.

131 The Karayáhy division live along the main stream of the
162 Araguaya between São José and Santa Maria in twelve or
[648] fifteen villages or encampments, one of which, near Santa Maria, was completely wiped out in 1881 by the Kayapó
361 tribe. Their villages are not so clean as those of the Sambiña, nor are the huts so well constructed.

191 Observing the speech of the Karayá, one can scarcely notice any movement of the lips; nor do they seem able to repeat exactly a sentence just uttered. They have many sounds which they produce with the tongue and swallow the
192 last syllable. Apparently, their speech is not related to any Brazilian aboriginal language. The most remarkable thing about it is that they have one dialect for the men and another for the women; though only a few words are entirely different, and with most of them there is but a slight, unimportant change.

142 Physically, the Karayá are one of the finest of the aboriginal races of Brazil. They are of medium size, slender and

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

graceful, and their limbs are well balanced. Their proud 142
bearing makes them appear larger than they really are. Their
great muscular power, elasticity, and quickness of movement, 142
is displayed to advantage in their wrestling games, which 147
are their most loved sport. The muscles of the shoulders, [526]
especially, are highly developed in both sexes, because they [482]
have been trained from childhood to carry heavy weights
on their backs, supported by a band which passes over the
forehead. The eye-brow ridge is flat, giving the appearance 142
of an open face, and the eyes are but slightly almond-shaped.
The women are much smaller than the men, are well proportioned, and have pretty hands and feet. The bust of the younger individuals is perfect, but they soon lose their beauty of form. It is difficult to determine at first just what the color of their skin is. Living, as they do, in the glowing heat of the sun on the sand-bars, their skin, which is really a clear, yellow-brown color, is turned into a dark copper-brown. This clear yellow-brown is found only under their heavy armlets, wristlets and leglets.

Many paint, or, more correctly, grease themselves from 302
head to foot a red or black color, or both; while others prefer brown, red and black. Sometimes a young warrior has himself painted in such a fashion, that seen at a short distance, he appears to be wearing a black European cutaway coat buttoned at the top with one button; while another has black rings painted around his brown body from his shoulders to just above the knees, giving him the appearance of being dressed in a bathing suit. Others, again, paint their faces black. But they like, best of all, to paint black lines on the faces and the extremities. The painting is done with a bit of wood, or with the fingers. Both sexes chop the hair off straight across over the forehead, leaving it in the form of "bangs," and allow it to drop down behind over the [142]
shoulders. It is straight, black and coarse, like a horse's tail. Many of the young men, corresponding to what we call "dudes," clip a path, an inch wide, like a very wide part from the forehead back to the crown, and cut the hair of the

Brazil.

[302] [437] crown, leaving it two inches long and standing erect, pompadour fashion; while the back hair is braided neatly in a single braid, with a bunch of brilliant feathers fastened at the point, or it may be folded up in three or four folds and tied at the base of the head with a cotton string, to which is secured a bunch of long, bright feathers.

301 304 The ears of both sexes are pierced in infancy, and they wear in them a reed six or eight inches in length and as large as a lead pencil, the greater length of which protudes toward the front and terminates in a bit of shell set in a rosette of crimson feathers.

304 The males, and they only, have the lower lip bored. This is done in childhood, and is probably the initiation ceremony into the rights of citizenship or membership in the tribe, just as a civilian is initiated into a lodge, or a child of Roman Catholic parents ceases to be a "pagan" and becomes a "christian" by reason of the baptismal ceremony. A plug, 301 or spile of piuva wood is inserted into this opening in the lip, which is made larger and larger as the individual grows, until it will admit the thumb. The elderly men who have ceased to care much for display, usually wear nothing in the lip but a plug, cut off short; but the "smart" young men wear an ornament some eight inches in length, flattened like a blade just below the lip. The small boys wear a flat piece of shell an inch or two long, and in the form of a T, the cross-bar of the T holding the ornament in position. A much prized lip ornament, which is worn only on festal occasions, and at other times kept wrapped in cotton and securely laid away, is a long, heavy piece of rose-colored quartz. The lip end of this also is T, or dagger-shaped, so that it may not fall out. It is seven inches in length, and conical at the lower [439] end. The Karayá do not make these, but get them in trade from the Tupí. This ornament is, of course, very heavy, and one wonders how it is possible to wear it; for even the lightest of these lip ornaments cause the lip to hang down in a very ugly fashion. To drink when the plug is out, the opening must be closed with the fingers.

Brazil.

Both sexes have a blue ring tattooed under the eye, forming a deep ugly scar, which is the special distinguishing mark of the tribe. 304 619

The Karayá take good care of the body, bathing many times each day—though this is more to cool and refresh themselves, and for sport—keep the hair well combed, and pull out the sparse beard. They formerly used the teeth of the piránha fish as a kind of saw with which to cut the hair, but they now have scissors. 515 302 412 237

As already stated, the men wear no clothing, or covering whatever. The sash, or apron, worn by the women, is made of the inner bark of the jangáda tree. It is prepared for use by first soaking it a day or two in water, then pounding it with flat stones, and finally drying it. When the wearer of this primitive apron sits, she passes it back between the limbs and sits upon it. Besides this costume, both sexes wear various armlets, wristlets and leglets, as ornaments, which are peculiar to each division of the tribe. Soon after birth, the child's wrists and legs below the knees, are adorned with broad bands made by weaving together cotton cordage on the limbs themselves; while a black cotton band girts the body as a bandage. When the infant is a few months old, these articles are removed, and broad cotton wristlets, leglets and anklets are woven on the limbs, a tassel of cotton cords being attached to the leglets. The boys wear the leglets, or garterlets, until the lip is pierced, while the girls wear them until married. The wristlets worn by adults, cover nearly the whole forearm. They are not put aside until after marriage, and many females wear them until the first child is born. When one of the couple dies, the survivor puts the wristlets on again. This custom has come down from the ancients. As the wristlets and leglets are usually woven on the limbs themselves, they cannot be removed without being cut off. For this reason, they are never removed, nor washed until finally thrown aside. But I found the Karayá quite ready to cut these articles off and give them to me in exchange for some articles I had which took their fancy. 291 [287] 301 [184] [283] [286] [437] [439]

/211 cont./

visit, the chief's wife combs and oils their hair.

412 303 The combs (zĩhõ) consist of flat, sharpened splinters of palm wood, more rarely of taquara, which, with the flat sides laid on one another, are held together by two pairs of little sticks, one of which is fastened at the upper edge and the other at one-third of the height from the points. These splinters are interlaced with cotton threads in patterns. On either side two or three splinters project a bit above the upper edge. These extensions often bear bunches of feathers or red-colored cotton tassels and are usually connected with one another by a suspension thread. On the outer

415 531

Ill. 39 a, b.
Gourd vessels for hair oil.

412 [303] side of these lateral splinters, between the two cross-sticks, several intersecting threads are often stretched. The combs are always one-sided; only in the village on the Tapirapé mouth did I acquire a double-sided comb (Pl. 21, Ill. 1e). The shapes of the combs may be traced back to three basic types: a simple rectangular comb, wide combs with small curved lateral rods and converging teeth, and finally trapeze-shaped combs (Pl. 21, Ill. 1 a-d).

303 The hair oil (tãli) is made from the seeds of palm fruits. [824] The fruits of the coceiro (ãhãdẽtẽ), as well as of the tucum palm (hãlu), were mentioned. The oil is stored in special whole [415] [531] gourd-vessels (tãliĩlũkũ), which are usually decorated with large designs made by peeling off the upper layer of the gourd rind (Ill. 39 a, b). Tufts of raw cotton are tossed into these oil-filled gourd vessels and now become saturated with oil. They

/211 cont./

303 are tossed in until there is no longer any liquid oil. For use, a
[302] tuft is pulled out, squeezed out between the hands, and the oil is rubbed into the hair, on the skin of the body, mixed with pigments, etc. The tuft is again tossed into the gourd vessel.

302 b) Body hair. The beard growth is little developed. When a
[142] small hair appears, it is plucked out. Cheek and chin hair allegedly does not grow at all among them; some, however, have short, faint /212/ mustache hairs. Since they find them ugly, however (they compared our mustaches with the long barbs of the
[535] pirarara), they pluck them out. On the other hand, they are supposed to wear artificial beards of human hair in the cascudo dance, according to their statements. The mustache-like beard is placed between the lower lip and the chin, pulled up toward the ears, and fastened in back of the head with strings (1).

[113] 1. See Jahrbuch des Museums für Völkerkunde zu Leipzig, Vol. 3, 1910, p. 114.

Eye hair. Eyebrows and lashes are removed, and, to be sure, pulled out with the fingers. For this purpose, the fingers are first dipped in ashes, probably so that they will not slip off the smooth hair. This plucking is said to be very painful; it is undertaken even in the case of small children and repeated when the hair has grown in again. As a reason for it they could only say that they did not want this hair to grow. Why they do not want this, they could not explain.

142 The rest of the body hair is usually only slightly developed.
302 The fine hairs of the skin were scarcely to be seen. Underarm hair, too, was only slightly developed; its removal is left to the discretion of the individual. The pubic hair was heavily developed; it was not removed, as far as I could see, at least among the men.

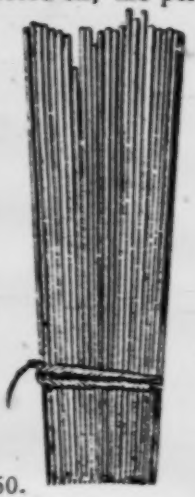
302 c) Body painting. For body painting, red, black, and white color is used.

/298 cont./

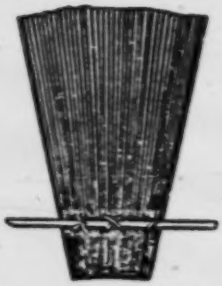
286 correspond to the other plaiting patterns such as we find on
[531] bows, lances, on baskets, fans, etc. The arm cuffs are crocheted over the club or the pestle; I never saw crocheting blocks such as Ehrenreich describes and illustrates in "Beiträge," Plate VII, Fig. 9. I did not observe nor could I find out how the thicker edge is made. The sample of crocheting (Ill. 149) is already more advanced and shows only how the meshes are made. Calf and ankle bands are crocheted directly on the body itself. They remain there until they become too tight; then they are carefully cut off, during which one pushes flat sticks underneath in order not to injure oneself. When they are crocheted on, the person concerned lies down on the mat in

• 303

Ill. 150. Small rod for making a comb.



Ill. 151. First interlacing of the comb rods.



Ill. 152. Fastening of the cross-rod.

Ill. 153 a, b. Cross-threads on the narrow edges of the combs.

286 the hut, has a bundle of coverings shoved under his knees, and has the bands crocheted by a female relative.

283 The various methods of knotting cotton threads into fringes and tassels is shown on Ills. 4 and 6 of Plate 45 (arm cuffs, calf hangings) and Ill. 68 (neck tassels).

303 K. Finally, comb manufacture should be mentioned here. Small fine wooden rods about 15 centimeters long and pointed at one end /299/ (Ill. 150) serve as the material. They are laid

[See p. 119 -- Analyst]

/299 cont./

303 next to one another and, at the place where the lower pair of cross-rods is fastened, lightly interlaced with cotton threads (Ill. 151). Then the two lower cross-rods are fastened over them, at first loosely with fine bast thread (Ill. 152), then permanently by means of a firm winding with cotton thread. Then the surface plaiting is put on; it is likewise only made by hand. Finally, the two upper cross-rods are put on and plaited over in the same manner as the lower ones. The patterns on the surfaces are the customary plaiting patterns. Cross-threads are often put on at the narrow edges (ill. 153).

237 [301] L. The feather technique. In fastening, arrangement, and color combinations of the feathers, the feather ornaments of the Karajá present a rich diversity, richer probably than in any other Indian tribe. As material they use white down feathers from ducks and diving birds, small fine red feathers, small body feathers from parrots of all kinds, wing and tail feathers from araras, vultures, owls, and herons. I did not observe any coloring of the feathers, on which Ehrenreich reported in "Beiträge," page [415] 14, nor was I able to find out anything about this. The down feathers are kept in special, small gourds which are closed with a wax knob or a bast stopper (Pl. 58, Ill. 3 a-c). The small fine red feathers are tied side by side on a string and wound spirally on a rod. Parrot feathers are placed in the baskets in small bundles or arranged fanlike side by side (Pl. 58, Ill. 8b). Wing and tail feathers are arranged in wings, and, indeed, in decreasing length. Two such wings are usually placed with one on top of the other, so that the rows of feathers descend in the opposite directions (Pl. 58, Ill. 8a). This kind of arrangement is very durable and at the same time makes it possible to find easily the very feathers required.

Usually the feathers are used in complete form. Sometimes, however, they are clipped, and, to be sure, in the long direction for arrow feathering, but crosswise for feather ornaments of all kinds. Whereas at present this clipping is done with the shears, the feathers were formerly singed off in order to obtain the desired shape.

/355 cont./

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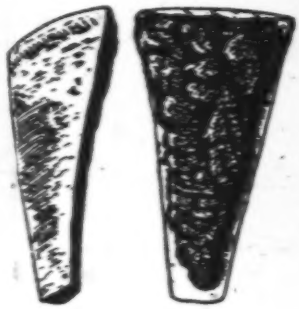

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301

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515 As for body care, it should be remarked that the Šavajé go to bathe in the lake every morning at sunrise, even when there is heavy fog over the water and it is very cold. They then warm and dry themselves at the hearth fire in the hut.

1:Lipkind E-5 (1937) 1948 SP9 Caraja SP9

pushing aside a door of plaited palm. Every married woman in the family cooks at her own fireplace, which consists of two lumps of hardened clay. Mats used for sleeping and sitting are spread over the entire floor. Wooden stools (fig. 19) may also be found. Bows, arrows, and rattles

FIGURE 19.—*Carajá* wooden stool. (Redrawn from Ehrenreich, 1891 b, fig. 13.)

are shoved into the wall thatch. Baskets, used for storing such things as tobacco, urucú, and feathers, are hung by a string from the ridge poles. Large baskets containing vegetables lie on the ground next to the thatch.

The dry-season house is identical in form but smaller and of flimsier construction. Thatching is looser and the walls are thatched only about halfway to the ground, the north and west sides often being left completely open. The dry-season village is generally constructed on a long beach and, as the site grows dirty, is moved along the beach. The ground plan of the dry-season village is identical with the rainy-season village.

DRESS AND ORNAMENTS

The most prominent facial decoration is a blue-black circular scarification about an inch in diameter over each cheekbone. The ears of infants are pierced and an ornament consisting of a small polished capybara tooth with a feather attached is inserted. A common ear ornament for children is a mother-of-pearl disk with a cut feather fringe set on a blackened thin rod. In a perforation of their lower lips, men wear wood or bone labrets of a variety of shapes (pl. 21; fig. 21, *a*), each assigned to a different age grade; old men use simple wooden plugs.

Men wear their hair long, winding it round a plaited cotton rope reddened with urucú. Women wear their hair about shoulder length.

Armlets crocheted of cotton are worn at the wrists and just above the elbow; similar ornaments are worn just below the knee and at the ankle. These are worn particularly by children and are supposed to aid growth.

1:Lipkind E-5 (1937) 1948 SP9 Caraja SP9

are the product of intermarriage and formal friendship. Intervillage feuds are common and are restrained only by the religious community, sanctuary being granted at all religious ceremonials.

ETIQUETTE

All dealings with visitors are conducted according to elaborate formal patterns. The language is rich in formal appellations, exclamations, and honorific phrases. The most remarkable feature is that women are permitted to behave with perfect freedom, whereas men, until they become fathers, behave with a shy and deferential modesty resembling but exceeding that of the Victorian maiden. Normal relations between members of the same village are formal and dignified; only in the men's house or on fishing and hunting trips is the behavior of men relaxed enough to permit horseplay and casual joking.

LIFE CYCLE

Childbirth and Childhood.—The child gets two sets of names, one male and one female, as soon as the mother is known to be pregnant. These are one's own names given by grandparents of both lines. Taboos in regard to diet and behavior are required of both parents before and after birth. There is a well-developed couvade based on the notion of an intimate connection between the infant and its father. Babies are nursed until they turn to other food of their own volition; sometimes ridicule is used as a sanction against particularly recalcitrant children. No intercourse is allowed during the period of lactation. Babies are carried on the hip, and sleep with the mother until weaning, when they are paired off with other children or with a grandparent. The girl child wears no clothing until weaned and then receives a fringed belt.

Puberty and initiations.—At menstruation, a girl's cheeks are scarified and she assumes the girdle.

A boy passes through a first initiation at about the age of 8 or 9, when his lower lip is pierced and a small bone labret inserted. A couple of years later, he passes through a second initiation, when his hair is cut short to a tonsure, his entire body is stained black with genipa, and he assumes the penis cord. When his hair has grown out to shoulder length, it is put up in a braid, and he attains full status as a young man.

The next change of status for both boys and girls occurs at marriage, when, for the first time, they take on the responsibilities of regular work. Teknonymy is a matter of pride and follows the birth of the first child. The name is retained permanently thereafter, even though the child should die. At about 45 both parents discard their ornaments and accept the status of old age. All the above age grades are named and involve differential behavior and dietary observances.

/18 cont./

*532 Of other animals there are represented: the crudely depicted dolphin (Fig. 114 /see p. 34/), the snake (Fig. 115 /see p. 34/) well portrayed by a zigzag line, and the two small mosquitoes (Fig. 116a ãhẽ, Fig. 116b lãkõ /see p. 34/), the latter with its fat body full of sucked blood. /Fig. 123 appears here./

Of plants there are found: the banana tree (Fig. 117 /see p. 34/) with leaves and fruit umbel, maize (Fig. 118 /see p. 34/), and manioc (Fig. 119 /see p. 34/), the latter with roots.

Of other representations we have the clay doll (Fig. 120 /see p. 34/); it is drawn from the front and reminds one of the representation of human beings. The pebbles in the sand (Fig. 121 /see p. 34/) are reproduced by small lines. The track of a bird (Fig. 122 /see p. 34/) is very characteristic. The Indians [453] very much enjoyed imitating handwriting; Fig. 123 /see p. 34/ gives examples of these attempt.

β) Outline Drawings

Human figures are lacking. Only representations of individual parts of the body are found, for example, the female [β31] sexual organs, which are reproduced in Fig. 124 /see p. 34/ individually and in detail with the anus, and in Fig. 125 /see p. 34/ fill the whole page of the sketchbook in schematic representation and manifold repetition. /Figs. 125-128 appear here./

• [304] The tribal tattooing, which consists of a circle colored blue and cut into each cheek with the help of a stamp, is reproduced in Fig. 126 /see p. 34/. Here the Indians were faced with the problem of drawing a circle freehand; the illustration shows the success with which they did this. See also Fig. 133 below under "objects" /see p. 35 /.

Animals are likewise seldom represented by this method of portrayal. There are no quadrupeds at all. Fig. 127 /see p. 34/ represents a bird, probably a parrot. The animal is drawn from the side. Of unknown significance is the animal ŭẽmã in Fig.

[Text continues on p. 35.]

/18 cont./

*532

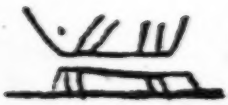


Fig. 112 a and b.

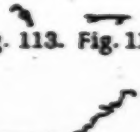


Fig. 113. Fig. 114. Fig. 115.

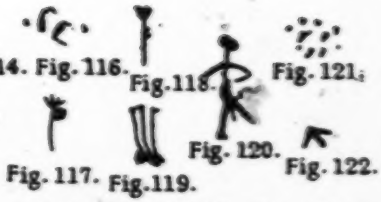


Fig. 116. Fig. 117. Fig. 118. Fig. 119. Fig. 120. Fig. 121. Fig. 122.

Fig. 112, large anteater; Fig. 113, mutum; Fig. 114, dolphin; Fig. 115, snake; Fig. 116, mosquitoes: a) ahé, b) lakõ; Fig. 117, banana tree; Fig. 118, maize; Fig. 119, manioc; Fig. 120, doll; Fig. 121, pebbles in the sand; Fig. 122, track of a bird.

[153]

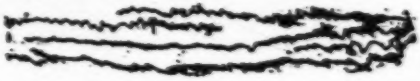


Fig. 123.
Imitation of handwriting.

[304]

[831]

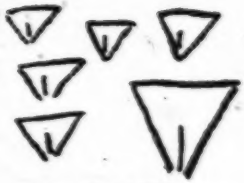


Fig. 125.
Schematic representation of the genitals. (A part of the sketch-book page.)

Fig. 126. Tribal tattooing.

Fig. 124.
Female genitals with anus.

Fig. 127. Bird.

Fig. 128.
nema.

/10 cont./

302 The bristly or wavy black hair of both sexes is cut off straight above the eyebrows and hangs down in back over the neck. Dandies [301] wear a part about three centimeters wide up to the crown /Fig. 1 appears here/, let the short crown-hair stick up like a brush, and with cotton strings tie the part hanging down in back into a braid, at the roots of which the men sometimes tie a decoration of blue arara or black mutum /curassow/ feathers (ušiktamaru).

301 In the pierced ear-lobes both sexes wear sticks of cane 15-20 [304] centimeters long for everyday.

The plug in the lower lip (anϑōŏ) is used only by the men. It [814] consists of the light, flaky wood of the piuva tree and is either cut obliquely with a short point or runs out into a long, thin lamina hanging down on the chest (Fig. 2, b /see p. 18 /).

Boys primarily wear, instead of this, small T-shaped pieces of shell (idžă) (Fig. 2, d /see p. 18 /).

The most precious lip ornament, which is worn only on festive occasions, but otherwise is kept carefully wrapped in cotton, is a long, heavy, stone plug (manuterĕ) of hyaline or rose-colored quartz, the T-shaped end of which is stuck through the lower lip while the conical button hangs down (Fig. 2, a /see p. 18 /). Of the four specimens in the collection the largest is 17.5 centimeters long.

301 /11/ These lip stones, of which only a few have reached 439 European collections, are not made by the Karaya themselves, but are bartered from the Tapirapé, the Tupi people on the like- [135] named left tributary of the Araguaia. The mountain chains of the left riverbank, such as the Serra dos Cayapos, are rich in this material. A Kayapo stone plug acquired in S. Maria is shorter and runs out to a tapered, blunt end (Fig. 2, c /see p. 18 /).

304 Tattooing is limited to the tribal badge which both sexes 619 wear on their cheeks: a blue ring 10-15 millimeters in diameter (auϑamanurĕ) just under the lower edge of the orbit.

515 On the whole the Karaya are distinguished by scrupulous care of the body. They bathe several times a day. Their hair is 302 always carefully combed. All the hair on the face and body is [412] plucked out. Shears are now commonly used for hair cutting, [231] whereas formerly piranha teeth were used for this.

/29 cont./

833 2. (cont.)
sursum attrahit, manus natibus ejus supponens. /The Karaya have intercourse with women in the fashion of the native Australians. The man sits on the ground, feet extended, and takes the woman, lying arched backwards above him, his hands supporting her buttocks./ (Cf. Miclucho Maclay, Verhandl. d. berl. Ges. f. Anthr., 1880, p. 87.)

844 Birth. For this the woman kneels on her heels, clasping a post with her hands, while the husband grasps her from behind with strong pressure around her body. Once the child is born, the afterbirth is awaited patiently; then the navel cord is compressed and cut off about three inches from the body with a sharp taquara splint. The blood contained in it is carefully pressed [752] out, "in order to prevent tetanus /Starrkrampf/," and hot ashes and powder from pulverized piranha teeth are sprinkled on the surface of the wound as a styptic. Since no ligature is applied, it is not rare that the child bleeds to death. The newborn is daubed with urucú red, wrapped tightly in a broad strip of jangada 846 bast, and laid in a "rede" tied by strings (see p. 19). For three days both spouses stay on a strict diet. In order to make the uterus contract, the wife lies down on her back and has her abdomen pressed together for a couple of hours by her husband, who sits next to her, or other persons who relieve him. Some 854 months after birth the child receives the above-mentioned cotton bands.

852 At the age of six to seven years the girls' ear-lobes are ● 304 pierced; for boys, the lower lip as well. The whole community gathers for this. The child sits on a stool decorated with arara feathers in the middle of a large circle. One of the relatives pierces his ears with spines from the tucuma palm, the lower lip with a sharpened monkey-bone. During this the men stand around [533] and sing a song with the closing verse: idžohä hä haṅ, hä haṅ idžiohä, i.e., "now it has happened!"

/30/

852 The wound holes are kept open with cotton threads passed
304 through them and changed often. The patient must fast for one day and is permitted to take only liquid nourishment for some time. The whole post-operative treatment is handled by an older woman experienced at it.

852 From now on the boys wear the T-shaped lip ornaments
301 of mother-of-pearl, not until later the piuva wood plugs. On
291 this occasion the bast apron of the women is put on the girls.

With the onset of puberty the young people of both sexes
881 receive the tribal tattooing amid similar ceremonies. The out-
304 line of a circle is marked on both cheeks with a stamp made
[824] out of a piece of gourd (tešiä). Then the place is cut out with
[952] a small sharp stone, and cotton lint is put in the wound. After stopping the bleeding, genipa juice rubbed in causes the blue color of the scar.

881 The first appearance of the period is not celebrated with special ceremonies. The menstruating woman is considered unclean and must live apart from the others during this time. She is not permitted to bathe, but is washed by other women from a gourd bowl especially intended for this purpose.

857 Games and dancing. At an early age the children imitate the activities of adults. The boys practice archery and fishing; the girls give their mothers a hand in the household as soon as
524 possible. The clay figures have already been mentioned as children's toys. There are also small tops (kotauä, Fig. 15 /see p. 61/), canoes and oars, cooking dishes, etc. represented in the collection.

Games popular with the adults as well are the feather ball made of corncobs with ring-shaped inset, and furthermore the "game of cats cradle" /cited in English/ common in North America, as is well known, and recently described by Boas for the Eskimo. Strings drawn from hand to hand through the fingers represent certain animal figures by changing their arrangement. /Fig. 15 appears here./

/32 cont./

754 Since every sickness is considered the work of hostile sorcerers
755 or demons, they rely more on the counter magic of their own "medicine man" who removes the poison by sucking on the ailing part of the body or scares off the evil spirits by means of the magic rattle.

757 One of the most popular medicines of the Karaya is the resin of the almecega (Hedwigia balsamifera), which, stirred in with coconut oil, is used as a smelling essence for headaches and externally for abdominal pain (andžiura).

752 The savages have more knowledge of surgery. They know how to let blood out of the forehead vein, to stop bleeding by applying a tourniquet to the wounded limb, quite rationally sprinkle powdered charcoal on wounds, put splints on broken limbs, and develop great skill in removing thorns with sharp fish-teeth.

757 The custom of emptying the stomach in the morning by artificially induced vomiting, known in North America and Ecuador, is also found here. It is done with charred pieces of taquara (idžiua), which are introduced into the throat until the effect is achieved.

304 824 737 757 The most important medical instrument is the scarification apparatus (i-šaura). It consists of a little triangular or rectangular piece of gourd, one surface of which is weighted with a layer of wax or resin one centimeter thick, while the other bears a row of small sharp fish-teeth (Fig. 17).

Fig. 17. Scarification instrument (1/2).

304 757 These scarifiers are stored in pairs, the convex scratching surface of the one resting on the concave one of the other. The small teeth are protected by stuffing cotton between them.

/33/

304 757 While the patient convulsively clasps a pole, the points are pressed deep into the skin of the ailing part of his body, and it is scratched open in various directions with quick movements. The blood is scraped off with strips of palm leaves, the wounds rubbed with sand in the bath. It is said to be not uncommon that pulverized pepper is applied to increase drainage.

Even when there is no special suffering, such blood-lettings are done from time to time on legs and arms, "in order to strengthen muscle power."

753 171 The belief common to all primitive peoples that sickness, as well as death, is something highly unnatural and comes about only through the influence of hostile powers, which the witch doctor alone knows how to ban, prevails among the tribes of South America in such a completely similar manner that everything known about it from one people also holds without additions [114] for the others. One need only refer to the lucid, exhaustive presentation by Im Thurn (1), to which there is hardly anything to add.

1. Im Thurn, op. cit., p. 328 ff.

756 Among the Karaya the rank of witch doctor (kahotebädõ, according to Spinola hori), of which every village possesses several, does not belong to a closed caste any more than it does among the Xingu tribes.

Anyone who is willing to undergo the required mortifications can become a sorcerer. Nervous individuals, epileptics, etc. are, of course, especially suited for it. Even women can attain this office.

789 791 We had no opportunity to observe the medicine man treating the sick, but did observe him in his no less important activity [206] as rain conjurer. He stepped ceremoniously in front of the hut, holding a tobacco pipe in one hand, in the other a long switch with thornback spines stuck on the tip. His face turned toward the heavens, he uttered inarticulate sounds in a loud voice, again and again blew smoke towards the clouds, then mumbled, swinging his staff around his head, incomprehensible words

/48 cont./

172 present petroglyphs inasmuch as the rock drawings are completely lacking precisely at the cataracts of the Araguaia; rather, Martirios Island lies in an absolutely clear and quiet stretch. Nevertheless, it is a most important place for the Karaya. It [131] forms the northern boundary of their territory and it is here that [648] the hordes of the Kayapo hostile to them frequently come to the river. Many a battle may have taken place in this region between the two nations.

The interpretation of the rock sculptures as memorials or border markers, to which perhaps family insignia of prominent leaders have been added, seems to be the most acceptable according to the prevailing conditions. /The remainder of p. 48 and pp. 49-77 are not translated./

/78

Explanation of the Plates[1]

192 Pl. I. Karaya. Men and Women (of the fourth village of the Šambioa).

291
302

1. Warriors. The man on the left /sic/ with parted hair, [296] the tobacco pipe (Fig. 4 /see p. 28/) in his mouth, holding his [411] weapons in his hand. The one on the right /sic/ shows the hair [301] put in a braid with the feather decoration ušiktamaru (see p. 16) and the national wrapping of the foreskin (see p. 17).

2. Woman and girl with the bast aprons, whose front end is drawn to the rear since both individuals have just got up from [285] the ground (see p. 17). One of the large buriti-fiber mats mentioned on pp. 38 and 39 forms the background for both groups.

Pl. II. Karaya. Men (of the fourth of the village of the Šambioa).

[301] 1 a and b. Portrait of a young Šambioa man with ear [304] sticks and wooden lip-plug, widely parted hair, and clearly recognizable tribal tattooing on the cheeks.

[1] [Plates appear on pp. 103-115--Analyst]

Plate II

142
291
301
302
[304]

1a

1b

[411]

2

Plate 14

142
302
304

Facial expressions of Chief Ilk.

/Pl. 14 faces p. 64. /

Plate 16

142
291
301
302
516
304

Painted Karajá maiden.

/Pl. 16 faces p. 72./

/209 cont./

302 beginning of the dry season; the statements of the Indians about it varied. There were also boys with close-cropped hair who had no wreath of hair. Perhaps the explanation is that the first time (or the first times) the head is shorn quite smooth, while with the last cutting the wreath of hair is left standing. During this time almost all the boys are painted completely black. From [304] then on they let the hair grow until it reaches down to the eyes in front and to the shoulders in back; then the boys are declared grown-up and are given the tribal tattooing. Youths cut off the front hair over the eyebrows; the side and back hair reaches down about halfway to the shoulder blades. The wreath of hair, however, is still kept under the long hair. They, too, like the maidens, wear the red-colored /210/ parting (lãwõlũ, lãũlũ) and the crown tuft (lãzĩ) (Pl. 43, Ill. 1; Pl. 44, Ill. 1).

Ill. 37.
Boy with stepped hair.

The long dangling hair, annoying while rowing, fishing, and walking through the forest, is tied together in various ways. Either the side hair is knotted over the forehead on either side, or /Ill. 38 appears here/ it is tied together with bast into a little braid over the forehead (hõsĩdodãnã). The back hair is often tied together in the back into a tuft in which clusters of [237] feathers are sometimes knotted (Ill. 38). Such a cluster of feathers (wãsĩwãsĩdẽlõhĩ) consists of seven little sticks with red feathers, which are fastened as a tassel to a twisted cotton string and from which long colorful parrot feathers hang down at the bottom (Pl. 45, Ill. 2). Usually, however, it is twisted into a braid (lãõdũã), which is either plaited round with narrow yellow bast (Pl. 15, Ills. 1 and 2) or wrapped from top to bottom in a thick red cotton string (Pl. 15, Ill. 4 a, b). This cotton string (lãõdũẽzõ) consists of two separate strings, each of which has a tassel at the end; these tassels hang out from the wrapping at the upper end of the braid. With this type of hair style, which is not, as Ehrenreich assumes, restricted merely to dandies, but is now worn quite generally by the young people, the hair wreath shows very nicely.

/217 cont./

302 In general, either only the upper face or merely the lower face is decorated, and a combination of both decorations occurs only occasionally (see Ill. 50).

304 [239] d) Tattooing. For scarifying the skin, the scarifier (lǎdji) is used, a piece of gourd shell into which, close to the upper edge, a row of small fish-teeth (kŭlǎdjŭ, allegedly dogfish) is set, which is held in place in back by a narrow pad of wax (Ill. 51). This specimen corresponds to one brought back by Ehrenreich (Berlin 3953c), whereas in the case of his other two, the entire back side is covered with a thick layer of wax; I never saw scarifiers of this type among the Karajá, but certainly among the Šavajé (see

302

Ill. 49 a-d.
Chin painting.

304 there /see p. 315/). The skin on the arms and thighs is scratched with these scarifiers; I was unfortunately never able to observe the process itself (in this connection see Ehrenreich, "Beiträge," p. 33).

I saw decorative scars only once, namely, on my rower Antonio. They consisted of several ridges running across the chest. These incisions are made with the tooth of the dogfish (cachorra) and rubbed with soot and water, so that they remain visible for a long time. The operation must be done early in the morning by a single man; other onlookers, above all women, may not be present. The wounds are said to heal well, but /218/ a great deal of blood is said to flow in the process. The number of incisions is indefinite. The bearer of such an incision is called wōlì (1).

[191] 1. Cunha Mattos reports on this same custom

/218 cont./

●304 [191]

1. (cont.)
from among the Cherentes (Rev. trim. 38, p. 23), although he does not give full credence to his informant.

[307]

Ill. 50.
Full facial painting.

Ill. 51.
Scarifier.

Ill. 52.
a) Tattooing stamp with cross-section and circular surface in natural size.
b) Tattooing knife of stone, natural size.

[554] Concerning such decorative scars Kurisí told me that only a person who had killed an enemy was permitted to have such incisions made across the chest and back.

Tattooing. We distinguish between two types of tattooing: tribal and chief's tattooing.

/218 cont./

304 [619] The tribal tattooing, which is characteristic of both sexes, consists of two small blue-black circles about 1.2 centimeters in diameter on /Ills. 50-52 appear here/ the cheeks below the eyes (Pl. 14; 16). As the name for this there was given: ŏděmăḷūḷi, ŏděmăḷiḷu, ŏdemăriṅi. The tattooing is executed in the following manner: With a /219/ stamp (wăliŏnă = tobacco pipe) made of aruera wood (kūwăŏ) the circular line is pressed into the cheek with a slight turn of the sharp, circular edge of the stamp (Ill. 52a), so that it remains visible for a long time (1).

1. Ehrenreich brought back a stamp made of the stem of a bottle gourd (teśiä, Berlin 3913).

Ill. 53.
Chief's tattooing. a) man. b) woman.

Any splinter of a smashed flint stone, which is newly made each time, serves as a knife. It is not further worked, but rather one simply selects a pointed, sharp splinter (Ill. 52b shows four such stone splinters smashed by the Indians and said to be suitable). With these stone knives (mănādjŭ = stone tooth), the circle is now cut out about two millimeters wide, the wound washed out with a wet cotton cloth, and then genipa juice is rubbed in, which soon takes on a blue-black coloring. Allegedly the wound is supposed to heal in two days without festering, but in the case of Mauzí, on whom the tattooing had been cut only recently, I noticed that the upper edges of the circle were slightly swollen. When the tattooing is still new, it is deep, has sharp edges, and has a very dark color. With age it forms a scar, gradually becomes entirely flat, and the color disappears. In a village of the north horde I also observed a man with red-colored tattooing.

[881] The tattooing is incised with the onset of puberty, namely, between the ages of 12 and 14. I occasionally, however, found

/219 cont./

304 the two circles drawn with black color on small children. In
881 the case of boys, the time is determined according to when, after the last cropping, the hair reaches down to the tip of the nose in front and to the shoulders in back.

304 The tattooing is done by special persons who own stamps
463 and stone knives and are called wairădŭ. There was only one such person in the south horde (in Village 6), whereas in the north horde there were several (for example, Ilk in Village 13). They are paid for this operation. No ceremonies of any kind are said to take place, and the children are not always tattooed together, but also singly on occasion, whenever one happens to be able to get hold of the master.

304 The chief's tattooing, which is characteristic of chiefs
[622] and their wives, consists of vertical black strokes between the lower lip and the lower edge of the face, which are arranged side by side in one or sometimes also in two lines, one above the other (Ill. 53 a, b). According to Kurišĭ, this tattooing is supposed to be peculiar to women. Even girls are said to have such lines of blue dots on the chin, which is supposed to be regarded as very beautiful. I never observed this last phenomenon, however.

515 /220/ e) Body care. The Indians bathe a great deal; usu-
ally ~~they~~ take a bath early in the morning, and even during the day they plunge into the water whenever they feel like it, in most cases probably to cool off by means of the subsequent evaporation of the water in drying.

515 Two plant products serve as soap in washing; first, a
824 bark (ŭăbăkă = sabão do matto), from which one scrapes off a
388 little, /Ills. 54-57 appear here/, rubs this in water, and washes himself with the lather thus produced; then there is a tree bast (doŭ) which is also used as soap for cleansing.

302 The rubbing of the body, the arms, and especially the
824 hair with the fragrant resin (ăndīlă) of the almecegeira (Hedwigia balsamifera), which is ordinarily stored in gourds, is very popular.

/220 cont./

*301

a b

Ill. 54 a, b.
Bone lip-plugs.

a b c d e

Ill. 55 a-e.
Shell lip-plugs.

a b c

Ill. 56 a-c.
Shell lip-plugs.

Ill. 57.
Spirally wound
wooden lip-plug.

B. Different Ornamentation According to Sex and Age
(Distinguishing Ornamentation)

a) Lip ornaments. Such ornaments are worn only by
•304 the male sex (1). The hole necessary for receiving the

1. According to Kuriš, women are also supposed to pierce a hole in the lower lip; he himself admitted, however, that he had never seen this, and I, too, never observed this phenomenon.

/220 cont./ The hole necessary for receiving the
304 ornament /221/ (ĭdjã̄rũlã̄nŏ) is pierced in the center of the lower
[852] lip at the age of about six or seven years. This operation is per-
[237] formed with a piece of bone from the howling monkey (ãzõdĭ =
[463] howling-monkey bone) and by special men, of whom there was only one in the south horde, in Village No. 7. Special ceremonies are not supposed to take place in connection with it, but the piercing seems to take place on the occasion of certain festivities.

*301 In this hole, plugs of bone, shell, wood, or stone are worn. They are regarded as the insignia of the male sex and are never removed, since, as a result of their narrow base, they are no hindrance in eating. Only a few old men sometimes had no lip plug. In barter, a few gave them up without further ado, others hesitated a bit at first and were embarrassed when they no longer had a plug stuck in the hole; generally they immediately made themselves a new one or inserted a reserve plug. The plugs are stuck through the hole from the inside and drawn out again in the same manner.

Ill. 58 a-c.
Wooden lip-plugs of the youths.

Ill. 59 a, b.
Wooden lip-plugs of older bachelors.

The lip plugs are made of different material and in different forms, according to age.

[237] The smallest boys wear plugs made from the bone of the howling monkey. These are about four to eleven centimeters long,

/224 cont./

*301 [304] [602] b) Ear ornaments. The hole serving to receive the ornament is made in the ear lobe, close to the inner edge; it is pierced soon after birth by the mother or a relative (uncle) with a monkey bone or tucum splinter.

Ornaments which differ according to age levels are worn in this hole by both sexes; they are not constantly worn, however, but are put on only occasionally, according to mood.

Children of both sexes, above all the smallest ones, wear the ear ornament called kūädjū (= capybara tooth). A tulip of [237] colorful parrot feathers is fastened to a short, thin palm-wood stem with wax and a wrapping of cotton thread, and in its calyx-bottom there is a mother-of-pearl disk, generally 2.2 centimeters in diameter. From the center of this there rises a rodent tooth (capybara = kū(w)ǎ; according to Ehrenreich, agouti), which is usually wound round with a black cotton thread (Ill. 63).

The specimens that I brought back show certain differences. The tulip usually consists of yellow-red parrot feathers; the disk is sometimes also surrounded by an inner wreath of small, clipped red feathers. The mother-of-pearl disk sometimes bears one or more concentric wax rings. One specimen has a wax disk in place of the mother-of-pearl disk, and in the case of five others the disk is lacking entirely; the tooth rises directly out of the calyx and in one specimen is wound on its lower part with raw white cotton. Four specimens of the collection have small pendant feathers which hang down from the stick on thin string (1).

1. Ehrenreich, in addition to similar specimens, brought back another on which the disk bears a cross of black string. Perhaps it comes from the Šambioá; see the next footnote /see p. 118 /.

This ornament was worn mostly by babies and children from two to three years old, and, to be sure, constantly; among bigger children it was encountered only sporadically (Pl. 18, [435] left). It is a very precious ornament. The capybara is difficult to hunt because of its timid nature, hence the rodent teeth are

/328 cont./

881 With the onset of puberty both sexes have the tribal rings
[304] cut on their cheeks; apparently no further ceremonies take place
561 in connection with this. From then on the maidens wear the
301 complete costume of the women, and the cotton pendant orna-
ment is given the red color instead of the black, which was proper
561 for children. The youths live by themselves; where there is a
591 mask house, they spend the day in it and sleep there at night or
beside a fire in its vicinity. Where there is none, they sleep
beside a fire away from the village. In small settlements with
one or two houses, they, too, live in the house.

855 Parents love their children very much. It is touching to
observe with what tenderness they cling to them, and how, far
from them, they are constantly with them in their thoughts.
When Pedro received the (false) message that his children had
died, he scarcely spoke for hours and even after that he was
noticeably more silent than he had been otherwise. The mothers
play with their small children; I even observed the kissing of
855 children. All conceivable ornamentation is put on the little
301 ones; the older the children become, the less ornamentation is
put on, until, finally, married persons give it up almost entirely.
One woman about 50 years old laughed at her own vanity when she
put chains of beads which I had given to her grandchild around
her own neck and looked down on them with pleasure. This
mania /329/ for adorning children goes so far that they hang
around their necks large pieces of broken colorful porcelain
[842] plates, without being aware of the danger (1). "Boys mean more

1. This custom is already reported for the Šambioá by Rufino in the year 1846 (Rev. trim. X, p. 196).

to the father, the mother would rather have girls" (Kuriší). The
861 father teaches the son, the mother the daughter. Contrary to
other reports, I was assured that beating as a punishment also
occurs. Otherwise I observed only the denial of food as a means
of punishment (in Village 17, because the boy in question did not
go fishing, but loitered around me in the camp).

/336 cont./

164 I saw an umbilical hernia only once, in the case of a boy.

757 I did not learn anything about bloodletting, which Ehrenreich reports.

•304 Scarification is very common; almost all Indians bear the scratch scars from it on upper arms and thighs. I was unable to observe anything about the procedure, which Ehrenreich ("Beiträge," p. 33) describes. Concerning the apparatus used for this, see above, page 109, Ill. 51.

[752] ← 164

Of illnesses for which the cure is not known to me, I saw a blind girl, a man blind in one eye, and a boy with dropsy, as well as a man whose legs were atrophied up to his knees and who was able to move forward only by crawling on hands and knees.

757 Ehrenreich reports ("Beiträge," page 32) that in the morning they induce vomiting by inserting a charred taquara rod

Ill. 187.
Bone for cauterizing wounds.

into their throats, in order to empty the stomach in this way. He even brought back such sticks (Berlin 3964). I never observed [846] this custom, but, as related above, simply heard that husbands induce vomiting artificially during the couvade (see page 273).

128 In the following I shall discuss the other illnesses, insofar as I obtained information about them; I shall stress in particular observed cases of illness.

752 In case of snake bite the affected limb is tied up and some pounded dōăhĭ root is put on it.

757 There are very many remedies for indigestion and intestinal 824 disorders. For indigestion three different roots are used. Either one pounds the mōnă root (in Brazilian allegedly muriziĩ), mix

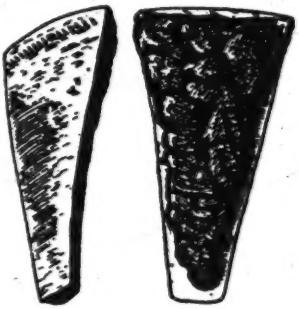
/355 cont./

292 Karajá, the Šavajé are supposed to make such coverings, whereas the coverings with a wide, black center stripe come, not from the Šavajé, but from the Tapirapé.

184 Even the smallest girls already wore firmly plaited, black [301] belts which correspond to those of the Karajá. I did not see anywhere the loosely plaited string belts (Karajá, Ills. 30 and 31). [291] Adult women wore the bast apron, called hăbĭŏdă here, made mostly out of white and only rarely of reddish bast.

303 The hair style does not show anything that is foreign to the 184 Karajá. The combs are plaited by the men in the same manner [302] as among the Karajá. Forms and designs correspond to the others; the decorating by means of feather clusters or bundles of cotton is rare, however. [304] The side cross-threads are also often absent.

302 Body painting is identical with that of the Karajá. 184 As oil, coconut oil is used; as color, chiefly urucú, which, with the seeds removed, is stored in huge hollow gourds.



Ill. 189 a, b.
Scarifier (b = back side).

301

Ill. 190.
Ear rod.

304 Scarification is also customary among the Šavajé. The instrument for it (lālēdjŭ; Ill. 189), however, is covered with a thin coating of wax on the entire back side (cf. Ehrenreich's specimens, Berlin 3953 a b, from the Karajá).

515 As for body care, it should be remarked that the Šavajé go to bathe in the lake every morning at sunrise, even when there is heavy fog over the water and it is very cold. They then warm and dry themselves at the hearth fire in the hut.

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

302 crown, leaving it two inches long and standing erect, pompa-
[437] dour fashion; while the back hair is braided neatly in a single braid, with a bunch of brilliant feathers fastened at the point, or it may be folded up in three or four folds and tied at the base of the head with a cotton string, to which is secured a bunch of long, bright feathers.

301 The ears of both sexes are pierced in infancy, and they
304 wear in them a reed six or eight inches in length and as large as a lead pencil, the greater length of which protudes toward the front and terminates in a bit of shell set in a rosette of crimson feathers.

304 The males, and they only, have the lower lip bored. This is done in childhood, and is probably the initiation ceremony into the rights of citizenship or membership in the tribe, just as a civilian is initiated into a lodge, or a child of Roman Catholic parents ceases to be a "pagan" and becomes a "christian" by reason of the baptismal ceremony. A plug,
301 or spíle of piuva wood is inserted into this opening in the lip, which is made larger and larger as the individual grows, until it will admit the thumb. The elderly men who have ceased to care much for display, usually wear nothing in the lip but a plug, cut off short; but the "smart" young men wear an ornament some eight inches in length, flattened like a blade just below the lip. The small boys wear a flat piece of shell an inch or two long, and in the form of a T, the cross-bar of the T holding the ornament in position. A much prized lip ornament, which is worn only on festal occasions, and at other times kept wrapped in cotton and securely laid away, is a long, heavy piece of rose-colored quartz. The lip end of this also is T, or dagger-shaped, so that it may not fall out. It is seven inches in length, and conical at the lower
[439] end. The Karayá do not make these, but get them in trade from the Tupý. This ornament is, of course, very heavy, and one wonders how it is possible to wear it; for even the lightest of these lip ornaments cause the lip to hang down in a very ugly fashion. To drink when the plug is out, the opening must be closed with the fingers.

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

Brazil.

Both sexes have a blue ring tattooed under the eye, forming a deep ugly scar, which is the special distinguishing mark of the tribe. 304 619

The Karayá take good care of the body, bathing many times each day—though this is more to cool and refresh themselves, and for sport—keep the hair well combed, and pull out the sparse beard. They formerly used the teeth of the piránha fish as a kind of saw with which to cut the hair, but they now have scissors. 515 302 412 237

As already stated, the men wear no clothing, or covering whatever. The sash, or apron, worn by the women, is made of the inner bark of the jangáda tree. It is prepared for use by first soaking it a day or two in water, then pounding it with flat stones, and finally drying it. When the wearer of this primitive apron sits, she passes it back between the limbs and sits upon it. Besides this costume, both sexes wear various armlets, wristlets and leglets, as ornaments, which are peculiar to each division of the tribe. Soon after birth, the child's wrists and legs below the knees, are adorned with broad bands made by weaving together cotton cordage on the limbs themselves; while a black cotton band girts the body as a bandage. When the infant is a few months old, these articles are removed, and broad cotton wristlets, leglets and anklets are woven on the limbs, a tassel of cotton cords being attached to the leglets. The boys wear the leglets, or garterlets, until the lip is pierced, while the girls wear them until married. The wristlets worn by adults, cover nearly the whole forearm. They are not put aside until after marriage, and many females wear them until the first child is born. When one of the couple dies, the survivor puts the wristlets on again. This custom has come down from the ancients. As the wristlets and leglets are usually woven on the limbs themselves, they cannot be removed without being cut off. For this reason, they are never removed, nor washed until finally thrown aside. But I found the Karayá quite ready to cut these articles off and give them to me in exchange for some articles I had which took their fancy. 291 [287] 301 [184] [283] [286] [437] [439]

/7 cont./

36 Their northernmost settlement near S. Maria was attacked and
[648] completely destroyed in 1881 by the Kayapo of the left bank.
Since then they have not ventured far beyond the northernmost tip
of Bananal Island with their settlements. Their farthest excursions
go below S. Maria to the rapids of Joncon (i.e., it is at an end).

439 They perform important services for the traffic on the river by
felling wood for the steamers. As payment they receive axes and
knives, which they on their part trade to other tribes, such as the
177 Yavahẽ and Tapirapé. Understandably, when steamboat transportation was established, care was taken from the first to stay on good
terms with the savages. The merit for introducing this excellent
relationship and maintaining it for 20 years belongs to the courageous
commander of the steamer, Sebastião de Freitas, who served so
well in exploring the Araguaia. It is thanks to his unselfish, kind
work that perhaps /8/ nowhere else in Brazil are the relations between the native population and the settlers so good as here.

To be sure, for the Karayahi the contact with "civilization"
[184] has not been without consequences. In comparison with the independent Šambioa, a certain lack of order and cleanliness in
their villages and less care and taste in their artifacts are noticeable.
On the other hand, a wealth of most interesting ethnological ob-
[126] jects are still present among them. The most important pieces in
the collection were acquired from them.

● 311 Their material position cannot be described as especially favorable. The lower riverbanks of their region are so exposed to floods
that they can practice agriculture only to a limited extent. They
[648] venture onto the higher left bank only temporarily, out of fear of
their worst enemies, the Akuã and Kayapo.

131 The third large Karaya horde is that of the Šambioa, about
[101] whom Castelnau brought back the first more detailed reports.
[361] They possess four rather large villages between the Pau d'arco rapids
[224] and the great Cachoeira de S. Miguel. Their hunting expeditions,
however, extend beyond the Cachoeira grande, in former times up
to the region of the Apinagẽs, near the present São Vincente, from
[172] where increasing settlement has scared them away. The rock
sculptures of the so-called Martirios Island between the Carreira

/242 cont./

24 [821] The time for laying out the planting is approximately September to October; it is called bōlăhŭă (1). It is regulated by

1. = Southern Cross?

the Pleiades (bōlŏbĕdŏ = parakeets): if it is low, manioc is planted; if it is somewhat higher, maize is planted. Cotton, batatas, and urucú are not planted until much rain falls, in other words, about November and December. These statements of the Indians coincide with the fact that I often found them absent from the village in October; they were sometimes days distant, in order to lay out the planting. Tall columns of smoke indicated in which direction they were doing this. The planting is usually laid out at a great distance from the village, on flood-safe high banks. As far as possible, the Indians ride there in a boat, but then they often still have long land marches to overcome before [311] they reach the planting. Recently they have begun laying out their plantings in the interior of Bananal Island, because the [361] harvests are supposed to be very good there. One chief, Korumaré, has already moved permanently to the inland river of Bananal. On the ninth of October I did not meet Chief Fotuna in his village; he had traveled two days inland to Bananal in order to prepare a new planting there. Apparently other villages were also considering the plan to betake themselves into the interior of Bananal later on.

The plantings are laid out by the married men, but the male youth seems to help. The underbrush is cut down; the tall forest [412] trees are stripped of their branches and then felled, which was formerly done with stone axes, but is now done with iron axes. [313] Larger timber is brought to the village as firewood, /243/ and the rest is burned as soon as it is dry. Then, between the fallen trees, small, low round beds are laid out, in which are planted three manioc stalks, set in a triangle with their twigs interlaced at the top (Ill. 12). For digging, heaping up the beds, and cutting in the holes for the plants a spade-like implement (mãŭlĕ or ĭdjŏlŏ) is used. It consists of a thick stick that is pointed at one end and at the other runs out into a shovel (Ill. 83). The shovel serves to lift

/281 cont./

412 Brazilian inhabitants, to be noted. This shows us how tenaciously
178 the Karajá cling to their nationality, in spite of long association with their civilized neighbors.

311 C. The exploitation of the natural kingdom varies in intensity; the mineral kingdom is exploited least, the vegetable kingdom, which can, of course offer the Indian the most abundant resources, the most.

135 The mineral kingdom is as yet little utilized. Stones are rare in the alluvial valley of the Araguaya; at most there is small rubble on a few sandbanks; otherwise fine sand covers the river valley. On the steep vertical banks there is canga, a ferrous sandstone which cannot be utilized except perhaps in larger pieces which, with plaiting around them, serve as anchors for turtle tackle. Stones are found only north of the Tapirapé, and all of the few stone implements that were present came from there.

317 More frequently used is the gray clay which is embedded in
323 narrow layers in the sandstone of the high banks. It is used for pottery. This art, however, in its technique and form, is still very primitive; ornamentation is entirely lacking. The vessels are shaped according to their practical use; they are made by
562 the women. Apparently the women are more practical and less artistically endowed than the men, for we find everywhere that the things made by the women are simple and practical, those by the men, by contrast, show pleasing forms and ornamentation.

317 Earths are also but little utilized as colors.

237 The animal kingdom is utilized somewhat more intensively for technical purposes by the Indians. Bones and teeth of mammals are worked into tools and ornaments; mussel shells serve as implements. The bird kingdom is most abundantly drawn upon: their brilliant feathers are used for magnificent ornaments such as
235 scarcely any other Indian tribe displays in this abundance. In order to have the material for this always at hand, the Indians keep young birds, taken from the nest, tamed in their huts in order to
237 pluck them from time to time. The wax of bees plays an important role as gluing material.

/358 cont./

301 Dance belts (wǎdǎkǎnǎ) of the male youth are not as elaborate as those of the Karajá, but are kept essentially simpler. One specimen is striped black and white lengthwise; on its lower edge, on a separate string, hang two bunches of Thevetia fruits and one to three feather rods, alternately. The other one, coming from Schischá, in addition to the lengthwise stripes, exhibits a cross-striping; on its lower edge, directly alternating, are fastened at each place two pairs of Thevetia fruits and one feather rod (Pl. 59, Ill. 12).

262 6. Food. The Šavajé, like the Karajá, live on the fish
136 that they catch and the yield from their plantings. The lake on which they live is extremely rich in fish, in spite of its shallow depth (0.75 to one meter); there were even pirarucús
311 in it. The planting lay far from the village, about six or seven hours away, on the edge of the rainy-season lake. It was growing extremely well and so thickly that one could scarcely follow the path in it. Close beside the new planting there was an older one.
482 Here and there filled back-baskets lay by the wayside, waiting to be picked up.

252 The manioc is pounded in a knee-high mortar (kōǒ) which
[912] has an approximately finger-thick wall, with a pestle (hāâù) of reddish wood 1.6 meters long and 0.10 meters thick, or it is rubbed on a wooden grater (wōlānǎkiǎ), /359/ picked over on the rod-sieve (brēdjě), and pressed in it. Then this meal is
262 mixed with water and cooked. Such manioc mush (iūālǔ) also constitutes the chief food of the Šavajé. In addition, I also saw yellow mush and green vegetables as festive foods.

226 Fishing was done by the young people with bows and arrows. Early in the morning they would already go out on the
[123] lake and soon return with a good yield. I received my share of everything, even of the huge pirarucú which was caught on the second forenoon. The lucky fisherman took out the entrails of the animal and then cut out the sides of the belly, which were distributed by the chief and placed on different piles. Then the rib pieces of three ribs each were chopped out and likewise distributed. Every family received its share; I, too, was given some.

/362 cont./

312 Water was transported in long gourds (rŭkŭ) with short
415 hanging bands; the gourds were usually crudely decorated with
531 pyrography (Ill. 200).

184 9. The techniques are even more primitive than those of
[438] the Karajá; in fact, the Šavajé obtain their iron implements and all foreign wares only through barter with the Karajá. Hence, everything that was said about the latter also applies to the Šavajé.

412 I still found a few examples of stone axes [ūōmădū(ĕ)]; they were used as beaters in pounding soft the women's bast aprons on mortars turned upside down. The two specimens acquired by me are strong, wedge-shaped axes 14 and 20.5 centimeters long; on one, the cutting edge is considerably hollowed out, probably through use as a nutcracker (Ill. 201 a, b).

323 The pottery is as primitive as that of the Karajá. Here,
184 too, we find no decorated vessels. The two vessels acquired by me consist of red clay, are of the Karajá type, and represent a cooking pot (wădjĭwĭ) and a bowl (wădjĭwāŭdă). /363/ /Ills. 200-206 appear here./

283 /364/ Working with cotton. For picking cotton apart, a small, quite crudely worked bow is used (Pl. 61, Ill. 4). The spindles (āzōdāŏ, Pl. 61, Ill. 5) consist of round rods 32.5-49 centimeters long, with whorls of wax, unfired or fired clay, or bone. By far the most prevalent are wax whorls, which in part are clumsy disks, in part have sharp edges and taper conically
[323] at the top and bottom. The unfired or crudely fired whorls usually have a double-conical form with a sharp edge; only one specimen consists of a thick plate with a rounded edge. Fired clay whorls are disk-shaped and have two sharp edges and flat, conical elevations on both surfaces. Bone whorls consist of quite flat disks, as among the Karajá.

Balls of thread of white (ăzō) or black (āzōdĕbĕ) cotton are also customary among the Šavajé; some of them are kept tied up in a bast covering (Ill. 202).

[Text Continues on p. 330]

/242 cont./

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/251 cont./

252 The hearth lies outside the houses, usually in the shade of mat walls or near them. In the rainy season it is moved to the round structures of the houses. It is constructed in two ways: either three truncated cones, the tops of termite hills [ă(ũ)dŏ, kĕdŏ], are placed in a triangle in the sand, between which the fire is kindled (Plate 12, Ill. 1), or three broken pot bottoms (wăd̆jĩwĩũlẵ), which are set upended, are used instead. The large cooking pots are set on these supports. For roasting, low roasting hearths (kŏbĩũdŏ) of twigs are used: Four forked sticks are stuck into the ground in a square, two longitudinal sticks are laid between them and over these cross-sticks are laid. The fire, which is lighted underneath, gradually chars the sticks (Plate 61, Ill. 1, Šavajé; see also below, p.168). Roasting on a spit is also customary: a switch is cut from the bushes, tapered to a point, and, with several piranhas strung on it, is stuck obliquely into the sand so that the upper end with the fish is suspended over the fire. The fish are /252/ first roasted on one side, and later, by turning, also on the other side.

313 Dry wood is used for firewood (hã̃ã̃), as it is found in abundance everywhere on the sandbanks in trees washed ashore, as well as in the forest.

372 [824] Fire (hearth fire: hã̃ŏtĕ) is produced by twirling. Base and twirler may be of the same wood; usually ã̃ũtĕ (Brazilian sarã̃o, the root of a goyaba /guava/ species) is used, but ã̃ndõlõko (Brazilian mŭrĩzĩ) is also supposed to be usable (1). According to

1. The Brazilian names are given in the Indian pronunciation.

Ehrenreich (Berlin 3937), the drilling stick consists of taquara, the base of Bixa orellana. In the case of the /Ills. 87-89 appear here/ fire twirler reproduced in Ill. 87, the base shows three drilling holes; each hole is opened laterally by a notch so that air can enter. The twirler consists of a wooden rod, to the bottom of which is tied another stick of wood three centimeters long as the actual drilling piece. Tinder is not used; dry palm leaves serve for kindling the flame.

/5 cont./

*532 Then the next stage of production can begin. In the case of female figures the apron [287] is now tied on; a piece of tree bast is cut to the necessary length, and the inner layer is pulled off and made pliable by being pulled through the mouth several times. The way it is fastened as an [314] apron is shown on Fig. 24 /see p. 48 /. Then the hair is put on. Black resin is warmed on a block of wood, rolled out on a gourd or on the thigh into a long roll, and this is then pressed tightly on the head. A thick layer of resin is put on the back of the head. If the resin becomes hard too quickly, it is warmed up again with [386] the block of wood. Only now does the painting with black genipa and red urucú dye follow. A slender bamboo rod is dipped into the paint and drawn along the indented lines. Larger red areas of color are also put on with the index finger.

/6/ The adornment characteristic of the different sexes and ages is usually put on as well. Almost all figures are painted; I [302] do not know whether the patterns correspond to the patterns of body painting customary otherwise; in any case I never saw patterns of that kind on the bodies of the people themselves, though it must be remarked that I very seldom encountered patterning on the body at all.

Ear rods are represented here and there by fine rods (Figs. 17, 23 /see p.48 /); ear rosettes are made very small from feathers (Fig. 16 a and b /see p48 /). Long narrow strips of cane serve the men as lip plugs (Fig. 18 /see p.48 /).

Necklaces are either painted on (Fig. 19b /see p. 48 /) or reproduced by beads (Fig. 16 /see p. 48 /) or, in the majority of cases, by cotton threads, which either fit tightly (Figs. 18, 22 /see p. 48 /) or hang down (Fig. 21 /see p.48 /, Fig. 35 /see p.48 /).

Neck tassels for the children are formed in wax; they lie tightly against the back of the figures (Figs. 20, 21 /see p.48 /).

Cuffs are sometimes attached to the extensions of the wax hair-roll by attaching two fine rolls of wax, with the space between them painted red (Figs. 17, 18, 20, 21, 22, 35).

Arm tassels of string are shown in Fig. 22.

Calf bands are represented by two fine rolls of wax, with the space between them only rarely painted red (Figs. 18, 22, 23).

/8 cont./

*532 One might hesitate over the fact that breasts are then also made on male figures. It is true that this would be a fairly serious objection, fot it cannot be assumed without further ado that the Indians add body parts which after all are not present. If, however, they are interpreted on the male figures as arms, then logically this must also be done in the case of the female figures; for, again, it cannot be assumed that the Indians in the one case represent arms and in the other case breasts in the same way. But then one would wonder why the Indians did not attach the female breasts, which after all constitute such a striking feature, but instead put arms in this spot, and then on a large number of figures further added arms of wax. This assumption is surely to be rejected. Thus there remains only the view that on the female figures it is certainly a matter of breasts, and that analogously the protuberances on the male figures also represent them. If one then considers the whole schematic arrangement of the figures and takes into consideration the fact that for many Indian men the breasts were slightly convex, then it will no longer be surprising to find the transference of a female organ to male figures.

The hair, as described above, is formed by a roll which is laid around the face. The back of the head as far down as the shoulders, sometimes even the back as far down as the small of [3/4] the back, is covered with a layer of resin (Fig. 20 /see p. 48 /). On the sides the hair roll goes as far as the chin (Figs. 19, 28 /see pp. 48 & 49/, Fig. 30 /see p. 49 /), to under the arms and breasts (almost only on female figures [Figs. 24, 25 /see p. 48 /, Figs. 27, 32, 34 /see p.49 /]), or down to the hips (Figs. 17, 20, 21, 22, 26 /see p. 48 /, Figs. 33, 35 /see p.49 /). In the latter case a small topknot is usually made on top, from which an indented, red-dyed part comes down to the forehead (Fig. 17 /see p. 48/). The lower ends of the roll represent the arms; they often wear cuffs. On both of the other kinds the part and the topknot are seldom found. Male figures with a short coiffure sometimes have at the back /9/ braids made out of a roll of wax

/267 cont./

411 The arrows with the bone point set on them are used ex-
229 clusively for fishing. The bone point is set on in such a way
237 that its rear end projects laterally and thus forms a small barb.
[284] It is four to six centimeters long and is fastened to the wooden
[314] stem by a fine bast winding and a coating of black resin (Ill.
115). On my specimens this bone point is round throughout, whereas Ehrenreich brought back a second type of such arrow with a flat bone point (Berlin 4008) (1) and a third type with a tubular

1. I obtained arrows with flat bone points only from the Kayapó.

bone set on as a point (Berlin 4009). The stem in the case of these arrows is 40-50 centimeters long, sometimes natural color or painted red, but mostly painted black; the shaft has a length of 100-200 centimeters. The one reproduced in Ill. 117 was probably to be used as a point for an arrow with a monkey bone stuck on it (ūhĭdŏ, dūrŏlēnĭdĭ).

A single arrow bears, instead of the bone point, one made of a ray spine (Ill. 116); it comes from the village on the Tapirapé mouth.

411 The stem of the point has no other ornamentation than the
314 black or red painting. It is inserted in the shaft and made fast
[531] in it with resin. In order to detach it from the broken shaft and set it on a new one, the tube is warmed over the fire until the resin melts and the stem can be pulled out. The shaft end is cut to fit for the insertion of the stem, so that the transition into the stem is gradual. When the stem is set into the shaft, the latter often splits; the cracks are glued over with black resin.

411 A black, narrow strip of embira is wound over the place
284 of insertion; it is fastened to the shaft with light-colored resin.
[314] This winding (dŏdĕ) is done in different ways; it either covers stem and shaft in a continuous course, or, separated from the short attachment-winding, there is a longer shaft winding whose intermediate space is sometimes bridged by spirally wound or
[531] crossed winding. At this place one arrow will bear spiral incised ornamentation (ŭŏhūlădĭ, ĭlādĭ), another a black and yellow plaiting. A three-part attachment-winding is very rare (Ill. 118).

/267 cont./

411 The shaft (b'dõlẽ) consists of taquara cane. This cane
[824] seems to occur south of the Rio Tapirapé only in the region of the south horde. At the southern end of Bananal Island I came across a village that was on the move southward in order to obtain taquara for their arrows near Leopoldina. The shaft is 0.8-1.0 centimeters thick on the average; its length fluctuates, depending on the type of point (see above). I never saw shaft decorations.

411 The feathering, on the average, is 17-22 centimeters long.
237 Of all my arrows there are only two exceptions, one of which is 15 centimeters long, the other 31. The feathering is attached directly to the lower end of the shaft. Ehrenreich reports that the feathered end is often set into the shaft separately. His assump-
[114] tion that in this case the arrows had been repaired /268/ is confirmed by a specimen in my collection which was thus restored (Ill. 119a).

[284] Great care is used in the construction of the feathering. It consists of two feathers standing opposite each other, the upper tips of which are held fast by the notch-lashing, and the inner
● [314] vanes of which are clipped short. At the place where the quills are supposed to be fastened, the shaft is rubbed with resin; the halved quill ends are pressed on it, whereupon the vanes are set vertically to the shaft and /Ills. 118 and 119 appear here/ are given a turn (an eighth to a quarter of the circumference of the
[284] shaft) (Ill. 119b). Then the quill ends are tightly wound with
[283] black cotton thread (ãsõdẽbẽ), whereupon the outer vanes are cut to shape (Ill. 119c). In former times, the feathers were given the desired shape by singeing, but since the introduction of iron shears they are cut. Not until the feathering is finished is the point inserted.

A different kind of feathering (spiral winding through the two halved /269/ /Ill. 120 appears here/ /270/ feathers) is found in the case of a few children's arrows of the north horde (see "Children's Toys" /see p. 241/). It is not yet certain whether this is an old feathering that has now become lost to adults.

/281 cont./

824 Most of all, the Indian exploits the vegetable kingdom, and here he has also gone over to the cultivation of plants useful to him. He already has at his disposal, of course, many useful wild plants in the way of trees (leaf trees, palms), shrubs, varieties of cane, etc.

Almost all parts of the plants are utilized, in each case, of course, only certain ones: wood, bark, leaves, stem, bast, [241] blossom. Of plants whose fruits are used technically, the following are planted: /282/ gourds, cotton, urucũ. The gluing ma- [314] terials, with the exception of wax, are taken exclusively from plant resins.

324 412 In the following, the processing and utilization of the individual raw materials will be described.

D. Stones are used above all as stone axes. The material for them is chiefly granular diabase or diorite. Nothing is known about how they are made. At the present time they serve only as striking stones for the preparation of bark cloth and for cracking nuts. Apparently they all come from the Rio Tapirapé, as well as from the mountains north of it, and are perhaps not even made by the Karajá themselves, but acquired from the Tapirapé through trade. In shape, there are flat axes and axes with a shaft groove (Ills. 100-102). As a nutcracker I found a stone apparatus consisting of stone base and small hammer, which, in shape, is quite peculiarly suited for this. Through long use a smooth, round hollow was produced in the slightly convex striking surface of the hammer (Ill. 99). Such stones are said to come from the cachoeira /cataract/ near St. Maria. The small stone knives which are used for tattooing are made anew each time out of the flint rubble of the sandbanks by splitting the flint with a stone or iron ax and using the sharpest splinters without any further treatment (Ill. 52b). Nothing is known about the making of the long stone lip plugs (Ill. 62). Allegedly they are struck into shape with [439] stones. The Karajá do not make them themselves, but barter for them with the Tapirapé.

/299 cont./

237 284 [314] Fastening of the feathers to the underlayer. Down feathers are generally glued on, and, to be sure, with light resin. All other feathers are fastened differently according to the underlayer.

On rods. Long feathers are either stuck on with the quill on top of the wooden rod (feather wheels) or laid with the halved quill flat on the wooden rod, in which case quill and rod are joined at several places with fine bast (Ill. 154). Concerning arrow feathering, see above under "Weapons" /see pp. 183 ff./.

In order to fasten small little feathers, wide strips of cane are wound spirally with fine thread, whereby the small feathers are tied in in one direction (feather rod; Ill. 155a). Round rods are likewise spirally wound, and while doing so feathers are continuously bound in on all sides /300/ (rosette rod; Ill. 155b). The same principle is applied in the case of ear rosettes and ear tulips, except that there the winding is very tight and the feathers stand very close together; the latter are also spread out by means of the shell disk pressed on top of them; the same is true of the small rosettes which are knotted into the feather caps, except that here everything is done on the smallest scale.

In the fastening to threads, we must distinguish between the feathers standing vertically and the hanging /Ills. 154-156 appear here/ feathers. In order to fasten feathers standing vertically to a string, the quills are bent at the bottom around a thicker string and then the bent end and the quill are wound with a cotton thread. There are differences only in the manner of winding. Either each feather is fastened separately (as in the feather caps, Ill. 77), or one thread joins the feathers continuously in that it is either wound once around each feather or is tied around each feather /301/ (Ill. 156), or, finally, in that the thread is wrapped or tied continuously twice around each feather (Ill. 154).

Hanging feathers are fastened to the thread in the same way as the upright feathers; the mutual joining of the individual feathers is achieved throughout by a continuous thread that is wound around the feathers.

/304 cont./

386 [824] M. Coloring substances and adhesives. By way of coloring substances, besides urucú red (Bixa orellana) and genipap black (Genipa brasilensis), which are used essentially as body colors, only black and white occur as technical colors. The white earth (mǎnāŭlǎ = white stone) serves as white; it is pounded and used above all for painting the bow-wood winding. It is also used for making spinning whorls. Black loam (zŏŭblūlŭ) is used for black coloring. Embira is colored with it by heaping wet black loam over the bast and letting it lie this way for a night. Cotton is dipped in boiling water and then drawn through the loam standing nearby in a pot. This is repeated several times until the threads are sufficiently blackened. Cotton is colored red with urucú oil color only after the completion of the object concerned. Concerning the storing and the trade form of urucú red, see p. 100 and Ill. 40 /see p. 103/.

237 The universal adhesive substance is beeswax (tǎbōlǎ) that is stored in spherical form and is offered to passing travelers in bulk as material for boat calking. Jatobá resin (kūwǎŏ), a light, transparent, hard resin, is also used a great deal. From it the red, lacquer-like resin (dǎ͡umālĕ), such as is used to decorate the feathered end of the arrows, is made in the following manner: the resin is softened in a pot over the hearth fire, urucú color is poured in, the two are mixed, and the whole is allowed to stiffen. The black, lacquer-like resin (dŏwŏdālǎ), which serves the same purpose, seems to be made in a similar manner by adding black coloring. Both kinds are stored in large lumps which seldom have a definite shape. For fastening the mother-of-pearl eyes on the stools, the little down feathers on the bodies of children etc., a soft, yellow resin is used (kōōdĭ), which is stored in a piece of palm leaf folded together.

381 314

412 →

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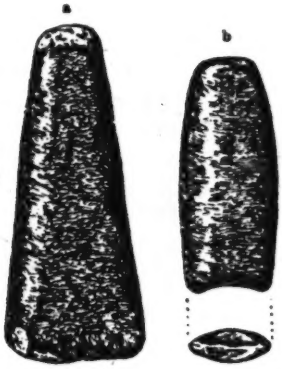
531 ←

Ill. 200.
Gourd for carrying water.

283 →



Ill. 201 a, b.
Stone ax.

Ill. 202.
Cotton ball in bast covering.

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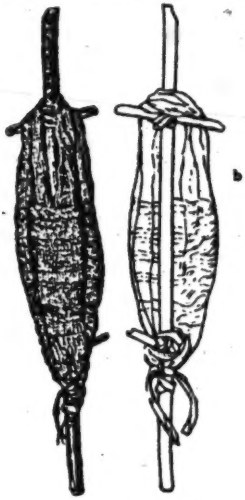

Ill. 203 a, b.
Plaiting apparatus for girls' belt.
b) = rear view.

Ill. 204.
Crochet needle.

Ill. 205.
Black resin.

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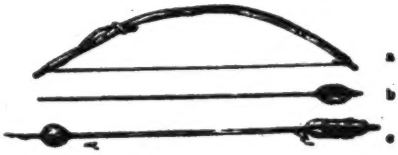


Ill. 206 a-c.
Child's bow with arrows.

/364 cont./

286 184 The making of the net coverings corresponds to that of the Karajá, and the apparatus is just as primitive as it is there. A small apparatus is used for plaiting the girls' belts: on a long stick, at some distance from either end, a short cross-stick is tied. Around these the warp is then wound (Ill. 203 a, b). The weft is intertwined by hand.

Here, too, crocheting is done with iron crochet needles [531] (dēšidūnă). The handle is only rarely decorated and then only simply wound with red cotton thread (Ill. 204).

386 314 184 Coloring and adhesive substances are identical with those of the Karajá. I obtained red dōmāle and black resin, zōbădāla, both in pieces 12-15.5 centimeters long, 5.5-6 centimeters wide, and 2 centimeters thick, and convex on one side (Ill. 205). These are pressed in rod sieves, the texture of which is sometimes still recognizable on the surface.

524 531

Ill. 207 a-d.
Toy dishes.
a, b) Bowls, c) painted vessel, d) its design.

237 Feathers, for storing, are either tied in small bundles or, as among the Karajá, arranged as wings.

524 10. As children's toys, I brought back: small bows and arrows, of which the bows are very crudely made, whereas the arrows either consist of the pointed shaft, on which, in front, a small /365/ nut with lateral hole is sometimes pushed (Ill. 206 a-c), or exhibit a round, inserted wooden point. The feathering is the ordinary bunch-feathering. I did not see any imitations of guns [531] here. As toy clay dishes I acquired two small bowls (wădjĭwĭlĭŏlĕ) and, in Schischá, a bowl and a vessel painted red on the outside, which is an imitation of a gourd spoon (207 a-d).

9:Gow-Smith T-5 (no date) 1925
SP9 Caraja SP9
Cayapo SP11

C Co 411 237 284 283 skilfully feathered at the end. The arrowheads are fastened to eighteen-inch foreshafts of hard-wood C 264 531 411 501 tipped with bone, fitted in three- to four-foot bamboo shafts and bound in place with the strong cord that the native women spin from wild cotton. The binding C Co 314 is firmly cemented with a kind of resin. Long needle-like arrows C Co 411 224 223 tipped with hard-wood are for shooting birds; the sharp bamboo tips curved hollowly are for deer and jaguars, for they permit the wounded animal

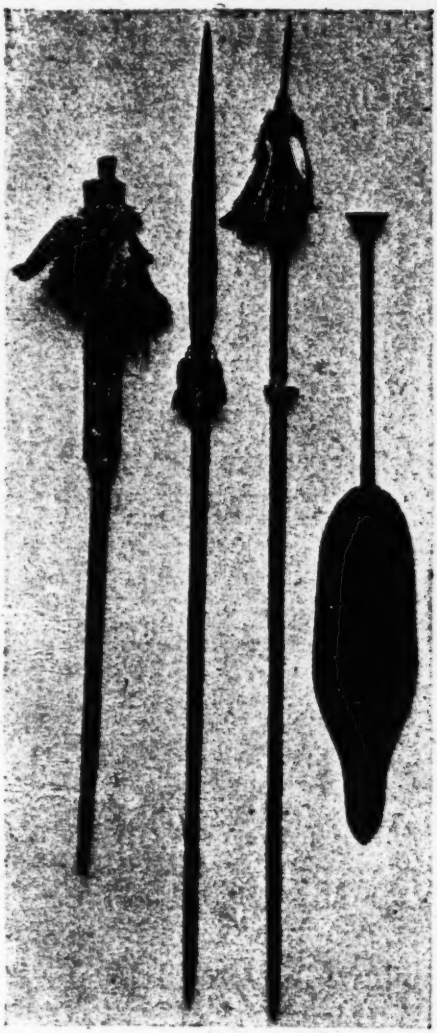


FIG. 98.—Caraja objects (grave-post, two spears, and a paddle)

/16 cont./

372 Naturally the Karaya try to maintain the fire as long as possible and make a new one only when necessary. On longer boat trips glowing pieces of wood are always taken along on a bed of sand.

252 Meat and fish are roasted on a spit over a hot fire or laid directly on glowing coals until the uppermost layer, or the skin, is completely charred. The ashy parts of the latter, in combination with the reserved juice, make the use of salt unnecessary to a certain degree. Only the Karayahi have begun to become [243] accustomed to European salt. Salty soils, such as are found [3n] in the campos at the so-called barreiros /clay pits/, as well as the ash of various woods, must serve as substitutes. Fish are probably also boiled.

Corn on the cob, aipim roots, sweet potatoes, and some palm fruits are likewise roasted over the fire.

The preparation of manioc is much more primitive than among the Xingu and Amazon tribes. The roots, provided with [412] deep cuts, are put in water for several days for maceration, then freed of the skins with knives or sharp shells, and pulverized on the grating board (ãranã), a biconvex board about three centimeters thick, with several rows of short buriti thorns in the middle (Pl. VIII /see p. 110/, 4).

The pulverized mass is pressed with the hands, probably [415] also with the aid of stones, to remove completely the poisonous juice, the largest part of which has already been taken out by the maceration, and then, washed and drained in peculiar little baskets (uãriri, see p. 41) plaited out of flexible cipos, dried in the air. By drying it in shallow pots one thus obtains the "water flour" (farinha d'agua) also generally widespread on the Amazon. Because of fermentation during the maceration, it has a slightly sour flavor, but can be kept much longer than the "farinha secca" /dry flour/ of trade, made out of the fresh root. This type of preparation, however, does not seem to be the original one practiced by them. More often, in accordance with an old national custom, the dried mass (puva, beerõ) is baked in large loaf-like lumps after several washings. Finally, small flat

/281 cont./

412 Brazilian inhabitants, to be noted. This shows us how tenaciously
178 the Karajá cling to their nationality, in spite of long association with their civilized neighbors.

311 C. The exploitation of the natural kingdom varies in intensity; the mineral kingdom is exploited least, the vegetable kingdom, which can, of course offer the Indian the most abundant resources, the most.

135 The mineral kingdom is as yet little utilized. Stones are rare in the alluvial valley of the Araguaya; at most there is small rubble on a few sandbanks; otherwise fine sand covers the river valley. On the steep vertical banks there is canga, a ferrous sandstone which cannot be utilized except perhaps in larger pieces which, with plaiting around them, serve as anchors for turtle tackle. Stones are found only north of the Tapirapé, and all of the few stone implements that were present came from there.

● 317 More frequently used is the gray clay which is embedded in
323 narrow layers in the sandstone of the high banks. It is used for pottery. This art, however, in its technique and form, is still very primitive; ornamentation is entirely lacking. The vessels are shaped according to their practical use; they are made by
562 the women. Apparently the women are more practical and less artistically endowed than the men, for we find everywhere that the things made by the women are simple and practical, those by the men, by contrast, show pleasing forms and ornamentation.

317 Earths are also but little utilized as colors.

237 The animal kingdom is utilized somewhat more intensively for technical purposes by the Indians. Bones and teeth of mammals are worked into tools and ornaments; mussel shells serve as implements. The bird kingdom is most abundantly drawn upon: their brilliant feathers are used for magnificent ornaments such as
235 scarcely any other Indian tribe displays in this abundance. In order to have the material for this always at hand, the Indians keep young birds, taken from the nest, tamed in their huts in order to
237 pluck them from time to time. The wax of bees plays an important role as gluing material.

/282 cont./

323 E. Earths, besides being used as colors (see under "Coloring
●317 Substances" /see p. 240 /), are used only for making pottery,
[462] which is practiced by the women. The material used is the grayish-white clay (z̆ōū) that occurs in strata on the steep banks and, in conical shape, is stored in piles in the villages. For use it is first pulverized very fine and then mixed with a number of additions. The most important addition is māŭz̆ī (Pl. 58, Ill. 1), a creation designated by the Brazilian-speaking Indians as the nest of the cupim d'agua, which is found in huge quantities as a covering of the roots and lower branches of the trees along the banks. One finds it piled up in great heaps near the villages. It is burned in the fire, then pounded, and, mixed with water, added to the pottery clay.

323 Another addition is obtained from the purple blossom (ādēnă)
[824] of a tree; the blossoms are burned and their ashes mixed in with the clay. This statement by Pedro seems to correspond to the custom of making the clay more resistant by means of the flinty content of the ashes of certain creepers, as reported by Ehrenreich from C. de Magalhães ("Beiträge," p. 19).

The shaping of the vessels is done in the following manner: The bottom is shaped out of a flat cake, on which a low edge is simultaneously worked out. A potter's wheel is absent; an old pot-bottom or most often a rod-sieve, the structure of which is imprinted in the soft clay, serves as a base (Pl. 58, Ill. 2). Smaller vessels are shaped on the hand. /283/ The potter then mixes the gray clay with water, twirls it between the palms of her hands into a roll, places this on her left lower-arm, and, with the right index finger, presses a longitudinal groove into it (Ill. 129). The roll is now placed with the groove on the edge of the bottom piece and is then pressed flat toward the top (Ill. 130). It is so arranged that the roll corresponds exactly to the circumference of the vessel. Roll is placed upon roll in this manner and then smeared together with the hand or even with a smoothing stone, until the vessel is finished.

/284 cont. /

415 very pronounced in the pottery in the villages from Leopoldina
177 to São José. These villages furnish the Brazilians with cooking
[439] and eating vessels, so that in São José and Leopoldina one finds
Indian vessels almost exclusively. They have already been
[531] adapted, however, to the taste of the Brazilians: the small eating
dishes have the typical bowl-shape and on the edge bear a decoration in red color (Ill. 96). The water-cooling vessels, too, which the Indians in the villages mentioned make for the Brazilians, show the purely Brazilian type and red decoration.
[386] The red designs are made with an earth color. The red earth
[317] for this (zūzé, zōŭbūlé) comes from the Barreira do Veado and is
taken along to São José and Schischá by the Indians of the north horde traveling south for arrow cane, in order to sell it to the Indians
[531] there. It is applied mixed with water. The true Indian vessels are undecorated.

172

Ill. 133.
Old clay-vessel.

I obtained in Schischá a most peculiar vessel, whose origin is unknown (Ill. 133). It is irregularly spotted dark red and black as a result of uneven firing; it is apparently made out of very crude clay and in a very primitive fashion. The two knobs on the edge, which are slightly hollowed out on top, are striking. The vessel was found several decades ago in the sand of a sandbank by Indians from Schischá on a journey downstream. The Indians themselves were unable to say where the vessel might come from.

415 I did not see anywhere the pot and bowl forms brought back by
114 Ehrenreich: shallow, round dishes (Berlin 3862), flat, round plates (3863 and 3864), flat, oval plates (3865), low elliptical double bowls with a dividing wall running lengthwise (3866), cylindrical pot with turned-down rim and bast hanging-band (3861), double conical pot with hanging band (3858), and clay spoons (3878).

Brazil.

252 Fish and game are sometimes prepared for eating by cooking in a clay pot; but the usual method is to impale the meat on a stake which is set up in the ground by the camp-fire and inclined over it; or else to place it upon glowing coals and allow it to remain there until the outside is burned to a [263] crisp. As a portion of this crisp part is naturally reduced to ashes, a saline substance is produced, which, mingling with the juice, flavors the meat. Various root foods, and also ears of corn, are prepared for eating by roasting over the fire.

317 Besides the ash salts just mentioned, the Karayá contrive [263] to extract a little sodium chloride from certain earth banks which contain a small percentage of this substance. It is only recently that they have begun to use salt obtained from the civilized world. Banks of saline earth are easy to locate as the wild beasts frequent these places to "lick." In the cattle-raising regions, a herdsman is much pleased to have one or more of these briny spots in his territory so that his cattle may thereby obtain salt.

184 "The poor tame brothers" of the Sambiõa, the Karayáhy [241] branch of the family, though they are supplied to a limited extent with axes and grubbing hoes, do very little planting. [231] Neither have they many domesticated creatures. Those they do have are largely birds of the parrot family, which they regard with affection, though their feathers are plucked to be used in ornament making.

/284 cont./

230 321 The utilization of the animal kingdom for technical purposes is likewise confined within narrow limits.

F. Bones have multiple uses when sharpened to a point. The thigh bones of the jaguar, tapered and sharpened, are used as spear points; the cutting surfaces and edges are carefully smoothed. Howling-monkey bones (ǎzōdĭ) find the most use as lip plugs, piercer for lip and ear holes, and points for the fish arrows. It is not known what kind of bones are used to make the small needles for sewing hats, which are round in front and bear a small eye in the flat end-piece (Ill. 140). All these /285/ bone tools are well polished. Unfortunately I could learn nothing about how they are made.

A piece of the breastplate of the tartaruga is made into flat spindle disks (Ill. 144a).

The hard palates of the pirarucú fish are used in their crude state as a grater, as well as the teeth for ornaments and tools. The incisors of the capybara are fastened as the supreme ornament on the mother-of-pearl disks of the ear rosettes of small children. These teeth are among the most valuable objects of [935] the Indians, for the timid animals are very difficult to hunt. They are kept in pairs of equal size, usually a pair of smaller ones and a pair of larger ones are placed one on top of the other, glued with wax, and wound with cotton threads (kūwǎ, Ill. 64). The tooth of the cutia is lashed to a wooden stem with cotton thread and, mounted in this way, serves for grooving the clubs (Ill. 122).

Shells are used in part in the crude state, in part worked. The most important kinds are (Pl. 45, Ill. 1 a-c): the triangular shell (bṵ̄ḷṵ̄), the mother-of-pearl shell (ŏẓīnŏhŏ), the two-pointed shell (dā̰ḷā̰, ĭdjē). Lip plugs are made from the fine two-pointed shell or the thick triangular shell, and from the latter in such a way that the freely projecting, arched end is removed from the thick, hinged part of the shell. Nothing is known about the manner of manufacture; the edges are well ground. Mother-of-pearl shells are ground on stone into small round disks for ear rosettes and stool eyes. Crude, rectangular pieces of shell with

/285 cont./

237 two holes in the center are sewed on the belt of the long string-
321 skirts of the girls (Ill. 69), as well as on the cylinder-bands of the dance masks. As spoons and scrapers they use mother-of-pearl mussel shells, which are only slightly worked, but are usually used in the crude state.

287 Concerning the feather technique, see below in connection with the tying, knotting, and plaiting technique /see pp. 233 ff./.

824 The utilization of the vegetable kingdom is very extensive. The cane species are used remarkably little; apparently the region is poor in them.

G. The wood of trees is made into boats, poles, oars, mortars and pestles, stools, lances, bows, throwing boards, arrow points, manioc grating boards, lip plugs, comb teeth, etc. Soft or hard woods are used, depending on the purpose. I was not always able to learn which kinds of wood were used for the individual implements. Spears consist of so-called aruera wood, bows of hard palm wood, boat poles of long, slender trees with very light wood. Soft wood is used for stools, lip plugs, and manioc grating boards; all the other implements consist of hard wood. Of the cane species, taquara is used as arrow shafts, gibade and similar types as ear rods.

396 I am most fully informed about boatbuilding. The boats
[462] are built by the men. All of them understand this art, though
[437] many confine themselves to buying boats from others in exchange
[463] for an iron axe. /286/ Apparently certain persons make boats in larger numbers for the village and then sell them. Thus, a few hours downstream from Schischá I met two families from this village who had erected temporary huts for themselves here in the wilderness, in order to build boats in the vicinity. The making of a small boat is said to take four days, a larger one eight days. These time estimates, however, seem to me to be
[824] very low. The trunk of the lantim tree (Calophyllum: dã̄lĩ̄ʊ̄) is used as material for the boats; Ehrenreich mentions pau d'arco and jatoba, Königswald also jatahy and others. The trees are felled in the forest and crudely worked; first the outer shape is hewed out with an ax and then the interior is likewise hollowed

/23 cont./

531 In some patterns I was successful in separating pattern and back-
[128] ground from each other; others still await satisfactory investigation.

531 These patterns are made in the following manner. On
285 baskets, fans, etc., they are produced simply through different, diagonal plaiting of the leaf pinnae. For plaiting around something with yellow cane and black embira, the black embira is plaited horizontally in spirals through the strips of cane hanging
531 down vertically. Carved decorations are made with the knife;
322 the latter is then held almost vertically to the surface to be carved, and /24/ in this way small pieces of the upper layer are chipped off broadside with the point. Finer and deeper lines are carved out naturally. In poker work a splinter of cane is used as the cautery, which is made to glow on an adjacent block of wood and then quickly pressed on the spot concerned. This is,
[462] of course, very slow work, which is practiced almost exclusively
[517] by the male sex, apparently only for fun.

531 The Indians always drew the patterns in the sketchbook on
[153] their own initiative. When they had barely drawn some figures, they would already go over to the patterns. Many refused to draw figures altogether, but just treated themselves to making patterns.
531 Now it was extremely interesting to observe how the people ar-
151 ranged the patterns. As an example I shall take the one in Fig. 199 (Plate X /see p. 56 /). First of all the space was divided up by four vertical lines according to exact calculation. The Indians sitting nearby already knew which decoration the artist wanted to draw, without the latter saying anything. Then each new line to be drawn was discussed in detail beforehand, criticized afterwards. Thus, the sketch was put together as a common task. During this the lines, once the people were completely clear about direction
531 and length, were drawn with a quick sure stroke. It should further
151 be noted that the Indians had observed how I wrote my remarks
153 about artist and pattern on the edge of the page, and now on their own initiative they left a narrow margin free on one side, as I ascertained through questions, so that I could write on it. They

Brazil.

The patterns seem to be chosen at random, nevertheless
532 the artificers have clear ideas of what they wish to make. These designs are an attempt to represent the forms of natural objects about them. For example, the colored markings on the canoe, represent fish; so also the feather mosaic work. The wasp, or hornets' nest is represented in the decoration of combs; and figures of bats with outstretched wings, and snakes, are also made. The tribes of the Xingú river and some others make drawings of men and animals in the sand.

It is difficult for a Karayá to sketch anything with a lead-
[322] pencil. They do very little wood-carving. The most important work of art among them is the fashioning of human forms
[439] with wax or clay. Figures, apparently children's dolls, are offered in trade to travelers in large numbers. The execution of this work shows that they have ideas of form, and that they observe nature. Their best pieces are as well made as those of the old American civilization. The lower extremities of the human form, though, are made too large and out of proportion with the rest of the body. But the face is natural with no trace of hideousness.

534 About the only instrument of *music* possessed by the Karayá, is a sort of trumpet, called by the civilized Brazilians a *buzzina*. It is, in truth, a kind of combination of the flute and drum. The flute part is a section of a bamboo or taquara cane, eighteen inches in length, with the mouth-piece, of course, in the side. To the outer end of this base flute is glued, with wax, the neck of a large, bottle-shaped gourd-shell, six inches in diameter, in the big end of which a large opening is made. Of course, a tune cannot be played on this uncouth instrument, for but one note can be produced with it. But these nature folk seem well pleased with this one roaring, booming note, for, like all savages, their musical tastes appear quite satisfied with hideous, discordant sounds and charivari noises.

600 As previously mentioned, the primitive peoples of South America, and indeed, of every other part of the world, have been degraded both morally and socially wherever they have come under the influence of the civilized races, excepting

1:Lipkind E-5 (1937) 1948 SP9 Caraja SP9

441 [773] [774] **Weapons.**—The *Carajá* use bows and arrows (pls. 20, *bottom, left;* 21, *left* and *center*), and their mythology indicates aboriginal use of the spear thrower for hunting monkeys. Recently, they have used a spear thrower of the upper Xingú River type for sport.

323 **Pottery.**—Pottery vessels include several forms of plain ware (fig. 20).

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

611 The kinship structure may be described as double descent. Both lines are important, the greater emphasis falling on the mother's line, and both lines serve different functions. Village citizenship, adoption, and the closest affectional ties are reckoned in the mother's line. Moiety membership and the offices of chief, priest, and food-divider are patrilineally [428] inherited.

621 622 The fundamental unit of social organization is the village. Every village has one or more ioló, children of chiefly line, designated by the chief for preferential treatment by the members of the village. The chief names the ioló who is to succeed him or, if he fails to do so, the village makes the choice at his death. Girls of chiefly line are similarly chosen for preferential treatment; each of them is known as the "hidden woman." [562] [177] There is some indication that women functioned as chiefs in former times, but today there is no woman chief. The chief has no coercive powers but directs the village by recognizing the will of the majority in such matters as the selection of camp and garden sites and the announcement of a move at change of season. His principal function is to act [756] [793] [672] as peacemaker, and people readily submit to his adjudication. Because of the importance of religious ceremonials, the priest and the shaman frequently exercise more authority than the chief. When all three offices are vested in a single individual, his authority may be considerable, but it is kept in check by the right of a discontented person to move at any time to another village.

59 Within the village the important unit is the household. Residence [591] being matrilocal, a household consists of sisters, their husbands, children, [592] and the husbands of grown daughters. Marriage is restricted to one's own generation, the preferred mate being a cousin on the mother's side. [582] [626] There is no sanction but ridicule against wrong marriages, and there are many cases of cross-generational marriage. Marriage is predominantly monogamous, but a few instances of polygyny and one of polyandry were encountered. [595] [604] The avunculate is very important and involves many social and especially ceremonial duties. Cooperation in the household is close and in the village fairly close. 78 608 In addition, villages are grouped together in ceremonial units, generally consisting of three or four neighboring villages, which celebrate important feasts jointly. [476] This ceremonial unit acts as an insurance group when a village's crop fails or its fish supplies grow scarce. Beyond this, the only intervillage ties

/5 cont./ Then later

*532 on a tree in the forest near the Šavajé settlement, I saw the adjacent
831 relief of the female sexual organs (Fig. 15 /see p. 7/) driven in with an ax. It had been hewed there previously by a Karajá accompanying me.

c) Clay Figures (likokó)

(Plates II-IV)

*532 Clay is much more pliable; in it forms can be reproduced
[524] true to nature. The clay figures, which are made by the women
[462] and serve as toys for the girls, include only representations of human figures of both sexes and of all ages; they represent the following tribes: Karajá, Šavajé, Kayapó, and finally the Dōbāĭ on the Rio das Mortes. Such clay figures were present in large numbers in all villages and were offered to me everywhere. Wherever the stock
[126] was exhausted, some were quickly made for me, which, however, I seldom bought because they showed exactly the same typical forms as the figures on hand, that is to say, they showed no personal influence of any kind. Only once did I receive a portrait, the representation of the grandmother bent with age (Plate III, Fig. 42 /see p.49 /). Now it is very striking to observe that these representations are completely stylized. To be sure, several levels can be distinguished here, but only in the case of a few examples is a reasonably accurate reproduction of the shape of the human body achieved.

*532 Before I discuss the forms themselves, I wish to report briefly
323 on the method used to produce these figures. Bodies, legs, and head are made from a lump of clay. The fat buttocks and the penis are put on separately; the navel is bored in with a wooden stick. Then the lines for the later painting are pressed in with a slender bamboo rod by drawing the rod lightly over the soft clay and at the same time exerting light pressure at regular intervals. In this way lines with small holes strung along in a row like beads are produced. When the figure is prepared to this extent, it is put in
ooo the sun to dry; the figures are only very rarely fired. Then the next stage

/19 cont./

411 Of the three specimens the largest has a total length of 72.5 centimeters, of which 14.5 make up the handle (Pl. VI /see p. 108/, 6). Moreover, there is a children's throwing board 38.5 centimeters long.

[824] The arrows thrown (kâura) are 150-180 centimeters long, unfeathered cane pieces made of uba (Gynerium saccharoides) with inserted, 12-20 centimeter long end-knobs of palm wood, which are covered with a thick layer of wax. Thus they should be considered only as sporting equipment. That tradition still knows them as weapons, however, is shown by the legend given on p. 85 (Pl. VI /see p. 108/, 7).

● 323 Ceramics. The art of making pots, practiced exclusively by the women, is not especially developed. Although the technique leaves little to be desired, the forms are rather simple. [517] An artistic desire to reproduce natural objects, animal shapes, etc., as among the Xingu tribes, is not expressed in them. Everything is reckoned more in terms of the practical.

As almost everywhere in South America, the vessels are made without a wheel by putting rolls of clay over one other circularly or spirally. By patting with the dampened hand and continuous smoothing with pieces of bone and mussel shell, the pot finally reaches the desired shape and strength.

[113] According to Couto Magelhães (Archiv. do museu nac. Rio, p. 77) the ash of certain vines is mixed with the clay; their silica content makes it more resistant.

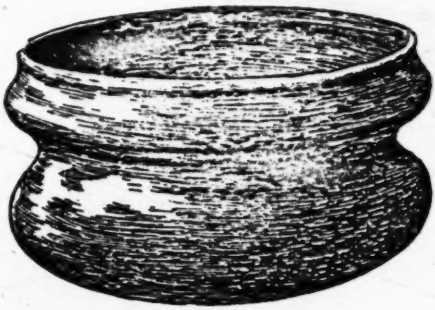
According to further information from the above observer, the firing of the pots is done, after superficial drying, in a peculiar manner. A hole is made in the side of an earth termite nest, and it is heated. The vessel is put in, and under it there is made a second opening communicating with the first one, with a fire maintained in it. A third opening at the top serves as a chimney.

415 106 The collection shows the most important, but not the largest types of vessels that occur (Fig. 5 /see p. 38/).

/253 cont./

on the Šavajé journey. Apparently they are used more by the men for the grilling of fish, but the men also understand boiling. 252

Roasting is done on the roasting hearths or on the spit. Meat and fish are roasted until the outer layer is charred. This strong burning makes up for the lack of salt to a certain extent. In the same way, palm nuts and other fruits are roasted in the fire, then later cracked open and eaten. In flat bowls (?) the fruit seeds of the coceiro (hōlēnĭ) are roasted from October on. These seeds are then pounded, mixed



Ill. 90.
Double-bellied cooking pot.

Ill. 91.
Three-legged cooking pot.

[415]

with the meat of the nut, and this is then roasted together.

Boiling in large cooking pots preponderates by far, however. The cooking pots (wădjĭwĭ, wăďšĭwĭ) are made of gray clay; their typical shape is reproduced in Ill. 89. They are generally undecorated. Their diameter is often tremendous, measuring up to 80 centimeters; the height, however, is generally uniform (11-14 centimeters), so that such huge pots appear more bowl-shaped. Sometimes they are covered with clay plates. Vessels of a special type are the double-bellied vessel (Ill. 90), as well as the three-legged cooking pot (Ill. 91); both were likewise called wădjĭwĭ. [323]

Fish, for one thing, are boiled; they are cleaned, scaled, cut into pieces, and thus boiled. When pikĭ fruits are in season, they are boiled with these. The chameleon is likewise skinned and boiled. Above all, manioc is prepared in this way. It constitutes the chief food. The preparation of the poisonous manioc is done as [262]

/281 cont./

412 Brazilian inhabitants, to be noted. This shows us how tenaciously
178 the Karajá cling to their nationality, in spite of long association with their civilized neighbors.

311 C. The exploitation of the natural kingdom varies in intensity; the mineral kingdom is exploited least, the vegetable kingdom, which can, of course offer the Indian the most abundant resources, the most.

135 The mineral kingdom is as yet little utilized. Stones are rare in the alluvial valley of the Araguaya; at most there is small rubble on a few sandbanks; otherwise fine sand covers the river valley. On the steep vertical banks there is canga, a ferrous sandstone which cannot be utilized except perhaps in larger pieces which, with plaiting around them, serve as anchors for turtle tackle. Stones are found only north of the Tapirapé, and all of the few stone implements that were present came from there.

317 More frequently used is the gray clay which is embedded in narrow layers in the sandstone of the high banks. It is used for
323 pottery. This art, however, in its technique and form, is still very primitive; ornamentation is entirely lacking. The vessels are shaped according to their practical use; they are made by
562 the women. Apparently the women are more practical and less artistically endowed than the men, for we find everywhere that the things made by the women are simple and practical, those by the men, by contrast, show pleasing forms and ornamentation.

317 Earths are also but little utilized as colors.

237 The animal kingdom is utilized somewhat more intensively for technical purposes by the Indians. Bones and teeth of mammals are worked into tools and ornaments; mussel shells serve as implements. The bird kingdom is most abundantly drawn upon: their brilliant feathers are used for magnificent ornaments such as
235 scarcely any other Indian tribe displays in this abundance. In order to have the material for this always at hand, the Indians keep young birds, taken from the nest, tamed in their huts in order to
237 pluck them from time to time. The wax of bees plays an important role as gluing material.

/282 cont./

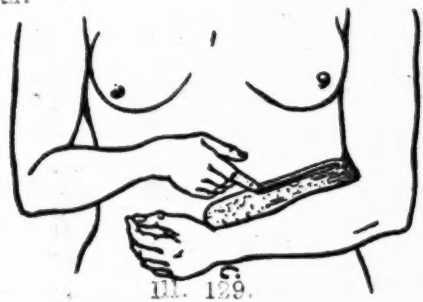
323 E. Earths, besides being used as colors (see under "Coloring
317 Substances" /see p. 240 /), are used only for making pottery,
[462] which is practiced by the women. The material used is the grayish-white clay (zõũ) that occurs in strata on the steep banks and, in conical shape, is stored in piles in the villages. For use it is first pulverized very fine and then mixed with a number of additions. The most important addition is mãũzĩ (Pl. 58, Ill. 1), a creation designated by the Brazilian-speaking Indians as the nest of the cupim d'agua, which is found in huge quantities as a covering of the roots and lower branches of the trees along the banks. One finds it piled up in great heaps near the villages. It is burned in the fire, then pounded, and, mixed with water, added to the pottery clay.

323 Another addition is obtained from the purple blossom (ãdẽnã)
[824] of a tree; the blossoms are burned and their ashes mixed in with the clay. This statement by Pedro seems to correspond to the custom of making the clay more resistant by means of the flinty content of the ashes of certain creepers, as reported by Ehrenreich from C. de Magalhães ("Beiträge," p. 19).

The shaping of the vessels is done in the following manner: The bottom is shaped out of a flat cake, on which a low edge is simultaneously worked out. A potter's wheel is absent; an old pot-bottom or most often a rod-sieve, the structure of which is imprinted in the soft clay, serves as a base (Pl. 58, Ill. 2). Smaller vessels are shaped on the hand. /283/ The potter then mixes the gray clay with water, twirls it between the palms of her hands into a roll, places this on her left lower-arm, and, with the right index finger, presses a longitudinal groove into it (Ill. 129). The roll is now placed with the groove on the edge of the bottom piece and is then pressed flat toward the top (Ill. 130). It is so arranged that the roll corresponds exactly to the circumference of the vessel. Roll is placed upon roll in this manner and then smeared together with the hand or even with a smoothing stone, until the vessel is finished.

/283 cont./

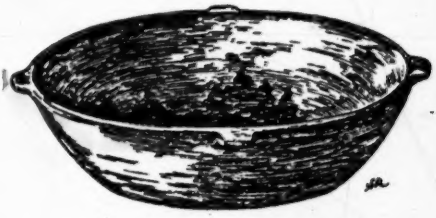
323 After this the vessels are dried slightly in the sun and then fired. This is done on an ordinary hearth. I observed how a large cooking pot stood on three hearth shards with the opening downward and was being fired by a fire underneath it (Ill. 131). I am unable to say whether a firing is also done from the outside. I did not see the use of the termite hill as a kiln, as Ehrenreich reports from Magalhães ("Beiträge," p. 19), anywhere during the dry season; the shaping and firing always took place on the sandbanks on the ordinary hearth.



Ill. 129.
Pressing the groove into the roll of clay.

Ill. 131.
Firing the pot.

Ill. 130.
Placing the roll of clay on the edge of the bottom of the vessel.



Ill. 132.
Clay bowl with four protuberances on the rim.

415 Large cooking pots, grave urns which are nothing more than huge cooking pots with a lid, three-legged cooking pots, and bowls are made. All these vessels are called wǎdjiwĭ. Concerning the sun-dried clay dolls as toys, see p. 247.

The shapes are very simple: the common type is the slightly curved double-conical shape (Ill. 89); the double-bellied pot (Ill. 90) is rare; and the three-legged cooking pot (Ill. 91) is also not too /284/ frequent. Dishes are rare; the most frequent are the shallow bowls (see Ill. 95 /see p. 172/). The eating dish with the four rim-protuberances (Ill. 132) is most peculiar; perhaps it is the result of Brazilian influence, which is

Plate 58

1. Addition to pottery clay.

2. Pot bottom with rod-sieve texture.

3 a-c. Feather gourd vessels.

4. a Bunch of imbauva fibers. b Bunch of buriti fibers.

5. Sample of basket plaiting.

8 a and b. Manner of storing feathers.

7. Ball of cotton.

6. Spindle with picked-cotton band.

10. Monkey-skull rattles.

11. Funerary urn.

9. Bamboo trumpet.

313 415 285 283 764 415 534 [237]

/362 cont./

312 Water was transported in long gourds (rŭkŭ́) with short
415 hanging bands; the gourds were usually crudely decorated with
531 pyrography (Ill. 200).

184 9. The techniques are even more primitive than those of
[438] the Karajá; in fact, the Šavajé obtain their iron implements and all foreign wares only through barter with the Karajá. Hence, everything that was said about the latter also applies to the Šavajé.

412 I still found a few examples of stone axes [ūōmădū(ĕ)]; they were used as beaters in pounding soft the women's bast aprons on mortars turned upside down. The two specimens acquired by me are strong, wedge-shaped axes 14 and 20.5 centimeters long; on one, the cutting edge is considerably hollowed out, probably through use as a nutcracker (Ill. 201 a, b).

323 The pottery is as primitive as that of the Karajá. Here,
184 too, we find no decorated vessels. The two vessels acquired by me consist of red clay, are of the Karajá type, and represent a cooking pot (wădjĭwĭ) and a bowl (wădjīwāŭdă). /363/ /Ills. 200-206 appear here./

283 /364/ Working with cotton. For picking cotton apart, a small, quite crudely worked bow is used (Pl. 61, Ill. 4). The spindles (ăzõdāŏ, Pl. 61, Ill. 5) consist of round rods 32.5-49 centimeters long, with whorls of wax, unfired or fired clay, or bone. By far the most prevalent are wax whorls, which in part are clumsy disks, in part have sharp edges and taper conically
[323] at the top and bottom. The unfired or crudely fired whorls usually have a double-conical form with a sharp edge; only one specimen consists of a thick plate with a rounded edge. Fired clay whorls are disk-shaped and have two sharp edges and flat, conical elevations on both surfaces. Bone whorls consist of quite flat disks, as among the Karajá.

Balls of thread of white (ăzõ) or black (ăzõdĕbĕ) cotton are also customary among the Šavajé; some of them are kept tied up in a bast covering (Ill. 202).

[Text Continues on p. 330]

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

as a reserve, are kept wound around the bow. The Karayá take great pride in their bows, ornamenting them beautifully with tassels of brilliant feathers. 411 [531]

They use several different styles of arrows. Some are harpoon-like for fishing purposes; others are made with broad blades for hunting; while still others are for use in war. They are all made with the utmost care, as much as one or two days being consumed in the making of but one. Two or three different kinds of wood are always used in constructing a single arrow, one kind being for the spear, or lance part, another kind—heavy palm wood—for the middle staff, and light bamboo wood for the base, and all are spliced and bound together with the greatest nicety by means of long, narrow strips of bark taken from certain climbers, and finally, the weapon is burnished. It is about four feet in length. [461] [824] [284]

The weapons used for fighting at close quarters, which is the method of warfare liked best, are heavy clubs and lances. The clubs are of two kinds—first, shovel-like clubs and round clubs, resembling base-ball bats, varying in length from three to four and a half feet. The lances are nine or ten feet in length, the shaft being of palm wood, and the point, the shin-bone of the spotted *onca*—jaguar—or of a deer. A beautiful, basket-like work of black and white wooden strips is woven, or braided, tightly over the shaft of the spear, and to this is attached tassels of brilliant plumage. The Karayá have spear-throwing sticks, but I understand they are no longer used in war, but for sport only. The contrivance is a long strip of wood so formed that it can be used, sling-like to hurl a spear. In common with all the savage tribes of South America, the weapons, implements, ornaments and ceremonial instruments are all made by the men of the Karayá, while the women make only the household utensils. [726] [824] [237] [531] 462 171

The Karayá housewife, therefore, makes several styles of pots and pans; but pottery has not yet reached a very high degree of perfection with this tribe for the forms are simple and crude. They do not make pots in the form of natural objects as do the tribes of the Xingú river. Utility, and this 323

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

323 only, is sought. The Karayá once more like all the South American tribes, form the pots without the use of the potter's wheel, the work being done by building up rings of clay, stroking and shaping, first with the hands, then with bones and shells until the vessel reaches the desired form and strength. The ashes of certain plants are mixed with the clay to give it greater firmness.

To secure an oven in which to bake the pots, these children of Nature again look to their common Mother. In the large, dome-shaped ant-hills which abound in their world, they find a nearly complete natural oven. They further prepare this oven for use by carving a hole in one side and starting a fire in it. This done, they put the pot, previously sun-baked into the kiln; then open a second hole on another side of the ant-hill to communicate with the first, by which to feed the fire. A draft is secured by opening a vent in the top of the natural oven. The women make clay spoons as well as pots. Though a few of these clay vessels are provided with legs, none of them have handles, except as cords are secured around them to serve as handles.

415 824 Besides these manufactured vessels, Nature again comes to the aid of these primitive people and furnishes them jugs, bottles, basins and pans of a great variety of shapes and sizes from calabash or gourd-shells. These vegetable vessels are not only as hard as wood, but very durable, though they cannot, of course, be placed over the fire. Large rattles for 534 824 ceremonial purposes are also made from the gourd by replacing the seeds with pebbles, and attaching handles of wood.

285 Nature has supplied the Karayá with such a rich and varied material that braid-work is the principal household industry, a product notable for its utility and variety of form. The long, [824] slender leaves of the oaguasse, or burity-palm, are braided together diagonally into mats to serve as flooring for the huts, and even for roofing. The flooring mats, being so easily produced, are made only as wanted. The finest grades of matting are made to sleep upon and to roof the hut. For this work,

/222 cont./

*301 painted and covered with rolls of wax, which apparently is supposed to represent such a painted lip-plug (Pl. 45, Ill. 7).

*301 184 This sequence was precisely observed everywhere. Only in the first village near Leopoldina were deviations found. Here the boy, as /223/ has just been mentioned, wore a wooden lamella, and later a wooden button, like his older brother and the [177] father. This family was civilized; they hesitated to walk around with long plugs in front of the Brazilians. On the whole, long [152] plugs are regarded as a sign of vanity, which is why older people, for example, can never wear them without making themselves ridiculous. The young people in the first village felt too superior to their savage fellow-tribesmen to wear such ridiculous things; hence they contented themselves with the dignified button of the old people.

*301 The stone lip-plugs (mănă'dĕlĕ; mănă = stone, mănādĕrĕzo = [324] rock crystal) are a special kind. They are cut to shape out of quartz, rock crystal, or /Ills. 61-63 appear here/ alabaster and then smoothed so that they look as though they were polished. The mouthpiece is greatly widened; the lower end runs out into a thickening (Ill. 62). Such lip plugs are worn only by unmarried men and only at special festivities. When they marry, they give it to a young relative. Since the stone lip-plugs are very thick, the lip hole must first be enlarged. This is done by the insertion of ever thicker wooden plugs. I saw only one specimen of such a lip plug, and, to be sure, in the south horde, but could not acquire it. I learned about a second specimen /224/ in the south [439] horde only long after we had left the village. They are not made by Karajá, but by the Tapirapé, with whom the Karajá of the [438] north horde barter for them. Those of the south horde again buy [435] them from those of the north horde, the price then allegedly amounting to a canoe, an ax, a pot, and a bush knife. In other words, they are very expensive and are therefore, and because they are very fragile, cautiously handled and kept carefully [648] wrapped in cloth. At the present time, when the Karajá have a feud with the Tapirapé and are therefore no longer able to buy stone lip-plugs, their value has naturally increased many times over.

/281 cont./

824 Most of all, the Indian exploits the vegetable kingdom, and here he has also gone over to the cultivation of plants useful to him. He already has at his disposal, of course, many useful wild plants in the way of trees (leaf trees, palms), shrubs, varieties of cane, etc.

Almost all parts of the plants are utilized, in each case, of course, only certain ones: wood, bark, leaves, stem, bast, [241] blossom. Of plants whose fruits are used technically, the following are planted: /282/ gourds, cotton, urucú. The gluing ma- [314] terials, with the exception of wax, are taken exclusively from plant resins.

●324 412 In the following, the processing and utilization of the individual raw materials will be described.

D. Stones are used above all as stone axes. The material for them is chiefly granular diabase or diorite. Nothing is known about how they are made. At the present time they serve only as striking stones for the preparation of bark cloth and for cracking nuts. Apparently they all come from the Rio Tapirapé, as well as from the mountains north of it, and are perhaps not even made by the Karajá themselves, but acquired from the Tapirapé through trade. In shape, there are flat axes and axes with a shaft groove (Ills. 100-102). As a nutcracker I found a stone apparatus consisting of stone base and small hammer, which, in shape, is quite peculiarly suited for this. Through long use a smooth, round hollow was produced in the slightly convex striking surface of the hammer (Ill. 99). Such stones are said to come from the cachoeira /cataract/ near St. Maria. The small stone knives which are used for tattooing are made anew each time out of the flint rubble of the sandbanks by splitting the flint with a stone or iron ax and using the sharpest splinters without any further treatment (Ill. 52b). Nothing is known about the making of the long stone lip plugs (Ill. 62). Allegedly they are struck into shape with [439] stones. The Karajá do not make them themselves, but barter for them with the Tapirapé.

/12 cont./

342 Only rarely does one see among them the characteristic solid
184 house-construction of the Šambioa and then only in smaller
351 dimensions, without any particular care in the construction. Since
364 all the scraps are simply strewn on the ground, the refuse gradually
[136] becomes unbearable. The vermin multiplying in large numbers, especially the sand fleas, finally force them to abandon the place.
342 In the rainy season the Karayahi move into stronger, buriti-leaf
[361] covered, open ranchos on the high bank, which do not in other respects differ in form from those customary among the Brazilian population.

/13/ The "summer huts" of the Šambioa are very much more
[184] carefully and neatly built. Here the greater diligence, industriousness, and the comfortable well-being of the free son of the wilderness are manifest, in contrast to his "tame" tribal brother vegetating in oppressive conditions and dependent on civilization.
[361] Not in disorder, but in long rows, forming real streets, these houses with their impeccable cleanliness make an uncommonly friendly and comfortable impression (Pl. IV /see p.106/, 1, and Pl. V /see p. 107/).

621 In the first Šambioa village we counted 60 huts, in the second 30, in the third 45, and in the fourth 90, each of which is inhabited by one or two families.

The individual villages are distinguished by special names.
342 The basic form of the house is rectangular; the narrow side with the door faces the street. The frame consists of three or four
[335] flexible poles on each side carried over forked supports and held together with those on the opposite side by means of cipos, thus /Fig. 3 appears here/ forming a boat-like, arched roof, which is further supported by some vertical poles set in the ground in the long direction (Fig. 3 /see p. 22 /). These, as well as the forked supports, are connected with one another by as many strong horizontal poles as are necessary. Thin laths are placed lengthwise
[824] and parallel to one another on the outside over the ribs of the roof and serve as supports for the strong pinnate leaves of the uaguassú palm (Attalea spectabilis), which, in several layers, form a fairly waterproof roof. Their leaf pinnae are also entwined with one another into a very solid plaited work. These plaitings serve

/194 cont./

648 [115] 1. (cont.)
the river in order to make exchanges, and that there is now a Karajá boy among the Kayapó and a Kayapó boy among the Karajá for the purpose of learning the other language and later using it at home, probably refer to these efforts.

[721] The feuds, therefore, continue to this day, and even today women and children are abducted by both sides. Thus, the Šambioá are in constant strife with the Kayapó, the Karajá with [729] the Tapirapé, and the Šavajé with the Canoeiros. Among the [548] Šambioá Ehrenreich found many Kayapó women who are used as prostitutes by the tribe. The same is true of the Tapirapé women among the Karajá. In 1908 their number was small: in the south horde there was one girl, in the north horde three women, a girl, 179 and two boys. These Tapirapé seem not to have exerted any cultural, linguistic, or physical influence, whereas the cultural influence of the Tapirapé on the Karajá in former times must have been very strong, especially at the mouth of the Tapirapé, there was a great number of objects which were not seen in any other Karajá village and which appeared to be foreign.

3. House and Village.

342 The house (hãtõ) is built in different ways, depending on the season of the year (dry season, rainy season).

[335] The framework of the dry-season house consists of three arches, one behind the other, each made out of two sticks tied together at the top with bast. Palm fronds serve as covering: the pinnae are bent over to one side; two such fronds are then placed one on top of the other and tied together at the ribs. These fronds are then fastened to the arches from below in such a way that the upper ones cover the lower ones somewhat. The ridge is not finished off; it is not specially covered. About 15 centimeters below the ridge, on either side, a pole is tied parallel to it on the leaf covering (see Pl. 39). These simple huts are about three meters long, two meters wide, and one and a half meters high.

/194 cont./

342 I myself did not see the rainy-season huts. In October /195/ (beginning of the rainy season) the Karajá occupied, on the sand-banks, a hut form differing from the dry-season type; according to their statements, they build their houses on the high banks from November to March in the same way as this transitional type. The chief difference in contrast to the dry-season house is that the two open narrow sides are each closed off by a round structure projecting out about one meter, in each of which a small opening permits entrance (Pl. 40, Ill. 1). The manner in which the round structures are built is shown in Ill. 2 of Plate 40. They are covered in the same way as the rest of the house. Apparently they serve to prevent rain from entering from the side.

[335] By far the majority of these closed huts showed a second difference: they were once again as long; the framework thus consisted of six arches (1). The long houses, /Ill. 18 appears here/

[113] 1. Such long huts with a low entrance on the front side are already mentioned by Villa Souza Real in 1792 from among the Šambioá. Rev. trim., Vol. 11, p. 430.

closed on both sides, naturally afford far greater protection from rain and at the same time to a greater number of persons than, say, two short huts (Pl. 32, Ill. 1).

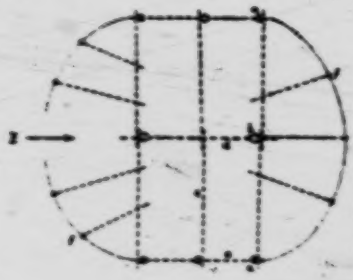
The entrances are fashioned differently: at the beginning and end of the rainy season, only two-thirds of the rounding is covered on the side, and the last third is left free as an entrance (Pl. 39); at the time of the heavy rains, however, the entire rounding is covered, except for a low entrance in the center (Pl. 32, Ill. 2). In the transition periods all possible variations occur: short house with a round structure, long house open on both sides, etc.

342 184 177 In the southernmost villages, near Schischá and São José, there were houses which deviated considerably from this method of construction; they represented a mixed type from the building method of the Šavajé and Brazilians. They look very rancho-like.

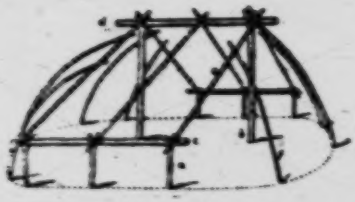
[335] The side walls are formed by three vertical posts about one meter

/195 cont./

342 high, in the forks of each of which rests a longitudinal beam.
184 In the center of each of the two narrow sides stands a post about
177 three meters high; a ridge beam is laid across the two of them.
335 In most cases a second longitudinal beam at half the height also connects them. From the ridge beam to the side longitudinal beam three rafters run down on either side. /196/ The entrances are closed by round structures. The covering corresponds to that



a Side uprights
b Ridge uprights
c Side supporting beam
d Ridge beam
e Rafters
f Rounding sticks



Ill. 18.
Ground plan and framework of the short hut of the mixed type. Karajá.

of the other houses. This therefore produces vertical walls, and wall and roof are separate from each other (framework and
342 ground plan, Ill. 18; covered house, Pl. 40, Ill. 3). Sometimes
184 double houses are built in this way. Such huts are considerably
177 higher and roomier, and the round structures project out farther, up to two meters (Ill. 19). /Ills. 19 and 20 appear here./ These houses were originally taken over from the Šavajé; one can, however, easily trace how the Šavajé house changed here under Brazilian influence into this mixed house.

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P 76]

/196 cont./

342 The unaffected Šavajé house is shown in the ground plan and
335 cross-section in Ill. 20. Characteristic are: two ridge uprights, over them the ridge beam, a second longitudinal beam at two-thirds of the height; three side uprights on either side, and over them /197/ side crossbeams. The rafters are led down from the ridge beam over the side crossbeams to the floor and fastened to the floor itself. The roundings are each supported by six low uprights, the three of each of the two sets are connected by cross-beams over which the rounding's roof-beams run down to the ground from the first and third arch. Thus, sides and rounding are supported from the inside by uprights with crossbeams. The entrances are in the roundings. These houses are 20-25 meters long, 12-15 meters wide, 3-4 meters high.

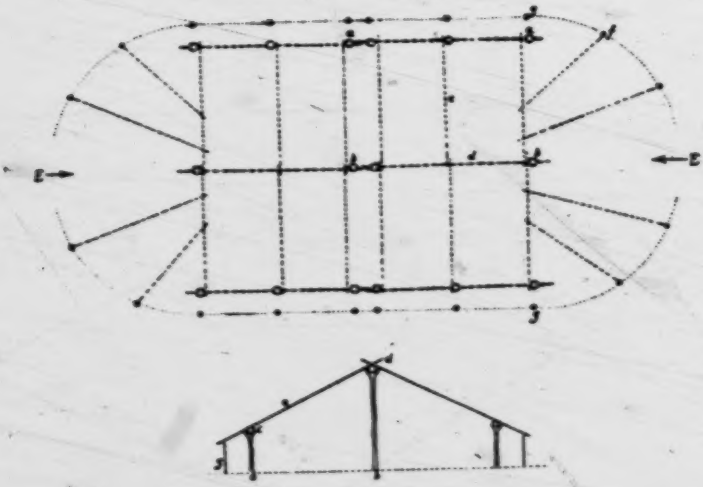
342 In Schischá at the end of October I came across the house
335 of an immigrant Šavajé family; it was already altered (ground
177 plan and cross-section, Ill. 21; covered, Pl. 40, Ill. 4). First of all it was a double house; its layout was identical with that of the Karajá house (Ill. 19). The difference was /Ill. 21 appears here/ that in front of each of the side support-beams a low, free-standing wall post had been rammed into the ground; to these wall posts, which were not connected by crossbeams, the wall covering was fastened. Thus, the separation into roof and wall had already occurred here; the wall supports were retained, and they became side support-beams. With regard to the round structures the layout is already simpler in Karajá fashion. In the mixed houses of the Karajá, these wall posts have disappeared; the covering is fastened to the side support-beams themselves. Thus, we have here before us the process of the development of the Šavajé house into the rancho; one need only omit the round structures in order to have a genuine Brazilian rancho structure. I actually saw such a house among the boatbuilders of Schischá on my downstream journey.

162 /198/ The assumption that the inhabitants of the southern-most villages of the south horde are mixed with Šavajé (see above: "Size" and "Number" /see pp. 46 and 67/) thereby gains additional support.

/198 cont./

342
184
177

a Side uprights
b Ridge uprights
c Side supporting beam
d Ridge beam
e Rafters
f Rounding sticks
g Wall supports



Ill. 21.
Ground plan and cross-section of the long hut of the mixed type.
Šavajé in Schischá.

[335] [341] That this influence actually acted in this way, and that these houses are not, say, ranchos taken over from the Brazilians and simply provided with round structures, is first of all shown by the example of the Šavaje, who are acquainted with the ridge beam and upright construction, and then by the fact that the mask houses of the Karajá of the south horde and those of the Šavajé have a ridge beam which is fastened at the top to the three arches. If we add, as is shown in Ill. 3 in Ehrenreich, "Beiträge," p. 13, that the houses of the Šambioá resemble those of the Šavajé, then the huts

1:Lipkind E-5 (1937) 1948 SP9 Caraja SP9

252 minutes, then allowed to stand for a while. The resulting fermentation is not allowed to continue long enough to produce an intoxicating drink.
262 This soup, along with a similar soup made of maize, is a daily staple.
252 Manioc and ground maize are also made into cakes, but this is a holiday variation of diet rather than the staff of life as in other regions. The standard methods of cooking meat, fish, and vegetables are boiling, roasting on a spit, roasting on a grate, and roasting in the embers. Occasionally, some vegetables are baked in hot sand. Maize is the only food that
[251] is stored. On platform shelves at the top of their rainy-season houses, the *Javahé* pile a supply of maize dried on the cob sufficient to last throughout the dry season.

HOUSES AND VILLAGES

361 The permanent or rainy-season village is erected on a high bank overlooking the river. One or two rows of houses face the river, and the men's
[535] house, about 50 feet (15.2 m.) back, faces down river. All the space between the men's house and the family houses is kept perfectly clean and constitutes the dancing plaza of the village. The surrounding clearing extends only a few yards in all directions. All neighboring forest which must be traversed in hunting or gathering is threaded by well-marked
[487] trails. A path leads down from the center of the village to the main port where women, married men, and children bathe, and married men land their canoes. Another path cuts diagonally down from the men's house to the bachelor's port where the young men bathe and visitors to the masked dances land their canoes.

342 The house is rectangular in ground plan with supported horizontal ridge poles (fig. 18). Saplings are sunk into the ground at the sides and

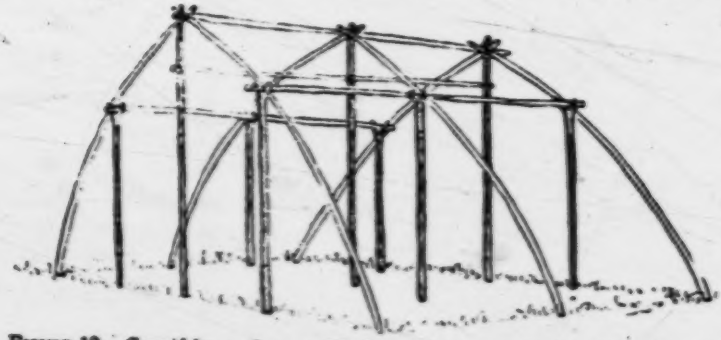


FIGURE 18.—*Carajá* house frame. (Redrawn from Ehrenreich, 1891 b, fig. 3.)

bent over to the ridge pole at the top, where they are firmly tied with bast. Then the whole structure is tightly thatched with successive overlapping layers of palm frond tied to the saplings (pl. 20, *top*). The entrance is a small rectangular opening at the bottom, through which one crawls after

1:Lipkind E-5 (1937) 1948 SP9 Caraja SP9

pushing aside a door of plaited palm. Every married woman in the family cooks at her own fireplace, which consists of two lumps of hardened clay. Mats used for sleeping and sitting are spread over the entire floor. Wooden stools (fig. 19) may also be found. Bows, arrows, and rattles

FIGURE 19.—*Carajá* wooden stool. (Redrawn from Ehrenreich, 1891 b, fig. 13.)

are shoved into the wall thatch. Baskets, used for storing such things as tobacco, urucú, and feathers, are hung by a string from the ridge poles. Large baskets containing vegetables lie on the ground next to the thatch.

The dry-season house is identical in form but smaller and of flimsier construction. Thatching is looser and the walls are thatched only about halfway to the ground, the north and west sides often being left completely open. The dry-season village is generally constructed on a long beach and, as the site grows dirty, is moved along the beach. The ground plan of the dry-season village is identical with the rainy-season village.

DRESS AND ORNAMENTS

The most prominent facial decoration is a blue-black circular scarification about an inch in diameter over each cheekbone. The ears of infants are pierced and an ornament consisting of a small polished capybara tooth with a feather attached is inserted. A common ear ornament for children is a mother-of-pearl disk with a cut feather fringe set on a blackened thin rod. In a perforation of their lower lips, men wear wood or bone labrets of a variety of shapes (pl. 21; fig. 21, *a*), each assigned to a different age grade; old men use simple wooden plugs.

Men wear their hair long, winding it round a plaited cotton rope reddened with urucú. Women wear their hair about shoulder length.

Armlets crocheted of cotton are worn at the wrists and just above the elbow; similar ornaments are worn just below the knee and at the ankle. These are worn particularly by children and are supposed to aid growth.

1:Lipkind E-5 (1937) 1948 SP9 Caraja SP9

PLATE 20.—**Carajá house and physical types.** *Top:* House. (Courtesy University Museum, Philadelphia.) *Bottom, left:* Warriors. *Bottom, right:* Girls. (After Ehrenreich, 1891 b.)

[Facing P.186]

/12 cont./

286 They most probably owe their mat to the civilized Brazilians.
177 Insofar as the latter use hammocks at all, they make them out of
cotton. Now Pinto da Fonseca says (op. cit., p. 387) that the
[283] Karaya used cotton only for making fish nets and bow strings, but
were unacquainted with the art of weaving. He himself made
them a weaving apparatus and instructed the women in this skill.

This would agree with the fact that still today the Yavahē of
[184] Bananal Island, among whom Pinto undertook his first civilizing
attempts, are designated as the most skillful weavers. The uncommonly firm, taffeta-like, woven "rede" in the collection is supposed to be Yavahē work. A visit among them would definitively settle this interesting question.

293 Also to be mentioned here as a noteworthy elaborate piece
[285] belonging to the Karaya are the eyeshades (ȧodi) plaited out of
[824] uaguassú palm leaves, with which they protect themselves from the blinding reflected sunlight while walking over the sandbanks (Pl. VIII /see p. 110/, 10). They have not arrived at the construction of protective apparatus of the type of the Eskimo snow-goggles, but they prize European dark glasses.

The adding on to the eyeshade to make a complete top-hat
[197] (taă) is probably to be traced back to European influence. There were two specimens of it in all.

Settlements, Houses, and Domestic Animals.

621
361 The Karaya do not live in small troops of two or three families, as the forest Indians of Amazonas and the rude hunting nomads of the coastal region do, but always in larger communities. Only the southernmost Karayahi are forced by the lack of means of subsistence to divide up somewhat more. In the vicinity of S. José during the dry season one continually meets small bands of eight to ten persons. The farther one comes downstream, the more populous their camps become. Some of them may number at least 150-200 inhabitants.
● 342 The Karayahi huts erected on the sandbanks usually consist of large
[824] buriti-fiber mats stretched over pole frames, standing about without any order, like gypsy tents (Pl. III /see p.105 /, 2).

/12 cont./

342 Only rarely does one see among them the characteristic solid
184 house-construction of the Šambioa and then only in smaller
351 dimensions, without any particular care in the construction. Since
364 all the scraps are simply strewn on the ground, the refuse gradually
[136] becomes unbearable. The vermin multiplying in large numbers,
especially the sand fleas, finally force them to abandon the place.
342 In the rainy season the Karayahi move into stronger, buriti-leaf
[361] covered, open ranchos on the high bank, which do not in other
respects differ in form from those customary among the Brazilian
population.

/13/ The "summer huts" of the Šambioa are very much more
[184] carefully and neatly built. Here the greater diligence, industri-
ousness, and the comfortable well-being of the free son of the
wilderness are manifest, in contrast to his "tame" tribal brother
vegetating in oppressive conditions and dependent on civilization.
[361] Not in disorder, but in long rows, forming real streets, these
houses with their impeccable cleanliness make an uncommonly
friendly and comfortable impression (Pl. IV /see p.106/, 1, and
Pl. V /see p. 107/).

621 In the first Šambioa village we counted 60 huts, in the
second 30, in the third 45, and in the fourth 90, each of which is
inhabited by one or two families.

The individual villages are distinguished by special names.
342 The basic form of the house is rectangular; the narrow side
with the door faces the street. The frame consists of three or four
[335] flexible poles on each side carried over forked supports and held
together with those on the opposite side by means of cipos, thus
/Fig. 3 appears here/ forming a boat-like, arched roof, which is further
supported by some vertical poles set in the ground in the long
direction (Fig. 3 /see p. 22 /). These, as well as the forked
supports, are connected with one another by as many strong hori-
zontal poles as are necessary. Thin laths are placed lengthwise
[824] and parallel to one another on the outside over the ribs of the roof
and serve as supports for the strong pinnate leaves of the uaguassú
palm (Attalea spectabilis), which, in several layers, form a fairly
waterproof roof. Their leaf pinnae are also entwined with one
another into a very solid plaited work. These plaitings serve

/13 cont./

342 principally to close off the narrow sides. To the right and left of the door are planted two high poles which give the palm-leaf layers of the front side more solid support.

352 The interior furnishing of the houses is rather simple. Part of the floor is covered with buriti mats which also serve as an [513] underlayer for sleeping. A smooth wooden cylinder pushed underneath represents the pillow. The various storage baskets, the 353 [415] containers for ornamental feathers, the finished feather orna- [237] ments, bottle gourds, and other things hang from the horizontal beams. Bows and arrows are stuck in the rafters. [342] Lances and clubs stand in the corner, always at hand. Some sledge-like 352 415 stools, as well as pots and gourd /cuia/ bowls of varying sizes complete the household equipment.

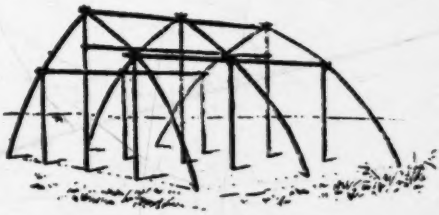


Fig. 3. Hut construction.

346 At some distance from the village is found the somewhat dif- [532] ferently constructed "medicine hut," where the mysterious dance masks are stored. It has the form of an ordinary rancho, with a steeply sloping roof, and is tightly closed on three sides, whereas [784] the side facing the village is wide open. Female creatures may not venture near it.

[114] Castelnau already makes mention of it. Couto Magelhães in his first report speaks of a hut which serves as an arsenal for storing weapons. Nothing of this sort is known to me. Evidently he means by it this mysterious sacred place whose true purpose no one wanted to reveal to him. We shall return to it in the following.

825 It is also noteworthy that in front of two Sambioa villages dead king-vultures (Sarcoramphus papa) with outspread wings were fastened on a high frame of poles. They are probably supposed to scare away demons in the manner of the bird figures carved out of wood in front of Malay villages.

/78 cont./ [Plate II. Karaya. (cont'd)]

142 2. Two Šambioa warriors en face. The man on the left with
291 the feather diadem lurina on the back of the head (see p. 44),
301 bow, arrows, and club in his hand, the one on the right with the
302 small wreath-diadem (Pl. IX /see p. /, 6) and strings of glass
411 beads wound tightly around the neck. The large lower-arm cuffs identify him as unmarried.

Pl. III. Karaya. Karayahi Groups (taken in the last "summer camp" on a river island above the northern tip of Bananal Island).

1. Men, two of which wear arm-cuffs and knee-bands. One has the small feather rosettes with a central disk of mother-of-pearl in his ears (see. p. 46). Face painting with soot is recognizable. The straw hat of the older man sitting in front is not the one mentioned on p. 20, but a model directly borrowed
[501] from the settlers. In the background two long canoes and farther to the left in the distance the small Araguaia steamer.

●342 2. Women, children, and young people sitting on the
361 ground in front of the tent-roofs of the summer camp, which are
516 made of mats. Two araras on the pole to the right, at the left on the bank a jabiru (black-headed stork).

Pl. IV. Karaya. Villages.

133
342 1. Full view of the first village of the Šambioa.
361 2. Reception scene in the third village of the Šambioa.
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Pl. V. Karaya. Chief's hut (fourth village of the Šambioa).

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354 Group at the cooking place in front of the entrance.
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Pl. VI. Karaya. Weapons.

411

1. Bow with wound bowstring and feather tassel (1/8).

4: Ehrenreich--105 E-5 (1888) 1891 SP9 Caraja SP9

Plate III

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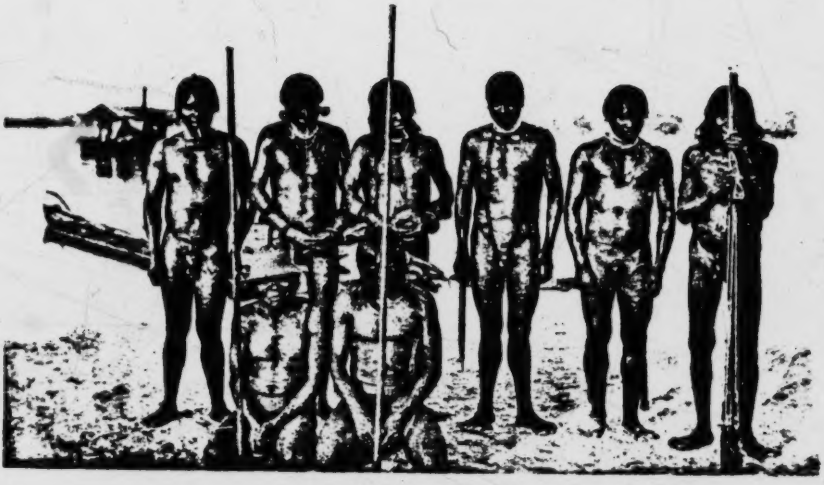

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4: Ehrenreich--106 E-5 (1888) 1891 SP9 Caraja SP9

Plate IV

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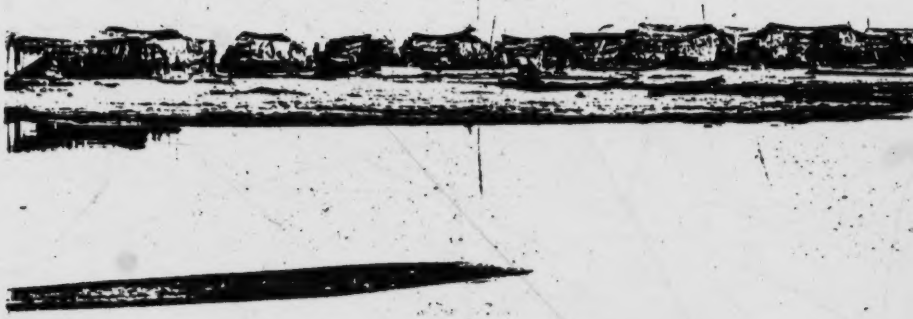

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4: Ehrenreich--107 E-5 (1888) 1891 SP9 Caraja SP9

Plate V

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415
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Plate 10

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137

[342]

1. Karajá family under mat shelter. Near Leopoldina.

2. Steep bank with scrub woods. Araguaya River.

3. Swampy wooded bank.

4. Cluster of palms on the bank.

/Plate 10 faces p. 48./

Plate 11

342
351
[36]

1. Dry-season hut of the Karajá.

2. Karajá village.

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291
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[276]
[302]

3. Karajá women smoking.

4. Karajá siblings.

/Pl. 11 faces p. 52./

Plate 12

1. Cooking place of the Karaja Indians.

3. Mask hut in Village 7 (South Horde).

2. Karajá boys.

4. Karajá women and girls.

/Plate 12 faces p. 56. /

Plate 13

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342
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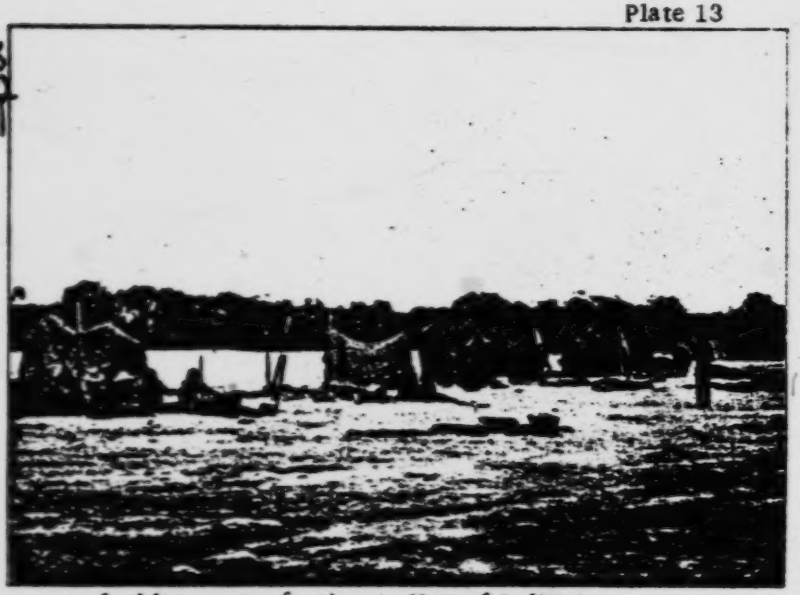

1. Mat camp of migrant Karayá Indians.

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2. Funerary urn in the Karajá cemetery, S. Izabel do Morro.

/Pl. 13 faces p. 60. /

5: Krause--19 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9 Javahe

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142 861 391 516

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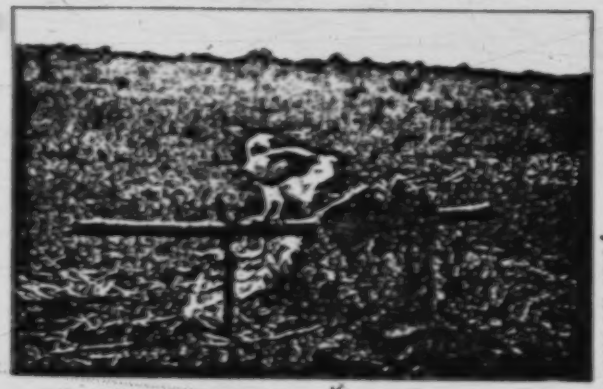
142 391 516 854

Plate 30

1. Houses of the Šavajé on Bananal.



2. Village bird of the Šavajé.

/Pl. 30 faces p. 136./

3. Šavajé women and children.

4. Šavajé men and youths.

Plate 32

342

1. Temporary hut: double hut with circular structures. Karajá.

2. Entrance into the circular structure.

/Pl. 32 faces p. 148?/

Karajá chief's hut. Entrance partly covered.

5: Krause--69 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9

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1. Simple closed hut. Karajá.

2. Framework of a double closed hut.

3. Mixed type: short hut. Karajá.

4. Mixed type: long hut. Savajé in Schischá.

/194 cont./

648 [115] 1. (cont.)
the river in order to make exchanges, and that there is now a Karajá boy among the Kayapó and a Kayapó boy among the Karajá for the purpose of learning the other language and later using it at home, probably refer to these efforts.

[721] The feuds, therefore, continue to this day, and even today women and children are abducted by both sides. Thus, the Šambioá are in constant strife with the Kayapó, the Karajá with [729] the Tapirapé, and the Šavajé with the Canoeiros. Among the [548] Šambioá Ehrenreich found many Kayapó women who are used as prostitutes by the tribe. The same is true of the Tapirapé women among the Karajá. In 1908 their number was small: in the south horde there was one girl, in the north horde three women, a girl, 179 and two boys. These Tapirapé seem not to have exerted any cultural, linguistic, or physical influence, whereas the cultural influence of the Tapirapé on the Karajá in former times must have been very strong, especially at the mouth of the Tapirapé, there was a great number of objects which were not seen in any other Karajá village and which appeared to be foreign.

3. House and Village.

•342 The house (hãtõ) is built in different ways, depending on the season of the year (dry season, rainy season).

[335] The framework of the dry-season house consists of three arches, one behind the other, each made out of two sticks tied together at the top with bast. Palm fronds serve as covering: the pinnae are bent over to one side; two such fronds are then placed one on top of the other and tied together at the ribs. These fronds are then fastened to the arches from below in such a way that the upper ones cover the lower ones somewhat. The ridge is not finished off; it is not specially covered. About 15 centimeters below the ridge, on either side, a pole is tied parallel to it on the leaf covering (see Pl. 39). These simple huts are about three meters long, two meters wide, and one and a half meters high.

/194 cont./

342 I myself did not see the rainy-season huts. In October /195/ (beginning of the rainy season) the Karajá occupied, on the sand-banks, a hut form differing from the dry-season type; according to their statements, they build their houses on the high banks from November to March in the same way as this transitional type. The chief difference in contrast to the dry-season house is that the two open narrow sides are each closed off by a round structure projecting out about one meter, in each of which a small opening permits entrance (Pl. 40, Ill. 1). The manner in which the round structures are built is shown in Ill. 2 of Plate 40. They are covered in the same way as the rest of the house. Apparently they serve to prevent rain from entering from the side.

[335] By far the majority of these closed huts showed a second difference: they were once again as long; the framework thus consisted of six arches (1). The long houses, /Ill. 18 appears here/

[113] 1. Such long huts with a low entrance on the front side are already mentioned by Villa Souza Real in 1792 from among the Šambioá. Rev. trim., Vol. 11, p. 430.

closed on both sides, naturally afford far greater protection from rain and at the same time to a greater number of persons than, say, two short huts (Pl. 32, Ill. 1).

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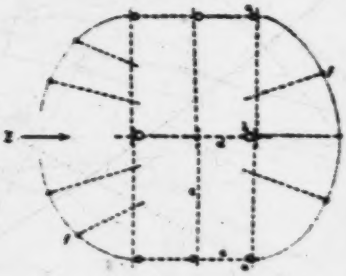
342 184 177 In the southernmost villages, near Schischá and São José, there were houses which deviated considerably from this method of construction; they represented a mixed type from the building method of the Šavajé and Brazilians. They look very rancho-like.

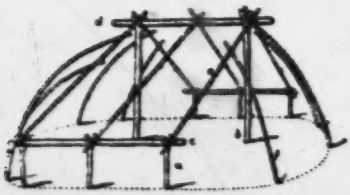
[335] The side walls are formed by three vertical posts about one meter

/195 cont./

342 high, in the forks of each of which rests a longitudinal beam.
184 In the center of each of the two narrow sides stands a post about
177 three meters high; a ridge beam is laid across the two of them.
335 In most cases a second longitudinal beam at half the height also connects them. From the ridge beam to the side longitudinal beam three rafters run down on either side. /196/ The entrances are closed by round structures. The covering corresponds to that



a Side uprights
b Ridge uprights
c Side supporting beam
d Ridge beam
e Rafters
f Rounding sticks



Ill. 18.
Ground plan and framework of the short hut of the mixed type. Karajá.

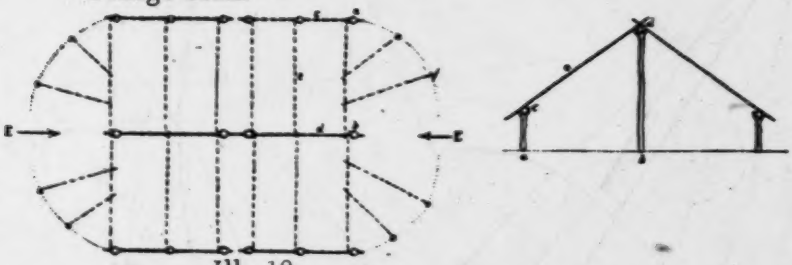
of the other houses. This therefore produces vertical walls, and wall and roof are separate from each other (framework and
342 ground plan, Ill. 18; covered house, Pl. 40, Ill. 3). Sometimes
184 double houses are built in this way. Such huts are considerably
177 higher and roomier, and the round structures project out farther, up to two meters (Ill. 19). /Ills. 19 and 20 appear here./ These houses were originally taken over from the Šavajé; one can, however, easily trace how the Šavajé house changed here under Brazilian influence into this mixed house.

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 76]

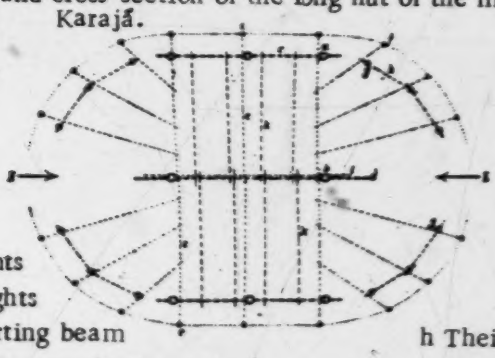
/196 cont./

347
184
[177]

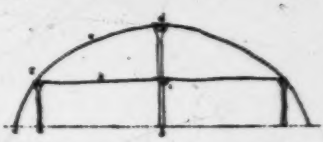
a Side uprights
b Ridge uprights
c Side supporting beam
d Ridge beam
e Rafters
f Rounding sticks



Ill. 19.
Ground plan and cross-section of the long hut of the mixed type. Karajá.



a Side uprights
b Ridge uprights
c Side supporting beam
d Ridge beam
e Rafters
f Rounding sticks
g Rounding uprights



h Their crossbeams
i Middle longitudinal beam at half the height
k Crossbeam for the floor

Ill. 20.
Ground plan and cross-section of the house of the Šavajé on Bananal.

/196 cont./

342 335 The unaffected Šavajé house is shown in the ground plan and cross-section in Ill. 20. Characteristic are: two ridge uprights, over them the ridge beam, a second longitudinal beam at two-thirds of the height; three side uprights on either side, and over them /197/ side crossbeams. The rafters are led down from the ridge beam over the side crossbeams to the floor and fastened to the floor itself. The roundings are each supported by six low uprights, the three of each of the two sets are connected by cross-beams over which the rounding's roof-beams run down to the ground from the first and third arch. Thus, sides and rounding are supported from the inside by uprights with crossbeams. The entrances are in the roundings. These houses are 20-25 meters long, 12-15 meters wide, 3-4 meters high.

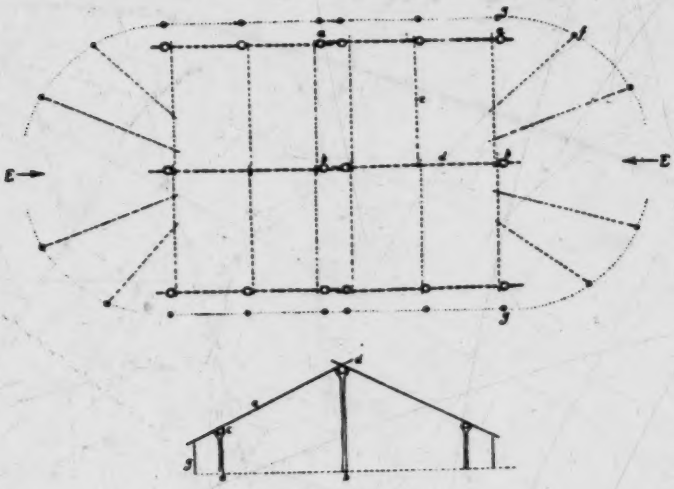
342 335 177 In Schischá at the end of October I came across the house of an immigrant Šavajé family; it was already altered (ground plan and cross-section, Ill. 21; covered, Pl. 40, Ill. 4). First of all it was a double house; its layout was identical with that of the Karajá house (Ill. 19). The difference was /Ill. 21 appears here/ that in front of each of the side support-beams a low, free-standing wall post had been rammed into the ground; to these wall posts, which were not connected by crossbeams, the wall covering was fastened. Thus, the separation into roof and wall had already occurred here; the wall supports were retained, and they became side support-beams. With regard to the round structures the layout is already simpler in Karajá fashion. In the mixed houses of the Karajá, these wall posts have disappeared; the covering is fastened to the side support-beams themselves. Thus, we have here before us the process of the development of the Šavajé house into the rancho; one need only omit the round structures in order to have a genuine Brazilian rancho structure. I actually saw such a house among the boatbuilders of Schischá on my downstream journey.

162 /198/ The assumption that the inhabitants of the southern-most villages of the south horde are mixed with Šavajé (see above: "Size" and "Number" /see pp. 46 and 67/) thereby gains additional support.

/198 cont./

342
184
177

a Side uprights
b Ridge uprights
c Side supporting beam
d Ridge beam
e Rafters
f Rounding sticks
g Wall supports



Ill. 21.
Ground plan and cross-section of the long hut of the mixed type.
Šavajé in Schischá.

[335] That this influence actually acted in this way, and that these
[336] houses are not, say, ranchos taken over from the Brazilians and simply provided with round structures, is first of all shown by the example of the Šavaje, who are acquainted with the ridge beam and upright construction, and then by the fact that the mask houses of the Karajá of the south horde and those of the Šavajé have a ridge beam which is fastened at the top to the three arches. If we add, as is shown in Ill. 3 in Ehrenreich, "Beiträge," p. 13, that the houses of the Šambioá resemble those of the Šavajé, then the huts

/198 cont./

342 of the Karajá seem to us an impoverished form; significantly,
184 the ridge beam is preserved only in the mask house. The
177 mixed houses are thus of Indian origin, though, as far as the separation of wall and roof is concerned, with Brazilian influence.

342 Interior arrangement. The houses are very nicely cool, and the covering, if, as in the rainy season, it is more carefully made,
352 is rainproof. The floor is covered with large mats. These buriti-
[513]

[531]

Ill. 22.
Patterned sleeping mat for girls. Karajá.

fiber mats (bū̱lẽ́) serve as sitting and sleeping mats. On one of their long sides the fibers protrude as long fringe. My largest mat is four meters long and 1.70 meters wide. Smaller mats, which are patterned by black bast-strips plaited in, are rare (Ill. 22, girls' sleeping mat).

352 The sleeping areas are very simply furnished. To sleep, one
513 stretches out on the floor on a mat and covers himself with the other half of the mat or the rĩĩõ̃ (see below /see p. 93 /). Sometimes the legs are drawn up in the side position, the one end of the rĩĩõ̃ put over the feet and the other over the head, so that the entire body is protected from dew and mosquitoes. I did not see wooden cylinders as neck supports, which Ehrenreich mentioned. It is very possible that they have these, for they like to put the head high when sleeping.

/200 cont./

514 water about 5/4 meters deep with their knees slightly bent and there untie the long penis string and tie it on again.

●342 [252] The houses are merely living and sleeping houses; cooking is done outside.

[202] The chiefs in part have better built, larger houses; thus, Plate 41 appears here/ /201/ the one belonging to Chief João III was three to four meters high, five to six meters wide, and equally long (Pl. 39).

[344] [203] [602] There are no meeting houses; in order to bring about a decision or announce regulations, the chief goes to the individual houses.

Other special houses are:

343 844 1. Birth houses. These are erected for the woman when birth is imminent; their construction is said to be identical with that of the other houses.

346 2. The mask house in which the dance masks are kept. It always stands apart from the village and in its method of construction is a dry-season house with a round structure on the narrow side turned toward the village. The arches are usually slightly curved and strengthened on top by a ridge beam (Pl. 12, Ill. 3). The mask houses serve as bachelor houses; the young people are said to sleep here. I saw only four mask huts, but cannot confirm 513 these statements from my observations. In any case, the young people do not sleep in the houses, but rather, if there is no mask house, [609] by a fire which is away from the village. Strangers are given shelter by the chief; they sleep in his house, even though they are unmarried (see the reception which I, with my men, found among the Savajé /pp. 129 ff. in the first part of the work, which is omitted in the translation/).

342 423 562 768 The house belongs to the woman. The man builds it before the marriage, with the assistance of the young people, who are paid for it by the woman with chains of beads. The construction takes one or two days. After death the house is said to be burned.

821 According to the accounts of the Indians, the houses are protected from bolts of lightning by a fish spine stuck on the roof on a pole about half a meter long. Probably only magic is involved here.

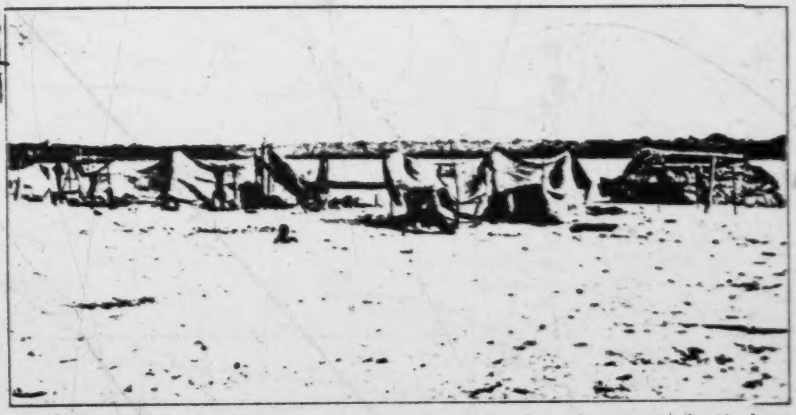
[Text continues on P. 84]

Plate 41

133
231
291
342

1 Shade roof, mat wall behind it.

133
342
361



2. Unfinished village: mat-wall camp beside newly built hut.

/201 cont./

342 The chief's house is a communal structure. It is built by all
476 the married men, while the activity of the young people is limited
437 to cutting out and tying together the leaves for the roofing. The chief pays for this with arrows, lances, and clubs.

342 Besides these houses there are lighter protective walls (1),

1. Fonseca already mentioned these protective walls in 1773: The tents consist of two mats, one of which serves as a rug, the other as protection from the sun. Rev. trim. 8, p. 378.

a type of wind screen, in the shade of which the family usually remains during the day, and where the cooking is done. On journeys they serve as the sole dwelling, and in the village as drying racks for the aprons of the women.

There are various kinds of such protective walls.

[824] 1. Walls: Walls of palm leaves are fastened to several vertical poles in the same way as for the house covering (nõbõ), or mats are tied to them, forming a vertical wall (bũlẽ). Such walls are encountered in almost all the houses, and they are usually fastened to three poles; also, however, walls of this kind which are twice as [252] long occur. In their /202/ shade is usually found the hearth for cooking, and in front of them lie mats on which the family remains during the day (Pl. 12, Ill. 1; Pl. 41, Ill. 1).

2. Roofs (wãdõ): They are horizontally fastened to several poles put at the edge, usually to four, sometimes to three or six poles. Only mats are used here, and they are tied on with ropes. The mats usually fall down to the ground on the sunny side. Sometimes a protective roof of this kind is also built at one end of a mat wall (Pl. 41, Ill. 1; Pl. 10, Ill. 1). /Ills. 27 and 28 appear here./

361 The village (ĩsõ).

Ehrenreich says that the houses of the Carayahi usually consist of mat walls and stand in wild confusion, without any order. Only the Šambioá were said to have a street-like arrangement of the houses. This arrangement in rows that run parallel to the shore is also present

/203 cont./

361 The houses in general are oriented in such a way that one long side faces northwest, north, or northeast, thus providing shade.

[592] Each house is occupied by only one family; to each house
[349] there generally belongs a mat wall, a supply stand, and one or two hearth areas.

[346] The mask hut lies away from the village, at a distance of about 200 meters.

621 The villages of the Karajá are small; many consisted of only one or two houses, the largest of eight huts (1). Ehrenreich be-

1. Rufino has already reported that the villages of the Karajá have only eight to ten huts on the average. Rev. trim. 10, p. 208.

lieves that this dispersion must be traced back to a lack of means
[511] of subsistence. This is scarcely to be assumed, since there is suf-
[598] ficient food, especially fish. In my opinion, it is conditioned first
[571] by the many disputes that seem to prevail among the families of the Karajá and lead to the departure of some of them, and then by the prevalence of personal attitudes concerning the feeling of sociability; many families live permanently isolated in one place because they happen to like it there.

It is noteworthy that the villages decrease in size from north
[166] to south. This may be explained by the direction of migration of the Karajá: the bulk of them still live in the north; toward the south, the first to be sent are advance groups, which, of course, are small in number.

361 On journeys the Karajá pitch camps of mat roofs or walls,
484 in the shade and shelter of which they live and sleep. The walls are, of course, oriented in such a way that they provide as much shade as possible and as long as possible; hence they usually stand approximately from west to east, and likewise arranged in rows (Pl. 13, Ill. 1). If a village is moved, the Indians live under mat walls until the houses are erected (Pl. 41, Ill. 2).

221 The villages do not remain permanently in one place. During
361 the dry season, the Indians live on the sandbanks of the river, which,

/353 cont./

142 3. Physically the Šavajé differ from the Karajá only in their greater height (Pl. 30, Ills. 3 and 4). The men are probably on the average four to five centimeters taller than those of the Karajá; the women, too, are taller than the Karajá women. Here, too, however, there are persons of small stature, especially of the female sex (Pl. 30, Ill. 3). For the rest, everything that was said about the Karajá is also true of the Šavajé.

184 /354/ In their culture as a whole the Šavajé are pure Karajá. They do, however, show a few differences from the latter, which, in turn, link them up more closely with the Šambioá. In the following I shall therefore state the differences only very briefly.

347 184 4. House and village. The construction of the house differs considerably from that of the Karajá and is similar to that of the Šambioá. I refer to my explanation above about the house [177] construction of the Karajá, where the modification of the Šavajé house as a result of Brazilian influence in the case /Ill. 188 appears here/ of the Šavajé living among the southern Karajá is described (pp. 75/77; Ills. 20, 21; Pl. 30, Ill. 1). [353] The cross beams of the posts supporting the roof have thin poles laid over them and form a sort of loft on which back-baskets, baskets, weapons, women's belts, plaiting material, etc. are [354] stored. In contrast to the Karajá, the cooking places are in the house, and, to be sure, in the circular structures, one on either side of the entrance, so that there are four hearths in the house. The circular structures serve at the same time as supply rooms for baskets, gourds, food, etc. On the lower parts of the house posts, all around the walls, all kinds of birds, such as vultures, etc., are tied up.

361 184 The village, like that of the Karajá, is laid out in one row parallel to the shore (see the plan, Ill. 188 /see p. 314/). The [346] mask house lies apart from the village. It corresponds to that of the Karajá, but has a ridge beam such as appears in the mask house of the southern Karajá.

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

eyes from the strong reflection of the sun on the sand-bars. 293
When trading with travelers, they are eager to get blue or [439]
smoked glasses, or goggles.

The Karayá live in a more advanced state than do some 162
of the other tribes of the Amazon basin, especially the rough, 361
nomadic peoples, who exist in small groups of a few families.
They prefer to live in large groups containing hundreds of
individuals, and in permanent habitations, constituting fixed
villages or encampments. True, the Karayá living near San [221]
José, rove about somewhat in small parties during the dry
season; but farther down the Araguaya, the encampments
are more permanent and populous, numbering one hundred
fifty to two hundred souls. During the rainless season when 361
the river is low, they live on the sandy river bottoms, called
praias. Here they set up their easily portable huts, in order
to be convenient to their canoes and to the fishing grounds,
and also to be more free from troublesome insects.

The *villages* of the Karayáhy division, in common with
those of all other primitive peoples, are merely clusters or
groups of huts, huddled together in complete disorder. Each 342
hut is constructed by planting in the sand, fifteen or twenty
feet apart, two parallel rows of saplings, then bending over
each pair of opposites and tying them together. To these ribs
are bound bamboo rods in a horizontal position, *sipo*—creepers [283]
—being used as cordage; and upright poles are planted at the
gables. Over this frame-work is bound the skin, or covering, [824]
which consists of giant, feather-like palm-branches. Sometimes
plates, resting on forked posts, are used to further strengthen
the frame. This dwelling, when completed, is shaped like
the bottom of an inverted barge, and looks like a very squatty,
ancient haystack, with a hole—the door—eaten in one end
by cattle.

Garbage, such as watermelon rinds, pumpkin skins, green 364
corn cobs, and other fruit and vegetable refuse, is dumped
just outside the hut. Here, the mass festers and stinks in
the fierce rays of a tropical sun, and attracts swarms of [361]
insects, especially sand flies, that torment the nude savages

361 [364] beyond endurance, compelling them, finally, to pull down their huts and move to a new site, perhaps to some other sand-bar. This is a case of moving the residence instead of the garbage. During the rainy season, or when the sand bottoms are submerged, which may not occur until two or three months after the rains begin, the Karayá dwell on the [342] high banks of the mainland. Here, the huts are much better constructed, resembling the dwellings of "civilized" Brazilians.

342 184 It is seldom one sees among primitive peoples, such substantially constructed huts as those of the Sambiõa division. Here is seen the greater industry, the greater activity, and the better condition in every respect of the free, unmolested sons of the wilderness in comparison with their "tame" brethren who exist in more destitute circumstances, though in contact with, and under the influence of the "civilized" people—the semi-barbarous Brazilians. The dwellings of 342 the Sambiõa are not placed in disorder, but are arranged in 363 long rows, forming regular streets. "They make a favorable impression upon the visitor, because the streets appear clean and the huts orderly, comfortable and inviting." The four 361 Sambiõa villages each contain sixty, thirty, forty-five and 162 ninety huts, respectively, and each hut is occupied by one or 592 two, or more, families.

352 The furniture in these primitive abodes is very simple. The floor, which is bare earth, is covered with matting made [285] by braiding together the long, slender leaves of the burity-palm. The occupants sleep on this matting without any [513] other bedding whatever, save a round billet of wood for a pillow upon which the neck rests, but not the head, Japanese 353 fashion. From the plates, or roof supports, hang baskets of various forms and sizes, in which are kept the bright feathers that are used in decorative work and ornament making. Finished ornaments and decorations made of brilliant feathers, pieces of regalia, bows and arrows in a finished and unfinished state, spear-throwing sticks and various small articles are also seen stuck into or suspended from the roof; while

/200 cont./

514 water about 5/4 meters deep with their knees slightly bent and there untie the long penis string and tie it on again.

342 The houses are merely living and sleeping houses; cooking
[252] is done outside.

The chiefs in part have better built, larger houses; thus,
[602] Plate 41 appears here/ /201/ the one belonging to Chief João III was three to four meters high, five to six meters wide, and equally long (Pl. 39).

[344] There are no meeting houses; in order to bring about a de-
[203] cision or announce regulations, the chief goes to the individual
[207] houses.

Other special houses are:

343 1. Birth houses. These are erected for the woman when birth
844 is imminent; their construction is said to be identical with that of the other houses.

346 2. The mask house in which the dance masks are kept. It always stands apart from the village and in its method of construction is a dry-season house with a round structure on the narrow side turned toward the village. The arches are usually slightly curved and strengthened on top by a ridge beam (Pl. 12, Ill. 3). The mask houses serve as bachelor houses; the young people are said to sleep here. I saw only four mask huts, but cannot confirm
513 these statements from my observations. In any case, the young people do not sleep in the houses, but rather, if there is no mask house,
[669] by a fire which is away from the village. Strangers are given shelter by the chief; they sleep in his house, even though they are unmarried (see the reception which I, with my men, found among the Savajé /pp. 129 ff. in the first part of the work, which is omitted in the translation/).

342 The house belongs to the woman. The man builds it before
423 the marriage, with the assistance of the young people, who are
562 paid for it by the woman with chains of beads. The construction
768 takes one or two days. After death the house is said to be burned.

821 According to the accounts of the Indians, the houses are protected from bolts of lightning by a fish spine stuck on the roof on a pole about half a meter long. Probably only magic is involved here.

[Text continues on p. 84]

/200 cont./

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[Text Continues on P. 84]

/13 cont./

342 principally to close off the narrow sides. To the right and left of the door are planted two high poles which give the palm-leaf layers of the front side more solid support.

352 The interior furnishing of the houses is rather simple. Part of the floor is covered with buriti mats which also serve as an [513] underlayer for sleeping. A smooth wooden cylinder pushed under-353 neath represents the pillow. The various storage baskets, the [415] containers for ornamental feathers, the finished feather orna-[237] ments, bottle gourds, and other things hang from the horizontal beams. Bows and arrows are stuck in the rafters. [342] Lances and clubs stand in the corner, always at hand. Some sledge-like 352 stools, as well as pots and 415 gourd /cuia/ bowls of varying sizes complete the household equipment.

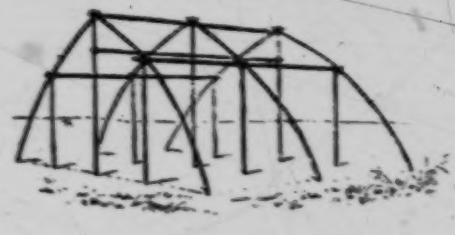


Fig. 3. Hut construction.

346 At some distance from the village is found the somewhat dif-[532] ferently constructed "medicine hut," where the mysterious dance masks are stored. It has the form of an ordinary rancho, with a steeply sloping roof, and is tightly closed on three sides, whereas [784] the side facing the village is wide open. Female creatures may not venture near it.

[114] Castelnau already makes mention of it. Couto Magelhães in his first report speaks of a hut which serves as an arsenal for storing weapons. Nothing of this sort is known to me. Evidently he means by it this mysterious sacred place whose true purpose no one wanted to reveal to him. We shall return to it in the following.

875 It is also noteworthy that in front of two Sambioa villages dead king-vultures (Sarcoramphus papa) with outspread wings were fastened on a high frame of poles. They are probably supposed to scare away demons in the manner of the bird figures carved out of wood in front of Malay villages.

Plate 12

1. Cooking place of the Karaja Indians.

3. Mask hut in Village 7 (South Horde).

2. Karajá boys.

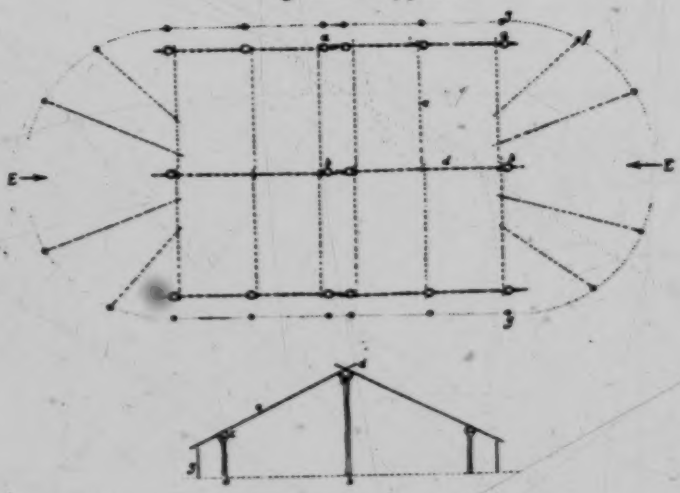
4. Karajá women and girls.

/Plate 12 faces p. 56. /

/198 cont./

342
184
177

a Side uprights
b Ridge uprights
c Side supporting beam
d Ridge beam
e Rafters
f Rounding sticks
g Wall supports



Ill. 21.
Ground plan and cross-section of the long hut of the mixed type.
Šavajé in Schischá.

[335] [340] That this influence actually acted in this way, and that these houses are not, say, ranchos taken over from the Brazilians and simply provided with round structures, is first of all shown by the example of the Šavaje, who are acquainted with the ridge beam and upright construction, and then by the fact that the mask houses of the Karajá of the south horde and those of the Šavajé have a ridge beam which is fastened at the top to the three arches. If we add, as is shown in Ill. 3 in Ehrenreich, "Beiträge," p. 13, that the houses of the Šambioá resemble those of the Šavajé, then the huts

/200 cont./

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343 1. Birth houses. These are erected for the woman when birth
844 is imminent; their construction is said to be identical with that of the other houses.

•346 2. The mask house in which the dance masks are kept. It always stands apart from the village and in its method of construction is a dry-season house with a round structure on the narrow side turned toward the village. The arches are usually slightly curved and strengthened on top by a ridge beam (Pl. 12, Ill. 3). The mask houses serve as bachelor houses; the young people are said to sleep here. I saw only four mask huts, but cannot confirm
513 these statements from my observations. In any case, the young people do not sleep in the houses, but rather, if there is no mask house,
[669] by a fire which is away from the village. Strangers are given shelter by the chief; they sleep in his house, even though they are unmarried (see the reception which I, with my men, found among the Šavajé /pp. 129 ff. in the first part of the work, which is omitted in the translation).

342 The house belongs to the woman. The man builds it before
423 the marriage, with the assistance of the young people, who are
562 paid for it by the woman with chains of beads. The construction
768 takes one or two days. After death the house is said to be burned.

821 According to the accounts of the Indians, the houses are protected from bolts of lightning by a fish spine stuck on the roof on a pole about half a meter long. Probably only magic is involved here.

[Text Continues on P. 84]

/203 cont./

361 The houses in general are oriented in such a way that one long side faces northwest, north, or northeast, thus providing shade.

[592] [342] Each house is occupied by only one family; to each house there generally belongs a mat wall, a supply stand, and one or two hearth areas.

[346] The mask hut lies away from the village, at a distance of about 200 meters.

624 The villages of the Karajá are small; many consisted of only one or two houses, the largest of eight huts (1). Ehrenreich be-

1. Rufino has already reported that the villages of the Karajá have only eight to ten huts on the average. Rev. trim. 10, p. 208.

lieves that this dispersion must be traced back to a lack of means [511] of subsistence. This is scarcely to be assumed, since there is suf- [578] ficient food, especially fish. In my opinion, it is conditioned first [571] by the many disputes that seem to prevail among the families of the Karajá and lead to the departure of some of them, and then by the prevalence of personal attitudes concerning the feeling of sociability; many families live permanently isolated in one place because they happen to like it here.

It is noteworthy that the villages decrease in size from north [166] to south. This may be explained by the direction of migration of the Karajá: the bulk of them still live in the north; toward the south, the first to be sent are advance groups, which, of course, are small in number.

361 484 On journeys the Karajá pitch camps of mat roofs or walls, in the shade and shelter of which they live and sleep. The walls are, of course, oriented in such a way that they provide as much shade as possible and as long as possible; hence they usually stand approximately from west to east, and likewise arranged in rows (Pl. 13, Ill. 1). If a village is moved, the Indians live under mat walls until the houses are erected (Pl 41, Ill. 2).

221 361 The villages do not remain permanently in one place. During the dry season, the Indians live on the sandbanks of the river, which,

/332 cont. /
535 Araguaia (Central Brazil)/" (2).
796
[113]

2. Jahrbuch des städtischen Museums für Völkerkunde zu Leipzig, Vol. 3, Leipzig, 1910, pp. 97-122.

•346 I should like only to make a few remarks here about the
532 mask huts. Castelnau mentions and illustrates (Vue et scènes, Paris, 1853, Plate 8 and text page 7) in the first Sambioá village an almost semicircular, vertical palm-leaf wall, the convex side of which is turned toward the village. In the open space stand about ten dance masks. Beside this there is a framework of poles which consists of several oblique poles stuck in a circle, from the center of which projects a long pole bearing a bunch of leaves at the end. These two structures are shown somewhat larger on Page 9. In front of the palm-leaf wall are two dancers who have placed the masks on their heads. The way they are portrayed (the absence of the leaf-aprons and the way they are leaping about) proves that Castelnau was not present at the dances. Ehrenreich also reports on such semicircular compartments for masks, and, to be sure, also among the Karajá ("Beiträge," p. 34). I never saw such compartments, but only the house-like mask huts described by me.

775 About the world beyond, the Karajá were unable to give me any information. Allegedly the deceased go to the heavens.

787 Dreams, which are said to be very frequent, are regarded as reality. For example: "If someone dreams that a relative of his has died, he gets into his boat and rides there, in order to see whether it is true." (Kurisí.)

789 Magic (lŏbūnĭ) of all kinds is very widespread; even enlightened Karajá still firmly believe in its effect. It is believed that through /333/ manipulations natural events (rain) can be influenced or that other people can be harmed through magic.

Rain magic is very common; everyone can use it, everyone has the apparatus necessary for it. I obtained several of these:

/352 cont./

175 forced them to retreat, with a Šavajé walking on either side of each Brazilian. When the steamer whistled upon departure, many Šavajé, out of terror, leaped from their canoes into the river. In any case, from then on great fear prevailed among the Brazilian population concerning the more powerful Šavajé.

361 2. Dwelling sites. On the basis of my inquiries among the
[162] Karajá, the Šavajé live in the interior of Bananal Island in three
[131] to five villages which are distributed over a long stretch of territory. The northernmost small village is said to lie in the interior, three to four days above the north end of Bananal Island. The main village lies, in the dry season, about eight days above the mouth of the Furo on a sandbank at the entrance of a brook (outlet of the inland lake?). In the middle of August it is moved into the interior. It is said to be very large, "like a city": Pedro drew six rows, each with 20-25 houses, in the sand. The bachelors
• [346] are said to sleep in the mask house, located apart. Farther south, one to two days (?), one or two small villages lie in the interior
[114] of Bananal. I visited one of them from Karajá Village No. 15, from which it is located quite directly east. One reaches it by
[487] a well arranged route: after half a day's march, one comes to the Karajá village of Korumaré on a river. Either one travels up the river for one and a half days in a boat, describing a large arc to the south and east, or one walks for a day across the campo eastward to the harbor, from which it is another three to four hours' march to
[162] the village. The village, which contains five houses with approximately 100-150 /Pl. 59 appears here/ /353/ inhabitants, lies on a lake; it is moved several times in the course of the dry season.
[132] In the rainy season the entire region is inundated with water; apparently this lake then forms a part of the large lake that Fonseca mentions. I was unable to find out where the village is moved to during the rainy season. Finally, there is said to be a fifth small village still farther south, but the accounts about it vary.

131 This is the one branch of the Šavajé. A second one lives
162 near the south horde of the Karajá, and, indeed, in the two
101 southernmost villages: Schischá and near Leopoldina. They
361 migrated here in the last generation but one, for Chief Chico in
166

[Text continues on p. 312]

/353 cont./

142 3. Physically the Šavajé differ from the Karajá only in their greater height (Pl. 30, Ills. 3 and 4). The men are probably on the average four to five centimeters taller than those of the Karajá; the women, too, are taller than the Karajá women. Here, too, however, there are persons of small stature, especially of the female sex (Pl. 30, Ill. 3). For the rest, everything that was said about the Karajá is also true of the Šavajé.

184 /354/ In their culture as a whole the Šavajé are pure Karajá. They do, however, show a few differences from the latter, which, in turn, link them up more closely with the Šambioá. In the following I shall therefore state the differences only very briefly.

342 184 4. House and village. The construction of the house differs considerably from that of the Karajá and is similar to that of the Šambioá. I refer to my explanation above about the house [197] construction of the Karajá, where the modification of the Šavajé house as a result of Brazilian influence in the case /Ill. 188 appears here/ of the Šavajé living among the southern Karajá is described (pp. 75/77; Ills. 20, 21; Pl. 30, Ill. 1). [353] The cross beams of the posts supporting the roof have thin poles laid over them and form a sort of loft on which back-baskets, baskets, weapons, women's belts, plaiting material, etc. are [354] stored. In contrast to the Karajá, the cooking places are in the house, and, to be sure, in the circular structures, one on either side of the entrance, so that there are four hearths in the house. The circular structures serve at the same time as supply rooms for baskets, gourds, food, etc. On the lower parts of the house posts, all around the walls, all kinds of birds, such as vultures, etc., are tied up.

361 184 The village, like that of the Karajá, is laid out in one row parallel to the shore (see the plan, Ill. 188 /see p. 314/). The [346] mask house lies apart from the village. It corresponds to that of the Karajá, but has a ridge beam such as appears in the mask house of the southern Karajá.

/365 cont./

574 eyes with soot. Having arrived in the chief's house, my men sat down on the mats in a row extending across the house. The chief sat in front of them at one end, his wife at the other; not a word was spoken, the Karajá sat there with bowed heads and made ex-
[302] tremely distressed faces. Then the chief's wife moved along the row from behind, oiled and combed out the hair of all of them. After that, they had to come to her one by one to have themselves painted by her with urucú. During this whole time the challenging shouts for the wrestling match kept coming over from the mask hut.

/366/ Finally the chief spoke a few words; the Karajá arose and went with him in front of the house. A second Šavajé man from the neighboring hut joined them. Now the procession formed: in front the two Šavajé, behind them the Karajá in twos or threes,
• [346] all with arms crossed over shoulders. Women and children followed the procession to the mask hut, where the Šavajé young people were standing in an irregular row. All were painted with urucú; two wore dance belts and feather arm-bands. As soon as the Karajá arrived, the shouting ceased and the wrestling began.
526 The two adorned youths danced forward first, shouting and swing-
574 ing their arms, as we know it from the Karajá (Ills. 10 and 11). The Karajá did not accept. Then they danced forward a second time and were accepted. The wrestling followed; the Karajá were the victors. In the second round, the Karajá challenged, and so it went on, five or six times. Some bouts were not accepted; then the challengers turned around to the right, flinging their arms wide, and returned to the center. Here they stood in the resting position with their backs to the Karajá and shouted until one of the opponents accepted them. A few bouts remained indecisive, otherwise the Karajá won. This was astonishing, since the Šavajé were all larger figures and gave the impression of being more powerful; moreover, they did not have three difficult days of travel behind them. Perhaps the explanation is that the Karajá on the average were five to ten years older and therefore had better developed muscles. Scarcely had the chief announced the end when the Šavajé again shouted their cries; the women and children hastened away and hid in the huts, toward which all the participants betook themselves in an irregular procession.

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

clubs and lances, various kinds of clay pots and pans and 353
gourd-shell vessels occupy the corners of the hut.

A short distance from the encampment is the "Casa do 346
Bicho," or medicine hut; or better yet, the Demon Hut. It is roofed and closed in on three sides only. The side facing away from the village is always left entirely open. The [562]
women of the tribe are not allowed to go near this hut, or to look into it. In front of two Sambiõa villages, two dead 825
kingfishers were secured to the top of a high pole, for the purpose, probably, of keeping away the demons.

The Karayá have a few domestic, or domesticated crea- 231
tures. These are considered members of the family, and live 825
in and out of the family hut, and on equal terms generally with the people. These children of Nature are evidently lovers of Nature, and their mode of life can scarcely be conceived of without these creatures. The way they treat them indicates the idea they entertain regarding them and their doings—that they look upon them as their companions and equals. The feeling of companionship—even of relationship— with the animal world, is characteristic of the Karayá, and [538]
is evidenced by the way the animals are spoken of in their tribal legends, and by the fact that they have quite a treasury of animal fables. Although these people are successful 231
in taming wild creatures, they have never made any economic use of them as have the civilized people. They are captured while still young, and reared, but for no purpose, in most cases, other than to be kept as pets and esteemed members of the families of their captors, where their presence seems to give much pleasure. They are seldom thought of as regards any material benefits they may confer. The only economic [237]
use that is made of any of these creatures, is of those that have bright-colored plumage, which is used in the making of the many feathered adornments that are so much admired by these primitive people. Nor are these animals permitted to multiply themselves, if this can be avoided. Some poultry 235
is kept, which was obtained originally from the "civilized" [197]
Brazilians, and these, of course, multiply rapidly. But even

8:Gow-Smith T-5 (no date)1925
SP9 Caraja SP9

535 [349] These costumes are made and kept guarded in a wigwam at some distance from the village, and at the conclusion of the [411] [531] festivities are destroyed. Covering the entire body as it does, the masquerade completely conceals the identity of the dancer, who must not under any circumstances reveal his identity to the women onlookers.

535 562 [258] Women and children are merely spectators and are never permitted to view the dress except when it encases the form of the dancer. The women of the tribe apparently cherish a profound respect for

FIG. 43.—A personator in the Fish Dance.

8:Gow-Smith T-5 (no date)1925
SP9 Caraja SP9

535 this ritual and never seek to penetrate its mysteries.
562 At any rate they seemed to keep at a distance from
[346] the sacred wigwam where the men ate and drank in tribute to the sacred fish.

535 Should a woman, however, so far forget her posi-
562 tion as to enter this mysterious hut or should avail
627 herself of an opportunity to look at this mystery dress, she may be punished by death. Executive clemency is granted by the chief, at the request of the women of the tribe, providing she will promise silence and expiate her crime by some appointed work. If she should refuse, she will be ordered to appear at a designated spot in the woods, at a certain height of the sun, where she will find assembled a group of warriors. Failing to comply with their desires, she may be killed and the body thrown into the river. Should she flee to the
[346] sacred wigwam, however, this being sanctuary, she goes free at the termination of the festivities to resume her place in society.

126 Wishing to preserve the costumes as a memento
535 of my visit among them, I asked the chief if I might take them with me. Reluctantly he consented, and ordered his men under cover of darkness to take them in a canoe down the river and await my coming. It was by this means that the costumes ultimately came in possession of the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation.

/12 cont./

342 184 Only rarely does one see among them the characteristic solid house-construction of the Šambioa and then only in smaller dimensions, without any particular care in the construction. Since 351 364 all the scraps are simply strewn on the ground, the refuse gradually [136] becomes unbearable. The vermin multiplying in large numbers, especially the sand fleas, finally force them to abandon the place. 342 In the rainy season the Karayahi move into stronger, buriti-leaf [361] covered, open ranchos on the high bank, which do not in other respects differ in form from those customary among the Brazilian population.

/13/ The "summer huts" of the Šambioa are very much more [184] carefully and neatly built. Here the greater diligence, industriousness, and the comfortable well-being of the free son of the wilderness are manifest, in contrast to his "tame" tribal brother vegetating in oppressive conditions and dependent on civilization. [361] Not in disorder, but in long rows, forming real streets, these houses with their impeccable cleanliness make an uncommonly friendly and comfortable impression (Pl. IV /see p. 106/, 1, and Pl. V /see p. 107/).

621 In the first Šambioa village we counted 60 huts, in the second 30, in the third 45, and in the fourth 90, each of which is inhabited by one or two families.

The individual villages are distinguished by special names. 342 The basic form of the house is rectangular; the narrow side with the door faces the street. The frame consists of three or four [335] flexible poles on each side carried over forked supports and held together with those on the opposite side by means of cipos, thus /Fig. 3 appears here/ forming a boat-like, arched roof, which is further supported by some vertical poles set in the ground in the long direction (Fig. 3 /see p. 22 /). These, as well as the forked supports, are connected with one another by as many strong horizontal poles as are necessary. Thin laths are placed lengthwise [824] and parallel to one another on the outside over the ribs of the roof and serve as supports for the strong pinnate leaves of the uaguassú palm (Attalea spectabilis), which, in several layers, form a fairly waterproof roof. Their leaf pinnae are also entwined with one another into a very solid plaited work. These plaitings serve

/78 cont./ [Plate II. Karaya. (cont'd)]

142 2. Two Šambioa warriors en face. The man on the left with
291 the feather diadem lurina on the back of the head (see p. 44),
301 bow, arrows, and club in his hand, the one on the right with the
302 small wreath-diadem (Pl. IX /see p. /, 6) and strings of glass
411 beads wound tightly around the neck. The large lower-arm cuffs identify him as unmarried.

Pl. III. Karaya. Karayahi Groups (taken in the last "summer camp" on a river island above the northern tip of Bananal Island).

1. Men, two of which wear arm-cuffs and knee-bands. One has the small feather rosettes with a central disk of mother-of-pearl in his ears (see. p. 46). Face painting with soot is recognizable. The straw hat of the older man sitting in front is not the one mentioned on p. 20, but a model directly borrowed
[501] from the settlers. In the background two long canoes and farther to the left in the distance the small Araguaia steamer.

342 2. Women, children, and young people sitting on the
361 ground in front of the tent-roofs of the summer camp, which are
516 made of mats. Two araras on the pole to the right, at the left on the bank a jabiru (black-headed stork).

Pl. IV. Karaya. Villages.

133
342 1. Full view of the first village of the Sambioa.
361 2. Reception scene in the third village of the Šambioa.
574

291 Pl. V. Karaya. Chief's hut (fourth village of the
342 Šambioa).
●351
354 Group at the cooking place in front of the entrance.
415

411 Pl. VI. Karaya. Weapons.

1. Bow with wound bowstring and feather tassel (1/8).

4: Ehrenreich--107 E-5 (1888) 1891 SP9 Caraja SP9

Plate V

291
342
351
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415
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Plate 11

342
351
[36]

1. Dry-season hut of the Karajá.

2. Karajá village.

142
291
516
[27]
[30A]

3. Karajá women smoking.

4. Karajá siblings.

/Pl. 11 faces p. 52./

5: Krause--69 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9

1. Simple closed hut. Karajá.

2. Framework of a double closed hut.

3. Mixed type: short hut. Karajá.

4. Mixed type: long hut. Savajé in Schischá.

352

352 FURNITURE--pegs, racks, shelves, and cupboards; description of furniture (e.g., chairs, tables, chests, beds, hammocks, head-rests); floor covering (e.g., mats, rugs); special uses of furniture; etc. See also:

Mat making	286	Hardware	414
Furniture manufacture	322	Bedding	813

1:Lipkind E-5 (1937) 1948 SP9 Caraja SP9

pushing aside a door of plaited palm. Every married woman in the family 342
cooks at her own fireplace, which consists of two lumps of hardened clay. [354]
Mats used for sleeping and sitting are spread over the entire floor. [258]
Wooden stools (fig. 19) may also be found. Bows, arrows, and rattles [352]
353
352

FIGURE 19.—*Carajá* wooden stool. (Redrawn from Ehrenreich, 1891 b, fig. 11.)

are shoved into the wall thatch. Baskets, used for storing such things as tobacco, urucú, and feathers, are hung by a string from the ridge poles. Large baskets containing vegetables lie on the ground next to the thatch.

The dry-season house is identical in form but smaller and of flimsier 342
construction. Thatching is looser and the walls are thatched only about 361
halfway to the ground, the north and west sides often being left completely open. The dry-season village is generally constructed on a long beach and, as the site grows dirty, is moved along the beach. The ground plan of the dry-season village is identical with the rainy-season village.

DRESS AND ORNAMENTS

The most prominent facial decoration is a blue-black circular scarification about an inch in diameter over each cheekbone. The ears of infants 301
are pierced and an ornament consisting of a small polished capybara tooth 304
with a feather attached is inserted. A common ear ornament for children is a mother-of-pearl disk with a cut feather fringe set on a blackened thin rod. In a perforation of their lower lips, men wear wood or bone labrets of a variety of shapes (pl. 21; fig. 21, *a*), each assigned to a different age [561]
grade; old men use simple wooden plugs.

Men wear their hair long, winding it round a plaited cotton rope red- 302
dened with urucú. Women wear their hair about shoulder length.

Armlets crocheted of cotton are worn at the wrists and just above the 301
elbow; similar ornaments are worn just below the knee and at the ankle. [856]
These are worn particularly by children and are supposed to aid growth. [189]

/4 cont./

*532 are cut in as horizontal lines. The ears are missing; the breasts are lightly indicated. The torso above the apron is deeply notched, a type of representation of the female body which is repeated in all the clay figures. The sexual organs are reproduced in naturalistic fashion under the bast apron. On the legs the thighs and calves are worked out plastically. The feet are represented by offset wooden blocks; calf and ankle bands are reproduced by a wrapping of red cotton thread. /5/ The figure is painted; on one side of the head small red feathers are affixed with wax as an ear rosette.

*532 352 Also belonging here are the wooden stools (Fig. 13 a and b /see p.48 /), which, with sledge-like runners, are carved out of one piece of wood. The sitting surface runs out to a point on both sides and on each into a triangular head which bears a beak in relief. The whole seat is supposed to depict an arara (see the front view, Fig. 13b). The eyes are reproduced by pasting on shell disks with a wax button in the center; tufts of feathers are attached [386] to the edges of the head as ear tassels. The whole is painted black with the dye of the genipa fruit.

*532 276 Finally, relief-type representations are still to be mentioned here, first the tobacco pipe (Fig. 14) which bears carving in relief

[231] →

Fig. 14 a and b.
Decorated tobacco pipe.

Fig. 15. Relief-type tree-drawing.

on one side, the significance of which I was unfortunately unable to discover. Apart from this, it is decorated on the upper edge with a neat carved pattern recurring only twice elsewhere (half-gourd, Pl. XI, Figs. 201a$_2$ and 202a /see p. 57 /). Then later,

*532

[352]

Tafel II

12

13a

13b

16a

16b

18

17

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19a

19b

21

22

23

24a

24b

25

26

/11 cont./

291 ground. One end is drawn hoodlike over the head, while the other covers the seat. Thus the riiõ is really part of the national costume.

[512] One sees, not only the adults, but also small children /12/ parading about with it, and even the little clay dolls of the latter are not

854 without it. Mats hung up by strings are used only for cradles for the newborn.

171 The question as to how the Karaya came to have this original

352 article of clothing is of great ethnographic interest. It is well-known that a large part of the Brazilian tribes does not use the hammock. These are chiefly the Gẽs nations occupying the entire eastern part of the country, such as the Kayapo, Akuã, Kaingan /Caingang/, Botocudo, etc., as well as the Bororo corresponding to them throughout, not in language, to be sure, but in their way of life, usage, and customs. They all sleep on the ground or on wooden frames.

Of the other tribes using hammocks, the Karaib /Carib/ make them out of cotton, the Nu-Aruak out of palm fiber.

This situation is so characteristic that the presence or absence of the hammock for a people, as well as the method of making it, is decisive for their ethnographic classification.

[513] Only the Karaya cannot be fitted into this scheme, because they make cotton hammocks, to be sure, but sleep in them on the ground.

[177] This permits one to conjecture that they only recently adopted the "rede" from another people and did not want to give up their old custom of sleeping on the ground (1).

1. Therefore the anonymous author of an old travel report in Revista trim., Vol. 25, p. 251, states correctly: "These Indians sleep on their redes and the same rede serves as a blanket. This idea is neither innate nor did it arise out of necessity. They learned it from someone." /Translated from the Portuguese./

/13 cont./

342 principally to close off the narrow sides. To the right and left of the door are planted two high poles which give the palm-leaf layers of the front side more solid support.

352 The interior furnishing of the houses is rather simple. Part of the floor is covered with buriti mats which also serve as an [513] underlayer for sleeping. A smooth wooden cylinder pushed underneath represents the pillow. The various storage baskets, the 353 [415] containers for ornamental feathers, the finished feather orna- [239] ments, bottle gourds, and other things hang from the horizontal beams. Bows and arrows are stuck in the rafters. [342] Lances and clubs stand in the corner, always at hand. Some sledge-like 352 415 stools, as well as pots and gourd /cuia/ bowls of varying sizes complete the household equipment.

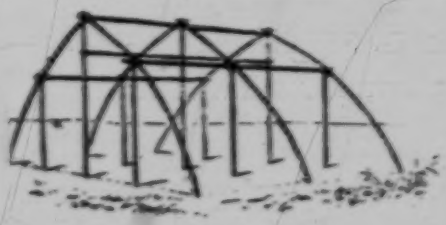

Fig. 3. Hut construction.

346 At some distance from the village is found the somewhat dif- [532] ferently constructed "medicine hut," where the mysterious dance masks are stored. It has the form of an ordinary rancho, with a steeply sloping roof, and is tightly closed on three sides, whereas [784] the side facing the village is wide open. Female creatures may not venture near it.

[114] Castelnau already makes mention of it. Couto Magelhães in his first report speaks of a hut which serves as an arsenal for storing weapons. Nothing of this sort is known to me. Evidently he means by it this mysterious sacred place whose true purpose no one wanted to reveal to him. We shall return to it in the following.

825 It is also noteworthy that in front of two Sambioa villages dead king-vultures (Sarcoramphus papa) with outspread wings were fastened on a high frame of poles. They are probably supposed to scare away demons in the manner of the bird figures carved out of wood in front of Malay villages.

/25 cont./

532 The Karaya also proved themselves rather helpless in drawing with a pencil. In the foot depicted in Fig. 12a /see p. 49/ everyone will see instead an arm with outstretched hand.

[823] The topographical sketch of the Araguaia with its bends and islands shows greater talent and true understanding (Fig. 12b /see p. 49/).

532 352 Unfortunately the collection possesses only a few specimens of wood carvings. The handsomest of the sledge-like stools (koriša) in stylized animal shape could not be obtained. The specimen from the Šambioa, however, is of excellent workmanship (Fig. 13 /see p. 51/).

The two heads into which the elegantly curved seat runs were originally supplied with mother-of-pearl eyes.

532 [412] The wooden spoons (katarā), too, otherwise appearing only very sporadically in South America, are noteworthy. The handle end of the larger specimen ends in an easily recognizable toucan head (Fig. 14 /see p. 51/).

/26/ The most outstanding artistic achievement of the Karaya is the plastic reproduction of human forms in wax and unfired clay. Small figures (likokō, children's dolls?) are offered to travelers in large quantities. Their execution shows, despite the somewhat stereotyped manner of production, a high degree of ingenuous sense of form and excellent observation of nature. /Fig. 13 appears here./

The most successful pieces, in their proper depiction of body forms, are equal to the best works of the peoples of the ancient American civilizations and surpass anything which other savage tribes, with the exception of the Northwest Americans and the Eskimo, have achieved in this respect. Although there is an inclination to give the lower extremities an unnatural thickness, there is nothing really grotesque.

The collection numbers 52 specimens which in their different types demonstrate extremely well the gradual perfecting of this primitive artistic activity.

The simplest figures make rather large demands on the imagination. The Indian imitates in them only what seems most

/26 cont./

532 essential to him, namely, mouth opening and navel. They are simply spindle-shaped clay forms widened only in the lower section and having holes, the upper one representing the mouth and the lower one the navel (Pl. XI /see p. 113/, 1). Parallel cuts go out longitudinally from each hole. A somewhat more

[352]

Fig. 13. Stool in animal form (ca. 1/8).

complete form already shows the thorax clearly. In male figures the arms are indicated as stumps, as are the genitals, and in female figures, the breasts. The lower extremities are only nodular swellings. On the face only the mouth is indicated.

[412]

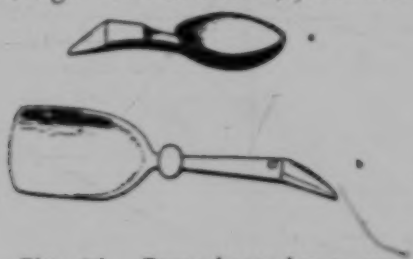

Fig. 14. Carved wooden spoons (a 1/4, b 1/8).

The female figures, however, wear the national apron (Pl. XI /see p. 113/, 2 and 3).

A further advance consists of putting on black wax to represent the hair. The face is already clearly recognizable. Tribal tattooing and body painting are imitated (Pl. XI, 4 and 5). The legs still appear as stumps. Probably the kneeling position is supposed to be expressed in them. The largest of the figures

Place 19

352

1a. Karajá chief's stool.

[532]

1b. Front view of the stool.

532

3. Wax reproduction of the tooth mask.

4. Wood-cut collar of the Karajá.

/Pl. 19 [illegible]./

/198 cont./

342 of the Karajá seem to us an impoverished form; significantly,
184 the ridge beam is preserved only in the mask house. The
177 mixed houses are thus of Indian origin, though, as far as the separation of wall and roof is concerned, with Brazilian influence.

342 Interior arrangement. The houses are very nicely cool, and the covering, if, as in the rainy season, it is more carefully made,
352 is rainproof. The floor is covered with large mats. These buriti-
[513]

[531]

Ill. 22.
Patterned sleeping mat for girls. Karajá.

fiber mats (bũlẽ) serve as sitting and sleeping mats. On one of their long sides the fibers protrude as long fringe. My largest mat is four meters long and 1.70 meters wide. Smaller mats, which are patterned by black bast-strips plaited in, are rare (Ill. 22, girls' sleeping mat).

352 The sleeping areas are very simply furnished. To sleep, one
513 stretches out on the floor on a mat and covers himself with the other half of the mat or the rĩĩõ (see below /see p. 93 /). Sometimes the legs are drawn up in the side position, the one end of the rĩĩõ put over the feet and the other over the head, so that the entire body is protected from dew and mosquitoes. I did not see wooden cylinders as neck supports, which Ehrenreich mentioned. It is very possible that they have these, for they like to put the head high when sleeping.

/198 cont./

513 head high when sleeping. When they sleep in the open in the sand, they hollow out a pit for their bodies, put a mat over it and themselves on top of that, but in such a way that the head lies on the elevated edge of the pit; they cover themselves with the rest of the mat. It is very agreeable to sleep in this fashion, /199/ as I discovered for myself. In contrast to this, however, I also saw them lying flat on the level floor in the houses, without elevating their heads at all.

293 For fanning cool air and to drive away mosquitoes during the midday rest, plaited, patterned fans (kōlĭ, Pl. 21, Ill. 2) made of palm leaves are used.

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516 Ordinarily the Indians sit on the mats with their legs crossed under them, hand on hip, or they squat on the ground (Pl. 12, Ill. 1; Pl. 38, Ill. 1).

353 Usually no arrangement for the storing of ornaments, articles of clothing, implements, and weapons is found in the huts. Small things are stuck into the roof /Ill. 23 appears here/ or hung on [411] the posts. Bows, arrows, and lances usually lie along the side walls on the floor or lean in a corner. For the rest, baskets, gourd [415] vessels, and pots hang, stand, and lie around everywhere in the house, some of them filled with other household equipment. In [352] only two houses, in Village 6 and in Schischá, did I see along the wall stands made out of two forked sticks on which bows and arrows were placed (Ill. 23). They, too, seem to go back to Šavajé influence, for the Šavajé in Schischá used such stands.

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca.1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

301 [286] fancy. Sometimes, however, these ornaments are woven on a wooden form.

292 513 Another article of dress, which is peculiar to the Karayá, is the *hammock*. It is made of cotton cords. Strange to say, it is never used as a hammock; nor can it even be swung up, as it is not provided with any cords for this purpose. It is only the body of a hammock. During the day, it is used as a kind of cloak, and is hooked over the head so as to cover the shoulders and back; and at night, it is used as a mat to sleep upon, *on the ground*. Both adults and children may be seen going about during the day with these huge, half-open-pea-pod like objects hooked over them. It reminds one of a snail with its shell on its back. Even clay dolls have this hammock cloak. It is, however, occasionally fastened up [354] like a hammock in order that it may be used as a cradle for an infant.

513 171 This *hammock* is of great ethnological interest, because the primitive races of Brazil are classified ethnographically according to whether they sleep in a hammock or do not. It is [352] known that all the tribes occupying the eastern half of Brazil, which includes the Karayá, sleep on the ground, or on slightly raised platforms made of poles; while those that are really hammock using tribes—that sleep in hammocks—make their hammocks of cordage twisted from cotton and palm-leaf fibre. But the Karayá *hammock* is made of cotton only; moreover, it is not a complete hammock and is not used to sleep in. This proves that the Karayá are not to be classified as one [177] of the hammock tribes. We are to understand, therefore, that they got the idea of the hammock comparatively recently from some other people, probably from the "civilized" Brazilians, who make them of cotton only; and though they value them, they are yet unwilling to give up their old custom of sleeping on the ground. A certain Brazilian explorer asserts that [286] he taught the Karayá to make a simple loom and how to weave.

293 Another article of dress used by the Karayá, is a kind of eye-shade, called an eye-umbrella. It is used to protect the

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
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361 beyond endurance, compelling them, finally, to pull down
[364] their huts and move to a new site, perhaps to some other sand-bar. This is a case of moving the residence instead of the garbage. During the rainy season, or when the sand bottoms are submerged, which may not occur until two or three months after the rains begin, the Karayá dwell on the
[342] high banks of the mainland. Here, the huts are much better constructed, resembling the dwellings of "civilized" Brazilians.

342 It is seldom one sees among primitive peoples, such sub-
184 stantially constructed huts as those of the Sambiõa division. Here is seen the greater industry, the greater activity, and the better condition in every respect of the free, unmolested sons of the wilderness in comparison with their "tame" brethren who exist in more destitute circumstances, though in contact with, and under the influence of the "civilized" people—the semi-barbarous Brazilians. The dwellings of
342 the Sambiõa are not placed in disorder, but are arranged in
363 long rows, forming regular streets. "They make a favorable impression upon the visitor, because the streets appear clean and the huts orderly, comfortable and inviting." The four
361 Sambiõa villages each contain sixty, thirty, forty-five and
162 ninety huts, respectively, and each hut is occupied by one or
592 two, or more, families.

352 The furniture in these primitive abodes is very simple.
[285] The floor, which is bare earth, is covered with matting made by braiding together the long, slender leaves of the burity-
[513] palm. The occupants sleep on this matting without any other bedding whatever, save a round billet of wood for a pillow upon which the neck rests, but not the head, Japanese
353 fashion. From the plates, or roof supports, hang baskets of various forms and sizes, in which are kept the bright feathers that are used in decorative work and ornament making. Finished ornaments and decorations made of brilliant feathers, pieces of regalia, bows and arrows in a finished and unfinished state, spear-throwing sticks and various small articles are also seen stuck into or suspended from the roof; while

1:Lipkind E-5 (1937) 1948 SP9 Caraja SP9

pushing aside a door of plaited palm. Every married woman in the family cooks at her own fireplace, which consists of two lumps of hardened clay. Mats used for sleeping and sitting are spread over the entire floor. Wooden stools (fig. 19) may also be found. Bows, arrows, and rattles

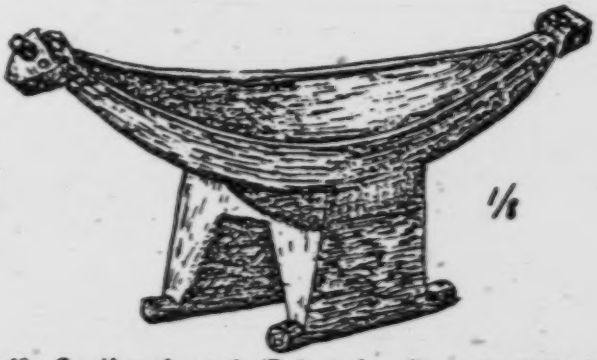

FIGURE 19.—*Carajá* wooden stool. (Redrawn from Ehrenreich, 1891 b, fig. 13.)

are shoved into the wall thatch. Baskets, used for storing such things as tobacco, urucú, and feathers, are hung by a string from the ridge poles. Large baskets containing vegetables lie on the ground next to the thatch.

The dry-season house is identical in form but smaller and of flimsier construction. Thatching is looser and the walls are thatched only about halfway to the ground, the north and west sides often being left completely open. The dry-season village is generally constructed on a long beach and, as the site grows dirty, is moved along the beach. The ground plan of the dry-season village is identical with the rainy-season village.

DRESS AND ORNAMENTS

The most prominent facial decoration is a blue-black circular scarification about an inch in diameter over each cheekbone. The ears of infants are pierced and an ornament consisting of a small polished capybara tooth with a feather attached is inserted. A common ear ornament for children is a mother-of-pearl disk with a cut feather fringe set on a blackened thin rod. In a perforation of their lower lips, men wear wood or bone labrets of a variety of shapes (pl. 21; fig. 21, *a*), each assigned to a different age grade; old men use simple wooden plugs.

Men wear their hair long, winding it round a plaited cotton rope reddened with urucú. Women wear their hair about shoulder length.

Armlets crocheted of cotton are worn at the wrists and just above the elbow; similar ornaments are worn just below the knee and at the ankle. These are worn particularly by children and are supposed to aid growth.

/13 cont./

342 principally to close off the narrow sides. To the right and left of the door are planted two high poles which give the palm-leaf layers of the front side more solid support.

352 The interior furnishing of the houses is rather simple. Part of the floor is covered with buriti mats which also serve as an [513] underlayer for sleeping. A smooth wooden cylinder pushed underneath represents the pillow. The various storage baskets, the 353 [415] containers for ornamental feathers, the finished feather orna- [237] ments, bottle gourds, and other things hang from the horizontal beams. Bows and arrows are stuck in the rafters. [342] Lances and clubs stand in the corner, always at hand. Some sledge-like 352 415 stools, as well as pots and gourd /cuia/ bowls of varying sizes complete the household equipment.

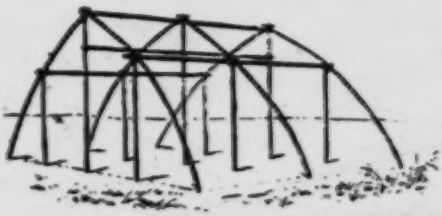

Fig. 3. Hut construction.

346 At some distance from the village is found the somewhat dif- [532] ferently constructed "medicine hut," where the mysterious dance masks are stored. It has the form of an ordinary rancho, with a steeply sloping roof, and is tightly closed on three sides, whereas [784] the side facing the village is wide open. Female creatures may not venture near it.

[114] Castelnau already makes mention of it. Couto Magelhães in his first report speaks of a hut which serves as an arsenal for storing weapons. Nothing of this sort is known to me. Evidently he means by it this mysterious sacred place whose true purpose no one wanted to reveal to him. We shall return to it in the following.

825 It is also noteworthy that in front of two Sambioa villages dead king-vultures (Sarcoramphus papa) with outspread wings were fastened on a high frame of poles. They are probably supposed to scare away demons in the manner of the bird figures carved out of wood in front of Malay villages.

/198 cont./

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/353 cont./

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184 /354/ In their culture as a whole the Šavajé are pure Karajá. They do, however, show a few differences from the latter, which, in turn, link them up more closely with the Šambioá. In the following I shall therefore state the differences only very briefly.

347 4. House and village. The construction of the house differs
184 considerably from that of the Karajá and is similar to that of the Šambioá. I refer to my explanation above about the house
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[353] The cross beams of the posts supporting the roof have thin poles laid over them and form a sort of loft on which back-baskets, baskets, weapons, women's belts, plaiting material, etc. are
[354] stored. In contrast to the Karajá, the cooking places are in the house, and, to be sure, in the circular structures, one on either side of the entrance, so that there are four hearths in the house. The circular structures serve at the same time as supply rooms for baskets, gourds, food, etc. On the lower parts of the house posts, all around the walls, all kinds of birds, such as vultures, etc., are tied up.

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[346] mask house lies apart from the village. It corresponds to that of the Karajá, but has a ridge beam such as appears in the mask house of the southern Karajá.

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

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6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

clubs and lances, various kinds of clay pots and pans and 353
gourd-shell vessels occupy the corners of the hut.

A short distance from the encampment is the "Casa do 346
Bicho," or medicine hut; or better yet, the Demon Hut. It is roofed and closed in on three sides only. The side facing away from the village is always left entirely open. The [562]
women of the tribe are not allowed to go near this hut, or to look into it. In front of two Sambiõa villages, two dead 825
kingfishers were secured to the top of a high pole, for the purpose, probably, of keeping away the demons.

The Karayá have a few domestic, or domesticated crea- 231
tures. These are considered members of the family, and live 825
in and out of the family hut, and on equal terms generally with the people. These children of Nature are evidently lovers of Nature, and their mode of life can scarcely be conceived of without these creatures. The way they treat them indicates the idea they entertain regarding them and their doings—that they look upon them as their companions and equals. The feeling of companionship—even of relationship—
with the animal world, is characteristic of the Karayá, and [538]
is evidenced by the way the animals are spoken of in their tribal legends, and by the fact that they have quite a treasury of animal fables. Although these people are successful 231
in taming wild creatures, they have never made any economic use of them as have the civilized people. They are captured while still young, and reared, but for no purpose, in most cases, other than to be kept as pets and esteemed members of the families of their captors, where their presence seems to give much pleasure. They are seldom thought of as regards any material benefits they may confer. The only economic [237]
use that is made of any of these creatures, is of those that have bright-colored plumage, which is used in the making of the many feathered adornments that are so much admired by these primitive people. Nor are these animals permitted to multiply themselves, if this can be avoided. Some poultry 235
is kept, which was obtained originally from the "civilized" [177]
Brazilians, and these, of course, multiply rapidly. But even

1:Lipkind E-5 (1937) 1948 SP9 Caraja SP9

pushing aside a door of plaited palm. Every married woman in the family cooks at her own fireplace, which consists of two lumps of hardened clay. Mats used for sleeping and sitting are spread over the entire floor. Wooden stools (fig. 19) may also be found. Bows, arrows, and rattles

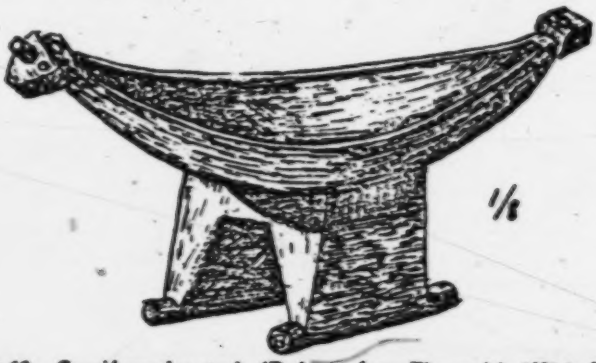

FIGURE 19.—*Carajá* wooden stool. (Redrawn from Ehrenreich, 1891 b, fig. 13.)

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Men wear their hair long, winding it round a plaited cotton rope reddened with urucú. Women wear their hair about shoulder length.

Armlets crocheted of cotton are worn at the wrists and just above the elbow; similar ornaments are worn just below the knee and at the ankle. These are worn particularly by children and are supposed to aid growth.

/78 cont./ [Plate II. Karaya. (cont'd)]

142 2. Two Šambioa warriors en face. The man on the left with
291 the feather diadem lurina on the back of the head (see p. 44),
301 bow, arrows, and club in his hand, the one on the right with the
302 small wreath-diadem (Pl. IX /see p. /, 6) and strings of glass
411 beads wound tightly around the neck. The large lower-arm cuffs identify him as unmarried.

Pl. III. Karaya. Karayahi Groups (taken in the last "summer camp" on a river island above the northern tip of Bananal Island).

1. Men, two of which wear arm-cuffs and knee-bands. One has the small feather rosettes with a central disk of mother-of-pearl in his ears (see. p. 46). Face painting with soot is recognizable. The straw hat of the older man sitting in front is not the one mentioned on p. 20, but a model directly borrowed
[501] from the settlers. In the background two long canoes and farther to the left in the distance the small Araguaia steamer.

342 2. Women, children, and young people sitting on the
361 ground in front of the tent-roofs of the summer camp, which are
516 made of mats. Two araras on the pole to the right, at the left on the bank a jabiru (black-headed stork).

Pl. IV. Karaya. Villages.

133
342 1. Full view of the first village of the Šambioa.
361 2. Reception scene in the third village of the Šambioa.
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Pl. V. Karaya. Chief's hut (fourth village of the Šambioa).

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●354 Group at the cooking place in front of the entrance.
415

Pl. VI. Karaya. Weapons.

411

1. Bow with wound bowstring and feather tassel (1/8).

4: Ehrenreich--107 E-5 (1888) 1891 SP9 Caraja SP9

Plate V

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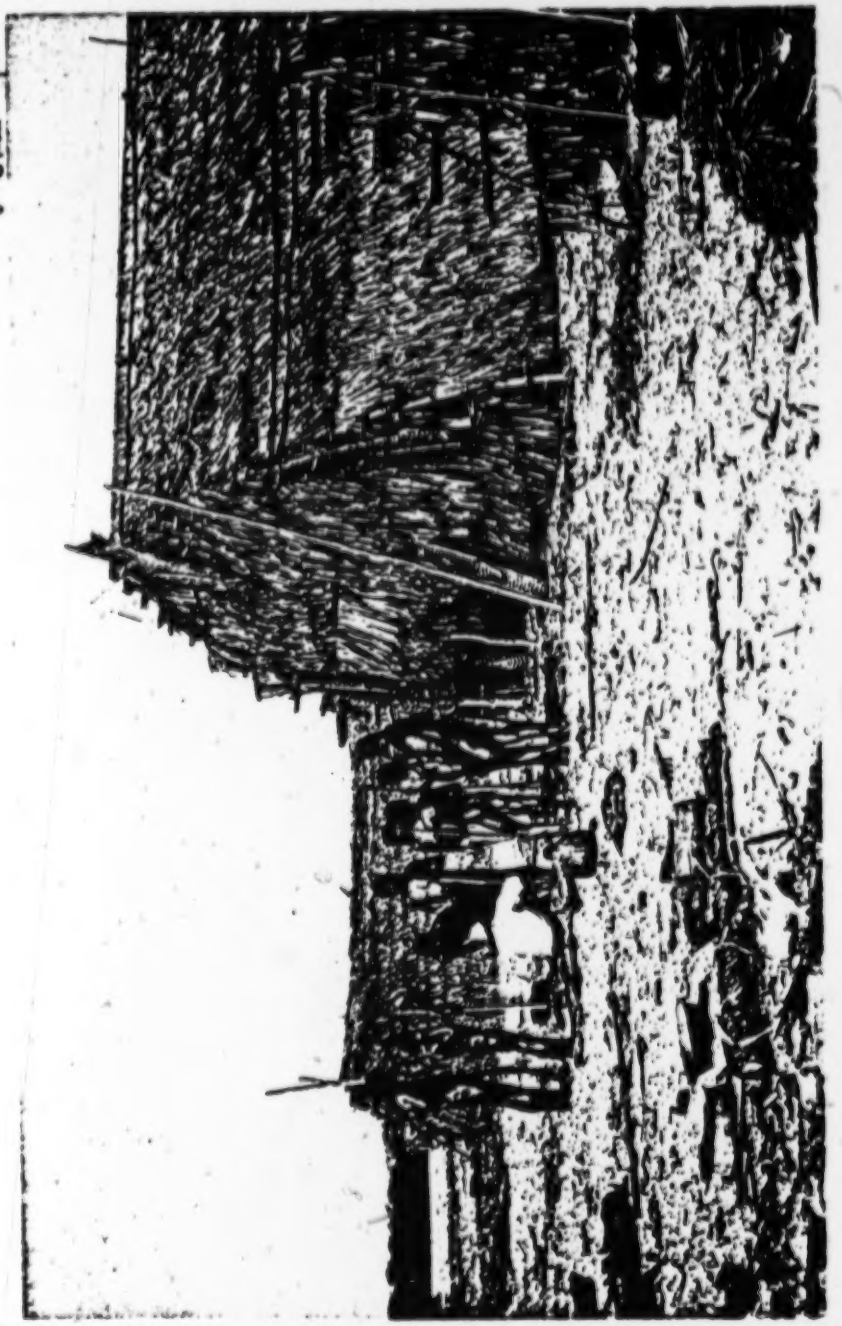

/199 cont./

417 Outside the houses, on the other hand, there are special storage racks (ŏdēdŭ). They consist of four forked sticks about one and a quarter meters high, which are set up in the form of a square and joined together by two crossbeams and many longitudi-
[251] nal beams. On these racks lie supplies of all kinds, manioc roots, unused implements and weapons kept on hand, as well as raw materials of all kinds; hung on them are gourds and baskets full
[287] of maize and feathers; the bast aprons of the women are also often hung here to dry (Ill. 24).

[225] For drying the lines used to fish for turtles, special racks made of two long vertical poles joined at the top by a cross-pole are used. The line, hanging far down, is hung on this to dry (Ill. 25).

Ill. 23.
Arrow-stand in the house.

[824] /200/ Fresh gourds are stuck on sticks to dry; near each house one sees groups of such staked gourds. Later, they are preferably stored by tying a whole number together on a stake (Ill. 26a and b).

● 354 Other household equipment is lacking. The hearth is outside
184 the house, in contrast to the Šavajé, among whom it is located in the round structures (see "Food" /see pp. 165 ff./); it was only in the modified houses in Schischá at the end of October that cooking was also done in the house. /Ills. 24 and 25 appear here./

364 House and environs are not very clean; food remains such as fish bones, nut shells, and bones, as well as wood, tools, etc., lie about everywhere. While it is dangerous just to come near the
[136] villages and houses with bare feet, the vast number of flies and other insects that gather in masses on the refuse is an obstacle to remaining outside the houses.

/353 cont./

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/203 cont./

221 in their dryness and cleanliness, are ideal dwelling sites. In the
361 course of the dry season and within a certain area, they migrate from sandbank to sandbank as each of them becomes exposed by the river, so that in this way they always have fresh, unspoiled, clean dwelling-sites. With the beginning of the rainy season the villages are moved back again to the higher initial sandbanks and finally to the high banks of the river (2).

2. This explains the many abandoned villages that one comes across everywhere.

/204/ These rainy-season villages, lying up on the campo, are often far from the river; in the case of the north horde, they lie in part in mountains and are therefore difficult to find. This and the practice that several dry-season villages live together in a campo village probably explain the small number of Karajá villages mentioned by Coudreau.

361 If the villages are permanently abandoned, the houses, the
356 poles of the mat walls and storage racks, the roasting grates, hearths, etc. are left standing; they very quickly disintegrate. Villages abandoned for a short time (for example, during trading expeditions) are made secure by closing the entrances of the houses with leaf walls. All the household equipment, such as pots, baskets, etc., is piled up at the sides and covered with large mats. In front of the houses, manioc stalks, tied in bundles of five or six pieces, are usually planted in the sand. Palm fronds are stuck into the ground all around for protection, and the whole is then tied together. For the rest, wild disorder prevails in such abandoned villages. Large pots lie about upside down, often protecting smaller ones underneath. Mortars, gourd vessels, and scraps of baskets lie about
[824] here and there, and everywhere there are large heaps of manioc remains, nut shells, turtle shells, and finally urucú fruits, without which no journey can be undertaken (see greeting painting /see pp.100 -104/).

1:Lipkind E-5 (1937) 1948 SP9 Caraja SP9

THE CARAJÁ[1]

By William Lipkind

TRIBAL DIVISIONS AND TERRITORY

The *Carajá* are a river people who since pre-Columbian times have held as the central portion of their territory the inland Island of Bananal, which is formed by the great fork of the Araguaya River (lat. 8°–17° S., long. 48°–52° W., map 1, *No. 1*; see Volume 1, map 7). They must be regarded as an independent linguistic family for the present; their language displays no convincing similarities to any other recorded South American language.

The term *"Carajá"* is used to designate the entire people as well as the largest of the three tribal divisions; the other two are the *Shambioá* and the *Javahé*. The *Carajá* proper have 20 villages on the western or main branch of the Araguaya River, widely spread from Leopoldina south of Bananal clear down to the end of the Island. The *Shambioá*, now nearly extinct, have only two villages left, a little way below Conceicão. The eight villages of the *Javahé* lie on the eastern or minor branch of the Araguaya River and on the small streams within Bananal. The general location and the relative sizes of the three groups have remained the same since the earliest times.

The native names give some notion of intergroup attitudes. All three groups regard themselves as a single people and use a name meaning "we" to distinguish themselves from other tribes. The *Carajá* proper are called the "great people" by the other two groups. The *Shambioá* are the "companion people." The *Javahé* are called by a name which is used generally to mean "Indian" and bears the pejorative connotation "backwoodsman" or "hick." There is a possible analysis which makes it the "old people" but, even if this etymology is correct, the word no longer has that meaning.

Dialectical differences are slight and other differences not very great, with the *Shambioá* occupying a middle position culturally between the other two groups. This account is based on field work with the *Carajá* proper and refers to the other groups only where they exhibit important differences.

[1] The present description of the *Carajá* is based on the author's field work during 1937, done under the auspices of the Department of Anthropology, Columbia University.

1:Lipkind E-5 (1937) 1948 SP9 Caraja SP9

252 minutes, then allowed to stand for a while. The resulting fermentation is not allowed to continue long enough to produce an intoxicating drink. 262 This soup, along with a similar soup made of maize, is a daily staple. 252 Manioc and ground maize are also made into cakes, but this is a holiday variation of diet rather than the staff of life as in other regions. The standard methods of cooking meat, fish, and vegetables are boiling, roasting on a spit, roasting on a grate, and roasting in the embers. Occasionally, some vegetables are baked in hot sand. Maize is the only food that [251] is stored. On platform shelves at the top of their rainy-season houses, the *Javahé* pile a supply of maize dried on the cob sufficient to last throughout the dry season.

HOUSES AND VILLAGES

361 The permanent or rainy-season village is erected on a high bank overlooking the river. One or two rows of houses face the river, and the men's [535] house, about 50 feet (15.2 m.) back, faces down river. All the space between the men's house and the family houses is kept perfectly clean and constitutes the dancing plaza of the village. The surrounding clearing extends only a few yards in all directions. All neighboring forest which must be traversed in hunting or gathering is threaded by well-marked [487] trails. A path leads down from the center of the village to the main port where women, married men, and children bathe, and married men land their canoes. Another path cuts diagonally down from the men's house to the bachelor's port where the young men bathe and visitors to the masked dances land their canoes.

342 The house is rectangular in ground plan with supported horizontal ridge poles (fig. 18). Saplings are sunk into the ground at the sides and

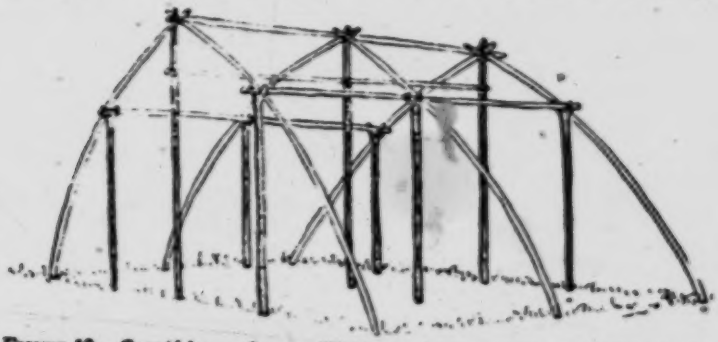

FIGURE 18.—*Carajá* house frame. (Redrawn from Ehrenreich, 1891 b, fig. 3.)

bent over to the ridge pole at the top, where they are firmly tied with bast. Then the whole structure is tightly thatched with successive overlapping layers of palm frond tied to the saplings (pl. 20, *top*). The entrance is a small rectangular opening at the bottom, through which one crawls after

1:Lipkind E-5 (1937) 1948 SP9 Caraja SP9

pushing aside a door of plaited palm. Every married woman in the family cooks at her own fireplace, which consists of two lumps of hardened clay. Mats used for sleeping and sitting are spread over the entire floor. Wooden stools (fig. 19) may also be found. Bows, arrows, and rattles

FIGURE 19.—*Carajá* wooden stool. (Redrawn from Ehrenreich, 1891 b, fig. 13.)

are shoved into the wall thatch. Baskets, used for storing such things as tobacco, urucú, and feathers, are hung by a string from the ridge poles. Large baskets containing vegetables lie on the ground next to the thatch.

The dry-season house is identical in form but smaller and of flimsier construction. Thatching is looser and the walls are thatched only about halfway to the ground, the north and west sides often being left completely open. The dry-season village is generally constructed on a long beach and, as the site grows dirty, is moved along the beach. The ground plan of the dry-season village is identical with the rainy-season village.

DRESS AND ORNAMENTS

The most prominent facial decoration is a blue-black circular scarification about an inch in diameter over each cheekbone. The ears of infants are pierced and an ornament consisting of a small polished capybara tooth with a feather attached is inserted. A common ear ornament for children is a mother-of-pearl disk with a cut feather fringe set on a blackened thin rod. In a perforation of their lower lips, men wear wood or bone labrets of a variety of shapes (pl. 21; fig. 21, *a*), each assigned to a different age grade; old men use simple wooden plugs.

Men wear their hair long, winding it round a plaited cotton rope reddened with urucú. Women wear their hair about shoulder length.

Armlets crocheted of cotton are worn at the wrists and just above the elbow; similar ornaments are worn just below the knee and at the ankle. These are worn particularly by children and are supposed to aid growth.

/43 cont./

241 is not lacking; true domesticated animals are absent. Planting
433 is important as a source of subsistence, but fishing and turtle
462 hunting stand higher in masculine preference as well as being a basis of life. Not only are the men charged with fishing and hunting — less important owing to the scarcity of game — but activity in the gardens is also primarily the business of the men, since the women are satisfied to help as they please, which is undeniably rare among the Amazonian Indians.

433 Up to here we are in perfect agreement with the cate-
462 gories chosen by Murdock (Ro, Im, Oo, Dm; columns 1-4). However, in column 5 we find the /44/ first gap. The division of labor assigns gathering to the female sex, except for the harvesting of wild honey, which is considered more as hunting and belongs among the men's tasks. So the Carajá could, after all, be put in the category of "standard division of labor by sex" (thus Ia; column 5).

114 Real difficulties arise when we take into consideration what is properly called social organization. Categorial decisions
361 are not so easy to make there. It is true that our Indians live
[221] in compact villages, especially during the rainy seasons. During the rest of the year the Carajá proper like to disperse on the beaches, forming smaller local units, which, nevertheless, are always lined up along the river, the houses of the men (if there are any in the encampments) remaining at the rear, as if the periphery of a circle had been opened and rolled back in a straight line, leaving the center — the houses of the men — at
361 the side of the line. Since the large villages of the rainy season,
62 which are all like this and bear a name, are in reality agamous
[114] and without clans, but display a certain tendency toward endogamy, the category assigned by Murdock — compact village observing agamy — (Va; column 6), if it is not definitely wrong, is nevertheless to be taken cum grano salis (tendency toward Sd).

59 As for the family structure, it is normally of the extended type, at least during the rainy season, but the extension is not

/5/

175 At first he was met with distrust, since everyone was still
177 under the influence of the horrible deeds which Pires Campos had committed there 25 years earlier. Soon, however, by means of his intelligent, kind behavior, Pinto succeeded in getting the savages to put themselves under the protection of the governor of
[648] Goyaz. Their chief, Abeonona, swore an oath of fealty to the king of Portugal, the exact words of which are communicated in the above-mentioned letter.

175 The description of the Karaya which Pinto presents corresponds completely to present-day conditions. Through him we receive
[131] the first information about the large lake in the northern part of Bananal Island, not yet visited by any traveler, on the shores of
[161] which live the Yavahẽ /Javahe/. Pinto estimates the number of
[361] the Karaya at 9,000 souls in nine large villages, three of which belong to the Yavahẽ.

A second expedition left in the following year to lay out near the largest of the Indian villages on the island a military post which was given the name of Colonia da nova beira.

Later other such posts were established on the Araguaia, and some in the region of the Šambioa /Shambioa/. Under the prevailing mismanagement, however, these cultural centers very
[167] soon fell to ruin (1). Already in 1782 it was necessary to transport
[164]

[113] 1. Cazal, Corogr. bras. /Chorography of Brazil/, I, p. 340. -- Cunha Mattos, Corogr. de Goyaz." Rev. trim., Vol. 37, I, p. 393.

800 Karaya to S. José de Mossamedes in Goyaz, and in 1786 other bands were settled at Carretão, which, however, after a short time fell victim to an epidemic of measles. The colony of Mossamedes, too, did not prosper. Pohl found the place in the most wretched condition in the twenties of our century. Every trace of the earlier colonizing activities soon disappeared on the Araguaia. The island of Bananal in particular is as unknown today as at the time of its discovery.

/6 cont./

000 648 Xingu expedition. Their relationship to the neighboring tribes and to the Brazilian settlers of the rubber districts is, however, completely hostile here, so that up to now any approach was impossible. The Yuruna suffer most from their attacks. Traces of battles, devastated dwelling places, and the like were found everywhere by the first expedition of v. d. Steinen.

101 Some ethnographic objects from these tribes, acquired among the Yuruna, leave no doubt but that we are dealing with true Karaya here.

The likelihood that there is a still further extension of these Karaya into the upper region of the river was discovered by the

171 second Xingu expedition. Objects acquired among the Kamayura /Camayura/ (below 12° south latitude) allegedly came from a tribe known there under the name of Aruma: a broken club, various arrows, feather headdresses, which are completely identical with those of the Karaya. Also, the tribe neighboring the Kamayura, the Trumai, had much in common with the Karaya, for example, the men's custom of tying the foreskin over the glans with a cotton thread, the bast aprons of the women, which are, however, much narrower and shorter than those of the Karaya women, the feather headdresses, and the form of the arrow-thrower. The languages of the two tribes, however, show no relationship.

101 The Karaya of the Araguaia are no longer connected with those of the Xingu. The two are separated from each other by the great warlike Gẽs nations of the Kayapo and Akuã (Chavante), who pushed in between them a long time ago.

131 Their dwelling sites lie along the middle course of the Araguaia

133 between the mouth of the Rio Crixas and the first great rapids, S.

● 361 Miguel, where the river breaks through or flows around the mountain ranges which border the northern slope of the great plateau of interior Brazil.

133 Already below 15° south latitude it enters a broad plain filled with alluvial materials, which in general has the same character

[137] about as far as S. Maria (9° 30'). Flat, densely overgrown islands in the river, the banks bordered by sand dunes, behind which rises on higher ground a luxuriant strip of forest which, however, as

/7 cont./

132 The life of the inhabitants is determined by the sharp division of the seasons. The rainless period lasts from May to the end of September, and farther north even until far into October. Then broad sandbanks (praias) are exposed everywhere, with the sun [221] beating down on them day after day. For the Indians this is the real period of river life. Fishing then governs all interests. With the beginning of November the rainy season has usually already set [133] in with strength; in December and January the river is highest, ten to twelve meters above the low level. From bank to bank, without interruption, a tremendous mass of water fills the bed, flooding the neighboring low plains for some distance.

136 Swarms of annoying insects, mosquitoes and pium /a very 221 small mosquito/, which are completely absent in the dry season, now fill the air. The Indian is forced to retreat to higher ground, where he then attends to cultivating the fields and, if need be, [226] hunts. Fishing can be carried on only in the lagoons at this time.

133 When the water lowers, bad fevers are not uncommon on the 164 middle Araguaia, where extensive swamps accompany the river.

Hordes. The Karaya of the Araguaia are divided into the 101 three large tribes of the Yavahē, Karayahi, and Šambióa, which [161] together may number about 4,000 persons. The first inhabit the [131] interior of the still completely unknown Bananal Island. We know [361] only this much about it, that in its northern part there is a large lake near which the three villages of the Yavahē are located. It has an outlet into the eastern arm (furo) of the Araguaia, at the mouth of which some of these savages were spoken to for the last 177 time in April, 1888. In the meantime no one has sought them out here, although they have indicated several times their desire to trade with the colonists. They badly need iron tools, which now come to them only rarely through the agency of the Karayahi. In the villages of the latter one sometimes meets some Yavahē. They do not like to leave their hiding place in large numbers, since they justifiably fear importing epidemic diseases.

361 The Karayahi live in 12-15 villages of various size on the west arm of the Araguaia in the region of the navigable stretch from S. José below the mouth of the Crixas to the region of S. Maria.

/7 cont./

36 Their northernmost settlement near S. Maria was attacked and
[648] completely destroyed in 1881 by the Kayapo of the left bank.
Since then they have not ventured far beyond the northernmost tip
of Bananal Island with their settlements. Their farthest excursions
go below S. Maria to the rapids of Joncon (i.e., it is at an end).

439 They perform important services for the traffic on the river by
felling wood for the steamers. As payment they receive axes and
knives, which they on their part trade to other tribes, such as the
177 Yavahē and Tapirapé. Understandably, when steamboat transpor-
tation was established, care was taken from the first to stay on good
terms with the savages. The merit for introducing this excellent
relationship and maintaining it for 20 years belongs to the courageous
commander of the steamer, Sebastião de Freitas, who served so
well in exploring the Araguaia. It is thanks to his unselfish, kind
work that perhaps /8/ nowhere else in Brazil are the relations be-
tween the native population and the settlers so good as here.

To be sure, for the Karayahi the contact with "civilization"
[184] has not been without consequences. In comparison with the in-
dependent Šambioa, a certain lack of order and cleanliness in
their villages and less care and taste in their artifacts are noticeable.
On the other hand, a wealth of most interesting ethnological ob-
[126] jects are still present among them. The most important pieces in
the collection were acquired from them.

311 Their material position cannot be described as especially favor-
able. The lower riverbanks of their region are so exposed to floods
that they can practice agriculture only to a limited extent. They
[648] venture onto the higher left bank only temporarily, out of fear of
their worst enemies, the Akuä and Kayapo.

131 The third large Karaya horde is that of the Šambioa, about
[101] whom Castelnau brought back the first more detailed reports.
[361] They possess four rather large villages between the Pau d'arco rapids
[224] and the great Cachoeira de S. Miguel. Their hunting expeditions,
however, extend beyond the Cachoeira grande, in former times up
to the region of the Apinagēs, near the present São Vincente, from
[172] where increasing settlement has scared them away. The rock
sculptures of the so-called Martirios Island between the Carreira

/12 cont./

286 They most probably owe their mat to the civilized Brazilians.
177 Insofar as the latter use hammocks at all, they make them out of
cotton. Now Pinto da Fonseca says (op. cit., p. 387) that the
[283] Karaya used cotton only for making fish nets and bow strings, but
were unacquainted with the art of weaving. He himself made
them a weaving apparatus and instructed the women in this skill.

This would agree with the fact that still today the Yavahē of
[184] Bananal Island, among whom Pinto undertook his first civilizing
attempts, are designated as the most skillful weavers. The uncommonly firm, taffeta-like, woven "rede" in the collection is supposed to be Yavahē work. A visit among them would definitively settle this interesting question.

293 Also to be mentioned here as a noteworthy elaborate piece
[285] belonging to the Karaya are the eyeshades (ȯodi) plaited out of
[824] uaguassú palm leaves, with which they protect themselves from the blinding reflected sunlight while walking over the sandbanks (Pl. VIII /see p. 110/, 10). They have not arrived at the construction of protective apparatus of the type of the Eskimo snow-goggles, but they prize European dark glasses.

The adding on to the eyeshade to make a complete top-hat
[197] (taă) is probably to be traced back to European influence. There were two specimens of it in all.

Settlements, Houses, and Domestic Animals.

621
• 361 The Karaya do not live in small troops of two or three families, as the forest Indians of Amazonas and the rude hunting nomads of the coastal region do, but always in larger communities. Only the southernmost Karayahi are forced by the lack of means of subsistence to divide up somewhat more. In the vicinity of S. José during the dry season one continually meets small bands of eight to ten persons. The farther one comes downstream, the more populous their camps become. Some of them may number at least 150-200 inhabitants.
342 The Karayahi huts erected on the sandbanks usually consist of large
[824] buriti-fiber mats stretched over pole frames, standing about without any order, like gypsy tents (Pl. III /see p.105 /, 2).

/12 cont./

342 Only rarely does one see among them the characteristic solid
184 house-construction of the Šambioa and then only in smaller
351 dimensions, without any particular care in the construction. Since
364 all the scraps are simply strewn on the ground, the refuse gradually
[136] becomes unbearable. The vermin multiplying in large numbers,
especially the sand fleas, finally force them to abandon the place.
342 In the rainy season the Karayahi move into stronger, buriti-leaf
[361] covered, open ranchos on the high bank, which do not in other respects differ in form from those customary among the Brazilian population.

/13/ The "summer huts" of the Šambioa are very much more
[184] carefully and neatly built. Here the greater diligence, industriousness, and the comfortable well-being of the free son of the wilderness are manifest, in contrast to his "tame" tribal brother vegetating in oppressive conditions and dependent on civilization.
[361] Not in disorder, but in long rows, forming real streets, these houses with their impeccable cleanliness make an uncommonly friendly and comfortable impression (Pl. IV /see p.106/, 1, and Pl. V /see p. 107/).

621 In the first Šambioa village we counted 60 huts, in the second 30, in the third 45, and in the fourth 90, each of which is inhabited by one or two families.

The individual villages are distinguished by special names.
342 The basic form of the house is rectangular; the narrow side
[335] with the door faces the street. The frame consists of three or four flexible poles on each side carried over forked supports and held together with those on the opposite side by means of cipos, thus /Fig. 3 appears here/ forming a boat-like, arched roof, which is further supported by some vertical poles set in the ground in the long direction (Fig. 3 /see p. 22 /). These, as well as the forked supports, are connected with one another by as many strong horizontal poles as are necessary. Thin laths are placed lengthwise
[824] and parallel to one another on the outside over the ribs of the roof and serve as supports for the strong pinnate leaves of the uaguassú palm (Attalea spectabilis), which, in several layers, form a fairly waterproof roof. Their leaf pinnae are also entwined with one another into a very solid plaited work. These plaitings serve

/78 cont. / [Plate II. Karaya. (cont'd)]

142 2. Two Šambioa warriors en face. The man on the left with
291 the feather diadem lurina on the back of the head (see p. 44),
301 bow, arrows, and club in his hand, the one on the right with the
302 small wreath-diadem (Pl. IX /see p. /, 6) and strings of glass
411 beads wound tightly around the neck. The large lower-arm cuffs identify him as unmarried.

Pl. III. Karaya. Karayahi Groups (taken in the last "summer camp" on a river island above the northern tip of Bananal Island).

1. Men, two of which wear arm-cuffs and knee-bands. One has the small feather rosettes with a central disk of mother-of-pearl in his ears (see. p. 46). Face painting with soot is recognizable. The straw hat of the older man sitting in front is not the one mentioned on p. 20, but a model directly borrowed
[501] from the settlers. In the background two long canoes and farther to the left in the distance the small Araguaia steamer.

342 2. Women, children, and young people sitting on the
●361 ground in front of the tent-roofs of the summer camp, which are
516 made of mats. Two araras on the pole to the right, at the left on the bank a jabiru (black-headed stork).

Pl. IV. Karaya. Villages.

133
342 1. Full view of the first village of the Sambioa.
361 2. Reception scene in the third village of the Šambioa.
574

291 Pl. V. Karaya. Chief's hut (fourth village of the
342 Šambioa).
351
354 Group at the cooking place in front of the entrance.
415

411 Pl. VI. Karaya. Weapons.

1. Bow with wound bowstring and feather tassel (1/8).

4: Ehrenreich--105 E-5 (1888) 1891 SP9 Caraja SP9

Plate III

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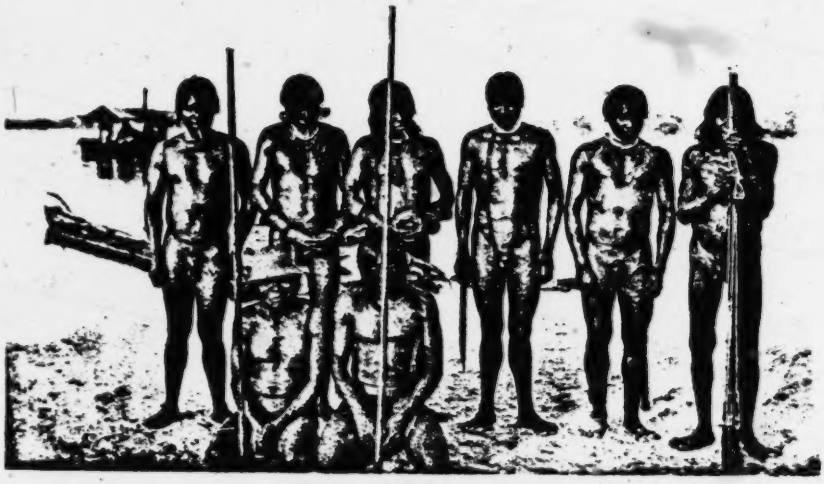

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4: Ehrenreich--106 E-5 (1888) 1891 SP9 Caraja SP9

Plate IV

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Plate 11

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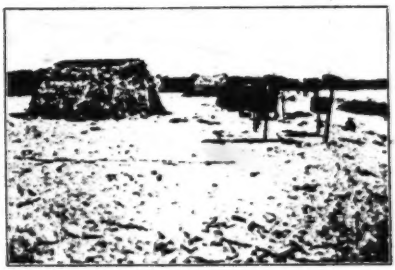
1. Dry-season hut of the Karajá.



2. Karajá village.

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3. Karajá women smoking.

4. Karajá siblings.

/Pl. 11 faces p. 52./

Plate 13

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1. Mat camp of migrant Karayá Indians.

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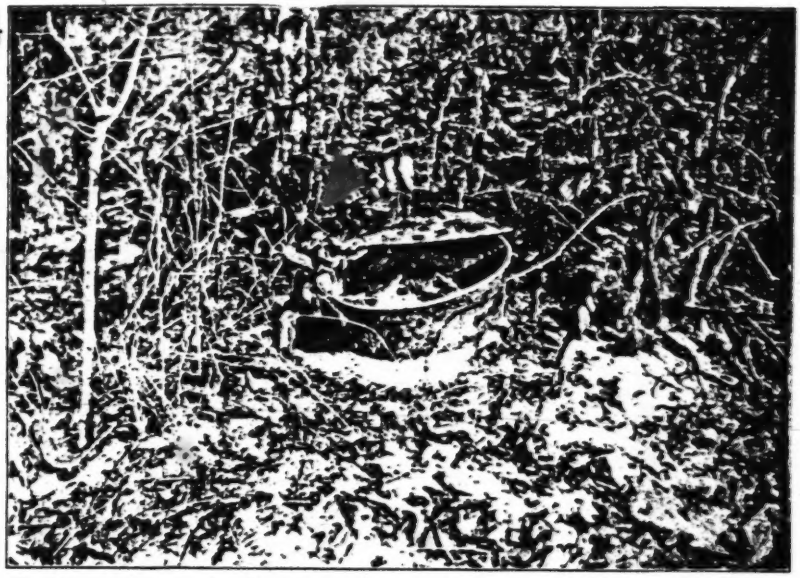


2. Funerary urn in the Karajá cemetery, S. Izabel do Morro.

/Pl. 13 faces p. 60. /

/175 cont./

175 There now followed a series of expeditions, the purpose of which was to make navigation on the Araguaya possible, above all, therefore, to establish communication between Goyaz and Pará.

In 1792-93 Thomaz de Souza Villa Real undertook the first journey down the Araguaya, from Goyaz to Pará by way of the eastern arm of Bananal, at the expense of a number of traders interested in shipping. He gives information about the [131] Carajás (the Šambioá are meant) and the Pinagés; he also met a few Carajás (probably Karajá proper, just below the north end of Bananal Island (13).

[113] 13. Viagem de Thomaz de Souza Villa Real pelos rios Tocantins, Araguaya e Vermelho: accompanhada de importantes documentos officiaes relativos á mesma navegação. /Voyage of Thomaz de Souza Villa Real by way of the Tocantins, Araguaia, and Vermelho rivers; accompanied by important official documents concerning the same navigation./

[361] In 1793 he traveled up the Tocantins and Araguaya as far as the lowest village of the Šambiaó (called Carajás by him). He also mentions the Carajahi (first mention of this name) and Tapirasse (13) /see footnote 13 above/.

These expeditions resulted in a little boat traffic on the Araguaya; a place on the Rio Vermelho or on the Rio de Peixe served as harbor for Goyaz. Difficulty was caused by the fact that only few boatmen were available for such journeys, and there was a lack of points where fresh provisions could be obtained along the way.

Further expeditions followed. In 1800, the new governor of Goyaz, João Manoel de Menezes, traveled from Pará up the

/176 cont./

175 In 1812 Padre Luiz Antonio da Silva e Souza wrote his
[113] work: Memoria sobre o descobrimento, governo, população, e cousas mais notaveis da capitania de Goyaz /Memoir on the discovery, government, population, and other notable things about the province of Goiás/, in which he gives good historical data about all the journeys of exploration since the discovery of the province (18).

18. Rev. trim. 12 (2nd series, 5), 1849, pp. 429-510.

[113] In the second large work: Chorographia historica da Provincia de Goyaz /Historical Chorography of the Province of Goiás/, 1842, Raymundo José da Cunha Mattos studied old documents and brought out a great deal of information about the Indians; however, he occasionally combines and thus confuses
175 the ethnic picture. According to him, the Carajás live in a vil-
101 lage on the Furo do Bananal and in three villages in the cataract
131 region of the river (identical with our present-day Šambioá vil-
[361] lages); they prevent passage through the Furo. The Carajahís live on the left bank of the Araguaya and occasionally appear on Bananal. The Javaés on Bananal are almost extinct; the Xambiuás live on Bananal and then again on the river shore, and they prevent passage through the west arm of the Araguaya. He also mentions that the Tapirapés occasionally visited Bananal Island (19).

19. Rev. trim. 37 and 38.

175 It is only Castelnau, in the year 1844, who again brings more clarity. This French explorer traveled from Goyaz to the Rio de Peixe, embarked here, traveled down this river to where it empties into the Araguaya, traveled down the Araguaya through the eastern arm of Bananal, reached the entrance into the Tocantins, and, traveling up this river, returned to Goyaz. Along

/177 cont./

175 At the same time the Presidio de Santa Izabel (now Capoeira de Santa Izabel Velha) existed on Bananal Island: it was later transferred to near the mouth of the Rio das Mortes (Santa Izabel do Morro, now Karajá cemetery), but then given up (22).

22. Moraes Jardim, O Rio Araguaya, foreword.

We owe the first brief, more recent ethnographic description of the Karajá to Dr. Couto de Magalhães, who in 1863 traveled down the Rio Vermelho, founded the town of São José, and visited the subsequently abandoned Aldea da Estiva, one league north of Salinas, in which Chavantés and Carajás lived (23).

[113] 23. Viagem ao Araguaya /Voyage to the Araguaia/. Goyaz, 1863, pp. 124 ff.

[101] [16] [36] [131] In another work (24) he reports that the Chambioás, Carajás,

24. Dr. C. Magalhães, Região e raças selvagens do Brasil /The Country and Savage Races of Brazil/. Rio de Janeiro, 1874.

[113]

Carajahís, and Javaés form a nation and live, 7-8000 souls strong, in 70-80 villages along the Rio Araguaya from Furo to Intaipabas.

[648] The same, in 1871, founded the settlement of Dumbasinho with the Collegio Izabel, two leagues below Leopoldina on the west bank (Leopoldina was founded in 1852), for the purpose of training and educating young Indians (Karajá, Kayapó, and Tapirapé) as colonists. The Collegio was given up at the beginning of the nineties.

175 114 The next detailed report about the Carajás was furnished by Dr. Spinola, who in 1879 accompanied Moraes Jardim on his Araguaya journey from Leopoldina to Santa Maria, which was undertaken for the purpose of making a map of the river. His

/178 cont./

175 Since then we have remained without any information on this area; no explorer again reports on the tribes along the Araguaya. Meanwhile steamer traffic expanded further, and new Brazilian settlements arose, especially the mission station Conceição among the Kayapó in the north. At the beginning of the twentieth century, the Bishop of Goyaz, accompanied by the steamer contractor Adolofo Guedes, undertook a journey on the Araguaya. According to the personal account of the [361] latter, they traveled, at high water, up the eastern arm of [177] Bananal from the north, came across a huge village of Šavajé, landed, but were quickly obliged to turn back in the face of resistance by the many Indians who were frightened by the 70 armed Brazilians. After that the wildest rumors swept through the land about the hostility and the great number of the Šavajé.

114 Such were the circumstances when I traveled on the [101] Araguaya in 1908. I navigated it from Leopoldina to Conceição, visited the Karajá, undertook side trips on foot to the Kayapó at Conceição and to the Šavajé on Bananal, and traveled up the Rio Tapirapé to the source region, where I came across the deserted villages of the Tapirapé Indians.

101 By way of supplement, a few statements about how the designations of the tribes have changed in the course of time might follow.

[131] I distinguish the following three hordes of the Karajá: the Šambioá in the stretch of the rapids, the Šavajé on Bananal Island, the Karajá proper on the Araguaya, west and south of Bananal.

101 The Šambioá are called Carajás by the first discoverers 175 (Antonio Pires de Campos in 1746, Souza Villa Real in 1792/93; Cunha Mattos also calls them this in his Chorographia de Goyaz, 1824). The name /179/ Šambioá appears for the first time in Cunha Mattos for a tribe which, roving about, sometimes visits Bananal Island, sometimes dwells on the Rio Cuyaba, and blocks passage through the western arm of the Araguaya (29). It is not

29. Rev. trim. 37, p. 393; 38, p. 20.

/179 cont./

101 175 known how Cunha Mattos arrived at this strange localization. The present Šambioá are called by this name for the first time by Castelnau in 1844, then Rufino in 1846, and Ehrenreich in 1888. This name is now the one commonly used; only Coudreau again calls them Carajá. This name, given to them by the Karajá, should be retained to distinguish them from the other hordes.

The Šavajé are mentioned for the first time as Javaes and Javahes in 1773 by Fonseca, who met them as visitors among the Karajá. (I do not know whether Pinto de Gaia mentions them.) Since then they have continued to be known under this name. They are mentioned again by Vasconcellos-Fonseca in 1774, Cunha Mattos in 1824, Castelnau in 1844, Spinola in 1879, Ehrenreich in 1888, and Coudreau in 1896/97, though none of them, except the first, again came into close contact with them.

The horde of the Karajá proper is mentioned for the first time by José Machado in 1772, and, to be sure, under the name of Carajás. They continued to be known under this name and were described by Fonseca and Vasconcellos in 1773 and 1774. They were not visited again after that; reports about them become confused, especially through the occurrence of the name Carajahí for a horde whose sites cannot be precisely located. Souza Villa Real, in 1793, is the first to mention the Carajahí: they had four chiefs. The authors of the two large historical 10 114 175 works from the beginning of the nineteenth century confuse the picture completely. Silva e Souza reports (1812) that the Carajá and Carajahí occupy seven villages on the Araguaya, and that [36] the Carajahí came to Salinas in order to make peace, but, since they were badly treated, they set out for their villages again. [131] Cunha Mattos reports in 1824 that the Carajás live on the Furo and in the rapids region (see under Šambioá), and that the Carajahís occupy the left bank of the Araguaya and only occasionally come to Bananal Island. In Rev. trim. 37, page 363, he reports further that the Carajás come to Salinas to beg for iron implements. From these reports no clear picture is to be gained about the relationships between Carajá, Carajahí, and Šambioá. The picture remains just as confused after

/179 cont./

Castelnau's report (1844). He says that the Carajás often stay in Salinas on visits, whereas the Carajahís live on the western arm in three or four villages. Rufino in 1846/47 finally brings clarity as the first to navigate the western arm again. He calls the Indians living here in nine villages Carajás, in other words, restores the old name, while he does not mention the name Carajahí. From then on they are again called Carajás generally, as by Magalhães in 1863, Spinola in 1879; in 1874, however, Magalhães also mentions Carajahís, besides Carajás and Chambioás, without /180/ making clear their mutual relationship. In 1888 Ehrenreich uses the name Carayahí for all Karajá Indians on the Araguaya, west and south of Bananal Island, and Cavalcanti (1895) joins him in this; this name, however, has not become customary in Brazil. Coudreau (1896) again calls them Carajás, and I, too, find it necessary to retain this name, and, to be sure, with the spelling Karajá. I repeatedly asked the Indians about the name Carayahí, and they always declared that they did not know it. They call themselves only Karajá, and among the Brazilian population, too, they are only called by this name.

I admit that the name Carayahí is very practical for distinguishing this horde from the entire tribe of the Karajá, and that detailed explanations are sometimes required in order to make clear whether by Karajá one means the whole tribe or only the southern group; in my opinion, however, one does better to go to the slight trouble of making this explanation with a few additional words rather than to use a nonexistent name.

I. The Karajá.

1. Anthropological Data.

Direct anthropological measurements were taken by me only with respect to height and color of skin. All other data are based on observations or were taken from the examination of photographs taken by me. For comparison I used Ehrenreich, Anthropologische

/187 cont./

101 The Karajá proper (2). They call themselves: kărăjă,

2. As explained above, I mean by Karajá the Indians called Carayahí by Ehrenreich. In accordance with the rather sharp J sound, which was often pronounced like dj, I was obliged to change the spelling to Karajá.

[104]

kărădjă, or krădjă. In addition, ĭnă and ĭnaûlă were given as designations for themselves. They are called Karayá by the Brazilians. Among the Šavajé, according to their own statement, they are called šŭšomădŏ or bĕrĕhŏkŭwăndŭ, among the
131 Cherénte wărăšŭtŏrŏ. They inhabit the middle course of the
[437] Araguaya, at present from 15° 15' to 10° 12' south latitude; their boundaries are thus the mouth of the Rio Vermelho in the south, a place between the north end of Bananal Island and Santa Anna in the north; only occasionally do they undertake trade voyages to Santa Maria and Conceição. In general they
[648] are confined to the banks of the river and its immediate hinterland, and they inhabit both shores equally; today, at any rate, there can no longer be any talk of the habit of avoiding the
484 west bank out of fear of enemies (3). They also extend their
[437]

[113]

3. Moraes Jardim, O Rio Araguaya; Ehrenreich, "Südamerikanische Stromfahrten," p. 38.

fishing and trading expeditions over large stretches on either side. In the east they visit the Šavajé in the interior of Bananal, but avoid going there in small numbers. In the west they navigate
[361] the large tributaries. In the Rio das Mortes, 15 leagues above the mouth, there is supposed to be a small Karajá village; they allegedly do not go farther upstream here. They travel
[225] up the Rio Cristallino for a stretch to fish for turtles. On the
131 Rio Tapirapé they go just below the waterfall; a tree with two bullet-tracks, a fire area, and the remains of utensils mark the boundary here against the Tapirapé Indians.

/187 cont./

10 Their neighbors are therefore the following:

In the south, Kayapó and Bororo, the latter known to the Karajá only by name.

/188/ In the west on the Rio das Mortes, the Chavãte, in Karajá: kḷĭũgã (kĭlŏgã, kŭḷĭgã); on the Rio Tapirapé, the Tapirapé, ũõhũ; from Santa Anna northward, the Kayapó, kḷãḷãũ.

In the east, on the upper Tocantins, the Cherente, ĭnŏlãtŭ; on the south end of Bananal, the so-called Canoeiros, tĭãbĕgã; in the middle of Bananal, the Šavajé, šãwãjé, (ĭ)šã(n)dĭwãndŭ.

In the north, the Šambioá: šãmbĭõã.

Of the tribes with whom they were unacquainted, the dõbãĭ were mentioned on the Rio das Mortes in the east the ĭšãwũndãhõ.

648 The Karajá live on a war footing with all these tribes, ex-
[439] cept for the related Šavajé and Šambioá; they show great fear of all of them. They formerly carried on trade with the Tapirapé, but for five or six years the two tribes have avoided each other as a result of a feud which flared up between them because of the
619 kidnapping of women by the Karajá. The Karajá show great re-
[162] spect even before the two tribes related to them. This is probably due to the fact that the Šavajé and Šambioá live in a few large villages, whereas the Karajá are scattered in many small settlements, and that they therefore, unaccustomed to great crowds of people, are afraid of the imposing number of armed men. Apparently, fear of other tribes is customary among the Indians generally.

162 The tribe of the Karajá is at present divided into two hordes:
361 The north horde lives from the northern end of Bananal
622 Island to the Rio das Mortes in the following 14 fixed villages (from north to south) (1): village of the chief Wãlãtã, Crĭsõtĕ,

1. By fixed villages I mean those that are again established in their particular district after each rainy season with the move to the river sandbanks again.

/188 cont./

[36] Tŭmănăkū (said to have died in September 1908), João III,
[162] Alfredo, Cyriāki-Cadete (Cyriāki moved to the mouth of the
[622] Tapirapé in September 1908), village on the mouth of the Tapirapé, village of the chief João II, José, Fŏtūnă, Ilk, village on the Izabel Morro, Cadete João, village of the deceased Cincinati. The villages are divided into three groups and an
[484] outlying settlement: Walata lives four days' journey (the days'
[622] journeys are calculated for the descent in a rowboat) below
[578] Crisote, since he is hostile to all the Karajá and therefore is duly feared by them; in the fall of 1908, however, there seems to have been a reconciliation between them. Crisote also lives somewhat isolated, namely, a full day's journey below Tumanakū. From Tumanakū to José there is a string of villages; the average distance between them is a three hours' journey. Only the village on the mouth of the Tapirapé is a trip of four or five hours away from either of the two neighboring villages. Between José and Fotuna there is a distance of one and a half days' journey; then the villages again follow at shorter distances.

[622] A branch of the north horde is the Karajá village of Chief Kŏrŭmăre along the river on Bananal, located a day's march to the east from the village of José. /Pl. 38 appears here./

[36] /189/ The south horde lives from the Rio Crixá to the Rio
[162] Vermelho in eight fixed settlements: on the Lago Luiz Alves,
[103] below and above the Rio Crixá, on the Lago de Café, in São José (āũwĭ), just above São José (hōlĕnĕkă), just below the Rio de Peixe (šĭšă), on the mouth of the Rio Vermelho above
[484] Leopoldina (šĭšămãdŏ). These villages, too, are divided into several groups: three villages lie on the Rio Crixá at a distance of about three to four hours' travel apart. The village on the Lago de Café is midway between Rio Crixá and São José and is
[103] about four to six hours of travel in distance from the two. Near
[484] São José there are two villages: šĭšă is one and a half days' journey away; šĭšămãdŏ is two and a half days' journey from
[621] šĭšă. šĭšămãdŏ is an outlying settlement that has existed for

[TEXT Continues on P. 62]

/189 cont./

361 621 about five years; it is inhabited by civilized Indians who prefer the advantages of civilization (tobacco, salt) to living together in the tribe.

162 22 361 132 136 Between the two hordes there is an intervening space of a six and a half days' boat-trip (calculated downstream). As the reason for the unhabited state of this intervening area the Indians told me that they lived here on the high banks only during the rainy season, that in the dry season only a few and poor sandbanks were exposed and there were a great many mosquitoes; two facts which I am able to confirm. As a transit area, however, it is busily used; on both the journey upstream and downstream I came across migratory villages here in both directions.

361 Thus we come to 23 fixed villages.

The size of the villages varies greatly. In the north horde there were villages with one to eight houses; altogether I counted about 80 houses, so that on the average there were five to six houses to a village. In the south horde there were villages with one to four houses. Altogether I counted about 20 houses, so that on the average there were two to three houses to a village. The number of houses in both hordes together is therefore only about 100.

162 621 The number of inhabitants likewise varies. There were:

	North Horde	Korumare's Village	South Horde	Total	Immigrant Šavajé	Total
Men:						
Adults	114	–	27	141	3	144
Youths	57	–	15	72	1	73
Boys (1-12 years old)	141	–	28	169	1	170
Total	312	ca. 20	70	402	5	407
Women:						
Adults	164	–	38	202	7	209
Maidens	22	–	12	34	3	37
Girls (1-12 years old)	129	–	28	157	1	158
Total	315	ca. 20	78	413	11	424
Total for both sexes	627	ca. 40	148	815	16	831

/190 cont./

175 In 1772 José Machado meets Karajá, apparently on Bananal
167 Island. In 1773 Fonseca visits the Karajá north of the southern tip
[162] of Bananal, they occupied nine villages with 9,000 inhabitants, three villages of which belonged to the Šavajé.

175 Transplantings to the south, into aldeamendos, took place
167 from 1782 on. In this year 700 Karajá were transplanted to São
648 José de Mossamedes near Goyaz, where they gradually perished.
[164] In 1786 Carretão was founded for Chavánte and Šavajé; most of
[165] the Indians succumbed to a measles epidemic, and the survivors were taken to Salinas in 1788, where they likewise gradually
[131] perished. A removal of the Indians to the south near these "centers of civilization" did not take place at that time, however, for in 1792 Souza Villa Real, when he traveled downstream from the Rio Vermelho out of the Araguay, did not find any Indians as
[484] far as the south end of Bananal. It was only at the beginning of the nineteenth century that the Karajá seem to have come to Salinas occasionally to visit their fellow tribesmen settled there. Thus, Silva Souza reports that between 1809 and /191/ 1812 they came to Salinas in order to submit peaceably, but that they moved back to their villages on the river as a result of a dispute; unfortunately, it is not said where these villages were. Cunha
[439] Mattos reports in 1824 that the Karajá at times came to Salinas
[721] in order to buy iron implements there (1). These conditions

1. Rev. trim. 37, p. 363.

lasted for many decades, for Castelnau reports in 1844 that the Karajá occasionally came from the Araguaya to Salinas, in part to visit their fellow tribesmen, in part to plunder the plantations
175 of the Brazilians (2). He himself did not come across any villages
131
36

2. Vol. 1, pp. 372, 377, 383.

from the mouth of the Rio Crixá to the southern end of Bananal, but reports that the fixed settlements start only after the division, and, to be sure, on the western arm, and that up to the Rio das

/191 cont./

175 Mortes there are three villages, the first of which lies 38 leagues,
131 the second 30 leagues, and the third directly above the Rio das
361 Mortes (3). Rufino, too, in 1846/47 found Karajá villages (nine)

3. Vol. 1, p. 395; Vol. 2, p. 114.

only along Bananal Island, the most southerly of which lay nine
175 days below the southern end of Bananal. In 1863 Couto de
167 Magalhães made a new attempt to settle Chavánte and Karajá
648 in a village near Salinas, in order to introduce them to civiliza-
361 tion here. It was this settlement, in connection with the further advance of Brazilian civilization toward the west, that seems to have led the Karajá to settle south of Bananal Island. Thus, Moraes Jardim and Spinola in 1880 mention the first village of the Karajá from the south as near São José, then a second village at the mouth of the Rio Crixá. There follow 18 villages on Bananal, beginning on the Lago dos Chavántes and with a village
[162] near Santa Maria at the end. These 21 villages were said to have about 600 inhabitants.

175 Ehrenreich mentions the following villages in 1888: Between
361 Leopoldina and the Rio Crixá a camp with a few tents was found.
[162] Near Schischá there was a village of about 30 persons on a sand-
[221] bank. He found the ranchos near São José, which were inhabited by the Indians during the rainy season, deserted in August. There was another village on the Rio Crixá. North of the southern tip of Bananal he lists the following villages: Above the Rio das Mortes three villages, near Izabel do Morro four villages, from there to the mouth of the Tapirapé six villages, and below the Tapirapé mouth six more villages, the last of which lay isolated
[721] on the north end of Bananal. The formerly northernmost settlement near Santa Maria was, according to his account, attacked by the Kayapó in 1881 (in 1859, according to Coudreau, p. 136), destroyed, and, as a consequence, definitely given up by the
[162] Karajá. The north horde, therefore, according to him, occupied 19 villages, whereas the south horde occupied two to four villages. Cavalcanti in 1895 gives the following villages for the south horde:

/191 cont./

175 The first village on an island opposite Chicas (probably identical
361 with Schischá) with two houses, the /192/ second village on a sandbank opposite São José with four houses, another village on the mouth of the Rio Crixá under the chief Pedro Manco.

The accounts of Coudreau in 1896/97 for the south horde, about whom he reports only information given to him, are even more inexact than for the north horde. He mentions two villages
[162] for the rainy season: one near São José with eleven houses and 60 inhabitants, the other near Schischá with 17 houses and 40
[221] inhabitants. The large number of houses and inhabitants shows how the Indians gather together in a few larger villages during the rainy season. This shows, however, that the south horde was already strengthened.

361 In 1908 I myself found the first village near Leopoldina, the
[162] second near Schischá, the third above, the fourth in São José (a house occupied by Indians), the fifth on the Lago de Café, the sixth above, the seventh below the mouth of the Rio Crixá, the eighth on the Lago de Luiz Alves: altogether, 19 houses and 148 inhabitants.

173 According to stories of the Indians of the south horde, the
167 first Karajá here, those of São José, were supposed to have come
[622] from the north. The first chief who immigrated here was mǎněkōkŏ. He found the land uninhabited. When he died, the Indians continued to live here under another chief, Xavier. Among his people there was kūlĭ, the chief of village 3. kūlĭ seems to be about 60 years old. I do not know whether he was born here. At any rate, the immigration took place before his time, in other words, in about the first half of the nineteenth century. According to
[361] the Indians, šĭšǎ consisted of one hut 20-30 years ago; later several Indians from the north moved in. The village near Leopoldina is said to have been founded about five years ago; the people formerly lived in šǎndǎlǎbĕ (on the Rio das Mortes, or the Barreira de Izabel Velha, or near Izabel do Morro).

/192 cont./

167 648 In any case this summary shows that the south horde owes its origin first of all probably to the establishment of the aldeamendos [177] at Carretão and Salinas. The Indians settled there and the contact with civilization provided by it (iron tools, liquor, tobacco) soon attracted more, and this influx continued even after the aldeamendos were given up.

166 361 Even today this southern migration is continuing; this can be definitely proved by my observations. Let us consider first the shifts within the two hordes during the summer of 1908.

In the case of the north horde I met 13 occupied villages with 71 houses on my journey downstream, and in addition 14 deserted village sites with about 40 houses and four migratory villages, two of which were traveling north, two south. On the upstream journey the situation was as follows: there were 13 inhabited villages with 63 houses. The difference in comparison with the villages of the downstream trip lay in the fact that two villages had been given up, two were newly founded, and five had been moved. Four villages were migrating, three to the north and one to the south. There were still ten abandoned village sites with about 25 houses.

If we take the Rio Tapirapé as the point of separation, there were: /Plates 39 and 40 appear here/

/193/

	below:	above:
on the downstream trip...	6 villages, 1 migratory village,	7 villages, 3 migratory villages,
on the upstream trip...	4 (1) villages, 3 migratory villages,	9 villages, 1 migratory village.

[113]

1. In March 1909 Kissenberth came across these same four villages, as well as one migratory village, below the Tapirapé. Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, 1909, Vol. 41, p. 967.

[Text continues on p. 70]

/193 cont./

166 Therefore a slight shift to the south has taken place. It should
361 also be mentioned that in September of 1908 Chief Cyriáki detached himself from Cadete and moved to the village at the mouth of the Tapirapé, that is, the next one to the south (2). There were

2. Kissenberth mentions the first village above the mouth of the Tapirapé as Cyriáki's village.

two migrations from the north to the south horde, but only for the purpose of visits or trade. A few persons, however, seemed to wish to remain permanently with the south horde.

In the south horde the same villages were again found in October as in June. On the downstream trip eight villages with 19 houses and five abandoned villages with eleven houses were observed, on the upstream trip the same eight villages with 20
[463] houses, but two villages had been shifted and two branches had withdrawn (boatbuilders of the second and third village who had completed their work); moreover, three deserted villages with six houses were to be seen (3).

3. On the reason for the abandonment of the villages, see below under "House and Village" /see pp. 85 - 87/.

162 The increase in houses by one is attributable to the immigra-
166 tion of Šavajé, for on the upstream journey there were five male
361 and eleven female Šavajé in Schischá. Besides that, however, the number has shifted further: on the downstream trip I counted 70 men and 61 women, on the upstream trip 70 men and 78 women; thus, with the Šavajé, the increase from June to October amounted to five men and 28 women, or 33 persons. This increase is to be traced back, in addition to immigration by the Šavajé, to that from the north horde.

/193 cont./

162 Thus, the migration southward seems to continue to this day,
166 and it seems to have affected the Šavajé as well. Apparently the south horde has a bit of Šavajé blood in it, which is noticeable above all in the taller build. Today only about one-fifth of the Karajá live south of Bananal; the majority still live in the north horde, but we have seen that in it, too, a trend toward the south is making itself noticeable (4).

[361] 4. A migration from the south horde to the north horde took place long ago: people emigrated from Schischá and settled on the Corrego; this is the village of José (six men, eight women).

174 Whether this migration to the south is a continuation of an older migration which brought the Karajá to the Araguaya I should like to leave undecided. As is well known, Ehrenreich pointed out many similarities between the Karajá and the Indians of Guiana.
171 Without wishing to pursue these cultural connections further at present, I should like to state, from a comparison of Karajá and Kayapó culture, that the Karajá show very many cultural traits related to the Kayapó, but also harbor a large percentage of foreign /194/ elements that seem to point to the north or northwest. It will remain for later investigations to pursue these cul-
174 tural problems further. The present-day distribution of the Karajá,
131 their confinement to the river valley in a narrow band beyond 8 1/2
648 degrees of latitude in the midst of hostile tribes, especially those
[101] of the Ges /Ge/ family, seems to point to the fact that the Karajá migrated up the Araguaya from the north, breaking up the tribes
648 living here. So far the Karajá have not yet come to an amicable relationship with the neighboring tribes. Efforts to bring this about
[797] were undertaken at Conceição by the mission, but they failed after initial success (1).

[115] 1. The reports, for which I am indebted to a Brazilian near Santa Maria, that the Kayapó and Šambioá meet annually at a particular place on

/200 cont./

000 to remaining outside the houses. In addition, there are the sand flies,
136 /Ill. 26 appears here/ which, according to Ehrenreich, become so
361 rampant that the Indians are forced to change their place of residence often (see below under "Village" /see p. 85 /).

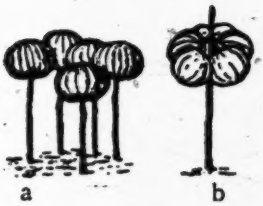
417

[225]

Ill. 24.
Storage rack. Drawn from a photograph.

Ill. 25.
Rack for drying the turtle fishlines.

[824]



Ill. 26.
a) Drying gourds.
b) Storing gourds.

514 There are no privies. To attend to their needs, the Indians go to a depression in the sandbank, behind the nearest bush, or into the woods. To clean themselves they use three small sticks which they break from
[136] a bush and then place parallel over the excrement. The urubus, which live in great numbers near the settlements, quickly take care of cleaning the place. In order to piss the men go to the river. Here they go into

Plate 41

133
231
291
342

1. Shade roof, mat wall behind it.

133
342
361

2. Unfinished village: mat-wall camp beside newly built hut.

/201 cont./

342 The chief's house is a communal structure. It is built by all
476 the married men, while the activity of the young people is limited
437 to cutting out and tying together the leaves for the roofing. The chief pays for this with arrows, lances, and clubs.

342 Besides these houses there are lighter protective walls (1),

> 1. Fonseca already mentioned these protective walls in 1773: The tents consist of two mats, one of which serves as a rug, the other as protection from the sun. Rev. trim. 8, p. 378.

a type of wind screen, in the shade of which the family usually remains during the day, and where the cooking is done. On journeys they serve as the sole dwelling, and in the village as drying racks for the aprons of the women.

There are various kinds of such protective walls.

[824] 1. Walls: Walls of palm leaves are fastened to several vertical poles in the same way as for the house covering (nõbŏ), or mats are tied to them, forming a vertical wall (bũlĕ). Such walls are encountered in almost all the houses, and they are usually fastened to three poles; also, however, walls of this kind which are twice as [252] long occur. In their /202/ shade is usually found the hearth for cooking, and in front of them lie mats on which the family remains during the day (Pl. 12, Ill. 1; Pl. 41, Ill. 1).

2. Roofs (wãdŏ): They are horizontally fastened to several poles put at the edge, usually to four, sometimes to three or six poles. Only mats are used here, and they are tied on with ropes. The mats usually fall down to the ground on the sunny side. Sometimes a protective roof of this kind is also built at one end of a mat wall (Pl. 41, Ill. 1; Pl. 10, Ill. 1). /Ills. 27 and 28 appear here./

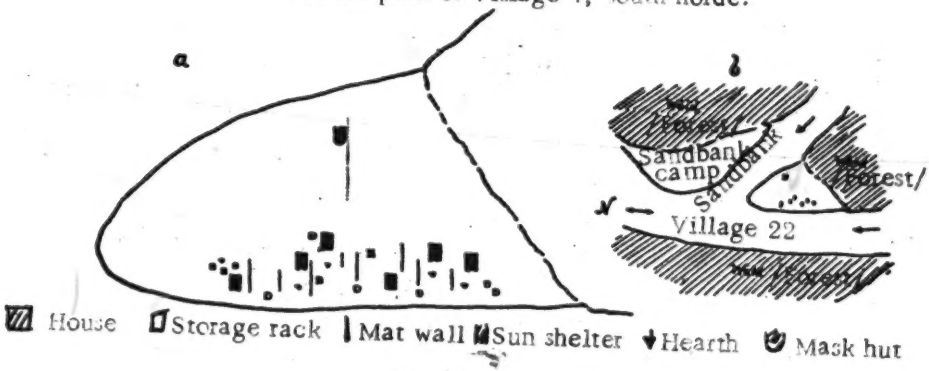
• 361 The village (ĩzŏ).

Ehrenreich says that the houses of the Carayahi usually consist of mat walls and stand in wild confusion, without any order. Only the Šambioá were said to have a street-like arrangement of the houses. This arrangement in rows that run parallel to the shore is also present

/202 cont./

361 among the Karajá, though the multitude of mat walls and storage racks makes an over-all view difficult. In general, the arrangement is such that in the first row from the shore with the boats stand the supply racks, /203/ in the second the mat walls with the hearths for cooking, and in the third, up on the dry sand, the dwellings Pl. 11, Ill. 2). Exact rows, however, are not observed, but rather

Ill. 27.
Ground plan of Village 7, south horde.



Ill. 28.

Ground plan of Village 22, north horde.

one house is sometimes built somewhat farther forward than another. Nevertheless, one has the impression of a row. I drew ground plans of all the villages; as particularly typical I should like to speak of the one for Village 22 (second northernmost village; Ill. 28) and Village 7 (south horde; Ill. 27).

/203 cont./

361 The houses in general are oriented in such a way that one long side faces northwest, north, or northeast, thus providing shade.

[592] [340] Each house is occupied by only one family; to each house there generally belongs a mat wall, a supply stand, and one or two hearth areas.

[346] The mask hut lies away from the village, at a distance of about 200 meters.

68 The villages of the Karajá are small; many consisted of only one or two houses, the largest of eight huts (1). Ehrenreich be-

1. Rufino has already reported that the villages of the Karajá have only eight to ten huts on the average. Rev. trim. 10, p. 208.

lieves that this dispersion must be traced back to a lack of means [511] of subsistence. This is scarcely to be assumed, since there is sufficient food, especially fish. In my opinion, it is conditioned first [578] by the many disputes that seem to prevail among the families of [571] the Karajá and lead to the departure of some of them, and then by the prevalence of personal attitudes concerning the feeling of sociability; many families live permanently isolated in one place because they happen to like it there.

It is noteworthy that the villages decrease in size from north [166] to south. This may be explained by the direction of migration of the Karajá: the bulk of them still live in the north; toward the south, the first to be sent are advance groups, which, of course, are small in number.

361 484 On journeys the Karajá pitch camps of mat roofs or walls, in the shade and shelter of which they live and sleep. The walls are, of course, oriented in such a way that they provide as much shade as possible and as long as possible; hence they usually stand approximately from west to east, and likewise arranged in rows (Pl. 13, Ill. 1). If a village is moved, the Indians live under mat walls until the houses are erected (Pl. 41, Ill. 2).

221 361 The villages do not remain permanently in one place. During the dry season, the Indians live on the sandbanks of the river, which,

/203 cont./

22 in their dryness and cleanliness, are ideal dwelling sites. In the
361 course of the dry season and within a certain area, they migrate from sandbank to sandbank as each of them becomes exposed by the river, so that in this way they always have fresh, unspoiled, clean dwelling-sites. With the beginning of the rainy season the villages are moved back again to the higher initial sandbanks and finally to the high banks of the river (2).

2. This explains the many abandoned villages that one comes across everywhere.

/204/ These rainy-season villages, lying up on the campo, are often far from the river; in the case of the north horde, they lie in part in mountains and are therefore difficult to find. This and the practice that several dry-season villages live together in a campo village probably explain the small number of Karajá villages mentioned by Coudreau.

361 If the villages are permanently abandoned, the houses, the
356 poles of the mat walls and storage racks, the roasting grates, hearths, etc. are left standing; they very quickly disintegrate. Villages abandoned for a short time (for example, during trading expeditions) are made secure by closing the entrances of the houses with leaf walls. All the household equipment, such as pots, baskets, etc., is piled up at the sides and covered with large mats. In front of the houses, manioc stalks, tied in bundles of five or six pieces, are usually planted in the sand. Palm fronds are stuck into the ground all around for protection, and the whole is then tied together. For the rest, wild disorder prevails in such abandoned villages. Large pots lie about upside down, often protecting smaller ones underneath. Mortars, gourd vessels, and scraps of baskets lie about
[824] here and there, and everywhere there are large heaps of manioc remains, nut shells, turtle shells, and finally urucú fruits, without which no journey can be undertaken (see greeting painting /see pp.100 -104/).

/242 cont./

24 [821] The time for laying out the planting is approximately September to October; it is called bōlăhŭă (1). It is regulated by

1. = Southern Cross?

the Pleiades (bōlŏbĕdŏ = parakeets): if it is low, manioc is planted; if it is somewhat higher, maize is planted. Cotton, batatas, and urucú are not planted until much rain falls, in other words, about November and December. These statements of the Indians coincide with the fact that I often found them absent from the village in October; they were sometimes days distant, in order to lay out the planting. Tall columns of smoke indicated in which direction they were doing this. The planting is usually laid out at a great distance from the village, on flood-safe high banks. As far as possible, the Indians ride there in a boat, but then they often still have long land marches to overcome before [311] they reach the planting. Recently they have begun laying out their plantings in the interior of Bananal Island, because the [361] harvests are supposed to be very good there. One chief, Korumaré, has already moved permanently to the inland river of Bananal. On the ninth of October I did not meet Chief Fotuna in his village; he had traveled two days inland to Bananal in order to prepare a new planting there. Apparently other villages were also considering the plan to betake themselves into the interior of Bananal later on.

The plantings are laid out by the married men, but the male youth seems to help. The underbrush is cut down; the tall forest [412] trees are stripped of their branches and then felled, which was formerly done with stone axes, but is now done with iron axes. [313] Larger timber is brought to the village as firewood, /243/ and the rest is burned as soon as it is dry. Then, between the fallen trees, small, low round beds are laid out, in which are planted three manioc stalks, set in a triangle with their twigs interlaced at the top (Ill. 12). For digging, heaping up the beds, and cutting in the holes for the plants a spade-like implement (mãŭlĕ or ĭdjōlŏ) is used. It consists of a thick stick that is pointed at one end and at the other runs out into a shovel (Ill. 83). The shovel serves to lift

/275 cont./

8. Means of Transportation and Communication.

484 [361] The Indians do not like to travel by land. The north-south extension of their dwelling area along the river essentially requires boat trips from village to village. Land marches are undertaken only to visit the plantings or foreign tribes. For both purposes paths exist.

487 The paths are approximately 20-25 centimeters wide and are produced by the treading down or pulling up of clumps of grass; they do not go straight, but make slight meanderings. The 481 Indians walk on them single file, one behind the other. Their feet are not, as is often said, placed exactly one in front of the other, but rather, as I was constantly able to observe on marches lasting for days, the Indians turn their toes outward, exactly as we do; at most they sometimes turned their feet slightly inward when a taller clump of grass along the side required it. It is also very pleasant to walk barefoot on these paths; they are kept very clean and smooth.

485 For short marches, such as to the plantings, there are no special arrangements; it is different in the case of paths that lead cross-country for days and are more frequently traveled. They are provided with shelter-huts at intervals of a day's march, cooking places, ferry boats and water-transport vessels on either side of the waters. I traveled such a traffic route when I marched across Bananal Island in order to reach the Šavajé.

482 As a means of transport by land the back-baskets (bĕhūlĕ) are chiefly used; they are carried on shoulder-band and forehead-band and /276/ quite enormous loads may be transported in them (Pl. 57, Ills. 1 and 2). All other heavy loads are also carried on the carrying-band of brown bast (ōūnă), which is placed around the forehead or the chest; for example, the large carrying baskets (wälīlĭ, Pl. 57, Ill. 3). For my knapsacks, the Indians likewise made themselves forehead-bands. Large sleeping mats are rolled up and transported crosswise upon the head.

/351 cont./

175 settled 3,500 Indians in Carretão. Souza e Silva, in 1812, speaks only of Chavánte who were housed there, whereas Cunha Mattos also ascribes this fate to the Šavajé. An epidemic of measles destroyed almost all the Indians; the rest were transferred in 1788 to the aldea Salinas. After that the Šavajé disappear from view; they gradually become a savage, feared people, about
175 which nothing more specific is known. In 1824 Cunha Mattos
131 (Rev. trim. 38, p. 20) reports only that they live on Bananal Island, are very light and almost extinct. In 1844 Castelnau describes the island as uninhabited; according to him, /352/ the Šavajé live about 30-40 miles above the northern end of Bananal Island and three to four days' journey east of the Furo,
[114] in the territory of the Chavanté. Obviously this information rests on misunderstood stories of his boatmen (Vol. 2, p. 115). In the work, O Rio Araguaya, by Moraes Jardim, dated 1880, it is reported that near a Karajá village there is a lake that is connected with the large lake in the interior of Bananal Island, and that from this a canal leads over to the Furo near a Šavajé village. It is said in a later note that all the villages of the Šavajé are supposed to lie on the Furo. Ehrenreich repeats Fonseca's statements ("Beiträge," pp. 5 and 7); at the same time he reports that the Šavajé lived in three villages on the lake and had last been spoken to, in 1888, at the mouth of the lake's outlet into the Furo. They are generally regarded as a tribe linguistically related to the Karajá. In 1896, Coudreau, finally, states only (Araguaya-Tocantins, p. 110) that they lived on Bananal and were but little known, but that they were the strongest of the Karajá tribes.

175 In Goyaz I learned that during the first years of the twentieth century the Bishop of Goyaz navigated the Araguaya
[361] with a steamboat. On this occasion the Brazilians entered the Furo from the north and came across a huge village of the Šavajé at the entrance of a brook. An avenue of bananas led from the river to the village. Since they came in large numbers (approximately 70 men) and all armed, the Šavajé soon

/352 cont./

175 forced them to retreat, with a Šavajé walking on either side of each Brazilian. When the steamer whistled upon departure, many Šavajé, out of terror, leaped from their canoes into the river. In any case, from then on great fear prevailed among the Brazilian population concerning the more powerful Šavajé.

361 2. Dwelling sites. On the basis of my inquiries among the
[162] Karajá, the Šavajé live in the interior of Bananal Island in three
[131] to five villages which are distributed over a long stretch of territory. The northernmost small village is said to lie in the interior, three to four days above the north end of Bananal Island. The main village lies, in the dry season, about eight days above the mouth of the Furo on a sandbank at the entrance of a brook (outlet of the inland lake?). In the middle of August it is moved into the interior. It is said to be very large, "like a city"; Pedro drew six rows, each with 20-25 houses, in the sand. The bachelors
[346] are said to sleep in the mask house, located apart. Farther south, one to two days (?), one or two small villages lie in the interior
[114] of Bananal. I visited one of them from Karajá Village No. 15, from which it is located quite directly east. One reaches it by
[487] a well arranged route: after half a day's march, one comes to the Karajá village of Korumaré on a river. Either one travels up the river for one and a half days in a boat, describing a large arc to the south and east, or one walks for a day across the campo eastward to the harbor, from which it is another three to four hours' march to
[162] the village. The village, which contains five houses with approximately 100-150 /Pl. 59 appears here/ /353/ inhabitants, lies on a lake; it is moved several times in the course of the dry season.
[132] In the rainy season the entire region is inundated with water; apparently this lake then forms a part of the large lake that Fonseca mentions. I was unable to find out where the village is moved to during the rainy season. Finally, there is said to be a fifth small village still farther south, but the accounts about it vary.

131 This is the one branch of the Šavajé. A second one lives
162 near the south horde of the Karajá, and, indeed, in the two
101 southernmost villages: Schischá and near Leopoldina. They
361 migrated here in the last generation but one, for Chief Chico in
166

[Text continues on p. 312]

/353 cont./

166 Schischã, the deceased chief Pedro Manco, and Mother Joana from the migratory camp No. 9, people about 60-70 years old, are regarded as the children of the immigrant Šavajé. Recently, Šavajé again came from Bananal to Schischã; in October 1908 they lived in a separate house. These Šavajé, of course, entered into frequent alliances with the Karajá.

167 [101] A third branch is supposed to have separated from the Šavajé on Bananal, apparently in the previous generation. This horde crossed the Araguaya and moved toward the west; among the Karajá of the Araguaya they are regarded as lost. The separation took place in the region of the mouth of the Rio das Mortes or somewhat more to the south.

619 Before I enter into a discussion of the culture of the Šavajé, I should like to report very briefly what the Karajá told me about them: The Šavajé are their kinsmen; they speak the same lan-
628 [438] guage and have the same tribal tattooing. They live in peaceful relations with the Karajá, they intermarry; above all, there is an active trade in which the Karajá trade to the Šavajé stone tools, which the Šavajé lack, as well as iron goods, fabrics, and chains of beads in exchange for urucú, net coverings, araras, and
511 food. In clothing and ornamentation the Šavajé are supposed to be equal to the Karajá, but to have much more beautiful things. Among the Karajá, they are considered rich in ornaments and foodstuffs; hence, in times of hardship, the Karajá often migrate over to them. I found these statements to be generally true.

101 Phonetically the name of the people should be written Šăvăjē, in accordance with the pronunciation customary among the Karajá. The Karajá also call them: (ĭ)šăndjŭ, (ĭ)šă(n)dĭwăndŭ.
361 [114] I cannot give their number, because I became acquainted with only a small village of five huts. In any case, besides three or
[161] four such small villages, there seems to be a very large village, similar to those of the Šambioá, so that the number may perhaps
[162] be given as 800-1000. The Šavajé living among the southern Karajá perhaps reach 50 in number.

/353 cont./

142 3. Physically the Šavajé differ from the Karajá only in their greater height (Pl. 30, Ills. 3 and 4). The men are probably on the average four to five centimeters taller than those of the Karajá; the women, too, are taller than the Karajá women. Here, too, however, there are persons of small stature, especially of the female sex (Pl. 30, Ill. 3). For the rest, everything that was said about the Karajá is also true of the Šavajé.

184 /354/ In their culture as a whole the Šavajé are pure Karajá. They do, however, show a few differences from the latter, which, in turn, link them up more closely with the Šambioá. In the following I shall therefore state the differences only very briefly.

342 4. House and village. The construction of the house differs
184 considerably from that of the Karajá and is similar to that of the Šambioá. I refer to my explanation above about the house
[177] construction of the Karajá, where the modification of the Šavajé house as a result of Brazilian influence in the case /Ill. 188 appears here/ of the Šavajé living among the southern Karajá is described (pp. 75/77; Ills. 20, 21; Pl. 30, Ill. 1).
[353] The cross beams of the posts supporting the roof have thin poles laid over them and form a sort of loft on which back-baskets, baskets, weapons, women's belts, plaiting material, etc. are
[354] stored. In contrast to the Karajá, the cooking places are in the house, and, to be sure, in the circular structures, one on either side of the entrance, so that there are four hearths in the house. The circular structures serve at the same time as supply rooms for baskets, gourds, food, etc. On the lower parts of the house posts, all around the walls, all kinds of birds, such as vultures, etc., are tied up.

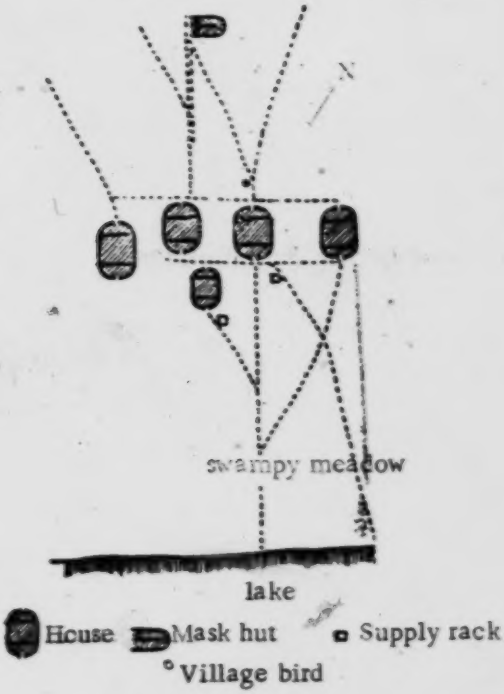
361 The village, like that of the Karajá, is laid out in one row
184 parallel to the shore (see the plan, Ill. 188 /see p. 314/). The
[346] mask house lies apart from the village. It corresponds to that of the Karajá, but has a ridge beam such as appears in the mask house of the southern Karajá.

/354 cont./

184 5. Clothing and ornamentation. In clothing, ornamentation, and body care no essential difference from the Karajá is to be noted.

[301] The men wear the hip cord and penis cord in the same
292 manner as the Karajá. Eye shades were not observed. Net coverings were worn by both sexes, they are made by the Šavajé

361



Ill. 188.
Ground plan of the village of the
Šavajé on Bananal.

292 themselves. The manner /355/ of knotting is the same as among the Karaja. Ill. 3 in Plate 59 shows a net covering only 24 centimeters long, which is knotted in the manner of the loose belts
[854] of the girls. Apparently it serves as a bed for a newborn child. Occasionally the brown warp threads of the coverings were shot through with white threads; on the basis of inquiries among the

5: Krause

SP9 Caraja SP9
Tapirape SP22

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T
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Sec. 1 /p. 366/
Sec. 2 /p. 367/
Sec. 3 /p. 368/

Chart of Positions of End Map A.
[Facing p. 365]

5:Krause--366 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9
Tapirape SP22

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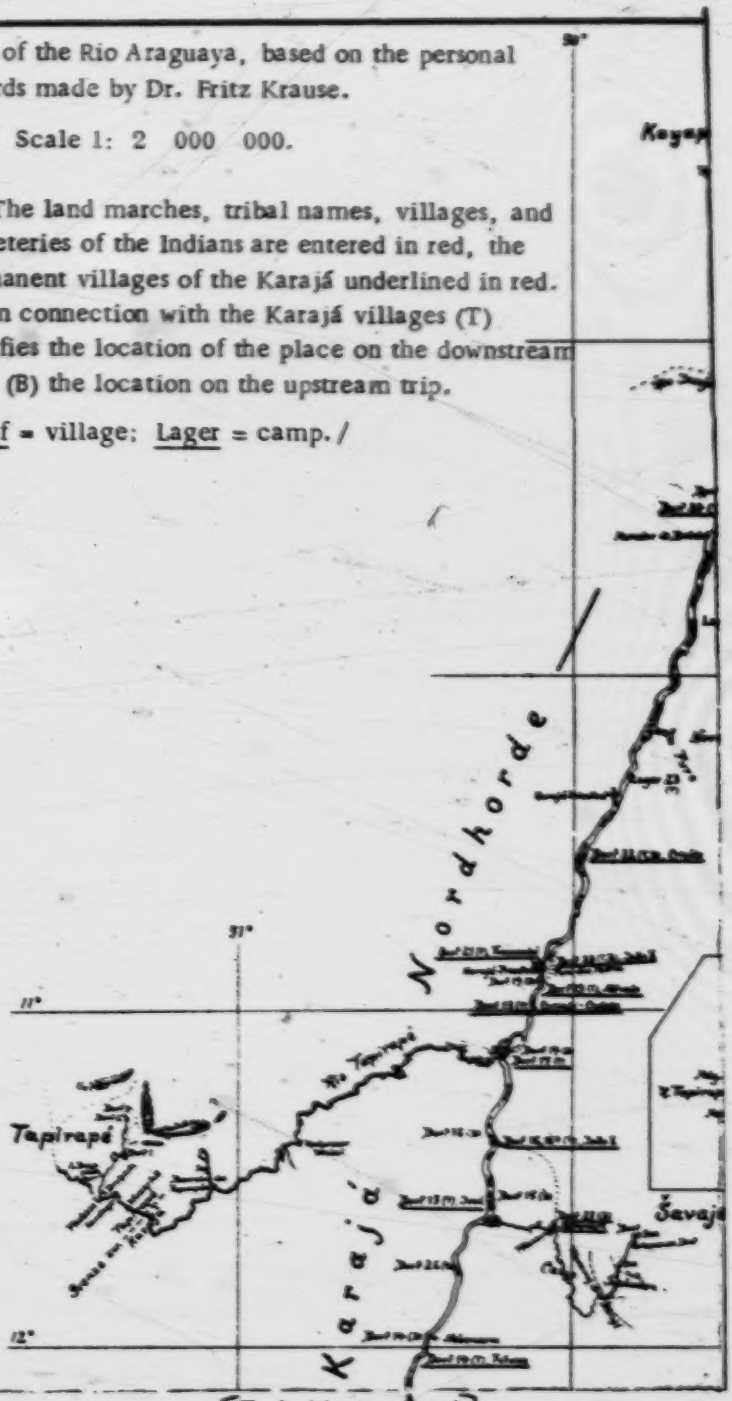
Map of the Rio Araguaya, based on the personal records made by Dr. Fritz Krause.

Scale 1: 2 000 000.

The land marches, tribal names, villages, and cemeteries of the Indians are entered in red, the permanent villages of the Karajá underlined in red.

In connection with the Karajá villages (T) signifies the location of the place on the downstream trip, (B) the location on the upstream trip.

/Dorf = village; Lager = camp./



[End Map A-1]

5: Krause--367 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9

Tapirape SP22

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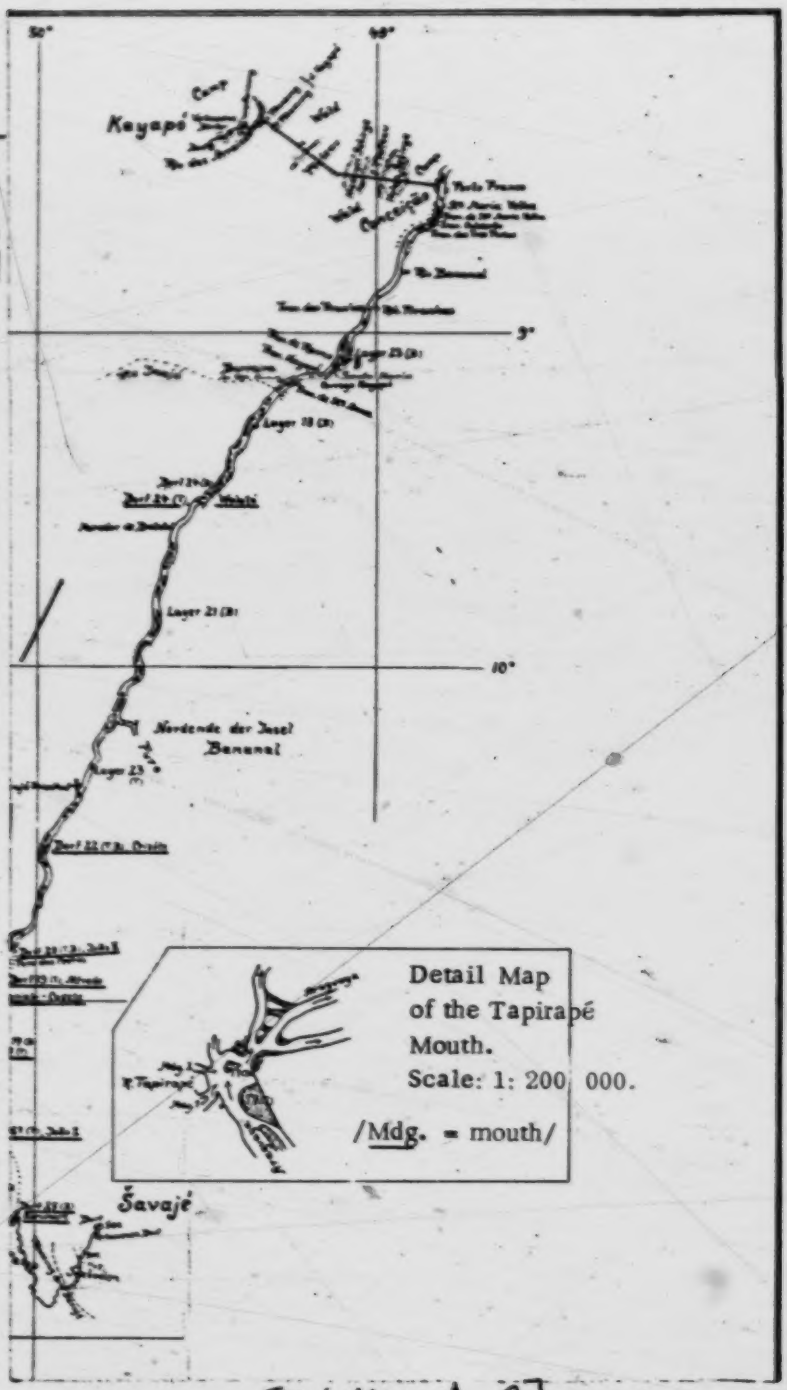

[End Map A-2]

5: Krause--368 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9

Tapirape SP82

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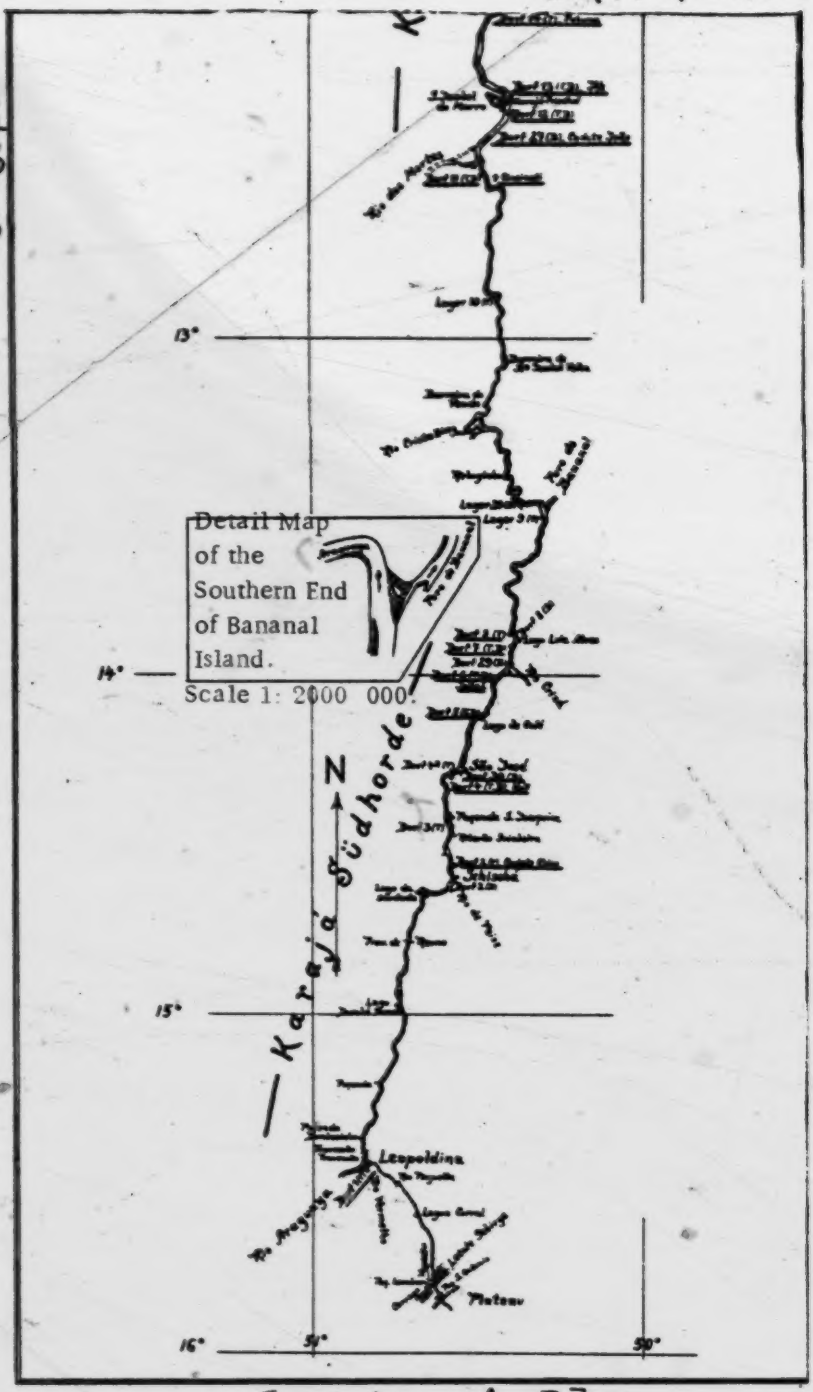

[End Map A-3]

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

Brazil.

The largest fish in the river are eight or ten feet in length 136
and encased in an armor of big scales. Still other fish will be mentioned later.

After a five o'clock dinner one afternoon, we cast off again 000
in order to take advantage of the current during the early part of the night. How strangely beautiful and romantic were the scenes that encircled us as we were borne quietly along on the bosom of the mighty, silent, placid flood and the shadows of night, pursuing the fleeing day, stole slowly over us! The boundless forest on both sides of the river, standing, or kneeling down into the water, seemed a vast guard of honor presenting arms, or two grand armies standing at attention. At length, calm and solemn night enveloped us in her sombre mantle. Two hours later, the full moon arose like a Queen of Glory in all her splendor, and radiated a flood of brilliant, delicious light that glorified river and forest and transfigured the savage world through which we were silently moving like spectres. I felt like exclaiming in the words of the Psalmist, "Praise ye him, sun and moon: Praise him all ye stars of light!"

Soon, we reached a little hamlet called São José, that at [361]
the time of our visit, was in an advanced state of decay. This was the last outpost of "civilization," and the few people who lived here were cut off from the rest of the world and barely managed to eke out an existence. As I was sitting in our canoe one evening while we tarried here, some large fish heads that had been lying on the beach were thrown into the water; and the instant they struck the water, several fish one to two or more feet in length shot out of the water in the vicinity and glided, or ricochetted over the surface in every direction. They were frightened, apparently, by the large heads. We bought a fat cow here for three dollars and fifty cents and salted the meat down; but as the curing was not properly done, we finally lost the meat. 123

We found a small group of the Karayá living at São José. [162]
We met the Karayá for the first time just before arriving here. They interested me greatly. Doubtless I appeared no

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

262

"Monkey."
"What are you going to do with him?"
"Eat him—me like him much." [224]
"How did you catch him?"
"Me shoot him with an arrow."

Continuing our voyage at dawn, we encountered before 609 noon another cluster of Karayá huts on a sand island. Before [361] we could get to shore, the natives ran out into the water [439] to meet us, and surrounding our canoes, eagerly offered us balls of black beeswax and pottery in trade for what they supposed we had. It was amusing to see a Karayá couple trying to make a trade with our only woman voyager for a man's gauze undershirt. I could not but think of how the poor savage would appear with only that shirt on. He wanted it, [291] he motioned, to shield himself from the cold at night, and from the flies by day.

We passed the next night at another group of huts on [361] the sand. These Karayá who were very cordial, were expecting us for the news of our approach had preceded us; so they gave us a royal welcome. The *mayor of the city*— [622] the chief of the local horde—appeared arrayed in a complete [292] suit of civilian's clothes, consisting of white linen trousers and vest, black coat and hat. These he wore merely as decorations, not as a covering, for these people consider themselves fully and properly dressed without any such apparel. It was a remarkable sight indeed to us to descry in the gloaming, as we approached the land, what appeared to be a well-dressed representative of advanced civilization entirely alone in a remote, howling wilderness, surrounded by nude and painted savages. He had obtained these garments somewhere from a trading boat. We were escorted in state to a large hut [526] where were assembled all the human inhabitants of the island; and after the reception, we witnessed the wrestling game of which the Karayá are very fond, which will be described fully in future pages.

The same night, as I was sleeping soundly in the open 123 air in my hammock, which was swung between two stakes

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

truded below the coat. They eyed it carefully from head to foot, riveting their gaze for a moment on the feet, then slyly opened the hood a little to peer in; and when they saw the physiognomy of their savage brother with nearly all the paint wore off, grinning at them from away back in the dark, they were highly amused. 609

A Karayá village we visited near the mouth of the Rio das Mortes—River of the Deaths—is so remote and out of touch with civilization that the inhabitants understand scarcely anything of the Brazilian language. Nor are they cordial to strangers, regarding them, instead, with suspicion, for the reason that they are subject to attacks by the Chavante Indians who live up the Rio das Mortes. While we were calling here, one of the women sought to obtain a shirt from me for her young son. To make me understand what she wanted, she used the sign language, imitating one's movements when a mosquito bites one on the shoulder and he crushes it, the drawing on of a shirt, and the feeling of contentment that "mosquito no bite more." 36 [191] 609 [192] 123 [291] [201]

My umbrella aroused the curiosity of the savages wherever we went. Knowing that it opened somehow, one of them took it once and stood it point downward, apparently expecting it to open. As it did not do so, he passed it to me to show him and his companions how it worked. As I opened it suddenly and it spread its wings, like some old, black goblin about to fly on an evil errand, the women uttered a low scream of fear and surprise. They often felt of my linen coat and trousers, and my shirt, then made signs to me that these articles were very good to protect one from the flies and mosquitoes. They evidently thought that this was my only reason for wearing clothes. They also fingered my hat and boots, and pulled my mustache to ascertain if it were real, or false, and gazed at me as I wrote my journals for writing was a mystery to them. To many of them I was a freak well worth going a long way to see.

The Christmas season occurred while we were in the savage world of the Araguaya. What an extraordinary Christ- 600

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

Returning to our canoes, we saw a wild fruit tree growing close to the water—its habitat—the fruit of which the Brazilians call *arósa*. It resembles a reddish plum, but has a double stone and is very acid. But it is a very wholesome fruit and would make, I imagine, an excellent sauce. The tree appears to be partly a climber, for the limbs, which are one or two inches thick, maintain a uniform size throughout their length, and coil around one another, serpent like. The river was now a mile or more broad and the navigation very open; so, wishing to take advantage of the current as much as possible, we reembarked after a five o'clock dinner one day and floated along quietly hour after hour in the obscurity until past midnight. Then, desiring to find a sandbar on which to sleep until morning, we at last descried a gray outline and pulled for it. Happening to enter shallow water, we grounded before getting close to shore, and lost a pike overboard. But just as we were getting afloat again, we suddenly heard a shuffling sound coming from the shore close by; and looking that way, our hearts stood still as we beheld the dusky forms of thirty or forty naked and painted savages rushing down upon us fully armed with long war lances and heavy killing clubs, ready to scatter our brains on the beach. We now discovered that we were innocently attempting to land just above a portable Karayá village, the existence of which, at this place, was not known even to our pilot, Pedro Monco. Our creeping up here at the dead of night without giving any signals announcing who we were, and if we were friends or foes, had convinced the villagers that we were enemies.

The situation in which we found ourselves was extremely critical for a few minutes. But the natives, seeing who we were, paused briefly, which gave us an opportunity to communicate with them and explain matters, and also to make them some presents to pacify them. Our large canoe only was involved in this midnight adventure, the other having pulled up elsewhere for the night; so our party was small. Our canoe was drawn up on the sand, and the savage band stood

6:Cook M-3.4 (ca. 1900) 1909
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not afflicted. Therefore, they have hidden their villages far 177
away from the slimy trail of the only "civilization" they 186
know, and do not wish to reveal their location. But they, too, well know the great superiority of steel implements over their stone utensils, so desire to obtain them, which they do indirectly through the Karayáhy. They are not unwise in their generation. They do not desire to receive, in its entirety, the "civilization" available to them, for it has been demonstrated to them that its evils outweigh its blessings. Therefore they try to catspaw civilization's good things and leave its evil things. What a pity it is that a civilization, which is the best fruit of the Gospel of Christ, should not have reached the Karayá!

The Sambiõa live in much larger, cleaner, and more or- 511
derly villages than the Karayáhy, and are better fed. They 184
also build better huts than the Karayáhy, and arrange them in regular streets. They have four large villages, located be- 361
tween Pau de Arco and the falls of S. Miguel. They trade 439
hammocks, vegetables, fruits, fowls, and other produce for such articles made by civilized men as they desire. As re- 241
gards agriculture, they are but little behind the semi-barbarous Brazilians of the far interior. They have many slaves, 727
which are women and children stolen from other tribes with whom they were at war.

Only the inhabitants of the second Samblõa village are 609
hostile to strangers. When such appear at their port, the women and children are sent to a safe place, while the warriors, fully armed, assemble at the water's edge and assume a threatening attitude. It is necessary to be cautious in approaching them, though they dare not attack a large canoe full of men armed with repeating rifles. They greatly fear these weapons, believing that the rifleman can continue to fire indefinitely without reloading. The villages are always [361]
situated distant from the landing-place; and though they will allow the traveler to visit them, he must be on his guard.

The reception at the landing is interesting and exciting. The naked, bronze-bodied men are assembled in force. Many

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca.1900) 1909
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609 of them are painted black and red, and have their faces daubed Many
[302] with a thick layer of black soot; others wear upon their heads
[301] crowns made of beautiful feathers; while others again, have
[237] their hair braided and decorated with the brilliant crimson
[411] and gold feathers of the macaw. All are armed with spears beautifully decorated with feathers, and with bows and arrows and heavy killing clubs. They present quite a military spectacle.

Disembarking, the first thing the visitors do is to show the savages their arms, especially the repeating rifles, which fill them with awe. The chief now hastens to declare that he and his people are friends of the white man, saying: "The Karayá is the friend of the white man; there is no lie with us," repeating this twice. Confidence established, some trading may be done without difficulty. Small children, and particularly, young girls, are very shy of the strangers, and usually creep into their huts and cover their faces with their hands. The visitor is never troubled by beggars, and rarely has anything stolen from him.

131 The Karayáhy division live along the main stream of the
162 Araguaya between São José and Santa Maria in twelve or
[648] fifteen villages or encampments, one of which, near Santa Maria, was completely wiped out in 1881 by the Kayapó
361 tribe. Their villages are not so clean as those of the Sambiõa, nor are the huts so well constructed.

191 Observing the speech of the Karayá, one can scarcely notice any movement of the lips; nor do they seem able to repeat exactly a sentence just uttered. They have many sounds which they produce with the tongue and swallow the
192 last syllable. Apparently, their speech is not related to any Brazilian aboriginal language. The most remarkable thing about it is that they have one dialect for the men and another for the women; though only a few words are entirely different, and with most of them there is but a slight, unimportant change.

142 Physically, the Karayá are one of the finest of the aboriginal races of Brazil. They are of medium size, slender and

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
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eyes from the strong reflection of the sun on the sand-bars. 293
When trading with travelers, they are eager to get blue or [439]
smoked glasses, or goggles.

The Karayá live in a more advanced state than do some 162
of the other tribes of the Amazon basin, especially the rough, 361
nomadic peoples, who exist in small groups of a few families.
They prefer to live in large groups containing hundreds of
individuals, and in permanent habitations, constituting fixed
villages or encampments. True, the Karayá living near San [221]
José, rove about somewhat in small parties during the dry
season; but farther down the Araguaya, the encampments
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fifty to two hundred souls. During the rainless season when 361
the river is low, they live on the sandy river bottoms, called
praias. Here they set up their easily portable huts, in order
to be convenient to their canoes and to the fishing grounds,
and also to be more free from troublesome insects.

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those of all other primitive peoples, are merely clusters or
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hut is constructed by planting in the sand, fifteen or twenty
feet apart, two parallel rows of saplings, then bending over
each pair of opposites and tying them together. To these ribs
are bound bamboo rods in a horizontal position, *sipo*—creepers [283]
—being used as cordage; and upright poles are planted at the
gables. Over this frame-work is bound the skin, or covering, [824]
which consists of giant, feather-like palm-branches. Sometimes
plates, resting on forked posts, are used to further strengthen
the frame. This dwelling, when completed, is shaped like
the bottom of an inverted barge, and looks like a very squatty,
ancient haystack, with a hole—the door—eaten in one end
by cattle.

Garbage, such as watermelon rinds, pumpkin skins, green 364
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[364] their huts and move to a new site, perhaps to some other sand-bar. This is a case of moving the residence instead of the garbage. During the rainy season, or when the sand bottoms are submerged, which may not occur until two or three months after the rains begin, the Karayá dwell on the
[342] high banks of the mainland. Here, the huts are much better constructed, resembling the dwellings of "civilized" Brazilians.

342 It is seldom one sees among primitive peoples, such sub-
184 stantially constructed huts as those of the Sambiõa division. Here is seen the greater industry, the greater activity, and the better condition in every respect of the free, unmolested sons of the wilderness in comparison with their "tame" brethren who exist in more destitute circumstances, though in contact with, and under the influence of the "civilized" people—the semi-barbarous Brazilians. The dwellings of
342 the Sambiõa are not placed in disorder, but are arranged in
363 long rows, forming regular streets. "They make a favorable impression upon the visitor, because the streets appear clean and the huts orderly, comfortable and inviting." The four
361 Sambiõa villages each contain sixty, thirty, forty-five and
162 ninety huts, respectively, and each hut is occupied by one or
592 two, or more, families.

352 The furniture in these primitive abodes is very simple. The floor, which is bare earth, is covered with matting made
[285] by braiding together the long, slender leaves of the burity-
[513] palm. The occupants sleep on this matting without any other bedding whatever, save a round billet of wood for a pillow upon which the neck rests, but not the head, Japanese
353 fashion. From the plates, or roof supports, hang baskets of various forms and sizes, in which are kept the bright feathers that are used in decorative work and ornament making. Finished ornaments and decorations made of brilliant feathers, pieces of regalia, bows and arrows in a finished and unfinished state, spear-throwing sticks and various small articles are also seen stuck into or suspended from the roof; while

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/12 cont./

342 184 Only rarely does one see among them the characteristic solid house-construction of the Šambioa and then only in smaller 351 364 dimensions, without any particular care in the construction. Since all the scraps are simply strewn on the ground, the refuse gradually [136] becomes unbearable. The vermin multiplying in large numbers, especially the sand fleas, finally force them to abandon the place. 342 In the rainy season the Karayahi move into stronger, buriti-leaf [361] covered, open ranchos on the high bank, which do not in other respects differ in form from those customary among the Brazilian population.

/13/ The "summer huts" of the Šambioa are very much more [184] carefully and neatly built. Here the greater diligence, industriousness, and the comfortable well-being of the free son of the wilderness are manifest, in contrast to his "tame" tribal brother vegetating in oppressive conditions and dependent on civilization. [361] Not in disorder, but in long rows, forming real streets, these houses with their impeccable cleanliness make an uncommonly friendly and comfortable impression (Pl. IV /see p.106/, 1, and Pl. V /see p. 107/).

621 In the first Šambioa village we counted 60 huts, in the second 30, in the third 45, and in the fourth 90, each of which is inhabited by one or two families.

The individual villages are distinguished by special names. 342 The basic form of the house is rectangular; the narrow side with the door faces the street. The frame consists of three or four [335] flexible poles on each side carried over forked supports and held together with those on the opposite side by means of cipos, thus /Fig. 3 appears here/ forming a boat-like, arched roof, which is further supported by some vertical poles set in the ground in the long direction (Fig. 3 /see p.22 /). These, as well as the forked supports, are connected with one another by as many strong horizontal poles as are necessary. Thin laths are placed lengthwise [824] and parallel to one another on the outside over the ribs of the roof and serve as supports for the strong pinnate leaves of the uaguassú palm (Attalea spectabilis), which, in several layers, form a fairly waterproof roof. Their leaf pinnae are also entwined with one another into a very solid plaited work. These plaitings serve

/16 cont./

276 824 (arikoko). One specimen in the collection is carved out of wood in its natural form (Fig. 4 and Pl. I /see p. 103/, 1).

252 Preparation of food. Directly in front of the house door is found the cooking place, surrounded by low pole frames on which the squeezed manioc is dried. Large earthen pots stand on stones [364] or clay supports over the fire. The ground around is littered with scraps. These heaps are the breeding places of annoying gray flies [136] (the so-called mosca da aldeia), which sting badly and, when they get out of hand, necessitate abandoning the place.

[462] Untiringly the women are busy throughout the day with dragging in the field produce and firewood, the preparation of manioc, pounding maize, opening palm nuts, and the careful supervision of all the culinary processes, in which the Indian housewife, despite the simplicity of the materials, knows how to achieve a relatively great diversity.

[876]

Fig. 4. Tobacco pipe (1/4).

372 824 Fire is still made wholly in the original way by means of the drill (hädä). It consists of two sticks. The thicker one, wood of the urucú plant, is fixed on the ground after a shallow cavity provided with a deep cut at the side is made near one end. Then the point of the second, thinner stick of taquara /Chusquea sp./ is set in this and is twirled between the palms with strong pressure until a hollow is formed at this point, out of which the glowing dust flows through the notch at the side and can be collected. Thus the procedure is precisely the one illustrated and described by Im Thurn (op. cit., p. 258). As in the method used by the Warrau /Warao/, no special tinder is needed. The pulverized wood itself supplies it. To kindle a livelier flame, dry strips of palm leaf are mixed with the easily flammable red resin (tamararu), which is like sealing wax, and then lighted.

/199 cont./

417 Outside the houses, on the other hand, there are special storage racks (ǒdēdŭ). They consist of four forked sticks about one and a quarter meters high, which are set up in the form of a square and joined together by two crossbeams and many longitudi-
[251] nal beams. On these racks lie supplies of all kinds, manioc roots, unused implements and weapons kept on hand, as well as raw materials of all kinds; hung on them are gourds and baskets full
[287] of maize and feathers; the bast aprons of the women are also often hung here to dry (Ill. 24).

[225] For drying the lines used to fish for turtles, special racks made of two long vertical poles joined at the top by a cross-pole are used. The line, hanging far down, is hung on this to dry (Ill. 25).

Ill. 23.
Arrow-stand in the house.

[824] /200/ Fresh gourds are stuck on sticks to dry; near each house one sees groups of such staked gourds. Later, they are preferably stored by tying a whole number together on a stake (Ill. 26a and b).

354 Other household equipment is lacking. The hearth is outside
184 the house, in contrast to the Šavajé, among whom it is located in the round structures (see "Food" /see pp. 165 ff./); it was only in the modified houses in Schischá at the end of October that cooking was also done in the house. /Ills. 24 and 25 appear here./

● 364 House and environs are not very clean; food remains such as fish bones, nut shells, and bones, as well as wood, tools, etc., lie about everywhere. While it is dangerous just to come near the
[136] villages and houses with bare feet, the vast number of flies and other insects that gather in masses on the refuse is an obstacle to remaining outside the houses.

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
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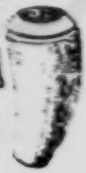


Fig. 4. Tobacco pipe (1/4).

● 372 824 Fire is still made wholly in the original way by means of the drill (hădă). It consists of two sticks. The thicker one, wood of the urucú plant, is fixed on the ground after a shallow cavity provided with a deep cut at the side is made near one end. Then the point of the second, thinner stick of taquara /Chusquea sp./ is set in this and is twirled between the palms with strong pressure until a hollow is formed at this point, out of which the glowing dust flows through the notch at the side and can be collected. Thus the procedure is precisely the one illustrated and described by Im Thurn (op. cit., p. 258). As in the method used by the Warrau /Warao/, no special tinder is needed. The pulverized wood itself supplies it. To kindle a livelier flame, dry strips of palm leaf are mixed with the easily flammable red resin (tamararu), which is like sealing wax, and then lighted.

/16 cont./

•372 Naturally the Karaya try to maintain the fire as long as possible and make a new one only when necessary. On longer boat trips glowing pieces of wood are always taken along on a bed of sand.

252 Meat and fish are roasted on a spit over a hot fire or laid directly on glowing coals until the uppermost layer, or the skin, is completely charred. The ashy parts of the latter, in combination with the reserved juice, make the use of salt unnecessary to a certain degree. Only the Karayahi have begun to become [243] accustomed to European salt. Salty soils, such as are found [317] in the campos at the so-called barreiros /clay pits/, as well as the ash of various woods, must serve as substitutes. Fish are probably also boiled.

Corn on the cob, aipim roots, sweet potatoes, and some palm fruits are likewise roasted over the fire.

The preparation of manioc is much more primitive than among the Xingu and Amazon tribes. The roots, provided with [412] deep cuts, are put in water for several days for maceration, then freed of the skins with knives or sharp shells, and pulverized on the grating board (ãranã), a biconvex board about three centimeters thick, with several rows of short buriti thorns in the middle (Pl. VIII /see p. 110/, 4).

The pulverized mass is pressed with the hands, probably [415] also with the aid of stones, to remove completely the poisonous juice, the largest part of which has already been taken out by the maceration, and then, washed and drained in peculiar little baskets (uãriri, see p. 41) plaited out of flexible cipos, dried in the air. By drying it in shallow pots one thus obtains the "water flour" (farinha d'agua) also generally widespread on the Amazon. Because of fermentation during the maceration, it has a slightly sour flavor, but can be kept much longer than the "farinha secca" /dry flour/ of trade, made out of the fresh root. This type of preparation, however, does not seem to be the original one practiced by them. More often, in accordance with an old national custom, the dried mass (puva, beerõ) is baked in large loaf-like lumps after several washings. Finally, small flat

/251 cont./

252 The hearth lies outside the houses, usually in the shade of mat walls or near them. In the rainy season it is moved to the round structures of the houses. It is constructed in two ways: either three truncated cones, the tops of termite hills [ă(ū)dŏ, kĕdŏ], are placed in a triangle in the sand, between which the fire is kindled (Plate 12, Ill. 1), or three broken pot bottoms (wădjĭwĭŭlă), which are set upended, are used instead. The large cooking pots are set on these supports. For roasting, low roasting hearths (kŏbĭŭdŏ) of twigs are used: Four forked sticks are stuck into the ground in a square, two longitudinal sticks are laid between them and over these cross-sticks are laid. The fire, which is lighted underneath, gradually chars the sticks (Plate 61, Ill. 1, Šavajé; see also below, p.168). Roasting on a spit is also customary: a switch is cut from the bushes, tapered to a point, and, with several piranhas strung on it, is stuck obliquely into the sand so that the upper end with the fish is suspended over the fire. The fish are /252/ first roasted on one side, and later, by turning, also on the other side.

313 Dry wood is used for firewood (hăă), as it is found in abundance everywhere on the sandbanks in trees washed ashore, as well as in the forest.

●317 [824] Fire (hearth fire: hăŏtĕ) is produced by twirling. Base and twirler may be of the same wood; usually ăŭtĕ (Brazilian sarão, the root of a goyaba /guava/ species) is used, but ăndŏlŏkŏ (Brazilian mŭrĭzĭ) is also supposed to be usable (1). According to

1. The Brazilian names are given in the Indian pronunciation.

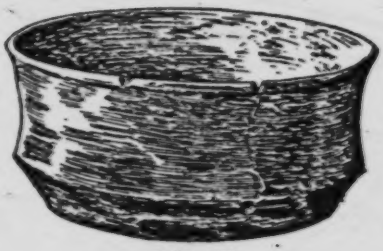
Ehrenreich (Berlin 3937), the drilling stick consists of taquara, the base of Bixa orellana. In the case of the /Ills. 87-89 appear here/ fire twirler reproduced in Ill. 87, the base shows three drilling holes; each hole is opened laterally by a notch so that air can enter. The twirler consists of a wooden rod, to the bottom of which is tied another stick of wood three centimeters long as the actual drilling piece. Tinder is not used; dry palm leaves serve for kindling the flame.

/252 cont./

• 372 The fire is never allowed to go out, but rather care is taken to keep it constantly burning. On boat trips the Indians take along glowing bast (hãŏdé; Ill. 88) or pieces of slowly smoldering wood (hãdĕké) on a sand base in the boat, and similarly when they go to the plantings. Apparently, therefore, they dislike drilling new fire, but would rather transfer the fire to the new place. I often had the drilling of fire demonstrated for me, but the men never succeeded in getting beyond a huge development of smoke. These attempts, however, all happened to take place in wet weather.

[252] [415] Ill. 87. Fire twirler.

Ill. 88. Glow bast.



Ill. 89. Cooking pot, ordinary shape.

To fan the fire, fans (kõlĭ) which are plaited of palm fronds in simple fashion are used. The cooling fans (Plate 21, Ill. 2) differ from them only in that they have patterning.

252 /253/ Meat is merely roasted; fish and vegetables are [462] eaten roasted and boiled. The preparation of food is the duty of the women; they are busy with it all day. The men, too, however, know how to do it, and on journeys they roast and boil their food themselves in case of emergency. In the villages I never saw roasting hearths; these were found only on sandbanks with traces of camps. Wandering bands use them occasionally. My Karajá always built such roasting hearths

/276 cont./

482 415 Smaller loads are carried in containers on a hand-strap, for example, in carrying sacks (mãsĭ; Pl. 57, Ills. 5 and 6), carrying bags (lõlŭ; Pl. 57, Ill. 4), two-piece baskets (wrãbăhĭ; Pl. 57, Ills. 16 and 17), small pouches (Pl. 55, Ill. 6 a-c), or in small gourd vessels, the perforated edges of which hold the carrying-bands or which are either plaited round with bast (dălĭlĭkŭ) or are set into a net of black cotton plaiting (wălăbŭkŭ; Pl. 56, Ill. 4 a-c).

854 Children ride on the hip and are held there with the hand (Pl. 12, Ill. 4; Pl. 37, Ill. 2; Pl. 42, Ills. 2, 3).

50 [484] Their principal journeys take place by water in a boat. The boat (ãwŏ), of which there is one or more in each family, consists of a dugout six to ten meters long and 40-60 meters wide. The two ends are greatly elongated and slope up from below, so that getting on and off the sandbanks is easily accomplished (Pl. 56, Ill. 5). The boats have no seats; one squats or sits on the narrow bottom. Sometimes cross-rods are put in, upon which the cargo is placed to protect it from the bilge water. In one place [372] in the boat there is often a layer of loam upon which lies the smoldering wood for transporting fire.

The boats are propelled with oars and poles; both are used in journeys upstream and downstream, the poles, of course, only in shallow water. The oars (nãlĭhĭ) are manipulated freely as paddles, and, indeed, the rowers kneel or sit in the boat, their [502] faces in the direction of travel. If the boat is propelled by one man; he sits at the rear end and steers at the same time; with a crew of two men, one sits at the front end and one at the rear; several rowers distribute themselves over the entire boat. In the latter case, the rowing rhythm is entirely spontaneous, since the [533] ones in the rear must adjust to the man in front. The song which young people like to take up while rowing has nothing to do with the rhythmical rowing. There are various ways of working the oars: short strokes with pauses after each stroke; long, evenly spaced strokes; slow strokes with a lifting of the blade at the end, so that the water falls off the blade in a broad surge, are regarded [147] as a particularly elegant manner of rowing. The Indians have great endurance; they row for many hours without interruption.

/286 cont./

396 out with the ax. In this crude shape the boat is brought into the village and placed on two forked posts about half a meter high (Pl. 56, Ill. 5). With oaguassu palm fronds, which are laid in the hollow, the interior space is completely burned out and blackened, while at the same time burning through the walls is prevented by quickly snatching out the fire. Then, while the wood is still warm, about 20 cross-sticks, each approximately three centimeters thick, are stretched from wall to wall; palm fronds are propped against the boat all around and are lighted at four or five places on either side by one man each. After about five minutes the outside charring and blackening of the boat is completed. The struts remain in the boat until the next day; they are very bent. Afterwards the boat is put through an inspection, during which possible irregularities, especially of the bottom, which could cause disturbances in the balance, are removed with the ax. At the front, narrowly tapering end a hole is cut into the right wall, directly under the edge, for the loop into which the boat pole is stuck during the rowing or lying quietly on the bank. This hole is supposedly cut in with a sharp knife under the application of a wooden mallet.

415 I did not see wooden vessels. Ehrenreich brought back a
412 few: a round vessel hollowed out from a tree root, with a carry-
114 ing string (Berlin 3875) and two spoons, the handle of one of which terminates in a tucano head (3934, 3935). In the case of fire
[372] sticks, according to him, the drilling stick consists of taquara, the base of Bixa orellana.

415 Of larger fruits only gourds are used. They are carefully
[824] dried by being stuck on sticks that stand in the glaring sun and in the sand of the sandbanks. Later, tied together, they are hung on a vertical stick (Ill. 26 a, b). Hollowed out, they serve as oil containers, as hanging containers for white down feathers, with a bast stopper (Pl. 58, Ill. 3a) or wax seal (the hanging band is fastened with wooden wedges; Pl. 58, Ill. 3 b, c), halved paint bowls and eating dishes, smaller ones as spoons. The whole-
[531] gourd vessel and larger half-gourd vessels are usually decorated with incised ornamentation, the smaller half-gourds with pyrography.

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

the open air, just in front of the entrance to each hut, is 252
the cooking place, which is surrounded by a slightly raised platform of sticks on which the manioc meal is evaporated. Large earthen pots are seen resting upon stands over the fire; while the ground around is littered with garbage, which, as previously mentioned, ferments, and attracts and breeds swarms of pestiferous flies. The women are as busy as bees, 462
and toil untiringly throughout the whole of each and every [252]
day, gathering fruits and vegetables from forest and field, going many miles distant and returning, staggering under heavy burdens, gathering firewood, preparing manioc meal, pulverizing corn in wooden mortars, splitting the small cocoa nuts, and attending to the cooking. Dr. Ehrenreich says of the Karayá wife, that though her raw materials are limited, she, nevertheless, succeeds in producing a good assortment of food. Among all savage and semi-barbarous peoples, the females labor more assiduously than the males, and the burden of providing for the family seems to fall more upon them than upon the males. Here again, we observe the similarity between these children of Nature and the wild creatures, upon the female of whom falls the burden of providing for the brood.

The Karayá have no matches, or any of the appliances 372
of civilization for kindling a fire, but still adhere to the ancient method. Fire is produced by means of two sticks of wood, one, which is of urucú, being secured to the ground. This is grooved and morticed in such a way that by setting the point of the second piece, which is a taquára reed, into the groove and causing it to spin rapidly by rolling it between the palms, glowing dust issues from the side of the first piece, with which a fire is kindled. Punk is not used; the piece of wood that is bored takes the place of punk. With this glowing dust, strips of palm-leaves are ignited after being daubed with easily inflammable red resin. But the primitive housekeepers seldom have to resort to this method of producing fire as they do not allow their camp-fires to die out. When on a journey, they carry fire-brands, or glowing coals, which are kept alive at times by being buried in the sand.

/304 cont./

386 M. Coloring substances and adhesives. By way of coloring
824 substances, besides urucú red (Bixa orellana) and genipap black (Genipa brasilensis), which are used essentially as body colors, only black and white occur as technical colors. The white earth (mǎnãŭlǎ = white stone) serves as white; it is pounded and used above all for painting the bow-wood winding. It is also used for making spinning whorls. Black loam (zŏŭblūlŭ) is used for black coloring. Embira is colored with it by heaping wet black loam over the bast and letting it lie this way for a night. Cotton is dipped in boiling water and then drawn through the loam standing nearby in a pot. This is repeated several times until the threads are sufficiently blackened. Cotton is colored red with urucú oil color only after the completion of the object concerned. Concerning the storing and the trade form of urucú red, see p. 100 and Ill. 40 /see p. 103/.

237 The universal adhesive substance is beeswax (tǎbōlǎ) that is stored in spherical form and is offered to passing travelers in bulk
•381 as material for boat calking. Jatobá resin (kūwǎŏ), a light,
314 transparent, hard resin, is also used a great deal. From it the red, lacquer-like resin (dãumālĕ), such as is used to decorate the feathered end of the arrows, is made in the following manner: the resin is softened in a pot over the hearth fire, urucú color is poured in, the two are mixed, and the whole is allowed to stiffen. The black, lacquer-like resin (dŏwŏdālǎ), which serves the same purpose, seems to be made in a similar manner by adding black coloring. Both kinds are stored in large lumps which seldom have a definite shape. For fastening the mother-of-pearl eyes on the stools, the little down feathers on the bodies of children etc., a soft, yellow resin is used (kōōdĭ), which is stored in a piece of palm leaf folded together.

/4 cont./

*532 are cut in as horizontal lines. The ears are missing; the breasts are lightly indicated. The torso above the apron is deeply notched, a type of representation of the female body which is repeated in all the clay figures. The sexual organs are reproduced in naturalistic fashion under the bast apron. On the legs the thighs and calves are worked out plastically. The feet are represented by offset wooden blocks; calf and ankle bands are reproduced by a wrapping of red cotton thread. /5/ The figure is painted; on one side of the head small red feathers are affixed with wax as an ear rosette.

*532 352 Also belonging here are the wooden stools (Fig. 13 a and b /see p.48 /), which, with sledge-like runners, are carved out of one piece of wood. The sitting surface runs out to a point on both sides and on each into a triangular head which bears a beak in relief. The whole seat is supposed to depict an arara (see the front view, Fig. 13b). The eyes are reproduced by pasting on shell disks with a wax button in the center; tufts of feathers are attached [386] to the edges of the head as ear tassels. The whole is painted black with the dye of the genipa fruit.

*532 276 Finally, relief-type representations are still to be mentioned here, first the tobacco pipe (Fig. 14) which bears carving in relief

[831] →

Fig. 14 a and b.
Decorated tobacco pipe.

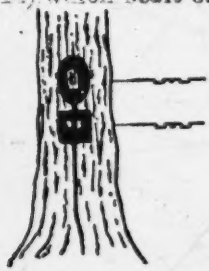


Fig. 15. Relief-type
tree-drawing.

on one side, the significance of which I was unfortunately unable to discover. Apart from this, it is decorated on the upper edge with a neat carved pattern recurring only twice elsewhere (half-gourd, Pl. XI, Figs. 201a$_2$ and 202a /see p. 57 /). Then later,

/5 cont./

*532 Then the next stage of production can begin. In the case of female figures the apron [287] is now tied on; a piece of tree bast is cut to the necessary length, and the inner layer is pulled off and made pliable by being pulled through the mouth several times. The way it is fastened as an [314] apron is shown on Fig. 24 /see p. 48 /. Then the hair is put on. Black resin is warmed on a block of wood, rolled out on a gourd or on the thigh into a long roll, and this is then pressed tightly on the head. A thick layer of resin is put on the back of the head. If the resin becomes hard too quickly, it is warmed up again with [388] the block of wood. Only now does the painting with black genipa and red urucú dye follow. A slender bamboo rod is dipped into the paint and drawn along the indented lines. Larger red areas of color are also put on with the index finger.

/6/ The adornment characteristic of the different sexes and ages is usually put on as well. Almost all figures are painted; I do not know whether the patterns correspond to the patterns of [302] body painting customary otherwise; in any case I never saw patterns of that kind on the bodies of the people themselves, though it must be remarked that I very seldom encountered patterning on the body at all.

Ear rods are represented here and there by fine rods (Figs. 17, 23 /see p.48 /); ear rosettes are made very small from feathers (Fig. 16 a and b /see p48 /). Long narrow strips of cane serve the men as lip plugs (Fig. 18 /see p.48 /).

Necklaces are either painted on (Fig. 19b /see p. 48 /) or reproduced by beads (Fig. 16 /see p. 48 /) or, in the majority of cases, by cotton threads, which either fit tightly (Figs. 18, 22 /see p. 48 /) or hang down (Fig. 21 /see p.48 /, Fig. 35 /see p.48 /).

Neck tassels for the children are formed in wax; they lie tightly against the back of the figures (Figs. 20, 21 /see p.48 /).

Cuffs are sometimes attached to the extensions of the wax hair-roll by attaching two fine rolls of wax, with the space between them painted red (Figs. 17, 18, 20, 21, 22, 35).

Arm tassels of string are shown in Fig. 22.

Calf bands are represented by two fine rolls of wax, with the space between them only rarely painted red (Figs. 18, 22, 23).

/9 cont./

142 The bridge is narrow, markedly convex with a somewhat pendulous tip. The alae are usually somewhat drawn up, so that the round nostrils seem to be directed toward the front.

In size the women stand significantly behind the men, but are just as well proportioned. Their figures tend to be somewhat full in their youth. Almost all the younger individuals have uncommonly delicate hands and feet and a perfect form of the bust, but, like [853] all Indian women, they lose their charms very early; in particular the long breast-feeding causes excessive lengthening of the [481] breasts. In the case of older women, the weak development of the lower extremities and the waddling gait of the inwardly turned feet make an unpleasant impression.

The real skin-color of the Karaya is difficult to determine at first glance. Staying on the sun-scorched praias changes the bright yellow-brown of their complexions, which one can still confirm only under their large cotton cuffs and knee-bands, into a dark copper-
302 brown. Even this is not easy to see in the case of many individuals because of the /10/ body painting used to the broadest extent (Fig. 1 /see p. 17 /). People painted black or red from head to foot are not rare. Others combine the black or red color into patterns which almost give the impression of European clothing. Black line-drawings on the face and extremities are the most popular.

302 Used for body painting are:

•386 1. Urucú (uareriŏ). Paste made from the red berries of Bixa
[824] orellana.

[824] 2. The blue-black dye (beθēna) obtained from the seeds of the genipa (Genipa brasiliensis).

3. Soot. This is either simply scraped from the cooking pots and rubbed into the face or, mixed with genipa, it serves for diffuse painting of the whole body.

302 The line-decoration is put on with the fingers or little wooden
413 sticks, the diffuse coloring with a rag.

/212 cont. /

386 824 The red color is obtained from the seeds of the fruit of the urucú bush. There are many different varieties, which produce a more or less intense red color, in part also inclining to yellow. Treasured above all is the kind with round seeds (wōlĕlŏnĭ), whereas the kind with long seeds is not esteemed very highly (wōlĕnò). The kind with round seeds grows particularly in the [438] region north of the Tapirapé mouth; it is obtained here in large quantities by the Indians and further traded to the Indians south of the Tapirapé mouth, especially to those of the south horde. The 386 dyestuff is produced from the seeds in the following manner. The many small seeds contained in the beechnut-like fruits are removed, some palm oil is put in the hands, and then the seeds are rubbed between the oiled hands until all the dyestuff on the shells of the seeds has come off. In this way an oil color is produced, which is scraped off the hand with a knife or stick and is put in a gourd vessel. The rubbed seeds are thrown away. In this fresh state the oil color is immediately ready for use. For [438] trading, it is boiled in oil (thickened), then put into solid forms, and dried in the sun (Ill. 40 a, b).

[824] For the black color either soot, which is scraped from the charred trees of the plantings or from the cooking pots, or the blue-black juice of the genipap fruit [b(ă)dēnà] is used. This juice is mixed in small spoon-like gourd vessels or in larger, carved half-gourds /Pls. 43 and 44 appear here/ /213/ (Ill. 41 a, b); at first it is light, but soon after it is applied to the skin, under the influence of the air, it becomes a handsome black-blue color.

A white earth (mănāŭlà) is used as a white color. I never 302 observed white body /Ills. 40 and 41 appear here/ painting, to be sure. The small clay dolls, however, bear white patterning, and the Indians told me that with this color they paint rings around their arms, as well as transverse stripes on their chests.

302 413 The fingers serve as paint brushes, the flat hand for full body painting. /Ill. 42 appears here. / I never observed sticks or rags for applying the colors. On the other hand, for the genipap patterning a stamp (ūlĭnŏ) consisting of two sticks of cane lashed together, the cut surfaces of which are cut to form two semicircles, is popularly used. These semicircles are now placed together to form

[Text Continues on P. 103]

/213 cont./

●386
[438]
[415]

Ill. 40 a, b.
Urucú oil-color in trade packaging.

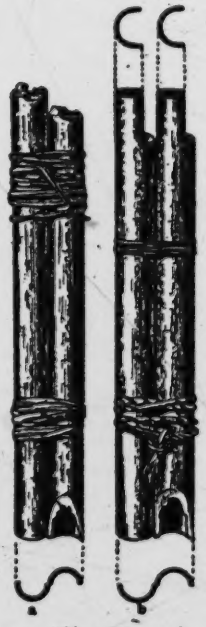
Ill. 41 a, b.
Color bowls.

302 a serpentine line (būltĭ; according to Kurĭsĭ,
413 however, naũĕkĭĕlāzĭ = ostrich crown-tuft). These stamps are usually only one-sided (Ill. 42a); only once did I come across a two-sided stamp, which at one end bore the serpentine line, at the other two semi-circles, one above the other (Ill. 42b). The boy in Ill. 2 on Plate 38 is painted with the serpentine-line stamp.

302 In the painting we distinguish between full painting and patterning.

[291] The full painting "is their suit of clothes" (Kurĭsĭ's statement); "it protects them from mosquitoes just as their suit does for the Christians" (Mauzĭ's statement).

The patterning, on the other hand, is executed only for special occasions. It is a kind of festive ornamentation. For
[609] receiving strangers, for example, the villagers paint themselves with red and black designs; the arriving strangers also paint themselves before they /214/ enter the village, even if they only draw a black eye-band from ear to ear with soot scraped from the charred campo trees.



Ill. 42 a, b.
Genipap stamps.

/226 cont./

*301 c) Arm and leg ornaments of red-colored cotton. These ornaments, consisting of arm cuffs and calf and ankle bands and worn by both sexes, are the insignia of the unmarried and are therefore worn from earliest youth until marriage and then again by widowed persons.

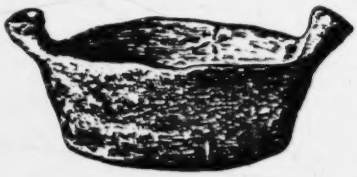
*301 286 The arm cuff (dẽsi) is crocheted out of cotton with the crochet hook as a long cylinder the thickened edges of which are bent outward like a rim (Pl. 45, Ill. 3; see on Pl. 16, 18; 44, Ill. 2). The upper opening is wider than the lower one. They are made by the women, and, to be sure, are crocheted over a club or a manioc pounder (according to Ehrenreich, also over a [386] special wooden cone not observed by me anywhere). When the cuffs are finished, they are colored red with urucú oil-color. *301 They may be put on and taken off; they are laid aside especially for heavy work. On the whole, they are not worn constantly, but [412] most of the time. Young men sometimes insert their knives into them from behind, so that the blade sticks out toward the elbow. If they become too tight, they are removed and new ones are made. They are ultimately removed only at marriage. There [554] is a possibility, however, that they may be put on again later, and, to be sure, in three instances: first, widowed persons wear them again; then, men may wear them again if their wives are satisfied with them and put them on for them; and, finally, the best wrestler may wear them again.

[286] Ankle bands (wālāũ) and calf bands (dẽobutã) are likewise crocheted out of cotton and colored red. These are narrow bands with thickened edges, which are crocheted together in front. At this closing place a long tassel of thread hangs down from both edges (Pl. 45, Ill. 4 a, b; see also Pl. 15, Ill. 1; 16; 36, Ill. 1, 43, Ill. 1). The tassels of the calf bands are often tied together in back for long marches or rapid sprints, in order not to impede the movement of the wearer (Pl. 44, Ill. 2). On the calf bands bast bindings are sometimes also tied (perhaps a sign of mourning?).

/284 cont. /

415 very pronounced in the pottery in the villages from Leopoldina
192 to São José. These villages furnish the Brazilians with cooking
[439] and eating vessels, so that in São José and Leopoldina one finds
Indian vessels almost exclusively. They have already been
[531] adapted, however, to the taste of the Brazilians: the small eating dishes have the typical bowl-shape and on the edge bear a decoration in red color (Ill. 96). The water-cooling vessels, too, which the Indians in the villages mentioned make for the Brazilians, show the purely Brazilian type and red decoration.
[386] The red designs are made with an earth color. The red earth
[317] for this (zũzõ, zõũbũlẽ) comes from the Barreira do Veado and is taken along to São José and Schischá by the Indians of the north horde traveling south for arrow cane, in order to sell it to the Indians
[531] there. It is applied mixed with water. The true Indian vessels are undecorated.

192



Ill. 133.
Old clay-vessel.

I obtained in Schischá a most peculiar vessel, whose origin is unknown (Ill. 133). It is irregularly spotted dark red and black as a result of uneven firing; it is apparently made out of very crude clay and in a very primitive fashion. The two knobs on the edge, which are slightly hollowed out on top, are striking. The vessel was found several decades ago in the sand of a sandbank by Indians from Schischá on a journey downstream. The Indians themselves were unable to say where the vessel might come from.

415 I did not see anywhere the pot and bowl forms brought back by
114 Ehrenreich: shallow, round dishes (Berlin 3862), flat, round plates (3863 and 3864), flat, oval plates (3865), low elliptical double bowls with a dividing wall running lengthwise (3866), cylindrical pot with turned-down rim and bast hanging-band (3861), double conical pot with hanging band (3858), and clay spoons (3878).

/304 cont./

386 [824] M. Coloring substances and adhesives. By way of coloring substances, besides urucú red (Bixa orellana) and genipap black (Genipa brasilensis), which are used essentially as body colors, only black and white occur as technical colors. The white earth (mǎnāŭlǎ = white stone) serves as white; it is pounded and used above all for painting the bow-wood winding. It is also used for making spinning whorls. Black loam (zŏŭblūlŭ) is used for black coloring. Embira is colored with it by heaping wet black loam over the bast and letting it lie this way for a night. Cotton is dipped in boiling water and then drawn through the loam standing nearby in a pot. This is repeated several times until the threads are sufficiently blackened. Cotton is colored red with urucú oil color only after the completion of the object concerned. Concerning the storing and the trade form of urucú red, see p. 100 and Ill. 40 /see p. 103/.

337 The universal adhesive substance is beeswax (tǎbōlǎ) that is stored in spherical form and is offered to passing travelers in bulk as material for boat calking. Jatobá resin (kūwǎŏ), a light, transparent, hard resin, is also used a great deal. From it the red, lacquer-like resin (dǎ͡ūmālĕ), such as is used to decorate the feathered end of the arrows, is made in the following manner: the resin is softened in a pot over the hearth fire, urucú color is poured in, the two are mixed, and the whole is allowed to stiffen. The black, lacquer-like resin (dŏwŏdālǎ), which serves the same purpose, seems to be made in a similar manner by adding black coloring. Both kinds are stored in large lumps which seldom have a definite shape. For fastening the mother-of-pearl eyes on the stools, the little down feathers on the bodies of children etc., a soft, yellow resin is used (kōōdĭ), which is stored in a piece of palm leaf folded together.

381 314

/364 cont./

286 184 The making of the net coverings corresponds to that of the Karajá, and the apparatus is just as primitive as it is there. A small apparatus is used for plaiting the girls' belts: on a long stick, at some distance from either end, a short cross-stick is tied. Around these the warp is then wound (Ill. 203 a, b). The weft is intertwined by hand.

Here, too, crocheting is done with iron crochet needles [531] (dēšidūnă). The handle is only rarely decorated and then only simply wound with red cotton thread (Ill. 204).

386 314 184 Coloring and adhesive substances are identical with those of the Karajá. I obtained red dōmāle and black resin, zōbădāla, both in pieces 12-15.5 centimeters long, 5.5-6 centimeters wide, and 2 centimeters thick, and convex on one side (Ill. 205). These are pressed in rod sieves, the texture of which is sometimes still recognizable on the surface.

524 531

Ill. 207 a-d.
Toy dishes.
a, b) Bowls, c) painted vessel, d) its design.

237 Feathers, for storing, are either tied in small bundles or, as among the Karajá, arranged as wings.

524 10. As children's toys, I brought back: small bows and arrows, of which the bows are very crudely made, whereas the arrows either consist of the pointed shaft, on which, in front, a small /365/ nut with lateral hole is sometimes pushed (Ill. 206 a-c), or exhibit a round, inserted wooden point. The feathering is the ordinary bunch-feathering. I did not see any imitations of guns here. As toy clay dishes I acquired two small bowls [531] (wădjĭwĭliŏlĕ) and, in Schischá, a bowl and a vessel painted red on the outside, which is an imitation of a gourd spoon (207 a-d).

9:Gow-Smith T-5 (no date) 1925
SP9 Caraja SP9
Cayapo SP11

C Co 411 224 [226] [237]

to bleed freely in order that it will weaken before it can travel far. Barbed arrows are used for killing monkeys and shooting fish. The tail of the sting-ray is also used for tipping arrows.

C 411 [227] [688] [888]

Co [534] [531]

C [531]

Fig. 99.—Cayapó rattle

Formidable objects are the clubs that the Caraja tribesmen use to kill captives, as well as members of their own tribe who have broken taboo or who are too old to make the periodic migrations. These clubs vaguely resemble a baseball bat, except that they are heavier and a trifle thicker at the end. They are made of hard-wood, the long handle decorated with a beautiful covering of black and white woven canework in designs similar to those of the spears, and the heavy end is stained a sinister red with the juice of the urucú-berry and the blood of its victim.

C [3P6]

Co 411

The Cayapó clubs are of the same heavy wood,

9:Gow-Smith T-5 (no date) 1925
SP9 Caraja SP9
Cayapo SP11

Co 411 [53]

and have similar woven cane-covered handles, but are for more specialized use. Instead of a blunt round end, the club has a flat triangular wooden blade pointed at the end with sharp sides and stained with urucú. It is used, in the manner of a great ax, for decapitation.

C 524 [501]

Toy canoes (fig. 100), with which the Caraja youngsters play, are models in miniature of those their elders use, which are made from hollowed or

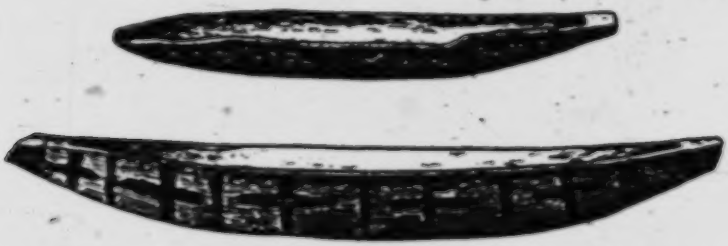


FIG. 100.—Toy canoes of the Caraja. (Length, 19 in. and 26 in.)

C [53] 3 Pl

burnt-out logs. They are decorated with designs colored with a black stain from the genepapa fruit and the urucú. Paddles (fig. 98) are of regulation length, but some have unusually wide blades often decorated in red and black designs.

C 532

Most curious of the collection are the little clay dolls (fig. 101), which may have some connection with magic or with religious observances. They vary in size from two to twelve

C [171]

inches, and are similar in workmanship and even

/219 cont./

304 881 the two circles drawn with black color on small children. In the case of boys, the time is determined according to when, after the last cropping, the hair reaches down to the tip of the nose in front and to the shoulders in back.

304 463 The tattooing is done by special persons who own stamps and stone knives and are called wairãdu. There was only one such person in the south horde (in Village 6), whereas in the north horde there were several (for example, Ilk in Village 13). They are paid for this operation. No ceremonies of any kind are said to take place, and the children are not always tattooed together, but also singly on occasion, whenever one happens to be able to get hold of the master.

304 [622] The chief's tattooing, which is characteristic of chiefs and their wives, consists of vertical black strokes between the lower lip and the lower edge of the face, which are arranged side by side in one or sometimes also in two lines, one above the other (Ill. 53 a, b). According to Kurišr, this tattooing is supposed to be peculiar to women. Even girls are said to have such lines of blue dots on the chin, which is supposed to be regarded as very beautiful. I never observed this last phenomenon, however.

515 /220/ e) Body care. The Indians bathe a great deal; usually they take a bath early in the morning, and even during the day they plunge into the water whenever they feel like it, in most cases probably to cool off by means of the subsequent evaporation of the water in drying.

515 824 388 Two plant products serve as soap in washing; first, a bark (ŭãbãkã = sabão do matto), from which one scrapes off a little, /Ills. 54-57 appear here/, rubs this in water, and washes himself with the lather thus produced; then there is a tree bast (dou) which is also used as soap for cleansing.

302 824 The rubbing of the body, the arms, and especially the hair with the fragrant resin (ãndilã) of the almecegeira (Hedwigia balsamifera), which is ordinarily stored in gourds, is very popular.

/17 cont./

412 Today the primitive tools are limited to those which Nature
237 provides for specific purposes, such as scraping knives of mussel shells, chisel-shaped implements made of rodent teeth, flat stones for pounding bast cloth, the coarse bony tongue of the pirarucú as a rasp, etc.

178 Despite widespread use of foreign tools, the industry of this people has completely retained its national character. Fortunately, among the Karaya, there is still no question of any decline in it such as almost always sets in as a consequence of the introduction of European products, as is well known. Fitness, beauty of form, and care in execution are still characteristic of their work.

501 Canoe construction is on a rather high level, although the method of production is relatively simple. The boats (auñõ) are long narrow dugouts with the front and back parts extending equally far and somewhat sloping at the tips. Given the many shallows of the river this form is the most efficient, since it facilitates the landing and launching of the vessel (Pl. IV /see p. 106 /, 2).

396 The material is the straightest possible trunk of the ipiuba
1829 (Tecoma sp.) or jatoba (Hymenaea sp.). Since the forward part is from the lower, the back part from the upper section of the trunk, the canoes are usually somewhat broader in the front than in the back. The hollowing is done with an ax and aided by fire. Since the cavity of the boat is not artificially widened by special manipulations such as Im Thurn describes (op. cit., p. 293), but rather the original diameter of the trunk also determines that of the boat, the canoes are usually disproportionately narrow in proportion to their length and tip over easily. They
501 are smoothed over inside and outside with great care. Arrangements for sitting are not present. There are set in on the other hand, rows of short crossbars, which, fixed a few inches above the bottom, protect any cargo from getting wet.

The oars (nahere, Pl. VIII /see p. 110 /, 1-3) are of excellent workmanship. They are 1 1/3 to 1 1/2 meters long, half of which is taken up by the handle provided with a cross-grip. The blade is straight, leaf-shaped, 15-20 centimeters wide, and runs out at the bottom into a lancet-shaped, offset tip. Elegant

/285 cont./

237 two holes in the center are sewed on the belt of the long string-
321 skirts of the girls (Ill. 69), as well as on the cylinder-bands of the dance masks. As spoons and scrapers they use mother-of-pearl mussel shells, which are only slightly worked, but are usually used in the crude state.

287 Concerning the feather technique, see below in connection with the tying, knotting, and plaiting technique /see pp. 233 ff./.

824 The utilization of the vegetable kingdom is very extensive. The cane species are used remarkably little; apparently the region is poor in them.

G. The wood of trees is made into boats, poles, oars, mortars and pestles, stools, lances, bows, throwing boards, arrow points, manioc grating boards, lip plugs, comb teeth, etc. Soft or hard woods are used, depending on the purpose. I was not always able to learn which kinds of wood were used for the individual implements. Spears consist of so-called aruera wood, bows of hard palm wood, boat poles of long, slender trees with very light wood. Soft wood is used for stools, lip plugs, and manioc grating boards; all the other implements consist of hard wood. Of the cane species, taquara is used as arrow shafts, gibade and similar types as ear rods.

396 I am most fully informed about boatbuilding. The boats
[962] are built by the men. All of them understand this art, though
[937] many confine themselves to buying boats from others in exchange
[463] for an iron axe. /286/ Apparently certain persons make boats in larger numbers for the village and then sell them. Thus, a few hours downstream from Schischá I met two families from this village who had erected temporary huts for themselves here in the wilderness, in order to build boats in the vicinity. The making of a small boat is said to take four days, a larger one eight days. These time estimates, however, seem to me to be
[824] very low. The trunk of the lantim tree (Calophyllum: dälïö) is used as material for the boats; Ehrenreich mentions pau d'arco and jatoba, Königswald also jatahy and others. The trees are felled in the forest and crudely worked; first the outer shape is hewed out with an ax and then the interior is likewise hollowed

/286 cont./

396 out with the ax. In this crude shape the boat is brought into the village and placed on two forked posts about half a meter high (Pl. 56, Ill. 5). With oaguassu palm fronds, which are laid in the hollow, the interior space is completely burned out and blackened, while at the same time burning through the walls is prevented by quickly snatching out the fire. Then, while the wood is still warm, about 20 cross-sticks, each approximately three centimeters thick, are stretched from wall to wall; palm fronds are propped against the boat all around and are lighted at four or five places on either side by one man each. After about five minutes the outside charring and blackening of the boat is completed. The struts remain in the boat until the next day; they are very bent. Afterwards the boat is put through an inspection, during which possible irregularities, especially of the bottom, which could cause disturbances in the balance, are removed with the ax. At the front, narrowly tapering end a hole is cut into the right wall, directly under the edge, for the loop into which the boat pole is stuck during the rowing or lying quietly on the bank. This hole is supposedly cut in with a sharp knife under the application of a wooden mallet.

415 I did not see wooden vessels. Ehrenreich brought back a
412 few: a round vessel hollowed out from a tree root, with a carry-
114 ing string (Berlin 3875) and two spoons, the handle of one of which terminates in a tucano head (3934, 3935). In the case of fire
[372] sticks, according to him, the drilling stick consists of taquara, the base of Bixa orellana.

415 Of larger fruits only gourds are used. They are carefully
[824] dried by being stuck on sticks that stand in the glaring sun and in the sand of the sandbanks. Later, tied together, they are hung on a vertical stick (Ill. 26 a, b). Hollowed out, they serve as oil containers, as hanging containers for white down feathers, with a bast stopper (Pl. 58, Ill. 3a) or wax seal (the hanging band is fastened with wooden wedges; Pl. 58, Ill. 3 b, c), halved paint bowls and eating dishes, smaller ones as spoons. The whole-
[531] gourd vessel and larger half-gourd vessels are usually decorated with incised ornamentation, the smaller half-gourds with Pyrography.

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

Chapter IX.

KARAYÁ ACTIVITIES.—CANOE MAKING.—WEAPONS.—NATURE MADE UTENSILS.—ORNAMENT MAKING.—FAMILY LIFE.—PRIMITIVE ETHICS.—MARRIAGES.—CHILDREN.—GOVERNMENT.

The industrial activities of the Karayá now make a better showing than in former times, for their primitive tools are now more and more replaced by tools introduced from the civilized world. The old stone-axes have disappeared, and little is known of them. Ancient inscriptions and figures upon the rocks represent men with stone-axes in their hands, but these drawings belong to a remote period.

To-day, the only primitive implements of the Karayá are those that Nature furnishes them ready for use. Their scraping tools, for instance, are sharp-edged shells; their chisel-like instruments are the teeth of certain powerful rodents; and smooth, flat stones, formed by the action of the water, are used as discs upon which to beat and prepare the web of bark which is their cloth.

It cannot be said of the Karayá that their primitive industries have fallen, in any degree, into decay because they have begun to use the tools of civilized men. Adaptability, beauty of form, and carefulness of execution, is evident in all their workmanship. Canoe building among them, for instance, has reached a high degree of perfection, though the method of constructing them is very crude. These canoes, which are all dugouts, are long and slim, and taper gradually to a point at both bow and stern. This form is perhaps best

501 suited to their purpose owing to the many shallow places in the river, and because it facilitates landing and pushing off. 39 The tree selected to be transformed into a canoe is an ipiúba [824] or a jatóba, which must be very straight. Strange to say, the butt of the tree becomes the bow of the canoe; therefore, the finished canoe is broader at the bow than at the stern. As these children of Nature are preeminently imitators of Nature, it seems quite probable that in constructing their canoes, they have in mind the form of the fish, which always goes big end first.

The log is first hewn into the form of a canoe, then hollowed out with axes and with fire. It is not broadened amidships, therefore, when finished, it is no wider than was the 501 original tree. As it is thus very narrow and tapers gradually and uniformly high above the water at both bow and stern, it tips over very easily. Great care is taken to make it perfectly smooth outside and in. No seats are provided, but sticks are placed across the bottom to keep both the occupants and the freight out of any water that may leak in. As every family has a canoe, quite a fleet of them may be seen in front of every village. These canoes are propelled by paddles five feet in length, half of which is blade, the point [53] terminating like a lance. They are made with great care and labor, and are often nicely ornamented. When canoeing, the 503 pilot is always seen perched in a squatting position on the extreme point of the stern with his knees drawn up to his chin.

411 The weapons of the Karayá are as of old—there has [178] been no change whatever. In common with other Brazilian tribes, the length and stiffness of their bow is according to the height and strength of its owner. Some bows are seven feet in length, while a boy's bow is two and a half or three [824] feet long. They are made of the wood of a certain palm-tree [171] which the Brazilians call *pau de arco*—bow wood—which is the wood used by all the tribes of central and North Brazil for their bows. The bow is made flat inside, and the extremities taper to a point. Several lengths of string, carried

1:Lipkind E-5 (1937) 1948 SP9 Caraja SP9

is planted in September, when the first rains come, and manioc shortly after. There is little cultivation beyond weeding. The basic crop is manioc, both the sweet and bitter varieties being cultivated, with maize next in importance. Four varieties each of sweet and bitter manioc and 10 varieties of maize are cultivated. Other crops are: Five varieties of potatoes, two varieties of cara, four varieties of watermelon, three varieties of squash, four varieties of beans, and ten varieties of bananas, as well as peanuts, urucú, tobacco, cotton, calabashes, sugarcane, yams, peppers, pineapples, and papayas. Men do all the work with a little assistance in harvesting and weeding from older women. The *Javahé* are more industrious farmers than the other *Carajá*, cultivating extensive plantations. 241 [462] [184]

Collecting.—A large number of vegetable products are gathered for use as food, medicine, and raw material for manufacture, but only a few are of great importance. The babassu and the burití palms, used for food and textile materials, are among the most valuable. The taquara reed is sought after for arrows. Turtle eggs are a significant item of food during the dry season. Honey is indispensable for feasting. 222 262 [441]

Hunting.—Although the *Carajá* are passionate hunters, very few of the animals available in the region are eaten. Only the peccary is really sought and constitutes a sizable item in the larder. The other animals that are eaten—the cutia, coati, woodsdeer, monkey, iguana, and a few birds, such as the mutum, jao, and jacu—are killed when encountered but are not eaten by everyone. Peccaries are hunted in a communal drive, the most favorable time being shortly after the beginning of the rainy season when large droves are trapped on islands. 224 [262]

The chief purpose of hunting is to get feathers, and the most desirable birds are the various parrots, herons, the male stork, and the flamingo. The nesting of valuable birds is carefully watched, and the young are stolen and tamed. Feathers stored in small baskets almost constitute a currency, because they are readily negotiable at all times and maintain a stable value. 223 237 [231] [436]

The principal weapons are the bow and club. The bow, made of a variety of woods but with a preference for juari when available, is round in cross section and about 6 feet (2 m.) long. The arrow is preferably of taquara reed and variously tipped with wood, animal bone, or fish bone. Clubs are beautifully fashioned of heavy hardwood, decorated with delicate carving, and are swung and thrown with equal skill. The lance is now used only for ceremonial purposes. 441

Fishing.—Fish is the most important food supply. Trapping and drugging fish with timbo is a communal affair; individuals fish with the bow and arrow. There is occasional night fishing, with spearing by torchlight. The pirarucu is killed by harpoon. The hook and line is little used, and apparently was borrowed recently from the Neo-Brazilians. 226 [262] [177]

Food preparation.—Manioc is peeled, grated, squeezed out by hand, and cooked into a soup. When the soup cools, it is masticated for a few 252

1:Lipkind E-5 (1937) 1948 SP9 Caraja SP9

411 **Weapons.**—The *Carajá* use bows and arrows (pls. 20, *bottom, left;* 21, *left* and *center*), and their mythology indicates aboriginal use of the spear thrower for hunting monkeys. Recently, they have used a spear thrower of the upper Xingú River type for sport.

323 **Pottery.**—Pottery vessels include several forms of plain ware (fig. 20).

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

611 The kinship structure may be described as double descent. Both lines are important, the greater emphasis falling on the mother's line, and both lines serve different functions. Village citizenship, adoption, and the closest affectional ties are reckoned in the mother's line. Moiety membership and the offices of chief, priest, and food-divider are patrilineally inherited.

621 622 The fundamental unit of social organization is the village. Every village has one or more ioló, children of chiefly line, designated by the chief for preferential treatment by the members of the village. The chief names the ioló who is to succeed him or, if he fails to do so, the village makes the choice at his death. Girls of chiefly line are similarly chosen for preferential treatment; each of them is known as the "hidden woman." There is some indication that women functioned as chiefs in former times, but today there is no woman chief. The chief has no coercive powers but directs the village by recognizing the will of the majority in such matters as the selection of camp and garden sites and the announcement of a move at change of season. His principal function is to act as peacemaker, and people readily submit to his adjudication. Because of the importance of religious ceremonials, the priest and the shaman frequently exercise more authority than the chief. When all three offices are vested in a single individual, his authority may be considerable, but it is kept in check by the right of a discontented person to move at any time to another village.

59 Within the village the important unit is the household. Residence being matrilocal, a household consists of sisters, their husbands, children, and the husbands of grown daughters. Marriage is restricted to one's own generation, the preferred mate being a cousin on the mother's side. There is no sanction but ridicule against wrong marriages, and there are many cases of cross-generational marriage. Marriage is predominantly monogamous, but a few instances of polygyny and one of polyandry were encountered. The avunculate is very important and involves many social and especially ceremonial duties. Cooperation in the household is close and in the village fairly close. In addition, villages are grouped together in ceremonial units, generally consisting of three or four neighboring villages, which celebrate important feasts jointly. This ceremonial unit acts as an insurance group when a village's crop fails or its fish supplies grow scarce. Beyond this, the only intervillage ties

1:Lipkind E-5 (1937) 1948 SP9 Caraja SP9

PLATE 20.—Carajá house and physical types. *Top:* House. (Courtesy University Museum, Philadelphia.) *Bottom, left:* Warriors. *Bottom, right:* Girls. (After Ehrenreich, 1891 b.)

[Facing P.186]

1:Lipkind E-5 (1937) 1948 SP9 Caraja SP9

775 **Death.**—At death, the soul becomes a wild ghost if the person has been violently killed and a regular resident of the village of the dead if he has suffered a quiet death. A shaman's soul is translated to the skies. Mourning puts an end to all religious ceremonies and is celebrated by self-laceration, the destruction of property, and daily keening. There 764 is separate burial in formal cemeteries for those who died quietly and [766] those who died violently. The corpse is wrapped in a mat with his weapons and ornaments, and the mat is hung in a shallow grave covered [765] by poles (fig. 22). Food and drink are provided for a short period. After the next change of season, the bones are exhumed and placed in a family urn.

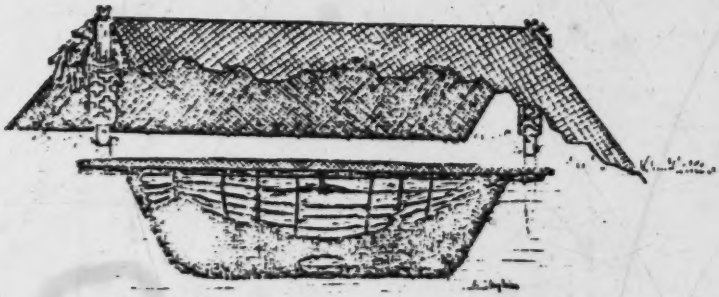


FIGURE 22.—*Carajá* burial. (Redrawn from Ehrenreich, 1891 b, fig. 16)

WARFARE

726 The *Carajá* are good fighters and have maintained themselves since prehistoric times in a territory surrounded on all sides by warlike enemies. Their usual tactics are waiting outside an enemy village at night and attacking at dawn. In defense, they run to the nearest water, where they [411] are unbeatable. They use the bow and arrow and club, and are skilled [526] wrestlers. They cut off a foot bone of a dead enemy and carry it back [727] to their village; this places them in control of the ghost, who now be- [775] comes a caretaker of the village and is impersonated in a special dry-season ceremony. At one such ceremony there were two *Tapirapé* ghosts, [648] three *Chavante*, one *Cayapó*, and one Neo-Brazilian. Present-day war- [727] fare is largely with the *Chavante*, the *Cayapó*, and the *Canoeiro*. Now and then a Neo-Brazilian may be killed by stealth to avenge a personal grievance. No captives are taken except women and small children, who are treated as full members of the group.

ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

531 **Art.**—Decorative art is confined to woven designs on baskets and mats, feather ornaments, elaborate masks with superimposed feather designs,

1:Lipkind E-5 (1937) 1948 SP9 Caraja SP9

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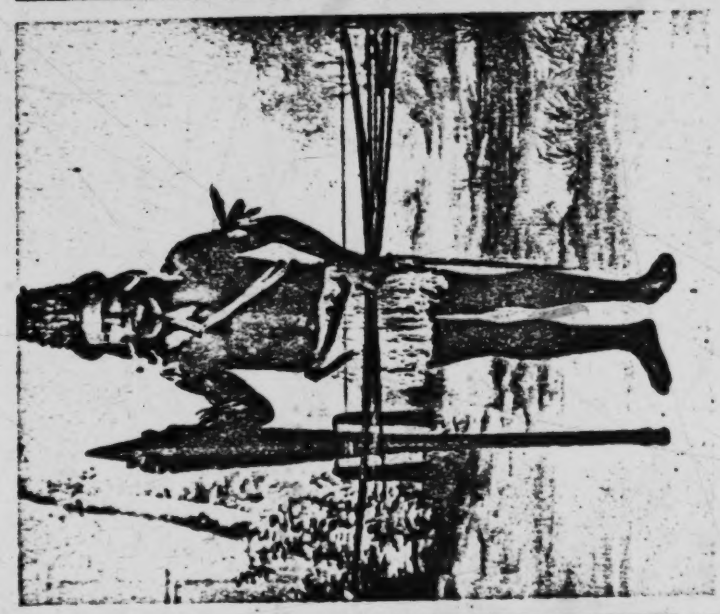

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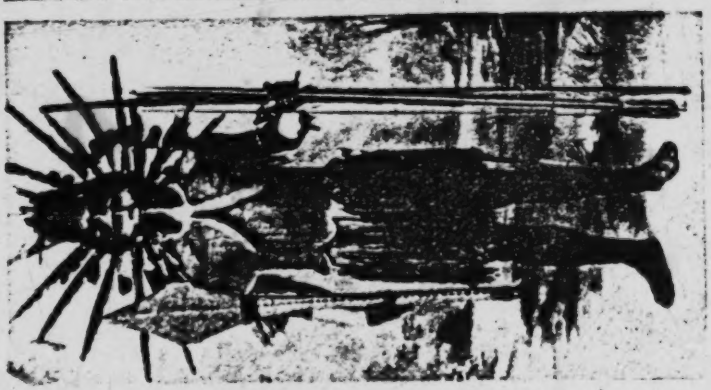


PLATE 31.—Carajá types. (Courtesy University Museum, Philadelphia.)

[End Plate 1]

/8 cont./

131 comprida and Cachoeira grande are in any case the work of their
172 ancestors. Since the first Araguaia travelers already mention these "inscriptions" as documents of great age, the Karaya must have lived in these regions at least since the sixteenth century (see pp. 91 ff.).

439 Within the Šambioa region, where the river is no longer
[162] navigable for ships, there are no Brazilian settlements at present. The savages are therefore completely dependent on the barter trade with the few larger rowboats passing by four to six times annually or the small vessels which maintain communication with São Vincente. They deliver mainly hammocks, field produce,
[648] and chickens to the travelers, but have otherwise kept their full
433 independence. Living under far better conditions of existence than the Karayahi, they stand, as far as agriculture is concerned, on a higher level than even the civilized river-dwellers.

648 They live in most bitter enmity with the Kayapo tribes of the left bank, the Kradahõ /Cradaho/, Ušikriṅ, and others. Many
[727] abducted women and children of the latter are found in their villages. On the whole, however, they are well treated, the children even adopted into the tribe without further ado.

The relationship of the Šambioa to the settlers has not always been peaceful. Nevertheless, Castelnau was already able to substantiate that these Indians did not deserve the bad reputation which they had among the Goyans at the time. The main guilt for the misdeeds which occurred is in any case to be sought on the side of the foreigners.

609 Their behavior was decidedly hostile in the seventies when the notorious Chief Roco attacked travelers on several occasions and massacred them.

Today it is only the inhabitants of the second village who receive strangers with hostility. Women and children are taken to
[911] safety, the warriors stand threateningly on the shore, armed with bows, spears, and clubs, and hardly condescend to barter. In the other villages our reception left little to be desired, once the fleeing women were successfully persuaded to return.

/8 cont./

609 Nevertheless, caution must be used in dealing with the Sambioa. To be sure, they will hardly dare to attack well-manned and armed boats, but, in view of the great distance from the landing place to the villages, the traveler who unarmed -- only in this way is he admitted -- visits their huts can get into a very dangerous situation in case of a sudden quarrel.

The reception at the landing places usually makes a most picturesque scene. The naked brown forms stream by in groups, [301] many adventurously painted black and red, the face often daubed [302] with a thick layer of soot, some with a decorative feather diadem on their heads, others with hair hanging down in a long braid and decorated with bunches of arara feathers fluttering in the wind. All [411] are armed with long spears decorated with feathers, clubs, bows, and arrows. The discussion is held in dignified quiet, without wild shouting, the new arrivals first showing the savages their firearms, and expressly any breechloaders /9/ or revolvers, which never fail to make a deep impression. The chief asserts time after time: Karaya amigo tori, ahi mentira não tem! The Karaya is a friend of the White (tori), here there are no lies! And the bartering begins immediately (Pl. IV /see p. 106/, 2).

Once one has won their confidence, the dealings become quite unconstrained, especially with the men and boys. The small children, and especially the young girls, are very shy and usually crawl into a corner of their hut, nervously covering their faces with their hands. A stranger is never troubled by beggars. Thefts, too, are exceedingly rare.

Language.

126 A rather extensive vocabulary, as well as a number of short sentences, was written down, from which, however, little of the grammatical structure of this idiom is evident. The extremely 194 unclear diction of the people, who hardly make any perceptible 126 movement of their lips, their inability to repeat exactly what was said, and finally the swallowing of the final syllables, favored by the abundance of vowels and lingual sounds, make linguistic reception uncommonly difficult.

/17 cont./ Elegant

501 [531] oars are painted black. The middle third of the blade is covered by a decoration made up of black zigzag lines and dots on a white background (see p. 49).

•411 The weapons of the Karaya are still the original ones throughout.

The bows (šuahětě) are of various sizes according to the age and strength of the owner. The longest of the collection measures 220 centimeters, the shortest child's bow 70 centimeters. They [824] consist in part of the wood of the brejauba palm (Astrocaryum sp.) or the so-called pau d'arco (Tecoma sp.). The front side is usually somewhat smoothed down, the ends tapered with thornlike, offset tips (Pl. VI /see p. 108 /, 1).

/18/ The string (mahūga) and the way it is fastened show 411 certain peculiarities similar to those found among the Guiana 284 tribes. The material is embira bast (Malvaceae sp.), the leaf [824] fiber of a Bromelia (caraguatá) or that of the pati palm (Syagrus botryophora). The length of the string twisted from it exceeds that of the bow by six to eight times. Of a appropriate thickness at one end, it tapers more and more toward the other, finally ending in a thin thread. The strong end is wound around the upper tip of the bow. From there the string goes directly to the lower end and along the front side of the bow upward to about the middle. Then it runs back again and is wound fast around the lower part of the bow with its thinner end. The last, thread-like part hangs down, decorated with a feather tassel.

In order that the wound end does not slip up, it is wound at the place of the curve with a layer of maize leaves which are tied fast with black cotton cords. Sometimes the ends of the bow are also wrapped with thin white threads below the tip. A similar, but looser cotton binding ties the part of the string running on the outside of the bow to the bow wood. This prevents too great a strain on the string. If the upper end of the string breaks, a replacement can easily be brought up by unwinding from below. A break at the lower end is not easily possible because of the counter pressure present there.

/18 cont./

411 The form of the arrows (uehẽ) is very manifold.

The shaft of the arrow consists of two pieces, a lower one of cane and the one inserted in it of wood. The latter bears either a special tip or, sharpened and correspondingly shaped, serves in some way as one itself.

In general the length of the cane shaft amounts to two-thirds of the length of the whole arrow, and that of the wooden shaft one-third.

411 The feathers of the lower cane-end are always placed so
239 that their uppermost tip, wound around itself, lies at the level of the notch. The quill describes a 1/8 to 1/4 turn around the shaft. The heavy arrows, especially those provided with a broad cane tip, usually have a heavier winding of feathers.

Through the twisting of the feather tip, the outer feathers of the quill are sharply bent outward. The inner feathers are cut off short in order to lie closer to the shaft.

In the case of many arrows the lowest piece, which bears the notches and feathering, is separately inserted into the cane shaft. Probably the original arrow end was split here during the cutting or bending the bow and was supplemented by an insert.

411 The feathers are tied with black cotton strings, between
239 which are usually placed small red and yellow decorative feathers.
284 The attached pieces are held together by waimbẽ (Philodendron
[531] sp.) bast bands. The feathered part of the cane end often has
[824] crossbands touched up with red lacquer (tamararu).

411 The following arrow types are represented in the collection:
[126] 1. War arrows, with point made from the tail-spine of a thornback, 150-180 centimeters long, two-thirds of which makes up the cane shaft. The spine, six to eight centimeters long and supplied on both sides with countless small barbs, is tied to the wooden shaft with thread and wax in such a way that the lower part projects as a long barb. The wooden shaft itself is painted with red lines, wavy lines, and dots (Pl.VI/see.p.108 /, 8).

2. War arrows with cane tip cut in the shape of a knife, related to the Bororo arrows in their form. Total length 140-160 centimeters, of which the cane shaft takes up only one-third. On the upper end of the 3/4 centimeter thick wooden shaft made

/18 cont./

411 of smoothly planed jeriva palm wood, the knife-shaped taquara splint, 30-40 centimeters long and 10-30 centimeters wide, is tied with waimbẽ bindings (Pl. VI /see p. 108/, 9).

On one specimen the short cane shaft is decorated with plaiting in simple rectangular patterns.

3. Hunting arrows with bone points (from the tapir and deer), otherwise of the same length and execution as No. 1. They also have red painting on the wooden shaft.

4. Hunting arrows with point of bird bone. Cane shaft two-thirds, palm-wood shaft one-third of the total length of 160-170 centimeters (Pl. VI, 4).

5. Fishing arrows, whose ends of palm wood serve at the same time as points, 150-160 centimeters long.

6. Hunting arrows with knife-shaped palm-wood tip which makes up one-third of the total length of 160 centimeters (Pl. VI, 2 and 3).

7. Arrows with simple cane shaft, which bears a wooden cylinder instead of the point, to catch smaller mammals alive. Length 123-137 centimeters. Around the feathered shaft part a black band-decoration runs spirally (Pl. VI, 5).

8. Children's arrows occur in three types. The simplest are split leaf-stalks of the uaguassú palm, 90-95 centimeters long and weighted with wax. Others 140 centimeters in length are sharpened cane sticks. Finally those that are 150 centimeters long with a pointed wooden end are more finished.

Weapons for hand-to-hand fighting are clubs (hãte) and spears (tonãri).

Of the former there are two forms:

1. Flat, shovel-like clubs. A quite crudely worked specimen with slightly curved hand-grip and oval blade was obtained among the Karayahi.

I am grateful to Dr. Leite Moraes of São Paulo for two excellent pieces of this type.

The war club of Chief Ambura (Village IV of the Šambioa) is a showpiece of the Indian weapon industry. It is 165 centimeters long, of hard Tecoma wood. The grip, from the knob

[551] of which two black tassels decorated with snail shells hang, is

/18 cont./

●41 wrapped with decorative plaiting in a lozenge pattern. The
[53] four-sided, prismatic blade, which broadens towards the bottom and has sharp edges, runs out into a lancet-shaped point (Pl. VI /see p. 108/, 11, 12).

/19/ The palm-wood club of the Šambiao chief Roco (Village I) is of similar form but much smaller (121.5 centimeters long). Its blade has an elliptical cross-section. The plaiting pattern is simpler.

On both the plaiting is tied on the lower part by a broad red cotton binding ending in tassels.

2. Round clubs of various lengths (95-137 centimeters).

They are stick-shaped with a knobby, broadened end-part which runs out into a flat knob. The handle end also has a knob-like projecting part.

They are either smooth or, more often, provided with longitudinal grooving, which sometimes extends over the whole length of the weapon, sometimes only over the lower part. On the most beautiful specimen the grooving is interrupted on both sides by a smooth strip one centimeter wide, in which small holes are sunk at finger-width intervals (Pl. VI /see p. 108/, 13).

Finally, the 2-2 1/2 meters long, feather-decorated thrusting lances (Pl. VI /see p.108 /, 10) are part of the war armor.
[237] The shaft is of palm wood, the 15-20 centimeter long tip from the thigh bone of the jaguar or deer; below the beginning of the latter, two long dangling feather-tassels are tied on with cotton
[531] bindings. On the larger spears the whole upper third of the shaft is surrounded with plaiting in zigzag patterns (snake decoration). Small red feather wreaths encircle it at the top and bottom.

[191] Arrow thrower (throwing board) (kåobi). After we had found this instrument, almost forgotten in South America, still in use among the Xingu tribes of the Kamayura, Auetö, and Trumai, I was surprised to find it again in exactly the same form on the Araguaia. Only its execution is somewhat cruder. The stick-shaped part with the bone hooks set in it is round in the upper third, the rest worked into a hexagon.

/19 cont./

411 Of the three specimens the largest has a total length of 72.5 centimeters, of which 14.5 make up the handle (Pl. VI /see p. 108/, 6). Moreover, there is a children's throwing board 38.5 centimeters long.

[824] The arrows thrown (kâura) are 150-180 centimeters long, unfeathered cane pieces made of uba (Gynerium saccharoides) with inserted, 12-20 centimeter long end-knobs of palm wood, which are covered with a thick layer of wax. Thus they should be considered only as sporting equipment. That tradition still knows them as weapons, however, is shown by the legend given on p. 85 (Pl. VI /see p. 108/, 7).

323 Ceramics. The art of making pots, practiced exclusively by the women, is not especially developed. Although the technique leaves little to be desired, the forms are rather simple. [517] An artistic desire to reproduce natural objects, animal shapes, etc., as among the Xingu tribes, is not expressed in them. Everything is reckoned more in terms of the practical.

As almost everywhere in South America, the vessels are made without a wheel by putting rolls of clay over one other circularly or spirally. By patting with the dampened hand and continuous smoothing with pieces of bone and mussel shell, the pot finally reaches the desired shape and strength.

[113] According to Couto Magelhães (Archiv. do museu nac. Rio, p. 77) the ash of certain vines is mixed with the clay; their silica content makes it more resistant.

According to further information from the above observer, the firing of the pots is done, after superficial drying, in a peculiar manner. A hole is made in the side of an earth termite nest, and it is heated. The vessel is put in, and under it there is made a second opening communicating with the first one, with a fire maintained in it. A third opening at the top serves as a chimney.

415 106 The collection shows the most important, but not the largest types of vessels that occur (Fig. 5 /see p. 38/).

/48 cont./

172 present petroglyphs inasmuch as the rock drawings are completely lacking precisely at the cataracts of the Araguaia; rather, Martirios Island lies in an absolutely clear and quiet stretch. Nevertheless, it is a most important place for the Karaya. It [131] forms the northern boundary of their territory and it is here that [648] the hordes of the Kayapo hostile to them frequently come to the river. Many a battle may have taken place in this region between the two nations.

The interpretation of the rock sculptures as memorials or border markers, to which perhaps family insignia of prominent leaders have been added, seems to be the most acceptable according to the prevailing conditions. /The remainder of p. 48 and pp. 49-77 are not translated./

/78/

Explanation of the Plates *

192 291 302 Pl. I. Karaya. Men and Women (of the fourth village of the Šambioa).

[296] [411] [301] 1. Warriors. The man on the left /sic/ with parted hair, the tobacco pipe (Fig. 4 /see p. 28/) in his mouth, holding his weapons in his hand. The one on the right /sic/ shows the hair put in a braid with the feather decoration ušiktamaru (see p. 16) and the national wrapping of the foreskin (see p. 17).

2. Woman and girl with the bast aprons, whose front end is drawn to the rear since both individuals have just got up from [285] the ground (see p. 17). One of the large buriti-fiber mats mentioned on pp. 38 and 39 forms the background for both groups.

Pl. II. Karaya. Men (of the fourth of the village of the Šambioa).

[301] [304] 1 a and b. Portrait of a young Šambioa man with ear sticks and wooden lip-plug, widely parted hair, and clearly recognizable tribal tattooing on the cheeks.

* [Plates appear on pp. 103-115 -- Analyst]

/78 cont./ [Plate II. Karaya. (cont'd)]

142 2. Two Šambioa warriors en face. The man on the left with
291 the feather diadem lurina on the back of the head (see p. 44),
301 bow, arrows, and club in his hand, the one on the right with the
302 small wreath-diadem (Pl. IX /see p. /, 6) and strings of glass
411 beads wound tightly around the neck. The large lower-arm cuffs identify him as unmarried.

Pl. III. Karaya. Karayahi Groups (taken in the last "summer camp" on a river island above the northern tip of Bananal Island).

1. Men, two of which wear arm-cuffs and knee-bands. One has the small feather rosettes with a central disk of mother-of-pearl in his ears (see. p. 46). Face painting with soot is recognizable. The straw hat of the older man sitting in front is not the one mentioned on p. 20, but a model directly borrowed
[501] from the settlers. In the background two long canoes and farther to the left in the distance the small Araguaia steamer.

342 2. Women, children, and young people sitting on the
361 ground in front of the tent-roofs of the summer camp, which are
516 made of mats. Two araras on the pole to the right, at the left on the bank a jabiru (black-headed stork).

Pl. IV. Karaya. Villages.

133
342 1. Full view of the first village of the Šambioa.
361 2. Reception scene in the third village of the Šambioa.
574

291 Pl. V. Karaya. Chief's hut (fourth village of the
342 Šambioa).
351
354 Group at the cooking place in front of the entrance.
415

411 Pl. VI. Karaya. Weapons.

1. Bow with wound bowstring and feather tassel (1/8).

/78 cont./ [Plate VI. Karaya. (Cont'd.)]

411 2, 3. Arrows with palm-wood knives (1/6).

4. Arrow with bird-bone tip (1/6).

5. Bird-arrow with blunt, knob-shaped tip (1/6).

6. Throwing board (1/6).

7. Arrow thrown by it, with blunt wooden tip (1/6).

8. War arrow with ray-spine tip (1/6).

9. War arrow with taquara-cane knife (1/6).

[531] 10. Lance with shaft-plaiting (1/9).

11. Flat club of the Šambioa chief Ambura (from the collection of Leite Moraes (1/9).

12. Plaiting pattern of the latter (2/3).

13. Grooved, round club of Ambura (1/9).

/79/

286 291 301 Pl. VII. Karaya. Cotton Work.

1. Large black and white striped sleeping-mat or cape (1/8).

2. Fringed hangings of twisted cotton thread to be worn hanging down from the neck over the chest and back. Dyed with urucú red (1/8).

3, 4. Black, closely woven body-belts for small children (1/8).

5. Black tassels with pierced snail shells tied on in pairs with plaited cords taken doubled. Worn by small children around the neck (1/6).

6. Knee band of unmarried persons (1/8).

7. Black, closely woven forehead-band with rectangular mother-of-pearl disks sewed on (1/8).

8. A pair of tightly knitted, red, lower-arm cuffs, mark of the unmarried state (1/6).

501 531 412 415 Pl. VIII. Karaya. Oars, Gourds, Plaited Work.

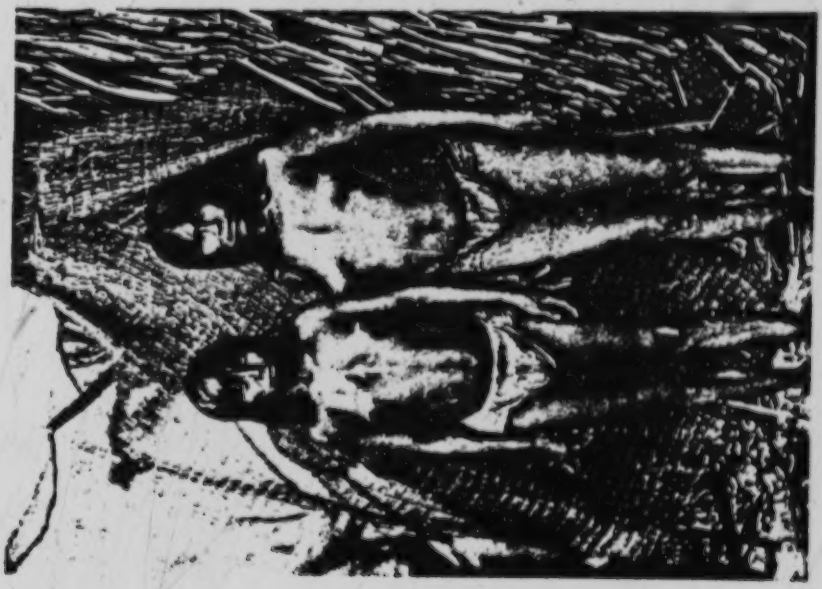
1-3. Oars with fish patterns (1/9).

4. Cassava grater (1/9).

5. Small tobacco pouch (1/8).

4. Ehrenreich--103 E-5 (1888) 1891 SP9 Cara ja SP9

Plate I



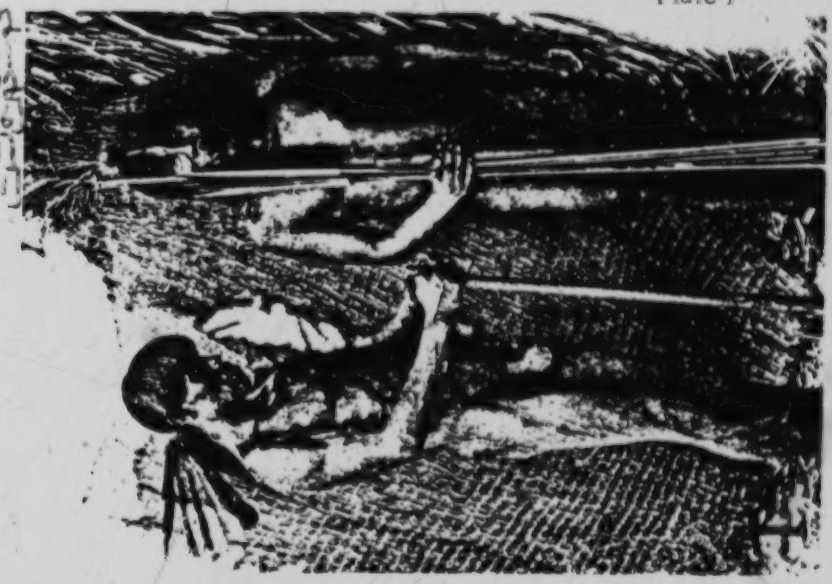


Plate II

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4: Ehrenreich--105 E-5 (1888) 1891 SP9 Caraja SP9

Plate III

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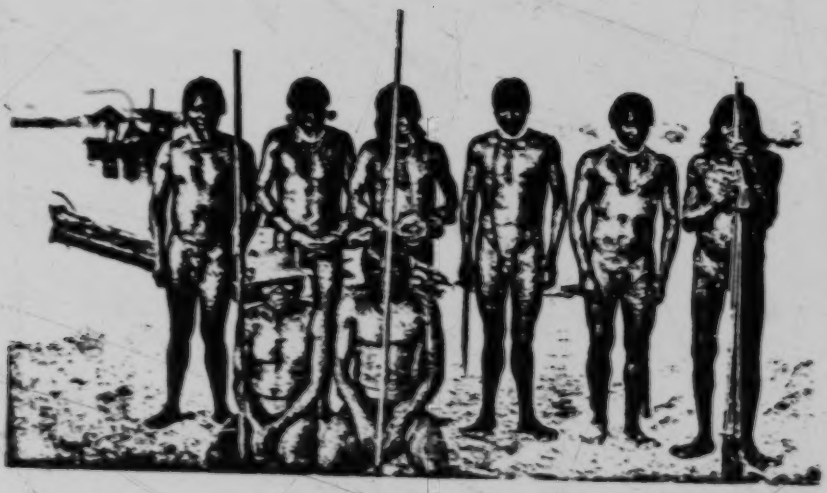

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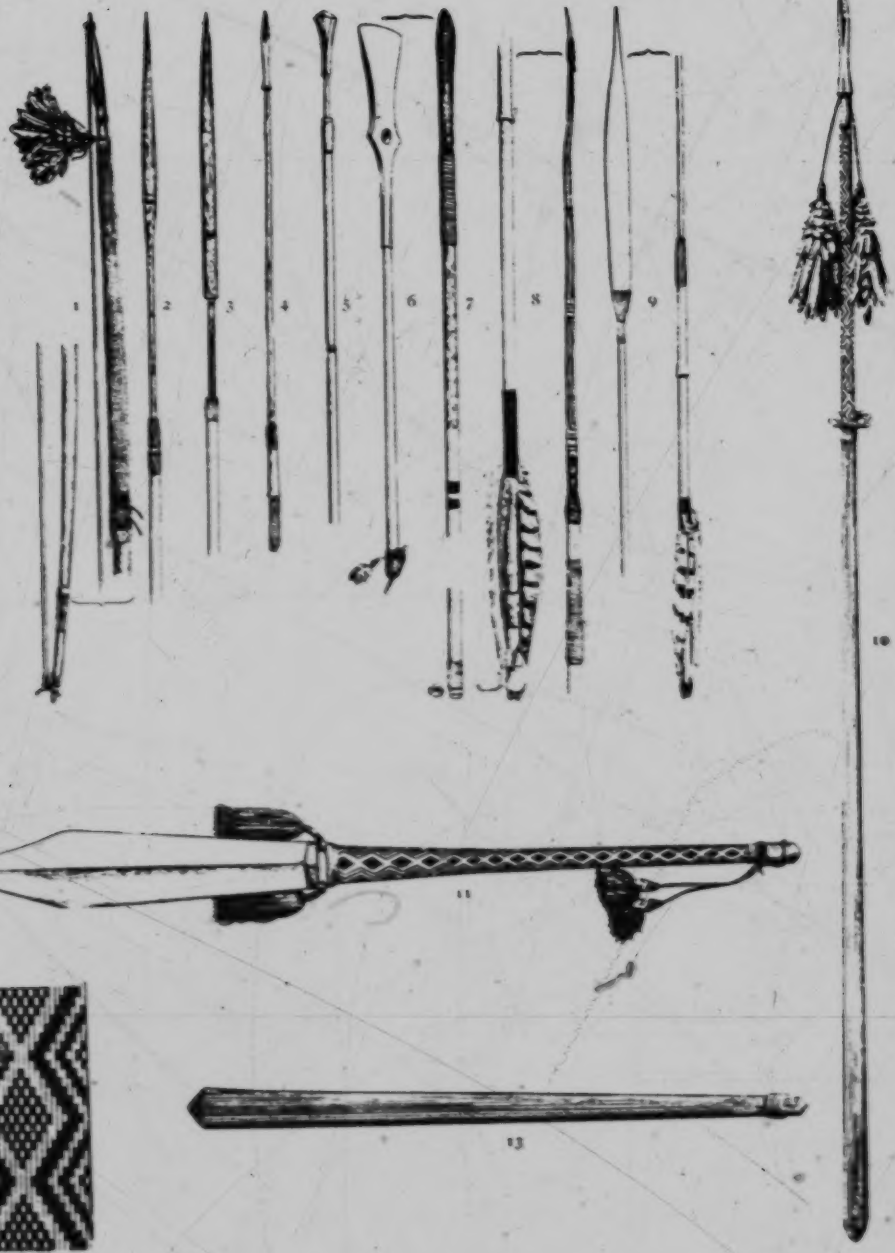
4. Ehrenreich--108 E-5 (1888) 1891 SP9 Caraja SP9

Plate VI

●411

[531]



[531]

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[821]

/Ills. 13 and 14 appear on p. 153./

Ill. 13. Sketchbook drawing: moon with mountains (toad).

Ill. 14. Sketchbook drawing:
a) Pleiades (parakeets);
b) the jaguar leaps
c), on the ostrich (α and β Centauri).

Ill. 15. Clay doll: caricature of the old grandmother. Karajá. /Ill. 15 appears on p. 155./

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754

Ill. 16. Magic arrow with bow.* Karajá.
/Ill. 16 appears on p. 156./

*[See description of use on p. 283 -Analyst]

/198 cont./

513 head high when sleeping. When they sleep in the open in the sand, they hollow out a pit for their bodies, put a mat over it and themselves on top of that, but in such a way that the head lies on the elevated edge of the pit; they cover themselves with the rest of the mat. It is very agreeable to sleep in this fashion, /199/ as I discovered for myself. In contrast to this; however, I also saw them lying flat on the level floor in the houses, without elevating their heads at all.

293 For fanning cool air and to drive away mosquitoes during the midday rest, plaited, patterned fans (kōlĭ; Pl. 21, Ill. 2) made of palm leaves are used.

352 532 [622] Seats are provided only for chiefs. They are the stool in animal form carved out of one piece of wood: the seat runs out on either side into a head that bears mother-of-pearl eyes with wax pupils; tassels of red-yellow parrot feathers are hung in the ear holes. The mother-of-pearl eyes are cut round on a stone and then glued on with wax. Finally, the entire stool is colored black with genipap coloring, which is applied with the palm of the hand. These stools are called kŏlĭšŭ, the feather tassels kōlĭšŭlă bĕdŏsĭ. The stools are said to represent an arara (Pl. 19, Ill. 1a and b).

516 Ordinarily the Indians sit on the mats with their legs crossed under them, hand on hip, or they squat on the ground (Pl. 12, Ill. 1; Pl. 38, Ill. 1).

353 Usually no arrangement for the storing of ornaments, articles of clothing, implements, and weapons is found in the huts. Small things are stuck into the roof /Ill. 23 appears here/ or hung on [411] the posts. Bows, arrows, and lances usually lie along the side walls on the floor or lean in a corner. For the rest, baskets, gourd [415] vessels, and pots hang, stand, and lie around everywhere in the house, some of them filled with other household equipment. In [352] only two houses, in Village 6 and in Schischá, did I see along the wall stands made out of two forked sticks on which bows and arrows were placed (Ill. 23). They, too, seem to go back to Šavajé influence, for the Šavajé in Schischá used such stands.

/247 cont./

224 411 Hunting weapons are bows and arrows, lances, and possibly also clubs for wild pigs. The lance (dõnõlĩ) is used in hunting for jaguars (see under "Weapons" /see p. 192/, Ill. 126). The bunches of feathers are said to confuse the leaping animal, so that the thrust can be made more confidently. The arrows differ according to the type of game; for big game one uses either arrows with a flat or many-sided wooden point, which sometimes has small barbs cut into it (ũõhũ, about 150 centimeters long), or arrows with flat or rounded bamboo blade points (ũõhũ, ũãzã, 224 diũãdã; Ills. 113, 114). Nets and traps are unknown for game hunting. Fish otters are lured with fire and then beaten to death with a wooden stick. Königswald states that in the dry season grassy meadows are set afire so that the game, fleeing in large numbers before the fire, may be easily killed. I often saw such grass fires; my Indians and even the Brazilians liked to set them. When asked the reason, both explained in agreement that the subsequent greenery sprouting anew would attract the game, so that when they passed by there afterwards they would find the game localized on such burned areas and would therefore have easy and certain hunting.

[622] The booty is brought to the village and, if abundant, is cut up by the warriors and distributed among the inhabitants by the chief.

223 411 They likewise go bird hunting with bow and arrow. They use either deadly arrows (mãlõl), the points of which consist of the sharpened end of a cane shaft (Ill. 163), or arrows which merely stun the bird with their thick end, so that the feathers are protected from blood. The thickening at the end consists either of a lump of wax or of the cut root-end of the cane that forms the shaft. Such arrows are called lãḷũẽlẽ (see "Children's Toys"/see pp. 241-244/, Ill. 164).

223 They also have traps for birds (dõhẽdũ or bũdõḷẽkũ); ground manioc and maize are used as bait. I saw such a trap near Village 18 of the north horde, about 500 meters away from the houses, /248/ set up on the sandbank (Plate 54, Ill. 2). It consisted of bamboo rods which were placed on top of one another quadrilaterally, so that each square was smaller than the one below it,

/261 cont./

7. Weapons for War, Hunting, Fishing.

128 In order not to disrupt the survey of the manifold forms of these implements by arranging them subordinately into individual groups according to use, I shall discuss them together here. This has already been referred to above under hunting and fishing. A brief survey of the distribution according to purpose might come first.

411 Clubs, as well as bows and arrows with bamboo blade points, serve as weapons of war. Lances and bows and arrows with wooden points and with bamboo blade points serve for hunting. For fishing, bows and arrows with small bone points added on are used exclusively. Sport is practiced with bows and arrows and the throwing board with arrows. Other, perhaps previously customary weapons are the pellet-bow /Kugelbogen/, the sling (?), the boomerang (?). Thus, bows and arrows play the chief role. Everything else is far behind them.

/262/ Bow [w(ă)s(ĭ)ūhădĕ] and arrow (ŭŏhŭ) are usually made by each one for himself. They are always taken along on boat trips, and, indeed, the most diverse kinds of arrows (war, hunting, and fishing arrows) are taken along.

For shooting, the bow is held vertically (Pl. 56, Ill. 1). The arrow rests on the bow between it and the second finger of the left hand, on the bowstring between the first and second fingers of the right hand, while the rest of the fingers draw the bowstring back. In the stretching, the arrow is drawn against the shoulder.

411 526 Shooting from the feet is done as a sport. I did not observe it myself; it was described to me as follows. The men lie on the ground and stretch their feet up close together. The bow lies across the soles of the feet; the bowstring is drawn with the hands toward the chest. Thus they shoot upward. The bow, of course, likewise flies off their feet; the recoiling bowstring is said to cause sharp pain in the feet (1).

[191 13]

1. In this connection cf. the same custom among

/262 cont./

411 526 171 113

1. (cont.)
the Indians near Rio de Janeiro, in Debret, Voyage pittoresque et historique du Brésil /Picturesque and historical journey to Brazil/, Vol. 1, Paris, 1836, Plate 5.

411 868 Boys learn how to shoot arrows at an early age; I saw boys three to four years old handling small weapons. These weapons (see under "Toys" /see pp. 241 ff./) serve for practice in shooting. First they shoot toward a fixed goal, a soft, cylindrically shaped root about 30 centimeters high and ten centimeters thick, which is set in the sand (Ill. 109). Later the father proceeds to instruction with the movable target. The father rolls a bast ring along on the ground. The boy stands about ten meters away from the father and shoots from ever greater distances into the moving ring. The arrow must remain hanging in the bast. A little boy four years old succeeded in doing this on the third shot at a distance of two meters. This bast ring [(wă)ṡĭŏḷōḷŏ] is a ring-shaped bast pad three and a half centimeters thick and 18 1/2 centimeters in diameter, which is tightly wound with bast (Pl. 56, Ill. 2). Ehrenreich (Berlin 3960) designates it erroneously as a ring for carrying objects on the head, a practice which is not customary among the Karajá Indians. Later comes shooting at a flying target, with green gourds thrown into the air. Thus, the boys learn to shoot the bow at an early age and in general achieve great accuracy. There were Indians who made almost no missed shots while fishing; there were others, however, who were less skilled.

411 [438] [439] The bow consists of palm wood. This wood (ŏlōtŏ̄, wŏāḷūŏ) allegedly grows only in the Tapirapé region. In any case, the Indians of the south horde, according to their unanimous testimony, obtain their bows or the material for them from the Karajá of the north horde or from the Tapirapé themselves. As a result, I was able to acquire bows only in the north horde; they were precious possessions in the south horde.

The bow is round, often slightly flattened on the front side, tapers /263/ /Ills. 109-112 appear here/ /264/ toward both ends,

[Text Continues on P. 182]

5: Krause--181 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9

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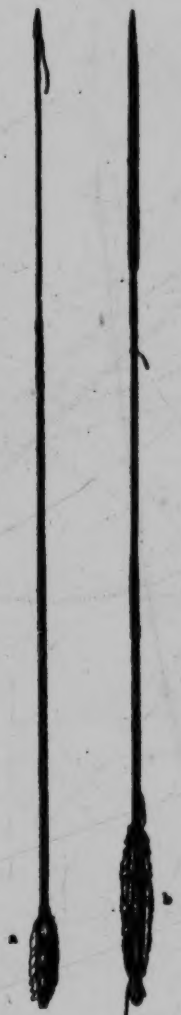
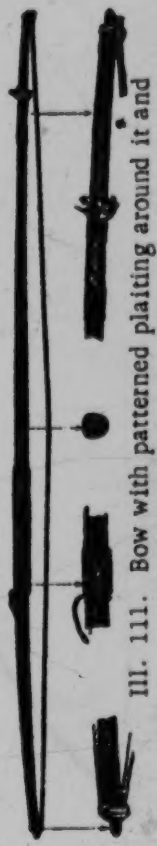
Ill. 110. Bow with white-colored winding, maize leaf, and feather tassel.



Ill. 112 a, b.
Complete arrows.

Ill. 109.
Fruit as target for bow-shooting.



Ill. 111. Bow with patterned plaiting around it and feather wreath.

/264 cont./

411 and terminates in offset thorn extensions. The length of the bowstring for my specimens amounts to 184-204 centimeters.

[283] The bowstring (ãnzŭ, mbãŭ; according to Ehrenreich, manhũga) is made by each person for himself by twisting together three twisted imbauva fiber strings. Its strength gradually decreases from the thicker end to the other one, and it finally terminates in a thin string. Ill. 110 shows how it is attached. The bowstring proper is the strong part, which is attached so that it can be lifted off at one end. The weaker part is led from the firm bow-end along the front side of the bow-wood to approximately the center of the bow, is fastened there, and then is tightly wound around the bow, back to the bow-end. The last [531] little end hangs down freely; it often bears a feather tassel. This winding is usually rubbed with white-earth coloring. In the middle of the bow, where it begins, a maize leaf is fastened as an ornament by means of a black cotton winding. The unwound part of the bow sometimes bears black and yellow plaiting around it (Ill. 111).

The arrows. In order to give a survey of the arrows, it is advisable first of all to group them according to the shapes of the points, for the formation of this part of the arrow depends, of course, on what it is to be used for, which is, after all, the most important thing about the arrow. In addition, however, I also wish to point out other varying characteristics, some of which seem to represent ownership and tribal signs.

First of all, it should be noted that each one makes his own [436] arrows. In view of the custom of using arrows as a means of pay- [431] ment, however, and exchanging them with the chief on visits to strange villages, as well as in turn receiving some as gifts from him, arrows of the most diverse origins are assembled in the hands of one individual; nevertheless, in view of the brief life-span of the arrows, those made by each one for himself predominate. Poisoning is not customary.

Before being shot, the arrows are examined with regard to their curvature by being turned between the right hand lifted up to the right shoulder and the left hand stretched far downward. If

/264 cont./

411 shaft and point do not form a straight line, but rather stand at a slight angle to each other, as can very easily happen, the deviation is removed by a slight bending. Only then is it shot.

On the arrow we distinguish between point and shaft, the latter with the feathering (Ill. 112 a, b). Arrows on which the point and shaft consist of one cane occur only among children (for bird hunting, see "Children's Toys" /see p.241 /); for adults, the point is always set in separately.

The point consists of a wooden rod (ŭhāhūnĭ), which either tapers to a point itself or at its front end bears a point made of a bamboo blade or a small bone.

[224] Arrows with a simple wooden point are used for hunting big game (jaguar, red deer, tapir, monkey). The point is round, flat, or three to four-edged and sometimes has an offset point at the top. Its length is 38-50 centimeters. Sometimes it is painted black (Ill. 113 a-f). A variation of such arrows /265/ has notched wooden points (hādŭbĭrādĭdĕ, ādĕdĕ). The notches are either cut on the edges of the three-edged wooden point or on one edge of flat wooden points. The number and arrangement of notches differ greatly (Ill. 113 g-i).

Ehrenreich mentions arrows with an inset, blunt wooden-block point for hunting birds and small animals. I did not see such arrows among the Karajá, but certainly among the Šavajé (see there /see p. 323 /). /Ill. 113 appears here./

/266/ Arrows with bamboo knives set on them (dĭ(ŭ)ādĕ) are used for hunting big game, but chiefly as war arrows. Since they break off easily and tear large wounds, they are very dangerous and usually lead to death. The bamboo knife is usually flat, only seldom considerably arched; it is joined to the [531] wooden stem by a fine bast winding. Often the knives are painted with black cross-stripes on the back. Knife and wooden stem usually have approximately the same length (30-40 centimeters); both /Ills. 114-117 appear here/ /267/ together are as long as the cane shaft proper (60-80 centimeters) (Ill. 114 a-c).

[Text continues on p. 186]

5: Krause--184 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9

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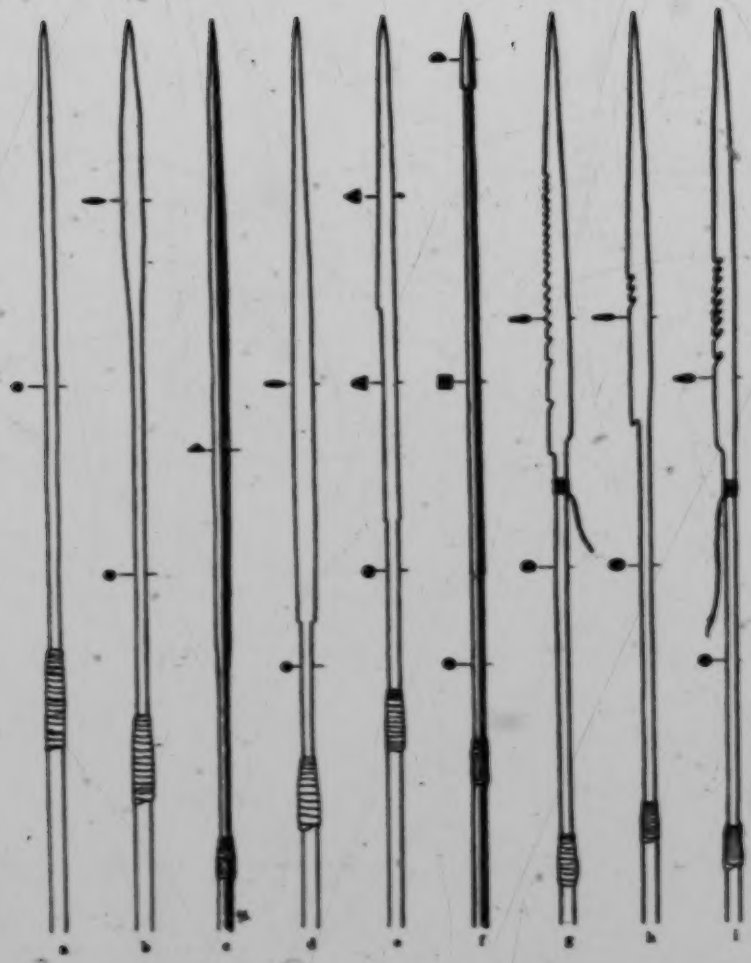


Ill. 113 a-i.
Arrows with wooden points.

411
284

[227]
[237]
→

Ill. 114 a-c.
Arrows with bamboo knives as points.

Ill. 117.
Bone point to be stuck on arrow.

Ill. 115.
Arrow with bone points.

Ill. 116.
Arrow with ray-spine point.

/267 cont./

411 The arrows with the bone point set on them are used ex-
229 clusively for fishing. The bone point is set on in such a way
237 that its rear end projects laterally and thus forms a small barb.
284 It is four to six centimeters long and is fastened to the wooden
314 stem by a fine bast winding and a coating of black resin (Ill. 115). On my specimens this bone point is round throughout, whereas Ehrenreich brought back a second type of such arrow with a flat bone point (Berlin 4008) (1) and a third type with a tubular

1. I obtained arrows with flat bone points only from the Kayapó.

bone set on as a point (Berlin 4009). The stem in the case of these arrows is 40-50 centimeters long, sometimes natural color or painted red, but mostly painted black; the shaft has a length of 100-200 centimeters. The one reproduced in Ill. 117 was probably to be used as a point for an arrow with a monkey bone stuck on it (ūhĭdŏ, dūrŏlēnĭdĭ).

A single arrow bears, instead of the bone point, one made of a ray spine (Ill. 116); it comes from the village on the Tapirapé mouth.

411 The stem of the point has no other ornamentation than the
314 black or red painting. It is inserted in the shaft and made fast
531 in it with resin. In order to detach it from the broken shaft and set it on a new one, the tube is warmed over the fire until the resin melts and the stem can be pulled out. The shaft end is cut to fit for the insertion of the stem, so that the transition into the stem is gradual. When the stem is set into the shaft, the latter often splits; the cracks are glued over with black resin.

411 A black, narrow strip of embira is wound over the place
284 of insertion; it is fastened to the shaft with light-colored resin.
314 This winding (dŏdé) is done in different ways; it either covers stem and shaft in a continuous course, or, separated from the short attachment-winding, there is a longer shaft winding whose intermediate space is sometimes bridged by spirally wound or
531 crossed winding. At this place one arrow will bear spiral incised ornamentation (ŭŏhūlădi, ĭlādi), another a black and yellow plaiting. A three-part attachment-winding is very rare (Ill. 118).

/267 cont./

411 The shaft (b'dõlẽ) consists of taquara cane. This cane
[824] seems to occur south of the Rio Tapirapé only in the region of the south horde. At the southern end of Bananal Island I came across a village that was on the move southward in order to obtain taquara for their arrows near Leopoldina. The shaft is 0.8-1.0 centimeters thick on the average; its length fluctuates, depending on the type of point (see above). I never saw shaft decorations.

411 The feathering, on the average, is 17-22 centimeters long.
237 Of all my arrows there are only two exceptions, one of which is 15 centimeters long, the other 31. The feathering is attached directly to the lower end of the shaft. Ehrenreich reports that the
[114] feathered end is often set into the shaft separately. His assumption that in this case the arrows had been repaired /268/ is confirmed by a specimen in my collection which was thus restored (Ill. 119a).

[284] Great care is used in the construction of the feathering. It consists of two feathers standing opposite each other, the upper tips of which are held fast by the notch-lashing, and the inner
[314] vanes of which are clipped short. At the place where the quills are supposed to be fastened, the shaft is rubbed with resin; the halved quill ends are pressed on it, whereupon the vanes are set vertically to the shaft and /Ills. 118 and 119 appear here/ are given a turn (an eighth to a quarter of the circumference of the
[284] shaft) (Ill. 119b). Then the quill ends are tightly wound with
[283] black cotton thread (ãsõdẽbẽ), whereupon the outer vanes are cut to shape (Ill. 119c). In former times, the feathers were given the desired shape by singeing, but since the introduction of iron shears they are cut. Not until the feathering is finished is the point inserted.

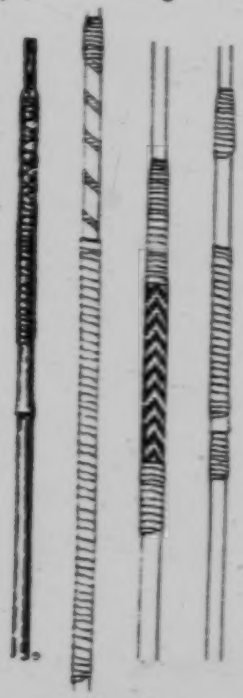
A different kind of feathering (spiral winding through the two halved /269/ /Ill. 120 appears here/ /270/ feathers) is found in the case of a few children's arrows of the north horde (see "Children's Toys" /see p. 241/). It is not yet certain whether this is an old feathering that has now become lost to adults.

/270 cont./

411 237 Little feathers which project in toward the inner part of the feathering and are mostly red, more rarely yellow, are tied into the cotton winding on the quill ends.

[531] The shaft part between the feathers is mostly decorated by bands or rings of red or yellow lacquer (Ill. 120 a-k). This

[284]



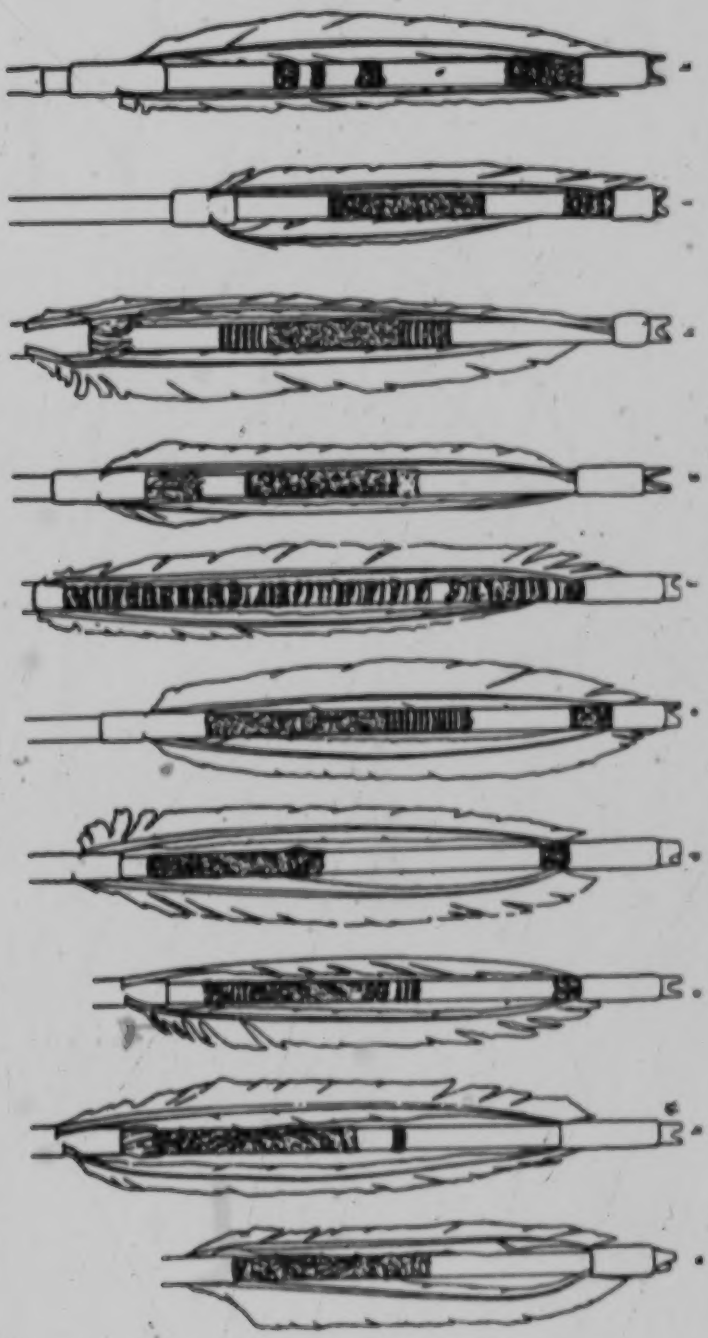
Ill. 118.
Point of attachment between the arrow shaft and point stem.

Ill. 119 a-c.
Feathering: a) completed end, b) putting on the feathers, c) complete feathering.

decoration is put on only for the sake of a pleasing appearance.

411 283 [184] The notch winding consists of fine white cotton thread. In the case of the arrows of the Karajá it extends up to the notch. According to Kuriš, the characteristic of Karajá arrows lies in this; the Šavajé arrows are said to exhibit a small space between notch and lashing. Among the Šavajé, however, I also obtained arrows with the Karajá winding; perhaps this

[Text continues on p. 190]



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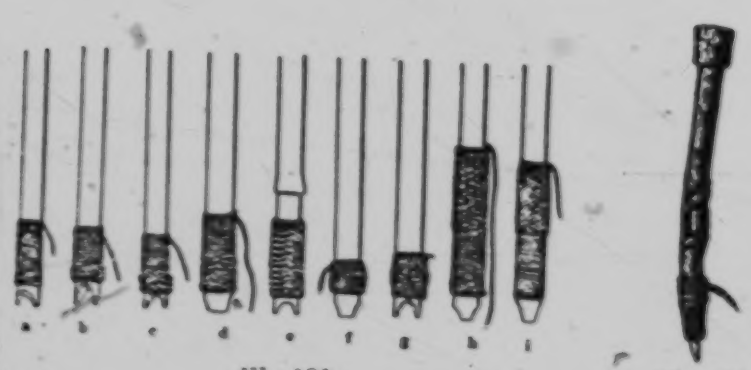
Ill. 140 a-k.
Decoration of the shaft between the feathers.

/270 cont./

411 goes back to the lively interchange between the two peoples.
283 The winding consists of parallel circuits; only the uppermost layers show deviations through a crossing of the threads (Ill. 120 a-i). According to Kurišr, four cross-threads are supposed to be characteristic for the Karajá, two cross-threads for the Tapirapé. I did not find this remark confirmed; rather, there was a positively magnificent wealth of the most diverse crossings. The arrows with the two cross-threads (Ill. 121b) and the differently executed notch windings in Ill. 121 h, i, however, were present in the village on the Tapirapé mouth.

[284]

[284] 412 [287]



Ill. 121.
Notch winding of the arrows.

Ill. 122.
Club groover.

Apparently these windings are the insignia of the makers of the arrows; for upon being questioned about the latter, foreign Karajá always examined the notch-end. I could not find out anything more specific about this, however, especially not whether each individual had his particular mark or whether families (or totem groups?) made specific marks which were the same for all members.

411 The notch (dõnăwŭdŭlõnã) is not cut in very deep and is slightly diagonal. In the case of a few arrows, two little red /271/ feathers are tied into the notch winding and project in the back, beyond the end (Ill. 119c). According to the statement of the Indians, they serve to send off the arrow more easily and do not tire the hand so much.

/271 cont./

411 The club (gõhõrdẽ) is the true war weapon of the Indians. The Karajá do not undertake a boat trip without having the club in the boat, along with arrows and bows, and on land journeys it is usually their sole companion. Even in the villages one sees the Indians, if they are armed at all, walking around with clubs.

The clubs are made of heavy wood (wõãlũõ). They are round, become thicker toward the striking end, and terminate in a pointed convexity with a sharp edge. The handle end terminates in a knob which is separated from the club by a thicker intermediate piece with two or three deep grooves. In Ehrenreich, the number of grooves varies between one deep one and four or five shallow grooves, while his Šambioá clubs show three grooves throughout. The type of clubs (and oar handles) which Ehrenreich brought back from the Šambioá, on which the intermediate piece is divided by a long, thin, smooth piece with wide, thick pieces projecting over it at both ends and each bearing a groove (3979 and elsewhere), does not occur among the Karajá.

The upper half of the club (from the striking end) is provided with lengthwise grooves. I did not see any smooth clubs such as Ehrenreich brought back. This lengthwise grooving is made with the tooth of a rodent (cutia: hãũlĩ; according to Ehrenreich, also agouti or capybara) fastened to a wooden stick (Ill. 122). This grooving instrument, called hãũlĩdjũ (= cutia tooth), is therefore not used to make arrows, as Ehrenreich assumed.

Occasionally there have remained standing in the lengthwise grooving two diametrally placed smooth stripes about one centimeter wide, which, for the entire length, are decorated with incised decorations (Ill. 123).

411 Only rarely does one find clubs that bear a patterned plaiting of yellow taquara cane and black embira around them (Ill. 124).

This plaiting is always present in the small club-sticks, which I never saw in use and which Königswald designates as dance clubs. They either have the shape of the clubs, without, however, having a special handle, or they end in a wide blade and have an offset handle (Pl. 56, Ill. 3 a-c). The first type is

/271 cont./

411 approximately 70 centimeters long, the second approximately 50
285 centimeters long.

Ehrenreich speaks of a second type of club: flat, shovel-like clubs that have a four-sided, prismatic blade with sharp edges and a lancet-shaped point. The handle is plaited all around, and at both ends of the plaiting cotton tassels hang down ("Beiträge," Pl. VI, Ill. 11). He obtained two such clubs from the Šambioá (Berlin 3980), whereas he saw a cruder form among the Karajá. The question is whether this club form belonged to the Karajá
[171] originally. For I came across such forms neither among the Karajá nor among the Šavajé, but certainly among the Kayapó, /272/ among whom broad cutting-clubs seem to be indigenous. It may be that the Šambioá took over this form from the Kayapó. Only a small child's club of the Karajá (Ill. 125) shows a similar type (1),

1. Cf. also, however, the club stick above (Pl. 56, Ill. 3c).

but it comes from the village on the Tapirapé mouth, so that here, too, it is not certain whether an old, now extinct club form has been preserved in this child's toy or whether it is not more likely that there is influence from the Tapirapé or the Kayapó.

411 The lances (dõnõlí; Ill. 126) play a minor role. They are a weapon peculiar to the Karajá. Today they are probably used
[224] only as a display weapon for festivities, visits, etc. In former
[825] times they were put to use in hunting for jaguars: the bunches of feathers on the tip were supposed to make the animal fearful and uncertain, so that the Indian, at the most auspicious moment, /Ills. 123-126 appear here/ was able to deliver the death blow (according to the statements of the Indians). I never heard that they were ever used in war.

[824] The shaft consists of heavy palm wood (aruera): it is almost always 240-260 centimeters long and about three centimeters thick; only two specimens of my collection are a little over 200 centimeters long.

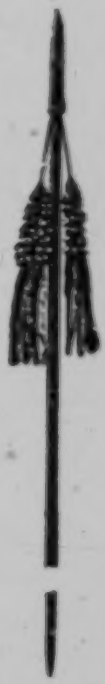
/272 cont./

411 [237] [284] The point is formed by a sharpened thigh bone of the jaguar; /Pl. 56 appears here/ /273/ it is about 20 centimeters long. Where it is mounted on the shaft, the latter is wound for about ten centimeters with red cotton string, from the upper circuits of which long tassels of arara feathers hang down. To

Ill. 123. Club.

Ill. 124. Club with plaiting around the handle end.

Ill. 125. Child's club. Karajá.



Ill. 126. Lance.

411 285 [531] this winding is joined below a patterned plaiting which consists of yellow longitudinal strips of taquara interwoven crosswise all around with strips of embira. The plaiting is 50-80 centimeters long; its ornaments are the common plaited ornaments (1).

[113] 1. See my article, "Die Kunst der Karajá-Indianer /The Art of the Karajá Indians/," Bässler Archiv, Vol. II, No. 1, 1911.

[Text continues on p. 195]

Plate 36

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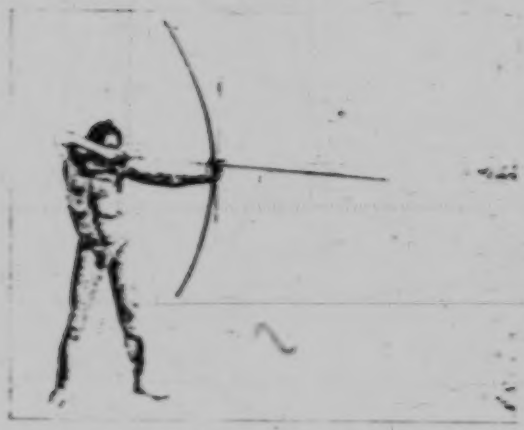

1. Bow.

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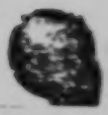

Tangle of [illegible]. 2. a-c. Small [illegible] pouch.

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3. a-c. Club [illegible].

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5. Karaja [illegible] work [illegible].

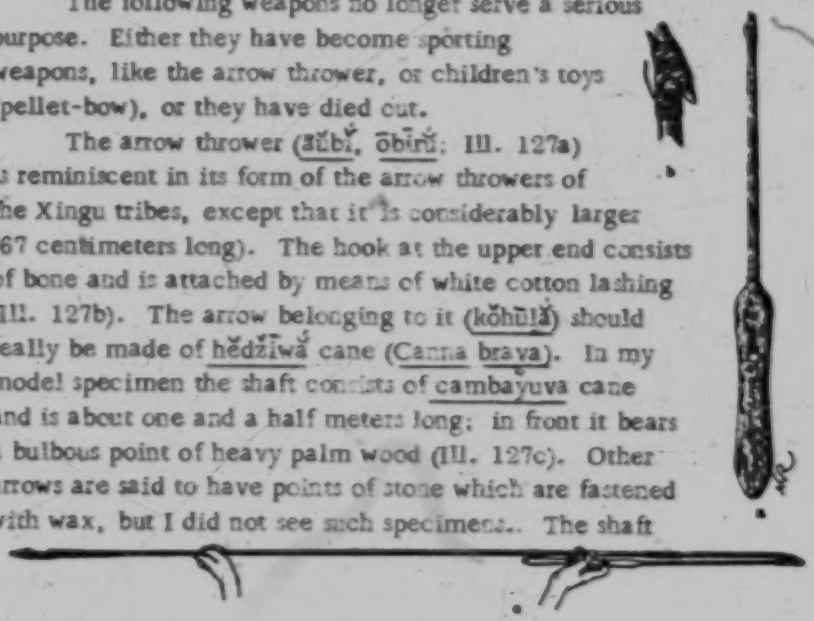
/273 cont./

411 [531] [285] Ehrenreich also says that this plaiting is decorated above and below with small feather wreaths; this is not the case among my specimens.

According to statements by the Indians, in olden times their spears did not have bone points, but rather ran out in front into the pointed shafts; otherwise they were equipped like the spears of today.

[178] The following weapons no longer serve a serious purpose. Either they have become sporting weapons, like the arrow thrower, or children's toys (pellet-bow), or they have died out.

The arrow thrower (ãũbĩ, ōbĩrũ; Ill. 127a) is reminiscent in its form of the arrow throwers of the Xingu tribes, except that it is considerably larger (67 centimeters long). The hook at the upper end consists of bone and is attached by means of white cotton lashing (Ill. 127b). The arrow belonging to it (kõhũlã) should [829] really be made of hẽdzĩwã cane (Canna brava). In my model specimen the shaft consists of cambayuva cane and is about one and a half meters long; in front it bears a bulbous point of heavy palm wood (Ill. 127c). Other arrows are said to have points of stone which are fastened with wax, but I did not see such specimens. The shaft



Ill. 127 a-c.

a) Arrow thrower, b) detail of the hook, c) handling the arrow-thrower.

is unfeathered; it has no notch. Ehrenreich's arrows of ubã cane, on the other hand, have at the end a cut-out section that contains the notch hole. The specimen of throwing stick and arrow reproduced here was made by the Indians at my request.

The manner of handling it is shown in Ill. 127c. The thrower is held in the right hand; the arrow, with the rear, hollow end hooked into the peg, is laid on the board and grasped here with the right hand as follows: the thumb lies on the right edge of the /274/ throwing board, the second finger is stuck into the hole of the handle, the third finger reaches from the left edge over the arrow, the fourth extends from the left edge under the arrow, in other

/274 cont./

411 words, rests between the latter and the board, while the fifth finger lies on the left edge. The front end of the arrow is supported with the outstretched left hand. The arrow is hurled with the same motion with which a spear is thrown. Horizontal, high, and low throws (the latter in fishing) may be executed with it.

I no longer came across this implement among the Karajá; they were familiar with it, to be sure, but in the south horde there were middle-aged persons who maintained that they had never [184] seen one. Its use was known, however, and it was universally reported that the Šavajé had many throwing sticks and still used them.

411 526 Among the Karajá it is now used only as a sporting weapon in the game called ǎnārkǎntědūčhŭ (game of the Tapirapé), which is supposed to take place at the time of the blossoming of the pau d'arco. According to the description, the game proceeds as follows: Two youths stand facing each other, both armed with arrow thrower and arrows. One of them issues a challenge to battle by singing, wōhŭlāḷǎkūdjé, wōhŭlāḷǎkūdjé. throw the arrow, you won't hit me anyway. The other replies, djŏbĭdjŏbĭkŏ, djŏbĭkŏ dĕhōĭ: I shall indeed hit you. Then they start throwing arrows at each other toward the thighs or ankles, and each tries to show his skill in throwing, as well as in dodging the arrow. If a person does not dodge adroitly, the arrow is said to penetrate quite deep into the flesh and can be forced out only by being struck from both sides with the throwing stick. Bad wounds are said to result.

[191] The name of the game is striking: game of the Tapirapé. The Karajá reported that the Tapirapé were in possession of the throwing stick and also this game. This suggests that the Karajá took it over from there, if we think of the presence of this implement in the Xingu source region. The circumstances that caused the loss of this implement among the Karajá and its flourishing again among the Šavajé eludes our knowledge.

411 I did not see the pellet-bow (bŏdŏkĕ) among the Karajá. I was told in the south horde, however, that they knew how to make it and that the children threw stones with it to kill small [199] birds. Probably the Indians took it over from the Brazilians, whose children in Leopoldina largely used it as a toy. The lack

/274 cont./

411 [197] of a native word for the instrument at least leads to the conclusion that the implement, too, is not native.

Note. By way of supplement, I must here discuss two implements about which the Indians gave me information that could not be checked at all. It was my principle to inquire [125] systematically about everything that might possibly occur; and where the description was not adequate, I made models. Thus, I demonstrated a stone sling to the Indians. They then told me, in agreement in various villages, that this instrument (nĕrŭdĭ) was familiar to them, but that they did not use it because of a scarcity of stones. Allegedly they had taken it over from the [177] Brazilians. It /275/ was impossible for me to induce the Indians to make such an instrument.

Even more dubious are the statements about the boomerang. My informant Kurĭĭ, whom, on the basis of my other experiences, I must regard as trustworthy, told me: his mother told him in his childhood that the Karajá of the north horde had a stick (ĭãdĕzĕ) that came back when it was thrown. He had not seen such an implement; it must therefore have fallen into disuse long ago. I was unable to gain confirmation of these two statements; I am therefore repeating them here with all reservations.

411 714 The Indians do not have defensive weapons. Against blows they protect themselves merely with the hand and the arm. They ward off flying arrows with the club; they do not know how to divert them with the spear, with bow or arrow. They have no real protection against the recoil of the bowstring; the recoil is even said to be very painful. It is somewhat mitigated by the arm cuff (dĕsi); a person who does not wear cuffs, like the married men, wraps bast around his lower arm; this apparently occurs only in war, however, for I did not notice anything of the kind for fishing.

714 751 Amulets are lacking; they use only a charm against arrow shooting; a disk ten centimeters in diameter and made out of scraped pieces of the bowstring is glued on both sides of the chest with resin. They believe that no arrow can then hit the chest.

/304 cont./

11. Play and Sport.

Children's Toys.

857 868 Children at an early age imitate the activities of the adults: the boys practice shooting, rowing, fishing, and plaiting; the girls, spinning and cooking. Small-scale implements of the 524 adults are used in this. In addition, however, there are some implements which serve purely for play, such as small boats, imitations of the guns, tops, and clay dolls. Other games need no further equipment, such as balls, string game, etc., or are limited to adult men, such as the humming top, whizzing disk, and puzzle carving.

As for small-scale imitations of the implements of the adults, the boys use small bows and arrows, nets, and oars; the /305/ girls, small spindles and clay dishes. Strangely enough, small lances are entirely lacking.

524 411 The bows vary in length. The smallest have a bowstring length of only 27 to 32 centimeters and a very crude construction which does not measure up to that of the large bows. Small, unfeathered arrows of split cane are shot with them (Ill. 160 a, b). They serve for the first shooting attempts of small boys. Larger bows, intended for boys from three to four years old and older, fluctuate between 60 and 120 centimeters in length, depending on the age of the boys. Their construction corresponds to that of the undecorated bows of the adults; only a single bow bears as decoration a white-colored cotton winding with a maize leaf in the center and a feather tassel on the upper end /Ill. 160 appears here/ (Ill. 161). The arrows for these bows in part exhibit types other than those of the adults. Arrows with barbs (fish arrows) and similarly those with a toothed wooden point are lacking. Arrows with bamboo blade points (Ill. 162c) are very rare; on the other hand, those with a round wooden point, /Ill. 161 appears here/ which is 25-40 centimeters long, with a shaft length of approximately 80 centimeters (Ill. 162 a, b), are common. It is noteworthy that the feathering of such arrows in the case of three of my specimens has a character different from the common

/305 cont./

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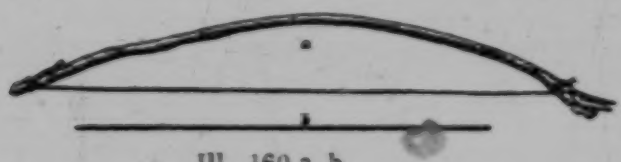
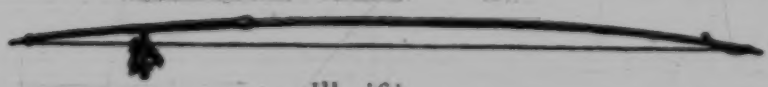
type. The feathers are halved and fastened to the shaft by a continuous spiral winding (Ill. 162d); it is similar to the pitch-feathering, except that the pitch is lacking (see also above, p. 187). Bird arrows, which are used to kill birds, are common and consist of a cane shaft pointed in front (mãlõl; Ill. 163). Whether the blunt arrows are used for bird hunting or whether they are supposed to prevent injuries during practice or serve for shooting vertically into the air is not known to me. They have either a lump of wax in front (Ill. 164a), or the entire arrow consists of one piece of cane whose circularly carved root knob serves as



Ill. 160 a, b.
Smallest child's bow with arrow.



Ill. 161.
Child's bow.

a blunt point (Ill. 164b). Inserted wooden-knob points are lacking here, too (however, see Šavajé /see p.323 and pages 328 - 330/). For shooting vertically or diagonally into the air, there are arrows upon whose wooden point is pushed a small nut with a lateral hole (Ill. 165). The weighting by means of the fruit has the effect that the arrow, at the turning point, /306/ turns with the point downwards; I did not hear a whistling sound in connection with the shooting of these arrows.

[868] Targets for shooting practice are, first of all, oblong fruits which are stuck into the sand; later, moving bast rings (wãšiõlõlo); and, finally, gourds thrown into the air.

5: Krause--244 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9

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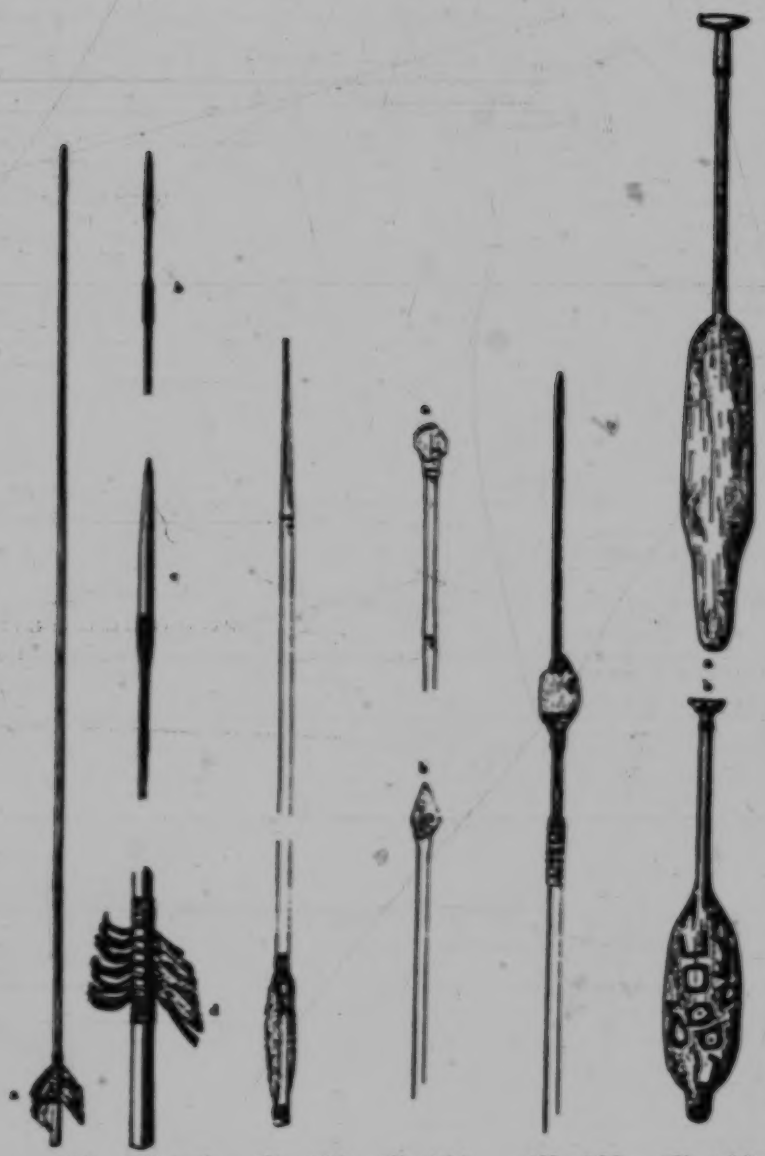

[531]

Ill. 162 a-d. Ill. 163. Ill. 164. Ill. 165 Ill. 166 a, b.

Ill. 162 a-d: Child's arrows. Ill. 163: Pointed bird-arrow. Ill. 164 a, b: Blunt bird-arrows, a) wax head, b) root end. Ill. 165: Arrow with nut pushed on it. Ill. 166 a, b: Child's oars, a) ordinary type, b) painted.

/359 cont./

Ill. 194.
Braided tobacco.

of monkey skin (djūlēnĭ; Pl. 61, Ill. 2). The tobacco pipes (wăliōnă) are made of jequitiba fruit; they all bear the groove around the front opening and are colored reddish. 249 276

The Savajé seem to keep supplies at home only in small quantities. 251

/360/ On the second day they were already asking me to depart, since they had nothing more to eat. The food for my five Karajá, in addition to whom there appeared four more from Korumaré's village, had depleted their stores; in view of my presence, however, they hesitated to leave the village, so that I was finally obliged to yield to their wishes. 251 123

7. Concerning the weapons, there is likewise nothing new to report. The bows (djūhădĕ) are either undecorated or bear white wrappings, a maize leaf, and a feather tassel, like the Karajá bow (Ill. 110). It is handled in such a way that the left hand grasps the bow in the center, so that the arrow goes between the second and third finger; the second to fifth finger of the right hand draws the bow string; the arrow lies between the second and third finger. 411 [184] [284]

As for arrows (wōhū), I encountered

Ill. 195 a-c.
Savajé arrows.
a) Lashing at the point of attachment.
b) Feathering.
c) Wooden-knob tip.

/360 cont./

411 arrows with angular wooden points, which were in part colored red, with wooden knob tips (dŏbŏlā), the knob of which was up to four centimeters thick (Ill. 195c), with bamboo-blade points on a separate wooden intermediate rod, with round bone points which are fastened to a wooden insert colored red on the lower part, and with ray-spine points. Especially noteworthy for the Šavajé are the ray-spine points and the arrows with the red-colored intermediate stem. The length of the arrows amounts to 130-160 centimeters; the fish arrows are the longest. The winding with [284] black embira at the place where the point is inserted in the shaft is of one to three parts and popularly shows a spiral binding between the individual parts (Ill. 195a). The feathered end is formed analogously to that of the Karajá arrows (Ill. 195b). Its upper winding generally consists of black cotton yarn, into which are usually tied little yellow, seldom red, feathers. (In the case of the Karajá, the situation is exactly reversed.) [531] Among the Šavajé, too, the intermediate part between the feathers is decorated with rings and bands of red lacquer, which usually are arranged in two groups. The notch lashing, usually white, is only rarely colored red. On the basis of my specimens, [284] I cannot confirm Kurisí's statement that the Šavajé arrows are recognizable by the notch lashing, which does not quite reach as far as the notch; on these, the lashing always reaches as far as the notch. In the arrangement of this lashing we again find the Karajá types, /Pl. 61 appears here/ /361/ but in simpler form. I did not see little end feathers in connection with the Šavajé arrows.

[184] The clubs (göhördé), like the Karajá clubs, are grooved only halfway, but differ from the latter by the fact that the intermediate piece on the handle end bears more than three grooves [531] (four or five) (1) (Ill. 196b). In one specimen, as ornamentation

1. Cf. Karajá, club handles /see pp. 191-193/.

within the grooving, two narrow bands with incised points diametrically opposite each other have been left standing (Ill. 196a).

[Text Continues on P. 326]

/361 cont./

411 (Ill. 196a). I did not see here clubs with plaiting around them or flat clubs.

[412] [339] [84] For grooving the clubs, the cutia tooth (haŭlidjŭ) mounted on a rod is also used by the Šavajé (Ill. 197).

As for lances (dõnõli), I acquired only one specimen, which looks very old. It is constructed like those of the Karajá. The shaft is 2.5 centimeters thick and 200 centimeters long, the bone

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[531]

Ill. 196 a, b. Savajé club. b) Handle end of a second specimen.

Ill. 197. Club groover.

Ill. 198. Arrow thrower. Savajé.

Ill. 199. Savajé oar.

411 point 19.2 centimeters, the red winding 11.5 and the plaiting 63 centimeters long. The feather tassels hang down 42 centimeters. The plaiting pattern is the vertical zigzag pattern.

/362/

411 The arrow thrower (hãõhi) was relatively common. Whereas in the 22 villages of the Karajá I did not see any, but merely acquired a model, I found three specimens in this one small Šavajé village (Ill. 198). The implement is still used for fishing, bird hunting, and as a weapon for sport. One can execute high, horizontal, and low shots with it. The handle, 36-40 centimeters long, 3.5-6.5 centimeters wide, is edged and curved and has a small button at the lower end. The hole for the index finger is quite large and rectangular or square in shape. The staff, 30-35 centimeters long, is round and bears a small hook of bone, which is fastened with tight, fine lashing. Sometimes a few little feathers hang down from this lashing as an ornament.

I did not come across any other weapons among the Šavajé.

501 184 8. Transportation and communication. The boats are the same as those of the Karajá, but usually very long and very wide. The oars differ from those of the Karajá mostly by the fact that 482 the cylinder on the handle bears four grooves (Ill. 199). Back- 184 baskets and other baskets are likewise similar to those of the Karajá. The back-basket [bãh(ĭ)ũlã] is also plaited at the lower edge, so that, when it is carried, the contents have firmer support than is the case in the Karajá back-baskets. It is 158 centimeters long, 27 centimeters wide, and has an edge 12 centimeters 285 high. Among the baskets I observed large carrying-baskets (wãlĩlĩ) plaited, with patterns, out of oaguassu palm pinnae, which are carried with a bast carrying-band, also oblong baskets (dãdã), which likewise show patterning and are carried on a carrying band, oval baskets with a cover (wãlãbãhi), and, finally, carrying sacks, and, to be sure, some of mat plaiting (mãnsi), some which are plaited diagonally out of one palm leaf (lõlĩ), and rectangular sacks plaited out of two palm leaves (lõlĩ), the two ribs forming one longitudinal edge, whereas on the other and on the bottom edge the pinnae of both fronds are plaited together (Pl. 61, Ill. 3). [184] (Cf. Ehrenreich, Berlin 3886, Karajá.) All other baskets and such mentioned are identical with those of the Karajá.

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

Returning to our canoes, we saw a wild fruit tree growing close to the water—its habitat—the fruit of which the Brazilians call *arósa*. It resembles a reddish plum, but has a double stone and is very acid. But it is a very wholesome fruit and would make, I imagine, an excellent sauce. The tree appears to be partly a climber, for the limbs, which are one or two inches thick, maintain a uniform size throughout their length, and coil around one another, serpent like. The river was now a mile or more broad and the navigation very open; so, wishing to take advantage of the current as much as possible, we reembarked after a five o'clock dinner one day and floated along quietly hour after hour in the obscurity until past midnight. Then, desiring to find a sandbar on which to sleep until morning, we at last descried a gray outline and pulled for it. Happening to enter shallow water, we grounded before getting close to shore, and lost a pike overboard. But just as we were getting afloat again, we suddenly heard a shuffling sound coming from the shore close by; and looking that way, our hearts stood still as we beheld the dusky forms of thirty or forty naked and painted savages rushing down upon us fully armed with long war lances and heavy killing clubs, ready to scatter our brains on the beach. We now discovered that we were innocently attempting to land just above a portable Karayá village, the existence of which, at this place, was not known even to our pilot, Pedro Monco. Our creeping up here at the dead of night without giving any signals announcing who we were, and if we were friends or foes, had convinced the villagers that we were enemies.

The situation in which we found ourselves was extremely critical for a few minutes. But the natives, seeing who we were, paused briefly, which gave us an opportunity to communicate with them and explain matters, and also to make them some presents to pacify them. Our large canoe only was involved in this midnight adventure, the other having pulled up elsewhere for the night; so our party was small. Our canoe was drawn up on the sand, and the savage band stood

Brazil.

609 of them are painted black and red, and have their faces daubed Many
[302] with a thick layer of black soot; others wear upon their heads
[301] crowns made of beautiful feathers; while others again, have
[237] their hair braided and decorated with the brilliant crimson
[411] and gold feathers of the macaw. All are armed with spears beautifully decorated with feathers, and with bows and arrows and heavy killing clubs. They present quite a military spectacle.

Disembarking, the first thing the visitors do is to show the savages their arms, especially the repeating rifles, which fill them with awe. The chief now hastens to declare that he and his people are friends of the white man, saying: "The Karayá is the friend of the white man; there is no lie with us," repeating this twice. Confidence established, some trading may be done without difficulty. Small children, and particularly, young girls, are very shy of the strangers, and usually creep into their huts and cover their faces with their hands. The visitor is never troubled by beggars, and rarely has anything stolen from him.

131 The Karayáhy division live along the main stream of the
162 Araguaya between São José and Santa Maria in twelve or
[648] fifteen villages or encampments, one of which, near Santa Maria, was completely wiped out in 1881 by the Kayapó
361 tribe. Their villages are not so clean as those of the Sambiõa, nor are the huts so well constructed.

191 Observing the speech of the Karayá, one can scarcely notice any movement of the lips; nor do they seem able to repeat exactly a sentence just uttered. They have many sounds which they produce with the tongue and swallow the
192 last syllable. Apparently, their speech is not related to any Brazilian aboriginal language. The most remarkable thing about it is that they have one dialect for the men and another for the women; though only a few words are entirely different, and with most of them there is but a slight, unimportant change.

142 Physically, the Karayá are one of the finest of the aboriginal races of Brazil. They are of medium size, slender and

501 suited to their purpose owing to the many shallow places in the river, and because it facilitates landing and pushing off. 391 The tree selected to be transformed into a canoe is an ipiúba [824] or a jatóba, which must be very straight. Strange to say, the butt of the tree becomes the bow of the canoe; therefore, the finished canoe is broader at the bow than at the stern. As these children of Nature are preeminently imitators of Nature, it seems quite probable that in constructing their canoes, they have in mind the form of the fish, which always goes big end first.

The log is first hewn into the form of a canoe, then hollowed out with axes and with fire. It is not broadened amidships, therefore, when finished, it is no wider than was the 501 original tree. As it is thus very narrow and tapers gradually and uniformly high above the water at both bow and stern, it tips over very easily. Great care is taken to make it perfectly smooth outside and in. No seats are provided, but sticks are placed across the bottom to keep both the occupants and the freight out of any water that may leak in. As every family has a canoe, quite a fleet of them may be seen in front of every village. These canoes are propelled by paddles five feet in length, half of which is blade, the point [53] terminating like a lance. They are made with great care and labor, and are often nicely ornamented. When canoeing, the 503 pilot is always seen perched in a squatting position on the extreme point of the stern with his knees drawn up to his chin.

411 The weapons of the Karayá are as of old—there has [118] been no change whatever. In common with other Brazilian tribes, the length and stiffness of their bow is according to the height and strength of its owner. Some bows are seven feet in length, while a boy's bow is two and a half or three [824] feet long. They are made of the wood of a certain palm-tree [171] which the Brazilians call *pau de arco*—bow wood—which is the wood used by all the tribes of central and North Brazil for their bows. The bow is made flat inside, and the extremities taper to a point. Several lengths of string, carried

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

as a reserve, are kept wound around the bow. The Karayá take great pride in their bows, ornamenting them beautifully with tassels of brilliant feathers. 411 [531]

They use several different styles of arrows. Some are harpoon-like for fishing purposes; others are made with broad blades for hunting; while still others are for use in war. They are all made with the utmost care, as much as one or two days being consumed in the making of but one. Two or three different kinds of wood are always used in constructing a single arrow, one kind being for the spear, or lance part, another kind—heavy palm wood—for the middle staff, and light bamboo wood for the base, and all are spliced and bound together with the greatest nicety by means of long, narrow strips of bark taken from certain climbers, and finally, the weapon is burnished. It is about four feet in length. [461] [824] [284]

The weapons used for fighting at close quarters, which is the method of warfare liked best, are heavy clubs and lances. The clubs are of two kinds—first, shovel-like clubs and round clubs, resembling base-ball bats, varying in length from three to four and a half feet. The lances are nine or ten feet in length, the shaft being of palm wood, and the point, the shin-bone of the spotted *onca*—jaguar—or of a deer. A beautiful, basket-like work of black and white wooden strips is woven, or braided, tightly over the shaft of the spear, and to this is attached tassels of brilliant plumage. The Karayá have spear-throwing sticks, but I understand they are no longer used in war, but for sport only. The contrivance is a long strip of wood so formed that it can be used, sling-like to hurl a spear. In common with all the savage tribes of South America, the weapons, implements, ornaments and ceremonial instruments are all made by the men of the Karayá, while the women make only the household utensils. [726] [824] [837] [531] 462 171

The Karayá housewife, therefore, makes several styles of pots and pans; but pottery has not yet reached a very high degree of perfection with this tribe for the forms are simple and crude. They do not make pots in the form of natural objects as do the tribes of the Xingú river. Utility, and this 323

8:Gow-Smith T-5 (no date)1925
SP9 Caraja SP9

535 [346] These costumes are made and kept guarded in a wigwam at some distance from the village, and at the conclusion of the [411] [531] festivities are destroyed. Covering the entire body as it does, the masquerade completely conceals the identity of the dancer, who must not under any circumstances reveal his identity to the women onlookers.

535 562 [558] Women and children are merely spectators and are never permitted to view the dress except when it encases the form of the dancer. The women of the tribe apparently cherish a profound respect for

FIG. 43.—A personator in the Fish Dance.

9:Gow-Smith T-5 (no date) 1925
SP9 Caraja SP9
Cayapo SP11

Co 301 237 Co 292 237 [824]

plume from the South American ostrich (fig. 96). One especially striking piece of headgear is a Cayapó cap fashioned of a network of pliable grass, vaguely reminiscent of a woman's hairnet (fig. 97). It has a shock of small yellow quills fastened to the center of the crown and surrounded

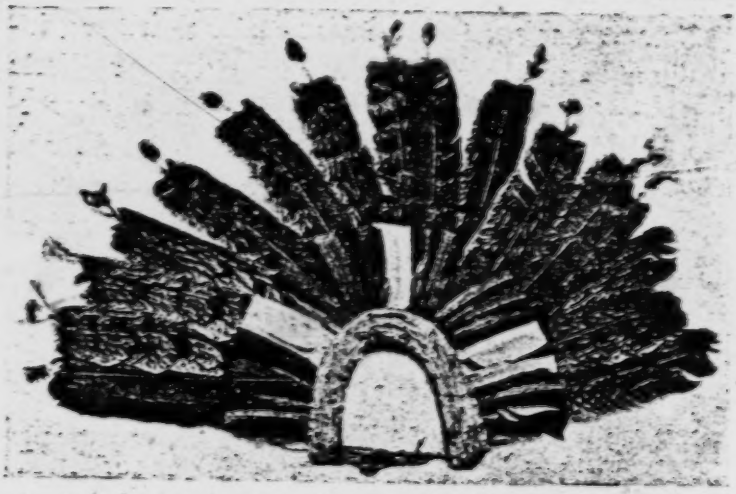

FIG. 95.—Cayapó head-dress

by several rows of small red feathers grouped together to form flowers, with small knots of grass for centers.

C 411

Picturesque and very effective are the seven- and eight-foot spears with which the Caraja go on the warpath (fig. 98). The spear-heads are made of the thigh-bone of the jaguar, and pointed;

C [237]

[text continues on p. 222]

9:Gow-Smith T-5 (no date) 1925
SP9 Caraja SP9
Cayapo SP11

C 411 237 C 411 531

a cluster of feathers hanging below the point guides the spear unerringly when flung at its victim. The spear-shafts are beautifully decorated with a covering of black and white cane-work woven in intricate designs. No two of these woven handles are of the same pattern, but they all represent the various markings of snakes.

Co [292] [237] C Co 411 C Co [824] [283]

FIG. 97.—Cayapó head-dress

The bow and arrow are a favorite weapon with both the Cayapó and the Caraja. The bows, six feet long, are stoutly made of palm-wood, and are strung with the strong hand-spun cord of wild cotton, with the ends cunningly wrapped to the bow so that the string can be lengthened or mended according to the hunter's needs. Arrows are of wide variety and are used for many purposes, but all of them have long bamboo shafts

C Co [824]

9:Gow-Smith T-5 (no date) 1925
SP9 Caraja SP9
Cayapo SP11

C Co 411 237 284 283 skilfully feathered at the end. The arrowheads are fastened to eighteen-inch foreshafts of hard-wood C [264] [531] [411] [501] tipped with bone, fitted in three- to four-foot bamboo shafts and bound in place with the strong cord that the native women spin from wild cotton. C Co [314] The binding is firmly cemented with a kind of resin. C Co 411 224 [223] Long needle-like arrows tipped with hard-wood are for shooting birds; the sharp bamboo tips curved hollowly are for deer and jaguars, for they permit the wounded animal

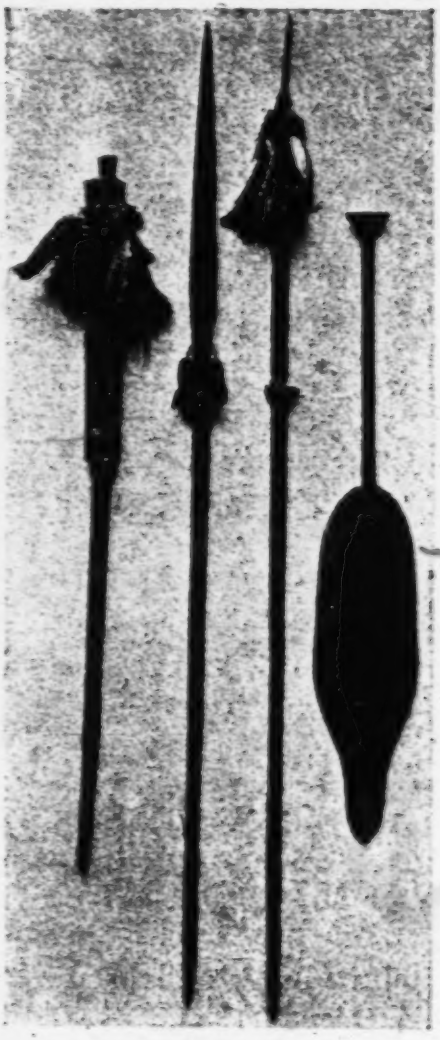

FIG. 98.—Caraja objects (grave-post, two spears, and a paddle)

9:Gow-Smith T-5 (no date) 1925
SP9 Caraja SP9
Cayapo SP11

to bleed freely in order that it will weaken before it can travel far. Barbed arrows are used for killing monkeys and shooting fish. The tail of the sting-ray is also used for tipping arrows.

FIG. 99.—Cayapó rattle

Formidable objects are the clubs that the Caraja tribesmen use to kill captives, as well as members of their own tribe who have broken taboo or who are too old to make the periodic migrations. These clubs vaguely resemble a baseball bat, except that they are heavier and a trifle thicker at the end. They are made of hard-wood, the long handle decorated with a beautiful covering of black and white woven canework in designs similar to those of the spears, and the heavy end is stained a sinister red with the juice of the urucú-berry and the blood of its victim.

The Cayapó clubs are of the same heavy wood,

1. Steinen--168 D,E-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Bacairi

Suya SP21
Yuruna SQ26
Caraja SP9

C
411

V
501

S
412

S
412

S
252
412

11

14

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8

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/See caption on following page./

1: Steinen--169 D,E-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Bacairi
Caraja SP9
Yuruna SQ26
Suya SP21

C
411
Y
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S
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412

/From Ethnological Pl. II: 8, Suyá stone ax; 9, Suyá bone knife; 10, Suyá beijú turner; 11, Yuruna oar; 14, Karajá club./

1:Lipkind E-5 (1937) 1948 SP9 Caraja SP9

Basketry.—The *Carajá* excel in the variety and solidity of their plaitwork, which includes burden baskets, strainers, shoulder bags, bottles, elliptical feather cases, and boat-shaped containers for suspension. Twilling and twining are the dominant techniques (pl. 22). 285

Textiles.—The *Carajá* produce some taffetalike fabrics, but in 1775 Pinto da Fonseca found them using cotton solely for fish nets and bowstrings, so that he himself introduced a loom and taught the women how to work it. 286 177

Featherwork.—In contrast to their *Ge* neighbors of Eastern Brazil, the *Carajá* are outstanding for featherwork. They make wide-meshed and close-meshed caps with feathers tied to the intersection of the interlaced splints and arranged into rosettes, diadems of feathers stuck into radially mounted cane tubes, and other types of ornaments (pl. 21). 287

Axes.—Stone axes figure in old *Carajá* petroglyphs and have been found by many travelers in the area. They were used for adzing, chopping, and warfare, and as chief's badges. Iron axes have rapidly replaced them. 412 172

301 412 531

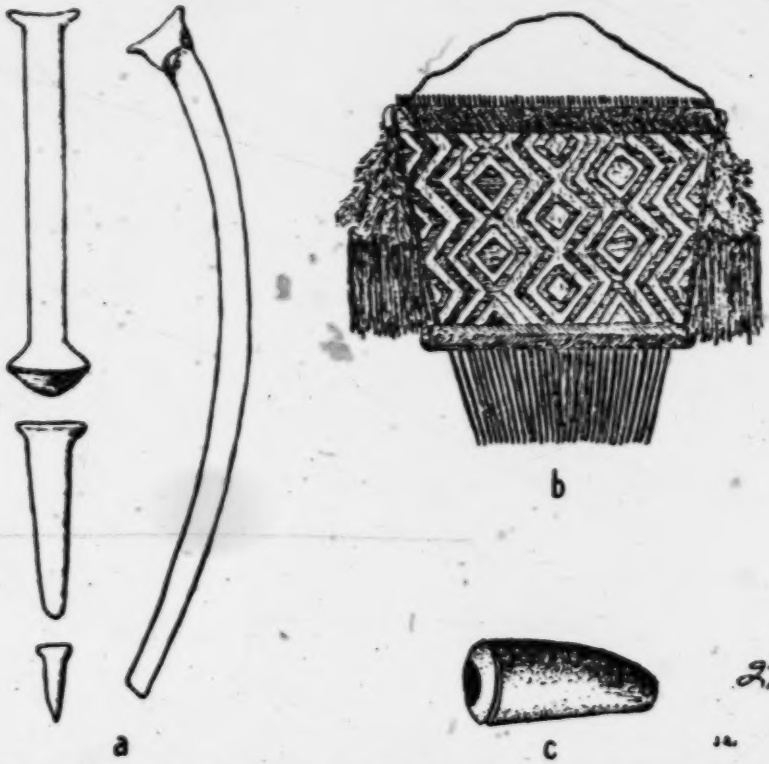

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FIGURE 21.—*Carajá* manufactures. *a*, Labrets; *b*, comb; *c*, pipe. (Approximately ½ actual size.) (Redrawn from Ehrenreich, 1891 b, figs. 2, 9, and 4.)

/24 cont./ Found in plaiting, on combs (Fig. 184a) /see p.53 /), crotchet needles, arrow (Fig. 184b /see p. 53 /), bow, carved on the signal horn (Fig. 184c$_{1,2}$ /see p.53 /; c$_2$ represents a rubbing from the carved end). It is probably derived from the simple basket plaiting pattern as the center part of the basket in Fig. 184d /see p. 53/ shows. Fig. 184e /see p.53 / represents the artistic reproduction. Perhaps the lance pattern in Fig. 184f /see p.53 / is a further development of it. /Plates I-XI appear here./

531 285 534 112

/25/ 2. Vertical zigzag line (according to Ehrenreich, "Beiträge," Fig. 11c, the rattlesnake). Only found plaited on combs, lances, clubs, and rattle handles (Fig. 185 a and b /see p. 54 /). Further developments are to be found in the lance plaiting (Fig. 185c /see p. 54/) and the comb plaiting (Fig. 185d /see p. 54 /). It probably arose from the basket plaiting pattern, as the edge strips of the basket in Fig. 184d.

3. A pattern of unknown meaning present on a lance plaiting (Fig. 186a /see p. 54 /). The negative of it is similar to the sketchbook pattern (Fig. 186b /see p. 54 /) called dogfish (lǎdä), the developments of which are reproduced in Fig. 186 c and d /see p. 54/.

4. Patterns of unknown meaning, occurring as plaiting patterns on combs (Fig. 187 a$_{1,2}$ /see p. 54 /) (1), lances,

1. On combs both sides are almost always reproduced (marked 1 and 2).

club-sticks (Fig. 187b /see p. 54 /), crotchet-needle handles; as carving patterns on gourd rattles and whole gourds (Fig. 187c /see p. 54 /).

5. This pattern is perhaps a development of the previous one, produced by the side attachment of hooks to the ends of the bars (Fig. 188 /see p.54 /).

6. The urubu pattern (lälädjä). It occurs plaited on a club-stick (Fig. 189a /see p. 55 /) and on a drawing (Fig. 189b /see p.55 /). This representation goes back to the way /Fig. 206 appears here/ in which the urubu customarily sits on the sand

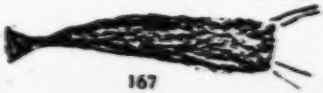
[see p. 58 -- Analyst]

[Text continues on p. 58]

*532

Plate VII

166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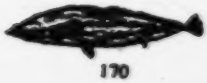
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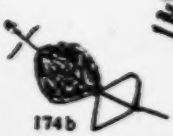
174a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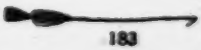
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[412]
→

177

184a

184c2

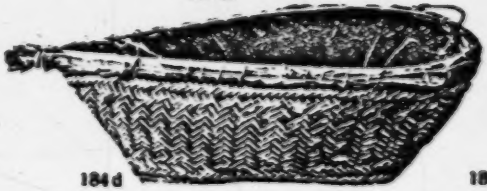
184e

184f

184b

[534]
→

184c1


184d

/10 cont./

302 The bristly or wavy black hair of both sexes is cut off straight above the eyebrows and hangs down in back over the neck. Dandies [301] wear a part about three centimeters wide up to the crown /Fig. 1 appears here/, let the short crown-hair stick up like a brush, and with cotton strings tie the part hanging down in back into a braid, at the roots of which the men sometimes tie a decoration of blue arara or black mutum /curassow/ feathers (ušiktamaru).

301 In the pierced ear-lobes both sexes wear sticks of cane 15-20 [304] centimeters long for everyday.

The plug in the lower lip (anʔõõ) is used only by the men. It [824] consists of the light, flaky wood of the piuva tree and is either cut obliquely with a short point or runs out into a long, thin lamina hanging down on the chest (Fig. 2, b /see p. 18 /).

Boys primarily wear, instead of this, small T-shaped pieces of shell (idžã) (Fig. 2, d /see p. 18 /).

The most precious lip ornament, which is worn only on festive occasions, but otherwise is kept carefully wrapped in cotton, is a long, heavy, stone plug (manuterẽ) of hyaline or rose-colored quartz, the T-shaped end of which is stuck through the lower lip while the conical button hangs down (Fig. 2, a /see p. 18 /). Of the four specimens in the collection the largest is 17.5 centimeters long.

301 These lip stones, of which only a few have reached 439 European collections, are not made by the Karaya themselves, but are bartered from the Tapirapé, the Tupi people on the like- [135] named left tributary of the Araguaia. The mountain chains of the left riverbank, such as the Serra dos Cayapos, are rich in this material. A Kayapo stone plug acquired in S. Maria is shorter and runs out to a tapered, blunt end (Fig. 2, c /see p. 18 /).

304 Tattooing is limited to the tribal badge which both sexes 619 wear on their cheeks: a blue ring 10-15 millimeters in diameter (auʔamanurẽ) just under the lower edge of the orbit.

515 On the whole the Karaya are distinguished by scrupulous care of the body. They bathe several times a day. Their hair is 302 always carefully combed. All the hair on the face and body is [412] plucked out. Shears are now commonly used for hair cutting, [237] whereas formerly piranha teeth were used for this.

/16 cont./

372 Naturally the Karaya try to maintain the fire as long as possible and make a new one only when necessary. On longer boat trips glowing pieces of wood are always taken along on a bed of sand.

252 Meat and fish are roasted on a spit over a hot fire or laid directly on glowing coals until the uppermost layer, or the skin, is completely charred. The ashy parts of the latter, in combination with the reserved juice, make the use of salt unnecessary to a certain degree. Only the Karayahi have begun to become [BK3] accustomed to European salt. Salty soils, such as are found [3M] in the campos at the so-called barreiros /clay pits/, as well as the ash of various woods, must serve as substitutes. Fish are probably also boiled.

Corn on the cob, aipim roots, sweet potatoes, and some palm fruits are likewise roasted over the fire.

The preparation of manioc is much more primitive than among the Xingu and Amazon tribes. The roots, provided with [412] deep cuts, are put in water for several days for maceration, then freed of the skins with knives or sharp shells, and pulverized on the grating board (ãranã), a biconvex board about three centimeters thick, with several rows of short buriti thorns in the middle (Pl. VIII /see p. 110/, 4).

The pulverized mass is pressed with the hands, probably [415] also with the aid of stones, to remove completely the poisonous juice, the largest part of which has already been taken out by the maceration, and then, washed and drained in peculiar little baskets (uãriri, see p. 41) plaited out of flexible cipos, dried in the air. By drying it in shallow pots one thus obtains the "water flour" (farinha d'agua) also generally widespread on the Amazon. Because of fermentation during the maceration, it has a slightly sour flavor, but can be kept much longer than the "farinha secca" /dry flour/ of trade, made out of the fresh root. This type of preparation, however, does not seem to be the original one practiced by them. More often, in accordance with an old national custom, the dried mass (puva, beerõ) is baked in large loaf-like lumps after several washings. Finally, small flat

/16 cont./

252 cakes (beijus, ibrã-ʒeko), likewise roasted in pots, are made from the freshly treated root.

273 In combination with maize, manioc flour is also used to make their most popular beverage, uierõ. Pounded maize is poured into the boiling manioc and stirred well. /17/ When it is sufficiently soft, the mixture is allowed to cool. Then the settlings are chewed by the women in true Indian fashion, whereby the whole thing turns sour and ferments after standing for several days. A sourish beverage something like water gruel is produced, to which honey or sugar-cane juice is sometimes added. The effect is slightly intoxicating.

415 412 [239] The kitchen utensils are simple, but nevertheless somewhat more complete than, say, among the Xingu tribes. Besides earthen pots and gourd containers, as well as mussel shells of the Anodonta and Hyria avicularis serving as spoons, there are already real spoons made of wood or clay (cf. Fig. 5 /see p. 38 / and Fig. 14 /see p. 51 /).

264 Etiquette demands that everyone eat by himself, turned away from the others. Anyone who transgresses must endure the ridicule of the others.

Tools and Implements. Industry and Skill.

177 The industrial activity of the Karaya no longer presents a wholly unclouded picture inasmuch as the original tools have been supplanted more and more by imported ones.

412 172 No details are known about the form and material of their old stone axes. Among the petroglyphs of Martirios Island, however, which undoubtedly are to be ascribed to the ancient Karaya, one sees human figures depicted with stone axes in their hands (see p. 94). The same form is exhibited by a stone ax of unknown origin in the Trocadero Museum in Paris, the handle of which is wrapped with the plaiting in zigzag and cross patterns characteristic of Karaya work. Possibly the piece came from the Castelnau expedition.

/17 cont./

412 237 Today the primitive tools are limited to those which Nature provides for specific purposes, such as scraping knives of mussel shells, chisel-shaped implements made of rodent teeth, flat stones for pounding bast cloth, the coarse bony tongue of the pirarucú as a rasp, etc.

178 Despite widespread use of foreign tools, the industry of this people has completely retained its national character. Fortunately, among the Karaya, there is still no question of any decline in it such as almost always sets in as a consequence of the introduction of European products, as is well known. Fitness, beauty of form, and care in execution are still characteristic of their work.

501 Canoe construction is on a rather high level, although the method of production is relatively simple. The boats (auñõ) are long narrow dugouts with the front and back parts extending equally far and somewhat sloping at the tips. Given the many shallows of the river this form is the most efficient, since it facilitates the landing and launching of the vessel (Pl. IV /see p. 106 /, 2).

396 824 The material is the straightest possible trunk of the ipiuba (Tecoma sp.) or jatoba (Hymenaea sp.). Since the forward part is from the lower, the back part from the upper section of the trunk, the canoes are usually somewhat broader in the front than in the back. The hollowing is done with an ax and aided by fire. Since the cavity of the boat is not artificially widened by special manipulations such as Im Thurn describes (op. cit., p. 293), but rather the original diameter of the trunk also determines that of the boat, the canoes are usually disproportionately narrow in proportion to their length and tip over easily. They
501 are smoothed over inside and outside with great care. Arrangements for sitting are not present. There are set in on the other hand, rows of short crossbars, which, fixed a few inches above the bottom, protect any cargo from getting wet.

The oars (nahere, Pl. VIII /see p. 110/, 1-3) are of excellent workmanship. They are 1 1/3 to 1 1/2 meters long, half of which is taken up by the handle provided with a cross-grip. The blade is straight, leaf-shaped, 15-20 centimeters wide, and runs out at the bottom into a lancet-shaped, offset tip. Elegant

/24 cont./

535 often bear rattles of Thevetia pods. Other belts are entirely made up of the latter (Pl. X /see p. 112/, 8-10).

Around the knee or ankle joints the dancer places bands from which strands ending in rattles and tufts of feathers hang down. They are held apart by a horizontal wooden stick and are sometimes covered with a thick layer of white down feathers (Pl. X, 4).

412 531

301 237 439

Fig. 9. Comb (1/4).

Necklaces in their original form are no longer seen. Pierced animal teeth and stones, shell disks, etc. have long been supplanted by glass beads imported in great quantities. The white and black beads of the cheap "rosaries" widespread everywhere

415 531

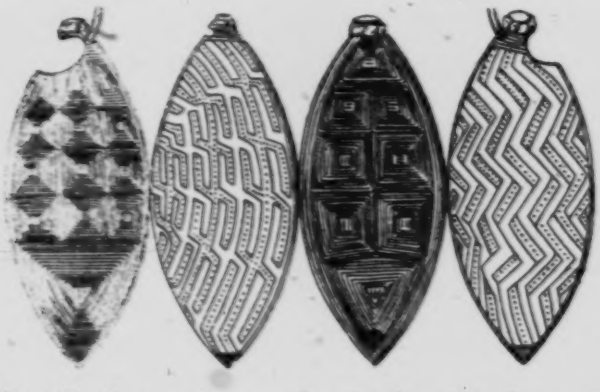


Fig. 10. Decorations on the gourd vessel of Pl. VIII /see p. /, 7 (1/4).

301 in Goyaz are the most prized, but they are strung in a manner corresponding to the national taste. A whole series of short strings goes around the neck as tightly as possible (cf. Pl. II /see p. 104/, 2; III /see p. 105/, 1). From the lowermost hangs a number of small chains which have small fruit shells or tufts of feathers at the ends.

/24 cont./

412 Combs (ʒɛhŏ), the only toilet articles, but much used, are made in the most varied sizes. The largest specimen in the collection is 18 centimeters wide and 17 centimeters long. There are pieces twice as large, however. A converging row of sharp palm wood or /Fig. 10 appears here/ taquara splints are held together by two pairs of parallel cross-sticks. A plaiting of black or white cotton threads in various patterns drawn through the space between the latter serves for stability. Sometimes small feather tassels hang from the two upper corners (Fig. 9 /see p. 47/).

534 Musical instruments are represented in the collection only by a trumpet (adžuranĕ) (Plate X /see p. 112/, 7). It is a large gourd bowl with openings at both ends. A taquara reed with a slit at the side is stuck in one as a mouthpiece.

Furthermore, simple Pan flutes of taquara are in use.

531 Artistic activity. The ornamentation of the Karaya consists
532 of patterns in zigzag lines, crosses, dots, lozenges, and peculiar interrupted meanders, while rectangles and triangles appear only accidentally (e.g., through filling in other figures), and circles are completely lacking (Fig. 10 / see p. 47/).

/25/ As in the ornamentation of the Xingu tribes, here, too, the basis for these apparently completely arbitrarily chosen geometric combinations are quite definite, concrete models whose most typical characteristics are reproduced in them in a stylized manner.

/25 cont./

532 The Karaya also proved themselves rather helpless in drawing with a pencil. In the foot depicted in Fig. 12a /see p. 49/ everyone will see instead an arm with outstretched hand.

[823] The topographical sketch of the Araguaia with its bends and islands shows greater talent and true understanding (Fig. 12b /see p. 49/).

532 352 Unfortunately the collection possesses only a few specimens of wood carvings. The handsomest of the sledge-like stools (koriša) in stylized animal shape could not be obtained. The specimen from the Šambioa, however, is of excellent workmanship (Fig. 13 /see p. 51/).

The two heads into which the elegantly curved seat runs were originally supplied with mother-of-pearl eyes.

532 [412] The wooden spoons (katarǎ), too, otherwise appearing only very sporadically in South America, are noteworthy. The handle end of the larger specimen ends in an easily recognizable toucan head (Fig. 14 /see p. 51/).

/26/ The most outstanding artistic achievement of the Karaya is the plastic reproduction of human forms in wax and unfired clay. Small figures (likokŏ, children's dolls?) are offered to travelers in large quantities. Their execution shows, despite the somewhat stereotyped manner of production, a high degree of ingenuous sense of form and excellent observation of nature. /Fig. 13 appears here./

The most successful pieces, in their proper depiction of body forms, are equal to the best works of the peoples of the ancient American civilizations and surpass anything which other savage tribes, with the exception of the Northwest Americans and the Eskimo, have achieved in this respect. Although there is an inclination to give the lower extremities an unnatural thickness, there is nothing really grotesque.

The collection numbers 52 specimens which in their different types demonstrate extremely well the gradual perfecting of this primitive artistic activity.

The simplest figures make rather large demands on the imagination. The Indian imitates in them only what seems most

/26 cont./

532 essential to him, namely, mouth opening and navel. They are simply spindle-shaped clay forms widened only in the lower section and having holes, the upper one representing the mouth and the lower one the navel (Pl. XI /see p. 113/, 1). Parallel cuts go out longitudinally from each hole. A somewhat more

[352]

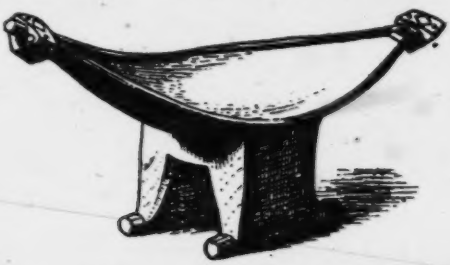


Fig. 13. Stool in animal form (ca. 1/8).

complete form already shows the thorax clearly. In male figures the arms are indicated as stumps, as are the genitals, and in female figures, the breasts. The lower extremities are only nodular swellings. On the face only the mouth is indicated.

[412]

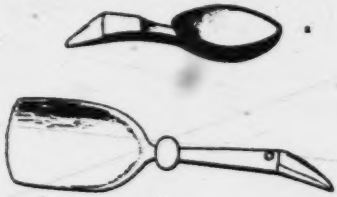


Fig. 14. Carved wooden spoons (a 1/4, b 1/8).

The female figures, however, wear the national apron (Pl. XI /see p. 113/, 2 and 3).

A further advance consists of putting on black wax to represent the hair. The face is already clearly recognizable. Tribal tattooing and body painting are imitated (Pl. XI, 4 and 5). The legs still appear as stumps. Probably the kneeling position is supposed to be expressed in them. The largest of the figures

[Plate VI. Karaya. (Cont'd.)]

/78 cont./

411 2, 3. Arrows with palm-wood knives (1/6).

4. Arrow with bird-bone tip (1/6).

5. Bird-arrow with blunt, knob-shaped tip (1/6).

6. Throwing board (1/6).

7. Arrow thrown by it, with blunt wooden tip (1/6).

8. War arrow with ray-spine tip (1/6).

9. War arrow with taquara-cane knife(1/6).

[531] 10. Lance with shaft-plaiting (1/9).

11. Flat club of the Šambioa chief Ambura (from the collection of Leite Moraes (1/9).

12. Plaiting pattern of the latter (2/3).

13. Grooved, round club of Ambura (1/9).

/79/

286 291 301 Pl. VII. Karaya. Cotton Work.

1. Large black and white striped sleeping-mat or cape (1/8).

2. Fringed hangings of twisted cotton thread to be worn hanging down from the neck over the chest and back. Dyed with urucú red (1/8).

3, 4. Black, closely woven body-belts for small children (1/8).

5. Black tassels with pierced snail shells tied on in pairs with plaited cords taken doubled. Worn by small children around the neck (1/6).

6. Knee band of unmarried persons (1/8).

7. Black, closely woven forehead-band with rectangular mother-of-pearl disks sewed on (1/8).

8. A pair of tightly knitted, red, lower-arm cuffs, mark of the unmarried state (1/6).

501 531 •412 415 Pl. VIII. Karaya. Oars, Gourds, Plaited Work.

1-3. Oars with fish patterns (1/9).

4. Cassava grater (1/9).

5. Small tobacco pouch (1/8).

4. Ehrenreich--110 E-5 (1888) 1891 SP9 Caraja SP9

Plate VIII

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[412]

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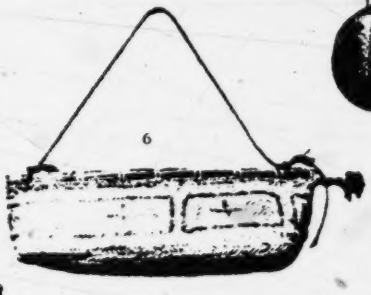

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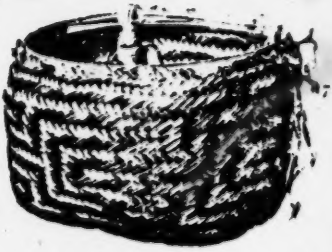
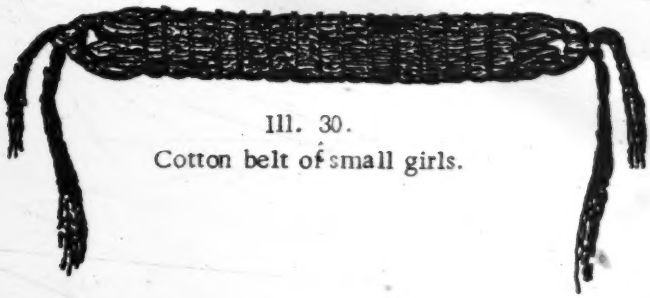


/205 cont./

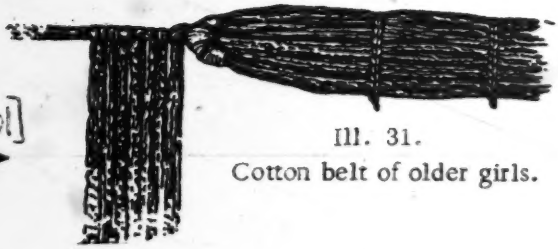
291 It consists of a red cotton string one to two meters long and
[283] from 0.2-0.3 centimeters wide, which is either twisted out of two threads or plaited with four edges.

Whether it was connected in any way with the penis cord in former times could no longer be determined. From a second name for it, nŏhŏmŏdĭ (from nŏŏ = penis), one might perhaps
[114] conclude this. In any case, Königswald's statement (Globus, Vol. 94, p. 223) that it serves as a penis support is not conclusive.



Ill. 30.
Cotton belt of small girls.

[301]



Ill. 31.
Cotton belt of older girls.

Ill. 32.
Youth with bast band. Drawn from a photograph.

On the other hand, it sometimes serves for fastening small
[412] implements to it. Knives are commonly stuck through it at the back; one man shoved a piece of tobacco given to him, out of lack of a pocket, simply under the hip cord at the small of his back.

/210 cont./

302 Men sometimes wear the bowl cut, but usually they have the same hair style as the youths, except that they do not tie their hair, but let it hang freely. Among them, too, the wreath of hair can still be seen under the long hair. In later years no value is any longer attached to the parting and the crown tuft (Pl. 17; Pl. 36, Ill. 1; Pl. 43, Ill. 3).

Ill. 38.
Youth with tuft feather-cluster and hair wreath.

The parting (lāwōlŭ), which both sexes wear from puberty on, is achieved through the plucking out of the individual hairs. In the [184] south horde it is narrow, so that at first I did not even notice it; in the north horde, on the other hand, it is about two fingers wide. Young people almost always paint it with red color, whereas older ones do not wear this ornamentation. The crown tuft always goes with it.

The hair wreath is restricted to the male sex from boyhood on; women do not have it.

[412] [237] The cutting of the hair is now done with shears. According to Ehrenreich, they formerly cut it with piranha teeth. To my questions as to how they cut their hair before they had shears, they always told me that in those days they did not cut it, because they did not have any shears. Thus, the former custom has completely vanished from their memory. The hair that was cut off was thrown away, as I myself observed. The purpose of the long hair, they say, is for protection against mosquitoes.

[765] /211/ For mourning they are said to cut off the hair, and the women, too, are said to cut themselves a hair wreath called nākulau (?). I did not observe this custom, however, in Kabiŭá's family, which was in deep mourning.

The hair is very carefully tended. In the morning and evening it is combed out and oiled. Before they start on a journey, when they return to the village from hunting, fishing, or from the plantings, their hair is combed out for them by the mother, wife, or another female relative. When they arrive in a strange village on a visit, the chief's wife combs and oils their hair.

/211 cont./

visit, the chief's wife combs and oils their hair.

412 303 The combs (zĩhõ) consist of flat, sharpened splinters of palm wood, more rarely of taquara, which, with the flat sides laid on one another, are held together by two pairs of little sticks, one of which is fastened at the upper edge and the other at one-third of the height from the points. These splinters are interlaced with cotton threads in patterns. On either side two or three splinters project a bit above the upper edge. These extensions often bear bunches of feathers or red-colored cotton tassels and are usually connected with one another by a suspension thread. On the outer

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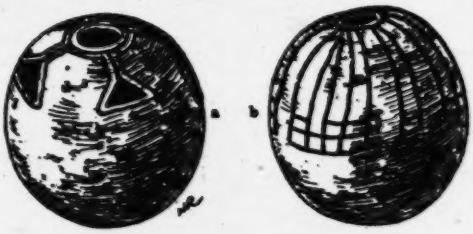

Ill. 39 a, b.
Gourd vessels for hair oil.

412 303 side of these lateral splinters, between the two cross-sticks, several intersecting threads are often stretched. The combs are always one-sided; only in the village on the Tapirapé mouth did I acquire a double-sided comb (Pl. 21, Ill. 1e). The shapes of the combs may be traced back to three basic types: a simple rectangular comb, wide combs with small curved lateral rods and converging teeth, and finally trapeze-shaped combs (Pl. 21, Ill. 1 a-d).

303 824 415 531 The hair oil (tãlĩ) is made from the seeds of palm fruits. The fruits of the coceiro (ãhãdẽtẽ), as well as of the tucum palm (hãlũ), were mentioned. The oil is stored in special whole gourd-vessels (tãlĩlũkũ), which are usually decorated with large designs made by peeling off the upper layer of the gourd rind (Ill. 39 a, b). Tufts of raw cotton are tossed into these oil-filled gourd vessels and now become saturated with oil. They

/226 cont./

*301 c) Arm and leg ornaments of red-colored cotton. These ornaments, consisting of arm cuffs and calf and ankle bands and worn by both sexes, are the insignia of the unmarried and are therefore worn from earliest youth until marriage and then again by widowed persons.

*301 286 The arm cuff (dẽsi) is crocheted out of cotton with the crochet hook as a long cylinder the thickened edges of which are bent outward like a rim (Pl. 45, Ill. 3; see on Pl. 16, 18; 44, Ill. 2). The upper opening is wider than the lower one. They are made by the women, and, to be sure, are crocheted over a club or a manioc pounder (according to Ehrenreich, also over a [386] special wooden cone not observed by me anywhere). When the cuffs are finished, they are colored red with urucú oil-color. *301 They may be put on and taken off; they are laid aside especially for heavy work. On the whole, they are not worn constantly, but ●[412] most of the time. Young men sometimes insert their knives into them from behind, so that the blade sticks out toward the elbow. If they become too tight, they are removed and new ones are made. They are ultimately removed only at marriage. There [554] is a possibility, however, that they may be put on again later, and, to be sure, in three instances: first, widowed persons wear them again; then, men may wear them again if their wives are satisfied with them and put them on for them; and, finally, the best wrestler may wear them again.

[286] Ankle bands (wãlãũ) and calf bands (dẽõbutã̃) are likewise crocheted out of cotton and colored red. These are narrow bands with thickened edges, which are crocheted together in front. At this closing place a long tassel of thread hangs down from both edges (Pl. 45, Ill. 4 a, b; see also Pl. 15, Ill. 1; 16; 38, Ill. 1, 43, Ill. 1). The tassels of the calf bands are often tied together in back for long marches or rapid sprints, in order not to impede the movement of the wearer (Pl. 44, Ill. 2). On the calf bands bast bindings are sometimes also tied (perhaps a sign of mourning?).

/242 cont./

24 [821] The time for laying out the planting is approximately September to October; it is called bõlähũã (1). It is regulated by

1. = Southern Cross?

the Pleiades (bõlõbědõ = parakeets): if it is low, manioc is planted; if it is somewhat higher, maize is planted. Cotton, batatas, and urucú are not planted until much rain falls, in other words, about November and December. These statements of the Indians coincide with the fact that I often found them absent from the village in October; they were sometimes days distant, in order to lay out the planting. Tall columns of smoke indicated in which direction they were doing this. The planting is usually laid out at a great distance from the village, on flood-safe high banks. As far as possible, the Indians ride there in a boat, but then they often still have long land marches to overcome before [311] they reach the planting. Recently they have begun laying out their plantings in the interior of Bananal Island, because the [361] harvests are supposed to be very good there. One chief, Korumaré, has already moved permanently to the inland river of Bananal. On the ninth of October I did not meet Chief Fotuna in his village; he had traveled two days inland to Bananal in order to prepare a new planting there. Apparently other villages were also considering the plan to betake themselves into the interior of Bananal later on.

The plantings are laid out by the married men, but the male youth seems to help. The underbrush is cut down; the tall forest [412] trees are stripped of their branches and then felled, which was formerly done with stone axes, but is now done with iron axes. [313] Larger timber is brought to the village as firewood, /243/ and the rest is burned as soon as it is dry. Then, between the fallen trees, small, low round beds are laid out, in which are planted three manioc stalks, set in a triangle with their twigs interlaced at the top (Ill. 12). For digging, heaping up the beds, and cutting in the holes for the plants a spade-like implement (mãũlẽ or ĭdjõlõ) is used. It consists of a thick stick that is pointed at one end and at the other runs out into a shovel (Ill. 83). The shovel serves to lift

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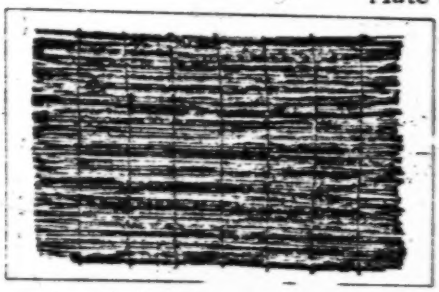
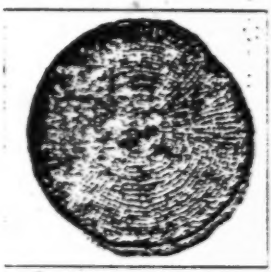
Plate 55



1. Rod sieve.

2. Sieve basket.



3. Sieve plate.

4. Modern sieve.

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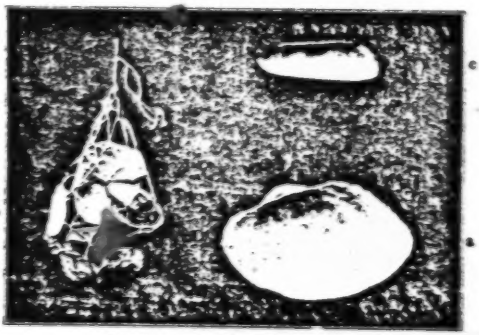
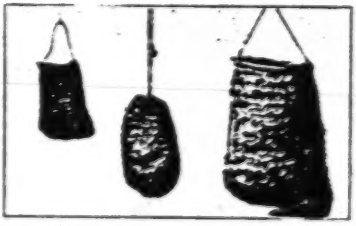


5. Shell spoons.

415

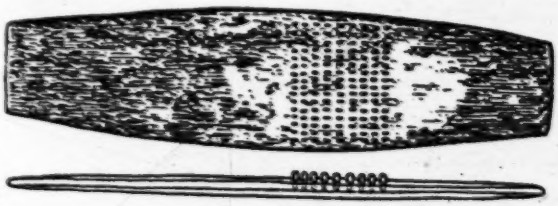


6. Tobacco pouches.

/253 cont./

252 follows: The root, provided with incisions, /254/ is placed in
[412] water for several days, then scraped with a sharpened mussel shell,
[237] and after that grated on the wooden grater [(k)ʊ̃lãnã̆]. The longish, rectangular, flat piece of wood bears in the center of one side several transverse rows of inset points of prejauva wood

[412]



Ill. 92.
Manioc grater.

[516] (Ill. 92). The woman kneels while grating and holds the piece of wood against her body and braced against the ground. The well-known palates of the pirarucú
[237] fish also serve as graters. After that the mass is mixed
[415] with water and placed on the rod-sieve [bũlẽĭdjú, pronounced: brẽ(ĭ)djẽ̆]. This consists of thin little cane rods arranged side by side, which at rather wide intervals are interwoven with two strings, in the same way as the net coverings (Plate 55, Ill. 1). Such rod-

[412]

Ill. 93.
Stirring spoon.

sieves serve, for one thing, as sieves for pounded manioc and for potter's clay, and then, too, as a manioc press, and finally as a base in pottery-making. On such sieves, therefore, the mass of manioc is cleaned, large pieces are picked out, and the sieve, along with the mass, is then rolled up and at the same time pressed hard with the hands, so that the poisonous juice flows out.
[262] The resulting coarse flour (kẽnõdẽ̆) is cooked to a manioc mush, the common food of the Indians. The sweet manioc (aipim) is
[412] treated somewhat differently. It is cut up and crumbled and then
[412] pounded with the thick wooden pestle approximately one and a half meters long (hãõ̆) in the mortar about 50 centimeters high and 26

/254 cont./

252 415 [412] centimeters wide (kõwõ), which is worked from a tree trunk with a wall three centimeters thick (Plate 40, Ill. 3). This pounded mass is placed on a sieve resting on a bowl or a pot. As such sieves, dome-shaped or hemispherical basket-sieves (wälilisi) plaited of stout wickerwork are sometimes used, or flat, round sieve-plates (uitjú ōdãmõdi; Plate 55, Ills. 2, 3). In Schischá, modern wares are already manufactured: sieves with a one-piece wooden edge five centimeters high and fine, patterned bast plaiting, which are made essentially for use by the Brazilians (uitjon(a); Plate 55, Ill. 4). On these sieves impurities are first picked out by hand, then the sieve is taken in the left hand, and, by a rapid beating on it from above with the right hand, the mass is sieved through it. Larger pieces remaining behind go back into the mortar, are again pounded, and then /255/ sieved again. When sufficient flour has been collected, it is put in the large cooking pot, water from a gourd water-container is poured on it, and the pot is put on the fire.

252 [412] For stirring, long flat wooden spoons (hälädäõ) of tarumá wood are used (Ill. 93).

[251] Ehrenreich reports that the Indians dry this flour in flat pots, in other words, make farinha d'agua, which keeps for a long time; that they leach out the dried mass (puva beero; according to my notes, bälò) several times and bake thick loaves out of it; that in small pots they make small roasted flat cakes (beiju: ibre-ʒeko) out of fresh roots. I neither saw nor heard anything about any of this.

Fruits that are still unripe are popularly taken and buried in the sand, where they ripen. Only then are they eaten.

252 263 Of spices only peppers (kāšiwērā: the round-seeded kind) are used. They are grown in the plantings; the pods are pounded and mixed with water, and the roasted fish are dipped in this sauce.

263 [439] Salt (ĩnãtũ, nòtàkànà) is lacking; only in Village 6 did they have bitter salt from the salt mine near São José, which was mixed with red earth and which they had bartered for in São José. Their [261] hunger for salt seems to be extremely great; they are constantly begging for this condiment. But it is strange in this connection

/255 cont./

261 that the women usually refused salted food. Instead, however,
263 they all ate whole handfuls of sand. Charcoal and ashes are also eaten, but all this is supposed to be very constipating. They are also said to make little pellets of clay which are eaten; the eating of them is supposed to cause jaundice.

D. Eating.

264 Eating utensils are very few in number. Roasted things, as well as boiled fish, are eaten with the fingers; mush, etc. are spooned out of the large cooking dish or out of small eating dishes.
415 Halved gourds are used as such and are generally decorated on the outside with carved decorations (Ill. 94). Shallow clay bowls are also customary (Ill. 95). I did not see oval clay bowls with a partition (Berlin 3866) or round and elliptical clay plates (Berlin 3863-3865), as described by Ehrenreich. Only in Schischá were [197] [53] tall clay dishes with a red border decoration made (1), evidently

[13] 1. See also my article on "Die Kunst der Karaja-Indianer /The Art of the Karaja Indians/," in the Bässler-Archiv, Vol. 2, No. 1, 1911.

412 under Brazilian influence (Ill. 96). Mussel shells serve as spoons, and, to be sure, the three types kădālă (Plate 55, Ill. 5a), kădālă liŏlĕ (Ill. 5b), and wălăbōkădālă (Ill. 5c); also small half-gourds ĭlă liŏlĕ, kăĭsŏ, ŭālĭ, which are generally decorated with pyrography and exhibit various shapes (Ills. 97, 98). I did not come across anywhere the spoons (katarā) of wood (Berlin 3934, 35) and clay (Berlin 3870) mentioned by Ehrenreich.

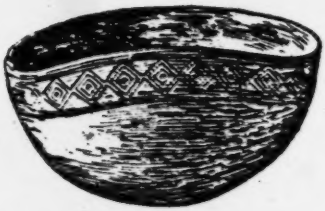
/256/ To crack open the roasted palm nuts striking stones are used. Rather heavy blows are required to split the shells of the nuts. Flat stones serve as a base; as beaters, fist-sized round ones of quartz, ground conical stones, or old stone axes. All these stones come from the regions north of the Tapirapé mouth. For all striking stones the name mānă (stone) was given. Ill. 99 a-c

/256 cont./

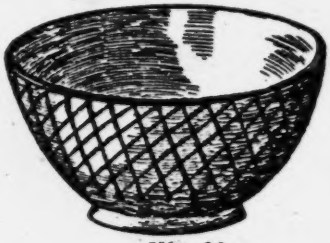
412 shows a pointed cone-shaped striking stone with hollowed-out striking place and with flat base; Ills. 100-102 show three stone axes, namely, a long flat-ax, a short flat-ax, and an ax with a shaft groove running around it, whose blade is already heavily worn as a result of the pounding.

415 [53] [199]

Ill. 94.

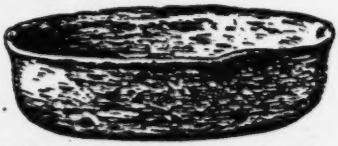


Gourd vessel for eating.



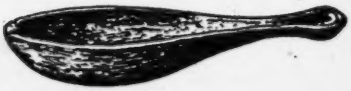
Ill. 96.
Modern eating dish.

Ill. 95.



412

Shallow eating dish made of clay.



Ill. 97.
Gourd spoon.

Ill. 98.
Gourd spoon.

Ill. 99 a-c.
a) Striking stone, b) its striking surface, c) base.

264 There are two meals, breakfast (andoldoho) at about eight or nine
/257/ o'clock, and supper (lirosik) at about five or six o'clock. In between,
[262] however, this and that is munched, fruits, nuts, etc.; at noon they like to eat grilled piranhas (fish jacuba: djūdĕā). The menu consists mostly of boiled manioc mush and fish. Much is eaten, but the people do not

/257 cont./ Much is eaten, but the people do not become fat. While eating, they squat around the pot and spoon out their mush. I could not see that they ate turned away from one another, as Ehrenreich and Königswald state, but the women are usually ashamed to eat in the presence of strangers; and the Indians whom I had with me as companions did not eat my cooking when they came to a strange village 264 [261] [609]

Ill. 100.
Flat ax.

Ill. 101.
Short flat-ax.

Ill. 102.
Stone ax with shaft groove.

412

with me, but went hungry the whole time, if in the village they did not have relatives who gave them something to eat. And they did not work during the stay in the village. They were ashamed, as they expressed it. 264

E. Beverages.

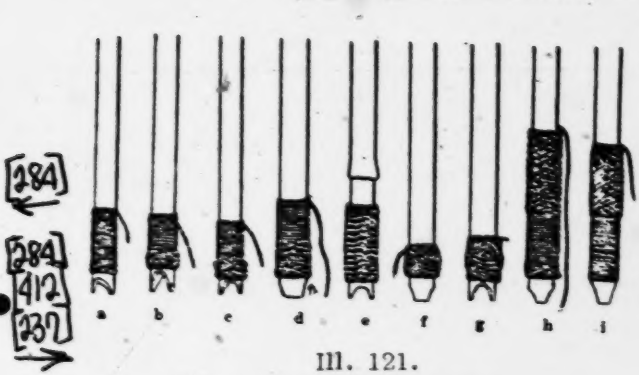
In drinking, the Indian is, understandably, very moderate; water serves as the ordinary beverage. Yet they also know how to prepare other drinks, which, however, are usually not intoxicating. 272 [271]

Buriti fruits (ãdehõ) are pounded and mixed with water; the liquid is allowed to settle, the clear liquid is ladled into a tall pot, boiled, allowed to cool, and then drunk. The liquid is said to be dark red and very sweet, but not intoxicating. On festive days large quantities of it are said to be consumed. [824]

Pikí fruits are boiled, crushed, and, stirred with water, put into a pot. The liquid is left standing overnight and is drunk cold the next morning. The pits are dried and eaten later. [824] [262]

/270 cont./

411 goes back to the lively interchange between the two peoples.
283 The winding consists of parallel circuits; only the uppermost layers show deviations through a crossing of the threads (Ill. 120 a-i). According to Kuriŭ, four cross-threads are supposed to be characteristic for the Karajá, two cross-threads for the Tapirapé. I did not find this remark confirmed; rather, there was a positively magnificent wealth of the most diverse crossings. The arrows with the two cross-threads (Ill. 121b) and the differently executed notch windings in Ill. 121 h, i, however, were present in the village on the Tapirapé mouth.



Ill. 121.
Notch winding of the arrows.

Ill. 122.
Club groover.

Apparently these windings are the insignia of the makers of the arrows; for upon being questioned about the latter, foreign Karajá always examined the notch-end. I could not find out anything more specific about this, however, especially not whether each individual had his particular mark or whether families (or totem groups?) made specific marks which were the same for all members.

411 The notch (dõnăwŭdŭlõnă) is not cut in very deep and is slightly diagonal. In the case of a few arrows, two little red /271/ feathers are tied into the notch winding and project in the back, beyond the end (Ill. 119c). According to the statement of the Indians, they serve to send off the arrow more easily and do not tire the hand so much.

/271 cont./

411 The club (gŏhŏrdĕ) is the true war weapon of the Indians. The Karajá do not undertake a boat trip without having the club in the boat, along with arrows and bows, and on land journeys it is usually their sole companion. Even in the villages one sees the Indians, if they are armed at all, walking around with clubs.

The clubs are made of heavy wood (wŏālūŏ). They are round, become thicker toward the striking end, and terminate in a pointed convexity with a sharp edge. The handle end terminates in a knob which is separated from the club by a thicker intermediate piece with two or three deep grooves. In Ehrenreich, the number of grooves varies between one deep one and four or five shallow grooves, while his Šambioá clubs show three grooves throughout. The type of clubs (and oar handles) which Ehrenreich brought back from the Šambioá, on which the intermediate piece is divided by a long, thin, smooth piece with wide, thick pieces projecting over it at both ends and each bearing a groove (3979 and elsewhere), does not occur among the Karajá.

The upper half of the club (from the striking end) is provided with lengthwise grooves. I did not see any smooth clubs such as Ehrenreich brought back. This lengthwise grooving is [412] made with the tooth of a rodent (cutia: haŭlĭ; according to [237] Ehrenreich, also agouti or capybara) fastened to a wooden stick (Ill. 122). This grooving instrument, called haŭlĭdjŭ (= cutia tooth), is therefore not used to make arrows, as Ehrenreich assumed.

Occasionally there have remained standing in the length- [531] wise grooving two diametrally placed smooth stripes about one centimeter wide, which, for the entire length, are decorated with incised decorations (Ill. 123).

411 Only rarely does one find clubs that bear a patterned plait- 285 ing of yellow taquara cane and black embira around them (Ill. 124).

This plaiting is always present in the small club-sticks, which I never saw in use and which Königswald designates as dance clubs. They either have the shape of the clubs, without, however, having a special handle, or they end in a wide blade and have an offset handle (Pl. 56, Ill. 3 a-c). The first type is

/280 cont./

462 A. The division of labor by age and sex is such that the
561 male youths actually do nothing other than to practice the weapons craft and occasionally travel out to fish. In addition, they make their own weapons, as well as their feather ornaments and the cotton dance-belts. The married men, on the other hand, are usually busy; either they work in the plantings, or they go out twice a day to fish for their families, go hunting, plait baskets
[589] and hats, build houses, and bring in the harvest. In general, the men, when they are married, have a great deal of work and that is why young people no longer want to get married, having been infected by a few older bachelors who preach the ideal of bachelorhood: idling, smoking, chatting in the mask house.

The women learn their manual skills, such as spinning and weaving, from childhood on. Married women take care of the plantings, the harvest, tend the children, cook, make pottery, spin and weave, and plait mats. In general, to be sure, they have to work the whole day, so that one never sees them unoccupied, but in general their lot is a good one; hard work is never demanded of them, but is always taken over by the men.

•412 178 B. Of their ancient tools some have already disappeared (1)

> 1. Iron tools seem to have penetrated in the previous generation. A 40-year old Indian of the south horde told me that he had not seen work done with stone axes any more, only his mother told him about it.

or are used in another way, they still, however, use stone axes /281/ as striking stones, small stone knives for tattooing, bone needles for sewing, mussel shells as scrapers and spoons, sets of piranha teeth for cutting the strips for plaiting baskets. More and
[177] more, however, iron implements are coming in: axes, bush knives, small knives, and shears are used everywhere, likewise iron crochet needles. In spite of these foreign implements, how-
[176] ever, the technique has happily kept its ancient character, and only occasionally are innovations, under the influence of the Brazilian inhabitants, to be noted.

/281 cont./

412 Brazilian inhabitants, to be noted. This shows us how tenaciously
178 the Karajá cling to their nationality, in spite of long association with their civilized neighbors.

311 C. The exploitation of the natural kingdom varies in intensity; the mineral kingdom is exploited least, the vegetable kingdom, which can, of course offer the Indian the most abundant resources, the most.

135 The mineral kingdom is as yet little utilized. Stones are rare in the alluvial valley of the Araguaya; at most there is small rubble on a few sandbanks; otherwise fine sand covers the river valley. On the steep vertical banks there is canga, a ferrous sandstone which cannot be utilized except perhaps in larger pieces which, with plaiting around them, serve as anchors for turtle tackle. Stones are found only north of the Tapirapé, and all of the few stone implements that were present came from there.

317 More frequently used is the gray clay which is embedded in
323 narrow layers in the sandstone of the high banks. It is used for pottery. This art, however, in its technique and form, is still very primitive; ornamentation is entirely lacking. The vessels are shaped according to their practical use; they are made by
562 the women. Apparently the women are more practical and less artistically endowed than the men, for we find everywhere that the things made by the women are simple and practical, those by the men, by contrast, show pleasing forms and ornamentation.

317 Earths are also but little utilized as colors.

237 The animal kingdom is utilized somewhat more intensively for technical purposes by the Indians. Bones and teeth of mammals are worked into tools and ornaments; mussel shells serve as implements. The bird kingdom is most abundantly drawn upon: their brilliant feathers are used for magnificent ornaments such as
235 scarcely any other Indian tribe displays in this abundance. In order to have the material for this always at hand, the Indians keep young birds, taken from the nest, tamed in their huts in order to
237 pluck them from time to time. The wax of bees plays an important role as gluing material.

/281 cont./

824 Most of all, the Indian exploits the vegetable kingdom, and here he has also gone over to the cultivation of plants useful to him. He already has at his disposal, of course, many useful wild plants in the way of trees (leaf trees, palms), shrubs, varieties of cane, etc.

Almost all parts of the plants are utilized, in each case, of course, only certain ones: wood, bark, leaves, stem, bast, [241] blossom. Of plants whose fruits are used technically, the following are planted: /282/ gourds, cotton, urucú. The gluing ma- [314] terials, with the exception of wax, are taken exclusively from plant resins.

324 412 In the following, the processing and utilization of the individual raw materials will be described.

D. Stones are used above all as stone axes. The material for them is chiefly granular diabase or diorite. Nothing is known about how they are made. At the present time they serve only as striking stones for the preparation of bark cloth and for cracking nuts. Apparently they all come from the Rio Tapirapé, as well as from the mountains north of it, and are perhaps not even made by the Karajá themselves, but acquired from the Tapirapé through trade. In shape, there are flat axes and axes with a shaft groove (Ills. 100-102). As a nutcracker I found a stone apparatus consisting of stone base and small hammer, which, in shape, is quite peculiarly suited for this. Through long use a smooth, round hollow was produced in the slightly convex striking surface of the hammer (Ill. 99). Such stones are said to come from the cachoeira /cataract/ near St. Maria. The small stone knives which are used for tattooing are made anew each time out of the flint rubble of the sandbanks by splitting the flint with a stone or iron ax and using the sharpest splinters without any further treatment (Ill. 52b). Nothing is known about the making of the long stone lip plugs (Ill. 62). Allegedly they are struck into shape with [439] stones. The Karajá do not make them themselves, but barter for them with the Tapirapé.

/286 cont./

396 out with the ax. In this crude shape the boat is brought into the village and placed on two forked posts about half a meter high (Pl. 56, Ill. 5). With oaguassu palm fronds, which are laid in the hollow, the interior space is completely burned out and blackened, while at the same time burning through the walls is prevented by quickly snatching out the fire. Then, while the wood is still warm, about 20 cross-sticks, each approximately three centimeters thick, are stretched from wall to wall; palm fronds are propped against the boat all around and are lighted at four or five places on either side by one man each. After about five minutes the outside charring and blackening of the boat is completed. The struts remain in the boat until the next day; they are very bent. Afterwards the boat is put through an inspection, during which possible irregularities, especially of the bottom, which could cause disturbances in the balance, are removed with the ax. At the front, narrowly tapering end a hole is cut into the right wall, directly under the edge, for the loop into which the boat pole is stuck during the rowing or lying quietly on the bank. This hole is supposedly cut in with a sharp knife under the application of a wooden mallet.

415 I did not see wooden vessels. Ehrenreich brought back a
•412 114 few: a round vessel hollowed out from a tree root, with a carrying string (Berlin 3875) and two spoons, the handle of one of which terminates in a tucano head (3934, 3935). In the case of fire
[372] sticks, according to him, the drilling stick consists of taquara, the base of Bixa orellana.

415 Of larger fruits only gourds are used. They are carefully
[824] dried by being stuck on sticks that stand in the glaring sun and in the sand of the sandbanks. Later, tied together, they are hung on a vertical stick (Ill. 26 a, b). Hollowed out, they serve as oil containers, as hanging containers for white down feathers, with a bast stopper (Pl. 58, Ill. 3a) or wax seal (the hanging band is fastened with wooden wedges; Pl. 58, Ill. 3 b, c), halved paint bowls and eating dishes, smaller ones as spoons. The whole-
[531] gourd vessel and larger half-gourd vessels are usually decorated with incised ornamentation, the smaller half-gourds with Pyrography.

/358 cont./

301 Dance belts (wăděkănă) of the male youth are not as elaborate as those of the Karajá, but are kept essentially simpler. One specimen is striped black and white lengthwise; on its lower edge, on a separate string, hang two bunches of Thevetia fruits and one to three feather rods, alternately. The other one, coming from Schischá, in addition to the lengthwise stripes, exhibits a cross-striping; on its lower edge, directly alternating, are fastened at each place two pairs of Thevetia fruits and one feather rod (Pl. 59, Ill. 12).

262 6. Food. The Šavajé, like the Karajá, live on the fish
136 that they catch and the yield from their plantings. The lake on which they live is extremely rich in fish, in spite of its shallow depth (0.75 to one meter); there were even pirarucús
311 in it. The planting lay far from the village, about six or seven hours away, on the edge of the rainy-season lake. It was growing extremely well and so thickly that one could scarcely follow the path in it. Close beside the new planting there was an older one.
482 Here and there filled back-baskets lay by the wayside, waiting to be picked up.

252 The manioc is pounded in a knee-high mortar (kōō) which
[912] has an approximately finger-thick wall, with a pestle (hāâù) of reddish wood 1.6 meters long and 0.10 meters thick, or it is rubbed on a wooden grater (wōānăkĭă), /359/ picked over on the rod-sieve (brēdjĕ), and pressed in it. Then this meal is
262 mixed with water and cooked. Such manioc mush (iūālŭ) also constitutes the chief food of the Šavajé. In addition, I also saw yellow mush and green vegetables as festive foods.

226 Fishing was done by the young people with bows and arrows. Early in the morning they would already go out on the
[123] lake and soon return with a good yield. I received my share of everything, even of the huge pirarucú which was caught on the second forenoon. The lucky fisherman took out the entrails of the animal and then cut out the sides of the belly, which were distributed by the chief and placed on different piles. Then the rib pieces of three ribs each were chopped out and likewise distributed. Every family received its share; I, too, was given some.

/359 cont./

235 Of tame animals I found among the Šavajé:

Chickens, which were gladly sold to me, but were not eaten by them; vultures, spoonbills, and parakeets sat tethered on the supply racks in front of the houses; vultures in large numbers squatted on the ground near the wall posts in the houses. Araras were totally absent. Instead, a huge white eagle sat tied to a low cross-bar behind the chief's house (Pl. 30, Ill. 2).

264 The women ate even in my presence. Only the girl who traveled back to the Karajá with us ate turned away from us on the trip, and only when she thought she was not being observed.

252 The hearth, as mentioned above, lies in the circular structures of the houses, on both sides of the entrance. As among the Karajá, it consists of the tips of three termite hills or of three clay shards. Roasting is done on grills (Pl. 61, Ill. 1). [412]

415 The cooking vessels are identical with those of the Karajá.
412 The manioc grater (wōlānǎkiă; in the women's language, kōlānǎkiĕ) and the rod-sieves (brēdjĕ) have the same shape and construction as those of the Karajá. For stirring, an oar-shaped spoon (nālĭhĭ; Ill. 193) is used. For everything else, see the Karajá! [184]

Ill. 193 a, b. Stirring spoon. (b from the side).

249 The luxury item is tobacco, which is cultivated in a considerably better variety among the Šavajé than among the Karajá. [438] The latter buy large quantities of it from the former, even cuttings, so that they will be able to grow this better variety themselves at home. Tobacco (kōtĭ) is stored plaited into three-part braids (Ill. 194) and is carried in plaited bags or such

/361 cont./

411 (Ill. 196a). I did not see here clubs with plaiting around them or flat clubs.

[412] [237] [184] For grooving the clubs, the cutia tooth (haŭlidjŭ) mounted on a rod is also used by the Šavajé (Ill. 197).

As for lances (dōnōli), I acquired only one specimen, which looks very old. It is constructed like those of the Karajá. The shaft is 2.5 centimeters thick and 200 centimeters long, the bone

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412
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[531]

Ill. 196 a, b. Savajé club. b) Handle end of a second specimen.

Ill. 197. Club groover.

Ill. 198. Arrow thrower. Savajé.

Ill. 199. Savajé oar.

411 point 19.2 centimeters, the red winding 11.5 and the plaiting 63 centimeters long. The feather tassels hang down 42 centimeters. The plaiting pattern is the vertical zigzag pattern.

/362 cont./

312 Water was transported in long gourds (rŭkŭ) with short
415 hanging bands; the gourds were usually crudely decorated with
531 pyrography (Ill. 200).

184 9. The techniques are even more primitive than those of
[438] the Karajá; in fact, the Šavajé obtain their iron implements and all foreign wares only through barter with the Karajá. Hence, everything that was said about the latter also applies to the Šavajé.

412 I still found a few examples of stone axes [ūōmădū(ĕ)]; they were used as beaters in pounding soft the women's bast aprons on mortars turned upside down. The two specimens acquired by me are strong, wedge-shaped axes 14 and 20.5 centimeters long; on one, the cutting edge is considerably hollowed out, probably through use as a nutcracker (Ill. 201 a, b).

323 The pottery is as primitive as that of the Karajá. Here,
184 too, we find no decorated vessels. The two vessels acquired by me consist of red clay, are of the Karajá type, and represent a cooking pot (wădjĭwĭ) and a bowl (wădjĭwäŭdă). /363/ /Ills. 200-206 appear here./

283 /364/ Working with cotton. For picking cotton apart, a small, quite crudely worked bow is used (Pl. 61, Ill. 4). The spindles (äzŏdäŏ, Pl. 61, Ill. 5) consist of round rods 32.5-49 centimeters long, with whorls of wax, unfired or fired clay, or bone. By far the most prevalent are wax whorls, which in part are clumsy disks, in part have sharp edges and taper conically
[323] at the top and bottom. The unfired or crudely fired whorls usually have a double-conical form with a sharp edge; only one specimen consists of a thick plate with a rounded edge. Fired clay whorls are disk-shaped and have two sharp edges and flat, conical elevations on both surfaces. Bone whorls consist of quite flat disks, as among the Karajá.

Balls of thread of white (äzŏ) or black (äzŏdĕbĕ) cotton are also customary among the Šavajé; some of them are kept tied up in a bast covering (Ill. 202).

[Text Continues on p. 330]

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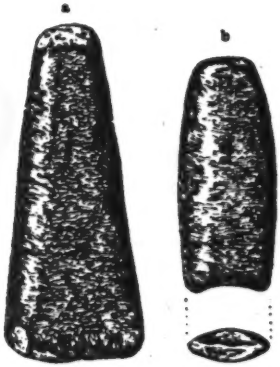
Ill. 200.
Gourd for carrying water.



Ill. 201 a, b.
Stone ax.

Ill. 202.
Cotton ball in bast covering.

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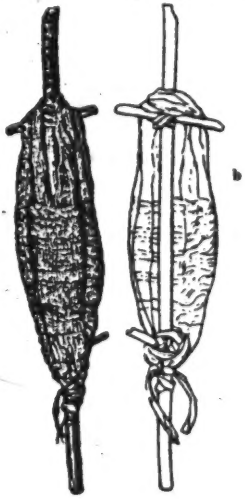
524



Ill. 203 a, b.
Plaiting apparatus for girls' belt.
b) = rear view.

Ill. 204.
Crochet needle.

Ill. 205.
Black resin.

Ill. 206 a-c.
Child's bow with arrows.

Brazil.

Both sexes have a blue ring tattooed under the eye, forming a deep ugly scar, which is the special distinguishing mark of the tribe. 304 619

The Karayá take good care of the body, bathing many times each day—though this is more to cool and refresh themselves, and for sport—keep the hair well combed, and pull out the sparse beard. They formerly used the teeth of the piránha fish as a kind of saw with which to cut the hair, but they now have scissors. 515 302 412 237

As already stated, the men wear no clothing, or covering whatever. The sash, or apron, worn by the women, is made of the inner bark of the jangáda tree. It is prepared for use by first soaking it a day or two in water, then pounding it with flat stones, and finally drying it. When the wearer of this primitive apron sits, she passes it back between the limbs and sits upon it. Besides this costume, both sexes wear various armlets, wristlets and leglets, as ornaments, which are peculiar to each division of the tribe. Soon after birth, the child's wrists and legs below the knees, are adorned with broad bands made by weaving together cotton cordage on the limbs themselves; while a black cotton band girts the body as a bandage. When the infant is a few months old, these articles are removed, and broad cotton wristlets, leglets and anklets are woven on the limbs, a tassel of cotton cords being attached to the leglets. The boys wear the leglets, or garterlets, until the lip is pierced, while the girls wear them until married. The wristlets worn by adults, cover nearly the whole forearm. They are not put aside until after marriage, and many females wear them until the first child is born. When one of the couple dies, the survivor puts the wristlets on again. This custom has come down from the ancients. As the wristlets and leglets are usually woven on the limbs themselves, they cannot be removed without being cut off. For this reason, they are never removed, nor washed until finally thrown aside. But I found the Karayá quite ready to cut these articles off and give them to me in exchange for some articles I had which took their fancy. 291 [287] 301 [184] [283] [286] [437] [439]

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

CHAPTER IX.

KARAYÁ ACTIVITIES.—CANOE MAKING.—WEAPONS.—NATURE MADE UTENSILS.—ORNAMENT MAKING.—FAMILY LIFE.—PRIMITIVE ETHICS.—MARRIAGES.—CHILDREN.—GOVERNMENT.

THE industrial activities of the Karayá now make a better 412
showing than in former times, for their primitive tools are 177
now more and more replaced by tools introduced from the civilized world. The old stone-axes have disappeared, and little is known of them. Ancient inscriptions and figures upon [172]
the rocks represent men with stone-axes in their hands, but these drawings belong to a remote period.

To-day, the only primitive implements of the Karayá are 412
those that Nature furnishes them ready for use. Their scraping tools, for instance, are sharp-edged shells; their chisel-like instruments are the teeth of certain powerful rodents; and smooth, flat stones, formed by the action of the water, are used as discs upon which to beat and prepare the web of bark which is their cloth. [237]

It cannot be said of the Karayá that their primitive in- 461
dustries have fallen, in any degree, into decay because they have begun to use the tools of civilized men. Adaptability, beauty of form, and carefulness of execution, is evident in all their workmanship. Canoe building among them, for in- 396
stance, has reached a high degree of perfection, though the method of constructing them is very crude. These canoes, 501
which are all dugouts, are long and slim, and taper gradually to a point at both bow and stern. This form is perhaps best

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

feathers on hand, they can replace worn-out pieces at any 301
moment. Many of these ornaments are beautiful. One, 237
made of white feathers and secured around the head as a band, looks like a halo encircling the head when seen from a distance when the wind is blowing. These ornaments are worn principally on festal occasions, or when visitors are present. Three styles of a peculiar feather hood are also made. The foundation is a net hood of three different sized meshes, one of which is very closely woven. The stems of the feathers are worked in between the meshes. This is worn at the dance festival.

The ear and arm ornaments have already been described. A dancing belt is made of strong black and white braiding embellished with tassels of beautiful feathers with shell rattles. The legs and ankles of the dancers are also decorated with feather tassels and shell rattles. Sometimes the savages "tar and feather" themselves, besmearing the body with gum, then putting on a thick layer of white down. In former times they wore necklaces of animal teeth, bones, and shell discs. But these have now been replaced by the glass beads ob- [439]
tained in trade.

The Karayá are very fond of black and white beads, and 301
may often be seen wearing a number of strings around the neck, to the lowest one of which is attached little chains terminating in fruit shells, or tiny bunches of feathers.

The only, though much used, article of toilet of the Karayá 412
is the comb, which is made in various sizes, the largest being fourteen inches wide and of equal length. The teeth are flat, slender pieces of palm wood or taquara, which are secured between two small blocks of wood. The spacing between the teeth is made by passing yarn between them. This comb is ornamented with small tassels of bright feathers.

The ornamental work of the Karayá consists of patterns 531
of zig-zag lines, crosses, or lizard-shaped forms, dots, diamond shapes, and peculiar broken, irregular lines; while squares and triangles occur only to fill out, and circles are entirely wanting. The patterns seem to be chosen at random, nevertheless

/9 cont./

142 The bridge is narrow, markedly convex with a somewhat pendulous tip. The alae are usually somewhat drawn up, so that the round nostrils seem to be directed toward the front.

In size the women stand significantly behind the men, but are just as well proportioned. Their figures tend to be somewhat full in their youth. Almost all the younger individuals have uncommonly delicate hands and feet and a perfect form of the bust, but, like [853] all Indian women, they lose their charms very early; in particular the long breast-feeding causes excessive lengthening of the [481] breasts. In the case of older women, the weak development of the lower extremities and the waddling gait of the inwardly turned feet make an unpleasant impression.

The real skin-color of the Karaya is difficult to determine at first glance. Staying on the sun-scorched praias changes the bright yellow-brown of their complexions, which one can still confirm only under their large cotton cuffs and knee-bands, into a dark copper-
302 brown. Even this is not easy to see in the case of many individuals because of the /10/ body painting used to the broadest extent (Fig. 1 /see p. 17 /). People painted black or red from head to foot are not rare. Others combine the black or red color into patterns which almost give the impression of European clothing. Black line-drawings on the face and extremities are the most popular.

302 Used for body painting are:

386 1. Urucú (uareriõ). Paste made from the red berries of Bixa
[824] orellana.

[824] 2. The blue-black dye (beõẽna) obtained from the seeds of the genipa (Genipa brasiliensis).

3. Soot. This is either simply scraped from the cooking pots and rubbed into the face or, mixed with genipa, it serves for diffuse painting of the whole body.

302 The line-decoration is put on with the fingers or little wooden
● 413 sticks, the diffuse coloring with a rag.

/212 cont. /

386 824 The red color is obtained from the seeds of the fruit of the urucú bush. There are many different varieties, which produce a more or less intense red color, in part also inclining to yellow. Treasured above all is the kind with round seeds (wōlĕlŏnĭ), whereas the kind with long seeds is not esteemed very highly (wōlĕnò). The kind with round seeds grows particularly in the [438] region north of the Tapirapé mouth; it is obtained here in large quantities by the Indians and further traded to the Indians south of the Tapirapé mouth, especially to those of the south horde. The 386 dyestuff is produced from the seeds in the following manner. The many small seeds contained in the beechnut-like fruits are removed, some palm oil is put in the hands, and then the seeds are rubbed between the oiled hands until all the dyestuff on the shells of the seeds has come off. In this way an oil color is produced, which is scraped off the hand with a knife or stick and is put in a gourd vessel. The rubbed seeds are thrown away. In this fresh state the oil color is immediately ready for use. For [438] trading, it is boiled in oil (thickened), then put into solid forms, and dried in the sun (Ill. 40 a, b).

[824] For the black color either soot, which is scraped from the charred trees of the plantings or from the cooking pots, or the blue-black juice of the genipap fruit [b(ă)dēnà] is used. This juice is mixed in small spoon-like gourd vessels or in larger, carved half-gourds /Pls. 43 and 44 appear here/ /213/ (Ill. 41 a, b); at first it is light, but soon after it is applied to the skin, under the influence of the air, it becomes a handsome black-blue color.

A white earth (mănāŭlà) is used as a white color. I never 302 observed white body /Ills. 40 and 41 appear here/ painting, to be sure. The small clay dolls, however, bear white patterning, and the Indians told me that with this color they paint rings around their arms, as well as transverse stripes on their chests.

302 413 The fingers serve as paint brushes, the flat hand for full body painting. /Ill. 42 appears here. / I never observed sticks or rags for applying the colors. On the other hand, for the genipap patterning a stamp (ūlĭnŏ) consisting of two sticks of cane lashed together, the cut surfaces of which are cut to form two semicircles, is popularly used. These semicircles are now placed together to form

[Text Continues on P. 103]

/213 cont./

386
[438]
[415]

Ill. 40 a, b.
Urucú oil-color in trade packaging.

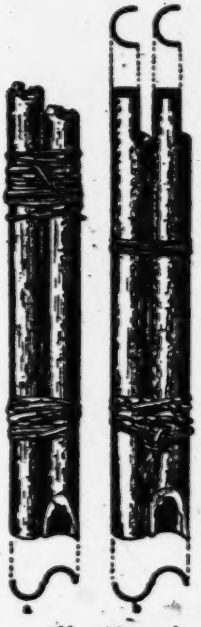
Ill. 41 a, b.
Color bowls.

302 a serpentine line (bũlti; according to Kuriši,
413 however, naũěkiělãzi = ostrich crown-tuft). These stamps are usually only one-sided (Ill. 42a); only once did I come across a two-sided stamp, which at one end bore the serpentine line, at the other two semi-circles, one above the other (Ill. 42b). The boy in Ill. 2 on Plate 38 is painted with the serpentine-line stamp.

302 In the painting we distinguish between full painting and patterning.

[291] The full painting "is their suit of clothes" (Kuriši's statement); "it protects them from mosquitoes just as their suit does for the Christians" (Mauzi's statement).

The patterning, on the other hand, is executed only for special occasions. It is a kind of festive ornamentation. For
[609] receiving strangers, for example, the villagers paint themselves with red and black designs; the arriving strangers also paint themselves before they /214/ enter the village, even if they only draw a black eye-band from ear to ear with soot scraped from the charred campo trees.



Ill. 42 a, b.
Genipap stamps.

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

country. Their skin is always hot to the touch, and they perspire but little." (This may be owing, in some degree, to the clogging of the pores of the body with the gummy, red grease with which they keep themselves constantly besmeared.) * * * "They bathe many times each day, but do not plunge into the water, taking merely a sitz bath, as dogs may be seen doing in hot climates, to cool the lower parts of the body. The women and children who have remained at home while the men are away fishing and hunting, generally find some excuse for trooping off to the shade of the forest during the hot hours of the afternoon. They appear restless and discontented in fine, dry weather, but cheerful in cool days, when the rain is pouring down on their naked backs. When suffering from fever, nothing but strict watching can prevent them from going to bathe in the river, or eating immoderate quantities of juicy fruits, although these indulgences are frequently the cause of death. They are much subject to disorders of the liver, dysentery, and other ills of hot climates; and when any epidemic is about, they take it quicker, and suffer more than negroes, or even whites. How different all this is with the negro, the true child of tropical climes! The impression gradually forced itself upon my mind that the Indian lives as a stranger or immigrant in these hot regions, and that his constitution was not originally adapted, and has not since become perfectly adapted to the climate."

The Karayá possess some knowledge of surgery. They know how to open arteries on the temple; how to bleed a patient; how to stop the flow of blood from a wound by binding the artery; understand the efficiency of sprinkling powdered charcoal upon wounds; have knowledge to bind on splints in setting broken bones, and know how to extract thorns from the flesh, which is done by means of sharp fish teeth. To empty the stomach by vomiting, they tickle the throat with the burnt end of a reed.

They make use of a scarification, or bleeding instrument, which is a block or pad set full, and bristling, with the long, lance-like teeth of the piranha fish. It resembles a curry-

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

[757] [413] [237] comb with very long, sharp teeth. With this barbarous tool, the primitive surgeon rakes and tears the back of the patient, who holds himself immovable by firmly grasping a post or tree. The blood is caught and removed on palm-leaves. When sufficient blood has been drawn, sand, and finally pepper, is rubbed into the wounds. Even when a Karayá is not sick, he submits to this very painful operation, believing that it will be beneficial to his health. The bleeding of persons on the back is practiced by low-class civilized Brazilians.

[771] Not much is known concerning the religious belief of the Karayá. But it is fully established that they entertain an animistic conception of the world, which is the lowest form of religious belief and practice; and it expresses itself with them in the same way that it does with the better known South [811] American tribes. Their observation hourly suggests to them the idea that every effect has an intelligent cause; for, whenever they are able to trace an effect to its cause, as, for instance, in the doings of men and animals, that cause appears to be psychical rather than material; an intangible, incomprehensible something that we call Mind. Therefore, they firmly believe that Minds, intelligence, or invisible, immaterial Personalities, dwell, as an Ego, or as Genii, in every material object, animate or inanimate, such as animals, trees and mountains, and direct all the operations of Nature; and that brutes are differentiated from men only by their bodily form, every creature being alike a duality—having a psychical as well as a physical Self. Moreover, the phenomena of the half-[772] life in sleep, together with dreams and visions, and the cessation of all vital activities at death, furnish to their minds clear and positive proofs of the existence of a spirit world that pervades, or lies beyond the world comprehended by the [724] senses. They believe that in sleep and dreams, the Ego, or Shade, or second Self, steals away from the body of the sleeper to roam about and to associate with other shadowy person-[754] alities or spirits. They are convinced, furthermore, that their priests, or conjurers, are endowed with some supernatural, or mysterious powers which enable them to put themselves

1:Lipkind E-5 (1937) 1948 SP9 Caraja SP9

301 Young men wear large armlets almost 12 inches (30 cm.) long crocheted of cotton with hanging fringes.

291 Women wear a bark-cloth girdle, which is wound round the body and under the crotch and looped over, hanging down in front. Feather head-
[292] dresses of a number of different designs are worn by men on festal occasions. Men tie the prepuce with a firmly wound string and wear a string belt.

302 Elaborately decorated woven belts with hanging ema feathers are worn
[292] for wrestling matches. Bird down is glued on the shoulders, arms, and
[237] legs. Body painting is very elaborate, and designs covering the entire body are carefully executed with genipa. Urucú is spread generally, with accents on the cheekbones, the nose, and the upper arm.

TRANSPORTATION

501 The *Carajá* manufacture elongated dugouts, neatly adapted to landing and freeing their craft among the sandbanks.

MANUFACTURES

287 **Bark cloth.**—Bark cloth is made of *Apeiba* bast, soaked, beaten with flat stones, and dried until it becomes very soft and white.

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FIGURE 20.—*Carajá* manufactures. *a-d*, Pottery; *e*, wooden scoop. (Redrawn from Ehrenreich, 1891 b, figs. 5 and 14.)

1:Lipkind E-5 (1937) 1948 SP9 Caraja SP9

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PLATE 22.—Carajá paddles, gourds, and basketry. (After Ehrenreich, 1891 b.)

[End Plate 2]

* /15 cont./
532 I was able to observe two sand pictures in relief, which were also made by Manoel.

Fig. 102 /see p. 26/ represents a woman. The sexual parts were marked out by a small stone.

Fig. 103 /see p. 26/ is a crocodile. It could just as well be any other long-tailed animal.

b) Gourd drawings

[415] are found on gourd containers for oil. They are made by taking off the top layer with a knife. The figures are a kind of silhouette, since they stand out in darker color against the light background. /Fig. 104 appears here./

Fig. 104 /see p. 26/ represents an entire stag hunt. This is the only representation of a scene that I found among the Karajá. The figures are, in order, dog, stag, rider, dog, man.

[534] A ladēni mask carved on the gourd rattle (Plate VI, Fig. 105 /see p.52 /) does not differ much from the sand drawing of the same mask (Fig. 97 /see p. 25/).

*532 126 153 /16/

c) Sketchbook Drawings
(Plate VI-VII)

While these types of representations were familiar to the Indians, at first they did not know how to begin with the pencil and sketchbook. I first had to show them this manipulation; then they would try, always timidly at first, to see whether the pencil left a line behind it, but then went courageously to work with sure strokes. There were some who set about it very clumsily, whereas others were very skillful at it (1). Many

1. For the distribution of sketches among individual artists, see Appendix 2 /not translated; see the foreign text/.

/25 cont./

531/ 2085 with outspread wings, not unlike the Austrian double eagle. It is further developed by hooks attached vertically to the side bars; see the drawing in Fig. 189c /see p. 55/ and the carving on the half-gourd in Fig. 189d /see p. 55/. It should be noted here that I received other names for this decoration in simple line execution without the counterpart of two corresponding continuous lines; the decoration in Fig. 189e /see p. 55/ was also called kadã

[415]

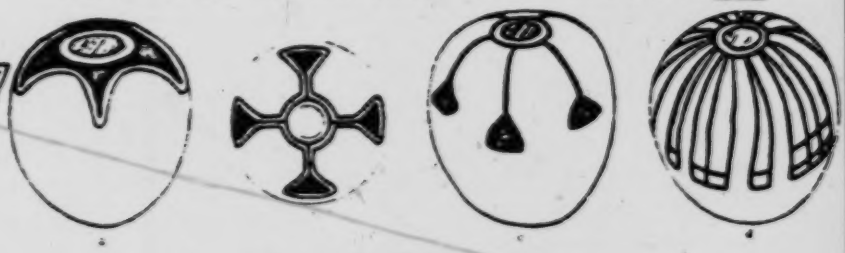

Fig. 206 a-d. Oil gourds, carved.

blehẽ, hãdõ, and tõmã, the simple serrated pattern (Fig. 189f /see p. 55/) ölisõmaudi.

7. Serrated patterns õãõã = gavião. Found plaited on baskets (Fig. 190a /see p. 55/), carved on gourds (see Fig. 204a /see p. 57/). The sketch reproduction which follows singly and with counterpart (Fig. 190b /see p. 55/), was also called dũbõtẽ. The basket pattern (Fig. 190c /see p. 55/) is similar; the basket patterns in Fig. 190 d and e /see p. 55/ are further developments.

8. The meander, also called õãõã, is found plaited on baskets and fans (Fig. 191 /see p. 55/), carved on rattles (Plate VI /see p. 52/, Fig. 105). The sketch reproduction is given by the left pattern in Fig. 189c.

9. Small spirals. Basket patterns (Fig. 192 /see p. 55/).

10. Spirals standing on the tips. Comb pattern (Fig. 193 /see p. 55/).

11. Pattern of unknown meaning; found plaited on combs (Fig. 194a /see p. 55/), crotchet needles (Fig. 194b /see p. 55/), and bows.

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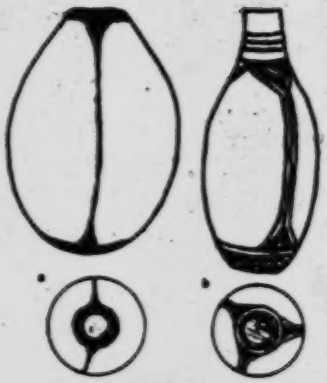

Fig. 207 a and b. Resonance gourds. (Including their bottom surfaces.)

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Fig. 208 a and b. Ear rods.

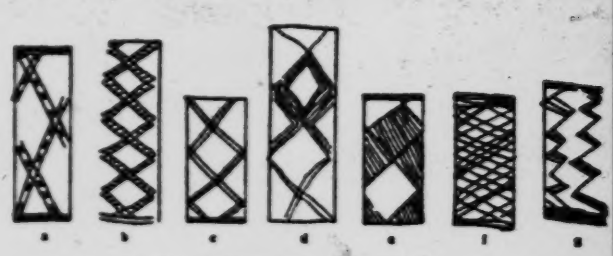

Fig. 209 a-g. Ear rods.

[415]

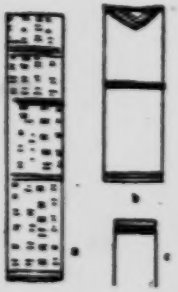

Fig. 210 a-c. Ear rods.

Fig. 211 a and b. Ear rods.

Fig. 212. Gourd ladle.

Fig. 214. Gourd ladle.

/26 cont./

53/ spite of two attempts, did not quite succeed, is similar.

21. The cross, lālădjā = urubu. Found as gourd-carving [534] on a rattle (Fig. 203a /see p. 57/) and as a sketchbook drawing (Fig. 203b /see p. 57/). According to Ehrenreich ("Beiträge," Fig. 16c) a lizard is represented in the form of a cross.

/27/ I furthermore obtained a gourd (Fig. 204 /see p. 57/) which bears no fewer than 20 different figures, five of which are patterns discussed above. The individual figures are as follows:

a) ŏāoā = gavião; b) dōlĕ = parrot; c) ăndādōlā = arara; d) lālā = urubu; e) kŭōlĭ; f) klāŏbĭ = monkey; g) wātĭ = stag; h) tĭlŭ = excrement; i) krādjāĭdŭ /Fig. 215 appears here/ = sexual parts of the Karajá Indian women; k) bĭŭ = rain; l) bĕnŭ = navel; m) ōmālūdĭ; n) djŭĕtā = piranha; o) kjŏlŏzā = dog; p) ŭŏnŭ = arrows; q) dōnōlĭ = lance; r) ŏdābŭlā; s) ŭōmā; t) hādŏ = house; u) kŏdūnĭ = tartaruga.

Unfortunately it was broken on the journey, so that, apart from the plaiting patterns, only the figures a, e, k, l, o can be recognized with certainty.

2. Carved decorations

are in part different from these plaiting patterns; they show quite distinctive features. Two half-gourds have distinct edge strips (Plate XI /see p. 57/, Figs. 201a and 202a). Two gourd con- [415] tainers for feathers are decorated with strange decorations (Plate XI, Fig. 205). The gourds for oil bear the ornamentation on the /Figs. 216 and 217 appear here/ 2/A upper part around the opening, usually in four parts (Fig. 206 a to c/see p. 57/), rarely with [534] more parts (Fig. 206d /see p. 58/). The resonance gourds for the signal trumpets are decorated over the whole expanse, in two parts in Fig. 207a /see p. 60/, in three parts in Fig. 207b /see [30] p. 60/. Of other carvings only carved ear-rods are found. These have the following decorations; spirals (Fig. 208a /Figs. 218-220 appear here/ 2/A and b /see p. 60/), intersections (Fig. 209 a to g /see p. 60/; the decoration in Fig. 209f was called ĭlĕdĭlĕgā), 1/A, 2/A [see p. 62--Analyst]

[Text continues on p. 63]

/27 cont./

531
415

Fig. 215 a-c. Gourd ladles.

Fig. 216 a-c. Gourd ladles.

Fig. 217.
Gourd ladle.

Fig. 218 a and b.
Gourd ladles.

Fig. 219.
Gourd ladle.

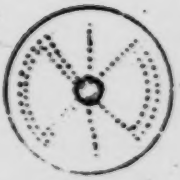

Fig. 220.
Whole gourd,
viewed from above.

/27 cont./

531 horizontal sectioning (Fig. 210a to c /see p. 60/), vertical sectioning (Fig. 211a and b /see p. 60/).

3. The half-gourds and whole gourds decorated by painting have a quite different character.

[415] Only one gourd ladle colored with paint is found (Fig. 212 /see p. 60/). It shows a black edge, simple zigzag line, and a cross in the middle.

/28/ All the others show poker work. Fig. 213 (Plate XI /see p. 57/) represents the first attempt at this by a small girl. The gourd ladles are very diversely decorated. The edge has a row of triangles (Fig. 214 /see p. 60/), or tree-like branched figures usually extend from it toward the center (Fig. 215 a to c /see p. 62/). /Fig. 221 appears here. /1 The patterns in Fig. 216 a to c /see p. 62/ are arranged in horizontal strips, in Fig. 217 /see p. 62/ in vertical strips. In Fig. 218 a and b /see p. 62/ the whole surface is filled in with one pattern, in Fig. 219 /see p. 62/ with different patterns. Plaiting patterns are represented only in Figs. 216c and 219. Whole gourds are either decorated only on the upper part (Fig. 220 /see p. 62/), or in a central zone reaching around them (Fig. 221 a to c /see p. 64/; b and c with three parts), or only on two opposite sides (Fig. [415] 222 a and b /see p. 64/). The water-carrying vessel of the Šavajé (in Fig. 223 /see p. 64/) shows very crude poker work.

531 462 [512] [172] 4. The artistic activity of the women is quite different from this of the men. It is very rare and in part has been taken over from the Brazilians. The women do not use the patterns of the men. It must be said that the women stand far behind /Figs. 222-224 appear here/ /2 the men artistically; for although they also plait and make pottery, they decorate their products only in the rarest cases. Homemade decorations are found on a mat, the apron of a clay doll, and on spinning whorls. The mat 531 [245] (Fig. 224 /see p. 64/) is patterned by plaiting in bundles of black-dyed fibers in the fashion illustrated. One sees immediately that on the right the upper pattern is the negative of the lower one. On the doll's apron (Plate II /see p. 48/, Fig. 26) the red and

/1, /2 [see p. 64--Analyst]

[Text continues on p. 65]

/28 cont./

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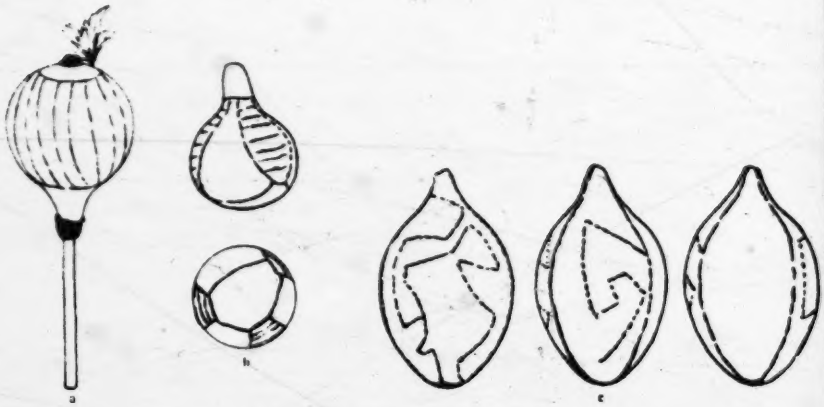

Fig. 221 a-c. Three whole gourds (b with bottom view, c unrolled).

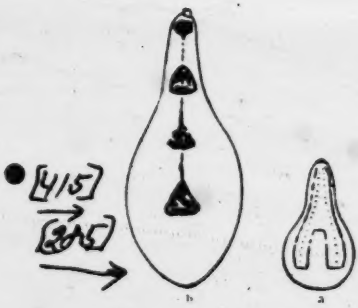

Fig. 222 a and b. Whole gourds.

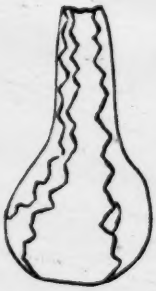

Fig. 223. Water vessel.

Fig. 224. Decorated mat.

/28 cont./

black decorations are somewhat reminiscent of the decorations of the men. The clay spinning whorl (Fig. 225a) is provided on one surface with fine incising which is arranged in two concentric circles, with

Fig. 228 a and b. Small clay utensils for play.

Fig. 225. Spinning whorl, a) of clay, b) of white earth.

Fig. 226 a-d. Tobacco pipes of clay.

Fig. 227 a-e. Decorated eating dishes, export goods.

four spokes divided up several times, in between. /29/ The spinning whorl made of white earth (Fig. 225b) has a circle cut into it on both sides, from which rays extend. These indentations are made red and black.

The decorations on the clay tobacco pipes and the clay bowls were probably taken over from the Brazilians.

I found clay tobacco pipes only in the villages near S. José. They were evidently taken over altogether, and with them the ornamentation as well, from the Brazilians. It is true that their form is now made by the Indians rather differently from the Brazilian form, with a wide base which is lacking in the Brazilian one (Fig. 226 a to d).

/29 cont./

531 415 [484] [439] Clay bowls, in export form and decorated with red paint, were also produced only in the uppermost villages and actually as export goods. The decorations are limited /Fig. 227 appears here/ mostly to the upper edge; only rarely do they extend farther down. Despite their simplicity, they have a very pleasing effect (Fig. 227 a to e /see p. 65/). Moreover, a crudely [524] decorated play-bowl of the Karajá (Fig. 228a /see p. 65/) and a small clay bowl, likewise painted on the outer surface with red patterns, which comes from the Šavajé living with the southern horde of the Karajá (Fig. 228b /see p. 65/), were found.

000 /Appendices I, "Distribution of the Objects and Drawings among the Individual Tribes," II, "Index of the Figures and Patterns Drawn by the Same Persons," and III, "Systematic Index of the Objects Represented," pp. 30-31, have not been translated; see the foreign text./

/13 cont./

342 principally to close off the narrow sides. To the right and left of the door are planted two high poles which give the palm-leaf layers of the front side more solid support.

352 The interior furnishing of the houses is rather simple. Part of the floor is covered with buriti mats which also serve as an [513] underlayer for sleeping. A smooth wooden cylinder pushed underneath represents the pillow. The various storage baskets, the 353 [415] containers for ornamental feathers, the finished feather orna- [239] ments, bottle gourds, and other things hang from the horizontal beams. Bows and arrows are stuck in the rafters. [342] Lances and clubs stand in the corner, always at hand. Some sledge-like 352 415 stools, as well as pots and gourd /cuia/ bowls of varying sizes complete the household equipment.

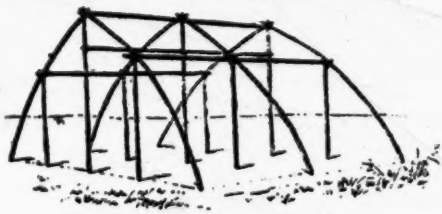

Fig. 3. Hut construction.

346 At some distance from the village is found the somewhat dif- [532] ferently constructed "medicine hut," where the mysterious dance masks are stored. It has the form of an ordinary rancho, with a steeply sloping roof, and is tightly closed on three sides, whereas [784] the side facing the village is wide open. Female creatures may not venture near it.

[114] Castelnau already makes mention of it. Couto Magelhães in his first report speaks of a hut which serves as an arsenal for storing weapons. Nothing of this sort is known to me. Evidently he means by it this mysterious sacred place whose true purpose no one wanted to reveal to him. We shall return to it in the following.

825 It is also noteworthy that in front of two Šambioa villages dead king-vultures (Sarcoramphus papa) with outspread wings were fastened on a high frame of poles. They are probably supposed to scare away demons in the manner of the bird figures carved out of wood in front of Malay villages.

/16 cont./

392 Naturally the Karaya try to maintain the fire as long as possible and make a new one only when necessary. On longer boat trips glowing pieces of wood are always taken along on a bed of sand.

252 Meat and fish are roasted on a spit over a hot fire or laid directly on glowing coals until the uppermost layer, or the skin, is completely charred. The ashy parts of the latter, in combination with the reserved juice, make the use of salt unnecessary to a certain degree. Only the Karayahi have begun to become [413] accustomed to European salt. Salty soils, such as are found [317] in the campos at the so-called barreiros /clay pits/, as well as the ash of various woods, must serve as substitutes. Fish are probably also boiled.

Corn on the cob, aipim roots, sweet potatoes, and some palm fruits are likewise roasted over the fire.

The preparation of manioc is much more primitive than among the Xingu and Amazon tribes. The roots, provided with [412] deep cuts, are put in water for several days for maceration, then freed of the skins with knives or sharp shells, and pulverized on the grating board (ãranã), a biconvex board about three centimeters thick, with several rows of short buriti thorns in the middle (Pl. VIII /see p. 110/, 4).

The pulverized mass is pressed with the hands, probably [415] also with the aid of stones, to remove completely the poisonous juice, the largest part of which has already been taken out by the maceration, and then, washed and drained in peculiar little baskets (uãriri, see p. 41) plaited out of flexible cipos, dried in the air. By drying it in shallow pots one thus obtains the "water flour" (farinha d'agua) also generally widespread on the Amazon. Because of fermentation during the maceration, it has a slightly sour flavor, but can be kept much longer than the "farinha secca" /dry flour/ of trade, made out of the fresh root. This type of preparation, however, does not seem to be the original one practiced by them. More often, in accordance with an old national custom, the dried mass (puva, beerõ) is baked in large loaf-like lumps after several washings. Finally, small flat

/16 cont./

252 cakes (beijus, ibrã̃ʒeko), likewise roasted in pots, are made from the freshly treated root.

273 In combination with maize, manioc flour is also used to make their most popular beverage, uierõ̃. Pounded maize is poured into the boiling manioc and stirred well. /17/ When it is sufficiently soft, the mixture is allowed to cool. Then the settlings are chewed by the women in true Indian fashion, whereby the whole thing turns sour and ferments after standing for several days. A sourish beverage something like water gruel is produced, to which honey or sugar-cane juice is sometimes added. The effect is slightly intoxicating.

415 The kitchen utensils are simple, but nevertheless somewhat
412 more complete than, say, among the Xingu tribes. Besides earthen
[230] pots and gourd containers, as well as mussel shells of the Anodonta and Hyria avicularis serving as spoons, there are already real spoons made of wood or clay (cf. Fig. 5 /see p. 38 / and Fig. 14 /see p. 51 /).

264 Etiquette demands that everyone eat by himself, turned away from the others. Anyone who transgresses must endure the ridicule of the others.

Tools and Implements. Industry and Skill.

177 The industrial activity of the Karaya no longer presents a wholly unclouded picture inasmuch as the original tools have been supplanted more and more by imported ones.

412 No details are known about the form and material of their
172 old stone axes. Among the petroglyphs of Martirios Island, however, which undoubtedly are to be ascribed to the ancient Karaya, one sees human figures depicted with stone axes in their hands (see p. 94). The same form is exhibited by a stone ax of unknown origin in the Trocadero Museum in Paris, the handle of which is wrapped with the plaiting in zigzag and cross patterns characteristic of Karaya work. Possibly the piece came from the Castelnau expedition.

/19 cont./

411 Of the three specimens the largest has a total length of 72.5 centimeters, of which 14.5 make up the handle (Pl. VI /see p. 108/, 6). Moreover, there is a children's throwing board 38.5 centimeters long.

[824] The arrows thrown (kǎura) are 150-180 centimeters long, unfeathered cane pieces made of uba (Gynerium saccharoides) with inserted, 12-20 centimeter long end-knobs of palm wood, which are covered with a thick layer of wax. Thus they should be considered only as sporting equipment. That tradition still knows them as weapons, however, is shown by the legend given on p. 85 (Pl. VI /see p. 108/, 7).

323 Ceramics. The art of making pots, practiced exclusively by the women, is not especially developed. Although the technique leaves little to be desired, the forms are rather simple. [517] An artistic desire to reproduce natural objects, animal shapes, etc., as among the Xingu tribes, is not expressed in them. Everything is reckoned more in terms of the practical.

As almost everywhere in South America, the vessels are made without a wheel by putting rolls of clay over one other circularly or spirally. By patting with the dampened hand and continuous smoothing with pieces of bone and mussel shell, the pot finally reaches the desired shape and strength.

[113] According to Couto Magelhães (Archiv. do museu nac. Rio, p. 77) the ash of certain vines is mixed with the clay; their silica content makes it more resistant.

According to further information from the above observer, the firing of the pots is done, after superficial drying, in a peculiar manner. A hole is made in the side of an earth termite nest, and it is heated. The vessel is put in, and under it there is made a second opening communicating with the first one, with a fire maintained in it. A third opening at the top serves as a chimney.

•415 106 The collection shows the most important, but not the largest types of vessels that occur (Fig. 5 /see p. 38/).

/19 cont./

●415 1. The most common form can be described as two truncated cones with their bases touching. A tall model with a narrow opening and a shorter one with a wide opening are in use.

2. Wide open, deep bowls of similar basic form serve as cooking pots.

3. Flat, round plates, perhaps imitated from European forms.

4. Low elliptical double bowls with a partition running lengthwise.

5. Cylindrical pots with bent or projecting rim.

[191] 6. Small bowls (uatiui) with three feet, used especially by children; an analogous form is found in Ecuador.

7. Clay spoons.

The vessels do not have handles; instead bast cords are wound around the neck of the pot or drawn through the edge.

[824] The gourd bowls (üša) (fruit of Crescentia cuyete) also belong among the vessels. They are not found here in the size and diversity of form as among the Xingu /20/ tribes by far. On the other hand, they are much more carefully prepared and dried, and possess incomparably greater durability. They are usually [531] blackened inside and out and provided with engraved decorations (Fig. 6 /see p. 38/ and Fig. 10 /see p. 47 /). Painted gourds, like those of the Xingu tribes, do not occur.

415 534 In their natural shape, i.e., not cut through and provided with a round opening only at one pole, and also with hanging cords (Pl. VIII /see p. 110 /, 7), they serve as bottles or containers for smaller /Fig. 5 appears here/ objects, such as seeds, decorative feathers, and such things; with a wooden handle and the seeds left inside, or pebbles, they serve as a dance rattle (uärö). [531] As such, they are often decorated with bands of feathers hanging down (Pl. X /see p. 112/, 1 and 2). /Fig. 6 appears here./

285 Plaited work, in view of the inexhaustible wealth of plant material which the bounteous nature of South America puts at the disposal of the savage primitive inhabitants, occupies the most prominent place in Indian home industry. Actually it forms the yardstick of the culture of these tribes. The Karaya are second to no other nation in this art, but their works are distinguished

/20 cont./

285 less by decorativeness than by practicality, care in execution, and diversity of form.

[824] The leaves of the uaguassú and buriti palms serve them for making mats. The diagonally plaited leaf pinnae of the former provide, as was mentioned above, an important material for

•415

Fig. 5. Types of clay vessels (1/6).

[531]

Fig. 6. Gourd bowl with decorations.

285 house construction. These simple mats are also used for floor covering; because they are so easy to make, they are usually put together at the moment of need.

The true mats (esteiras), which are used as an underlayer while sleeping and as tent roofs, are made from the finely divided fan-leaves of the buriti palm. The tender fibers, split lengthwise, are always stored for use in braidlike plaited skeins.

/21 cont./

285 lengthwise. The sides and the double bottom are formed by the leaf pinnae crossing twill-like (Pl. VIII /see p. 110/, 17).

3. Rucksack-like bags with cords to hang them up (mansi) are made out of buriti leaf-fibers. Black waimbẽ strips are plaited in longitudinally (Pl. VIII, 15).

4. The elastic, bottle-like baskets of buriti leaf-strips in twill plaiting (moti) present a peculiar shape. In the smaller specimen the expansibility is increased by tying a row of new leaf-strips below the neck, which are knotted to each other above the base strips (Pl. VIII, 9 and 11).

[415] 5. For the storing of feather ornaments and the like, there are the double baskets of uaguassũ pinnae in an elliptical shape. They consist of two completely equal halves, one of which is pushed over the other as a cover (uarabehã). The leaf strips, each covering half of the other, are sewed together over an elliptically curved palm-wood edging as a rim. A longitudinal stick gives the bottom solidity and is connected with the other half by a string (Pl. VIII, 6).

6. Boat-shaped hanging baskets (lala) of carandasinha leaves. In the more complete specimens the edge formed by a split leaf-stalk is covered with black jangada bast and provided with a similar hanging-cord. The plaiting shows a rectangular [531] mirror-pattern, in which a cross decoration is drawn with red lacquer (Pl. VIII, 6).

[415] 7. A large, rectangular bag with carrying band serves for storing tobacco. Two pieces of palm leaf are fastened together with a middle rib to make one long side of the bag. Their pinnae are interwoven and with their knotted ends form the opposite long side (Pl. VIII, 12).

8. The small tobacco pouches of the men, made out of carandasinha, are very nice. A continuous piece provides the front and back sides, bottom, and cover-flap. The side parts are sewed in separately with a strip running over the bottom. The entire plaiting is horizontally running twill.

9. Small baskets of split cane with a rectangular bottom, but round opening, in three-splint twill plaiting. The sides show

/21 cont./

285 vertical striping. By turning the diagonal splints toward the outside, there arises on each side a diagonal cross-pattern in dark color. All the splints come together at right angles at the bottom.

10. Round shallow baskets (uäriri) made of pliable vines, [415] whose vertical splints join at the bottom in four groups intersecting at right angles (Pl. VIII /see p. 110 /, 14), serve as sieves.

11. A spherical basket for storing raw cotton has a quite similar plaiting. The vertical strips are of less pliable material (Pl. VIII /see p. 110/, 16).

283 The textile industry of the Karaya is essentially still plaited [824] work. Primarily natural vegetable materials, the fiber of the buriti and certain Bromeliaceae, as well as the varieties of bast of the Malvaceae (embira and jangada) known for extraordinary cohesion, provide material for threads. Finer threads are made by rubbing the fibers between moistened hands or between hand and thigh. Stronger ones are then twisted out of these in the manner described by Im Thurn, op. cit., p. 284, a method which, moreover, is also practiced by every Brazilian sertanejo /inlander/. The thread and strands thus obtained are, however, used almost [286] exclusively for twine, cords, and bow strings. To be sure, mesh goods is knitted out of them with long wooden needles, for example, fishing and carrying nets, as well as peculiar, collapsible caps of cotton thread, which are decorated in various ways with feathers (see p.44).

The true weaving material is cotton. The hand spindle (ä-θondäǎ) in the usual form, a round disk of bone or fired clay, serves for making thread. It bears in its pierced center a palmwood stick about a foot long, provided on the lower end with a sharply /22/ offset knob. The stick is set in motion by stroking [532] it on the hip in a turning motion. One of the clay whorls here is spherically decorated with four human faces carved around it (Fig. 7 /see p. 42/).

286 The loom, or rather plaiting apparatus, on which the sleeping nets are made, is as simple as possible. Two strong wooden poles are rammed into the ground at a distance of 2-2 1/2 meters. The central roof-supports of the hut can serve as such. The warp

/24 cont./

535 often bear rattles of Thevetia pods. Other belts are entirely made up of the latter (Pl. X /see p. 112/, 8-10).

Around the knee or ankle joints the dancer places bands from which strands ending in rattles and tufts of feathers hang down. They are held apart by a horizontal wooden stick and are sometimes covered with a thick layer of white down feathers (Pl. X, 4).

412 531

301 237 439

Fig. 9. Comb (1/4).

Necklaces in their original form are no longer seen. Pierced animal teeth and stones, shell disks, etc. have long been supplanted by glass beads imported in great quantities. The white and black beads of the cheap "rosaries" widespread everywhere

415 531

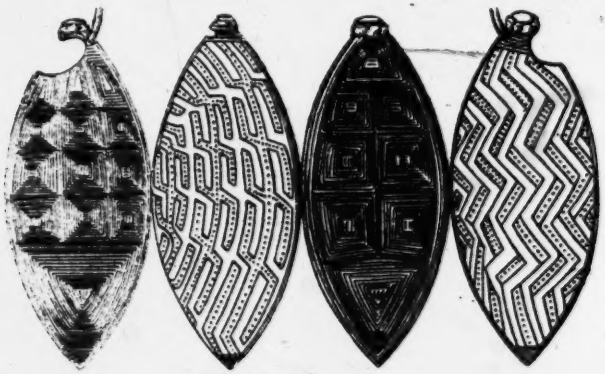

Fig. 10. Decorations on the gourd vessel of Pl. VIII /see p. /, 7 (1/4).

301 in Goyaz are the most prized, but they are strung in a manner corresponding to the national taste. A whole series of short strings goes around the neck as tightly as possible (cf. Pl. II /see p. 104/, 2; III /see p. 105/, 1). From the lowermost hangs a number of small chains which have small fruit shells or tufts of feathers at the ends.

/78 cont./ [Plate II. Karaya. (cont'd)]

142 2. Two Šambioa warriors en face. The man on the left with
291 the feather diadem lurina on the back of the head (see p. 44),
301 bow, arrows, and club in his hand, the one on the right with the
302 small wreath-diadem (Pl. IX /see p. /, 6) and strings of glass
411 beads wound tightly around the neck. The large lower-arm cuffs identify him as unmarried.

Pl. III. Karaya. Karayahi Groups (taken in the last "summer camp" on a river island above the northern tip of Bananal Island).

1. Men, two of which wear arm-cuffs and knee-bands. One has the small feather rosettes with a central disk of mother-of-pearl in his ears (see. p. 46). Face painting with soot is recognizable. The straw hat of the older man sitting in front is not the one mentioned on p. 20, but a model directly borrowed
[501] from the settlers. In the background two long canoes and farther to the left in the distance the small Araguaia steamer.

342 2. Women, children, and young people sitting on the
361 ground in front of the tent-roofs of the summer camp, which are
516 made of mats. Two araras on the pole to the right, at the left on the bank a jabiru (black-headed stork).

Pl. IV. Karaya. Villages.

133
342 1. Full view of the first village of the Šambioa.
361 2. Reception scene in the third village of the Šambioa.
574

291 Pl. V. Karaya. Chief's hut (fourth village of the
342 Šambioa).
351
354 Group at the cooking place in front of the entrance.
415

411 Pl. VI. Karaya. Weapons.

1. Bow with wound bowstring and feather tassel (1/8).

[Plate VI. Karaya. (Cont'd.)]

/78 cont./

411 2, 3. Arrows with palm-wood knives (1/6).

4. Arrow with bird-bone tip (1/6).

5. Bird-arrow with blunt, knob-shaped tip (1/6).

6. Throwing board (1/6).

7. Arrow thrown by it, with blunt wooden tip (1/6).

8. War arrow with ray-spine tip (1/6).

9. War arrow with taquara-cane knife (1/6).

[531] 10. Lance with shaft-plaiting (1/9).

11. Flat club of the Šambioa chief Ambura (from the collection of Leite Moraes (1/9).

12. Plaiting pattern of the latter (2/3).

13. Grooved, round club of Ambura (1/9).

/79/

Pl. VII. Karaya. Cotton Work.

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301 1. Large black and white striped sleeping-mat or cape (1/8).

2. Fringed hangings of twisted cotton thread to be worn hanging down from the neck over the chest and back. Dyed with urucú red (1/8).

3, 4. Black, closely woven body-belts for small children (1/8).

5. Black tassels with pierced snail shells tied on in pairs with plaited cords taken doubled. Worn by small children around the neck (1/6).

6. Knee band of unmarried persons (1/8).

7. Black, closely woven forehead-band with rectangular mother-of-pearl disks sewed on (1/8).

8. A pair of tightly knitted, red, lower-arm cuffs, mark of the unmarried state (1/6).

Pl. VIII. Karaya. Oars, Gourds, Plaited Work.

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412 1-3. Oars with fish patterns (1/9).

●415 4. Cassava grater (1/9).

5. Small tobacco pouch (1/8).

/79 cont./ [Plate VIII. Karaya. (Cont'd.)]

415 6. Large, boat-shaped hanging basket with red cross-
285 decorations put on it (1/9).

7. Round gourd container with hanging cord (1/13). Pattern for it, see Fig. 10 /see p. 47/.

8. Double basket for storing feather decorations (1/9).

9. Large, bottle-shaped basket (1/8).

[293] 10. Eyeshade (1/8).

11. Small, expansible bottle-basket (1/8).

[286] 12. Large tobacco pouch with cotton, black-patterned carrying band (1/8).

13. Buriti foot-mat with black bast woof (1/8).

14. Flexible sieve-basket (1/8).

15. Rucksack-like bag (1/8).

16. Round basket for raw cotton (1/8).

17. Large, round carrying-basket with strong carrying-cord of bast (1/8).

Pl. IX. Karaya. Feather Decorations

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1. Helmet-like headdress, probably belonging to 7 (1/6).

2. Horseshoe-shaped headdress to be worn on the back of the head. Edge feathers white. Red arara feathers in the center and on the ends. Cover feathers blue, red, and green mixed (1/6).

3. Cylindrical headdress of thin sticks covered with small yellow and red feathers (1/6).

4. Plaited cap with yellow-red feather rosettes (1/6).

5. Large diadem of white-red feathers (1/6).

6. Everyday diadem of the warrior. A ring covered with red-yellow feathers (1/6).

7. Large, fan-shaped feather decoration, three-quarters closed, probably to be put around the lower part of 1 (1/6).

8 and 9. Festive arm-bands made of ounce skin with tufts of feathers (1/8).

10. Ear decorations. Feather rosettes with central shell plates (1/8).

4: Ehrenreich--105 E-5 (1888) 1891 SP9 Caraja SP9

Plate III

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4: Ehrenreich--107 E-5 (1888) 1891 SP9 Caraja SP9

Plate V

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4: Ehrenreich--110 E-5 (1888) 1891 SP9 Caraja SP9

Plate VIII

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[412]

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[293]
[286]

Plate 12

1. Cooking place of the Karaja Indians.

3. Mask hut in Village 7 (South Horde).

2. Karajá boys.

4. Karajá women and girls.

/Plate 12 faces p. 56. /

/198 cont./

513 head high when sleeping. When they sleep in the open in the sand, they hollow out a pit for their bodies, put a mat over it and themselves on top of that, but in such a way that the head lies on the elevated edge of the pit; they cover themselves with the rest of the mat. It is very agreeable to sleep in this fashion, /199/ as I discovered for myself. In contrast to this, however, I also saw them lying flat on the level floor in the houses, without elevating their heads at all.

293 For fanning cool air and to drive away mosquitoes during the midday rest, plaited, patterned fans (kōlĭ; Pl. 21, Ill. 2) made of palm leaves are used.

352 532 [622] Seats are provided only for chiefs. They are the stool in animal form carved out of one piece of wood: the seat runs out on either side into a head that bears mother-of-pearl eyes with wax pupils; tassels of red-yellow parrot feathers are hung in the ear holes. The mother-of-pearl eyes are cut round on a stone and then glued on with wax. Finally, the entire stool is colored black with genipap coloring, which is applied with the palm of the hand. These stools are called kŏlĭšŭ, the feather tassels kōlĭšŭlăbĕdŏsĭ. The stools are said to represent an arara (Pl. 19, Ill. 1a and b).

516 Ordinarily the Indians sit on the mats with their legs crossed under them, hand on hip, or they squat on the ground (Pl. 12, Ill. 1; Pl. 38, Ill. 1).

353 Usually no arrangement for the storing of ornaments, articles of clothing, implements, and weapons is found in the huts. Small things are stuck into the roof /Ill. 23 appears here/ or hung on [411] the posts. Bows, arrows, and lances usually lie along the side walls on the floor or lean in a corner. For the rest, baskets, gourd [415] vessels, and pots hang, stand, and lie around everywhere in the house, some of them filled with other household equipment. In [352] only two houses, in Village 6 and in Schischá, did I see along the wall stands made out of two forked sticks on which bows and arrows were placed (Ill. 23). They, too, seem to go back to Šavajé influence, for the Šavajé in Schischá used such stands.

/211 cont./

visit, the chief's wife combs and oils their hair.

412 303 The combs (zĭhŏ) consist of flat, sharpened splinters of palm wood, more rarely of taquara, which, with the flat sides laid on one another, are held together by two pairs of little sticks, one of which is fastened at the upper edge and the other at one-third of the height from the points. These splinters are interlaced with cotton threads in patterns. On either side two or three splinters project a bit above the upper edge. These extensions often bear bunches of feathers or red-colored cotton tassels and are usually connected with one another by a suspension thread. On the outer

415 531

Ill. 39 a, b.
Gourd vessels for hair oil.

412 [303] side of these lateral splinters, between the two cross-sticks, several intersecting threads are often stretched. The combs are always one-sided; only in the village on the Tapirapé mouth did I acquire a double-sided comb (Pl. 21, Ill. 1e). The shapes of the combs may be traced back to three basic types: a simple rectangular comb, wide combs with small curved lateral rods and converging teeth, and finally trapeze-shaped combs (Pl. 21, Ill. 1 a-d).

303 [824] The hair oil (tālĭ) is made from the seeds of palm fruits. The fruits of the coceiro (āhădĕtĕ), as well as of the tucum palm (hālŭ), were mentioned. The oil is stored in special whole [415] [531] gourd-vessels (tālĭlŭkŭ), which are usually decorated with large designs made by peeling off the upper layer of the gourd rind (Ill. 39 a, b). Tufts of raw cotton are tossed into these oil-filled gourd vessels and now become saturated with oil. They

/213 cont./

386
[438]
[415]

Ill. 40 a, b.
Urucú oil-color in trade packaging.

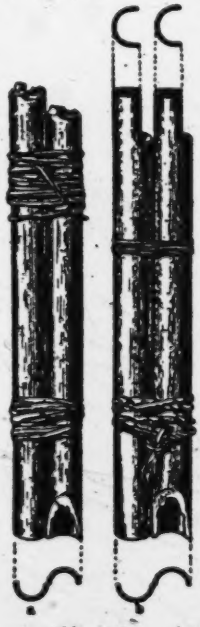
Ill. 41 a, b.
Color bowls.

302 a serpentine line (bũltĩ; according to Kuriši,
413 however, naũěkiělãzĩ = ostrich crown-tuft). These stamps are usually only one-sided (Ill. 42a); only once did I come across a two-sided stamp, which at one end bore the serpentine line, at the other two semi-circles, one above the other (Ill. 42b). The boy in Ill. 2 on Plate 38 is painted with the serpentine-line stamp.

302 In the painting we distinguish between full painting and patterning.

[291] The full painting "is their suit of clothes" (Kuriši's statement); "it protects them from mosquitoes just as their suit does for the Christians" (Mauzĩ's statement).

The patterning, on the other hand, is executed only for special occasions. It is a kind of festive ornamentation. For
[609] receiving strangers, for example, the villagers paint themselves with red and black designs; the arriving strangers also paint themselves before they /214/ enter the village, even if they only draw a black eye-band from ear to ear with soot scraped from the charred Campo trees.



Ill. 42 a, b.
Genipap stamps.

/230 cont./

*301 283 are called kōdēsi, in both cases their hangings hang down only on the outer side of the arm. The lower-arm bands are worn behind the arm cuffs (dēsi). In this ornament, too, a plaiting of the upper part sometimes occurs (Ill. 74 a, b). For such calf bands, which are worn underneath the real calf bands, /231/ two names were mentioned: ūljāū and wŏdāidi. In this case the fringe hangs all around the leg (Ill. 75).

*301 [237] b) All other ornaments are worn only by the unmarried; married persons have no feather ornaments, whereas young people are abundantly provided with them, though they seldom wear them. The ornaments most often worn are the feather caps (boys), bead necklaces, and finger rings, as well as cotton belts with feather hangings. All other ornaments seem to be worn only occasionally for dances, festivities, etc. In between times they are carefully [415] stored in the elegant, long, covered baskets. The female youth wear only necklaces and finger rings; the girls also wear feather caps and feather arm-bands. One girl nine to eleven years old wore the following ornaments: feather cap, red ear-rosettes, black neck-tassels with snail shells, feather arm-bands behind the red cuffs, black belt with gray bast-apron over it, a long black string-skirt to go with it, and, finally, calf bands (Pl. 18).

[484] [177] On journeys my Indians had no ornaments; some of them wore Brazilian clothing, as well as lip plugs and native finger-rings. Almost all of the single ones tied a piece of fish line [184] around their ankles. It was remarkable that in the villages of the north horde located north of the Tapirapé mouth there was only a little ornamentation and feather ornaments were almost entirely lacking.

[184] The village on the Tapirapé mouth occupies a special position. All strikingly divergent forms, which will be specially discussed in the following, come from this village. I cannot decide whether this is a coincidence or whether there is Tapirapé influence here.

[237] [114] Of the feather head-ornaments mentioned by Ehrenreich, I did not see the following:

/245 cont./

262 The eggs are longish and have an odor and taste somewhat re-
222 sembling train oil. The tartaruga (kŏdūnĭ) and its eggs (kōdūnĭzĭ),
[221] on the other hand, are eaten with great relish. /246/ For them,
the Indians undertake distant boat journeys up the tributaries of
the Araguaya in September to October, the laying period of this
turtle, which deposits up to 160 round eggs in a nest. All the
sandbanks are investigated and the often numerous nests emptied
(on the Tapirapé I found up to four nests on small sandbanks).
Thus, they gather quite enormous quantities of eggs. These are
[251] either eaten raw or they are cooked and dried in the ashes and
[439] then kept for a long time, so that the Indians take them home,
[437] eat them later at leisure, or are able to sell them in the Brazilian
towns (Santa Maria, Conceição) on trading expeditions, which
they undertake in September and October. The turtles them-
[225] selves are taken by surprise while laying, or in shallow water they
are caught with the hands by diving from boats or with iron
bottom-tackle. The turtles are brought home alive in great
231 quantities from these expeditions and then eaten or sold. In order
to be able to keep them for a longer time, cages are built out of
twigs bent together at the top, which are stuck in the sand in a
circle, providing shade for them. Here they are tethered and kept
until they are consumed (Ill. 6). Small turtles are raised in the
villages as a pastime.

262 Ostrich eggs (nâŭĕkĭĕzĭ) are eaten with great relish. The
222 Indians empty the entire nest and take the eggs home with them
in order to eat them cooked there.

222 Honey (bădĕrhõ) is a delicacy of which they are passionately
fond. On their boat trips they observe the direction of flight of
the wild bees (bēdĭ), designated by them as stingless, until, after
a short time, they have discovered their nests high up in the
crowns of trees. Quickly the tree is climbed and the nest cut down
[415] with the bush knife or ax. The honey is then taken out down below;
it is stored in bent pieces of bark or in gourd vessels. Bees nesting
in hollow trees are smoked out and the honey is taken out with the
hand. The often giant honeycombs are individually sucked out;

Plate 55

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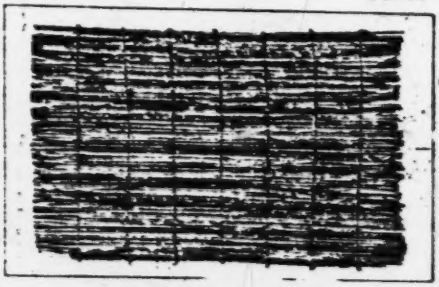

1. Rod sieve.

2. Sieve basket.

3. Sieve plate.

4. Modern sieve.

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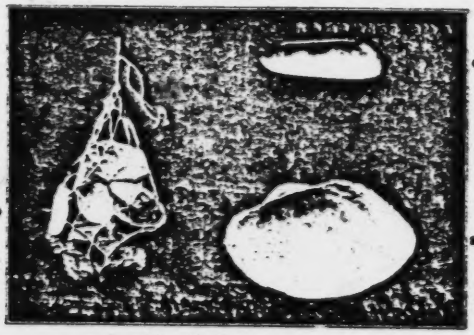

5. Shell spoons.

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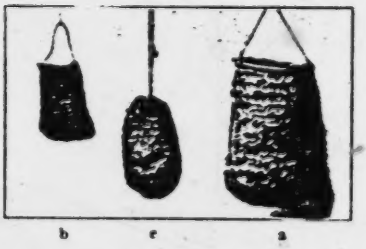


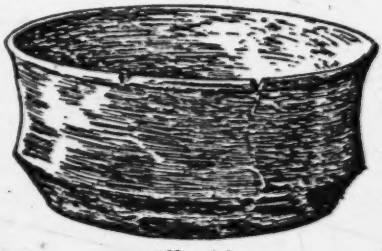
6. Tobacco pouches.

/252 cont./

372 The fire is never allowed to go out, but rather care is taken to keep it constantly burning. On boat trips the Indians take along glowing bast (häödě; Ill. 88) or pieces of slowly smoldering wood (häděkě) on a sand base in the boat, and similarly when they go to the plantings. Apparently, therefore, they dislike drilling new fire, but would rather transfer the fire to the new place. I often had the drilling of fire demonstrated for me, but the men never succeeded in getting beyond a huge development of smoke. These attempts, however, all happened to take place in wet weather.

Ill. 87.
Fire twirler.

Ill. 88.
Glow bast.



Ill. 89.
Cooking pot, ordinary shape.

[252] [415]

To fan the fire, fans (kōlĭ) which are plaited of palm fronds in simple fashion are used. The cooling fans (Plate 21, Ill. 2) differ from them only in that they have patterning.

252 /253/ Meat is merely roasted; fish and vegetables are eaten roasted and boiled. The preparation of food is the duty of the women; they are busy with it all day. The men, too, however, know how to do it, and on journeys they roast and boil their food themselves in case of emergency. In the villages I never saw roasting hearths; these were found only on sandbanks with traces of camps. Wandering bands use them occasionally. My Karajá always built such roasting hearths

[462]

/253 cont./

on the Šavajé journey. Apparently they are used more by the men 252
for the grilling of fish, but the men also understand boiling.

Roasting is done on the roasting hearths or on the spit. Meat and fish are roasted until the outer layer is charred. This strong burning makes up for the lack of salt to a certain extent. In the same way, palm nuts and other fruits are roasted in the fire, then later cracked open and eaten. In flat bowls (?) the fruit seeds of the coceiro (hŏlēnĭ) are roasted from October on. These seeds are then pounded, mixed

Ill. 90.
Double-bellied cooking pot.

Ill. 91.
Three-legged cooking pot.

[915]

with the meat of the nut, and this is then roasted together.

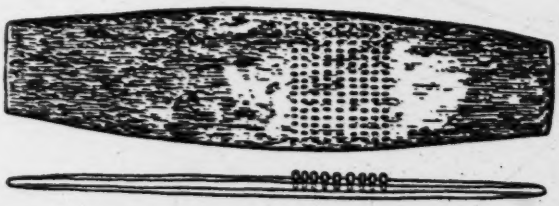
Boiling in large cooking pots preponderates by far, however. The cooking pots (wădjĭwĭ, wăďšĭwĭ) are made of gray clay; their [323]
typical shape is reproduced in Ill. 89. They are generally undecorated. Their diameter is often tremendous, measuring up to 80 centimeters; the height, however, is generally uniform (11-14 centimeters), so that such huge pots appear more bowl-shaped. Sometimes they are covered with clay plates. Vessels of a special type are the double-bellied vessel (Ill. 90), as well as the three-legged cooking pot (Ill. 91); both were likewise called wădjĭwĭ.

Fish, for one thing, are boiled; they are cleaned, scaled, cut into pieces, and thus boiled. When pikĭ fruits are in season, they are boiled with these. The chameleon is likewise skinned and boiled. Above all, manioc is prepared in this way. It constitutes [262]
the chief food. The preparation of the poisonous manioc is done as

/253 cont./

[252] follows: The root, provided with incisions, /254/ is placed in
[412] water for several days, then scraped with a sharpened mussel shell,
[237] and after that grated on the wooden grater [(k)ŏlãnã̆]. The longish, rectangular, flat piece of wood bears in the center of one side several transverse rows of inset points of prejauva wood

[412]



Ill. 92.
Manioc grater.

[516] (Ill. 92). The woman kneels while grating and holds the piece of wood against her body and braced against the ground. The well-known palates of the pirarucú fish also serve as graters. After that the mass is mixed
[237] with water and placed on the rod-sieve [bŭlẽĭdjŭ,
[415] pronounced: brẽ(ĭ)djẽ̆]. This consists of thin little cane rods arranged side by side, which at rather wide intervals are interwoven with two strings, in the same way as the net coverings (Plate 55, Ill. 1). Such rod-

[412]

Ill. 93.
Stirring spoon.

sieves serve, for one thing, as sieves for pounded manioc and for potter's clay, and then, too, as a manioc press, and finally as a base in pottery-making. On such sieves, therefore, the mass of manioc is cleaned, large pieces are picked out, and the sieve, along with the mass, is then rolled up and at the same time pressed hard with the hands, so that the poisonous juice flows out.
[262] The resulting coarse flour (kẽnõdẽ̆) is cooked to a manioc mush, the common food of the Indians. The sweet manioc (aipim) is
[412] treated somewhat differently. It is cut up and crumbled and then
[412] pounded with the thick wooden pestle approximately one and a half meters long (hãõ̆) in the mortar about 50 centimeters high and 26

/254 cont./

252 centimeters wide (kōwŏ), which is worked from a tree trunk with
415 a wall three centimeters thick (Plate 40, Ill. 3). This pounded
[412] mass is placed on a sieve resting on a bowl or a pot. As such sieves, dome-shaped or hemispherical basket-sieves (wālilīsĭ) plaited of stout wickerwork are sometimes used, or flat, round sieve-plates (ŭitjŭ ōdāmŏdĭ; Plate 55, Ills. 2, 3). In Schischá, modern wares are already manufactured: sieves with a one-piece wooden edge five centimeters high and fine, patterned bast plaiting, which are made essentially for use by the Brazilians (ŭitjon(a), Plate 55, Ill. 4). On these sieves impurities are first picked out by hand, then the sieve is taken in the left hand, and, by a rapid beating on it from above with the right hand, the mass is sieved through it. Larger pieces remaining behind go back into the mortar, are again pounded, and then /255/ sieved again. When sufficient flour has been collected, it is put in the large cooking pot, water from a gourd water-container is poured on it, and the pot is put on the fire.

252 For stirring, long flat wooden spoons (hālădāŏ) of tarumá
[412] wood are used (Ill. 93).

Ehrenreich reports that the Indians dry this flour in flat
[251] pots, in other words, make farinha d'agua, which keeps for a long time; that they leach out the dried mass (puva beero; according to my notes, bālò) several times and bake thick loaves out of it; that in small pots they make small roasted flat cakes (beiju: ibreĵeko) out of fresh roots. I neither saw nor heard anything about any of this.

Fruits that are still unripe are popularly taken and buried in the sand, where they ripen. Only then are they eaten.

252 Of spices only peppers (kāšĭwērā; the round-seeded kind) are
263 used. They are grown in the plantings; the pods are pounded and mixed with water, and the roasted fish are dipped in this sauce.

263 Salt (ĭnătŭ, nòtàkànà) is lacking; only in Village 6 did they
[439] have bitter salt from the salt mine near São José, which was mixed with red earth and which they had bartered for in São José. Their
[261] hunger for salt seems to be extremely great; they are constantly begging for this condiment. But it is strange in this connection

/255 cont./

261 that the women usually refused salted food. Instead, however,
263 they all ate whole handfuls of sand. Charcoal and ashes are also eaten, but all this is supposed to be very constipating. They are also said to make little pellets of clay which are eaten; the eating of them is supposed to cause jaundice.

D. Eating.

264 Eating utensils are very few in number. Roasted things, as well as boiled fish, are eaten with the fingers; mush, etc. are spooned out of the large cooking dish or out of small eating dishes.
● 415 Halved gourds are used as such and are generally decorated on the outside with carved decorations (Ill. 94). Shallow clay bowls are also customary (Ill. 95). I did not see oval clay bowls with a partition (Berlin 3866) or round and elliptical clay plates (Berlin 3863-3865), as described by Ehrenreich. Only in Schischá were [197] tall clay dishes with a red border decoration made (1), evidently [53]

[113] 1. See also my article on "Die Kunst der Karaja-Indianer /The Art of the Karaja Indians/," in the Bässler-Archiv, Vol. 2, No. 1, 1911.

412 under Brazilian influence (Ill. 96). Mussel shells serve as spoons, and, to be sure, the three types kădālĕ (Plate 55, Ill. 5a), kădālă liŏlĕ (Ill. 5b), and wălăbōkădālĕ (Ill. 5c); also small half-gourds ĭsă liŏlĕ, kăisŏ, ŭālĕ, which are generally decorated with pyrography and exhibit various shapes (Ills. 97, 98). I did not come across anywhere the spoons (katarĕ) of wood (Berlin 3934, 35) and clay (Berlin 3870) mentioned by Ehrenreich.

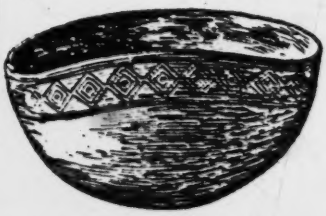
/256/ To crack open the roasted palm nuts striking stones are used. Rather heavy blows are required to split the shells of the nuts. Flat stones serve as a base; as beaters, fist-sized round ones of quartz, ground conical stones, or old stone axes. All these stones come from the regions north of the Tapirapé mouth. For all striking stones the name mānĕ (stone) was given. Ill. 99 a-c

/256 cont./

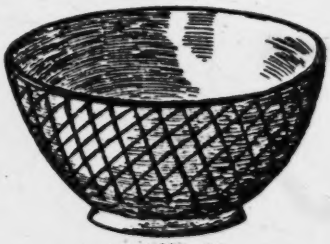
412 shows a pointed cone-shaped striking stone with hollowed-out striking place and with flat base; Ills. 100-102 show three stone axes, namely, a long flat-ax, a short flat-ax, and an ax with a shaft groove running around it, whose blade is already heavily worn as a result of the pounding.

415 [53] [197]

Ill. 94.

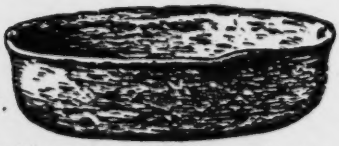


Gourd vessel for eating.

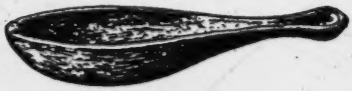


Ill. 96.
Modern eating dish.

Ill. 95.



412 Shallow eating dish made of clay.



Ill. 97.
Gourd spoon.

Ill. 98.
Gourd spoon.

Ill. 99 a-c.
a) Striking stone, b) its striking surface, c) base.

264 There are two meals, breakfast (andoldoho) at about eight or nine /257/ o'clock, and supper (lirosa) at about five or six o'clock. In between, [262] however, this and that is munched, fruits, nuts, etc.; at noon they like to eat grilled piranhas (fish jacuba: djūdea). The menu consists mostly of boiled manioc mush and fish. Much is eaten, but the people do not

/258 cont./
262 scorned red-deer meat and tracajá eggs; others ate these things.
[177] Enlightened (civilized) Indians, who otherwise still believed firmly in all kinds of magic, ate everything.

G. Luxuries.

276 The Indians are familiar with only one luxury item:
[177] tobacco (kōtĭ). They maintain that they adopted the luxury of tobacco only from the Brazilians, and, to be sure, in about the
[249] first half of the nineteenth century. At that time they obtained seed (kōtĭlăti) or shoots; at first they planted these in the mud, where only small plants grew; then they tried it in the plantings, where large plants grew. The custom of smoking is older, however. Fonseca reports in 1773 that they smoked their clay peace pipe in an easterly direction, apparently observing a ceremony (1).

1. Rev. trim. 8, pp. 378 and 387.

Probably they received merely another plant from the Brazilians.
249 /259/ Today tobacco is raised in the plantings, and it is planted by the men during the rainy season by placing seed kernels into the ground. Harvest begins "when the leaves begin to hang" (in July I already saw fresh tobacco leaves hung up to dry). The leaves are picked and brought into the house, where they are hung up to dry. When they are half-dry they are rubbed between the hands ("so that the tobacco becomes black"), then hung outside the house on a pole or a special sloping rack, and com-
[415] pletely dried. It is stored in the oblong baskets called lālă, and, to be sure, rolled up pad-shaped by the south horde (ĭlūlăŭ), plaited into a braid by the north horde (kō(ŭ)zăă). (See Ill. 194, Šavajé /see p. 323/.)
276 The variety is evidently very light; its fragrance is not very pleasant, but the Indians smoke it passionately. They find
249 the tobacco of the Šavajé to be better and obtain seedlings from
438 them to improve their stock. Thus, on my return journey from
[437] the Šavajé I was accompanied by /Ills. 103-104 appear here/ a
[482]

/261 cont./
276 on pieces of cane (1), which generally resemble the Brazilian

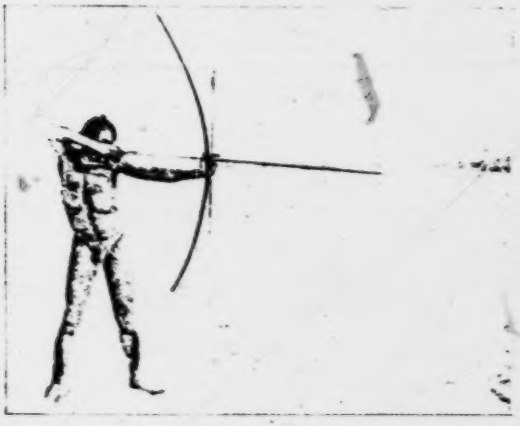
1. In this connection cf. that Fonseca already mentions clay peace pipes in 1773, without, however, describing their shape. Rev. trim. 8, p. 378.

ones and differ from them only by the flattening of the underside.
[531] They are usually provided with incised decoration and the clay (zõŭ), light in itself, has taken on a black color from the burning
[415] (Ill. 108 a-d). The daily supply, as well as the pipes, is kept in small baskets (mõdĭ, Plate 55, Ill. 6a) or in small plaited pouches, which, in rectangular shape, are made out of simple bast plaiting (sãhŭ) or out of a bast plaiting similar to the sitting mats (mãšĭ) (Plate 55, Ill. 6 b,c).

Smoking is done in the following manner: The tobacco is firmly pressed into the pipe until it is about three-quarters full; then a smoldering piece of wood from the fire is laid on it, and the opening is closed off with the hand or a finger. Then one sucks rapidly many times in succession until the tobacco is burning; the charcoal is then usually, but not always, removed. In smoking, they draw the smoke up rapidly many times in succession: it looks as though they were sucking or drinking (Plate 11, Ill. 3); only then do they take the pipe out and expel the smoke.

171 It seems remarkable that the Kayapó use the name wãlĭkŏkŏ,
276 thus, in the form from the women's language. They likewise use pipes made from the fruit of the jequitiba tree; as a unique specimen I saw a pipe of clay fashioned in the same shape. But they already generally use suction tubes which are stuck into the pipe from the side. Such pipes were present only in small numbers, and the Kayapó were constantly demanding them from me. Apparently the implement, and with it the name, reached them from the Karajá or Šambioá through the Brazilians. The women's word is explained by the fact that the men, too, usually use this form in speaking to strangers.

411



1. Archer.

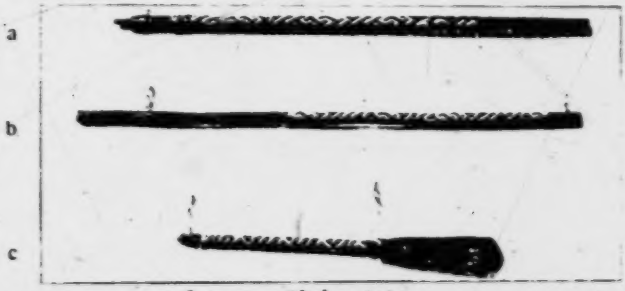
868

415

2. Target ring.

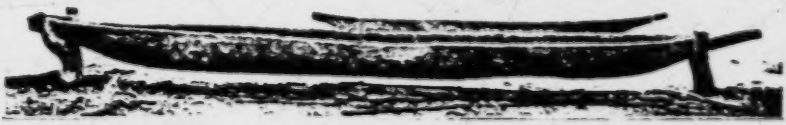
4 a-c. Small carrying-gourds.

411



3 a-c. Club sticks.

501



5. Karajá boat on work-rack.

/276 cont./

482 415 Smaller loads are carried in containers on a hand-strap, for example, in carrying sacks (mãsĭ; Pl. 57, Ills. 5 and 6), carrying bags (lõlŭ; Pl. 57, Ill. 4), two-piece baskets (wrãbãhĭ; Pl. 57, Ills. 16 and 17), small pouches (Pl. 55, Ill. 6 a-c), or in small gourd vessels, the perforated edges of which hold the carrying-bands or which are either plaited round with bast (dãlĩlĭkŭ) or are set into a net of black cotton plaiting (wãlãbŭkŭ; Pl. 56, Ill. 4 a-c).

854 Children ride on the hip and are held there with the hand (Pl. 12, Ill. 4; Pl. 37, Ill. 2; Pl. 42, Ills. 2, 3).

501 [484] Their principal journeys take place by water in a boat. The boat (ãwŏ), of which there is one or more in each family, consists of a dugout six to ten meters long and 40-60 meters wide. The two ends are greatly elongated and slope up from below, so that getting on and off the sandbanks is easily accomplished (Pl. 56, Ill. 5). The boats have no seats; one squats or sits on the narrow bottom. Sometimes cross-rods are put in, upon which the cargo is placed to protect it from the bilge water. In one place [372] in the boat there is often a layer of loam upon which lies the smoldering wood for transporting fire.

The boats are propelled with oars and poles; both are used in journeys upstream and downstream, the poles, of course, only in shallow water. The oars (nãlĭhĭ) are manipulated freely as paddles, and, indeed, the rowers kneel or sit in the boat, their faces in the direction of travel. If the boat is propelled by one [502] man, he sits at the rear end and steers at the same time; with a crew of two men, one sits at the front end and one at the rear; several rowers distribute themselves over the entire boat. In the latter case, the rowing rhythm is entirely spontaneous, since the ones in the rear must adjust to the man in front. The song which [533] young people like to take up while rowing has nothing to do with the rhythmical rowing. There are various ways of working the oars: short strokes with pauses after each stroke; long, evenly spaced strokes; slow strokes with a lifting of the blade at the end, so that the water falls off the blade in a broad surge, are regarded as a particularly elegant manner of rowing. The Indians have [197] great endurance; they row for many hours without interruption.

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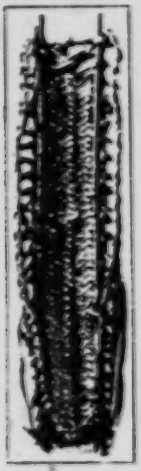
Plate 57

285
415
482

1. Back basket.

3. Round carrying-basket with forehead band.



2. Back basket.

12.

4. Carrying bag.

5. Carrying sack.

6. Carrying sack.

13.

12 and 13. Oblong basket plaited out of a leaf pinna.

8.

9.

10.

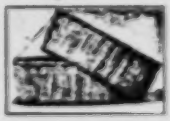
11.

8-11. Baskets with square bottoms and round openings.

7. Pointed-oval basket.

14. Basket-bowl, both plaited out of two pinnae each.

15. Basket,



16. Two-piece basket, opened.

17. Two-piece basket, closed.

/277 cont./

501 [502] The boat is pushed over shallow places; to get over exposed sandbanks extending crosswise, wooden rollers are laid down on which the boat is rolled across (Ill. 9).

There are no anchors for securing the boat; stones with plaiting around them serve only as anchors for the bottom tackle for turtles. The boats are easily pulled up on the bank, and the boat pole is stuck into the sand through the loop; this is the whole mooring.

[415] Half-gourds are used to scoop out the water that enters.

[532] [484] [211] I saw decorated boats only in Village No. 20. Here, on the inner wall of a boat, there were light-colored human figures; another boat had 36 notches on the edge, which were said to be the number of nights required for a journey to the Sambioá.

484 Such trips lasting for weeks are usually undertaken in a large company; often the entire village sets out in a great number of boats packed high. By themselves the Indians only make [242] journeys of one or two days. By way of /278/ provisions they take only a little with them: manioc, maize, and the cooking pot; the fish are caught on the way twice a day. Rower and helmsman change places daily on longer journeys, especially if only two men are traveling in the boat.

502 132 Shipwrecks sometimes occur, especially while crossing the river in a storm. Such accidents, in which Indians lost their lives and of which several examples were recounted to me, are easily explainable in view of the high waves which storms create on the river and the narrow, low boats of the Indians. In fact, I myself with my boats (dugouts with one or two side planks set on them) was often forced to seek refuge from wind and waves for hours on high banks or on sandbanks.

The Indians endure bad weather on the journey rather simply. They quickly build themselves small sheltering walls out of poles and prepared palm leaves, which they always carry with them on longer journeys, or they pull the boat on land, turn it upside down, and lie down under it wrapped in their coverings beside a fire which they light in the center. They spend the worst nights of storm and rain in this manner.

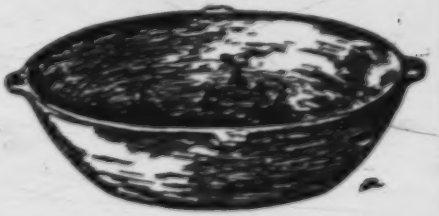
/283 cont. /

323 After this the vessels are dried slightly in the sun and then fired. This is done on an ordinary hearth. I observed how a large cooking pot stood on three hearth shards with the opening downward and was being fired by a fire underneath it (Ill. 131). I am unable to say whether a firing is also done from the outside. I did not see the use of the termite hill as a kiln, as Ehrenreich reports from Magalhães ("Beiträge," p. 19), anywhere during the dry season; the shaping and firing always took place on the sandbanks on the ordinary hearth.

Ill. 129.
Pressing the groove into the roll of clay.

Ill. 131.
Firing the pot.

Ill. 130.
Placing the roll of clay on the edge of the bottom of the vessel.



Ill. 132.
Clay bowl with four protuberances on the rim.

415 Large cooking pots, grave urns which are nothing more than huge cooking pots with a lid, three-legged cooking pots, and bowls are made. All these vessels are called wǎdjiwi. Concerning the sun-dried clay dolls as toys, see p. 247.

The shapes are very simple: the common type is the slightly curved double-conical shape (Ill. 89); the double-bellied pot (Ill. 90) is rare; and the three-legged cooking pot (Ill. 91) is also not too /284/ frequent. Dishes are rare; the most frequent are the shallow bowls (see Ill. 95 /see p. 172/). The eating dish with the four rim-protuberances (Ill. 132) is most peculiar; perhaps it is the result of Brazilian influence, which is

/284 cont. /

415 177 [939] very pronounced in the pottery in the villages from Leopoldina to São José. These villages furnish the Brazilians with cooking and eating vessels, so that in São José and Leopoldina one finds Indian vessels almost exclusively. They have already been [531] adapted, however, to the taste of the Brazilians: the small eating dishes have the typical bowl-shape and on the edge bear a decoration in red color (Ill. 96). The water-cooling vessels, too, which the Indians in the villages mentioned make for the Brazilians, show the purely Brazilian type and red decoration. [386] The red designs are made with an earth color. The red earth [317] for this (ñõõ, ñõõbõõ) comes from the Barreira do Veado and is taken along to São José and Schischá by the Indians of the north horde traveling south for arrow cane, in order to sell it to the Indians [533] there. It is applied mixed with water. The true Indian vessels are undecorated.

Ill. 133.
Old clay-vessel.

I obtained in Schischá a most peculiar vessel, whose origin is unknown (Ill. 133). It is irregularly spotted dark red and black as a result of uneven firing; it is apparently made out of very crude clay and in a very primitive fashion. The two knobs on the edge, which are slightly hollowed out on top, are striking. The vessel was found several decades ago in the sand of a sandbank by Indians from Schischá on a journey downstream. The Indians themselves were unable to say where the vessel might come from.

415 114 I did not see anywhere the pot and bowl forms brought back by Ehrenreich: shallow, round dishes (Berlin 3862), flat, round plates (3863 and 3864), flat, oval plates (3865), low elliptical double bowls with a dividing wall running lengthwise (3866), cylindrical pot with turned-down rim and bast hanging-band (3861), double conical pot with hanging band (3858), and clay spoons (3878).

/286 cont./

396 out with the ax. In this crude shape the boat is brought into the village and placed on two forked posts about half a meter high (Pl. 56, Ill. 5). With oaguassu palm fronds, which are laid in the hollow, the interior space is completely burned out and blackened, while at the same time burning through the walls is prevented by quickly snatching out the fire. Then, while the wood is still warm, about 20 cross-sticks, each approximately three centimeters thick, are stretched from wall to wall; palm fronds are propped against the boat all around and are lighted at four or five places on either side by one man each. After about five minutes the outside charring and blackening of the boat is completed. The struts remain in the boat until the next day; they are very bent. Afterwards the boat is put through an inspection, during which possible irregularities, especially of the bottom, which could cause disturbances in the balance, are removed with the ax. At the front, narrowly tapering end a hole is cut into the right wall, directly under the edge, for the loop into which the boat pole is stuck during the rowing or lying quietly on the bank. This hole is supposedly cut in with a sharp knife under the application of a wooden mallet.

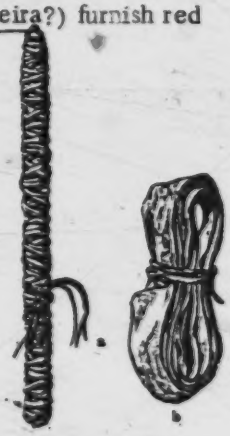
415 I did not see wooden vessels. Ehrenreich brought back a
412 few: a round vessel hollowed out from a tree root, with a carry-
114 ing string (Berlin 3875) and two spoons, the handle of one of which terminates in a tucano head (3934, 3935). In the case of fire
[372] sticks, according to him, the drilling stick consists of taquara, the base of Bixa orellana.

415 Of larger fruits only gourds are used. They are carefully
[824] dried by being stuck on sticks that stand in the glaring sun and in the sand of the sandbanks. Later, tied together, they are hung on a vertical stick (Ill. 26 a, b). Hollowed out, they serve as oil containers, as hanging containers for white down feathers, with a bast stopper (Pl. 58, Ill. 3a) or wax seal (the hanging band is fastened with wooden wedges; Pl. 58, Ill. 3 b, c), halved paint bowls and eating dishes, smaller ones as spoons. The whole-
[531] gourd vessel and larger half-gourd vessels are usually decorated with incised ornamentation, the smaller half-gourds with Pyrography.

/286 cont./

pyrography. Of the other fruits, jequitiba is used for tobacco pipes, hollowed out and crudely carved on the outside (Ills. 103 and 104); Thevetia is used for necklaces or pendants on belts, etc. The latter usually bear a small /287/ bunch of feathers in the hollow. Other small, whitish fruits are bored and strung as chains. In Ehrenreich's collection there is a small bowl, made out of a timbo fruit, for storing the urucú color (Berlin 3876).

The bark of trees is made into women's aprons. Above all the bark of the gameleira is used, which furnishes the reddish aprons (ăndähülĕ). Other species (also gameleira?) furnish red materials (ămbüödä) or white shiny materials (hidëülĕ). Ehrenreich, in addition, also mentions Apeiba jangada (Berlin 3696). The preparation is as follows: Thick branches of the trees concerned are hewed off in the required length (one and a half to two meters) and brought into the house. Here the men, with an angular stone, strike off the solid pieces of bark, slit the bark lengthwise, and peel it off. The further treatment is the task of the women: the pieces of bark are soaked, laid folded together on the manioc mortar turned upside down, and are now beaten with a flat stone, usually an old stone ax, until they are completely soft.



Ill. 134 a, b.
Embira: a) wound on a rod,
b) rolled up.

H. Bast is used in wide layers as an ornamental binding material and in fine strands as material for strings and for knotting mats.

As ornamental binding material, the bast of Malvaceae (embira: dödĕ, etc.) is used above all. There are light red, red, and black varieties. It is kept in all widths: the finest (0.3 centimeters wide) is wound on rods (Ill. 134a), the wider (2.5-4 centimeters wide) is rolled up into stout rolls in such a way that the colored, shiny side is on the inside (Ill. 134b). They are used

Plate 58

1. Addition to pottery clay.

2. Pot bottom with rod-sieve texture.

a-c. Feather gourd vessels.

4. a Bunch of imbauva fibers. b Bunch of buriti fibers.

5. Sample of basket plaiting.

8 a and b. Manner of storing feathers.

7. Ball of cotton.

6. Spindle with picked-cotton band.

10. Monkey-skull rattles.

11. Funerary urn.

9. Bamboo trumpet.

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[237] ←

/299 cont./

303 next to one another and, at the place where the lower pair of cross-rods is fastened, lightly interlaced with cotton threads (Ill. 151). Then the two lower cross-rods are fastened over them, at first loosely with fine bast thread (Ill. 152), then permanently by means of a firm winding with cotton thread. Then the surface plaiting is put on; it is likewise only made by hand. Finally, the two upper cross-rods are put on and plaited over in the same manner as the lower ones. The patterns on the surfaces are the customary plaiting patterns. Cross-threads are often put on at the narrow edges (ill. 153).

237 301 L. The feather technique. In fastening, arrangement, and color combinations of the feathers, the feather ornaments of the Karajá present a rich diversity, richer probably than in any other Indian tribe. As material they use white down feathers from ducks and diving birds, small fine red feathers, small body feathers from parrots of all kinds, wing and tail feathers from araras, vultures, owls, and herons. I did not observe any coloring of the feathers, on which Ehrenreich reported in "Beiträge," page 14, nor was I able to find out anything about this. The down [415] feathers are kept in special, small gourds which are closed with a wax knob or a bast stopper (Pl. 58, Ill. 3 a-c). The small fine red feathers are tied side by side on a string and wound spirally on a rod. Parrot feathers are placed in the baskets in small bundles or arranged fanlike side by side (Pl. 58, Ill. 8b). Wing and tail feathers are arranged in wings, and, indeed, in decreasing length. Two such wings are usually placed with one on top of the other, so that the rows of feathers descend in the opposite directions (Pl. 58, Ill. 8a). This kind of arrangement is very durable and at the same time makes it possible to find easily the very feathers required.

Usually the feathers are used in complete form. Sometimes, however, they are clipped, and, to be sure, in the long direction for arrow feathering, but crosswise for feather ornaments of all kinds. Whereas at present this clipping is done with the shears, the feathers were formerly singed off in order to obtain the desired shape.

/306 cont./

868 501 In order to learn to row, boys use small oars, which in general are similar in shape to those of the adults, but sometimes deviate in the shape of the blade (Ill. 166a). They are 64-96 centimeters long. Only one specimen /Ills. 162-166 appear here/ /307/ showed painting with red and black squares (Ill. 166b). They, too, have two grooves in the handle cylinder.

868 227 For learning to fish, boys use small anchored nets (hãdeke, lãhole) knotted out of bast, which they set up in the water on the edge of the sandbanks; they are mounted on two long side rods and are kept stretched by several vertical struts (Ill. 86). /Ill. 167 appears here./

868 283 Girls learn to spin and cook. They have small spindles on which they twist serviceable threads at an early age. One sees girls from six to seven years old already spinning almost constantly. The spinning whorls are either double-conical clay whorls or wooden whorls that are dome-shaped on one side (Ill. 167). This primitive shape has thus been preserved among the children, whereas it seems to have been lost to the adults.

868 415 Small clay dishes appear in all sizes; the larger ones may actually be used for cooking, whereas the smaller ones serve only as playthings. The actual cooking utensils are partly blackened with soot on the outside, in other words, have been exposed to the fire. Besides the usual forms (pot, Ill. 168a) and bowl (Ill. 168 b, c), other forms also appear: bowl with convex bottom (Ill. 168d), dish (Ill. 168 e, f); a four-part dish (Ill. 168g), the use of which did not become clear to me despite the long Indian explanation of the mother concerned, seems to be used for a very special purpose. /Ill. 168 appears here./

524 415 /308/ All the other dishes are used only for play; some of them are not fired and are so small that cooking with them is impossible. It is surprising in this connection that in addition to the [184] usual types there are quantities of different, almost European-looking vessels, which, strangely enough, all come from the village on the Tapirapé mouth. I did not see these peculiar forms

[Text continues on p. 246]

5: Krause- 245 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9

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Ill. 167.
Child's spindle
with wooden
whorl.

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415

Ill. 168 a-g.
Small clay dishes for children.

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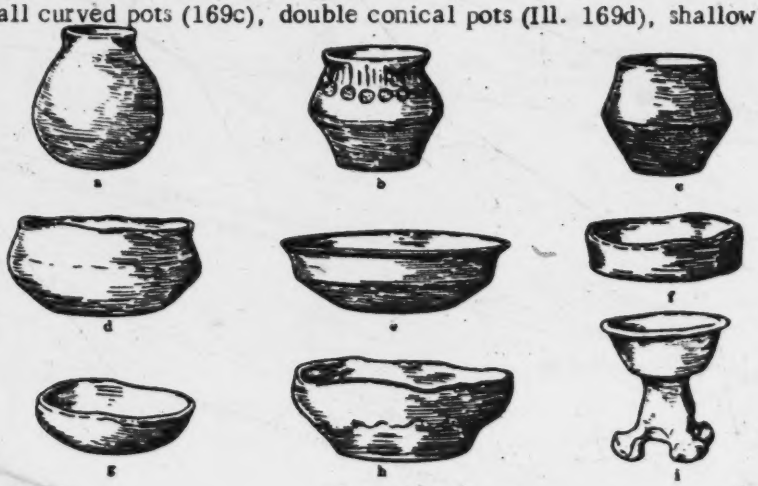
/308 cont./
in other villages. /309/ Could influence from the Tapirapé Indians be present here? A few specimens seem to be merely unskillful versions of true Karajá types. Of the ordinary forms there should be mentioned: vessels like water jugs (Ill. 169 a, b), tall curved pots (169c), double conical pots (Ill. 169d), shallow



Ill. 169 a-i.
Small toy dishes.

Ill. 170 a-f.
Small toy dishes.

/309 cont. /

cooking pots (Ill. 169e), shallow dishes with straight or curved sides (Ill. 169 f-h), three-legged pot (Ill. 169i). The divergent forms consist of oval bowls (Ill. 170a), small pots with a minimal opening (Ill. 170 b, c), the bottom of which sometimes comes to a point (Ill. 170d), vase-like pots (Ill. 170e), stemmed pots (Ill. 170f), goblets (Ill. 170g), bowls like flower baskets, with a three-part handle (Ill. 170h), and lamp-like bowls with two points at the upper edge (Ill. 170i). 524 415

These smallest vessels already bring us to the actual playthings.

Small boats (hãwõliõlẽ) with oars are floated by children especially the boys, in the pools on the edge of the sandbanks. 524

Ill. 171 a-d.
Child's toy boats.
a) Ordinary type, b) isolated form, c) halved gourd, d) palm-leaf sheath.

Their form differs from that of the large boats insofar as the rear part is cut off crosswise and does not taper to a long point. The boat in Ill. 171a represents the ordinary type, to which belong two painted oars and a clay doll (girl with long string apron and feather tuft). The boat in Ill. 171b shows a divergent type; it was carved by Kurisĩ, who had already been to Rio and São Paulo and spontaneously remarked that this form was the product of his own imagination. As a substitute for these imitations, halved gourd shells (ĩsã, Ill. 171c) or palm-leaf sheaths (ẽlũdãzĩ, Ill. 171d) are used and are pulled along by ropes in the sand; they were observed only in the village on the Tapirapé mouth. The small oars which belong [824 184]

/359 cont./

235 Of tame animals I found among the Šavajé:

Chickens, which were gladly sold to me, but were not eaten by them; vultures, spoonbills, and parakeets sat tethered on the supply racks in front of the houses; vultures in large numbers squatted on the ground near the wall posts in the houses. Araras were totally absent. Instead, a huge white eagle sat tied to a low cross-bar behind the chief's house (Pl. 30, Ill. 2).

264 The women ate even in my presence. Only the girl who traveled back to the Karajá with us ate turned away from us on the trip, and only when she thought she was not being observed.

252 The hearth, as mentioned above, lies in the circular structures of the houses, on both sides of the entrance. As among the Karajá, it consists of the tips of three termite hills or of three clay shards. Roasting is done on grills (Pl. 61, Ill. 1). [412]

415 The cooking vessels are identical with those of the Karajá.
412 The manioc grater (wōlānǎ́kiă; in the women's language, kōlānǎ́kiĕ) and the rod-sieves (brēdjĕ) have the same shape and construction as those of the Karajá. For stirring, an oar-shaped spoon (nālĭhĭ; Ill. 193) is used. For everything else, see the Karajá! [184]

Ill. 193 a, b. Stirring spoon. (b from the side).

249 The luxury item is tobacco, which is cultivated in a considerably better variety among the Šavajé than among the Karajá. The latter buy large quantities of it from the former, even cuttings, so that they will be able to grow this better variety themselves at home. Tobacco (kōtĭ) is stored plaited into three-part braids (Ill. 194) and is carried in plaited bags or such [438]

Plate 61

252

1. Grill of the Šavajé.

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[237]
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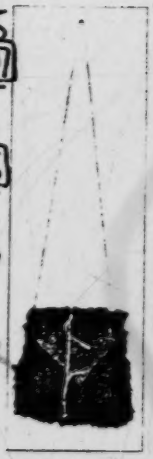
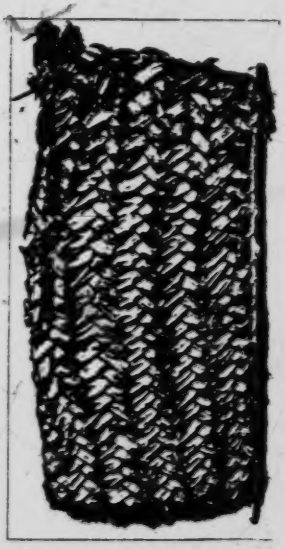


2. Tobacco pouch of monkey skin.



3. Carrying sack, plaited out of a palm frond.

a b c d

5. Spindles.
a Wax, b unfired, c and d fired clay.

283

4. Bow for picking cotton apart.

/362 cont./

312 Water was transported in long gourds (rŭkŭ) with short
415 hanging bands; the gourds were usually crudely decorated with
531 pyrography (Ill. 200).

184 9. The techniques are even more primitive than those of
[438] the Karajá; in fact, the Šavajé obtain their iron implements and all foreign wares only through barter with the Karajá. Hence, everything that was said about the latter also applies to the Šavajé.

412 I still found a few examples of stone axes [ūōmădū(ĕ)]; they were used as beaters in pounding soft the women's bast aprons on mortars turned upside down. The two specimens acquired by me are strong, wedge-shaped axes 14 and 20.5 centimeters long; on one, the cutting edge is considerably hollowed out, probably through use as a nutcracker (Ill. 201 a, b).

323 The pottery is as primitive as that of the Karajá. Here,
184 too, we find no decorated vessels. The two vessels acquired by me consist of red clay, are of the Karajá type, and represent a cooking pot (wădjĭwĭ) and a bowl (wădjĭwāŭdă). /363/ /Ills. 200-206 appear here./

283 /364/ Working with cotton. For picking cotton apart, a small, quite crudely worked bow is used (Pl. 61, Ill. 4). The spindles (ăzõdāŏ, Pl. 61, Ill. 5) consist of round rods 32.5-49 centimeters long, with whorls of wax, unfired or fired clay, or bone. By far the most prevalent are wax whorls, which in part are clumsy disks, in part have sharp edges and taper conically
[323] at the top and bottom. The unfired or crudely fired whorls usually have a double-conical form with a sharp edge; only one specimen consists of a thick plate with a rounded edge. Fired clay whorls are disk-shaped and have two sharp edges and flat, conical elevations on both surfaces. Bone whorls consist of quite flat disks, as among the Karajá.

Balls of thread of white (ăzõ) or black (ăzõdĕbĕ) cotton are also customary among the Šavajé; some of them are kept tied up in a bast covering (Ill. 202).

[Text Continues on p. 330]

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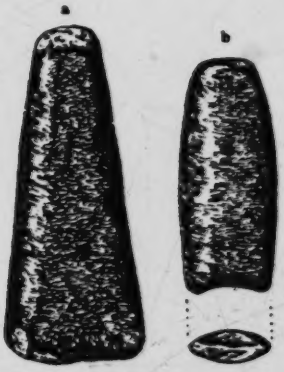
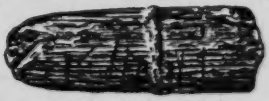
Ill. 200.
Gourd for carrying water.



Ill. 201 a, b.
Stone ax.

Ill. 202.
Cotton ball in bast covering.

314 →



Ill. 205.
Black resin.

286 ←

524 →

Ill. 203 a, b.
Plaiting apparatus for girls' belt.
b) = rear view.

Ill. 204.
Crochet needle.

Ill. 206 a-c.
Child's bow with arrows.

Brazil.

323 only, is sought. The Karayá once more like all the South American tribes, form the pots without the use of the potter's wheel, the work being done by building up rings of clay, stroking and shaping, first with the hands, then with bones and shells until the vessel reaches the desired form and strength. The ashes of certain plants are mixed with the clay to give it greater firmness.

To secure an oven in which to bake the pots, these children of Nature again look to their common Mother. In the large, dome-shaped ant-hills which abound in their world, they find a nearly complete natural oven. They further prepare this oven for use by carving a hole in one side and starting a fire in it. This done, they put the pot, previously sun-baked into the kiln; then open a second hole on another side of the ant-hill to communicate with the first, by which to feed the fire. A draft is secured by opening a vent in the top of the natural oven. The women make clay spoons as well as pots. Though a few of these clay vessels are provided with legs, none of them have handles, except as cords are secured around them to serve as handles.

415 Besides these manufactured vessels, Nature again comes
824 to the aid of these primitive people and furnishes them jugs, bottles, basins and pans of a great variety of shapes and sizes from calabash or gourd-shells. These vegetable vessels are not only as hard as wood, but very durable, though they
534 cannot, of course, be placed over the fire. Large rattles for
824 ceremonial purposes are also made from the gourd by replacing the seeds with pebbles, and attaching handles of wood.

285 Nature has supplied the Karayá with such a rich and varied material that braid-work is the principal household industry, a product notable for its utility and variety of form. The long,
[824] slender leaves of the oaguasse, or burity-palm, are braided together diagonally into mats to serve as flooring for the huts, and even for roofing. The flooring mats, being so easily produced, are made only as wanted. The finest grades of matting are made to sleep upon and to roof the hut. For this work,

/199 cont./

417 Outside the houses, on the other hand, there are special storage racks (ŏdēdŭ). They consist of four forked sticks about one and a quarter meters high, which are set up in the form of a square and joined together by two crossbeams and many longitudi-
[251] nal beams. On these racks lie supplies of all kinds, manioc roots, unused implements and weapons kept on hand, as well as raw materials of all kinds; hung on them are gourds and baskets full
[287] of maize and feathers; the bast aprons of the women are also often hung here to dry (Ill. 24).

[225] For drying the lines used to fish for turtles, special racks made of two long vertical poles joined at the top by a cross-pole are used. The line, hanging far down, is hung on this to dry (Ill. 25).

Ill. 23.
Arrow-stand in the house.

[824] /200/ Fresh gourds are stuck on sticks to dry; near each house one sees groups of such staked gourds. Later, they are preferably stored by tying a whole number together on a stake (Ill. 26a and b).

354 Other household equipment is lacking. The hearth is outside
184 the house, in contrast to the Šavajé, among whom it is located in the round structures (see "Food" /see pp. 165 ff./); it was only in the modified houses in Schischá at the end of October that cooking was also done in the house. /Ills. 24 and 25 appear here./

364 House and environs are not very clean: food remains such as fish bones, nut shells, and bones, as well as wood, tools, etc., lie about everywhere. While it is dangerous just to come near the
[136] villages and houses with bare feet, the vast number of flies and other insects that gather in masses on the refuse is an obstacle
TO remaining outside The houses.

/200 cont./

000 to remaining outside the houses. In addition, there are the sand flies,
136 /Ill. 26 appears here/ which, according to Ehrenreich, become so
361 rampant that the Indians are forced to change their place of residence often (see below under "Village" /see p. 85 /).

417

[225]

Ill. 24.
Storage rack. Drawn from a photograph.

Ill. 25.
Rack for drying the turtle fishlines.

[824]

a b

Ill. 26.
a) Drying gourds.
b) Storing gourds.

514 There are no privies. To attend to their needs, the Indians go to a depression in the sandbank, behind the nearest bush, or into the woods. To clean themselves they use three small sticks which they break from
[136] a bush and then place parallel over the excrement. The urubus, which live in great numbers near the settlements, quickly take care of cleaning the place. In order to piss the men go to the river. Here they go into

Plate 54

1. Bird cage.

2. Bird trap.

3. Fish net made of embira.

/28 cont./

also hold for the relationships prevailing among the Karaya.

621 The village communities composed of such family units, each of which has a particular name, seem to be like gau

476 communities (2). The agricultural land belongs to the whole

[423]

[113] 2. Post, Stud. z. Entw. d. Familienrechts /Essay on the Development of Family Law/, p. 83.

[224] and is tilled in common. Hunting and fishing expeditions are

[226] also undertaken in common, and the yield in booty, field

622 produce, etc. divided among the families. The chief supervises all of these communal activities and achievements. He is

[421] supported by the community; the property of all tribal members

[597] belongs to him (3). On the other hand, it is his duty to adopt

[113] 3. Couto Magelhães, Peterm. Mitth., 1876, p. 121.

orphaned children, particularly the sons of those slain in war.

[178] The personal qualities to which he owes his office today are less

[648] prowess in war /29/ than the skill, experience, and linguistic knowledge required to deal with the Whites. Thus, even prisoners

[727] of war adopted into the tribe who distinguish themselves at this can achieve the position.

The chief organizes the war and hunting expeditions; he determines the camp sites and the locations of plantings and, after the burning over of the strip of forest (roça) concerned, divides the agricultural land, which is marked off by posts, among the individual families.

622 His effectiveness in the administration of justice is important.

627 In case of quarrels between men he acts as referee, while his wife decides those of the women. It is his duty to bring offenders to account, but he does not inflict the punishment, which, according to the Indian law of retaliation, is a matter for the injured party. Murder or bodily injury are therefore avenged by the relatives of the victim without further ado.

/322 cont./

622 the honor remains with her; /323/ it does not pass on to her husband. If the chief has no descendants, the village remains without a head; the only thing to be done then is to train a boy from infancy on for this office. Then the men of the village deliberate, choose a child, go to its mother and ask her whether she will permit her child to become chief. If she gives her consent, the boy is trained for his office, apparently by his father. Thus, for example, the chief of Village 7 had died long ago. His son's name was Cadete; he had three daughters and a son. The son died prematurely, the daughters did not wish to accept the rule; hence there was no chief in this village. "One would first have to be trained for this."

609 [624] Strangers are received and given hospitality by the chief. Good form demands that the stranger receive all kinds of gifts (coconuts, honey, batatas, pots, mats, etc.), in the expectation that he will give lavishly in return. In my camp near the villages I was never alone; rather, there was uninterruptedly, day and night, a watch of two or three youths, sometimes even several, present in the camp. At night they slept beside the fire. Apparently this precaution arose out of a mistrust of strangers. Now, however, the placing of the watch by the very Indians who still observe the old forms is regarded as an honor accorded the strangers, and the honor is particularly great if the chief himself spends the night in the camp of the stranger.

•421 Legal affairs. Personal property is already very highly developed. As such they regard: house and boat (both belonging to the woman), weapons, implements, ornaments, and articles of clothing. The food from the plantings is family property; large booty from hunting and fishing is distributed to the entire village. Even small children have their ornaments and toys as property. Only the specific owner decides whether to sell, if it is a child, its parents, usually the mother. Outsiders never interfere in the personal affairs of others.

685 Property violations seldom occur. As far as I was concerned, I observed an attempted theft only once. Thefts seem to extend essentially to produce from the plantings and apparently do not remain concealed for long.

/28 cont./

also hold for the relationships prevailing among the Karaya.

The village communities composed of such family units, each of which has a particular name, seem to be like gau communities (2). The agricultural land belongs to the whole

2. Post, Stud. z. Entw. d. Familienrechts /Essay on the Development of Family Law/, p. 83.

and is tilled in common. Hunting and fishing expeditions are also undertaken in common, and the yield in booty, field produce, etc. divided among the families. The chief supervises all of these communal activities and achievements. He is supported by the community; the property of all tribal members belongs to him (3). On the other hand, it is his duty to adopt

3. Couto Magelhães, Peterm. Mitth., 1876, p. 121.

orphaned children, particularly the sons of those slain in war. The personal qualities to which he owes his office today are less prowess in war /29/ than the skill, experience, and linguistic knowledge required to deal with the Whites. Thus, even prisoners of war adopted into the tribe who distinguish themselves at this can achieve the position.

The chief organizes the war and hunting expeditions, he determines the camp sites and the locations of plantings and, after the burning over of the strip of forest (roça) concerned, divides the agricultural land, which is marked off by posts, among the individual families.

His effectiveness in the administration of justice is important. In case of quarrels between men he acts as referee, while his wife decides those of the women. It is his duty to bring offenders to account, but he does not inflict the punishment, which, according to the Indian law of retaliation, is a matter for the injured party. Murder or bodily injury are therefore avenged by the relatives of the victim without further ado.

Brazil.

The older children are left to
occupy and amuse themselves entirely as they may feel in- 857
clined. Nevertheless, they show a natural good behavior. [855]
But in observing them, the idea is somehow suggested to one that they are, to some extent at least, creatures of instinct, like irrational nature about them. In common with the brutes, they seem not inclined to go beyond limits whereby they might suffer injury. Just as the wild creature, left to itself, does not need to be governed or restrained by anything apart from itself for its well-being, neither do these wild children, apparently, need the oversight of their parents. There seems to be no danger that they will harm themselves, or get into trouble. They play naturally in a very quiet and restrained manner as if to avoid all possibility of attracting the attention of enemies. To sell children to traders, as is done in some parts of Brazil, particularly on the Amazon river, is unknown among the Karayá.

While still at a tender age, the children begin to imitate the doings of their elders. The boys amuse themselves with archery, and by fishing and swimming; and the girls aid their mothers in the household duties. Children's toys are 524
clay figures, small tops, miniature canoes, and even little cooking utensils, corresponding to the "tea sets" of civilized children. An amusement of which even adults are fond, is to play with a ball made of corn cobs and feathers, and a ring. Another, is a game known to many of us as "cat's cradle," which is the looping of a cord over the hands held some distance apart, and relooping and crossing it over the fingers from hand to hand so as to make it represent the figures of various animals. This game is common among the Indians [171]
of North America.

There appears to be clans among the Karayá. Each vil- 621
lage considers itself one large family—a paternal communistic society—possessing a distinct name, and having a certain district for its own peculiar hunting and fishing ground. The [423]
cultivated land—the little village plantation—is owned in com- [476]
mon, is tilled by all, and the products are divided systematically to each family. A similar arrangement existed among

/200 cont./

514 water about 5/4 meters deep with their knees slightly bent and there untie the long penis string and tie it on again.

342 The houses are merely living and sleeping houses; cooking
[252] is done outside.

The chiefs in part have better built, larger houses; thus,
[622] Plate 41 appears here/ /201/ the one belonging to Chief João III was three to four meters high, five to six meters wide, and equally long (Pl. 39).

[344] There are no meeting houses; in order to bring about a de-
[303] cision or announce regulations, the chief goes to the individual
[622] houses.

Other special houses are:

343 1. Birth houses. These are erected for the woman when birth
844 is imminent; their construction is said to be identical with that of the other houses.

346 2. The mask house in which the dance masks are kept. It always stands apart from the village and in its method of construction is a dry-season house with a round structure on the narrow side turned toward the village. The arches are usually slightly curved and strengthened on top by a ridge beam (Pl. 12, Ill. 3). The mask houses serve as bachelor houses; the young people are said to sleep here. I saw only four mask huts, but cannot confirm
513 these statements from my observations. In any case, the young people do not sleep in the houses, but rather, if there is no mask house,
[609] by a fire which is away from the village. Strangers are given shelter by the chief; they sleep in his house, even though they are unmarried (see the reception which I, with my men, found among the Šavajé /pp. 129 ff. in the first part of the work, which is omitted in the translation/).

342 The house belongs to the woman. The man builds it before
● 423 the marriage, with the assistance of the young people, who are
562 paid for it by the woman with chains of beads. The construction
768 takes one or two days. After death the house is said to be burned.

821 According to the accounts of the Indians, the houses are protected from bolts of lightning by a fish spine stuck on the roof on a pole about half a meter long. Probably only magic is involved here.

[Text continues on p. 84]

1:Lipkind E-5 (1937) 1948 SP9 Caraja SP9

441 **Weapons.**—The *Carajá* use bows and arrows (pls. 20, *bottom, left;* 21, *left* and *center*), and their mythology indicates aboriginal use of the spear thrower for hunting monkeys. Recently, they have used a spear thrower of the upper Xingú River type for sport.

323 **Pottery.**—Pottery vessels include several forms of plain ware (fig. 20).

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

611 The kinship structure may be described as double descent. Both lines are important, the greater emphasis falling on the mother's line, and both lines serve different functions. Village citizenship, adoption, and the closest affectional ties are reckoned in the mother's line. Moiety membership and the offices of chief, priest, and food-divider are patrilineally inherited.

621 622 The fundamental unit of social organization is the village. Every village has one or more ioló, children of chiefly line, designated by the chief for preferential treatment by the members of the village. The chief names the ioló who is to succeed him or, if he fails to do so, the village makes the choice at his death. Girls of chiefly line are similarly chosen for preferential treatment; each of them is known as the "hidden woman." There is some indication that women functioned as chiefs in former times, but today there is no woman chief. The chief has no coercive powers but directs the village by recognizing the will of the majority in such matters as the selection of camp and garden sites and the announcement of a move at change of season. His principal function is to act as peacemaker, and people readily submit to his adjudication. Because of the importance of religious ceremonials, the priest and the shaman frequently exercise more authority than the chief. When all three offices are vested in a single individual, his authority may be considerable, but it is kept in check by the right of a discontented person to move at any time to another village.

59 Within the village the important unit is the household. Residence being matrilocal, a household consists of sisters, their husbands, children, and the husbands of grown daughters. Marriage is restricted to one's own generation, the preferred mate being a cousin on the mother's side. There is no sanction but ridicule against wrong marriages, and there are many cases of cross-generational marriage. Marriage is predominantly monogamous, but a few instances of polygyny and one of polyandry were encountered. The avunculate is very important and involves many social and especially ceremonial duties. Cooperation in the household is close and in the village fairly close. In addition, villages are grouped together in ceremonial units, generally consisting of three or four neighboring villages, which celebrate important feasts jointly. This ceremonial unit acts as an insurance group when a village's crop fails or its fish supplies grow scarce. Beyond this, the only intervillage ties

/264 cont./

411 and terminates in offset thorn extensions. The length of the bowstring for my specimens amounts to 184-204 centimeters.

[283] The bowstring (ãnzŭ, mbãŭ; according to Ehrenreich, manhũga) is made by each person for himself by twisting together three twisted imbauva fiber strings. Its strength gradually decreases from the thicker end to the other one, and it finally terminates in a thin string. Ill. 110 shows how it is attached. The bowstring proper is the strong part, which is attached so that it can be lifted off at one end. The weaker part is led from the firm bow-end along the front side of the bow-wood to approximately the center of the bow, is fastened there, and then is tightly wound around the bow, back to the bow-end. The last [531] little end hangs down freely; it often bears a feather tassel. This winding is usually rubbed with white-earth coloring. In the middle of the bow, where it begins, a maize leaf is fastened as an ornament by means of a black cotton winding. The unwound part of the bow sometimes bears black and yellow plaiting around it (Ill. 111).

The arrows. In order to give a survey of the arrows, it is advisable first of all to group them according to the shapes of the points, for the formation of this part of the arrow depends, of course, on what it is to be used for, which is, after all, the most important thing about the arrow. In addition, however, I also wish to point out other varying characteristics, some of which seem to represent ownership and tribal signs.

First of all, it should be noted that each one makes his own [936] arrows. In view of the custom of using arrows as a means of pay- [931] ment, however, and exchanging them with the chief on visits to strange villages, as well as in turn receiving some as gifts from him, arrows of the most diverse origins are assembled in the hands of one individual; nevertheless, in view of the brief life-span of the arrows, those made by each one for himself predominate. Poisoning is not customary.

Before being shot, the arrows are examined with regard to their curvature by being turned between the right hand lifted up to the right shoulder and the left hand stretched far downward. If

/246 cont./

222 the wax (tăbōlă)[7] is stored in large lumps; it constitutes one of
[237] their most important gluing and packing mediums and as such is
[232] everywhere offered in quantities by the women to passing boats.
The chief gathering period of the honey seems to commence in October.

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[221] seasons and requires journeys often weeks long, in order to collect large amounts, the daily animal food is obtained in short expeditions from the villages by means of all kinds of traps.

[433] It should be noted that the hunting of birds and land
[226] animals is completely overshadowed by fishing. In general, of course, the land is poor in animals as compared to the water. There is only a little big game to be hunted: red deer (bŏlōlă), roe, tapirs [(k)ōlĭ], monkeys (1), wild pigs (ĩsă), and possibly

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also /247/ jaguars (ănlōă); smaller animals are more frequent, but very shy and difficult to hunt (agouti, tsŭsŏ; capybara, hūă, etc.).
223 The choice of birds is likewise not very large. Above all, gallinaceous birds (jacu, bĕdjūă; mutum, etc.) and pigeons, as well as ducks (hăăkŏlĭnĭ, hĕdaulĕ, dōăläläă) and divers, come into
262 consideration. I was unable to find out whether they eat ostriches, or how they feel about lizards, crocodiles, and boa constrictors, which Königswald reports are eaten. The small choice of game animals is even more restricted by all kinds of so-called food prohibitions. Thus, this person will not eat this animal, and that person that one. Some animals are generally not eaten, though
224 they could furnish a great deal of meat. Hunting only plays a secondary role in the economy of these Indians.

For wild game they set out individually or in company; wild pigs in particular are always hunted in company. It is
[222] strange that the chief never goes along on the hunt, though he does engage in fishing. Only large animals are hunted; the young ones are allowed to run away.

[7] [i.e., bee's wax --Analyst]

/279 cont./

435 In dealing with us it was necessary first to establish special values. From experience they know approximately the value of chains of beads, knives, shears, axes, and even in their own demands they put this in definite relationship to the value of the trade item concerned. In general they evaluate their objects well, know how to distinguish articles of little value from useful ones, and ask correspondingly varying prices. It was only in the beginning that one had difficulties in each village until the mutual appraisal of value was successful.

436 The simplest medium of exchange was Goyaner roll-tobacco; one piece three fingers long was regarded as a unit of payment for finger rings, lip-plugs, clay and wax figures, one photographic session, etc. For larger objects, glass beads served as the most common medium of exchange. The small change, so to speak, was a chain of about 100 beads. Color and size of the
435 beads naturally altered the value, but this differed greatly, depending on the fashion that happened to prevail in the village, so that in one village small white beads, in another large blue ones, were valued the highest. All colors were accepted; they disliked taking green, as well as transparent beads; on the other hand, they liked white and blue ones and liked best yellow and red ones. With such chains of beads, smaller ornamental objects, arrows, and the like were bartered. Of higher value were small knives, mirrors, shears, fish hooks (as strong and large as possible) for larger ornaments, utilitarian objects, medicines, toys, etc. The most highly valued were forest knives (facão), axes (especially North American ones with a blue upper part), and cotton fabrics (one piece = four meters). For one of these pieces one received a boat or a lance, a bow with arrows, a feather head-wheel, a travel attendant for eight to ten days with free board and lodging. Of their goods they most highly valued net coverings, stone lip-plugs, and capybara teeth.
[430] For these one had to give goods valued from 30-50 marks. Dance masks were not for sale at all.

121 /43/ Three years ago G. P. Murdock published his "World Ethnographic Sample." It goes without saying that an endeavor of this scope can only be incomplete. Now, as far as the Carajá, one of the nine tribes classified under the heading "Eastern Brazil," are concerned, the set of 30 characteristic features of this society in Murdock's attempt displays significant gaps and serious inaccuracies. It is my intention, here and now, to remedy this state of affairs as well as possible, in order to contribute from my side, while concerning myself with only one case among 565, to a fairer calculation of the human probabilities.

114 To accomplish this task I shall use as a base the data that
[122] I was able to collect personally, in the company of my wife
[101] and aided by the National Swiss Foundation for Scientific Re-
[127] search, during the rainy season of 1954 to 1955 among the Carajá of the south, as well as, naturally, on the information from our predecessors in the field, Ehrenreich, Krause, Baldus, and Lipkind above all. I am using this opportunity to express the great regret that I feel every time I think of the fact that the rich materials collected by Lipkind have never been published in a satisfactory fashion. The Carajá, although they have been known for a long time, are basically misunderstood. To be fair, it must be added that they themselves do not make the task of investigators easy, and it goes without saying that under these circumstances my own contribution must remain fairly fragmentary in view of the too short period of our stay among them.

121 On the other hand I am convinced that the presentation of facts alone — allegedly pure facts — does not help us to become better acquainted with the human condition, and the second aim of my article is to present to you a first attempt at interpretation of the data concerning the Carajá kinship system, which, not without reason, was left blank in Murdock's attempt.

128 To facilitate the comparison I shall follow the framework of the columns of the "World Ethnographic Sample." The
433 Carajá cultivate primarily tropical tubercles, although maize
[32] is not lacking; true domesticated animals are absent.
462
[231]

/43 cont./

241 is not lacking; true domesticated animals are absent. Planting
433 is important as a source of subsistence, but fishing and turtle
462 hunting stand higher in masculine preference as well as being a basis of life. Not only are the men charged with fishing and hunting — less important owing to the scarcity of game — but activity in the gardens is also primarily the business of the men, since the women are satisfied to help as they please, which is undeniably rare among the Amazonian Indians.

433 Up to here we are in perfect agreement with the cate-
462 gories chosen by Murdock (Ro, Im, Oo, Dm; columns 1-4). However, in column 5 we find the /44/ first gap. The division of labor assigns gathering to the female sex, except for the harvesting of wild honey, which is considered more as hunting and belongs among the men's tasks. So the Carajá could, after all, be put in the category of "standard division of labor by sex" (thus Ia; column 5).

114 Real difficulties arise when we take into consideration what is properly called social organization. Categorial decisions
361 are not so easy to make there. It is true that our Indians live
[221] in compact villages, especially during the rainy seasons. During the rest of the year the Carajá proper like to disperse on the beaches, forming smaller local units, which, nevertheless, are always lined up along the river, the houses of the men (if there are any in the encampments) remaining at the rear, as if the periphery of a circle had been opened and rolled back in a straight line, leaving the center — the houses of the men — at
361 the side of the line. Since the large villages of the rainy season,
62 which are all like this and bear a name, are in reality agamous
[114] and without clans, but display a certain tendency toward endogamy, the category assigned by Murdock — compact village observing agamy — (Va; column 6), if it is not definitely wrong, is nevertheless to be taken cum grano salis (tendency toward Sd).

59 As for the family structure, it is normally of the extended type, at least during the rainy season, but the extension is not

/8 cont./

131 comprida and Cachoeira grande are in any case the work of their
172 ancestors. Since the first Araguaia travelers already mention these "inscriptions" as documents of great age, the Karaya must have lived in these regions at least since the sixteenth century (see pp. 91 ff.).

439 Within the Šambioa region, where the river is no longer
[162] navigable for ships, there are no Brazilian settlements at present. The savages are therefore completely dependent on the barter trade with the few larger rowboats passing by four to six times annually or the small vessels which maintain communication with São Vincente. They deliver mainly hammocks, field produce,
[648] and chickens to the travelers, but have otherwise kept their full
433 independence. Living under far better conditions of existence than the Karayahi, they stand, as far as agriculture is concerned, on a higher level than even the civilized river-dwellers.

648 They live in most bitter enmity with the Kayapo tribes of the left bank, the Kradahõ /Cradaho/, Ušikrin, and others. Many
[1129] abducted women and children of the latter are found in their villages. On the whole, however, they are well treated, the children even adopted into the tribe without further ado.

The relationship of the Šambioa to the settlers has not always been peaceful. Nevertheless, Castelnau was already able to substantiate that these Indians did not deserve the bad reputation which they had among the Goyans at the time. The main guilt for the misdeeds which occurred is in any case to be sought on the side of the foreigners.

609 Their behavior was decidedly hostile in the seventies when the notorious Chief Roco attacked travelers on several occasions and massacred them.

Today it is only the inhabitants of the second village who receive strangers with hostility. Women and children are taken to
[411] safety, the warriors stand threateningly on the shore, armed with bows, spears, and clubs, and hardly condescend to barter. In the other villages our reception left little to be desired, once the fleeing women were successfully persuaded to return.

/14 cont./

Way of Life. Food and Its Preparation

433 Like most South American tribes, the Karaya are first of all fishermen, but, in addition, carry on a not insignificant agriculture. 226 The principal season for fishing is the dry months from May to [221] October, when the larger fish strive toward the deeper parts of the river, the so-called poços, which are formed in particular above the small rapids and the masses of rock projecting out here and there.

The fish kingdom of the Araguaia, in all of the middle course, already bears throughout the character of the fauna of Amazonas. The giant three-meter long pirarucú/arapaima/ (Sudis gigas) is common everywhere, as is the electric eel (Gymnotus electricus) and the thick-bodied pirarara (Phractocephalus discolor) armored with its strong shield of bone. The poços abound with cannibalistic piranhas; in the shallow places along the bank the no less feared thornback, buried in the sand, lies in wait for its prey.

[262] Prized as the tastiest fish are the blue-grey spotted pintado (Pimelodus sorubim), reaching up to two meters in length, the matrincham /Caracinidae/, the tucunaré (Cichla temensis), the trahira (Macrodon), and various species of the pacu (Myletes). Certain fish, particularly scaleless ones, are not pursued because of superstitious fear, and likewise the fresh-water dolphins, [225] present everywhere in great numbers. Tortoises and their delicious eggs, however, are hunted all the more zealously.

At high water, when the fish are no longer easy to get in the clay-yellow flood, the many lagoons along the river provide the most productive fishing places. They form large natural traps for the larger species, in which they can easily be isolated.

[439] /15/ Whereas formerly the fish were killed almost exclusively with an arrow, angling is now used more and more, since hooks are imported in large quantities. In many places, however, angling and net fishing cannot be done because of the countless piranhas whose teeth cannot be withstood by any line or net.

/15 cont./

226 Smaller fish are caught in weir baskets (adžuriă), larger ones in stockades or peculiar traps made out of vines (deaurärŏ) which do not know from personal observation.

433 Hunting, in contrast to fishing, plays a much lesser role than those who view all Indians as purely hunting peoples without 224 further ado are inclined to believe. Larger, huntable game is 262 quite sparingly represented in tropical South America and, in view of the lack of firearms, difficult to obtain. In addition, superstition often forbids eating the meat of precisely the largest and most common species. Thus, the Karaya scorn the tapir. Their principal booty is the monkeys common in all the forest along the shore, wild pigs, small rodents such as agoutis and pacas, and furthermore the small camprehe. In the lagoons and marshes of the patanaes the musk duck (Anas moschas) present in large numbers provides excellent food for them.

241 Agriculture. The great distance of the plantings from the villages prevented a visit to them. Judging by the wealth of [262] vegetable foods among the Šambioa, their agriculture seems to be on a relatively high level. The "savages" have in this respect outdone their civilized neighbors by far. In general, [177] iron agricultural implements have already supplanted the original ones.

The most important cultivated plant is manioc, of which both the more nourishing poisonous species (M. brava) and the less productive, but immediately edible aipim (M. mansa) are grown. The freshly cleared, dry forest soil of the higher banks is especially suitable for this kind of cultivation.

[273] Next, maize comes into consideration as a grain product, which is used less in substance than for the production of fermented beverages.

Sugar cane flourishes on the lower shore-land. During the dry season one sees the seedlings planted on the sandbanks [249] everywhere for the next season. Special devices for pressing out the juice are not in use.

Of the legumes there is found among the Šambioa small brown beans (Dolichos chinensis), as well as peas (komonara) imported from Pará.

/240 cont./

#301 of Ill. 1 is quite primitive. It consists of a few feather rods, #337 Thevetia pendants, and the rattle of a rattlesnake.

I did not see the belts made entirely of Thevetia fruits mentioned by Ehrenreich (but cf. the Kayapó /untranslated/).

As leg ornamentation Ehrenreich mentions ("Beiträge," p. 24) bindings with strands of rattles and clusters of feathers; the strands are spaced by little horizontal rods, which are covered with down (ibid., Pl. X, Fig. 4). I have never seen such dance ornaments.

Ill. 82.
Ostrich feather belt.

6. Food.

433 The subsistence of the Karajá Indians is based on the cultivation of food plants and fishing. The gathering of wild [231] plants and hunting, on the other hand, are of less importance, and the breeding of domestic animals for food is wholly absent, since animals are kept only to furnish feathers or for entertainment.

272 Wild plants for food occur on the campo and in the forest 137 /Plates 51 and 52 appear here/ /241/ only in limited numbers, whereas the plantings on the high banks usually provide good yields.

[Text continues on p. 148]

/244 cont./

527 Regular harvest festivals probably do not take place; the time of the ripening of the food plants, that is to say, the time when they have a great deal to eat, is their chief festival time, however.

B. The Acquisition of Animal Food.

433 The acquisition of animal food is as yet limited to the appropriative form; the Indians have not arrived at animal breeding.

231 To be sure, they keep a great many animals in their
825 houses, but do not use them for food, nor do they mate them,
[262] but rather, after loss, they catch young specimens again to tame these anew. This pleasure in animals arises from the belief that animals are related to man, are the same in essence; they believe that animals speak and act like human beings, only in a different form. And so they surround themselves with them, in
[235] order to divert themselves by their behavior. Only birds are kept for practical purposes, namely, as suppliers of feathers; they are repreatedly robbed of their feathers, which are then made into ornaments. Tamed quadrupeds, as well as chickens, usually run around free; birds have their wings clipped or they are tied to a pole on the roof, in the house, or under a special protective
[438] roof (Plate 54, Ill. 1). Apparently there is a trade in birds, for several times I observed wandering Indians who carried little birds with them in small gourds, in order to sell them in other places. /Plate 53 appears here./

231 /245/ Of such domestic animals, I observed the following:
[136] Of foreign, imported animals there were: chickens [(h)ăni(k)ĕ], pigs [(i)šā(nĕ)], dogs (kjŏlŏzā), cats [(găh)ănlōĕnĕ]. These
[262] animals are not eaten; the Indians are not even acquainted with the eating of chicken eggs (hănĭkĕsĭ). Pigs are very rare; I saw only one large domestic pig, which was quite obviously kept only out of curiosity.

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 155]

/246 cont./

222 the wax (tăbōlă)[1] is stored in large lumps; it constitutes one of
[237] their most important gluing and packing mediums and as such is
[232] everywhere offered in quantities by the women to passing boats.
The chief gathering period of the honey seems to commence in October.

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For wild game they set out individually or in company; wild pigs in particular are always hunted in company. It is
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1 [i.e., bee's wax --Analyst]

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

to color, then inject into the wounds a milky secretion taken 232
from the skin of small frogs or toads. Therefore, when the
new feathers grow out, they are of a brilliant yellow or orange
color, without any mixture of blue or green, the natural color
of the bird. It is said that when this new plumage is plucked,
the next growth will still retain the new colors without
further treatment.

Many of the mammals captured by the Karayá in in- 231
fancy, become very tame. They are raised successfully, nursed
either by a slut, or at the human breast. These tamed ani-
mals include various kinds of monkeys, the capibára, a ro-
dent which becomes as large as a six-month old pig, agutís,
picárres and tapirs. Of reptiles, the Karayá keep turtles,
large lizards and alligators, the last named of which lie in
pools of water on the sand bottoms, held captive by a cord
around the body. The Karayáhy division has comparatively [184]
few domesticated creatures.

Like most of the South American tribes, the Karayá are 433
primarily fishermen, obtaining their flesh food more from
the river than from the forest. A few tribes, however, that
do not live near streams of any importance, are compelled
to rely almost wholly upon the chase for their meat, and
to become more expert hunters than fishermen. As elsewhere
ated, all the aborigines of South America, except the nomadic
ibes, engage in agriculture to some extent, though to a very
mited degree, except where they have obtained axes, grub-
ng-hoes and large knives from the civilized people.

The best time to fish along the Araguaya is during the 221
inless months from May to November, when the water is 226
w, for when it rises, the fish are much more difficult to
ch. During low water, the larger fish seek out the deep
ces in the river, where they may be easily taken. These
ces, which are well known to the natives, are above the
aller rapids, and also where there are certain rock forma-
ns which make deep holes, called *poços* by the Brazilians.
The fish of the Araguaya have the same characteristics 226
those of the Amazon valley in general. The giant pire, 136

/222 cont./

*301 painted and covered with rolls of wax, which apparently is supposed to represent such a painted lip-plug (Pl. 45, Ill. 7).

*301 184 This sequence was precisely observed everywhere. Only in the first village near Leopoldina were deviations found. Here the boy, as /223/ has just been mentioned, wore a wooden lamella, and later a wooden button, like his older brother and the [177] father. This family was civilized; they hesitated to walk around with long plugs in front of the Brazilians. On the whole, long [152] plugs are regarded as a sign of vanity, which is why older people, for example, can never wear them without making themselves ridiculous. The young people in the first village felt too superior to their savage fellow-tribesmen to wear such ridiculous things; hence they contented themselves with the dignified button of the old people.

*301 [324] The stone lip-plugs (mănă'dĕlĕ; mănă = stone, mănādĕrĕzŏ = rock crystal) are a special kind. They are cut to shape out of quartz, rock crystal, or /Ills. 61-63 appear here/ alabaster and then smoothed so that they look as though they were polished. The mouthpiece is greatly widened; the lower end runs out into a thickening (Ill. 62). Such lip plugs are worn only by unmarried men and only at special festivities. When they marry, they give it to a young relative. Since the stone lip-plugs are very thick, the lip hole must first be enlarged. This is done by the insertion of ever thicker wooden plugs. I saw only one specimen of such a lip plug, and, to be sure, in the south horde, but could not acquire it. I learned about a second specimen /224/ in the south [439] horde only long after we had left the village. They are not made by Karajá, but by the Tapirapé, with whom the Karajá of the [438] north horde barter for them. Those of the south horde again buy [435] them from those of the north horde, the price then allegedly amounting to a canoe, an ax, a pot, and a bush knife. In other words, they are very expensive and are therefore, and because they are very fragile, cautiously handled and kept carefully [648] wrapped in cloth. At the present time, when the Karajá have a feud with the Tapirapé and are therefore no longer able to buy stone lip-plugs, their value has naturally increased many times over.

/224 cont./

*301 [304] [602] b) Ear ornaments. The hole serving to receive the ornament is made in the ear lobe, close to the inner edge; it is pierced soon after birth by the mother or a relative (uncle) with a monkey bone or tucum splinter.

Ornaments which differ according to age levels are worn in this hole by both sexes; they are not constantly worn, however, but are put on only occasionally, according to mood.

Children of both sexes, above all the smallest ones, wear the ear ornament called kuãdjũ (= capybara tooth). A tulip of [237] colorful parrot feathers is fastened to a short, thin palm-wood stem with wax and a wrapping of cotton thread, and in its calyx-bottom there is a mother-of-pearl disk, generally 2.2 centimeters in diameter. From the center of this there rises a rodent tooth (capybara = kũ(w)ã; according to Ehrenreich, agouti), which is usually wound round with a black cotton thread (Ill. 63).

The specimens that I brought back show certain differences. The tulip usually consists of yellow-red parrot feathers; the disk is sometimes also surrounded by an inner wreath of small, clipped red feathers. The mother-of-pearl disk sometimes bears one or more concentric wax rings. One specimen has a wax disk in place of the mother-of-pearl disk, and in the case of five others the disk is lacking entirely; the tooth rises directly out of the calyx and in one specimen is wound on its lower part with raw white cotton. Four specimens of the collection have small pendant feathers which hang down from the stick on thin string (1).

1. Ehrenreich, in addition to similar specimens, brought back another on which the disk bears a cross of black string. Perhaps it comes from the Šambioá; see the next footnote /see p. 118 /.

This ornament was worn mostly by babies and children from two to three years old, and, to be sure, constantly; among bigger children it was encountered only sporadically (Pl. 18, left). It is a very precious ornament. The capybara is difficult [136] to hunt because of its timid nature, hence the rodent teeth are

/224 cont./

*301 very expensive, and they are all the more expensive the smaller
●435 they are. They are used as money for buying boats; one buys
[434] a boat for wo such teeth. They are stored in the packing shown in Illustraton 64: two long and two short teeth are tied together at the lower part with cotton threads and partly coated with wax. /Pl. 45 appears here./

*301 /225/I obtained the gourd disk in Ill. 65 under the name of ăndŏhŏnālĭ. It is covered with four concentric wax rings, some of the interspaces of which are painted red; in the center there are three holes. Allegedly this is supposed to be a disk of an ear rosette, but I did not see such large disks elsewhere.
[532] On the dance masks, however, there are large ear rosettes; perhaps it s the disk of such a mask rosette.

The mature young people of both sexes wear a slightly different ear ornament, but only occasionally, probably more as a festive ornament. It is called dŏhŏlūā (= doho-eye; the mother-of-pearl disk in the center was also called this). A feather rosette is put on the front of a taquara stick by means of a cotton wrapping, and the middle of it is covered with a mother-of-pearl disk with a wax button in the center (1) (Ill. 66 a, b). /Ills. 65-67 appear here./

. Ehrenreich brought back a few specimens
with a wax cross on the disk. I never saw
such ear rosettes. Königswald (Globus, Vol.
[184] 84, p. 219) states that these only come
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Karajá show only the wax button. My find-
ings would agree with this. See also the
previous footnote /see p. 117/ and compare
in this connection the Šavajé /see pp. 315-
316/.

[TEXT continues on p. 120]

/278 cont. /

9. Trade, Money, Measures.

484 The Karajá undertake their boat trips and land journeys almost entirely for the sake of fishing and for supplies of raw materials. Trade among themselves is carried on only during occasional visits. For example, Pedro took huge quantities of urucú kernels along to his home (Village 2) from Village 19, as the reason he said that there was no urucú above the Rio Tapirapé; he probably meant none of the one particular, very highly appreciated kind providing red coloring. In the villages north of the Tapirapé mouth there was also urucú coloring matter pressed into rolls or into the form of flat cakes, which were sold in such packings. The south horde seems to be dependent on the north horde in various other respects: they buy or bought bow wood, red coloring for painting the pots, stones for stone axes, net coverings, stone lip-plugs, and tamed araras from the north horde, who either produce these themselves or acquire them from the Tapirapé or Šavajé.

437 438

From the Šavajé, who are regarded as very rich, they buy tobacco seedlings, manioc roots, arrows, net coverings, etc.

They carry on trade with the Brazilians, in part through the Brazilian boats passing by, to whom they offer wax in large balls for calking their boats, as well as manioc, chickens, and fish, in exchange for tobacco, salt, farina, beads, and knives, and in part on great trading expeditions which they themselves undertake in August and September to Santa Maria and sometimes even to Conceição. For this purpose they collect beforehand on their fishing expeditions in the Rio Tapirapé and the many lakes of the river great quantities of turtles, turtle eggs, dried fish, etc., in order to exchange these in the large Brazilian towns for products of European civilization, /279/ especially iron tools, material for blankets for the cold nights, ornamental beads, tobacco, and salt.

437 439

There are no special standards of value in trade; simple barter still takes place. Among themselves, however, they have fixed prices: a boat costs one ax or two capybara teeth, etc.

437 435

/279 cont./

435 In dealing with us it was necessary first to establish special values. From experience they know approximately the value of chains of beads, knives, shears, axes, and even in their own demands they put this in definite relationship to the value of the trade item concerned. In general they evaluate their objects well, know how to distinguish articles of little value from useful ones, and ask correspondingly varying prices. It was only in the beginning that one had difficulties in each village until the mutual appraisal of value was successful.

436 The simplest medium of exchange was Goyaner roll-tobacco; one piece three fingers long was regarded as a unit of payment for finger rings, lip-plugs, clay and wax figures, one photographic session, etc. For larger objects, glass beads served as the most common medium of exchange. The small change, so to speak, was a chain of about 100 beads. Color and size of the
435 beads naturally altered the value, but this differed greatly, depending on the fashion that happened to prevail in the village, so that in one village small white beads, in another large blue ones, were valued the highest. All colors were accepted; they disliked taking green, as well as transparent beads; on the other hand, they liked white and blue ones and liked best yellow and red ones. With such chains of beads, smaller ornamental objects, arrows, and the like were bartered. Of higher value were small knives, mirrors, shears, fish hooks (as strong and large as possible) for larger ornaments, utilitarian objects, medicines, toys, etc. The most highly valued were forest knives (facão), axes (especially North American ones with a blue upper part), and cotton fabrics (one piece = four meters). For one of these pieces one received a boat or a lance, a bow with arrows, a feather head-wheel, a travel attendant for eight to ten days with free board and lodging. Of their goods they most highly valued net coverings, stone lip-plugs, and capybara teeth.
[430] For these one had to give goods valued from 30-50 marks. Dance masks were not for sale at all.

/279 cont./

437 Trading proceeded very quietly. The Indians brought their articles and stated their demands; after carefully examining the object, I made my offer, or possibly the object was refused. They regularly asked to see the article concerned, whether it was a bead chain, mirror, knife, shears, etc. Then it was given to an expert for approval; they have such persons for beads, iron implements, cloth, etc. Only after this one had expressed approval was the sale completed. Otherwise I was obliged to show other things. The exchanged object then went from hand to hand, was tested or tried on by everyone, and did not reach the hands of the owner until afterwards. Iron implements were subjected to the nail test, beads to the tooth test. Dull /280/ iron implements, beads that broke, or used objects were not accepted. For the rest, everyone let the others bargain for themselves, did not interfere, and gave his opinion only if asked, a very pleasant custom.

435 804 There are no special measures. They want knives and shears as large as possible; quality is less important. Otherwise I only saw how boats were measured. Ordinary boats reach from the foot to the knee, higher boats up to one handbreadth above the knee; for such boats the Indian pays two capybara teeth. In the barter with us the cupped hand or small gourds and mussel shells served as dry measures.

10. Techniques.

463 438 Apparently everyone makes his own implements and tools. Only occasionally did I observe that individual persons made certain things in larger quantities; for example, in Schischá pots and sieves were made, probably for Brazilian use; in José's village, hats, in Alfredo's village, mats were made in quantities. This and the statements about the purchase value of certain objects seem to point to a trade among themselves and accordingly probably also to manufacturing by certain persons beyond their personal needs.

/284 cont./

330 The utilization of the animal kingdom for technical pur-
321 poses is likewise confined within narrow limits.

F. Bones have multiple uses when sharpened to a point. The thigh bones of the jaguar, tapered and sharpened, are used as spear points; the cutting surfaces and edges are carefully smoothed. Howling-monkey bones (ǎzõdĭ) find the most use as lip plugs, piercer for lip and ear holes, and points for the fish arrows. It is not known what kind of bones are used to make the small needles for sewing hats, which are round in front and bear a small eye in the flat end-piece (Ill. 140). All these /285/ bone tools are well polished. Unfortunately I could learn nothing about how they are made.

A piece of the breastplate of the tartaruga is made into flat spindle disks (Ill. 144a).

The hard palates of the pirarucú fish are used in their crude state as a grater, as well as the teeth for ornaments and tools. The incisors of the capybara are fastened as the supreme ornament on the mother-of-pearl disks of the ear rosettes of small
[235] children. These teeth are among the most valuable objects of the Indians, for the timid animals are very difficult to hunt. They are kept in pairs of equal size, usually a pair of smaller ones and a pair of larger ones are placed one on top of the other, glued with wax, and wound with cotton threads (kũwã, Ill. 64). The tooth of the cutia is lashed to a wooden stem with cotton thread and, mounted in this way, serves for grooving the clubs (Ill. 122).

Shells are used in part in the crude state, in part worked. The most important kinds are (Pl. 45, Ill. 1 a-c): the triangular shell (bũlŭ), the mother-of-pearl shell (ŏgĩnŏhŏ), the two-pointed shell (dĭlĭ, ĩdjĕ). Lip plugs are made from the fine two-pointed shell or the thick triangular shell, and from the latter in such a way that the freely projecting, arched end is removed from the thick, hinged part of the shell. Nothing is known about the manner of manufacture; the edges are well ground. Mother-of-pearl shells are ground on stone into small round disks for ear rosettes and stool eyes. Crude, rectangular pieces of shell with

1:Lipkind E-5 (1937) 1948 SP9 Caraja SP9

is planted in September, when the first rains come, and manioc shortly after. There is little cultivation beyond weeding. The basic crop is manioc, both the sweet and bitter varieties being cultivated, with maize next in importance. Four varieties each of sweet and bitter manioc and 10 varieties of maize are cultivated. Other crops are: Five varieties of potatoes, two varieties of cara, four varieties of watermelon, three varieties of squash, four varieties of beans, and ten varieties of bananas, as well as peanuts, urucú, tobacco, cotton, calabashes, sugarcane, yams, peppers, pineapples, and papayas. Men do all the work with a little assistance in harvesting and weeding from older women. The *Javahé* are more industrious farmers than the other *Carajá*, cultivating extensive plantations. 241 [462] [184]

Collecting.—A large number of vegetable products are gathered for use as food, medicine, and raw material for manufacture, but only a few are of great importance. The babassu and the buritî palms, used for food and textile materials, are among the most valuable. The taquara reed is sought after for arrows. Turtle eggs are a significant item of food during the dry season. Honey is indispensable for feasting. 222 262 [441]

Hunting.—Although the *Carajá* are passionate hunters, very few of the animals available in the region are eaten. Only the peccary is really sought and constitutes a sizable item in the larder. The other animals that are eaten—the cutia, coati, woodsdeer, monkey, iguana, and a few birds, such as the mutum, jao, and jacu—are killed when encountered but are not eaten by everyone. Peccaries are hunted in a communal drive, the most favorable time being shortly after the beginning of the rainy season when large droves are trapped on islands. 224 [262]

The chief purpose of hunting is to get feathers, and the most desirable birds are the various parrots, herons, the male stork, and the flamingo. The nesting of valuable birds is carefully watched, and the young are stolen and tamed. Feathers stored in small baskets almost constitute a currency, because they are readily negotiable at all times and maintain a stable value. 223 237 [231] [436]

The principal weapons are the bow and club. The bow, made of a variety of woods but with a preference for juari when available, is round in cross section and about 6 feet (2 m.) long. The arrow is preferably of taquara reed and variously tipped with wood, animal bone, or fish bone. Clubs are beautifully fashioned of heavy hardwood, decorated with delicate carving, and are swung and thrown with equal skill. The lance is now used only for ceremonial purposes. 441

Fishing.—Fish is the most important food supply. Trapping and drugging fish with timbo is a communal affair; individuals fish with the bow and arrow. There is occasional night fishing, with spearing by torchlight. The pirarucu is killed by harpoon. The hook and line is little used, and apparently was borrowed recently from the Neo-Brazilians. 226 [262] [177]

Food preparation.—Manioc is peeled, grated, squeezed out by hand, and cooked into a soup. When the soup cools, it is masticated for a few 252

/224 cont./

*301 435 [436] very expensive, and they are all the more expensive the smaller they are. They are used as money for buying boats; one buys a boat for two such teeth. They are stored in the packing shown in Illustration 64: two long and two short teeth are tied together at the lower part with cotton threads and partly coated with wax. /Pl. 45 appears here./

*301 /225/ I obtained the gourd disk in Ill. 65 under the name of ǎndǒhǒmãlĩ. It is covered with four concentric wax rings, some of the interspaces of which are painted red; in the center there are three holes. Allegedly this is supposed to be a disk of an ear rosette, but I did not see such large disks elsewhere. [532] On the dance masks, however, there are large ear rosettes; perhaps it is the disk of such a mask rosette.

The mature young people of both sexes wear a slightly different ear ornament, but only occasionally, probably more as a festive ornament. It is called dǒhǒlũã (= [illegible]no-eye; the mother-of-pearl disk in the center was also called this). A feather rosette is put on the front of a taquara stick by means of a cotton wrapping, and the middle of it is covered with a mother-of-pearl disk with a wax button in the center (1) (Ill. 66 a, b). /Ills. 65-67 appear here./

1. Ehrenreich brought back a few specimens with a wax cross on the disk. I never saw such ear rosettes. Königswald (Globus, Vol. 94, p. 219) states that these only come from the Šambioá, whereas those of the Karajá show only the wax button. My findings would agree with this. See also the previous footnote /see p. 117/ and compare in this connection the Šavajé /see pp. 315-316/.

[184]

[Text continues on p. 120]

/238 cont./.

*301 The modern ornaments consist of glass beads, which are threaded on chains. For these, too, the name išiulá is used. All [822] colors were taken, but green ones generally found little favor. [184] The fashions were entirely different in the individual villages: in one village people preferred large beads, in another small embroidery beads; in one white opaque beads, in another blue, black, or red ones. All the beads were first tested for their fragility and those that did not withstand a bite were rejected forthwith. The unit of exchange was chains of beads with approximately 100 small embroidery beads. Children and women wore these just as they received them; boys and youths, on the other hand, reworked them according to their taste. The beads were strung on several horizontal strings arranged parallel to one another and knotted at several places with vertical threads. The entire necklace was tied in back. It usually fitted the neck closely; the various colors were arranged in varying groups, but in such a way that white constituted the basic color (Pl. 36, Ill. 2). Sometimes appendages of various kinds also hung down from it.

[283] Other neck ornaments consisted of cotton strings. These are either wound around the neck several times by the men (black), [237] or they consist of simple strings with pendants. For example, neck bones (?, bŭhãnãũnĩ) of the dolphin are used as such ornamental appendages. It looked quite dangerous to see children, especially boys, who on the neck band wore shards of colored porcelain plates, which often reached the size of half a plate, with the broken edge toward the neck (1).

1. These appendages are already mentioned by Rufino in 1846/47 for the Šambioá. Rev. trim. 10 (1848), p. 196.

*301 There are three kinds of arm ornaments. First, there are *237 arm bands which have bunches of feathers in one place, then there are those with a plaited band to which are attached several layers of feathers; finally, fine strings from which pendants of all kinds are suspended. They are worn on the upper arm (dẽrõzĩ) and on the

/264 cont./

411 and terminates in offset thorn extensions. The length of the bowstring for my specimens amounts to 184-204 centimeters.

[283] The bowstring (ãnzũ, mbãũ; according to Ehrenreich, manhũga) is made by each person for himself by twisting together three twisted imbauva fiber strings. Its strength gradually decreases from the thicker end to the other one, and it finally terminates in a thin string. Ill. 110 shows how it is attached. The bowstring proper is the strong part, which is attached so that it can be lifted off at one end. The weaker part is led from the firm bow-end along the front side of the bow-wood to approximately the center of the bow, is fastened there, and then is tightly wound around the bow, back to the bow-end. The last [531] little end hangs down freely; it often bears a feather tassel. This winding is usually rubbed with white-earth coloring. In the middle of the bow, where it begins, a maize leaf is fastened as an ornament by means of a black cotton winding. The unwound part of the bow sometimes bears black and yellow plaiting around it (Ill. 111).

The arrows. In order to give a survey of the arrows, it is advisable first of all to group them according to the shapes of the points, for the formation of this part of the arrow depends, of course, on what it is to be used for, which is, after all, the most important thing about the arrow. In addition, however, I also wish to point out other varying characteristics, some of which seem to represent ownership and tribal signs.

First of all, it should be noted that each one makes his own [436] arrows. In view of the custom of using arrows as a means of pay- [431] ment, however, and exchanging them with the chief on visits to strange villages, as well as in turn receiving some as gifts from him, arrows of the most diverse origins are assembled in the hands of one individual; nevertheless, in view of the brief life-span of the arrows, those made by each one for himself predominate. Poisoning is not customary.

Before being shot, the arrows are examined with regard to their curvature by being turned between the right hand lifted up to the right shoulder and the left hand stretched far downward. If

/279 cont./

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[430] For these one had to give goods valued from 30-50 marks. Dance masks were not for sale at all.

/187 cont./

101 The Karajá proper (2). They call themselves: kărăjă,

2. As explained above, I mean by Karajá the Indians called Carayahí by Ehrenreich. In accordance with the rather sharp J sound, which was often pronounced like dj, I was obliged to change the spelling to Karajá.

[104]

karädjă, or krădjă. In addition, ĩnă and ĩnaũlă were given as designations for themselves. They are called Karayá by the Brazilians. Among the Šavajé, according to their own statement, they are called šũšomădó or bĕrĕhŏkŭwăndŭ, among the
131 Cherénte wărăsũtŏrŏ. They inhabit the middle course of the
[439] Araguaya, at present from 15° 15' to 10° 12' south latitude; their boundaries are thus the mouth of the Rio Vermelho in the south, a place between the north end of Bananal Island and Santa Anna in the north; only occasionally do they undertake trade voyages to Santa Maria and Conceição. In general they
[648] are confined to the banks of the river and its immediate hinterland, and they inhabit both shores equally; today, at any rate, there can no longer be any talk of the habit of avoiding the
484 west bank out of fear of enemies (3). They also extend their
[437]

3. Moraes Jardim, O Rio Araguaya; Ehrenreich, "Südamerikanische Stromfahrten," p. 38.

[113]

fishing and trading expeditions over large stretches on either side. In the east they visit the Šavajé in the interior of Bananal, but avoid going there in small numbers. In the west they navigate
[361] the large tributaries. In the Rio das Mortes, 15 leagues above the mouth, there is supposed to be a small Karajá village; they allegedly do not go farther upstream here. They travel
[225] up the Rio Cristallino for a stretch to fish for turtles. On the
131 Rio Tapirapé they go just below the waterfall; a tree with two bullet-tracks, a fire area, and the remains of utensils mark the boundary here against the Tapirapé Indians.

/201 cont./

342 The chief's house is a communal structure. It is built by all
496 the married men, while the activity of the young people is limited
437 to cutting out and tying together the leaves for the roofing. The chief pays for this with arrows, lances, and clubs.

342 Besides these houses there are lighter protective walls (1),

> 1. Fonseca already mentioned these protective walls in 1773: The tents consist of two mats, one of which serves as a rug, the other as protection from the sun. Rev. trim. 8, p. 378.

a type of wind screen, in the shade of which the family usually remains during the day, and where the cooking is done. On journeys they serve as the sole dwelling, and in the village as drying racks for the aprons of the women.

There are various kinds of such protective walls.

[824] 1. Walls: Walls of palm leaves are fastened to several vertical poles in the same way as for the house covering (nõbŏ), or mats are tied to them, forming a vertical wall (bŭlĕ). Such walls are encountered in almost all the houses, and they are usually fastened to three poles; also, however, walls of this kind which are twice as
[252] long occur. In their /202/ shade is usually found the hearth for cooking, and in front of them lie mats on which the family remains during the day (Pl. 12, Ill. 1; Pl. 41, Ill. 1).

2. Roofs (wãdŏ). They are horizontally fastened to several poles put at the edge, usually to four, sometimes to three or six poles. Only mats are used here, and they are tied on with ropes. The mats usually fall down to the ground on the sunny side. Sometimes a protective roof of this kind is also built at one end of a mat wall (Pl. 41, Ill. 1; Pl. 10, Ill. 1). /Ills. 27 and 28 appear here./

361 The village (ĩzo).

Ehrenreich says that the houses of the Carayahi usually consist of mat walls and stand in wild confusion, without any order. Only the Šambioá were said to have a street-like arrangement of the houses. This arrangement in rows that run parallel to the shore is also present

/245 cont./

262 The eggs are longish and have an odor and taste somewhat re-
222 sembling train oil. The tartaruga (kŏdūnĭ) and its eggs (kōdūnĭzĭ),
[221] on the other hand, are eaten with great relish. /246/ For them,
the Indians undertake distant boat journeys up the tributaries of
the Araguaya in September to October, the laying period of this
turtle, which deposits up to 160 round eggs in a nest. All the
sandbanks are investigated and the often numerous nests emptied
(on the Tapirapé I found up to four nests on small sandbanks).
Thus, they gather quite enormous quantities of eggs. These are
[251] either eaten raw or they are cooked and dried in the ashes and
[439] then kept for a long time, so that the Indians take them home,
[437] eat them later at leisure, or are able to sell them in the Brazilian
towns (Santa Maria, Conceição) on trading expeditions, which
they undertake in September and October. The turtles them-
[225] selves are taken by surprise while laying, or in shallow water they
are caught with the hands by diving from boats or with iron
bottom-tackle. The turtles are brought home alive in great
231 quantities from these expeditions and then eaten or sold. In order
to be able to keep them for a longer time, cages are built out of
twigs bent together at the top, which are stuck in the sand in a
circle, providing shade for them. Here they are tethered and kept
until they are consumed (Ill. 6). Small turtles are raised in the
villages as a pastime.

262 Ostrich eggs (nâŭĕkĭĕzĭ) are eaten with great relish. The
222 Indians empty the entire nest and take the eggs home with them
in order to eat them cooked there.

222 Honey (bădĕrhõ) is a delicacy of which they are passionately
fond. On their boat trips they observe the direction of flight of
the wild bees (bẽdi), designated by them as stingless, until, after
a short time, they have discovered their nests high up in the
crowns of trees. Quickly the tree is climbed and the nest cut down
[415] with the bush knife or ax. The honey is then taken out down below;
it is stored in bent pieces of bark or in gourd vessels. Bees nesting
in hollow trees are smoked out and the honey is taken out with the
hand. The often giant honeycombs are individually sucked out;

/258 cont./

262 scorned red-deer meat and tracajá eggs; others ate these things.
[177] Enlightened (civilized) Indians, who otherwise still believed firmly in all kinds of magic, ate everything.

G. Luxuries.

276 The Indians are familiar with only one luxury item:
[177] tobacco (kōtĭ). They maintain that they adopted the luxury of tobacco only from the Brazilians, and, to be sure, in about the
[249] first half of the nineteenth century. At that time they obtained seed (kōtĭlăti) or shoots; at first they planted these in the mud, where only small plants grew; then they tried it in the plantings, where large plants grew. The custom of smoking is older, however. Fonseca reports in 1773 that they smoked their clay peace pipe in an easterly direction, apparently observing a ceremony (1).

1. Rev. trim. 8, pp. 378 and 387.

Probably they received merely another plant from the Brazilians.
249 /259/ Today tobacco is raised in the plantings, and it is planted by the men during the rainy season by placing seed kernels into the ground. Harvest begins "when the leaves begin to hang" (in July I already saw fresh tobacco leaves hung up to dry). The leaves are picked and brought into the house, where they are hung up to dry. When they are half-dry they are rubbed between the hands ("so that the tobacco becomes black"), then hung outside the house on a pole or a special sloping rack, and com-
[415] pletely dried. It is stored in the oblong baskets called lālá, and, to be sure, rolled up pad-shaped by the south horde (ĭlūlăŭ), plaited into a braid by the north horde (kō(ŭ)zā). (See Ill. 194, Šavajé /see p. 323/.)

276 The variety is evidently very light; its fragrance is not very pleasant, but the Indians smoke it passionately. They find
249 the tobacco of the Šavajé to be better and obtain seedlings from
438 them to improve their stock. Thus, on my return journey from
[437] the Šavajé I was accompanied by /Ills. 103-104 appear here/ a
[881]

/259 cont./

249 438 [437] [482] Karajá who had bartered arrows there for tobacco seedlings; his basket was fully loaded with the packets in which the plants were packed. The seedlings were well wrapped in leaves and bast into a large cylindrically shaped bundle that was reinforced all around with vertical bamboo rods and firmly laced.

276

They were most particularly mad for the heavy Goyaner /Goyana/ tobacco.

Smoking is done by old and young, men and women. Even babies are sometimes permitted to partake of this pleasure. Pipes are smoked throughout; maize-leaf cigarettes are not customary.

[824]

Ill. 103.
Fruit of the jequitiba tree, out of which tobacco pipes are made.

Ill. 104 a-c.
Tobacco pipes made out of jequitiba fruit. a) Crude form. b) Carefully worked, without groove. c) Carefully worked, with groove.

[824] /260/ The pipe (in men's language, wǎlĭonǎ, wǎlĭkŏkŏ; in women's language, wǎlĭkŏkŏ) is made out of the fruit (ǎrĭkŏkŏ) of of the jequitiba tree (Hymenea sp.) (Ill. 103). The fruit, approximately seven centimeters long, is closed with a stopper. When it is ripe, the stopper falls out and the fruit kernels fall to the ground.

/278 cont./

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/279 cont./

437 Trading proceeded very quietly. The Indians brought their articles and stated their demands; after carefully examining the object, I made my offer, or possibly the object was refused. They regularly asked to see the article concerned, whether it was a bead chain, mirror, knife, shears, etc. Then it was given to an expert for approval; they have such persons for beads, iron implements, cloth, etc. Only after this one had expressed approval was the sale completed. Otherwise I was obliged to show other things. The exchanged object then went from hand to hand, was tested or tried on by everyone, and did not reach the hands of the owner until afterwards. Iron implements were subjected to the nail test, beads to the tooth test. Dull /280/ iron implements, beads that broke, or used objects were not accepted. For the rest, everyone let the others bargain for themselves, did not interfere, and gave his opinion only if asked, a very pleasant custom.

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10. Techniques.

463 438 Apparently everyone makes his own implements and tools. Only occasionally did I observe that individual persons made certain things in larger quantities; for example, in Schischá pots and sieves were made, probably for Brazilian use; in José's village, hats, in Alfredo's village, mats were made in quantities. This and the statements about the purchase value of certain objects seem to point to a trade among themselves and accordingly probably also to manufacturing by certain persons beyond their personal needs.

/285 cont./

237 two holes in the center are sewed on the belt of the long string-
321 skirts of the girls (Ill. 69), as well as on the cylinder-bands of the dance masks. As spoons and scrapers they use mother-of-pearl mussel shells, which are only slightly worked, but are usually used in the crude state.

287 Concerning the feather technique, see below in connection with the tying, knotting, and plaiting technique /see pp. 233 ff./.

824 The utilization of the vegetable kingdom is very extensive. The cane species are used remarkably little; apparently the region is poor in them.

G. The wood of trees is made into boats, poles, oars, mortars and pestles, stools, lances, bows, throwing boards, arrow points, manioc grating boards, lip plugs, comb teeth, etc. Soft or hard woods are used, depending on the purpose. I was not always able to learn which kinds of wood were used for the individual implements. Spears consist of so-called aruera wood, bows of hard palm wood, boat poles of long, slender trees with very light wood. Soft wood is used for stools, lip plugs, and manioc grating boards; all the other implements consist of hard wood. Of the cane species, taquara is used as arrow shafts, gibade and similar types as ear rods.

396 I am most fully informed about boatbuilding. The boats
[462] are built by the men. All of them understand this art, though
[437] many confine themselves to buying boats from others in exchange
[463] for an iron axe. /286/ Apparently certain persons make boats in larger numbers for the village and then sell them. Thus, a few hours downstream from Schischá I met two families from this village who had erected temporary huts for themselves here in the wilderness, in order to build boats in the vicinity. The making of a small boat is said to take four days, a larger one eight days. These time estimates, however, seem to me to be
[824] very low. The trunk of the lantim tree (Calophyllum: dāliŏ) is used as material for the boats; Ehrenreich mentions pau d'arco and jatoba, Königswald also jatahy and others. The trees are felled in the forest and crudely worked; first the outer shape is hewed out with an ax and then the interior is likewise hollowed

/322 cont./

624 191 but mostly men who understand a little Brazilian and, as a result, act as intermediaries in dealings with the boatmen (for example, Ilk).

622 571 During my stay at the mouth of the Tapirapé I observed that there may also be rivalry between chiefs. On the downstream journey, in Village No. 18, I met two chiefs, the good-natured old tribal chief Cyriāki and a so-called capitão, the energetic, feared Chico Cadete. Of the two, Cyriaki had the more dignified bearing, though he had no following in the village; Cadete ruled there absolutely, so that Cyriāki was left entirely in the background. On the upstream journey I met the [439] village in the act of undertaking a trading expedition to Santa Maria. When I returned from my navigation of the Tapirapé, I found Cyriāki in the village on the mouth of the Tapirapé. He had moved from Village 18 on account of disputes with Cadete and had settled here in Village 17.

622 The privileges enjoyed by the chiefs for their administration of office are the following: They do not work in the plantings; they do not hunt, and they fish only for tokunaré, pintado, and pirārucu, besides tartaruga and tracajá. They are not subject to any restrictions in diet. They may have several wives, who live together in their houses; there is no chief wife. Their houses are built by the villagers; they are sometimes larger and higher than the other houses.

[562] If the chief is absent, he entrusts the leadership to his wife his son also seems to represent him frequently.

The chief is educated for his position from infancy on. After an ablution with hot water, he lives for four years shut in a special hut; here he learns from his father the dances and dance songs, the administration of justice, and whatever else is necessary for his office. He may already pronounce decisions, which are announced through his father. In return he is given arrows, stones for lip plugs, and similar things as gifts. The apprenticeship ends with a large festival.

[562] The chief's successor is his son. If he only has daughters, one of them becomes chief (hau̯ĕkĕ, dĕrōdi). If she marries,

Brazil.

Both sexes have a blue ring tattooed under the eye, forming a deep ugly scar, which is the special distinguishing mark of the tribe. 304 619

The Karayá take good care of the body, bathing many times each day—though this is more to cool and refresh themselves, and for sport—keep the hair well combed, and pull out the sparse beard. They formerly used the teeth of the piránha fish as a kind of saw with which to cut the hair, but they now have scissors. 515 302 412 237

As already stated, the men wear no clothing, or covering whatever. The sash, or apron, worn by the women, is made of the inner bark of the jangáda tree. It is prepared for use by first soaking it a day or two in water, then pounding it with flat stones, and finally drying it. When the wearer of this primitive apron sits, she passes it back between the limbs and sits upon it. Besides this costume, both sexes wear various armlets, wristlets and leglets, as ornaments, which are peculiar to each division of the tribe. Soon after birth, the child's wrists and legs below the knees, are adorned with broad bands made by weaving together cotton cordage on the limbs themselves; while a black cotton band girts the body as a bandage. When the infant is a few months old, these articles are removed, and broad cotton wristlets, leglets and anklets are woven on the limbs, a tassel of cotton cords being attached to the leglets. The boys wear the leglets, or garterlets, until the lip is pierced, while the girls wear them until married. The wristlets worn by adults, cover nearly the whole forearm. They are not put aside until after marriage, and many females wear them until the first child is born. When one of the couple dies, the survivor puts the wristlets on again. This custom has come down from the ancients. As the wristlets and leglets are usually woven on the limbs themselves, they cannot be removed without being cut off. For this reason, they are never removed, nor washed until finally thrown aside. But I found the Karayá quite ready to cut these articles off and give them to me in exchange for some articles I had which took their fancy. 291 [287] 301 [184] [283] [286] [437] [439]

BUT even

235 these birds are regarded as members of the family, and no
[062] use is made of their flesh, nor even of their eggs. In recent
[237] years, however, the savages have begun to use them as an
231 article of trade with passing canoes. The most important domestic animals possessed by the Karayá besides fowls, are dogs and cats, which are widely distributed. They have no pigs. This animal is raised by the Kaiapó tribe, who obtained it originally from the civilized people, and use it as an article of trade. A veritable menagerie, in which the various bird families figure prominently, may always be seen around the largest Sambiõa villages. Many proud, magnificently plumaged, and ever-watchful macaws are always seen clinging to the tops of bare poles near the huts like watchers in their towers, or roosting on the roof of the hut; and if anything strange should approach, be it man or beast, they give warning in deafening screams—especially when civilized men—men wearing clothes—appear. Dogs, also, where they have such, bark fiercely when civilized men appear. This kind of man seems so extraordinary to them. Our dogs, in turn, make a fearful fuss when they see savage men for the first time—not only because of their exceedingly strange appearance, but also because of their odor.

235 Other birds kept by the Karayá in order to get their feathers to make ornaments, are the military bird, small storks, black-headed giant storks, cranes, the glittering white ardea, the beautiful, pink-feathered spoon bill, various wild ducks such as the canoe beak, rheas, or emus, which are the South American ostrich, and wild chickens. Birds that do not become so much attached to the family that they would not fly away, are held captive by having their wings clipped, or a few feathers plucked out. Many of these birds are decorated artificially. Those having white feathers are dyed red, while others have small bunches of bright feathers attached to their wings.

232 Some of the Brazilian Indians have a curious art by which they make nature change the color of the feathers of many of their captive birds. They jerk out the feathers they wish

/212 cont. /

386 824 The red color is obtained from the seeds of the fruit of the urucú bush. There are many different varieties, which produce a more or less intense red color, in part also inclining to yellow. Treasured above all is the kind with round seeds (wōlĕlŏnĭ), whereas the kind with long seeds is not esteemed very highly (wōlĕnò). The kind with round seeds grows particularly in the [438] region north of the Tapirapé mouth; it is obtained here in large quantities by the Indians and further traded to the Indians south of the Tapirapé mouth, especially to those of the south horde. The 386 dyestuff is produced from the seeds in the following manner. The many small seeds contained in the beechnut-like fruits are removed, some palm oil is put in the hands, and then the seeds are rubbed between the oiled hands until all the dyestuff on the shells of the seeds has come off. In this way an oil color is produced, which is scraped off the hand with a knife or stick and is put in a gourd vessel. The rubbed seeds are thrown away. In this fresh state the oil color is immediately ready for use. For [438] trading, it is boiled in oil (thickened), then put into solid forms, and dried in the sun (Ill. 40 a, b).

[824] For the black color either soot, which is scraped from the charred trees of the plantings or from the cooking pots, or the blue-black juice of the genipap fruit [b(ă)dēnă] is used. This juice is mixed in small spoon-like gourd vessels or in larger, carved half-gourds /Pls. 43 and 44 appear here/ /213/ (Ill. 41 a, b); at first it is light, but soon after it is applied to the skin, under the influence of the air, it becomes a handsome black-blue color.

A white earth (mănāŭlă) is used as a white color. I never 302 observed white body /Ills. 40 and 41 appear here/ painting, to be sure. The small clay dolls, however, bear white patterning, and the Indians told me that with this color they paint rings around their arms, as well as transverse stripes on their chests.

302 413 The fingers serve as paint brushes, the flat hand for full body painting. /Ill. 42 appears here. / I never observed sticks or rags for applying the colors. On the other hand, for the genipap patterning a stamp (ūlĭnŏ) consisting of two sticks of cane lashed together, the cut surfaces of which are cut to form two semicircles, is popularly used. These semicircles are now placed together to form

[Text Continues on P. 103]

/213 cont./

386
[438]
[415]

Ill. 40 a, b.
Urucú oil-color in trade packaging.

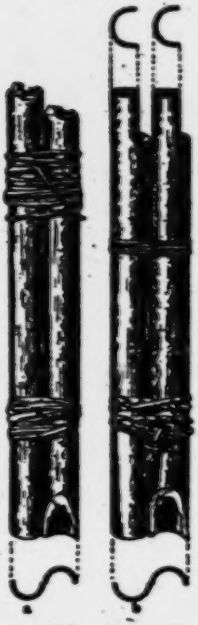
Ill. 41 a, b.
Color bowls.

302 a serpentine line (bũltĩ; according to Kurĩsĩ,
413 however, naũĕkĕĕlãzĩ = ostrich crown-tuft). These stamps are usually only one-sided (Ill. 42a); only once did I come across a two-sided stamp, which at one end bore the serpentine line, at the other two semi-circles, one above the other (Ill. 42b). The boy in Ill. 2 on Plate 38 is painted with the serpentine-line stamp.

302 In the painting we distinguish between full painting and patterning.

[291] The full painting "is their suit of clothes" (Kurĩsĩ's statement); "it protects them from mosquitoes just as their suit does for the Christians" (Mauzĩ's statement).

The patterning, on the other hand, is executed only for special occasions. It is a kind of festive ornamentation. For
[609] receiving strangers, for example, the villagers paint themselves with red and black designs: the arriving strangers also paint themselves before they /214/ enter the village, even if they only draw a black eye-band from ear to ear with soot scraped from the charred Campo trees.



Ill. 42 a, b.
Genipap stamps.

/222 cont./

*301 painted and covered with rolls of wax, which apparently is supposed to represent such a painted lip-plug (Pl. 45, Ill. 7).

*301 184 This sequence was precisely observed everywhere. Only in the first village near Leopoldina were deviations found. Here the boy, as /223/ has just been mentioned, wore a wooden lamella, and later a wooden button, like his older brother and the [177] father. This family was civilized; they hesitated to walk around with long plugs in front of the Brazilians. On the whole, long [152] plugs are regarded as a sign of vanity, which is why older people, for example, can never wear them without making themselves ridiculous. The young people in the first village felt too superior to their savage fellow-tribesmen to wear such ridiculous things; hence they contented themselves with the dignified button of the old people.

*301 [324] The stone lip-plugs (mǎnǎ'dělě; mǎnǎ = stone, mǎnādĕrĕzo = rock crystal) are a special kind. They are cut to shape out of quartz, rock crystal, or /Ills. 61-63 appear here/ alabaster and then smoothed so that they look as though they were polished. The mouthpiece is greatly widened; the lower end runs out into a thickening (Ill. 62). Such lip plugs are worn only by unmarried men and only at special festivities. When they marry, they give it to a young relative. Since the stone lip-plugs are very thick, the lip hole must first be enlarged. This is done by the insertion of ever thicker wooden plugs. I saw only one specimen of such a lip plug, and, to be sure, in the south horde, but could not acquire it. I learned about a second specimen /224/ in the south [439] horde only long after we had left the village. They are not made by Karajá, but by the Tapirapé, with whom the Karajá of the • [438] north horde barter for them. Those of the south horde again buy [435] them from those of the north horde, the price then allegedly amounting to a canoe, an ax, a pot, and a bush knife. In other words, they are very expensive and are therefore, and because they are very fragile, cautiously handled and kept carefully [648] wrapped in cloth. At the present time, when the Karajá have a feud with the Tapirapé and are therefore no longer able to buy stone lip-plugs, their value has naturally increased many times over.

/244 cont./

527 Regular harvest festivals probably do not take place; the time of the ripening of the food plants, that is to say, the time when they have a great deal to eat, is their chief festival time, however.

B. The Acquisition of Animal Food.

433 The acquisition of animal food is as yet limited to the appropriative form; the Indians have not arrived at animal breeding.

231 To be sure, they keep a great many animals in their
825 houses, but do not use them for food, nor do they mate them,
[262] but rather, after loss, they catch young specimens again to tame these anew. This pleasure in animals arises from the belief that animals are related to man, are the same in essence; they believe that animals speak and act like human beings, only in a different form. And so they surround themselves with them, in
[235] order to divert themselves by their behavior. Only birds are kept for practical purposes, namely, as suppliers of feathers; they are repreatedly robbed of their feathers, which are then made into ornaments. Tamed quadrupeds, as well as chickens, usually run around free; birds have their wings clipped or they are tied to a pole on the roof, in the house, or under a special protective
[438] roof (Plate 54, Ill. 1). Apparently there is a trade in birds, for several times I observed wandering Indians who carried little birds with them in small gourds, in order to sell them in other places. /Plate 53 appears here./

231 /245/ Of such domestic animals, I observed the following:
[136] Of foreign, imported animals there were: chickens [(h)ănĭ(k)ĕ], pigs [(ī)šā(nĕ)], dogs (kjŏlŏzā), cats [(găh)ănlōĕnĕ]. These
[262] animals are not eaten; the Indians are not even acquainted with the eating of chicken eggs (hănĭkĕsi). Pigs are very rare; I saw only one large domestic pig, which was quite obviously kept only out of curiosity.

[Text Continues on P. 155]

/258 cont./

262 scorned red-deer meat and tracajá eggs; others ate these things.
[177] Enlightened (civilized) Indians, who otherwise still believed firmly in all kinds of magic, ate everything.

G. Luxuries.

276 The Indians are familiar with only one luxury item;
[177] tobacco (kōtĭ). They maintain that they adopted the luxury of tobacco only from the Brazilians, and, to be sure, in about the
[249] first half of the nineteenth century. At that time they obtained seed (kōtĭlăti) or shoots; at first they planted these in the mud, where only small plants grew; then they tried it in the plantings, where large plants grew. The custom of smoking is older, however. Fonseca reports in 1773 that they smoked their clay peace pipe in an easterly direction, apparently observing a ceremony (1).

1. Rev. trim. 8, pp. 378 and 387.

[illegible]obably they received merely another plant from the Brazilians.
[illegible] /259/ Today tobacco is raised in the plantings, and it is planted by the men during the rainy season by placing seed kernels into the ground. Harvest begins "when the leaves begin to hang" (in July I already saw fresh tobacco leaves hung up to dry). The leaves are picked and brought into the house, where they are hung up to dry. When they are half-dry they are rubbed between the hands ("so that the tobacco becomes black"), then hung outside the house on a pole or a special sloping rack, and com-
[415] pletely dried. It is stored in the oblong baskets called lālá, and, to be sure, rolled up pad-shaped by the south horde (ĭlūlăŭ), plaited into a braid by the north horde (kō(ŭ)ʒă). (See Ill. 194, Šavajé /see p. 323/.)

276 The variety is evidently very light; its fragrance is not very pleasant, but the Indians smoke it passionately. They find
249 the tobacco of the Šavajé to be better and obtain seedlings from
438 them to improve their stock. Thus, on my return journey from
[437] the Šavajé I was accompanied by /Ills. 103-104 appear here/ a
[482]

/259 cont./

249 438 437 482 Karajá who had bartered arrows there for tobacco seedlings; his back-basket was fully loaded with the packets in which the plants were packed. The seedlings were well wrapped in leaves and bast into a large cylindrically shaped bundle that was reinforced all around with vertical bamboo rods and firmly laced.

276

They were most particularly mad for the heavy Goyaner /Goyana/ tobacco.

Smoking is done by old and young, men and women. Even babies are sometimes permitted to partake of this pleasure. Pipes are smoked throughout; maize-leaf cigarettes are not customary.

[824]

Ill. 103.
Fruit of the jequitiba tree, out of which tobacco pipes are made.

Ill. 104 a-c.
Tobacco pipes made out of jequitiba fruit. a) Crude form. b) Carefully worked, without groove. c) Carefully worked, with groove.

[824] /260/ The pipe (in men's language, wăliõnã, wălĭkŏkŏ; in women's language, wălĭkŏkŏ) is made out of the fruit (ărĭkŏkŏ) of of the jequitiba tree (Hymenea sp.) (Ill. 103). The fruit, approximately seven centimeters long, is closed with a stopper. When it is ripe, the stopper falls out and the fruit kernels fall to the ground.

/262 cont./

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1. (cont.)
the Indians near Rio de Janeiro, in Debret, Voyage pittoresque et historique du Brésil /Picturesque and historical journey to Brazil/, Vol. 1, Paris, 1836, Plate 5.

411
868

Boys learn how to shoot arrows at an early age; I saw boys three to four years old handling small weapons. These weapons (see under "Toys" /see pp. 241 ff./) serve for practice in shooting. First they shoot toward a fixed goal, a soft, cylindrically shaped root about 30 centimeters high and ten centimeters thick, which is set in the sand (Ill. 109). Later the father proceeds to instruction with the movable target. The father rolls a bast ring along on the ground. The boy stands about ten meters away from the father and shoots from ever greater distances into the moving ring. The arrow must remain hanging in the bast. A little boy four years old succeeded in doing this on the third shot at a distance of two meters. This bast ring [(wǎ)ṡĭŏlṇōlṇŏ̄] is a ring-shaped bast pad three and a half centimeters thick and 18 1/2 centimeters in diameter, which is tightly wound with bast (Pl. 56, Ill. 2). Ehrenreich (Berlin 3960) designates it erroneously as a ring for carrying objects on the head, a practice which is not customary among the Karajá Indians. Later comes shooting at a flying target, with green gourds thrown into the air. Thus, the boys learn to shoot the bow at an early age and in general achieve great accuracy. There were Indians who made almost no missed shots while fishing; there were others, however, who were less skilled.

411
[438]
[439]

The bow consists of palm wood. This wood (ŏlōtŏ̄, wŏ̄ālūŏ̄) allegedly grows only in the Tapirapé region. In any case, the Indians of the south horde, according to their unanimous testimony, obtain their bows or the material for them from the Karajá of the north horde or from the Tapirapé themselves. As a result, I was able to acquire bows only in the north horde; they were precious possessions in the south horde.

The bow is round, often slightly flattened on the front side, tapers /263/ /Ills. 109-112 appear here/ /264/ toward both ends,

[Text Continues on P. 182]

/278 cont./

9. Trade, Money, Measures.

484 The Karajá undertake their boat trips and land journeys almost entirely for the sake of fishing and for supplies of raw ma-
437 terials. Trade among themselves is carried on only during
438 occasional visits. For example, Pedro took huge quantities of urucú kernels along to his home (Village 2) from Village 19, as the reason he said that there was no urucú above the Rio Tapirapé; he probably meant none of the one particular, very highly appreciated kind providing red coloring. In the villages north of the Tapirapé mouth there was also urucú coloring matter pressed into rolls or into the form of flat cakes, which were sold in such packings. The south horde seems to be dependent on the north horde in various other respects: they buy or bought bow wood, red coloring for painting the pots, stones for stone axes, net coverings, stone lip-plugs, and tamed araras from the north horde, who either produce these themselves or acquire them from the Tapirapé or Šavajé.

From the Šavajé, who are regarded as very rich, they buy tobacco seedlings, manioc roots, arrows, net coverings, etc.

437 They carry on trade with the Brazilians, in part through the
439 Brazilian boats passing by, to whom they offer wax in large balls for calking their boats, as well as manioc, chickens, and fish, in exchange for tobacco, salt, farina, beads, and knives, and in part on great trading expeditions which they themselves undertake in August and September to Santa Maria and sometimes even to Conceição. For this purpose they collect beforehand on their fishing expeditions in the Rio Tapirapé and the many lakes of the river great quantities of turtles, turtle eggs, dried fish, etc., in order to exchange these in the large Brazilian towns for products of European civilization, /279/ especially iron tools, material for blankets for the cold nights, ornamental beads, tobacco, and salt.

437 There are no special standards of value in trade; simple
435 barter still takes place. Among themselves, however, they have fixed prices: a boat costs one ax or two ca, ybara teeth, etc.

/279 cont./

437 Trading proceeded vety quietly. The Indians brought their articles and stated their demands; after carefully examining the object, I made my offer, or possibly the object was refused. They regularly asked to see the article concerned, whether it was a bead chain, mirror, knife, shears, etc. Then it was given to an expert for approval; they have such persons for beads, iron implements, cloth, etc. Only after this one had expressed approval was the sale completed. Otherwise I was obliged to show other things. The exchanged object then went from hand to hand, was tested or tried on by everyone, and did not reach the hands of the owner until afterwards. Iron implements were subjected to the nail test, beads to the tooth test. Dull /280/ iron implements, beads that broke, or used objects were not accepted. For the rest, everyone let the others bargain for themselves, did not interfere, and gave his opinion only if asked, a very pleasant custom.

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10. Techniques.

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/353 cont./

166 Schischã, the deceased chief Pedro Manco, and Mother Joana from the migratory camp No. 9, people about 60-70 years old, are regarded as the children of the immigrant Šavajé. Recently, Šavajé again came from Bananal to Schischã; in October 1908 they lived in a separate house. These Šavajé, of course, entered into frequent alliances with the Karajá.

167 [101] A third branch is supposed to have separated from the Šavajé on Bananal, apparently in the previous generation. This horde crossed the Araguaya and moved toward the west; among the Karajá of the Araguaya they are regarded as lost. The separation took place in the region of the mouth of the Rio das Mortes or somewhat more to the south.

619 Before I enter into a discussion of the culture of the Šavajé, I should like to report very briefly what the Karajá told me about them: The Šavajé are their kinsmen; they speak the same lan-
628 guage and have the same tribal tattooing. They live in peaceful
[438] relations with the Karajá, they intermarry; above all, there is an active trade in which the Karajá trade to the Šavajé stone tools, which the Šavajé lack, as well as iron goods, fabrics, and chains of beads in exchange for urucũ, net coverings, araras, and
511 food. In clothing and ornamentation the Šavajé are supposed to be equal to the Karajá, but to have much more beautiful things. Among the Karajá, they are considered rich in ornaments and foodstuffs; hence, in times of hardship, the Karajá often migrate over to them. I found these statements to be generally true.

101 Phonetically the name of the people should be written Šăvăjé, in accordance with the pronunciation customary among the Karajá. The Karajá also call them: (ĭ)šăndjŭ, (ĭ)šă(n)dĭwăndŭ.
361 I cannot give their number, because I became acquainted with
[114] only a small village of five huts. In any case, besides three or
[161] four such small villages, there seems to be a very large village, similar to those of the Šambioá, so that the number may perhaps
[162] be given as 800-1000. The Šavajé living among the southern Karajá perhaps reach 50 in number.

/359 cont./

235 Of tame animals I found among the Šavajé:

Chickens, which were gladly sold to me, but were not eaten by them; vultures, spoonbills, and parakeets sat tethered on the supply racks in front of the houses; vultures in large numbers squatted on the ground near the wall posts in the houses. Araras were totally absent. Instead, a huge white eagle sat tied to a low cross-bar behind the chief's house (Pl. 30, Ill. 2).

264 The women ate even in my presence. Only the girl who traveled back to the Karajá with us ate turned away from us on the trip, and only when she thought she was not being observed.

252 The hearth, as mentioned above, lies in the circular structures of the houses, on both sides of the entrance. As among the Karajá, it consists of the tips of three termite hills or of three clay shards. Roasting is done on grills (Pl. 61, Ill. 1). [412]

415 The cooking vessels are identical with those of the Karajá.

412 The manioc grater (wōlānǎkiǎ; in the women's language, kōlānǎkiě) and the rod-sieves (brēdjě) have the same shape and construction as those of the Karajá. For stirring, an oar-shaped spoon (nālĭhĭ; Ill. 193) is used. For everything else, see the Karajá! [184]

Ill. 193 a, b. Stirring spoon. (b from the side).

249 The luxury item is tobacco, which is cultivated in a considerably better variety among the Šavajé than among the Karajá. The latter buy large quantities of it from the former, even cuttings, so that they will be able to grow this better variety themselves at home. Tobacco (kōtĭ) is stored plaited into three-part braids (Ill. 194) and is carried in plaited bags or such [438]

/362 cont./

312 Water was transported in long gourds (rŭkŭ) with short
415 hanging bands; the gourds were usually crudely decorated with
531 pyrography (Ill. 200).

184 9. The techniques are even more primitive than those of
the Karajá; in fact, the Šavajé obtain their iron implements and
[438] all foreign wares only through barter with the Karajá. Hence,
everything that was said about the latter also applies to the
Šavajé.

412 I still found a few examples of stone axes [ūōmădū(ĕ)];
they were used as beaters in pounding soft the women's bast
aprons on mortars turned upside down. The two specimens
acquired by me are strong, wedge-shaped axes 14 and 20.5
centimeters long; on one, the cutting edge is considerably
hollowed out, probably through use as a nutcracker (Ill. 201 a, b).

323 The pottery is as primitive as that of the Karajá. Here,
184 too, we find no decorated vessels. The two vessels acquired by
me consist of red clay, are of the Karajá type, and represent
a cooking pot (wădjĭwĭ) and a bowl (wădjīwāŭdă). /363/ /Ills.
200-206 appear here./

283 /364/ Working with cotton. For picking cotton apart, a
small, quite crudely worked bow is used (Pl. 61, Ill. 4). The
spindles (ăzõdāŏ, Pl. 61, Ill. 5) consist of round rods 32.5-49
centimeters long, with whorls of wax, unfired or fired clay, or
bone. By far the most prevalent are wax whorls, which in part
are clumsy disks, in part have sharp edges and taper conically
[323] at the top and bottom. The unfired or crudely fired whorls
usually have a double-conical form with a sharp edge; only one
specimen consists of a thick plate with a rounded edge. Fired
clay whorls are disk-shaped and have two sharp edges and flat,
conical elevations on both surfaces. Bone whorls consist of quite
flat disks, as among the Karajá.

Balls of thread of white (ăzõ) or black (ăzõdĕbĕ) cotton
are also customary among the Šavajé; some of them are kept
tied up in a bast covering (Ill. 202).

[Text Continues on p. 330]

1:Lipkind E-5 (1937) 1948 SP9 Caraja SP9

ARCHEOLOGY

172 Large circular hollows in the ground are found at various points in *Carajá* territory, always in the close vicinity of a stream. By tradition these are ancient cemeteries; of old, they say, people did not mourn at a funeral but held a feast in the hollow. One of these hollows located on the height above the river bank at Fontoura is 18 m. (about 58 ft.) long, 15 m. (about 50 ft.) wide, and 1½ m. (5 ft.) deep at its center. The mound forming the northern side was excavated, disclosing two lines of burials with associated pottery, bone labrets, and beads.

The pottery is very similar to modern *Carajá* pottery and the labrets are exactly like those now in the possession of the *Carajá*. The cemetery cannot, however, definitely be identified as *Carajá*. The present-day [764] *Carajá* cemetery is different in location and ground plan. There is now secondary urn burial, and in the first burial the bodies are laid at right angles to the river rather than parallel as were those disclosed by the excavation. Still, the remains show even less resemblance to the *Ge* and *Tupi* peoples in the neighborhood. The question must be left open for further archeological study.

HISTORY

648 175 Since the earliest times, the *Carajá* have been at war with their *Ge* and *Tupi* neighbors. The sole exception is the *Tapirapé*, with whom at one time the *Javahé* maintained close and friendly relations. The *Shambioá* were the first to come in contact with the Neo-Brazilians early in the 17th century. Contact with the *Carajá* proper must have begun shortly after the founding of Santa Anna by Bartholomeu Bueno in 1682. The *Carajá* are ● [439] on good terms with the Neo-Brazilians, trading skins and fish for clothing, beads, knives, axes, guns, sugar, and salt.

161 **Population.**—According to the census made by the author in 1939, the *Carajá* number 1,510, divided as follows: *Carajá* proper, 795; *Javahé*, 650; *Shambioá*, 65. These figures should be contrasted with Castelnau's (1850–59) count in 1845 of 2,000 *Shambioá* in four villages, and his estimate of a total of 100,000 *Carajá*, and with Krause's (1911) estimate of 10,000 *Carajá* in 1908.

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

241 **Farming.**—Clearings are made in the thick forest along the watercourses. Gardens must be so located as to be accessible by canoe in the dry season and yet not flooded in the rainy season. The scarcity of such land results in some of the plots being several miles distant from the village. Proximity to fishing grounds is generally held to be more important. The work of clearing is begun in May at the beginning of the dry season. Maize

/28 cont./

black decorations are somewhat reminiscent of the decorations of the men. The clay spinning whorl (Fig. 225a) is provided on one surface with fine incising which is arranged in two concentric circles, with 531 [283]

Fig. 228 a and b. Small clay utensils for play.

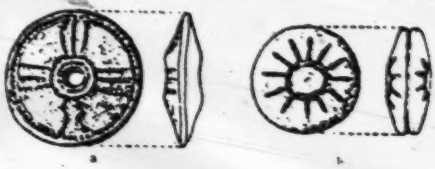

Fig. 225. Spinning whorl, a) of clay, b) of white earth.

[524] [283]

[276]

Fig. 226 a-d. Tobacco pipes of clay.

[415] [439]

Fig. 227 a-e. Decorated eating dishes, export goods.

four spokes divided up several times, in between. /29/ The spinning whorl made of white earth (Fig. 225b) has a circle cut into it on both sides, from which rays extend. These indentations are made red and black. [283]

The decorations on the clay tobacco pipes and the clay bowls were probably taken over from the Brazilians. 531 276

I found clay tobacco pipes only in the villages near S. José. They were evidently taken over altogether, and with them the ornamentation as well, from the Brazilians. It is true that their form is now made by the Indians rather differently from the Brazilian form, with a wide base which is lacking in the Brazilian one (Fig. 226 a to d). 177 [184]

/29 cont./

531 415 [524] 439 Clay bowls, in export form and decorated with red paint, were also produced only in the uppermost villages and actually as export goods. The decorations are limited /Fig. 227 appears here/ mostly to the upper edge; only rarely do they extend farther down. Despite their simplicity, they have a very pleasing effect (Fig. 227 a to e /see p. 65/). Moreover, a crudely [524] decorated play-bowl of the Karajá (Fig. 228a /see p. 65/) and a small clay bowl, likewise painted on the outer surface with red patterns, which comes from the Šavajé living with the southern horde of the Karajá (Fig. 228b /see p. 65/), were found.

000 /Appendices I, "Distribution of the Objects and Drawings among the Individual Tribes," II, "Index of the Figures and Patterns Drawn by the Same Persons," and III, "Systematic Index of the Objects Represented," pp. 30-31, have not been translated; see the foreign text./

/7 cont./

36 Their northernmost settlement near S. Maria was attacked and
[648] completely destroyed in 1881 by the Kayapo of the left bank.
Since then they have not ventured far beyond the northernmost tip
of Bananal Island with their settlements. Their farthest excursions
go below S. Maria to the rapids of Joncon (i.e., it is at an end).

439 They perform important services for the traffic on the river by
felling wood for the steamers. As payment they receive axes and
knives, which they on their part trade to other tribes, such as the
177 Yavahē and Tapirapé. Understandably, when steamboat transportation was established, care was taken from the first to stay on good
terms with the savages. The merit for introducing this excellent
relationship and maintaining it for 20 years belongs to the courageous
commander of the steamer, Sebastião de Freitas, who served so
well in exploring the Araguaia. It is thanks to his unselfish, kind
work that perhaps /8/ nowhere else in Brazil are the relations between the native population and the settlers so good as here.

To be sure, for the Karayahi the contact with "civilization"
[184] has not been without consequences. In comparison with the independent Šambioa, a certain lack of order and cleanliness in
their villages and less care and taste in their artifacts are noticeable.
On the other hand, a wealth of most interesting ethnological ob-
[126] jects are still present among them. The most important pieces in
the collection were acquired from them.

311 Their material position cannot be described as especially favorable. The lower riverbanks of their region are so exposed to floods
that they can practice agriculture only to a limited extent. They
[648] venture onto the higher left bank only temporarily, out of fear of
their worst enemies, the Akuã and Kayapo.

13 The third large Karaya horde is that of the Šambioa, about
[101] whom Castelnau brought back the first more detailed reports.
[361] They possess four rather large villages between the Pau d'arco rapids
[224] and the great Cachoeira de S. Miguel. Their hunting expeditions,
however, extend beyond the Cachoeira grande, in former times up
to the region of the Apinagēs, near the present São Vincente, from
[172] where increasing settlement has scared them away. The rock
sculptures of the so-called Martirios Island between the Carreira

/8 cont./

131 comprida and Cachoeira grande are in any case the work of their
172 ancestors. Since the first Araguaia travelers already mention these "inscriptions" as documents of great age, the Karaya must have lived in these regions at least since the sixteenth century (see pp. 91 ff.).

439 Within the Šambioa region, where the river is no longer
[162] navigable for ships, there are no Brazilian settlements at present. The savages are therefore completely dependent on the barter trade with the few larger rowboats passing by four to six times annually or the small vessels which maintain communication with São Vincente. They deliver mainly hammocks, field produce,
[648] and chickens to the travelers, but have otherwise kept their full
433 independence. Living under far better conditions of existence than the Karayahi, they stand, as far as agriculture is concerned, on a higher level than even the civilized river-dwellers.

648 They live in most bitter enmity with the Kayapo tribes of the left bank, the Kradahõ /Cradaho/, Ušikrin, and others. Many
[727] abducted women and children of the latter are found in their villages. On the whole, however, they are well treated, the children even adopted into the tribe without further ado.

The relationship of the Šambioa to the settlers has not always been peaceful. Nevertheless, Castelnau was already able to substantiate that these Indians did not deserve the bad reputation which they had among the Goyans at the time. The main guilt for the misdeeds which occurred is in any case to be sought on the side of the foreigners.

609 Their behavior was decidedly hostile in the seventies when the notorious Chief Roco attacked travelers on several occasions and massacred them.

Today it is only the inhabitants of the second village who receive strangers with hostility. Women and children are taken to
[411] safety, the warriors stand threateningly on the shore, armed with bows, spears, and clubs, and hardly condescend to barter. In the other villages our reception left little to be desired, once the fleeing women were successfully persuaded to return.

/10 cont./

302 The bristly or wavy black hair of both sexes is cut off straight above the eyebrows and hangs down in back over the neck. Dandies
[301] wear a part about three centimeters wide up to the crown /Fig. 1 appears here/, let the short crown-hair stick up like a brush, and with cotton strings tie the part hanging down in back into a braid, at the roots of which the men sometimes tie a decoration of blue arara or black mutum /curassow/ feathers (ušiktamaru).

301 In the pierced ear-lobes both sexes wear sticks of cane 15-20
[304] centimeters long for everyday.

The plug in the lower lip (anϑōŏ) is used only by the men. It
[824] consists of the light, flaky wood of the piuva tree and is either cut obliquely with a short point or runs out into a long, thin lamina hanging down on the chest (Fig. 2, b /see p. 18 /).

Boys primarily wear, instead of this, small T-shaped pieces of shell (idžä) (Fig. 2, d /see p. 18 /).

The most precious lip ornament, which is worn only on festive occasions, but otherwise is kept carefully wrapped in cotton, is a long, heavy, stone plug (manuterĕ) of hyaline or rose-colored quartz, the T-shaped end of which is stuck through the lower lip while the conical button hangs down (Fig. 2, a /see p. 18 /). Of the four specimens in the collection the largest is 17.5 centimeters long.

301 /11/ These lip stones, of which only a few have reached
● 439 European collections, are not made by the Karaya themselves, but are bartered from the Tapirapé, the Tupi people on the like-
[135] named left tributary of the Araguaia. The mountain chains of the left riverbank, such as the Serra dos Cayapos, are rich in this material. A Kayapo stone plug acquired in S. Maria is shorter and runs out to a tapered, blunt end (Fig. 2, c /see p. 18 /).

304 Tattooing is limited to the tribal badge which both sexes
619 wear on their cheeks: a blue ring 10-15 millimeters in diameter (auϑamanurĕ) just under the lower edge of the orbit.

515 On the whole the Karaya are distinguished by scrupulous care of the body. They bathe several times a day. Their hair is
302 always carefully combed. All the hair on the face and body is
[412] plucked out. Shears are now commonly used for hair cutting,
[237] whereas formerly piranha teeth were used for this.

/13 cont./

231 Domestic animals. In a description of the Indian house
825 its animal fellow-lodgers must not be passed over. A genuine Indian still-life is inconceivable without them. The naïve joy of primitive man in animals and their behavior is expressed in his care for them. He considers the animal as
[181] his equal. The feeling of solidarity, indeed, of relation-
[538] ship with the animal world, which expresses itself in tribal tales and a rich treasury of animal fables, is a principal characteristic trait of the Indian national-spirit. This at the same time explains the often stressed contradiction that the savage Indian, in spite of his astonishing ability to tame the wild, timid animals of his country, has never brought this to the actual breeding of domestic animals in our sense. The animals are captured young and reared, but only to please themselves, for entertainment, out of joy in associating with them, not in order to make them useful. Therefore they
235 are not mated. Even the domestic chicken, which the
171 Araguaia tribes have had for a long time in a domesticated
[262] state and which multiplies in great numbers, is not, as a member of the household, /14/ used for food, nor are its
[939] eggs (1). In recent times, however, it serves as a trade item

[113]

1. Im Thurn, Among the Indians of Guyana /Guia[illegible]/, p. 265, reports the same thing.

in the trade with the commercial travelers, who sell the poultry in the first settlements of the province of Pará at a great profit.

231 Of the imported domestic animals, dogs and cats are already widespread. On the other hand, the pig is absent, but, in contrast, it is raised and traded by preference by the Kayapo tribes.

235 A large Šambioa village is always at the same time a kind
825 of menagerie. The bird kingdom is most noticeable. The largest and most colorful birds are made use of, at least insofar as they must give up their feathers for feather ornaments.

/14 cont./

Way of Life. Food and Its Preparation

433 Like most South American tribes, the Karaya are first of all fishermen, but, in addition, carry on a not insignificant agriculture.
226 The principal season for fishing is the dry months from May to
[221] October, when the larger fish strive toward the deeper parts of the river, the so-called poços, which are formed in particular above the small rapids and the masses of rock projecting out here and there.

The fish kingdom of the Araguaia, in all of the middle course, already bears throughout the character of the fauna of Amazonas. The giant three-meter long pirarucú/arapaima/ (Sudis gigas) is common everywhere, as is the electric eel (Gymnotus electricus) and the thick-bodied pirarara (Phractocephalus discolor) armored with its strong shield of bone. The poços abound with cannibalistic piranhas; in the shallow places along the bank the no less feared thornback, buried in the sand, lies in wait for its prey.

[262] Prized as the tastiest fish are the blue-grey spotted pintado (Pimelodus sorubim), reaching up to two meters in length, the matrincham /Caracinidae/, the tucunaré (Cichla temensis), the trahira (Macrodon), and various species of the pacu (Myletes). Certain fish, particularly scaleless ones, are not pursued because of superstitious fear, and likewise the fresh-water dolphins,
[225] present everywhere in great numbers. Tortoises and their delicious eggs, however, are hunted all the more zealously.

At high water, when the fish are no longer easy to get in the clay-yellow flood, the many lagoons along the river provide the most productive fishing places. They form large natural traps for the larger species, in which they can easily be isolated.

●[439] /15/ Whereas formerly the fish were killed almost exclusively with an arrow, angling is now used more and more, since hooks are imported in large quantities. In many places, however, angling and net fishing cannot be done because of the countless piranhas whose teeth cannot be withstood by any line or net.

/15 cont./

241 Cara tubers /Dioscorea/ are grown in large quantity, excellent quality, and in various species. Most commonly one sees the huge egg-shaped pé d'anta (Cara brasiliensis) with a white cut-surface, as well as a smaller one with an almost violet cut-surface.

222 [262] The wild food plants and fruits which the river forests and camp-woods supply constitute a desirable change. These are primarily palm fruits, such as the nuts of the uaguassú, the pineapple-like fruits of the buriti (Mauritia vinifera), and various small species of coconut; furthermore, the wild acaju tree, the jaboticaba, the pitanga /Surinam cherry/ the oily piquia (Caryocar brasiliense), various Bromeliaceae, and, finally, the finest fruit of the campos, the mangaba (Hancornia speciosa). One sees the latter, however, much more rarely than in the Xingu villages. The tree does not seem to be planted as it is there.

[262] It is noteworthy that the orange, which flourishes extremely well here, is not cultivated, although the Indians esteem it most highly. [239] Only rarely do they undertake week-long journeys to the Brazilian settlements to trade for these fruits. A principal goal of such excursions is the site of the old, now abandoned mission and military post Chambioas, just above the rapids of S. Miguel, where rather large stands of this noble tree have maintained themselves. Cacao, too, was formerly obtained from there.

Still to be mentioned is the honey of the countless species of wild bees, the collecting of which presents no difficulties since the animals are entirely stingless. The black wax, which [237] is stored in large, round, inch-thick disks, is used in Indian industry as a glue.

249 The only luxury item of the Karaya is tobacco (koti). It is a Nicotiniana, but not N. tabacum, of a mild quality. The dried leaves are stored (see p. 40) in large rectangular packages plaited out of palm-leaf strips and are pulverized between the 276 hands for use. /16/ The fruit capsule of the jequitiba tree 824 (Hymenaea sp.), filed smooth on the outside, serves as a pipe

/24 cont./

535 often bear rattles of Thevetia pods. Other belts are entirely made up of the latter (Pl. X /see p. 112/, 8-10).

Around the knee or ankle joints the dancer places bands from which strands ending in rattles and tufts of feathers hang down. They are held apart by a horizontal wooden stick and are sometimes covered with a thick layer of white down feathers (Pl. X, 4).

412 531

301 237 439

Fig. 9. Comb (1/4).

Necklaces in their original form are no longer seen. Pierced animal teeth and stones, shell disks, etc. have long been supplanted by glass beads imported in great quantities. The white and black beads of the cheap "rosaries" widespread everywhere

415 531

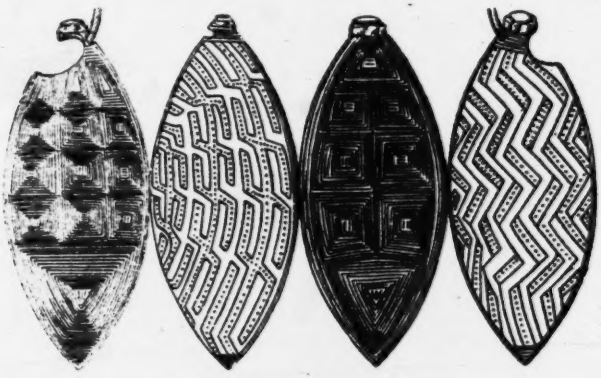

Fig. 10. Decorations on the gourd vessel of Pl. VIII /see p. /, 7 (1/4).

301 in Goyaz are the most prized, but they are strung in a manner corresponding to the national taste. A whole series of short strings goes around the neck as tightly as possible (cf. Pl. II /see p. 104/, 2; III /see p. 105/, 1). From the lowermost hangs a number of small chains which have small fruit shells or tufts of feathers at the ends.

/187 cont./

101 Their neighbors are therefore the following:

In the south, Kayapó and Bororo, the latter known to the Karajá only by name.

/188/ In the west on the Rio das Mortes, the Chavãte, in Karajá: klĭũzã̆ (kĭlŏzã̆, kŭlĭzã̆); on the Rio Tapirapé, the Tapirapé, ũŏhũ̆; from Santa Anna northward, the Kayapó, klãlãũ̆.

In the east, on the upper Tocantins, the Cherente, ĭnŏlã̆tŭ; on the south end of Bananal, the so-called Canoeiros, tĭãbĕzã̆; in the middle of Bananal, the Šavajé, šãwăjẽ, (ĭ)šã(n)dĭwăndŭ.

In the north, the Šambioá: šãmbĭŏã̆.

Of the tribes with whom they were unacquainted, the dõbãĭ were mentioned on the Rio das Mortes in the east the ĭšãwŭndăhõ.

648 The Karajá live on a war footing with all these tribes, except for the related Šavajé and Šambioá; they show great fear
● [439] of all of them. They formerly carried on trade with the Tapirapé, but for five or six years the two tribes have avoided each other as a result of a feud which flared up between them because of the
619 kidnapping of women by the Karajá. The Karajá show great respect even before the two tribes related to them. This is prob-
[162] ably due to the fact that the Šavajé and Šambioá live in a few large villages, whereas the Karajá are scattered in many small settlements, and that they therefore, unaccustomed to great crowds of people, are afraid of the imposing number of armed men. Apparently, fear of other tribes is customary among the Indians generally.

162 The tribe of the Karajá is at present divided into two hordes:

361 The north horde lives from the northern end of Bananal
622 Island to the Rio das Mortes in the following 14 fixed villages (from north to south) (1): village of the chief Wălătã, Crĭsŏtĕ,

1. By fixed villages I mean those that are again established in their particular district after each rainy season with the move to the river sandbanks again.

/190 cont./

175 In 1772 José Machado meets Karajá, apparently on Bananal
167 Island. In 1773 Fonseca visits the Karajá north of the southern tip
[162] of Bananal, they occupied nine villages with 9,000 inhabitants, three villages of which belonged to the Šavajé.

175 Transplantings to the south, into aldeamendos, took place
167 from 1782 on. In this year 700 Karajá were transplanted to São
648 José de Mossamedes near Goyaz, where they gradually perished.
[164] In 1786 Carretão was founded for Chavánte and Šavajé; most of
[165] the Indians succumbed to a measles epidemic, and the survivors were taken to Salinas in 1788, where they likewise gradually
[131] perished. A removal of the Indians to the south near these "centers of civilization" did not take place at that time, however, for in 1792 Souza Villa Real, when he traveled downstream from the Rio Vermelho out of the Araguay, did not find any Indians as
[484] far as the south end of Bananal. It was only at the beginning of the nineteenth century that the Karajá seem to have come to Salinas occasionally to visit their fellow tribesmen settled there. Thus, Silva Souza reports that between 1809 and /191/ 1812 they came to Salinas in order to submit peaceably, but that they moved back to their villages on the river as a result of a dispute; unfortunately, it is not said where these villages were. Cunha
[439] Mattos reports in 1824 that the Karajá at times came to Salinas
[172] in order to buy iron implements there (1). These conditions

1. Rev. trim. 37, p. 363.

lasted for many decades, for Castelnau reports in 1844 that the Karajá occasionally came from the Araguaya to Salinas, in part to visit their fellow tribesmen, in part to plunder the plantations
175 of the Brazilians (2). He himself did not come across any villages
13
36

2. Vol. 1, pp. 372, 377, 383.

from the mouth of the Rio Crixá to the southern end of Bananal, but reports that the fixed settlements start only after the division, and, to be sure, on the western arm, and that up to the Rio das

/222 cont./

*301 painted and covered with rolls of wax, which apparently is supposed to represent such a painted lip-plug (Pl. 45, Ill. 7).

*301 184 This sequence was precisely observed everywhere. Only in the first village near Leopoldina were deviations found. Here the boy, as /223/ has just been mentioned, wore a wooden lamella, and later a wooden button, like his older brother and the [177] father. This family was civilized; they hesitated to walk around with long plugs in front of the Brazilians. On the whole, long [152] plugs are regarded as a sign of vanity, which is why older people, for example, can never wear them without making themselves ridiculous. The young people in the first village felt too superior to their savage fellow-tribesmen to wear such ridiculous things; hence they contented themselves with the dignified button of the old people.

*301 The stone lip-plugs (mănă'dĕlĕ; mănă = stone, mănādĕrĕzo = [324] rock crystal) are a special kind. They are cut to shape out of quartz, rock crystal, or /Ills. 61-63 appear here/ alabaster and then smoothed so that they look as though they were polished. The mouthpiece is greatly widened; the lower end runs out into a thickening (Ill. 62). Such lip plugs are worn only by unmarried men and only at special festivities. When they marry, they give it to a young relative. Since the stone lip-plugs are very thick, the lip hole must first be enlarged. This is done by the insertion of ever thicker wooden plugs. I saw only one specimen of such a lip plug, and, to be sure, in the south horde, but could not acquire it. I learned about a second specimen /224/ in the south [439] horde only long after we had left the village. They are not made by Karajá, but by the Tapirapé, with whom the Karajá of the [438] north horde barter for them. Those of the south horde again buy [435] them from those of the north horde, the price then allegedly amounting to a canoe, an ax, a pot, and a bush knife. In other words, they are very expensive and are therefore, and because they are very fragile, cautiously handled and kept carefully [648] wrapped in cloth. At the present time, when the Karajá have a feud with the Tapirapé and are therefore no longer able to buy stone lip-plugs, their value has naturally increased many times over.

/245 cont./

262 The eggs are longish and have an odor and taste somewhat re-
222 sembling train oil. The tartaruga (kŏdūnĭ) and its eggs (kōdūnĭzĭ),
[221] on the other hand, are eaten with great relish. /246/ For them,
the Indians undertake distant boat journeys up the tributaries of
the Araguaya in September to October, the laying period of this
turtle, which deposits up to 160 round eggs in a nest. All the
sandbanks are investigated and the often numerous nests emptied
(on the Tapirapé I found up to four nests on small sandbanks).
Thus, they gather quite enormous quantities of eggs. These are
[251] either eaten raw or they are cooked and dried in the ashes and
[239] then kept for a long time, so that the Indians take them home,
[437] eat them later at leisure, or are able to sell them in the Brazilian
towns (Santa Maria, Conceição) on trading expeditions, which
they undertake in September and October. The turtles them-
[225] selves are taken by surprise while laying, or in shallow water they
are caught with the hands by diving from boats or with iron
bottom-tackle. The turtles are brought home alive in great
231 quantities from these expeditions and then eaten or sold. In order
to be able to keep them for a longer time, cages are built out of
twigs bent together at the top, which are stuck in the sand in a
circle, providing shade for them. Here they are tethered and kept
until they are consumed (Ill. 6). Small turtles are raised in the
villages as a pastime.

262 Ostrich eggs (nâŭĕkĭĕzĭ) are eaten with great relish. The
222 Indians empty the entire nest and take the eggs home with them
in order to eat them cooked there.

222 Honey (bădĕrhõ) is a delicacy of which they are passionately
fond. On their boat trips they observe the direction of flight of
the wild bees (bēdĭ), designated by them as stingless, until, after
a short time, they have discovered their nests high up in the
crowns of trees. Quickly the tree is climbed and the nest cut down
[415] with the bush knife or ax. The honey is then taken out down below;
it is stored in bent pieces of bark or in gourd vessels. Bees nesting
in hollow trees are smoked out and the honey is taken out with the
hand. The often giant honeycombs are individually sucked out;

/249 cont./

227 The fishing implements are the following:

The fishing rod was originally unknown to the Indians.
[439] For the last few decades iron hooks (wāšĭ) have been bartered for in order to catch the piranha; one comes across them relatively rarely, however, because many are lost during the fishing, and an opportunity for barter only rarely presents itself (the fishing line is called wăšĭšă, the rod wăšĭdāŏ, and the bait wăšĭdŏ). On the other hand, the Indians seem to have already known harpoons (wŏhūnă). They were used to catch pirarucú. Points and barbs consisted of red-deer bone; they were attached with resin. I no longer saw such implements as described; the present harpoons all had iron points.

The chief implements are bow and arrow, which, with the clear water, are handled with great skill and success. The fishing arrows (ūŏhŭ) bear on the shaft a wooden point, on the front end of which a small point made of monkey bone (ŭhĭdŏ or dūrŏlēnĭdĭ) is fastened by a thread lashing and resin, and the rear end of which projects laterally out of the lashing and thus forms a barb (Ill. 115). The arrows have an average length of 140-170 centimeters, the bows (wăšĭlūhăte) one of approximately 200 centimeters (Ills. 110, 111).

226 Twice a day, forenoon and afternoon, the husbands and sons
[533] go out to fish and usually return with rich booty. On the way home they sing the song "that is sung every day." At specific spots the names of the fish caught are inserted, so that one may easily tell what kind of booty the fisherman is bringing back.

/250/ Besides this individual fishing, mass fishing is also
226 carried on. Nets knotted out of cotton string or bast are used
227 for this. Their measurements vary considerably, according to the purpose they serve. The net plaited out of embira (lōdĕ) shown in Ill. 3 on Plate 54 is ten centimeters wide and 10.35 meters long. Ill. 85 shows the knot-formation of a net for catching pirarucú (dăŏlālŭ); it has a mesh extension of 25 centimeters with a thread strength of half a centimeter. The largest net that I saw lay on a sandbank on the Tapirapé near a lake inlet; it was six meters wide and 160 meters (!) long.

/254 cont./

252 centimeters wide (kõwõ̃), which is worked from a tree trunk with
415 a wall three centimeters thick (Plate 40, Ill. 3). This pounded
[412] mass is placed on a sieve resting on a bowl or a pot. As such sieves, dome-shaped or hemispherical basket-sieves (wālĭlĭsĭ) plaited of stout wickerwork are sometimes used, or flat, round sieve-plates (ŭĭtjŭ ōdāmõdĭ; Plate 55, Ills. 2, 3). In Schischá, modern wares are already manufactured: sieves with a one-piece wooden edge five centimeters high and fine, patterned bast plaiting, which are made essentially for use by the Brazilians (ŭĭtjon(a); Plate 55, Ill. 4). On these sieves impurities are first picked out by hand, then the sieve is taken in the left hand, and, by a rapid beating on it from above with the right hand, the mass is sieved through it. Larger pieces remaining behind go back into the mortar, are again pounded, and then /255/ sieved again. When sufficient flour has been collected, it is put in the large cooking pot, water from a gourd water-container is poured on it, and the pot is put on the fire.

252 For stirring, long flat wooden spoons (hālĭdāõ) of tarumá
[412] wood are used (Ill. 93).

Ehrenreich reports that the Indians dry this flour in flat
[251] pots, in other words, make farinha d'agua, which keeps for a long time; that they leach out the dried mass (puva beero; according to my notes, bālo) several times and bake thick loaves out of it; that in small pots they make small roasted flat cakes (beiju: ibreʒeko) out of fresh roots. I neither saw nor heard anything about any of this.

Fruits that are still unripe are popularly taken and buried in the sand, where they ripen. Only then are they eaten.

252 Of spices only peppers (kāšĭwērā; the round-seeded kind) are
263 used. They are grown in the plantings; the pods are pounded and mixed with water, and the roasted fish are dipped in this sauce.

263 Salt (ĭnãtŭ, nõtàkànà) is lacking; only in Village 6 did they
[439] have bitter salt from the salt mine near São José, which was mixed with red earth and which they had bartered for in São José. Their
[261] hunger for salt seems to be extremely great; they are constantly begging for this condiment. But it is strange in this connection

/262 cont./

411
526
171
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1. (cont.)
the Indians near Rio de Janeiro, in Debret, Voyage pittoresque et historique du Brésil /Picturesque and historical journey to Brazil/, Vol. 1, Paris, 1836, Plate 5.

411
868

Boys learn how to shoot arrows at an early age; I saw boys three to four years old handling small weapons. These weapons (see under "Toys" /see pp. 241 ff./) serve for practice in shooting. First they shoot toward a fixed goal, a soft, cylindrically shaped root about 30 centimeters high and ten centimeters thick, which is set in the sand (Ill. 109). Later the father proceeds to instruction with the movable target. The father rolls a bast ring along on the ground. The boy stands about ten meters away from the father and shoots from ever greater distances into the moving ring. The arrow must remain hanging in the bast. A little boy four years old succeeded in doing this on the third shot at a distance of two meters. This bast ring [(wă)šiŏ!ō!ŏ] is a ring-shaped bast pad three and a half centimeters thick and 18 1/2 centimeters in diameter, which is tightly wound with bast (Pl. 56, Ill. 2). Ehrenreich (Berlin 3960) designates it erroneously as a ring for carrying objects on the head, a practice which is not customary among the Karajá Indians. Later comes shooting at a flying target, with green gourds thrown into the air. Thus, the boys learn to shoot the bow at an early age and in general achieve great accuracy. There were Indians who made almost no missed shots while fishing; there were others, however, who were less skilled.

411
[438]
[439]

The bow consists of palm wood. This wood (ŏlōtŏ, wŏālūŏ) allegedly grows only in the Tapirapé region. In any case, the Indians of the south horde, according to their unanimous testimony, obtain their bows or the material for them from the Karajá of the north horde or from the Tapirapé themselves. As a result, I was able to acquire bows only in the north horde; they were precious possessions in the south horde.

The bow is round, often slightly flattened on the front side, tapers /263/ /Ills. 109-112 appear here/ /264/ toward both ends,

[Text Continues on P. 182]

/278 cont. /

9. Trade, Money, Measures.

484 The Karajá undertake their boat trips and land journeys almost entirely for the sake of fishing and for supplies of raw ma-
437 terials. Trade among themselves is carried on only during
438 occasional visits. For example, Pedro took huge quantities of urucú kernels along to his home (Village 2) from Village 19, as the reason he said that there was no urucú above the Rio Tapirapé; he probably meant none of the one particular, very highly appreciated kind providing red coloring. In the villages north of the Tapirapé mouth there was also urucú coloring matter pressed into rolls or into the form of flat cakes, which were sold in such packings. The south horde seems to be dependent on the north horde in various other respects: they buy or bought bow wood, red coloring for painting the pots, stones for stone axes, net coverings, stone lip-plugs, and tamed araras from the north horde, who either produce these themselves or acquire them from the Tapirapé or Šavajé.

From the Šavajé, who are regarded as very rich, they buy tobacco seedlings, manioc roots, arrows, net coverings, etc.

437 They carry on trade with the Brazilians, in part through the
439 Brazilian boats passing by, to whom they offer wax in large balls for calking their boats, as well as manioc, chickens, and fish, in exchange for tobacco, salt, farina, beads, and knives, and in part on great trading expeditions which they themselves undertake in August and September to Santa Maria and sometimes even to Conceição. For this purpose they collect beforehand on their fishing expeditions in the Rio Tapirapé and the many lakes of the river great quantities of turtles, turtle eggs, dried fish, etc., in order to exchange these in the large Brazilian towns for products of European civilization, /279/ especially iron tools, material for blankets for the cold nights, ornamental beads, tobacco, and salt.

437 There are no special standards of value in trade; simple
435 barter still takes place. Among themselves, however, they have fixed prices: a boat costs one ax or two ca,ybara teeth, etc.

/281 cont. /

824 Most of all, the Indian exploits the vegetable kingdom, and here he has also gone over to the cultivation of plants useful to him. He already has at his disposal, of course, many useful wild plants in the way of trees (leaf trees, palms), shrubs, varieties of cane, etc.

Almost all parts of the plants are utilized, in each case, of course, only certain ones: wood, bark, leaves, stem, bast, [241] blossom. Of plants whose fruits are used technically, the following are planted: /282/ gourds, cotton, urucú. The gluing ma- [314] terials, with the exception of wax, are taken exclusively from plant resins.

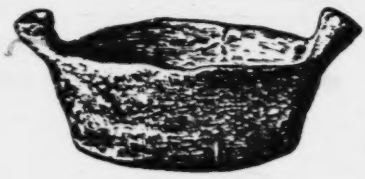
324 412 In the following, the processing and utilization of the individual raw materials will be described.

D. Stones are used above all as stone axes. The material for them is chiefly granular diabase or diorite. Nothing is known about how they are made. At the present time they serve only as striking stones for the preparation of bark cloth and for cracking nuts. Apparently they all come from the Rio Tapirapé, as well as from the mountains north of it, and are perhaps not even made by the Karajá themselves, but acquired from the Tapirapé through trade. In shape, there are flat axes and axes with a shaft groove (Ills. 100-102). As a nutcracker I found a stone apparatus consisting of stone base and small hammer, which, in shape, is quite peculiarly suited for this. Through long use a smooth, round hollow was produced in the slightly convex striking surface of the hammer (Ill. 99). Such stones are said to come from the cachoeira /cataract/ near St. Maria. The small stone knives which are used for tattooing are made anew each time out of the flint rubble of the sandbanks by splitting the flint with a stone or iron ax and using the sharpest splinters without any further treatment (Ill. 52b). Nothing is known about the making of the long stone lip plugs (Ill. 62). Allegedly they are struck into shape with [439] stones. The Karajá do not make them themselves, but barter for them with the Tapirapé.

/284 cont./

415 very pronounced in the pottery in the villages from Leopoldina
177 to São José. These villages furnish the Brazilians with cooking
[439] and eating vessels, so that in São José and Leopoldina one finds
Indian vessels almost exclusively. They have already been
[531] adapted, however, to the taste of the Brazilians: the small eating dishes have the typical bowl-shape and on the edge bear a decoration in red color (Ill. 96). The water-cooling vessels, too, which the Indians in the villages mentioned make for the Brazilians, show the purely Brazilian type and red decoration.
[386] The red designs are made with an earth color. The red earth
[317] for this (zūzŭ, zŏŭbūlĕ) comes from the Barreira do Veado and is taken along to São José and Schischá by the Indians of the north horde traveling south for arrow cane, in order to sell it to the Indians
[531] there. It is applied mixed with water. The true Indian vessels are undecorated.

172



Ill. 133.
Old clay-vessel.

I obtained in Schischá a most peculiar vessel, whose origin is unknown (Ill. 133). It is irregularly spotted dark red and black as a result of uneven firing; it is apparently made out of very crude clay and in a very primitive fashion. The two knobs on the edge, which are slightly hollowed out on top, are striking. The vessel was found several decades ago in the sand of a sandbank by Indians from Schischá on a journey downstream. The Indians themselves were unable to say where the vessel might come from.

415 I did not see anywhere the pot and bowl forms brought back by
114 Ehrenreich: shallow, round dishes (Berlin 3862), flat, round plates (3863 and 3864), flat, oval plates (3865), low elliptical double bowls with a dividing wall running lengthwise (3866), cylindrical pot with turned-down rim and bast hanging-band (3861), double conical pot with hanging band (3858), and clay spoons (3878).

/320 cont./

13. Political Conditions.

C 721 Wars seem to have taken place only because of the abduction of women, for it was always reported that the men of the foe were killed, but women and children were brought back to the C 648 village. The position of the Karajá with respect to their neighbors in this respect is the following: with Bororo and southern Kayapó they do not seem to come into contact. With Chavánte battles occurred in which the Karajá always had the greater losses. With the Šavajé of Bananal Island they are on friendly terms, whereas the Canoeiros, likewise on Bananal, are at present their most feared enemies. With the Tapirapé the C 648 Karajá formerly had friendly trade relations; the Karajá furnished [439] iron goods and in return obtained net coverings, bows, stone lip-plugs, food, araras, etc. The Karajá took advantage of the occasion of this trading on a sandbank in the Tapirapé River, far from the village, to lead off in the meantime women and children who were busy in the plantings. The Tapirapé did not know for a long time who was abducting their women. About six or seven years ago the Karajá had again abducted five or six women; on the way home, the latter fled, but the Karajá pursued them and killed all but one who came back to the Tapirapé and reported that the Karajá were the abducters of the women. When, in the following year, the Karajá again undertook their trade journey to the Tapirapé, the latter apparently agreed to the transaction, but then fell upon the Karajá and killed several men. Since then all communication between the two tribes has ceased; the Karajá no longer journey to the trading place and the Tapirapé, too, have moved farther upstream.

C 648 With the northern Kayapó the Karajá likewise seem to live on a hostile footing. I did not hear any reports about former combats. But the antagonistic, rejecting attitude that my Karajá displayed toward the mission Kayapó in Conceição was striking.

T /403 cont./
175 are Karajá who are so named because they live on the lower course
114 of the Tapirapé. On page 174 he mentions a village of the /404/ Tapirapé on the Fecho de Tapirapé and a village of the Karajá five days upward in the Tapirapé River; the one village consists of one house with ten occupants, the other, one house with 20 (p. 186). Here, therefore, the Tapirapé are regarded as a horde of the Karajá who live at the mouth of the river itself, and in the river, five days above the mouth, there is another village of Karajá! Coudreau was here the end of April; he encountered only a few places of the Karajá. His other reports are likewise very confused and uncertain, so that one may trace these, too, back to misunderstood information given by the Karajá.

C 115 2. Information obtained /Erkundetes/. The information that I obtained from the Karajá was the following:

T 131 The Tapirapé (in Karajá: ũõhũ) live six to nine days' journey
[101] in a boat above the emptying of the river into the Araguaya. From the landing place one is obliged to walk another half day, according to others two days, over the campo in order to reach their vil-
T 105 lages. They occupy three villages, and, to be sure, one large one and two smaller ones (according to one isolated statement, four villages). The men wear penis cuffs plaited out of palm leaves. Both sexes wear the hair hanging down to the small of the back. The men wear long lip-plugs of (reddish?) stone. Ear plugs are also customary. Their ornaments are similar to those of the Karajá. Tattooing occurs among the married women: they cut vertical lines into their chins and one line on either side of the corners of their mouths, obliquely downward; these lines are colored black. They obtain their food primarily by cultivating manioc; since they
C are very industrious, they cultivate large quantities. They are
[829] therefore considered rich by the Karajá. Of animals they keep dogs and, above all, araras, which the Karajá buy from them. Their weapons are bows and arrows, clubs, spears, and spear throwers.
C T They know how to work with cotton. They wind the spun threads
[439] into big balls, like those of the Karajá. The Karajá like to buy their large, firmly plaited, cotton net coverings with a wide, black center stripe.

/404 cont./

center stripe. Their women also make pottery. Their language differs from that of the Karajá; the two peoples do not understand each other. The relationship between the Karajá and the Tapirapé seems to have been peaceful in former times. With iron goods the Karajá bartered for net coverings, bows, araras, stone lip-plugs, food, etc. The meeting place was a sandbank in the Rio Tapirapé, opposite a high steep bank, slightly below the place to which the Karajá ordinarily extend their annual fishing expeditions. The Karajá had taken advantage of this opportunity to abduct in secret the women and children in the places stripped of men. As has been mentioned above (p. 263), because of this there was finally a hostile clash between the two tribes about six or seven years ago; since then the Karajá avoid this spot, they no longer go so far upstream. The abducted women are used by the Karajá as slave women for work, as well as village prostitutes; the children are taken into the tribe. /Pl. 69 appears here./ /405/ /Ills. 262 and 263 appear here./

3. Observations in Karajá villages. In the villages of the Karajá I saw a total of two women, three maidens, and two boys from the Tapirapé. They were smaller and more delicate than /Ills. 264 and 265 appear here/ the Karajá. The women wore black incised tattooing on the chins and on the cheeks (see Ill. 262 a, b /see p. 339/). One girl was painted red on the face (Ill. 263).

In the way of objects that were supposed to come from the Tapirapé, I acquired the following in the Karajá villages near the Tapirapé mouth: the comb (kŭwăă; Pl. 69, Ill. 1); its method of construction is identical with that of the Karajá, but the very regular plaiting pattern is different from that of the Karajá. The spindle (Ill. 264) with the double-conical wax whorl does not differ in any way from those of the Karajá.

The club (ĩwŭrã, Ill. 265) is identical in form with the round clubs of the Karajá. One side of the front half of the club is grooved and flanked on either side by a raised strip which bears groups of cross-lines. The cylinder on the handle has three grooves; the handle is grooved and likewise has two strips with cross-lines and depressions.

[Text continues on p. 339]

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
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262

"Monkey."
"What are you going to do with him?"
"Eat him—me like him much." [224]
"How did you catch him?"
"Me shoot him with an arrow."

Continuing our voyage at dawn, we encountered before 609
noon another cluster of Karayá huts on a sand island. Before [361]
we could get to shore, the natives ran out into the water [439]
to meet us, and surrounding our canoes, eagerly offered us balls of black beeswax and pottery in trade for what they supposed we had. It was amusing to see a Karayá couple trying to make a trade with our only woman voyager for a man's gauze undershirt. I could not but think of how the poor savage would appear with only that shirt on. He wanted it, [291] he motioned, to shield himself from the cold at night, and from the flies by day.

We passed the next night at another group of huts on [361] the sand. These Karayá who were very cordial, were expecting us for the news of our approach had preceded us; so they gave us a royal welcome. The *mayor of the city*— [622] the chief of the local horde—appeared arrayed in a complete [292] suit of civilian's clothes, consisting of white linen trousers and vest, black coat and hat. These he wore merely as decorations, not as a covering, for these people consider themselves fully and properly dressed without any such apparel. It was a remarkable sight indeed to us to descry in the gloaming, as we approached the land, what appeared to be a well-dressed representative of advanced civilization entirely alone in a remote, howling wilderness, surrounded by nude and painted savages. He had obtained these garments somewhere from a trading boat. We were escorted in state to a large hut [526] where were assembled all the human inhabitants of the island; and after the reception, we witnessed the wrestling game of which the Karayá are very fond, which will be described fully in future pages.

The same night, as I was sleeping soundly in the open 123
air in my hammock, which was swung between two stakes

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
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not afflicted. Therefore, they have hidden their villages far 177
away from the slimy trail of the only "civilization" they 186
know, and do not wish to reveal their location. But they, too, well know the great superiority of steel implements over their stone utensils, so desire to obtain them, which they do indirectly through the Karayáhy. They are not unwise in their generation. They do not desire to receive, in its entirety, the "civilization" available to them, for it has been demonstrated to them that its evils outweigh its blessings. Therefore they try to catspaw civilization's good things and leave its evil things. What a pity it is that a civilization, which is the best fruit of the Gospel of Christ, should not have reached the Karayá!

The Sambiõa live in much larger, cleaner, and more or- 511
derly villages than the Karayáhy, and are better fed. They 184
also build better huts than the Karayáhy, and arrange them in regular streets. They have four large villages, located be- 361
tween Pau de Arco and the falls of S. Miguel. They trade 439
hammocks, vegetables, fruits, fowls, and other produce for such articles made by civilized men as they desire. As re- 241
gards agriculture, they are but little behind the semi-barbarous Brazilians of the far interior. They have many slaves, 727
which are women and children stolen from other tribes with whom they were at war.

Only the inhabitants of the second Sambiõa village are 609
hostile to strangers. When such appear at their port, the women and children are sent to a safe place, while the warriors, fully armed, assemble at the water's edge and assume a threatening attitude. It is necessary to be cautious in approaching them, though they dare not attack a large canoe full of men armed with repeating rifles. They greatly fear these weapons, believing that the rifleman can continue to fire indefinitely without reloading. The villages are always [361]
situated distant from the landing-place; and though they will allow the traveler to visit them, he must be on his guard.

The reception at the landing is interesting and exciting. The naked, bronze-bodied men are assembled in force. Many

302 crown, leaving it two inches long and standing erect, pompa-
[237] dour fashion; while the back hair is braided neatly in a single braid, with a bunch of brilliant feathers fastened at the point, or it may be folded up in three or four folds and tied at the base of the head with a cotton string, to which is secured a bunch of long, bright feathers.

301 The ears of both sexes are pierced in infancy, and they
304 wear in them a reed six or eight inches in length and as large as a lead pencil, the greater length of which protudes toward the front and terminates in a bit of shell set in a rosette of crimson feathers.

304 The males, and they only, have the lower lip bored. This is done in childhood, and is probably the initiation ceremony into the rights of citizenship or membership in the tribe, just as a civilian is initiated into a lodge, or a child of Roman Catholic parents ceases to be a "pagan" and becomes a "christian" by reason of the baptismal ceremony. A plug,
301 or spile of piuva wood is inserted into this opening in the lip, which is made larger and larger as the individual grows, until it will admit the thumb. The elderly men who have ceased to care much for display, usually wear nothing in the lip but a plug, cut off short; but the "smart" young men wear an ornament some eight inches in length, flattened like a blade just below the lip. The small boys wear a flat piece of shell an inch or two long, and in the form of a T, the cross-bar of the T holding the ornament in position. A much prized lip ornament, which is worn only on festal occasions, and at other times kept wrapped in cotton and securely laid away, is a long, heavy piece of rose-colored quartz. The lip end of this also is T, or dagger-shaped, so that it may not fall out. It is seven inches in length, and conical at the lower
[439] end. The Karayá do not make these, but get them in trade from the Tupí. This ornament is, of course, very heavy, and one wonders how it is possible to wear it; for even the lightest of these lip ornaments cause the lip to hang down in a very ugly fashion. To drink when the plug is out, the opening must be closed with the fingers.

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
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Brazil.

Both sexes have a blue ring tattooed under the eye, forming a deep ugly scar, which is the special distinguishing mark of the tribe. 304 619

The Karayá take good care of the body, bathing many times each day—though this is more to cool and refresh themselves, and for sport—keep the hair well combed, and pull out the sparse beard. They formerly used the teeth of the piránha fish as a kind of saw with which to cut the hair, but they now have scissors. 515 302 412 237

As already stated, the men wear no clothing, or covering whatever. The sash, or apron, worn by the women, is made of the inner bark of the jangáda tree. It is prepared for use by first soaking it a day or two in water, then pounding it with flat stones, and finally drying it. When the wearer of this primitive apron sits, she passes it back between the limbs and sits upon it. Besides this costume, both sexes wear various armlets, wristlets and leglets, as ornaments, which are peculiar to each division of the tribe. Soon after birth, the child's wrists and legs below the knees, are adorned with broad bands made by weaving together cotton cordage on the limbs themselves; while a black cotton band girts the body as a bandage. When the infant is a few months old, these articles are removed, and broad cotton wristlets, leglets and anklets are woven on the limbs, a tassel of cotton cords being attached to the leglets. The boys wear the leglets, or garterlets, until the lip is pierced, while the girls wear them until married. The wristlets worn by adults, cover nearly the whole forearm. They are not put aside until after marriage, and many females wear them until the first child is born. When one of the couple dies, the survivor puts the wristlets on again. This custom has come down from the ancients. As the wristlets and leglets are usually woven on the limbs themselves, they cannot be removed without being cut off. For this reason, they are never removed, nor washed until finally thrown aside. But I found the Karayá quite ready to cut these articles off and give them to me in exchange for some articles I had which took their fancy. 291 [287] 301 [184] [283] [286] [437] [439]

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
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eyes from the strong reflection of the sun on the sand-bars. 293
When trading with travelers, they are eager to get blue or [439]
smoked glasses, or goggles.

The Karayá live in a more advanced state than do some 162
of the other tribes of the Amazon basin, especially the rough, 361
nomadic peoples, who exist in small groups of a few families. They prefer to live in large groups containing hundreds of individuals, and in permanent habitations, constituting fixed villages or encampments. True, the Karayá living near San [721]
José, rove about somewhat in small parties during the dry season; but farther down the Araguaya, the encampments are more permanent and populous, numbering one hundred fifty to two hundred souls. During the rainless season when 361
the river is low, they live on the sandy river bottoms, called *praias*. Here they set up their easily portable huts, in order to be convenient to their canoes and to the fishing grounds, and also to be more free from troublesome insects.

The *villages* of the Karayáhy division, in common with those of all other primitive peoples, are merely clusters or groups of huts, huddled together in complete disorder. Each 342
hut is constructed by planting in the sand, fifteen or twenty feet apart, two parallel rows of saplings, then bending over each pair of opposites and tying them together. To these ribs are bound bamboo rods in a horizontal position, *sipo*—creepers [283]
—being used as cordage; and upright poles are planted at the gables. Over this frame-work is bound the skin, or covering, [824]
which consists of giant, feather-like palm-branches. Sometimes plates, resting on forked posts, are used to further strengthen the frame. This dwelling, when completed, is shaped like the bottom of an inverted barge, and looks like a very squatty, ancient haystack, with a hole—the door—eaten in one end by cattle.

Garbage, such as watermelon rinds, pumpkin skins, green 364
corn cobs, and other fruit and vegetable refuse, is dumped just outside the hut. Here, the mass festers and stinks in the fierce rays of a tropical sun, and attracts swarms of [361]
insects, especially sand flies, that torment the nude savages

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
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feathers on hand, they can replace worn-out pieces at any 301
moment. Many of these ornaments are beautiful. One, 237
made of white feathers and secured around the head as a band, looks like a halo encircling the head when seen from a distance when the wind is blowing. These ornaments are worn principally on festal occasions, or when visitors are present. Three styles of a peculiar feather hood are also made. The foundation is a net hood of three different sized meshes, one of which is very closely woven. The stems of the feathers are worked in between the meshes. This is worn at the dance festival.

The ear and arm ornaments have already been described. A dancing belt is made of strong black and white braiding embellished with tassels of beautiful feathers with shell rattles. The legs and ankles of the dancers are also decorated with feather tassels and shell rattles. Sometimes the savages "tar and feather" themselves, besmearing the body with gum, then putting on a thick layer of white down. In former times they wore necklaces of animal teeth, bones, and shell discs. But these have now been replaced by the glass beads ob- [439]
tained in trade.

The Karayá are very fond of black and white beads, and 301
may often be seen wearing a number of strings around the neck, to the lowest one of which is attached little chains terminating in fruit shells, or tiny bunches of feathers.

The only, though much used, article of toilet of the Karayá 412
is the comb, which is made in various sizes, the largest being fourteen inches wide and of equal length. The teeth are flat, slender pieces of palm wood or taquara, which are secured between two small blocks of wood. The spacing between the teeth is made by passing yarn between them. This comb is ornamented with small tassels of bright feathers.

The ornamental work of the Karayá consists of patterns 531
of zig-zag lines, crosses, or lizard-shaped forms, dots, diamond shapes, and peculiar broken, irregular lines; while squares and triangles occur only to fill out, and circles are entirely wanting. The patterns seem to be chosen at random, nevertheless ooo

Brazil.

The patterns seem to be chosen at random, nevertheless
532 the artificers have clear ideas of what they wish to make. These designs are an attempt to represent the forms of natural objects about them. For example, the colored markings on the canoe, represent fish; so also the feather mosaic work. The wasp, or hornets' nest is represented in the decoration of combs; and figures of bats with outstretched wings, and snakes, are also made. The tribes of the Xingú river and some others make drawings of men and animals in the sand.

It is difficult for a Karayá to sketch anything with a lead-
[327] pencil. They do very little wood-carving. The most important work of art among them is the fashioning of human forms
[439] with wax or clay. Figures, apparently children's dolls, are offered in trade to travelers in large numbers. The execution of this work shows that they have ideas of form, and that they observe nature. Their best pieces are as well made as those of the old American civilization. The lower extremities of the human form, though, are made too large and out of proportion with the rest of the body. But the face is natural with no trace of hideousness.

534 About the only instrument of *music* possessed by the Karayá, is a sort of trumpet, called by the civilized Brazilians a *buzzina*. It is, in truth, a kind of combination of the flute and drum. The flute part is a section of a bamboo or taquara cane, eighteen inches in length, with the mouth-piece, of course, in the side. To the outer end of this base flute is glued, with wax, the neck of a large, bottle-shaped gourd-shell, six inches in diameter, in the big end of which a large opening is made. Of course, a tune cannot be played on this uncouth instrument, for but one note can be produced with it. But these nature folk seem well pleased with this one roaring, booming note, for, like all savages, their musical tastes appear quite satisfied with hideous, discordant sounds and charivari noises.

000 As previously mentioned, the primitive peoples of South America, and indeed, of every other part of the world, have been degraded both morally and socially wherever they have come under the influence of the civilized races, excepting

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

CHAPTER IX.

KARAYÁ ACTIVITIES.—CANOE MAKING.—WEAPONS.—NATURE MADE UTENSILS.—ORNAMENT MAKING.—FAMILY LIFE.—PRIMITIVE ETHICS.—MARRIAGES.—CHILDREN.—GOVERNMENT.

THE industrial activities of the Karayá now make a better showing than in former times, for their primitive tools are now more and more replaced by tools introduced from the civilized world. The old stone-axes have disappeared, and little is known of them. Ancient inscriptions and figures upon the rocks represent men with stone-axes in their hands, but these drawings belong to a remote period. 412 177 [172]

To-day, the only primitive implements of the Karayá are those that Nature furnishes them ready for use. Their scraping tools, for instance, are sharp-edged shells; their chisel-like instruments are the teeth of certain powerful rodents; and smooth, flat stones, formed by the action of the water, are used as discs upon which to beat and prepare the web of bark which is their cloth. 412 [237]

It cannot be said of the Karayá that their primitive industries have fallen, in any degree, into decay because they have begun to use the tools of civilized men. Adaptability, beauty of form, and carefulness of execution, is evident in all their workmanship. Canoe building among them, for instance, has reached a high degree of perfection, though the method of constructing them is very crude. These canoes, which are all dugouts, are long and slim, and taper gradually to a point at both bow and stern. This form is perhaps best 461 396 501

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

as a reserve, are kept wound around the bow. The Karayá take great pride in their bows, ornamenting them beautifully with tassels of brilliant feathers. 411 [531]

They use several different styles of arrows. Some are harpoon-like for fishing purposes; others are made with broad blades for hunting; while still others are for use in war. They are all made with the utmost care, as much as one or two days being consumed in the making of but one. Two or three different kinds of wood are always used in constructing a single arrow, one kind being for the spear, or lance part, another kind—heavy palm wood—for the middle staff, and light bamboo wood for the base, and all are spliced and bound together with the greatest nicety by means of long, narrow strips of bark taken from certain climbers, and finally, the weapon is burnished. It is about four feet in length. [461] [824] [284]

The weapons used for fighting at close quarters, which is the method of warfare liked best, are heavy clubs and lances. The clubs are of two kinds—first, shovel-like clubs and round clubs, resembling base-ball bats, varying in length from three to four and a half feet. The lances are nine or ten feet in length, the shaft being of palm wood, and the point, the shin-bone of the spotted *onca*—jaguar—or of a deer. A beautiful, basket-like work of black and white wooden strips is woven, or braided, tightly over the shaft of the spear, and to this is attached tassels of brilliant plumage. The Karayá have spear-throwing sticks, but I understand they are no longer used in war, but for sport only. The contrivance is a long strip of wood so formed that it can be used, sling-like to hurl a spear. In common with all the savage tribes of South America, the weapons, implements, ornaments and ceremonial instruments are all made by the men of the Karayá, while the women make only the household utensils. [726] [824] [237] [531] 462 171

The Karayá housewife, therefore, makes several styles of pots and pans; but pottery has not yet reached a very high degree of perfection with this tribe for the forms are simple and crude. They do not make pots in the form of natural objects as do the tribes of the Xingú river. Utility, and this 323

1:Lipkind E-5 (1937) 1948 SP9 Caraja SP9

is planted in September, when the first rains come, and manioc shortly after. There is little cultivation beyond weeding. The basic crop is manioc, both the sweet and bitter varieties being cultivated, with maize next in importance. Four varieties each of sweet and bitter manioc and 10 varieties of maize are cultivated. Other crops are: Five varieties of potatoes, two varieties of cara, four varieties of watermelon, three varieties of squash, four varieties of beans, and ten varieties of bananas, as well as peanuts, urucú, tobacco, cotton, calabashes, sugarcane, yams, peppers, pineapples, and papayas. Men do all the work with a little assistance in harvesting and weeding from older women. The *Javahé* are more industrious farmers than the other *Carajá*, cultivating extensive plantations. 241 [462] [184]

Collecting.—A large number of vegetable products are gathered for use as food, medicine, and raw material for manufacture, but only a few are of great importance. The babassu and the buriti palms, used for food and textile materials, are among the most valuable. The taquara reed is sought after for arrows. Turtle eggs are a significant item of food during the dry season. Honey is indispensable for feasting. 222 262 [441]

Hunting.—Although the *Carajá* are passionate hunters, very few of the animals available in the region are eaten. Only the peccary is really sought and constitutes a sizable item in the larder. The other animals that are eaten—the cutia, coati, woodsdeer, monkey, iguana, and a few birds, such as the mutum, jao, and jacu—are killed when encountered but are not eaten by everyone. Peccaries are hunted in a communal drive, the most favorable time being shortly after the beginning of the rainy season when large droves are trapped on islands. 224 [262]

The chief purpose of hunting is to get feathers, and the most desirable birds are the various parrots, herons, the male stork, and the flamingo. The nesting of valuable birds is carefully watched, and the young are stolen and tamed. Feathers stored in small baskets almost constitute a currency, because they are readily negotiable at all times and maintain a stable value. 223 237 [231] [436]

The principal weapons are the bow and club. The bow, made of a variety of woods but with a preference for juari when available, is round in cross section and about 6 feet (2 m.) long. The arrow is preferably of taquara reed and variously tipped with wood, animal bone, or fish bone. Clubs are beautifully fashioned of heavy hardwood, decorated with delicate carving, and are swung and thrown with equal skill. The lance is now used only for ceremonial purposes. 441

Fishing.—Fish is the most important food supply. Trapping and drugging fish with timbo is a communal affair; individuals fish with the bow and arrow. There is occasional night fishing, with spearing by torchlight. The pirarucu is killed by harpoon. The hook and line is little used, and apparently was borrowed recently from the Neo-Brazilians. 226 [262] [177]

Food preparation.—Manioc is peeled, grated, squeezed out by hand, and cooked into a soup. When the soup cools, it is masticated for a few 252

000 /3 cont./
forms are only the result of particularly high personal talent.

531 128 Decorative art is limited to the application of geometric patterns. These patterns, which are usually interpreted as animals, are borrowed from the plaiting technique. We shall therefore first of all look at the decorations borrowed from the plaiting technique which are on the plaited work itself, then at their transference in carving on gourd utensils, and at the same time we shall take into consideration the great number of such patterns which the Indians drew in the sketchbook for me. Only then will the other decorations, ordinarily in carving and poker work, be dealt with.

531 462 Decorative artistic activity is limited solely to the men; only they know how to execute the patterns. I have seen only a few clay tobacco pipes, two spindle whorls, some modern clay bowls, a doll's apron, and a mat which had been decorated by women. These objects show completely different patterns, though [177] it must be noted that they have apparently taken over the clay tobacco pipes and clay bowls only very recently from the Brazilians. *532 462 So here the woman stands completely behind the man. It is the same in free art. There only the stylized clay figures are made by the women, whereas the more lively figures in other material and the drawings are produced by the men. So here, too, we find 184 462 the striking pre-eminence of the man over the woman. Thus it seems as though among the Karajá the man is more artistically inclined than the woman, whereas in technical skills the two sexes are probably equal.

A. Representative Art

1. Plastic Art

*532 [524] Plastic representations are encountered frequently; they are produced only for play or as toys.

/3 cont./

a) Plaiting with Oaguassu Pinnae

(Plate I) 1

*532 205 In plaiting the form is most strongly dependent on the material, which during the plaiting makes all kinds of bends and angles, and these are adapted only with difficulty to the form to be represented. The artist cannot create so freely as, for example, in clay or wax. Therefore if a figure coming very close to the natural form is achieved with plaiting, this must be acknowledged as very high artistic skill.

The Karajá Indians are basically good plaiters; all their baskets, mats, and the plaiting around objects are neatly and tastefully executed. It is therefore not surprising that they have also reached a high level in plaiting figures. It is to be noted in this connection that the /4/ plaiting of figures is practiced only [462] by the male sex, just as only the objects plaited by men show patterns, whereas all the plaited work produced by women is unpatterned.

*532 205 123 The plaited figures described below were made by boys and youths as a pastime, in part before my eyes and on their own initiative. Thus, for example, I obtained those of the Šavajé when we were holding a conversation hour in the evening by the mask hut, and I, in order to stimulate the people, pulled a leaf pinna from my sitting-mat and began to plait. Scarcely had I begun than the young people immediately followed my example and produced for me a great number of interesting figures.

*532 205 [171] The method of plaiting is in part the one customary among us. For example, figures such as the small basket (Fig. 1 /see p. 47 /) and the honeycombs (Fig. 2 /see p.47 /) are also made in our kindergartens.

The reproductions of the rattlesnake (Fig. 3 /see p.47/), the tobacco pipe (Fig. 4 /see p.47 /), and the very accomplished representations of birds (Fig. 5 a and b /see p.47 /), however, are already more complicated.

1 [see p. 47--Analyst]

/4 cont./

*532 285 831 Procreation and the genital organs play a large role in the thought world of the Indians. Thus it is not surprising to find representations of the sexual parts also. They are conscientiously affixed everywhere, on dolls, wax figures, tree and sand drawings. The male youth, above all, delight in such representations, in all harmlessness, and especially enjoy reproducing the penis in plaited work. Fig. 6 /see p.47 / represents such a penis. It was characteristic of the harmlessness of the people that, when I asked what this was supposed to be, a woman who happened to be present held out a wax cylinder of a small doll, about 30 centimeters in length, as a penis.

*532 285 The meaning of the following figures of the Savajé is unknown: Fig. 7 (djēdjǎ) /see p.47 /, Fig. 8 (dālǎ, kōdĭĕ, probably representing the black vulture (urubu)) /see p. 47 /, Fig. 9 (ĭdjōlālĕ, a very elegant piece of work; the method of production of this puzzling figure is unkown to me /see p. 47/), Fig. 10 /see p. 47 /, and Fig. 11 a and b (kŏdūdĭ or ĭnaūinĭ; a, position of rest; b, tensed) /see p. 47 /. This last figure is plaited like the preceding ones, but in such a way that the leaf ribs form one edge. If one pulls on the part of the leaf stalk which projects out free at the bottom of the plaiting, then the upper tip makes nodding movements.

*532

b) Wood carvings,

(Plate II) 1/A

[462] only rarely encountered and likewise made by men, are somewhat less dependent on the material. The form can therefore already be better reproduced.

I obtained only one wooden doll (Fig. 12 /see p. 48 /), which represents a maiden. It is made out of a /Fig. 14 a and b and Fig. 15 appear here/ 2/A forked piece of wood in such a way that the forked twigs form the two legs, and the trunk forms the body. Arms are thus absent and are not painted on either. The head is set off, nose and forehead are carved in relief, eyes and mouth

1/A [see p. 48--Analyst]
2/A [Figs. 14a & b & 15 appear on p. 7--Analyst]

/5 cont./ Then later

*532 on a tree in the forest near the Šavajé settlement, I saw the adjacent
831 relief of the female sexual organs (Fig. 15 /see p. 7/) driven in with an ax. It had been hewed there previously by a Karajá accompanying me.

c) Clay Figures (likŏkŏ)

(Plates II-IV)

*532 Clay is much more pliable; in it forms can be reproduced
[524] true to nature. The clay figures, which are made by the women
[462] and serve as toys for the girls, include only representations of human figures of both sexes and of all ages; they represent the following tribes: Karajá, Šavajé, Kayapó, and finally the Dōbāĭ on the Rio das Mortes. Such clay figures were present in large numbers in all villages and were offered to me everywhere. Wherever the stock
[126] was exhausted, some were quickly made for me, which, however, I seldom bought because they showed exactly the same typical forms as the figures on hand, that is to say, they showed no personal influence of any kind. Only once did I receive a portrait, the representation of the grandmother bent with age (Plate III, Fig. 42 /see p.49 /). Now it is very striking to observe that these representations are completely stylized. To be sure, several levels can be distinguished here, but only in the case of a few examples is a reasonably accurate reproduction of the shape of the human body achieved.

*532 Before I discuss the forms themselves, I wish to report briefly
323 on the method used to produce these figures. Bodies, legs, and head are made from a lump of clay. The fat buttocks and the penis are put on separately; the navel is bored in with a wooden stick. Then the lines for the later painting are pressed in with a slender bamboo rod by drawing the rod lightly over the soft clay and at the same time exerting light pressure at regular intervals. In this way lines with small holes strung along in a row like beads are produced. When the figure is prepared to this extent, it is put in
000 the sun to dry; the figures are only very rarely fired. Then the next stage

/16 cont./

*532 could not create anything on their own initiative, but had to
126 have assignments set by me; others (and they were in the majority)
153 filled page after page with ever new figures as they happened to occur to them. In the following those drawn on demand are marked by *).

In this way I obtained representations of human beings, animals, birds, fish, reptiles, insects, trees, objects, constellations, and other things. They claimed unanimously that they could not draw human beings, but finally provided me with pictures when I asked for a portrait of myself. Of animals they liked best to draw birds and fish. Pictures of trees are very rare. They usually only produced objects on request. They liked most of all to produce patterns (see decorations /pp.42 ff./).

[413] [517] Drawings were made only by the male sex, usually in bed by candlelight in the evenings. The significance of individual figures was immediately ascertained through questions and written down next to each figure.

*532 We distinguish between three kinds of drawings:

1. Simple line drawing, 2. outline drawing, 3. filled-in figures.

The relationship of the simple line drawing to the other kinds has not yet been determined because of the lack of comparative material. I should like to discuss it here first of all. With regard to the other two kinds, it is certain that the filled-in figures represent a higher stage than the outline drawings (2).

[113] 2. Cf. Dr. S. Levinstein, Kinderzeichnungen bis zum 14. Lebensjahr /Children's Drawings up to the 14th Year/, R. Voigtländer's Publishing House, Leipzig, 1905.

Almost two-thirds of all the drawings are filled-in figures, whereas simple line drawings make up only one quarter, outline drawings only one seventh of the material. The Karajá therefore stand on a very high level artistically.

The line drawings are all made with a pencil, the outline drawings with pencil and colored crayon, the filled-in figures

/23 cont./

531 whereas in general they did not recognize the figures and drawings created from free imagination, but asked me first what the latter were supposed to mean. Thus, these are well-established, apparently very old decorations.

We find the decorations plaited on fans and baskets, on the handles of crotchet needles, on lances, clubs, bows, arrows, rattles, combs; carved on whole- and half-gourd containers, gourd rattles, ear rods; pictured by poker work on gourd ladles and small gourds, and by color on gourd ladles.

[482] All these objects are made by the men; they are the bearers of this art. The women, too, sometimes decorate objects made by them, such as mats, spinning whorls, bast aprons. The patterns, however, in general differ from those of the men. Re-
[172] cently the women have gone over to decorating tobacco pipes and clay vessels under Brazilian influence; the decorations used for this, however, are quite alien, probably taken over from the Brazilians.

531 The patterns with which the Indians paint their bodies
302 have nothing in common with plaiting patterns. The patterns sometimes painted on the thighs appear similar to the plaiting patterns; they are probably connected with the masked dances
[535] at which we find similar decorations, usually depicting animals, on the cylinder masks and bask aprons.

531 The animal patterns are not line patterns, but surface
[285] patterns; thus, in plaiting, the strips plaited in one direction represent the pattern; in the same way, in the sketches, it is not the lines which stand for the pattern, but the surfaces enclosed by them. This follows from the fact that in the case of carved patterns these surfaces are in relief or indented, but in any case contrasted as surfaces from the background; in the same way in the sketches the surfaces are sometimes set off by dots or dashes. Only it is difficult in this case to decide which of the surfaces represents the background and which the pattern; here only inquiry among the Indians helps. For the characteristic features do not penetrate our awareness at all, accustomed as we are to seeing such patterns in terms of lines and not surfaces.

/23 cont./

531 In some patterns I was successful in separating pattern and back-
[128] ground from each other; others still await satisfactory investiga-
tion.

531 These patterns are made in the following manner. On
285 baskets, fans, etc., they are produced simply through different,
diagonal plaiting of the leaf pinnae. For plaiting around some-
thing with yellow cane and black embira, the black embira is
plaited horizontally in spirals through the strips of cane hanging
531 down vertically. Carved decorations are made with the knife;
322 the latter is then held almost vertically to the surface to be
carved, and /24/ in this way small pieces of the upper layer are
chipped off broadside with the point. Finer and deeper lines are
carved out naturally. In poker work a splinter of cane is used
as the cautery, which is made to glow on an adjacent block of
wood and then quickly pressed on the spot concerned. This is,
[462] of course, very slow work, which is practiced almost exclusively
[517] by the male sex, apparently only for fun.

531 The Indians always drew the patterns in the sketchbook on
[153] their own initiative. When they had barely drawn some figures,
they would already go over to the patterns. Many refused to draw
figures altogether, but just treated themselves to making patterns.
531 Now it was extremely interesting to observe how the people ar-
151 ranged the patterns. As an example I shall take the one in Fig.
199 (Plate X /see p. 56 /). First of all the space was divided up
by four vertical lines according to exact calculation. The Indians
sitting nearby already knew which decoration the artist wanted to
draw, without the latter saying anything. Then each new line to
be drawn was discussed in detail beforehand, criticized afterwards.
Thus, the sketch was put together as a common task. During this
the lines, once the people were completely clear about direction
and length, were drawn with a quick sure stroke. It should further
531 be noted that the Indians had observed how I wrote my remarks
151 about artist and pattern on the edge of the page, and now on
153 their own initiative they left a narrow margin free on one side, as
I ascertained through questions, so that I could write on it. They

/27 cont./

531 horizontal sectioning (Fig. 210a to c /see p. 60/), vertical sectioning (Fig. 211a and b /see p. 60/).

3. The half-gourds and whole gourds decorated by painting have a quite different character.

[415] Only one gourd ladle colored with paint is found (Fig. 212 /see p. 60/). It shows a black edge, simple zigzag line, and a cross in the middle.

/28/ All the others show poker work. Fig. 213 (Plate XI /see p. 57/) represents the first attempt at this by a small girl. The gourd ladles are very diversely decorated. The edge has a row of triangles (Fig. 214 /see p. 60/), or tree-like branched figures usually extend from it toward the center (Fig. 215 a to c /see p. 62/). /Fig. 221 appears here./ The patterns in Fig. 216 a to c /see p. 62/ are arranged in horizontal strips, in Fig. 217 /see p. 62/ in vertical strips. In Fig. 218 a and b /see p. 62/ the whole surface is filled in with one pattern, in Fig. 219 /see p. 62/ with different patterns. Plaiting patterns are represented only in Figs. 216c and 219. Whole gourds are either decorated only on the upper part (Fig. 220 /see p. 62/), or in a central zone reaching around them (Fig. 221 a to c /see p. 64/; b and c with three parts), or only on two opposite sides (Fig. [415] 222 a and b /see p. 64/). The water-carrying vessel of the Šavajé (in Fig. 223 /see p. 64/) shows very crude poker work.

531 462 [512] [172] 4. The artistic activity of the women is quite different from this of the men. It is very rare and in part has been taken over from the Brazilians. The women do not use the patterns of the men. It must be said that the women stand far behind /Figs. 222-224 appear here./ the men artistically; for although they also plait and make pottery, they decorate their products only in the rarest cases. Homemade decorations are found on a mat, the apron of a clay doll, and on spinning whorls. The mat 531 [225] (Fig. 224 /see p. 64/) is patterned by plaiting in bundles of black-dyed fibers in the fashion illustrated. One sees immediately that on the right the upper pattern is the negative of the lower one. On the doll's apron (Plate II /see p. 48/, Fig. 26) the red and

[see p. 64--Analyst]

[Text continues on p. 65]

121 /43/ Three years ago G. P. Murdock published his "World Ethnographic Sample." It goes without saying that an endeavor of this scope can only be incomplete. Now, as far as the Carajá, one of the nine tribes classified under the heading "Eastern Brazil," are concerned, the set of 30 characteristic features of this society in Murdock's attempt displays significant gaps and serious inaccuracies. It is my intention, here and now, to remedy this state of affairs as well as possible, in order to contribute from my side, while concerning myself with only one case among 565, to a fairer calculation of the human probabilities.

114 [122] [101] [127] To accomplish this task I shall use as a base the data that I was able to collect personally, in the company of my wife and aided by the National Swiss Foundation for Scientific Research, during the rainy season of 1954 to 1955 among the Carajá of the south, as well as, naturally, on the information from our predecessors in the field, Ehrenreich, Krause, Baldus, and Lipkind above all. I am using this opportunity to express the great regret that I feel every time I think of the fact that the rich materials collected by Lipkind have never been published in a satisfactory fashion. The Carajá, although they have been known for a long time, are basically misunderstood. To be fair, it must be added that they themselves do not make the task of investigators easy, and it goes without saying that under these circumstances my own contribution must remain fairly fragmentary in view of the too short period of our stay among them.

121 On the other hand I am convinced that the presentation of facts alone — allegedly pure facts — does not help us to become better acquainted with the human condition, and the second aim of my article is to present to you a first attempt at interpretation of the data concerning the Carajá kinship system, which, not without reason, was left blank in Murdock's attempt.

128 To facilitate the comparison I shall follow the framework of the columns of the "World Ethnographic Sample." The 433 [121] 462 [231] Carajá cultivate primarily tropical tubercles, although maize is not lacking; true domesticated animals are absent.

/43 cont./

241 433 462 is not lacking; true domesticated animals are absent. Planting is important as a source of subsistence, but fishing and turtle hunting stand higher in masculine preference as well as being a basis of life. Not only are the men charged with fishing and hunting — less important owing to the scarcity of game — but activity in the gardens is also primarily the business of the men, since the women are satisfied to help as they please, which is undeniably rare among the Amazonian Indians.

433 462 Up to here we are in perfect agreement with the categories chosen by Murdock (Ro, Im, Oo, Dm; columns 1-4). However, in column 5 we find the /44/ first gap. The division of labor assigns gathering to the female sex, except for the harvesting of wild honey, which is considered more as hunting and belongs among the men's tasks. So the Carajá could, after all, be put in the category of "standard division of labor by sex" (thus Ia; column 5).

114 Real difficulties arise when we take into consideration what is properly called social organization. Categorial decisions 361 are not so easy to make there. It is true that our Indians live [221] in compact villages, especially during the rainy seasons. During the rest of the year the Carajá proper like to disperse on the beaches, forming smaller local units, which, nevertheless, are always lined up along the river, the houses of the men (if there are any in the encampments) remaining at the rear, as if the periphery of a circle had been opened and rolled back in a straight line, leaving the center — the houses of the men — at 361 the side of the line. Since the large villages of the rainy season, 62 which are all like this and bear a name, are in reality agamous [114] and without clans, but display a certain tendency toward endogamy, the category assigned by Murdock — compact village observing agamy — (Va; column 6), if it is not definitely wrong, is nevertheless to be taken cum grano salis (tendency toward Sd).

59 As for the family structure, it is normally of the extended type, at least during the rainy season, but the extension is not

/16 cont./

296 824 (arikoko). One specimen in the collection is carved out of wood in its natural form (Fig. 4 and Pl. I /see p. 103 /. 1).

252 Preparation of food. Directly in front of the house door is found the cooking place, surrounded by low pole frames on which the squeezed manioc is dried. Large earthen pots stand on stones [364] or clay supports over the fire. The ground around is littered with scraps. These heaps are the breeding places of annoying gray flies [136] (the so-called mosca da aldeia), which sting badly and, when they get out of hand, necessitate abandoning the place.

● [462] Untiringly the women are busy throughout the day with dragging in the field produce and firewood, the preparation of manioc, pounding maize, opening palm nuts, and the careful supervision of all the culinary processes, in which the Indian housewife, despite the simplicity of the materials, knows how to achieve a relatively great diversity.

[876] ←

Fig. 4. Tobacco pipe (1/4).

372 824 Fire is still made wholly in the original way by means of the drill (hädä). It consists of two sticks. The thicker one, wood of the urucú plant, is fixed on the ground after a shallow cavity provided with a deep cut at the side is made near one end. Then the point of the second, thinner stick of taquara /Chusquea sp./ is set in this and is twirled between the palms with strong pressure until a hollow is formed at this point, out of which the glowing dust flows through the notch at the side and can be collected. Thus the procedure is precisely the one illustrated and described by Im Thurn (op. cit., p. 258). As in the method used by the Warrau /Warao/, no special tinder is needed. The pulverized wood itself supplies it. To kindle a livelier flame, dry strips of palm leaf are mixed with the easily flammable red resin (tamararu), which is like sealing wax, and then lighted.

/241 cont./

136 yields. The country is also relatively poor in useful animals, and
[224] almost all of the few animal species that can be hunted are not
[262] eaten by the Indians, with the exception, to be sure, of the wild
pig. The birds are very numerous; with the exception of the
[223] mutum, however, the Indians do not seem to hunt any other bird.
Thus, the water must supply the principal food. The river is extremely rich in fish and turtles; everywhere, in shallow places, in the depths, in lakes, but above all in the tributaries, one comes
[226] across a quite startling abundance of fish. But even this abundance
[262] is not fully exploited, since a few types of fish are not eaten.

A. The Acquisition of Plant Food.

●462 The women essentially are responsible for the gathering of wild plants and fruits, while the men engage above all in pro-
222 curing animal food (1). The following come under consideration:

> 1. This division of labor is ancient. In the myth, "How the Karajá acquired manioc," it is said of the father that he would not notice the theft of maize because he only knows fishing (see there /see pp. 302-303/).

the small oitŭ fruits, which are gathered in the forest during the first half of October; the pikĭ fruits (lămă), which ripen during the second half of October; the watermelon (kūblăkĕ), which grows on the sandbanks at the place where the banks are connected with the shore. The Indians know exactly those sandbanks on which the melons grow and gather them as early as the end of October when
222 the fruit is not yet quite ripe. Of palm fruits the following are
262 eaten: the seeds of the tucum palm (hăĭlŭ), of the so-called coceiro (āhăndĕtĕ), and of the oaguassu palm (hăulēnĭ), the roasted seeds of which are called hăulēnĭdŏ. The fruits of the jatobá tree (kūwă) and of the genipap (bădēnă) are likewise eaten. Another fruit, from which a black dish is prepared, was called ādŏmõ; it is

/243 cont./

241 out the earth and heap up the beds, the point to loosen the earth, make holes, and lift out the roots. How the rest of the plants are planted is unknown to me; in the plantings ripe for harvest which I wandered through, they seemed to stand jumbled together. They grew so close together that it was hardly possible to pass through on the narrow path. In view of the height of the growths (three to four meters) a survey was not to be had, in contrast to the plantings of the Kayapó, which was laid out very clearly and in which the individual vegetables were planted in groups.

[462] The division of labor in the planting is such that the men lay out the planting and plant manioc and cara, while the planting of cotton, maize, batatas, and urucú is said to be the duty of the women.

The plantings are apparently so laid out that the families or the villages plant in one clearing; a separation within the planting according to families was not discernible, but nevertheless seems to exist.

Everyone works his plot himself; brothers usually work together. If one of them becomes [465] ill, a relative steps in for him. In this case, or if other assistance is required, the yield from the harvest is either divided into two parts or the helper is paid in arrows, pots, lances, net coverings, axes, spun cotton, etc. If widows [736] have grown sons, they plant for them; otherwise she asks the chief to have someone plant for her. He then appoints one of the villagers to take over this duty and pays him for it.

Ill. 83.
Planting implement of the Karajá.

The plantings are not protected against damage. They lie in the midst of the forest, without any kind of enclosure, so that animals, especially pigs and birds, do a great deal of damage. These harmful animals are pursued; the birds above all are chased away by cries.

/243 cont./

241 With the ripening of the foodstuff, the harvest begins. It is not gathered all at once, but rather every two or three days the foodstuffs required for this period are brought in. There are seldom larger supplies on hand in the village. This custom is a great [609] obstacle for a longer stay in the villages, for the Indians /244/ do not leave the villages during the stay of strangers (1), but use up

1. Fonseca already observed this custom in 1773. The Karajá had but little food, because the Chavánte had plundered their plantings and the Karajá therefore did not dare go to their plantings. Nor did they dare go hunting or fishing in Fonseca's presence, nor set out for their plantings with Fonseca's soldiers for fear that he might enter their villages in their absence, which they had refused him up to that time. Rev. trim. 8, p. 385.

their supplies, so that after two days there is nothing more on hand, and the stranger must either donate food or go along to the planting or else depart.

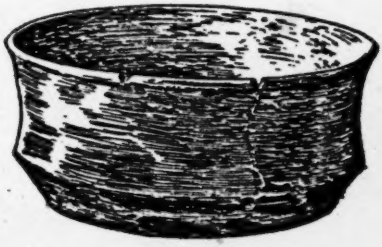
241 285 482 [462] Harvesting is generally done by the women. The harvest is packed into large back-baskets (bĕhūlĕ), which are plaited out of two palm fronds in such a way that the ribs form the two longitudinal poles, and the same sides of the fronds, firmly plaited together, form the bottom, while the other sides, plaited by themselves, make the lattice-like edge (Plate 57, Ill. 1; the back-basket is 116 centimeters long, 34 centimeters wide, and 17 centimeters high). Sometimes the lower edge of the back-baskets is likewise firmly plaited (Plate 57, Ill. 2). The back-basket is worn on two shoulder bands and a forehead band of strong bast. It projects very high above the head, and under the heavy burden people walk with the upper part of the body bent far forward and the knees bent, usually leaning on a staff (Plate 15, Ill. 3). The contents are secured with wide bast bands which are laced across the load from edge to edge.

/252 cont./

372 The fire is never allowed to go out, but rather care is taken to keep it constantly burning. On boat trips the Indians take along glowing bast (hãŏdĕ; Ill. 88) or pieces of slowly smoldering wood (hãdĕkĕ) on a sand base in the boat, and similarly when they go to the plantings. Apparently, therefore, they dislike drilling new fire, but would rather transfer the fire to the new place. I often had the drilling of fire demonstrated for me, but the men never succeeded in getting beyond a huge development of smoke. These attempts, however, all happened to take place in wet weather.

Ill. 87.
Fire twirler.

Ill. 88.
Glow bast.



Ill. 89.
Cooking pot, ordinary shape.

[252] [415] →

To fan the fire, fans (kōlĭ) which are plaited of palm fronds in simple fashion are used. The cooling fans (Plate 21, Ill. 2) differ from them only in that they have patterning.

252 /253/ Meat is merely roasted; fish and vegetables are [462] eaten roasted and boiled. The preparation of food is the duty of the women; they are busy with it all day. The men, too, however, know how to do it, and on journeys they roast and boil their food themselves in case of emergency. In the villages I never saw roasting hearths; these were found only on sandbanks with traces of camps. Wandering bands use them occasionally. My Karajá always built such roasting hearths

/280 cont./

462 A. The division of labor by age and sex is such that the
561 male youths actually do nothing other than to practice the weapons craft and occasionally travel out to fish. In addition, they make their own weapons, as well as their feather ornaments and the cotton dance-belts. The married men, on the other hand, are usually busy; either they work in the plantings, or they go out twice a day to fish for their families, go hunting, plait baskets
[589] and hats, build houses, and bring in the harvest. In general, the men, when they are married, have a great deal of work and that is why young people no longer want to get married, having been infected by a few older bachelors who preach the ideal of bachelorhood: idling, smoking, chatting in the mask house.

The women learn their manual skills, such as spinning and weaving, from childhood on. Married women take care of the plantings, the harvest, tend the children, cook, make pottery, spin and weave, and plait mats. In general, to be sure, they have to work the whole day, so that one never sees them unoccupied, but in general their lot is a good one; hard work is never demanded of them, but is always taken over by the men.

412 B. Of their ancient tools some have already disappeared (1)
178

> 1. Iron tools seem to have penetrated in the previous generation. A 40-year old Indian of the south horde told me that he had not seen work done with stone axes any more, only his mother told him about it.

or are used in another way, they still, however, use stone axes /281/ as striking stones, small stone knives for tattooing, bone needles for sewing, mussel shells as scrapers and spoons, sets of piranha teeth for cutting the strips for plaiting baskets. More and
[177] more, however, iron implements are coming in: axes, bush knives, small knives, and shears are used everywhere, likewise iron crochet needles. In spite of these foreign implements, how-
[176] ever, the technique has happily kept its ancient character, and only occasionally are innovations, under the influence of the Brazilian inhabitants, To be noted.

/282 cont./

323 317 [462] E. Earths, besides being used as colors (see under "Coloring Substances" /see p. 240 /), are used only for making pottery, which is practiced by the women. The material used is the grayish-white clay (zõũ) that occurs in strata on the steep banks and, in conical shape, is stored in piles in the villages. For use it is first pulverized very fine and then mixed with a number of additions. The most important addition is mãũzĩ (Pl. 58, Ill. 1), a creation designated by the Brazilian-speaking Indians as the nest of the cupim d'agua, which is found in huge quantities as a covering of the roots and lower branches of the trees along the banks. One finds it piled up in great heaps near the villages. It is burned in the fire, then pounded, and, mixed with water, added to the pottery clay.

323 [824] Another addition is obtained from the purple blossom (ãdẽnã) of a tree; the blossoms are burned and their ashes mixed in with the clay. This statement by Pedro seems to correspond to the custom of making the clay more resistant by means of the flinty content of the ashes of certain creepers, as reported by Ehrenreich from C. de Magalhães ("Beiträge," p. 19).

The shaping of the vessels is done in the following manner: The bottom is shaped out of a flat cake, on which a low edge is simultaneously worked out. A potter's wheel is absent; an old pot-bottom or most often a rod-sieve, the structure of which is imprinted in the soft clay, serves as a base (Pl. 58, Ill. 2). Smaller vessels are shaped on the hand. /283/ The potter then mixes the gray clay with water, twirls it between the palms of her hands into a roll, places this on her left lower-arm, and, with the right index finger, presses a longitudinal groove into it (Ill. 129). The roll is now placed with the groove on the edge of the bottom piece and is then pressed flat toward the top (Ill. 130). It is so arranged that the roll corresponds exactly to the circumference of the vessel. Roll is placed upon roll in this manner and then smeared together with the hand or even with a smoothing stone, until the vessel is finished.

/285 cont./

237 two holes in the center are sewed on the belt of the long string-
321 skirts of the girls (Ill. 69), as well as on the cylinder-bands of the dance masks. As spoons and scrapers they use mother-of-pearl mussel shells, which are only slightly worked, but are usually used in the crude state.

287 Concerning the feather technique, see below in connection with the tying, knotting, and plaiting technique /see pp. 233 ff./.

824 The utilization of the vegetable kingdom is very extensive. The cane species are used remarkably little; apparently the region is poor in them.

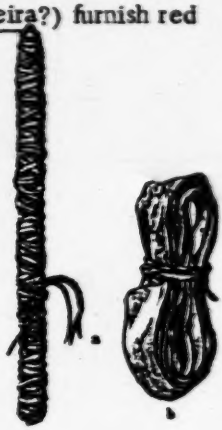
G. The wood of trees is made into boats, poles, oars, mortars and pestles, stools, lances, bows, throwing boards, arrow points, manioc grating boards, lip plugs, comb teeth, etc. Soft or hard woods are used, depending on the purpose. I was not always able to learn which kinds of wood were used for the individual implements. Spears consist of so-called aruera wood, bows of hard palm wood, boat poles of long, slender trees with very light wood. Soft wood is used for stools, lip plugs, and manioc grating boards; all the other implements consist of hard wood. Of the cane species, taquara is used as arrow shafts, gibade and similar types as ear rods.

396 I am most fully informed about boatbuilding. The boats
[462] are built by the men. All of them understand this art, though
[437] many confine themselves to buying boats from others in exchange
[463] for an iron axe. /286/ Apparently certain persons make boats in larger numbers for the village and then sell them. Thus, a few hours downstream from Schischá I met two families from this village who had erected temporary huts for themselves here in the wilderness, in order to build boats in the vicinity. The making of a small boat is said to take four days, a larger one eight days. These time estimates, however, seem to me to be
[824] very low. The trunk of the lantim tree (Calophyllum: dälïŏ) is used as material for the boats; Ehrenreich mentions pau d'arco and jatoba, Königswald also jatahy and others. The trees are felled in the forest and crudely worked; first the outer shape is hewed out with an ax and then the interior is likewise hollowed

/286 cont./

pyrography. Of the other fruits, jequitiba is used for tobacco pipes, hollowed out and crudely carved on the outside (Ills. 103 and 104); Thevetia is used for necklaces or pendants on belts, etc. The latter usually bear a small /287/ bunch of feathers in the hollow. Other small, whitish fruits are bored and strung as chains. In Ehrenreich's collection there is a small bowl, made out of a timbo fruit, for storing the urucú color (Berlin 3876).

The bark of trees is made into women's aprons. Above all the bark of the gameleira is used, which furnishes the reddish aprons (ǎndāhūlĕ). Other species (also gameleira?) furnish red materials (ǎmbūŏdā) or white shiny materials (hidēūlĕ). Ehrenreich, in addition, also mentions Apeiba jangada (Berlin 3696). The preparation is as follows: Thick branches of the trees concerned are hewed off in the required length (one and a half to two meters) and brought into the house. Here the men, with an angular stone, strike off the solid pieces of bark, slit the bark lengthwise, and peel it off. The further treatment is the task of the women: the pieces of bark are soaked, laid folded together on the manioc mortar turned upside down, and are now beaten with a flat stone, usually an old stone ax, until they are completely soft.



Ill. 134 a, b.
Embira: a) wound on a rod,
b) rolled up.

H. Bast is used in wide layers as an ornamental binding material and in fine strands as material for strings and for knotting mats.

As ornamental binding material, the bast of Malvaceae (embira: dõdĕ, etc.) is used above all. There are light red, red, and black varieties. It is kept in all widths: the finest (0.3 centimeters wide) is wound on rods (Ill. 134a), the wider (2.5-4 centimeters wide) is rolled up into stout rolls in such a way that the colored, shiny side is on the inside (Ill. 134b). They are used

/288 cont./

286 is knotted in such a way that the knots come in the center of the length of the mesh. The meshes of the second and subsequent rows are hooked into those of the preceding one and knotted on their lower end. The method of the knot formation is shown in Ill. 136 a, b.

285 For knotting the large sleeping and sitting mats, untwisted
284 buriti bast-fibers are used. These are laid side by side in bunches and these bunches are wound alternately with two twisted bast-fiber strings, so that a continuous weft runs from side to side. On the edge the two strings are twisted together, led along the edge for about three and a half centimeters, and then again plaited through the bunches. Thus, one /Plate 58 appears here/ /289/ weft runs through the whole mat. (See the sample plaiting, Ill. 137 /see p. 217/.) At greater intervals, every 10-20 centimeters, a twisted bast string runs between the bunches and parallel to them, in order to give the mat more firmness (b in Ill. 138). The weft does not start at the end of the mat and is not led through to the other end; rather, on both of the narrow sides the ends of
285 the bunches remain free as fringe. Such mats in large dimensions are used to make the protective walls and protective roofs, as well as sleeping and sitting mats. Smaller mats are carried by pregnant women; they are put around the lower body and held together in front with the hands. I never saw small mats patterned with black embira threads as an underlayer for the feet during the continuous standing on the hot sandbanks, such as Ehrenreich describes (Berlin 3907; "Beiträge," p. 21). I obtained a patterned sleeping mat, however, the design of which was made by plaiting in black-colored bast strips (Ill. 22).

Small carrying-sacks (masĩ) are made in the same way as these mats; the bottoms of these are sometimes plaited cross-shaped (Pl. 57, Ills. 5, 6). The edge is reinforced; the carrying-band likewise consists of buriti bast-fibers.

28 The division of labor in ropemaking and knotting is such
•462 that the making of the fiber material is usually incumbent on the women, whereas the twisting of the cords is practiced by men and women, but is usually done only as needed. The knotting of the

[Text Continues on p. 220]

28 /289 cont./
462 nets is a task for the men, that of the mats a task for the women.
285 Usually several women work together on a mat; it is not difficult work, but the hard pulling and constant twisting of the weft threads (they are twisted only when they are plaited through) affects the fingers so much that deep, calloused ridges run across
[963] the finger tips of the plaiters. Apparently there are women in the villages who provide the entire village with mats; at least large supplies of them were found in certain houses, and to buy them I was sent into specific huts where mats were made.

[824] For the plaiting which is done by the men, strips of buriti
[962] bast and the leaf pinnae of the oaguassu palm are used. The
294 strips of buriti bast are used only in the making of hats. Appar-
[177] ently the method of making hats is copied from the neighboring Brazilians. At least the shape is the same; but whether all the types of plaited strips which are sewed together spirally into a hat correspond to Brazilian designs, or whether there are innovations here, I do not know. The most common design, consisting of four-part strips with a notched edge, seems to be Brazilian, the other two, the eleven-part strip with a smooth edge and the nine-part strip with a smooth, double edge, may be original forms in view of the plaiting skill of the Indians (Ill. 139 a-c). These strips are sewed together with fine bast threads and a bone needle four centimeters long (Ill. 140).

285 For all other plaiting the leaf pinnae of the oaguassu palm are used. The material for this is stored in the houses in large /290/ quantities, mostly lying on the floor under mats; in Schischá it also lay on special forked racks on the long sides and in the roundings of the houses.

In the same way as for the house covering, two oaguassu fronds are laid with the ribs one on top of the other in the making of walls, fans, and eye shades, except that in this case the individual pinnae /Ills. 139 and 140 appear here/ are then plaited together. See the beginning of a piece of plaiting in Ill. 5 on Plate 58 /see p. 219/.

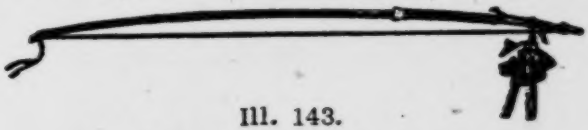
/292 cont./

285 of the lid-half, is pulled through the outer oval of this half from below upward, forms a large carrying /293/ band over the lid, and on the other side leads down to the bottom rods in the same manner. If one wishes to open the basket, the lid-half slides up on the thread (Pl. 57, Ill. 16). At the same time, however, the thread also serves for closure during transport: on either side one makes a loop which is put over the ends of the rod of the lid-half and pulled tight (Ill. 142g).

Sieves and sieve-baskets are made entirely differently

[284] (wālilisi; Pl. 55, Ills. 2 and 3). They are made out of shavings of flexible creepers (according to Ehrenreich, arimbamba). The shavings run radially and are interwoven concentrically with similar switches (two each). On the bottom they cross in four groups. In Ehrenreich's specimens the plaiting is in part so tight

[283] (Berlin 3898) that the utensil is useless as a sieve. Such tight



Ill. 143.
Bow for picking apart the cotton.

baskets serve as containers for raw cotton in spinning.

Rod-sieves consist of fine rods placed parallel, which are bound together at considerable intervals with two strings (Pl. 55, Ill. 1).

I did not see among the Karajá the other kinds of baskets and bags mentioned by Ehrenreich: small palm-leaf baskets with rectangular bottom, square baskets, small bags with flap lids made of carandasinha palm fiber, bottle-shaped flexible baskets (moti), hanging baskets (Berlin 3879), and lid-baskets (Berlin 3900) made of flexible cipo plaiting.

283 I. Just as varied and skillful are the treatment and the

[462] utilization of cotton, which are incumbent on the women. Cotton

[248] is grown in the plantings; tending it is the duty of the woman. The harvested cotton is stored in baskets. Before it is spun, it is

/293 cont./

283 first cleaned and picked. A small bow (wãsĩhũãtã; Ill. 143) is used for this purpose. One puts the cotton on a mat in front of one, holds the bow close to it, and lets the bowstring snap into it. In this way the cotton is loosened up, the impurities are taken out, and it is picked apart into a thin band about four centimeters wide. This band is then twisted at one end and fastened to the top of the spindle (Pl. 58, Ill. 6).

Spinning. The thread is twisted with the palm of the hand on the thigh; then one lets the spindle spin, in order to tighten the twist. When a thread about one meter long has been made in this way, the spindle is stopped, any irregularities of the thread are evened out by pulling it apart and retwisting it, the thread is wound on the spindle, it is again fastened to the knob on top, and the twisting begins anew. Thicker threads, too, are twisted together out of two spun threads in this manner. /294/

[462] Spinning is the task of the women, especially the girls, who acquire this skill at an early age.

The spindles consist of a black wooden stem 32-44 centimeters long (ãsõtã), which bears a small knob at the top and exhibits an extended thickening at the bottom. The spindle whorl [(kŭ)dãwã], which consists of bone, clay, a mass of white earth, or wax, is pushed up on it. I came across spindle whorls of bark, such as Ehrenreich brought back (Berlin 3939), only in children's spindles (see "Toys" /see p. 241 /). Bone whorls are plane-parallel, 4 1/2-6 1/2 centimeters in diameter (Ill. 144a). Breastplate bones of the tartaruga turtle are usually used for this. Clay whorls consist of crudely fired, gray pottery clay and are usually attached to the staff with wax. /Ills. 144 and 145 appear here./ Their shape is flat or slightly double-conical. Only

[531] rarely are they decorated; I once saw a cross-like decoration (Ill. 144c), another whorl bears an incised decoration on its red-colored surface. Whorls of white earth [mãŭlẽ, mãnã(k)ŭlã] are usually slightly double-conical in shape (Ill. 144b). In the village on the Tapirapé mouth I obtained two whorl-like objects made out of such white earth, but they are not perforated. Incised on

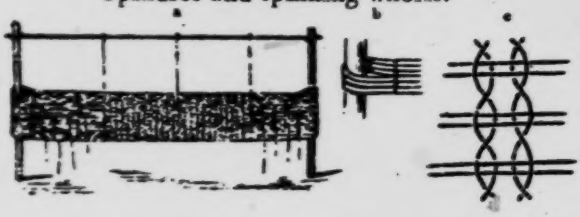
/294 cont./

283 both sides, they bear a circle with rays; the grooves are drawn in red and black (Ill. 144d). Whorls of wax in a double-conical shape are very common. I did not happen to acquire any from the Karajá; they are the same, however, as those brought back from the Šavajé (see below /see p. 328 /).

/295/ The thread (ãsõtãkẽ) is stored wound in balls (Pl. 58, Ill. 7). These balls are apparently an Indian invention; at any rate the Karajá were extremely astonished when they saw my balls of string. Their balls are roughly cube-shaped, from nine

Ill. 144 a-d.
Spindles and spinning whorls.

[286]



Ill. 145 a-c.
Plaiting of the net coverings.
a) Plaiting apparatus. b) Winding the warp.
c) The plaiting in of the weft.

to ten centimeters long on each side.

283 286 Working with cotton threads, which either retain their natural color or are blackened with earth color, is done by plaiting, crocheting, and knotting.

[462] Plaiting is the work of the men, crocheting and knotting that of the women. The cotton threads are plaited into four-edged cords, for example, hip cords.

/329 cont./

763 Death and burial (2). The occurrence of death is recog-

[114] 2. I myself did not observe a death; my statements about this are based on the unanimous accounts of various Indians.

nized when /330/ the deceased is called to and shaken; if he gives no answer, he is regarded as surely dead.

764 The corpse is then smeared with resin (dŏmăłĕ) upon which are glued white down feathers. The face is painted with urucú (perhaps also only a section from the ear across the chin to the other ear), the lip plug is removed, arara feathers are stuck into the ears; the rest of the ornaments are also put on (for example, the bead chains are hung around women). Then the body is wrapped in a sleeping mat and tied to a pole which is taken to a stake standing upright in the sand away from the village. I could not find out whether it is tied to this or what else happens to it. Here the laments of the women and relatives take place. The young men hold the death watch here; in return they are provided with food by the brother of the deceased. If the dead person died in the evening, he is buried the next morning; if he died during the day, he is removed as quickly as possible. Burial [162] is the task of the men; the women content themselves with weeping and lamenting. All the dead are treated and buried in the same way.

The dead are buried in the cemetery. There are several large collective cemeteries (urn cemeteries); in addition there seem to be smaller village cemeteries for burials. All of them lie on high banks above the high-water mark, some of them days' journeys in distance from the village. Cemeteries to be newly laid out are marked out by the oldest Karajá. The Karajá seek by all means to be buried in their tribal cemeteries. Thus, Kabiśá from Leopoldina brought his dead grandchild to the cemetery at Schischá (three days' journey downstream from Leopoldina) because there was "unconsecrated ground" there.

6:Cook M-3,4. (ca. 1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

the open air, just in front of the entrance to each hut, is 252
the cooking place, which is surrounded by a slightly raised platform of sticks on which the manioc meal is evaporated. Large earthen pots are seen resting upon stands over the fire; while the ground around is littered with garbage, which, as previously mentioned, ferments, and attracts and breeds swarms of pestiferous flies. The women are as busy as bees, 462
and toil untiringly throughout the whole of each and every [252]
day, gathering fruits and vegetables from forest and field, going many miles distant and returning, staggering under heavy burdens, gathering firewood, preparing manioc meal, pulverizing corn in wooden mortars, splitting the small cocoa nuts, and attending to the cooking. Dr. Ehrenreich says of the Karayá wife, that though her raw materials are limited, she, nevertheless, succeeds in producing a good assortment of food. Among all savage and semi-barbarous peoples, the females labor more assiduously than the males, and the burden of providing for the family seems to fall more upon them than upon the males. Here again, we observe the similarity between these children of Nature and the wild creatures, upon the female of whom falls the burden of providing for the brood.

The Karayá have no matches, or any of the appliances 372
of civilization for kindling a fire, but still adhere to the ancient method. Fire is produced by means of two sticks of wood, one, which is of urucú, being secured to the ground. This is grooved and morticed in such a way that by setting the point of the second piece, which is a taquára reed, into the groove and causing it to spin rapidly by rolling it between the palms, glowing dust issues from the side of the first piece, with which a fire is kindled. Punk is not used; the piece of wood that is bored takes the place of punk. With this glowing dust, strips of palm-leaves are ignited after being daubed with easily inflammable red resin. But the primitive housekeepers seldom have to resort to this method of producing fire as they do not allow their camp-fires to die out. When on a journey, they carry fire-brands, or glowing coals, which are kept alive at times by being buried in the sand.

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

as a reserve, are kept wound around the bow. The Karayá take great pride in their bows, ornamenting them beautifully with tassels of brilliant feathers. 411 [531]

They use several different styles of arrows. Some are harpoon-like for fishing purposes; others are made with broad blades for hunting; while still others are for use in war. They are all made with the utmost care, as much as one or two days being consumed in the making of but one. Two or three different kinds of wood are always used in constructing a single arrow, one kind being for the spear, or lance part, another kind—heavy palm wood—for the middle staff, and light bamboo wood for the base, and all are spliced and bound together with the greatest nicety by means of long, narrow strips of bark taken from certain climbers, and finally, the weapon is burnished. It is about four feet in length. [461] [824] [284]

The weapons used for fighting at close quarters, which is the method of warfare liked best, are heavy clubs and lances. The clubs are of two kinds—first, shovel-like clubs and round clubs, resembling base-ball bats, varying in length from three to four and a half feet. The lances are nine or ten feet in length, the shaft being of palm wood, and the point, the shin-bone of the spotted *onca*—jaguar—or of a deer. A beautiful, basket-like work of black and white wooden strips is woven, or braided, tightly over the shaft of the spear, and to this is attached tassels of brilliant plumage. The Karayá have spear-throwing sticks, but I understand they are no longer used in war, but for sport only. The contrivance is a long strip of wood so formed that it can be used, sling-like to hurl a spear. In common with all the savage tribes of South America, the weapons, implements, ornaments and ceremonial instruments are all made by the men of the Karayá, while the women make only the household utensils. [1126] [824] [237] [531] 462 171

The Karayá housewife, therefore, makes several styles of pots and pans; but pottery has not yet reached a very high degree of perfection with this tribe for the forms are simple and crude. They do not make pots in the form of natural objects as do the tribes of the Xingú river. Utility, and this 323

Brazil.

593 The husband does not eat with his family, but instead
[964] with the family of his married sister, and is considered a member of his sister's family. Secondly, his share of the pro-
[768] ceeds of the day's hunting and fishing, does not go to his own hut, but to that of his sister; and, lastly, if his wife should die leaving dependent children, they are taken in charge by her parents and the widower again becomes one of the bachelors.

582 A Karayá woman is not permitted to marry an alien, unless
648 he will become adopted, or naturalized, into the tribe, and will consent to reside permanently at the wife's native village.
593 The Karayá wife appears to be considered the equal of her husband in many respects, for he never takes any important step in life without first consulting her. Even the village chief divides his honors with his wife. Furthermore, the wife as
[962] well as the husband, has an important part to perform, not only in the family, but in the social economy of the village; though her part is to do the heavy, laborious work, while her man does the light and fancy-work; his only heavy work being to hunt and fish.

595 The men usually have but one wife, though a few have
582 two. One reason for having two wives seems to be owing to the custom prevailing among nearly all South American tribes that the young men marry the older women, and the old men marry the young women. Therefore, when the first wife becomes old, her young husband takes to himself a youth-
163 ful wife. Perhaps this custom of the young men marrying the
[582] older women will account in part for the small number of
[861] children born to these primitive races; though another reason may be that children are allowed to nurse until they are six
171 or seven years of age. The custom of aged men marrying girls fourteen or fifteen years of age is common among the
847 civilized people of Brazil. Abortion among the Karayá is practiced only when the husband demands it. Whenever a
586 couple cannot live together harmoniously, the husband is al-
587 lowed to trade his wife for another woman. If he should drive her away, he will not be permitted to marry another
000 woman, though he may take a concubine. The adulterous

/10 cont./

d) Wax Figures

(Plates IV-VI)

*532 Boys and youths very much like to make wax figures for fun. [232] Wax pigs in particular could be encountered in the hands of small [524] boys almost everywhere. I found an occasional one of another [123] shape here and there in the baskets; all the others were made spontaneously before my eyes when the Indians had seen my interest in such figures, and indeed of their own free judgment, not at my request. Thus these figures show the activity of instantaneous free creation by these Indians. There were skillful and un- [463] skillful modelers among them; one boy and one youth in particular distinguished themselves by lively reproductions.

The wax figures represent human beings and animals. [184] They all stem from the northern horde of the Karajá; I found none among the southern horde. The three best representations of human figures come from the Šavajé.

/11/ The human forms show many correspondences with the stylized forms of the clay dolls; only five of them stand out due to their true-to-life representation.

*532 I obtained five specimens of male figures from the Karajá, 126 one of which (Fig. 63 /see p. 50 /) represents a Šavajé youth. Of the nine female examples six come from the Karajá and three from the Šavajé. Three examples from the Karajá represented Karajá women (Figs. 60, 61 /see p.50 /); the three others, which, as an exception, were made by a woman, represented Tapirapé women (Fig. 62 /see p50 /). These two groups remind one much more strongly of the clay figures, whereas the three figures from the Šavajé (Figs. 65 and 66 /see p. 50 /) represent the most accomplished forms.

*532 The primitively made human-figures look like clay figures covered with wax.

Fig. 57 /see p. 50 / has legs of type 1 of the clay dolls and arms attached at the sides. Head and hair form a triangle pointed toward the top.

/193 cont./

166 Therefore a slight shift to the south has taken place. It should
361 also be mentioned that in September of 1908 Chief Cyriáki detached himself from Cadete and moved to the village at the mouth of the Tapirapé, that is, the next one to the south (2). There were

2. Kissenberth mentions the first village above the mouth of the Tapirapé as Cyriáki's village.

two migrations from the north to the south horde, but only for the purpose of visits or trade. A few persons, however, seemed to wish to remain permanently with the south horde.

In the south horde the same villages were again found in October as in June. On the downstream trip eight villages with 19 houses and five abandoned villages with eleven houses were observed, on the upstream trip the same eight villages with 20
[463] houses, but two villages had been shifted and two branches had withdrawn (boatbuilders of the second and third village who had completed their work); moreover, three deserted villages with six houses were to be seen (3).

3. On the reason for the abandonment of the villages, see below under "House and Village" /see pp. 85 - 87/.

162 The increase in houses by one is attributable to the immigra-
166 tion of Šavajé, for on the upstream journey there were five male
361 and eleven female Šavajé in Schischá. Besides that, however, the number has shifted further: on the downstream trip I counted 70 men and 61 women, on the upstream trip 70 men and 78 women; thus, with the Šavajé, the increase from June to October amounted to five men and 28 women, or 33 persons. This increase is to be traced back, in addition to immigration by the Šavajé, to that from the north horde.

/219 cont./

304 881 the two circles drawn with black color on small children. In the case of boys, the time is determined according to when, after the last cropping, the hair reaches down to the tip of the nose in front and to the shoulders in back.

304 463 The tattooing is done by special persons who own stamps and stone knives and are called wairŭdŭ. There was only one such person in the south horde (in Village 6), whereas in the north horde there were several (for example, Ilk in Village 13). They are paid for this operation. No ceremonies of any kind are said to take place, and the children are not always tattooed together, but also singly on occasion, whenever one happens to be able to get hold of the master.

304 [622] The chief's tattooing, which is characteristic of chiefs and their wives, consists of vertical black strokes between the lower lip and the lower edge of the face, which are arranged side by side in one or sometimes also in two lines, one above the other (Ill. 53 a, b). According to Kurĭŭ, this tattooing is supposed to be peculiar to women. Even girls are said to have such lines of blue dots on the chin, which is supposed to be regarded as very beautiful. I never observed this last phenomenon, however.

515 /220/ e) Body care. The Indians bathe a great deal; usually they take a bath early in the morning, and even during the day they plunge into the water whenever they feel like it, in most cases probably to cool off by means of the subsequent evaporation of the water in drying.

515 824 388 Two plant products serve as soap in washing; first, a bark (ŭăbăkă = sabão do matto), from which one scrapes off a little, /Ills. 54-57 appear here/, rubs this in water, and washes himself with the lather thus produced; then there is a tree bast (doŭ) which is also used as soap for cleansing.

302 824 The rubbing of the body, the arms, and especially the hair with the fragrant resin (ăndilă) of the almecegeira (Hedwigia balsamifera), which is ordinarily stored in gourds, is very popular.

/220 cont./ The hole necessary for receiving the
304 ornament /221/ (ĭdjãrũlãnŏ) is pierced in the center of the lower
[52] lip at the age of about six or seven years. This operation is per-
[237] formed with a piece of bone from the howling monkey (ãzõdĭ =
[463] howling-monkey bone) and by special men, of whom there was only one in the south horde, in Village No. 7. Special ceremonies are not supposed to take place in connection with it, but the piercing seems to take place on the occasion of certain festivities.

*301 In this hole, plugs of bone, shell, wood, or stone are worn. They are regarded as the insignia of the male sex and are never removed, since, as a result of their narrow base, they are no hindrance in eating. Only a few old men sometimes had no lip plug. In barter, a few gave them up without further ado, others hesitated a bit at first and were embarrassed when they no longer had a plug stuck in the hole; generally they immediately made themselves a new one or inserted a reserve plug. The plugs are stuck through the hole from the inside and drawn out again in the same manner.

Ill. 58 a-c.
Wooden lip-plugs of the youths.

Ill. 59 a, b.
Wooden lip-plugs of older bachelors.

The lip plugs are made of different material and in different forms, according to age.

[237] The smallest boys wear plugs made from the bone of the howling monkey. These are about four to eleven centimeters long,

/279 cont./

437 Trading proceeded very quietly. The Indians brought their articles and stated their demands; after carefully examining the object, I made my offer, or possibly the object was refused. They regularly asked to see the article concerned, whether it was a bead chain, mirror, knife, shears, etc. Then it was given to an expert for approval; they have such persons for beads, iron implements, cloth, etc. Only after this one had expressed approval was the sale completed. Otherwise I was obliged to show other things. The exchanged object then went from hand to hand, was tested or tried on by everyone, and did not reach the hands of the owner until afterwards. Iron implements were subjected to the nail test, beads to the tooth test. Dull /280/ iron implements, beads that broke, or used objects were not accepted. For the rest, everyone let the others bargain for themselves, did not interfere, and gave his opinion only if asked, a very pleasant custom.

435 804 There are no special measures. They want knives and shears as large as possible; quality is less important. Otherwise I only saw how boats were measured. Ordinary boats reach from the foot to the knee, higher boats up to one handbreadth above the knee; for such boats the Indian pays two capybara teeth. In the barter with us the cupped hand or small gourds and mussel shells served as dry measures.

10. Techniques.

463 438 Apparently everyone makes his own implements and tools. Only occasionally did I observe that individual persons made certain things in larger quantities; for example, in Schischá pots and sieves were made, probably for Brazilian use; in José's village, hats, in Alfredo's village, mats were made in quantities. This and the statements about the purchase value of certain objects seem to point to a trade among themselves and accordingly probably also to manufacturing by certain persons beyond their personal needs.

/285 cont./

237 two holes in the center are sewed on the belt of the long string-
321 skirts of the girls (Ill. 69), as well as on the cylinder-bands of the dance masks. As spoons and scrapers they use mother-of-pearl mussel shells, which are only slightly worked, but are usually used in the crude state.

287 Concerning the feather technique, see below in connection with the tying, knotting, and plaiting technique /see pp. 233 ff./.

824 The utilization of the vegetable kingdom is very extensive. The cane species are used remarkably little; apparently the region is poor in them.

G. The wood of trees is made into boats, poles, oars, mortars and pestles, stools, lances, bows, throwing boards, arrow points, manioc grating boards, lip plugs, comb teeth, etc. Soft or hard woods are used, depending on the purpose. I was not always able to learn which kinds of wood were used for the individual implements. Spears consist of so-called aruera wood, bows of hard palm wood, boat poles of long, slender trees with very light wood. Soft wood is used for stools, lip plugs, and manioc grating boards; all the other implements consist of hard wood. Of the cane species, taquara is used as arrow shafts, gibade and similar types as ear rods.

396 I am most fully informed about boatbuilding. The boats
[462] are built by the men. All of them understand this art, though
[439] many confine themselves to buying boats from others in exchange
[463] for an iron axe. /286/ Apparently certain persons make boats in larger numbers for the village and then sell them. Thus, a few hours downstream from Schischá I met two families from this village who had erected temporary huts for themselves here in the wilderness, in order to build boats in the vicinity. The making of a small boat is said to take four days, a larger one eight days. These time estimates, however, seem to me to be
[824] very low. The trunk of the lantim tree (Calophyllum: dālīŏ) is used as material for the boats; Ehrenreich mentions pau d'arco and jatoba, Königswald also jatahy and others. The trees are felled in the forest and crudely worked; first the outer shape is hewed out with an ax and then the interior is likewise hollowed

28 /289 cont. /
462 nets is a task for the men, that of the mats a task for the women.
285 Usually several women work together on a mat; it is not difficult work, but the hard pulling and constant twisting of the weft threads (they are twisted only when they are plaited through) affects the fingers so much that deep, calloused ridges run across the finger tips of the plaiters. Apparently there are women in the [963] villages who provide the entire village with mats; at least large supplies of them were found in certain houses, and to buy them I was sent into specific huts where mats were made.

[824] For the plaiting which is done by the men, strips of buriti [962] bast and the leaf pinnae of the oaguassu palm are used. The 294 strips of buriti bast are used only in the making of hats. Appar- [177] ently the method of making hats is copied from the neighboring Brazilians. At least the shape is the same; but whether all the types of plaited strips which are sewed together spirally into a hat correspond to Brazilian designs, or whether there are innovations here, I do not know. The most common design, consisting of four-part strips with a notched edge, seems to be Brazilian, the other two, the eleven-part strip with a smooth edge and the nine-part strip with a smooth, double edge, may be original forms in view of the plaiting skill of the Indians (Ill. 139 a-c). These strips are sewed together with fine bast threads and a bone needle four centimeters long (Ill. 140).

285 For all other plaiting the leaf pinnae of the oaguassu palm are used. The material for this is stored in the houses in large /290/ quantities, mostly lying on the floor under mats; in Schischá it also lay on special forked racks on the long sides and in the roundings of the houses.

In the same way as for the house covering, two oaguassu fronds are laid with the ribs one on top of the other in the making of walls, fans, and eye shades, except that in this case the individual pinnae /Ills. 139 and 140 appear here/ are then plaited together. See the beginning of a piece of plaiting in Ill. 5 on Plate 58 /see p. 219/.

/32 cont./

765 If the survivors so desire, the bones are later dug up again and deposited in separate shallow clay containers near the grave.

Memories of the dead do not fade quickly. Long after the death of a family member, the devotion of his relatives is expressed in violent outbreaks of pain when a reminder of the deceased is evoked by some event. If, while examining storage baskets in the houses, we came across objects from the estate of departed spouses or children, the women broke out in loud lamentation, which stopped only when the object concerned was hidden again.

765 In the last Šambioa village I witnessed a scene of mourning
[464] as unique as it was touching, when the news arrived that a Karaya had died in Pará, where he had gone on a boat as a hired rower. His mother and wife paced up and down on the bank for two days, while solemnly mourning loudly in song, holding ornamental objects of the lamented in their hands and continually waving them downstream where he had disappeared.

[533] The mourning songs were continued, accompanied by other women, far into the night.

Sicknesses and Witch Doctors

164 On the whole the Karaya have been spared from the worst scourges of primitive peoples, smallpox and syphilis, just as little are they subject to the leprosy and goiter so widespread in the population of Goyaz. On the other hand tuberculosis, the infectiousness of which is well known to the Indians, is steadily increasing among the Karayahi. Ahi catarrho naõ tem? Is there no catarrh, too? is always the first question which they ask the foreign visitor before they allow him to enter their huts. Malaria fevers occur in their more intensive form also only in the Karayahi region, particularly in the lowlands between São José and the mouth of the Rio das Mortes.

757 Medicines are apparently used by the savage tribes of South America to a much lesser degree than one generally assumes.

/243 cont./

241 out the earth and heap up the beds, the point to loosen the earth, make holes, and lift out the roots. How the rest of the plants are planted is unknown to me; in the plantings ripe for harvest which I wandered through, they seemed to stand jumbled together. They grew so close together that it was hardly possible to pass through on the narrow path. In view of the height of the growths (three to four meters) a survey was not to be had, in contrast to the plantings of the Kayapó, which was laid out very clearly and in which the individual vegetables were planted in groups.

[462] The division of labor in the planting is such that the men lay out the planting and plant manioc and cara, while the planting of cotton, maize, batatas, and urucú is said to be the duty of the women.

The plantings are apparently so laid out that the families or the villages plant in one clearing; a separation within the planting according to families was not discernible, but nevertheless seems to exist.

Everyone works his plot himself; brothers usually work together. If one of them becomes [465] ill, a relative steps in for him. In this case, or if other assistance is required, the yield from the harvest is either divided into two parts or the helper is paid in arrows, pots, lances, net coverings, axes, spun cotton, etc. If widows [936] have grown sons, they plant for them; otherwise she asks the chief to have someone plant for her. He then appoints one of the villagers to take over this duty and pays him for it.

Ill. 83.
Planting implement of the Karajá.

The plantings are not protected against damage. They lie in the midst of the forest, without any kind of enclosure, so that animals, especially pigs and birds, do a great deal of damage. These harmful animals are pursued; the birds above all are chased away by cries.

1:Lipkind E-5 (1937) 1948 SP9 Caraja SP9

Weapons.—The *Carajá* use bows and arrows (pls. 20, *bottom, left;* 21, *left* and *center*), and their mythology indicates aboriginal use of the spear thrower for hunting monkeys. Recently, they have used a spear thrower of the upper Xingú River type for sport.

Pottery.—Pottery vessels include several forms of plain ware (fig. 20).

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

The kinship structure may be described as double descent. Both lines are important, the greater emphasis falling on the mother's line, and both lines serve different functions. Village citizenship, adoption, and the closest affectional ties are reckoned in the mother's line. Moiety membership and the offices of chief, priest, and food-divider are patrilineally inherited.

The fundamental unit of social organization is the village. Every village has one or more ioló, children of chiefly line, designated by the chief for preferential treatment by the members of the village. The chief names the ioló who is to succeed him or, if he fails to do so, the village makes the choice at his death. Girls of chiefly line are similarly chosen for preferential treatment; each of them is known as the "hidden woman." There is some indication that women functioned as chiefs in former times, but today there is no woman chief. The chief has no coercive powers but directs the village by recognizing the will of the majority in such matters as the selection of camp and garden sites and the announcement of a move at change of season. His principal function is to act as peacemaker, and people readily submit to his adjudication. Because of the importance of religious ceremonials, the priest and the shaman frequently exercise more authority than the chief. When all three offices are vested in a single individual, his authority may be considerable, but it is kept in check by the right of a discontented person to move at any time to another village.

Within the village the important unit is the household. Residence being matrilocal, a household consists of sisters, their husbands, children, and the husbands of grown daughters. Marriage is restricted to one's own generation, the preferred mate being a cousin on the mother's side. There is no sanction but ridicule against wrong marriages, and there are many cases of cross-generational marriage. Marriage is predominantly monogamous, but a few instances of polygyny and one of polyandry were encountered. The avunculate is very important and involves many social and especially ceremonial duties. Cooperation in the household is close and in the village fairly close. In addition, villages are grouped together in ceremonial units, generally consisting of three or four neighboring villages, which celebrate important feasts jointly. This ceremonial unit acts as an insurance group when a village's crop fails or its fish supplies grow scarce. Beyond this, the only intervillage ties

/28 cont./

also hold for the relationships prevailing among the Karaya.

621 The village communities composed of such family units, each of which has a particular name, seem to be like gau

476 [423] communities (2). The agricultural land belongs to the whole

[113] 2. Post, Stud. z. Entw. d. Familienrechts /Essay on the Development of Family Law/, p. 83.

[224] and is tilled in common. Hunting and fishing expeditions are

[226] also undertaken in common, and the yield in booty, field

622 produce, etc. divided among the families. The chief supervises all of these communal activities and achievements. He is

[421] supported by the community; the property of all tribal members

[597] belongs to him (3). On the other hand, it is his duty to adopt

[113] 3. Couto Magelhães, Peterm. Mitth., 1876, p. 121.

orphaned children, particularly the sons of those slain in war.

[178] The personal qualities to which he owes his office today are less

[648] prowess in war /29/ than the skill, experience, and linguistic knowledge required to deal with the Whites. Thus, even prisoners

[727] of war adopted into the tribe who distinguish themselves at this can achieve the position.

The chief organizes the war and hunting expeditions; he determines the camp sites and the locations of plantings and, after the burning over of the strip of forest (roça) concerned, divides the agricultural land, which is marked off by posts, among the individual families.

622 His effectiveness in the administration of justice is important.

627 In case of quarrels between men he acts as referee, while his wife decides those of the women. It is his duty to bring offenders to account, but he does not inflict the punishment, which, according to the Indian law of retaliation, is a matter for the injured party. Murder or bodily injury are therefore avenged by the relatives of the victim without further ado.

/201 cont./

342 The chief's house is a communal structure. It is built by all
496 the married men, while the activity of the young people is limited
437 to cutting out and tying together the leaves for the roofing. The chief pays for this with arrows, lances, and clubs.

342 Besides these houses there are lighter protective walls (1),

1. Fonseca already mentioned these protective walls in 1773: The tents consist of two mats, one of which serves as a rug, the other as protection from the sun. Rev. trim. 8, p. 378.

a type of wind screen, in the shade of which the family usually remains during the day, and where the cooking is done. On journeys they serve as the sole dwelling, and in the village as drying racks for the aprons of the women.

There are various kinds of such protective walls.

[829] 1. Walls: Walls of palm leaves are fastened to several vertical poles in the same way as for the house covering (nõbõ), or mats are tied to them, forming a vertical wall (bũlẽ). Such walls are encountered in almost all the houses, and they are usually fastened to three poles; also, however, walls of this kind which are twice as
[252] long occur. In their /202/ shade is usually found the hearth for cooking, and in front of them lie mats on which the family remains during the day (Pl. 12, Ill. 1; Pl. 41, Ill. 1).

2. Roofs (wãdõ): They are horizontally fastened to several poles put at the edge, usually to four, sometimes to three or six poles. Only mats are used here, and they are tied on with ropes. The mats usually fall down to the ground on the sunny side. Sometimes a protective roof of this kind is also built at one end of a mat wall (Pl. 41, Ill. 1; Pl. 10, Ill. 1). /Ills. 27 and 28 appear here./

361 The village (ĩzõ).

Ehrenreich says that the houses of the Carayahi usually consist of mat walls and stand in wild confusion, without any order. Only the Šambioá were said to have a street-like arrangement of the houses. This arrangement in rows that run parallel to the shore is also present

621 the Incas, and is met with to-day in Russia and elsewhere.
496 The hunting and fishing is participated in by all the men at the same time, and the proceeds of the day's chase are lumped together, then divided proportionately to all the families of the village; and those who have had "no luck" share equally with those who have been successful. To-day, they all go hunting at the command of their chief; to-morrow, they fish in the same way; and the next day, they all work on the village plantation. But in every case, the combined results of their efforts are divided equally according to the mouths
622 to be filled. All the doings of the village are directed by the chief. He holds in trust all the property of the local horde, and is supported by the community. Consequently, it is his
[597] duty to adopt all the orphans of the village, including the sons of warriors who fall in battle. It is not necessary, however, that he should excel in military skill. There are other qualifications that are considered more essential and of far more practical every-day value to one who would succeed as a chief. He must have sufficient experience, energy and diplomatic skill to enable him to deal harmoniously and successfully with civilized men. Therefore, a man who did not originally belong to the tribe but was adopted into it from some other, may become chief if he should excel in these particulars. He lays out all the work, plans the hunting and fishing expeditions, indicates the camping places and selects the ground to be planted. When the forest covering the land to be tilled has been cut down, allowed to dry and then burned, he stakes out the plot for each family composing the
622 village. He has also a very important duty to perform as a
627 sort of justice of the peace, and in enforcing the tribal laws. If two men quarrel, he adjusts the difference; while his wife adjusts differences between the women. He must also bring all culprits to justice, though he is not allowed to execute the sentence of the law. Custom demands that this shall be done by the wronged person. Murder and personal injury is avenged immediately, and without much ceremony, by the relatives of the victim. When the chief is informed of a rob-

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

The older children are left to
occupy and amuse themselves entirely as they may feel in- 857
clined. Nevertheless, they show a natural good behavior. [855]
But in observing them, the idea is somehow suggested to one that they are, to some extent at least, creatures of instinct, like irrational nature about them. In common with the brutes, they seem not inclined to go beyond limits whereby they might suffer injury. Just as the wild creature, left to itself, does not need to be governed or restrained by anything apart from itself for its well-being, neither do these wild children, apparently, need the oversight of their parents. There seems to be no danger that they will harm themselves, or get into trouble. They play naturally in a very quiet and restrained manner as if to avoid all possibility of attracting the attention of enemies. To sell children to traders, as is done in some parts of Brazil, particularly on the Amazon river, is unknown among the Karayá.

While still at a tender age, the children begin to imitate the doings of their elders. The boys amuse themselves with archery, and by fishing and swimming; and the girls aid their mothers in the household duties. Children's toys are 524
clay figures, small tops, miniature canoes, and even little cooking utensils, corresponding to the "tea sets" of civilized children. An amusement of which even adults are fond, is to play with a ball made of corn cobs and feathers, and a ring. Another, is a game known to many of us as "cat's cradle," which is the looping of a cord over the hands held some distance apart, and relooping and crossing it over the fingers from hand to hand so as to make it represent the figures of various animals. This game is common among the Indians [171]
of North America.

There appears to be clans among the Karayá. Each vil- 621
lage considers itself one large family—a paternal communistic society—possessing a distinct name, and having a certain district for its own peculiar hunting and fishing ground. The [423]
cultivated land—the little village plantation—is owned in com- [476]
mon, is tilled by all, and the products are divided systematically to each family. A similar arrangement existed among

/9 cont./

142 The bridge is narrow, markedly convex with a somewhat pendulous tip. The alae are usually somewhat drawn up, so that the round nostrils seem to be directed toward the front.

In size the women stand significantly behind the men, but are just as well proportioned. Their figures tend to be somewhat full in their youth. Almost all the younger individuals have uncommonly delicate hands and feet and a perfect form of the bust, but, like [853] all Indian women, they lose their charms very early; in particular the long breast-feeding causes excessive lengthening of the [481] breasts. In the case of older women, the weak development of the lower extremities and the waddling gait of the inwardly turned feet make an unpleasant impression.

The real skin-color of the Karaya is difficult to determine at first glance. Staying on the sun-scorched praias changes the bright yellow-brown of their complexions, which one can still confirm only under their large cotton cuffs and knee-bands, into a dark copper-
302 brown. Even this is not easy to see in the case of many individuals because of the /10/ body painting used to the broadest extent (Fig.. 1 /see p. 17 /). People painted black or red from head to foot are not rare. Others combine the black or red color into patterns which almost give the impression of European clothing. Black line-drawings on the face and extremities are the most popular.

302 Used for body painting are:

386 1. Urucú (uarerió). Paste made from the red berries of Bixa
[824] orellana.

[824] 2. The blue-black dye (beðēna) obtained from the seeds of the genipa (Genipa brasiliensis).

3. Soot. This is either simply scraped from the cooking pots and rubbed into the face or, mixed with genipa, it serves for diffuse painting of the whole body.

302 The line-decoration is put on with the fingers or little wooden
413 sticks, the diffuse coloring with a rag.

147 /184 cont. /In walking they are likewise placed outward. I never
[481] observed the frequently reported manner of walking, namely, that on the narrow paths one foot is placed in front of the other, although I conducted studies on this for days, walking behind different Indians on narrow Indian paths. Only if a tuft of grass interfered with the toes were these turned inward. Ehrenreich states that the second toe is the longest (p. 101) and that the fifth conspicuously recedes (p. 104). About the latter I did not observe anything, but in various cases I found that the great toe was considerably shorter than the second toe, as Steinen also observed on the Xingu. The great toe may shoot off far to one side. Apparently great individual differences must occur in foot
[826] formation, for the Indians recognize with certainty in the shape of the footprint in the sand (which probably also depends on the different way of stepping) the owner of the foot.

146 The bodies of the Indians generally give a well-nourished impression. It has already been noted above (p. 50) that a drum-like distended stomach is the rule among children, though the rest of the body does not by any means give an impression of weakness. Very well nourished persons (Pl. 44, Ill. 1) are regarded as the ideal of the Indians. Poorly nourished, positively emaciated persons are rare (Pl. 37, Ill. 1, the tallest). Thin women predominate by far, and such emaciation usually occurs in old age. In Villages 5 and 27 I saw a few very old people who were emaciated almost to skeletons (see also Ehrenreich, page 104).

147 Good nourishment gives the Indians good strength, which is hardened by rowing, work in the plantings, and practice in wrestling matches, so that even young people with slightly developed arm musculature have great endurance in rowing and often do surprisingly well in wrestling.

834 The sexual parts are visible only among the men. The foreskin of the penis in front of the glans is wound roll-like with a cotton thread; in this way the penis lies ball-shaped inside the skin, shortened, so that the entire male sexual organ, together with the testicles visible through the scrotum, gives the appearance of three balls (Pl. 36; 38, Ill. 2; 43, Ills. 1 and 3; 49, Ill. 1).

/275 cont./

8. Means of Transportation and Communication.

484 [361] The Indians do not like to travel by land. The north-south extension of their dwelling area along the river essentially requires boat trips from village to village. Land marches are undertaken only to visit the plantings or foreign tribes. For both purposes paths exist.

487 The paths are approximately 20-25 centimeters wide and are produced by the treading down or pulling up of clumps of grass; they do not go straight, but make slight meanderings. The 481 Indians walk on them single file, one behind the other. Their feet are not, as is often said, placed exactly one in front of the other, but rather, as I was constantly able to observe on marches lasting for days, the Indians turn their toes outward, exactly as we do; at most they sometimes turned their feet slightly inward when a taller clump of grass along the side required it. It is also very pleasant to walk barefoot on these paths; they are kept very clean and smooth.

485 For short marches, such as to the plantings, there are no special arrangements; it is different in the case of paths that lead cross-country for days and are more frequently traveled. They are provided with shelter-huts at intervals of a day's march, cooking places, ferry boats and water-transport vessels on either side of the waters. I traveled such a traffic route when I marched across Bananal Island in order to reach the Šavajé.

482 As a means of transport by land the back-baskets (bĕhūlĕ) are chiefly used; they are carried on shoulder-band and forehead-band and /276/ quite enormous loads may be transported in them (Pl. 57, Ills. 1 and 2). All other heavy loads are also carried on the carrying-band of brown bast (ōūnă), which is placed around the forehead or the chest; for example, the large carrying baskets (wāīīlĭ, Pl. 57, Ill. 3). For my knapsacks, the Indians likewise made themselves forehead-bands. Large sleeping mats are rolled up and transported crosswise upon the head.

/9 cont./

000 reception uncommonly difficult. It is certain that this language
197 is related to no other Brazilian language known up to now, although odd word-similarities with Gẽs dialects do occur.

198 Its noteworthy peculiarity is the existence of separate men's and women's languages, as is found in like manner among the Guaicuru and Chiquitanos. Only a few words, however, are completely different; for most of them the form is merely modified unimportantly. For instance, where two vowels come one after the other in the men's dialect, a k comes between the two in the women's dialect. Thus:

rain ♂ biũ, ♀ bikũ, maize ♂ mahĩ, ♀ makĩ.

At times the women's word merely has one more syllable at the end, etc. Probably the women have merely retained an older
104 form of the language. The native words printed in italics in the text are accented on the final syllable where something different is not expressly noted.

External Appearance, Clothing, Adornment.

142 According to their physical appearance, the Karaya represent one of the handsomer types among the tribes of Brazil. They are not particularly robust in stature, but rather are medium-sized and gracile; however, the slender body, the regularity of their limbs, the proud mien make them seem bigger than they really are. Their
[526] impressive muscular power, the elasticity and agility of their movements come to the fore especially in boxing matches, their
• [482] most popular sport. The neck musculature is very strongly developed, as among all Indians, which makes them capable of carrying enormous loads with a forehead-tumpline.

[141] The form of the skull is consistently hypsidolichocephalic, without especially prominent prognathism. The absence of eyebrow ridges make the face somewhat open. The eyelid, horizontal or slightly slanted, is remarkably small, but nevertheless does not lend the face a really Mongoloid appearance, because of the always very prominently projecting nose. The nose itself starts very far down.

/21/

285 Long parallel bundles of them are held together by twisted threads running through them in pairs. A single, continuous weft string is drawn through the whole. Where the string bends at the edge of the mat for the next woof, there are alternating loops, by which the plaiting is hung up. The woofs are placed at intervals of about three centimeters. The dimensions of these uncommonly durable, soft, and flexible mats are often very considerable. The two specimens in the collection are fan-shaped, almost twice as wide on one end as on the other. The length of the plaited part of the larger one amounts to 196 centimeters, and an unplaited width of 58 centimeters is left over. The width measures 135 centimeters on top, 234 centimeters on the bottom.

If a Karaya must remain standing for some time on the scorching hot sand of the praias, he protects the soles of his feet with a small mat of similar execution placed under them. The corresponding piece in the collection is plaited with black embira bast in a complementary pattern (Pl. VIII /see p.110 /, 13).

[824] For basket plaiting, besides the palms named, the smaller Mauritia species, carandasinha, split taquara cane, flexible cipos, as well as the so-called arimbamba, various species of vines, split maranta stalks, etc. are also used.

[482] 1. For transporting larger loads huge carrying-baskets (behåra) are made by simply plaiting two uaguassú leaves together. They are laid parallel to each other so that there is an interval of 30-40 centimeters between the ribs. The leaf pinnae, turned toward one another make up the back wall of the basket in diagonal crossing; those lying toward the outside, knotted one under the other on each side, make up the side parts. The bottom is formed by tying together their lower ends. The length of such a basket, supplied with strong carrying cords, can amount to three meters (1).

1. Concerning a quite similar utensil on the Congo, cf. Smithson. Reports, 1877, p. 287, with illustration.

[482] 2. The same palm provides the material for the round carrying-baskets (rorä). The edge consists of the middle rib split

/22 cont./

286 is wound around these without crossing and thus consists of two parallel rows of thread. The woof threads are now led in pairs from top to bottom with a long needle and knotted to a pair of warp threads one after another. Two woof threads always encircle two warp threads. Their distance from each other is always twice as great as that of the pair of warp threads. The woof threads are knotted at both edges.

Since various colors are chosen for different warp strands, one gets "redes" with red and black stripes. The background color is usually white.

On the same apparatus, however, real weaving of a taffeta-like texture can also be made. For example, the above-mentioned "rede" of the Yavahē consists of such material. Also the strong

[283] [532]

Fig. 7. Spindles (1/4).

[482] [531] [237] Also the strong carrying-bands of certain baskets, the black forehead-bands decorated with mother-of-pearl disks (Pl. VII /see p. 109/, 7), the black body-bands for children (Pl. VII, 3, 4), and the dance belts decorated with feather strips hanging down are made in this manner.

In this smaller weaving a single continuous woof thread runs through the whole warp. It was not learned whether special, handier tools were used for this.

The arm cuffs and leg bands are knitted over a heavy, cone-shaped wooden block (kāuarū) with a crochet needle (desi-tan), now usually of iron, insofar as this is not done on the body itself (Pl. VII, 9).

283 [301] The long fringe hangings falling over the chest and neck (Pl. VII, 2), as well as the shorter ones which are tied under the knee, a popular adornment for young people, are simple knotted work. Two strong parallel strands are entwined with a number of

Plate 15

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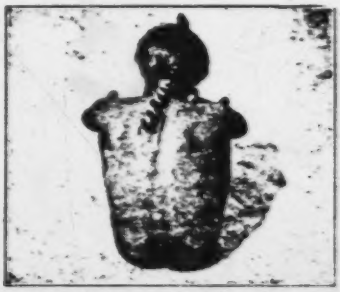
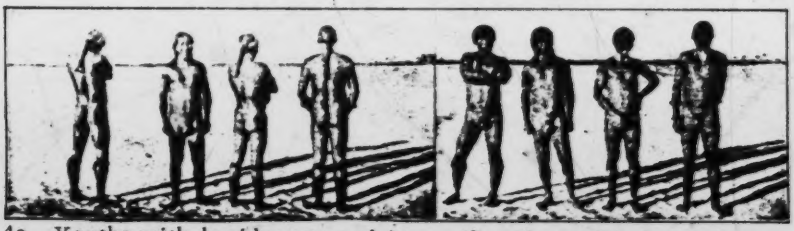
[482]

1. Youth in full ornamentation. Karajá.

3. Back-basket carrier. Karajá.



2. A Karajá youth's braid wrapped in bast.



4a. Youths with braids wrapped in red cotton cord.

4b. The same youths from the front.

/Pl. 15 faces p. 68./

/243 cont./

241 With the ripening of the foodstuff, the harvest begins. It is not gathered all at once, but rather every two or three days the foodstuffs required for this period are brought in. There are seldom larger supplies on hand in the village. This custom is a great [209] obstacle for a longer stay in the villages, for the Indians /244/ do not leave the villages during the stay of strangers (1), but use up

1. Fonseca already observed this custom in 1773. The Karajá had but little food, because the Chavánte had plundered their plantings and the Karajá therefore did not dare go to their plantings. Nor did they dare go hunting or fishing in Fonseca's presence, nor set out for their plantings with Fonseca's soldiers for fear that he might enter their villages in their absence, which they had refused him up to that time. Rev. trim. 8, p. 385.

their supplies, so that after two days there is nothing more on hand, and the stranger must either donate food or go along to the planting or else depart.

241 285 482 [962] Harvesting is generally done by the women. The harvest is packed into large back-baskets (bĕhĩlĕ), which are plaited out of two palm fronds in such a way that the ribs form the two longitudinal poles, and the same sides of the fronds, firmly plaited together, form the bottom, while the other sides, plaited by themselves, make the lattice-like edge (Plate 57, Ill. 1; the back-basket is 116 centimeters long, 34 centimeters wide, and 17 centimeters high). Sometimes the lower edge of the back-baskets is likewise firmly plaited (Plate 57, Ill. 2). The back-basket is worn on two shoulder bands and a forehead band of strong bast. It projects very high above the head, and under the heavy burden people walk with the upper part of the body bent far forward and the knees bent, usually leaning on a staff (Plate 15, Ill. 3). The contents are secured with wide bast bands which are laced across the load from edge to edge.

/258 cont./

262 scorned red-deer meat and tracajá eggs; others ate these things.
[177] Enlightened (civilized) Indians, who otherwise still believed firmly in all kinds of magic, ate everything.

G. Luxuries.

276 The Indians are familiar with only one luxury item:
[177] tobacco (kōtí). They maintain that they adopted the luxury of tobacco only from the Brazilians, and, to be sure, in about the
[249] first half of the nineteenth century. At that time they obtained seed (kōtílati) or shoots; at first they planted these in the mud, where only small plants grew; then they tried it in the plantings, where large plants grew. The custom of smoking is older, however. Fonseca reports in 1773 that they smoked their clay peace pipe in an easterly direction, apparently observing a ceremony (1).

1. Rev. trim. 8, pp. 378 and 387.

Probably they received merely another plant from the Brazilians.
249 /259/ Today tobacco is raised in the plantings, and it is planted by the men during the rainy season by placing seed kernels into the ground. Harvest begins "when the leaves begin to hang" (in July I already saw fresh tobacco leaves hung up to dry). The leaves are picked and brought into the house, where they are hung up to dry. When they are half-dry they are rubbed between the hands ("so that the tobacco becomes black"), then hung outside the house on a pole or a special sloping rack, and com-
[415] pletely dried. It is stored in the oblong baskets called lālá, and, to be sure, rolled up pad-shaped by the south horde (ilūlāŭ), plaited into a braid by the north horde (kō(ŭ)ǥā). (See Ill. 194, Šavajé /see p. 323/.)

276 The variety is evidently very light; its fragrance is not very pleasant, but the Indians smoke it passionately. They find
249 the tobacco of the Šavajé to be better and obtain seedlings from
438 them to improve their stock. Thus, on my return journey from
[437] the Šavajé I was accompanied by /Ills. 103-104 appear here/ a
[83]

/259 cont./

249 438 [437] [482] Karajá who had bartered arrows there for tobacco seedlings; his back-basket was fully loaded with the packets in which the plants were packed. The seedlings were well wrapped in leaves and bast into a large cylindrically shaped bundle that was reinforced all around with vertical bamboo rods and firmly laced.

276

They were most particularly mad for the heavy Goyaner /Goyana/ tobacco.

Smoking is done by old and young, men and women. Even babies are sometimes permitted to partake of this pleasure. Pipes are smoked throughout; maize-leaf cigarettes are not customary.

[824]

Ill. 103.
Fruit of the jequitiba tree, out of which tobacco pipes are made.

Ill. 104 a-c.
Tobacco pipes made out of jequitiba fruit. a) Crude form. b) Carefully worked, without groove. c) Carefully worked, with groove.

[824] /260/ The pipe (in men's language, wăliōnā́, wăliĭkŏkŏ́; in women's language, wăliĭkŏkŏ́) is made out of the fruit (ăriĭkŏkŏ) of of the jequitiba tree (Hymenea sp.) (Ill. 103). The fruit, approximately seven centimeters long, is closed with a stopper. When it is ripe, the stopper falls out and the fruit kernels fall to the ground.

/275 cont./

8. Means of Transportation and Communication.

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/276 cont./

482 Smaller loads are carried in containers on a hand-strap, for
415 example, in carrying sacks (mãsĩ; Pl. 57, Ills. 5 and 6), carrying bags (lõlũ; Pl. 57, Ill. 4), two-piece baskets (wrãbãhĩ; Pl. 57, Ills. 16 and 17), small pouches (Pl. 55, Ill. 6 a-c), or in small gourd vessels, the perforated edges of which hold the carrying-bands or which are either plaited round with bast (dãlĩlĩkũ) or are set into a net of black cotton plaiting (wãlãbũkũ; Pl. 56, Ill. 4 a-c).

854 Children ride on the hip and are held there with the hand (Pl. 12, Ill. 4; Pl. 37, Ill. 2; Pl. 42, Ills. 2, 3).

501 Their principal journeys take place by water in a boat. The
[489] boat (ãwõ), of which there is one or more in each family, consists of a dugout six to ten meters long and 40-60 meters wide. The two ends are greatly elongated and slope up from below, so that getting on and off the sandbanks is easily accomplished (Pl. 56, Ill. 5). The boats have no seats; one squats or sits on the narrow bottom. Sometimes cross-rods are put in, upon which the cargo is placed to protect it from the bilge water. In one place
[372] in the boat there is often a layer of loam upon which lies the smoldering wood for transporting fire.

The boats are propelled with oars and poles; both are used in journeys upstream and downstream, the poles, of course, only in shallow water. The oars (nãlĩhĩ) are manipulated freely as paddles, and, indeed, the rowers kneel or sit in the boat, their
[502] faces in the direction of travel. If the boat is propelled by one man, he sits at the rear end and steers at the same time; with a crew of two men, one sits at the front end and one at the rear; several rowers distribute themselves over the entire boat. In the latter case, the rowing rhythm is entirely spontaneous, since the
[533] ones in the rear must adjust to the man in front. The song which young people like to take up while rowing has nothing to do with the rhythmical rowing. There are various ways of working the oars: short strokes with pauses after each stroke; long, evenly spaced strokes; slow strokes with a lifting of the blade at the end, so that the water falls off the blade in a broad surge, are regarded
[147] as a particularly elegant manner of rowing. The Indians have great endurance; they row for many hours without interruption.

5: Krause--201 1-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9

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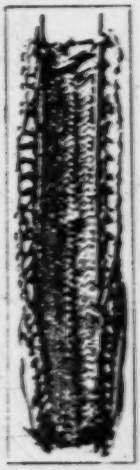
1. Sack basket.

3. Round carrying-basket with forehead band.



2. Back basket.

12.

4. Carrying bag.

5. Carrying sack.

6. Carrying sack.

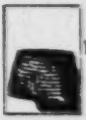
13.

12 and 13. Oblong basket plaited out of a leaf pinna.

8.

9.

10.



11.

8-11. Baskets with square bottoms and round openings.

7. Pointed-oval basket.

14. Basket-bowl, both plaited out of two pinnae each.

15. Basket,

16. Two-piece basket, opened.

17. Two-piece basket, closed.

/358 cont./

301 Dance belts (wǎdǎkǎnǎ) of the male youth are not as elaborate as those of the Karajá, but are kept essentially simpler. One specimen is striped black and white lengthwise; on its lower edge, on a separate string, hang two bunches of Thevetia fruits and one to three feather rods, alternately. The other one, coming from Schischá, in addition to the lengthwise stripes, exhibits a cross-striping; on its lower edge, directly alternating, are fastened at each place two pairs of Thevetia fruits and one feather rod (Pl. 59, Ill. 12).

262 6. Food. The Šavajé, like the Karajá, live on the fish that they catch and the yield from their plantings. The lake
136 on which they live is extremely rich in fish, in spite of its shallow depth (0.75 to one meter); there were even pirarucús
311 in it. The planting lay far from the village, about six or seven hours away, on the edge of the rainy-season lake. It was growing extremely well and so thickly that one could scarcely follow the path in it. Close beside the new planting there was an older one.
● 482 Here and there filled back-baskets lay by the wayside, waiting to be picked up.

252 The manioc is pounded in a knee-high mortar (kōō) which
[912] has an approximately finger-thick wall, with a pestle (hāáu) of reddish wood 1.6 meters long and 0.10 meters thick, or it is rubbed on a wooden grater (wōlānǎkiǎ), /359/ picked over on the rod-sieve (brēdjě), and pressed in it. Then this meal is
262 mixed with water and cooked. Such manioc mush (iūālū) also constitutes the chief food of the Šavajé. In addition, I also saw yellow mush and green vegetables as festive foods.

226 Fishing was done by the young people with bows and arrows. Early in the morning they would already go out on the
[123] lake and soon return with a good yield. I received my share of everything, even of the huge pirarucú which was caught on the second forenoon. The lucky fisherman took out the entrails of the animal and then cut out the sides of the belly, which were distributed by the chief and placed on different piles. Then the rib pieces of three ribs each were chopped out and likewise distributed. Every family received its share; I, too, was given some.

/362/

411 The arrow thrower (hãõbĩ) was relatively common. Whereas in the 22 villages of the Karajá I did not see any, but merely acquired a model, I found three specimens in this one small Šavajé village (Ill. 198). The implement is still used for fishing, bird hunting, and as a weapon for sport. One can execute high, horizontal, and low shots with it. The handle, 36-40 centimeters long, 3.5-6.5 centimeters wide, is edged and curved and has a small button at the lower end. The hole for the index finger is quite large and rectangular or square in shape. The staff, 30-35 centimeters long, is round and bears a small hook of bone, which is fastened with tight, fine lashing. Sometimes a few little feathers hang down from this lashing as an ornament.

I did not come across any other weapons among the Šavajé.

501 184 8. Transportation and communication. The boats are the same as those of the Karajá, but usually very long and very wide. The oars differ from those of the Karajá mostly by the fact that the cylinder on the handle bears four grooves (Ill. 199). Back- 482 184 baskets and other baskets are likewise similar to those of the Karajá. The back-basket [bãh(ĩ)ũlã] is also plaited at the lower edge, so that, when it is carried, the contents have firmer support than is the case in the Karajá back-baskets. It is 158 centimeters long, 27 centimeters wide, and has an edge 12 centimeters 285 high. Among the baskets I observed large carrying-baskets (wãlĩlĩ) plaited, with patterns, out of oaguassu palm pinnae, which are carried with a bast carrying-band, also oblong baskets (dãdã), which likewise show patterning and are carried on a carrying band, oval baskets with a cover (wãlãbãhĩ), and, finally, carrying sacks, and, to be sure, some of mat plaiting (mãnsĩ), some which are plaited diagonally out of one palm leaf (lõlĩ), and rectangular sacks plaited out of two palm leaves (lõlĩ), the two ribs forming one longitudinal edge, whereas on the other and on the bottom edge the pinnae of both fronds are plaited together (Pl. 61, Ill. 3). [184] (Cf. Ehrenreich, Berlin 3886, Karajá.) All other baskets and such mentioned are identical with those of the Karajá.

graceful, and their limbs are well balanced. Their proud 142
bearing makes them appear larger than they really are. Their
great muscular power, elasticity, and quickness of movement, 142
is displayed to advantage in their wrestling games, which 147
are their most loved sport. The muscles of the shoulders, [526]
especially, are highly developed in both sexes, because they [482]
have been trained from childhood to carry heavy weights
on their backs, supported by a band which passes over the
forehead. The eye-brow ridge is flat, giving the appearance 142
of an open face, and the eyes are but slightly almond-shaped.
The women are much smaller than the men, are well proportioned, and have pretty hands and feet. The bust of the younger individuals is perfect, but they soon lose their beauty of form. It is difficult to determine at first just what the color of their skin is. Living, as they do, in the glowing heat of the sun on the sand-bars, their skin, which is really a clear, yellow-brown color, is turned into a dark copper-brown. This clear yellow-brown is found only under their heavy armlets, wristlets and leglets.

Many paint, or, more correctly, grease themselves from 302
head to foot a red or black color, or both; while others prefer brown, red and black. Sometimes a young warrior has himself painted in such a fashion, that seen at a short distance, he appears to be wearing a black European cutaway coat buttoned at the top with one button; while another has black rings painted around his brown body from his shoulders to just above the knees, giving him the appearance of being dressed in a bathing suit. Others, again, paint their faces black. But they like, best of all, to paint black lines on the faces and the extremities. The painting is done with a bit of wood, or with the fingers. Both sexes chop the hair off straight across over the forehead, leaving it in the form of "bangs," and allow it to drop down behind over the [110]
shoulders. It is straight, black and coarse, like a horse's tail. Many of the young men, corresponding to what we call "dudes," clip a path, an inch wide, like a very wide part from the forehead back to the crown, and cut the hair of the

/187 cont./

101 The Karajá proper (2). They call themselves: kărăjă̆,

2. As explained above, I mean by Karajá the Indians called Carayahĭ by Ehrenreich. In
[104] accordance with the rather sharp J sound, which was often pronounced like dj, I was obliged to change the spelling to Karajá.

karădjă̆, or krădjă̆. In addition, ĭnă̆ and ĭnau̯ḷă̆ were given as designations for themselves. They are called Karayá by the Brazilians. Among the Šavajé, according to their own statement, they are called šŭšomădŏ or bĕrĕhŏkŭwăndŭ, among the
131 Cherénte wārăšŭtŏrŏ. They inhabit the middle course of the
[439] Araguaya, at present from 15° 15' to 10° 12' south latitude; their boundaries are thus the mouth of the Rio Vermelho in the south, a place between the north end of Bananal Island and Santa Anna in the north; only occasionally do they undertake trade voyages to Santa Maria and Conceição. In general they
[648] are confined to the banks of the river and its immediate hinterland, and they inhabit both shores equally; today, at any rate, there can no longer be any talk of the habit of avoiding the
484 west bank out of fear of enemies (3). They also extend their
[437]

3. Moraes Jardim, O Rio Araguaya;
[113] Ehrenreich, "Südamerikanische Stromfahrten," p. 38.

fishing and trading expeditions over large stretches on either side. In the east they visit the Šavajé in the interior of Bananal, but avoid going there in small numbers. In the west they navigate
[361] the large tributaries. In the Rio das Mortes, 15 leagues above the mouth, there is supposed to be a small Karajá village; they allegedly do not go farther upstream here. They travel
[225] up the Rio Cristallino for a stretch to fish for turtles. On the
131 Rio Tapirapé they go just below the waterfall; a tree with two bullet-tracks, a fire area, and the remains of utensils mark the boundary here against the Tapirapé Indians.

/188 cont./

36 Tŭmănăkŭ (said to have died in September 1908), João III,
[162] Alfredo, Cyriăki-Cadete (Cyriăki moved to the mouth of the
[622] Tapirapé in September 1908), village on the mouth of the Tapirapé, village of the chief João II, José, Fŏtŭnă, Ilk, village on the Izabel Morro, Cadete João, village of the deceased Cincinàti. The villages are divided into three groups and an
[484] outlying settlement: Walata lives four days' journey (the days'
[622] journeys are calculated for the descent in a rowboat) below
[578] Crisote, since he is hostile to all the Karajá and therefore is duly feared by them; in the fall of 1908, however, there seems to have been a reconciliation between them. Crisote also lives somewhat isolated, namely, a full day's journey below Tumanakŭ. From Tumanakŭ to José there is a string of villages; the average distance between them is a three hours' journey. Only the village on the mouth of the Tapirapé is a trip of four or five hours away from either of the two neighboring villages. Between José and Fotuna there is a distance of one and a half days' journey; then the villages again follow at shorter distances.

[622] A branch of the north horde is the Karajá village of Chief Kŏrŭmăré along the river on Bananal, located a day's march to the east from the village of José. /Pl. 38 appears here./

36 /189/ The south horde lives from the Rio Crixá to the Rio
[162] Vermelho in eight fixed settlements: on the Lago Luiz Alves,
[103] below and above the Rio Crixá, on the Lago de Café, in São José (ãũwĭ), just above São José (hŏlĕnĕkă), just below the Rio de Peixe (šĭšă), on the mouth of the Rio Vermelho above
[484] Leopoldina (šĭšămãdŏ). These villages, too, are divided into several groups: three villages lie on the Rio Crixá at a distance of about three to four hours' travel apart. The village on the Lago de Café is midway between Rio Crixá and São José and is
[103] about four to six hours of travel in distance from the two. Near
[484] São José there are two villages: šĭšă is one and a half days' journey away; šĭšămãdŏ is two and a half days' journey from
[621] šĭšă. šĭšămãdŏ is an outlying settlement that has existed for

[TEXT Continues on P. 62]

/190 cont./

175 In 1772 José Machado meets Karajá, apparently on Bananal
167 Island. In 1773 Fonseca visits the Karajá north of the southern tip
[162] of Bananal, they occupied nine villages with 9,000 inhabitants,
three villages of which belonged to the Šavajé.

175 Transplantings to the south, into aldeamendos, took place
167 from 1782 on. In this year 700 Karajá were transplanted to São
648 José de Mossamedes near Goyaz, where they gradually perished.
[164] In 1786 Carretão was founded for Chavánte and Šavajé; most of
[165] the Indians succumbed to a measles epidemic, and the survivors
were taken to Salinas in 1788, where they likewise gradually
perished. A removal of the Indians to the south near these "cen-
[131] ters of civilization" did not take place at that time, however,
for in 1792 Souza Villa Real, when he traveled downstream from
the Rio Vermelho out of the Araguay, did not find any Indians as
far as the south end of Bananal. It was only at the beginning of
[484] the nineteenth century that the Karajá seem to have come to
Salinas occasionally to visit their fellow tribesmen settled there.
Thus, Silva Souza reports that between 1809 and /191/ 1812 they
came to Salinas in order to submit peaceably, but that they moved
back to their villages on the river as a result of a dispute; un-
fortunately, it is not said where these villages were. Cunha
[439] Mattos reports in 1824 that the Karajá at times came to Salinas
[172] in order to buy iron implements there (1). These conditions

1. Rev. trim. 37, p. 363.

lasted for many decades, for Castelnau reports in 1844 that the
Karajá occasionally came from the Araguaya to Salinas, in part
to visit their fellow tribesmen, in part to plunder the plantations
175 of the Brazilians (2). He himself did not come across any villages
13
36

2. Vol. 1, pp. 372, 377, 383.

from the mouth of the Rio Crixá to the southern end of Bananal,
but reports that the fixed settlements start only after the division,
and, to be sure, on the western arm, and that up to the Rio das

/203 cont./

361 The houses in general are oriented in such a way that one long side faces northwest, north, or northeast, thus providing shade.

[592] Each house is occupied by only one family; to each house
[340] there generally belongs a mat wall, a supply stand, and one or two hearth areas.

[346] The mask hut lies away from the village, at a distance of about 200 meters.

624 The villages of the Karajá are small; many consisted of only one or two houses, the largest of eight huts (1). Ehrenreich be-

1. Rufino has already reported that the villages of the Karajá have only eight to ten huts on the average. Rev. trim. 10, p. 208.

lieves that this dispersion must be traced back to a lack of means
[511] of subsistence. This is scarcely to be assumed, since there is suf-
[578] ficient food, especially fish. In my opinion, it is conditioned first
[571] by the many disputes that seem to prevail among the families of the Karajá and lead to the departure of some of them, and then by the prevalence of personal attitudes concerning the feeling of sociability; many families live permanently isolated in one place because they happen to like it there.

It is noteworthy that the villages decrease in size from north
[166] to south. This may be explained by the direction of migration of the Karajá: the bulk of them still live in the north; toward the south, the first to be sent are advance groups, which, of course, are small in number.

361 On journeys the Karajá pitch camps of mat roofs or walls,
•484 in the shade and shelter of which they live and sleep. The walls are, of course, oriented in such a way that they provide as much shade as possible and as long as possible; hence they usually stand approximately from west to east, and likewise arranged in rows (Pl. 13, Ill. 1). If a village is moved, the Indians live under mat walls until the houses are erected (Pl. 41, Ill. 2).

221 The villages do not remain permanently in one place. During
361 the dry season, the Indians live on the sandbanks of the river, which,

/230 cont./

*301 283 are called kōdēsĭ, in both cases their hangings hang down only on the outer side of the arm. The lower-arm bands are worn behind the arm cuffs (dēsĭ). In this ornament, too, a plaiting of the upper part sometimes occurs (Ill. 74 a, b). For such calf bands, which are worn underneath the real calf bands, /231/ two names were mentioned: ūljāŭ and wŏdāĭdĭ. In this case the fringe hangs all around the leg (Ill. 75).

*301 [237] b) All other ornaments are worn only by the unmarried; married persons have no feather ornaments, whereas young people are abundantly provided with them, though they seldom wear them. The ornaments most often worn are the feather caps (boys), bead necklaces, and finger rings, as well as cotton belts with feather hangings. All other ornaments seem to be worn only occasionally for dances, festivities, etc. [415] In between times they are carefully stored in the elegant, long, covered baskets. The female youth wear only necklaces and finger rings; the girls also wear feather caps and feather arm-bands. One girl nine to eleven years old wore the following ornaments: feather cap, red ear-rosettes, black neck-tassels with snail shells, feather arm-bands behind the red cuffs, black belt with gray bast-apron over it, a long black string-skirt to go with it, and, finally, calf bands (Pl. 18).

[484] [177] On journeys my Indians had no ornaments; some of them wore Brazilian clothing, as well as lip plugs and native finger-rings. Almost all of the single ones tied a piece of fish line around their ankles. [184] It was remarkable that in the villages of the north horde located north of the Tapirapé mouth there was only a little ornamentation and feather ornaments were almost entirely lacking.

[184] The village on the Tapirapé mouth occupies a special position. All strikingly divergent forms, which will be specially discussed in the following, come from this village. I cannot decide whether this is a coincidence or whether there is Tapirapé influence here.

[237] [114] Of the feather head-ornaments mentioned by Ehrenreich, I did not see the following

/275 cont./

8. Means of Transportation and Communication.

484 [361] The Indians do not like to travel by land. The north-south extension of their dwelling area along the river essentially requires boat trips from village to village. Land marches are undertaken only to visit the plantings or foreign tribes. For both purposes paths exist.

487 The paths are approximately 20-25 centimeters wide and are produced by the treading down or pulling up of clumps of grass; they do not go straight, but make slight meanderings. The 481 Indians walk on them single file, one behind the other. Their feet are not, as is often said, placed exactly one in front of the other, but rather, as I was constantly able to observe on marches lasting for days, the Indians turn their toes outward, exactly as we do; at most they sometimes turned their feet slightly inward when a taller clump of grass along the side required it. It is also very pleasant to walk barefoot on these paths; they are kept very clean and smooth.

485 For short marches, such as to the plantings, there are no special arrangements; it is different in the case of paths that lead cross-country for days and are more frequently traveled. They are provided with shelter-huts at intervals of a day's march, cooking places, ferry boats and water-transport vessels on either side of the waters. I traveled such a traffic route when I marched across Bananal Island in order to reach the Šavajé.

482 As a means of transport by land the back-baskets (běhūlĕ) are chiefly used; they are carried on shoulder-band and forehead-band and /276/ quite enormous loads may be transported in them (Pl. 57, Ills. 1 and 2). All other heavy loads are also carried on the carrying-band of brown bast (ōūnă), which is placed around the forehead or the chest; for example, the large carrying baskets (wālīlĭ, Pl. 57, Ill. 3). For my knapsacks, the Indians likewise made themselves forehead-bands. Large sleeping mats are rolled up and transported crosswise upon the head.

/276 cont./

482 Smaller loads are carried in containers on a hand-strap, for
415 example, in carrying sacks (mãsĩ; Pl. 57, Ills. 5 and 6), carrying bags (lõlũ; Pl. 57, Ill. 4), two-piece baskets (wrãbãhĩ; Pl. 57, Ills. 16 and 17), small pouches (Pl. 55, Ill. 6 a-c), or in small gourd vessels, the perforated edges of which hold the carrying-bands or which are either plaited round with bast (dãlĩlĩkũ) or are set into a net of black cotton plaiting (wãlãbũkũ; Pl. 56, Ill. 4 a-c).

854 Children ride on the hip and are held there with the hand (Pl. 12, Ill. 4; Pl. 37, Ill. 2; Pl. 42, Ills. 2, 3).

50 Their principal journeys take place by water in a boat. The
[484] boat (ãwõ), of which there is one or more in each family, consists of a dugout six to ten meters long and 40-60 meters wide. The two ends are greatly elongated and slope up from below, so that getting on and off the sandbanks is easily accomplished (Pl. 56, Ill. 5). The boats have no seats; one squats or sits on the narrow bottom. Sometimes cross-rods are put in, upon which the cargo is placed to protect it from the bilge water. In one place
[372] in the boat there is often a layer of loam upon which lies the smoldering wood for transporting fire.

The boats are propelled with oars and poles; both are used in journeys upstream and downstream, the poles, of course, only in shallow water. The oars (nãlĩhĩ) are manipulated freely as paddles, and, indeed, the rowers kneel or sit in the boat, their
[502] faces in the direction of travel. If the boat is propelled by one man, he sits at the rear end and steers at the same time; with a crew of two men, one sits at the front end and one at the rear; several rowers distribute themselves over the entire boat. In the latter case, the rowing rhythm is entirely spontaneous, since the
[533] ones in the rear must adjust to the man in front. The song which young people like to take up while rowing has nothing to do with the rhythmical rowing. There are various ways of working the oars: short strokes with pauses after each stroke; long, evenly spaced strokes; slow strokes with a lifting of the blade at the end, so that the water falls off the blade in a broad surge, are regarded
[147] as a particularly elegant manner of rowing. The Indians have great endurance; they row for many hours without interruption.

/277 cont./

501 The boat is pushed over shallow places; to get over ex-
[502] posed sandbanks extending crosswise, wooden rollers are laid down on which the boat is rolled across (Ill. 9).

There are no anchors for securing the boat; stones with plaiting around them serve only as anchors for the bottom tackle for turtles. The boats are easily pulled up on the bank, and the boat pole is stuck into the sand through the loop; this is the whole mooring.

[415] Half-gourds are used to scoop out the water that enters.

[532] I saw decorated boats only in Village No. 20. Here, on
[484] the inner wall of a boat, there were light-colored human figures;
[211] another boat had 36 notches on the edge, which were said to be the number of nights required for a journey to the Sambioá.

484 Such trips lasting for weeks are usually undertaken in a large company; often the entire village sets out in a great number of boats packed high. By themselves the Indians only make
[262] journeys of one or two days. By way of /278/ provisions they take only a little with them: manioc, maize, and the cooking pot; the fish are caught on the way twice a day. Rower and helmsman change places daily on longer journeys, especially if only two men are traveling in the boat.

502 Shipwrecks sometimes occur, especially while crossing the
132 river in a storm. Such accidents, in which Indians lost their lives and of which several examples were recounted to me, are easily explainable in view of the high waves which storms create on the river and the narrow, low boats of the Indians. In fact, I myself with my boats (dugouts with one or two side planks set on them) was often forced to seek refuge from wind and waves for hours on high banks or on sandbanks.

The Indians endure bad weather on the journey rather simply. They quickly build themselves small sheltering walls out of poles and prepared palm leaves, which they always carry with them on longer journeys, or they pull the boat on land, turn it upside down, and lie down under it wrapped in their coverings beside a fire which they light in the center. They spend the worst nights of storm and rain in this manner.

/278 cont. /

9. Trade, Money, Measures.

484 The Karajá undertake their boat trips and land journeys almost entirely for the sake of fishing and for supplies of raw ma-
439 terials. Trade among themselves is carried on only during
438 occasional visits. For example, Pedro took huge quantities of urucú kernels along to his home (Village 2) from Village 19, as the reason he said that there was no urucú above the Rio Tapirapé; he probably meant none of the one particular, very highly appreciated kind providing red coloring. In the villages north of the Tapirapé mouth there was also urucú coloring matter pressed into rolls or into the form of flat cakes, which were sold in such packings. The south horde seems to be dependent on the north horde in various other respects: they buy or bought bow wood, red coloring for painting the pots, stones for stone axes, net coverings, stone lip-plugs, and tamed araras from the north horde, who either produce these themselves or acquire them from the Tapirapé or Šavajê.

From the Šavajê, who are regarded as very rich, they buy tobacco seedlings, manioc roots, arrows, net coverings, etc.

437 They carry on trade with the Brazilians, in part through the
439 Brazilian boats passing by, to whom they offer wax in large balls for calking their boats, as well as manioc, chickens, and fish, in exchange for tobacco, salt, farina, beads, and knives, and in part on great trading expeditions which they themselves undertake in August and September to Santa Maria and sometimes even to Conceição. For this purpose they collect beforehand on their fishing expeditions in the Rio Tapirapé and the many lakes of the river great quantities of turtles, turtle eggs, dried fish, etc., in order to exchange these in the large Brazilian towns for products of European civilization, /279/ especially iron tools, material for blankets for the cold nights, ornamental beads, tobacco, and salt.

437 There are no special standards of value in trade; simple
435 barter still takes place. Among themselves, however, they have fixed prices: a boat costs one ax or two ca, ybara teeth, etc.

/275 cont./

8. Means of Transportation and Communication.

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/326 cont./

586 longer wants the other. In any case the children remain with the father. The divorced wife keeps her property. Ehrenreich re-
[587] ports ("Beiträge," p. 27) that a man who rejects his wife may not marry again, but merely takes a housekeeper. According to my observations, the case from Village No. 5 reported above is quite typical. Contempt is by no means the lot of such a man, as Königswald reports (1).

[113] 1. Globus, Vol. 94, p. 237.

589 Widows and orphans. Widowed persons again don their leg
768 and arm bands. The widower lives like a bachelor; he may marry again, but generally does so only if he has children who need a mother. Otherwise he is afraid of the work incumbent on a husband. Widows continue to live in the house, which, of course, is their property. They may marry again. They get their
836 maintenance from the chief, in case there are no grown sons who are able to care for them. Otherwise the chief appoints someone who is to plant and fish for her, and pays him for it. Orphans are reared and provided for by the brother of the mother.

836 Extramarital sex life. The girls do their utmost to preserve their purity; thus, they do not go into the forest alone, for fear of the young men. If a girl nevertheless has misfortune, she is not punished, at any rate not in the south horde. Even in
[114] this case she is married by another party. I was unable to learn anything about the severe punishment for premarital intercourse and adultery, as reported by Ehrenreich and Königswald. /327/
[548] Before marriage, the men enjoy complete freedom. In many
[985] villages there are Tapirpaé and Šavajé women who serve as prostitutes and are also put at the disposal of strangers. The Karajá nevertheless also seem to become involved occasionally in adventures even with tribal members. Pedro flirted in many villages with young girls whom he called his primas (cousins); in Camp No. 23 proposals for nocturnal trysts were made to him by two women, but he refused them. I did not discover anything about the arrangement of viri viduarum, about which Ehrenreich reports from Magalhães ("Beiträge," p. 28).

1:Lipkind E-5 (1937) 1948 SP9 Caraja SP9

252 minutes, then allowed to stand for a while. The resulting fermentation is not allowed to continue long enough to produce an intoxicating drink.
362 This soup, along with a similar soup made of maize, is a daily staple.
252 Manioc and ground maize are also made into cakes, but this is a holiday variation of diet rather than the staff of life as in other regions. The standard methods of cooking meat, fish, and vegetables are boiling, roasting on a spit, roasting on a grate, and roasting in the embers. Occasionally, some vegetables are baked in hot sand. Maize is the only food that
[251] is stored. On platform shelves at the top of their rainy-season houses, the *Jcvahé* pile a supply of maize dried on the cob sufficient to last throughout the dry season.

HOUSES AND VILLAGES

361 The permanent or rainy-season village is erected on a high bank overlooking the river. One or two rows of houses face the river, and the men's
[535] house, about 50 feet (15.2 m.) back, faces down river. All the space between the men's house and the family houses is kept perfectly clean and constitutes the dancing plaza of the village. The surrounding clearing extends only a few yards in all directions. All neighboring forest which must be traversed in hunting or gathering is threaded by well-marked
[487] trails. A path leads down from the center of the village to the main port where women, married men, and children bathe, and married men land their canoes. Another path cuts diagonally down from the men's house to the bachelor's port where the young men bathe and visitors to the masked dances land their canoes.

342 The house is rectangular in ground plan with supported horizontal ridge poles (fig. 18). Saplings are sunk into the ground at the sides and

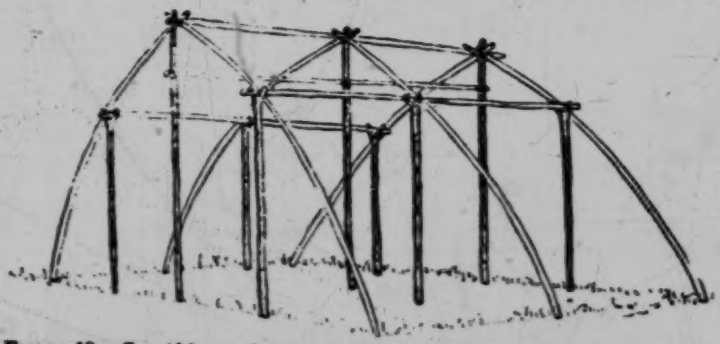

FIGURE 18.—*Carajá* house frame. (Redrawn from Ehrenreich, 1891 b, fig. 3.)

bent over to the ridge pole at the top, where they are firmly tied with bast. Then the whole structure is tightly thatched with successive overlapping layers of palm frond tied to the saplings (pl. 20, *top*). The entrance is a small rectangular opening at the bottom, through which one crawls after

/275 cont./

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/352 cont./

175 forced them to retreat, with a Šavajé walking on either side of each Brazilian. When the steamer whistled upon departure, many Šavajé, out of terror, leaped from their canoes into the river. In any case, from then on great fear prevailed among the Brazilian population concerning the more powerful Šavajé.

361 [162] [131] 2. Dwelling sites. On the basis of my inquiries among the Karajá, the Šavajé live in the interior of Bananal Island in three to five villages which are distributed over a long stretch of territory. The northernmost small village is said to lie in the interior, three to four days above the north end of Bananal Island. The main village lies, in the dry season, about eight days above the mouth of the Furo on a sandbank at the entrance of a brook (outlet of the inland lake?). In the middle of August it is moved into the interior. It is said to be very large, "like a city"; Pedro drew six rows, each with 20-25 houses, in the sand. The bachelors [346] are said to sleep in the mask house, located apart. Farther south, one to two days (?), one or two small villages lie in the interior [114] of Bananal. I visited one of them from Karajá Village No. 15, from which it is located quite directly east. One reaches it by ● [487] a well arranged route: after half a day's march, one comes to the Karajá village of Korumaré on a river. Either one travels up the river for one and a half days in a boat, describing a large arc to the south and east, or one walks for a day across the campo eastward to the harbor, from which it is another three to four hours' march to [162] the village. The village, which contains five houses with approximately 100-150 /Pl. 59 appears here/ /353/ inhabitants, lies on a lake; it is moved several times in the course of the dry season. [132] In the rainy season the entire region is inundated with water; apparently this lake then forms a part of the large lake that Fonseca mentions. I was unable to find out where the village is moved to during the rainy season. Finally, there is said to be a fifth small village still farther south, but the accounts about it vary.

131 162 101 361 166 This is the one branch of the Šavajé. A second one lives near the south horde of the Karajá, and, indeed, in the two southernmost villages: Schischá and near Leopoldina. They migrated here in the last generation but one, for Chief Chico in

[Text continues on p. 312]

1:Lipkind E-5 (1937) 1948 SP9 Caraja SP9

301 Young men wear large armlets almost 12 inches (30 cm.) long crocheted of cotton with hanging fringes.

291 Women wear a bark-cloth girdle, which is wound round the body and under the crotch and looped over, hanging down in front. Feather head-
[292] dresses of a number of different designs are worn by men on festal occasions. Men tie the prepuce with a firmly wound string and wear a string belt.

302 Elaborately decorated woven belts with hanging ema feathers are worn
[292] for wrestling matches. Bird down is glued on the shoulders, arms, and
[237] legs. Body painting is very elaborate, and designs covering the entire body are carefully executed with genipa. Urucú is spread generally, with accents on the cheekbones, the nose, and the upper arm.

TRANSPORTATION

501 The *Carajá* manufacture elongated dugouts, neatly adapted to landing and freeing their craft among the sandbanks.

MANUFACTURES

287 **Bark cloth.**—Bark cloth is made of *Apeiba* bast, soaked, beaten with flat stones, and dried until it becomes very soft and white.

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FIGURE 30.—*Carajá* manufactures. *a-d*, Pottery; *e*, wooden scoop. (Redrawn from Ehrenreich, 1891 b, figs. 5 and 14.)

1:Lipkind E-5 (1937) 1948 SP9 Caraja SP9

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PLATE 22.—Carajá paddles, gourds, and basketry. (After Ehrenreich, 1891 b.)

[End Plate 2]

/17 cont./

412 Today the primitive tools are limited to those which Nature
237 provides for specific purposes, such as scraping knives of mussel shells, chisel-shaped implements made of rodent teeth, flat stones for pounding bast cloth, the coarse bony tongue of the pirarucú as a rasp, etc.

178 Despite widespread use of foreign tools, the industry of this people has completely retained its national character. Fortunately, among the Karaya, there is still no question of any decline in it such as almost always sets in as a consequence of the introduction of European products, as is well known. Fitness, beauty of form, and care in execution are still characteristic of their work.

• 501 Canoe construction is on a rather high level, although the method of production is relatively simple. The boats (auñõ) are long narrow dugouts with the front and back parts extending equally far and somewhat sloping at the tips. Given the many shallows of the river this form is the most efficient, since it facilitates the landing and launching of the vessel (Pl. IV /see p. 106 /, 2).

396 The material is the straightest possible trunk of the ipiuba
1829 (Tecoma sp.) or jatoba (Hymenaea sp.). Since the forward part is from the lower, the back part from the upper section of the trunk, the canoes are usually somewhat broader in the front than in the back. The hollowing is done with an ax and aided by fire. Since the cavity of the boat is not artificially widened by special manipulations such as Im Thurn describes (op. cit., p. 293), but rather the original diameter of the trunk also determines that of the boat, the canoes are usually disproportionately narrow in proportion to their length and tip over easily. They
501 are smoothed over inside and outside with great care. Arrangements for sitting are not present. There are set in on the other hand, rows of short crossbars, which, fixed a few inches above the bottom, protect any cargo from getting wet.

The oars (nahere, Pl. VIII /see p. 110/, 1-3) are of excellent workmanship. They are 1 1/3 to 1 1/2 meters long, half of which is taken up by the handle provided with a cross-grip. The blade is straight, leaf-shaped, 15-20 centimeters wide, and runs out at the bottom into a lancet-shaped, offset tip. Elegant

/17 cont./ Elegant

501 [531] oars are painted black. The middle third of the blade is covered by a decoration made up of black zigzag lines and dots on a white background (see p. 49).

411 The weapons of the Karaya are still the original ones throughout.

The bows (ǔahětě) are of various sizes according to the age and strength of the owner. The longest of the collection measures 220 centimeters, the shortest child's bow 70 centimeters. They [824] consist in part of the wood of the brejauba palm (Astrocaryum sp.) or the so-called pau d'arco (Tecoma sp.). The front side is usually somewhat smoothed down, the ends tapered with thornlike, offset tips (Pl. VI /see p. 108 /, 1).

411 /18/ The string (mahūga) and the way it is fastened show 284 certain peculiarities similar to those found among the Guiana [824] tribes. The material is embira bast (Malvaceae sp.), the leaf fiber of a Bromelia (caraguatá) or that of the pati palm (Syagrus botryophora). The length of the string twisted from it exceeds that of the bow by six to eight times. Of a appropriate thickness at one end, it tapers more and more toward the other, finally ending in a thin thread. The strong end is wound around the upper tip of the bow. From there the string goes directly to the lower end and along the front side of the bow upward to about the middle. Then it runs back again and is wound fast around the lower part of the bow with its thinner end. The last, thread-like part hangs down, decorated with a feather tassel.

In order that the wound end does not slip up, it is wound at the place of the curve with a layer of maize leaves which are tied fast with black cotton cords. Sometimes the ends of the bow are also wrapped with thin white threads below the tip. A similar, but looser cotton binding ties the part of the string running on the outside of the bow to the bow wood. This prevents too great a strain on the string. If the upper end of the string breaks, a replacement can easily be brought up by unwinding from below. A break at the lower end is not easily possible because of the counter pressure present there.

/78 cont./ [Plate II. Karaya. (cont'd)]

142 2. Two Šambioa warriors en face. The man on the left with
291 the feather diadem lurina on the back of the head (see p. 44),
301 bow, arrows, and club in his hand, the one on the right with the
302 small wreath-diadem (Pl. IX /see p. /, 6) and strings of glass
411 beads wound tightly around the neck. The large lower-arm cuffs identify him as unmarried.

Pl. III. Karaya. Karayahi Groups (taken in the last "summer camp" on a river island above the northern tip of Bananal Island).

1. Men, two of which wear arm-cuffs and knee-bands. One has the small feather rosettes with a central disk of mother-of-pearl in his ears (see. p. 46). Face painting with soot is recognizable. The straw hat of the older man sitting in front is not the one mentioned on p. 20, but a model directly borrowed
[501] from the settlers. In the background two long canoes and farther to the left in the distance the small Araguaia steamer.

342 2. Women, children, and young people sitting on the
361 ground in front of the tent-roofs of the summer camp, which are
516 made of mats. Two araras on the pole to the right, at the left on the bank a jabiru (black-headed stork).

Pl. IV. Karaya. Villages.

133
342 1. Full view of the first village of the Sambioa.
361 2. Reception scene in the third village of the Sambioa.
574

291 Pl. V. Karaya. Chief's hut (fourth village of the
342 Šambioa).
351
354 Group at the cooking place in front of the entrance.
415

411 Pl. VI. Karaya. Weapons.

1. Bow with wound bowstring and feather tassel (1/8).

[Plate VI. Karaya. (Cont'd.)]

/78 cont./

411 2, 3. Arrows with palm-wood knives (1/6).

4. Arrow with bird-bone tip (1/6).

5. Bird-arrow with blunt, knob-shaped tip (1/6).

6. Throwing board (1/6).

7. Arrow thrown by it, with blunt wooden tip (1/6).

8. War arrow with ray-spine tip (1/6).

9. War arrow with taquara-cane knife(1/6).

[531] 10. Lance with shaft-plaiting (1/9).

11. Flat club of the Šambioa chief Ambura (from the collection of Leite Moraes (1/9).

12. Plaiting pattern of the latter (2/3).

13. Grooved, round club of Ambura (1/9).

/79/

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301 Pl. VII. Karaya. Cotton Work.

1. Large black and white striped sleeping-mat or cape (1/8).

2. Fringed hangings of twisted cotton thread to be worn hanging down from the neck over the chest and back. Dyed with urucú red (1/8).

3, 4. Black, closely woven body-belts for small children (1/8).

5. Black tassels with pierced snail shells tied on in pairs with plaited cords taken doubled. Worn by small children around the neck (1/6).

6. Knee band of unmarried persons (1/8).

7. Black, closely woven forehead-band with rectangular mother-of-pearl disks sewed on (1/8).

8. A pair of tightly knitted, red, lower-arm cuffs, mark of the unmarried state (1/6).

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415 Pl. VIII. Karaya. Oars, Gourds, Plaited Work.

1-3. Oars with fish patterns (1/9).

4. Cassava grater (1/9).

5. Small tobacco pouch (1/8).

4: Ehrenreich--105 E-5 (1888) 1891 SP9 Caraja SP9

Plate III

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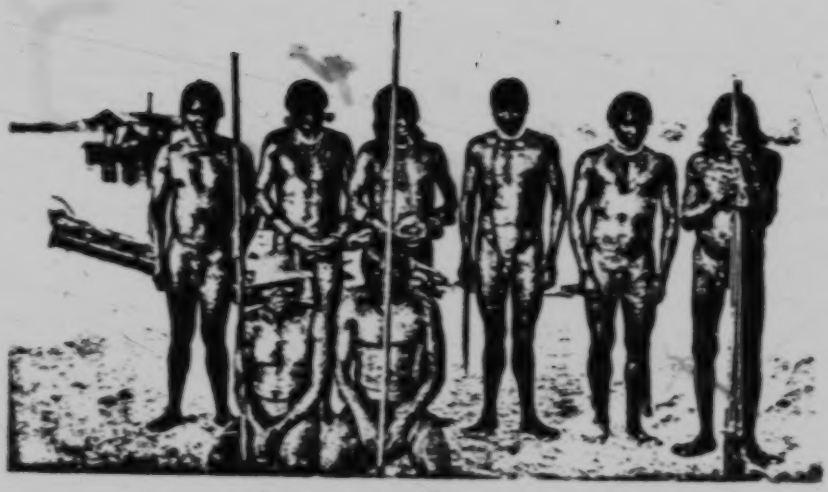

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4: Ehrenreich--106 E-5 (1888) 1891 SP9 Cáraja SP9

Plate IV

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4. Ehrenreich--110 E-5 (1888) 1891 SP9 Caraja SP9

Plate VIII

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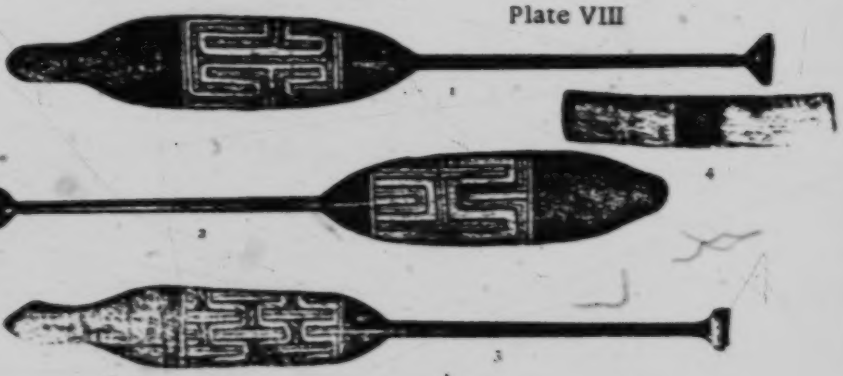

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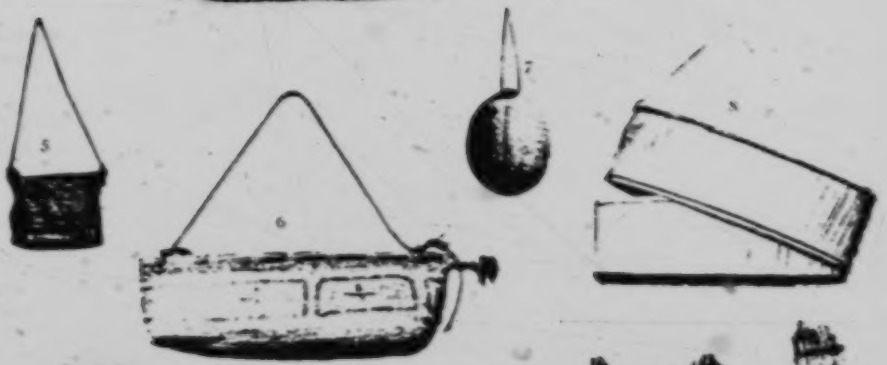

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5: Krause--1 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9

Plate I

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Karajá boatman.

/Frontispiece facing the title page. /

5. Krause--27 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9

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Ill. 9. A place to which the Karajá push their canoes. Interior of Bananal. (Drawn from a photograph.)

/Ill. 9 appears on p. 136./

Plate 36

411

1. Archer.

[268]

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2. Target club.

4 a–c. Small carrying-gourds.

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3 a–c. Club clubs.

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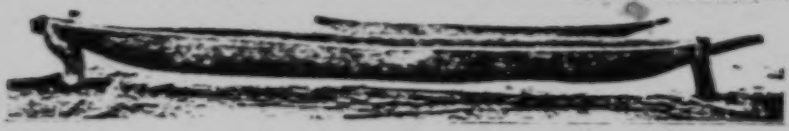

5. Karajá boat, or war-raft.

/276 cont./

482 Smaller loads are carried in containers on a hand-strap, for
415 example, in carrying sacks (mãsĩ; Pl. 57, Ills. 5 and 6), carrying bags (lõlũ; Pl. 57, Ill. 4), two-piece baskets (wrãbãhĩ; Pl. 57, Ills. 16 and 17), small pouches (Pl. 55, Ill. 6 a-c), or in small gourd vessels, the perforated edges of which hold the carrying-bands or which are either plaited round with bast (dãlĩlĩkũ) or are set into a net of black cotton plaiting (wãlãbũkũ; Pl. 56, Ill. 4 a-c).

854 Children ride on the hip and are held there with the hand (Pl. 12, Ill. 4; Pl. 37, Ill. 2; Pl. 42, Ills. 2, 3).

•50 Their principal journeys take place by water in a boat. The
[484] boat (ãwõ), of which there is one or more in each family, consists of a dugout six to ten meters long and 40-60 meters wide. The two ends are greatly elongated and slope up from below, so that getting on and off the sandbanks is easily accomplished (Pl. 56, Ill. 5). The boats have no seats; one squats or sits on the narrow bottom. Sometimes cross-rods are put in, upon which the cargo is placed to protect it from the bilge water. In one place
[372] in the boat there is often a layer of loam upon which lies the smoldering wood for transporting fire.

The boats are propelled with oars and poles; both are used in journeys upstream and downstream, the poles, of course, only in shallow water. The oars (nãlĩhĩ) are manipulated freely as paddles, and, indeed, the rowers kneel or sit in the boat, their
[502] faces in the direction of travel. If the boat is propelled by one man, he sits at the rear end and steers at the same time; with a crew of two men, one sits at the front end and one at the rear; several rowers distribute themselves over the entire boat. In the latter case, the rowing rhythm is entirely spontaneous, since the
[533] ones in the rear must adjust to the man in front. The song which young people like to take up while rowing has nothing to do with the rhythmical rowing. There are various ways of working the oars: short strokes with pauses after each stroke; long, evenly spaced strokes; slow strokes with a lifting of the blade at the end, so that the water falls off the blade in a broad surge, are regarded
[147] as a particularly elegant manner of rowing. The Indians have great endurance; they row for many hours without interruption.

/276 cont./

•501 The oars are about 130 centimeters long and have a blade 18-19 centimeters wide and about 70 centimeters long, which [531] terminates in an offset, elongated point. The blade is sometimes painted black; a center cross-band is left blank and painted red. The handle end has a short, curved /Pl. 57 appears here/ /277/ crutch. Below this on the handle there are three raised rings, which are produced by two notched grooves; they are characteristic of the Karajá (1) (Ill. 128 a, b).

1. See club handles above /see pp. 191-192/.

The rudder is identical with the oar; it is likewise freely manipulated.

[824] Poles (hōdjū, wālōtō, made of meijú wood) are about four to five meters long; they are cut out of slender, thin trees, under the white bark of which lies a red bast, which, freshly peeled, smells like cress. When the pole is not in use, it is stuck into a short loop which is drawn through the boat wall in front and floats along side. The poling is done from the front end of the boat, whether the Indian moves the boat alone or has a helmsman with him. He sets the pole in, now on this side, now on that, depending on the direction of travel, then turns around, presses the end against his chest, and, going five or six paces to the middle of the boat, pushes again toward the middle. Then he goes back to the front and starts anew (Pl. 1).

Ill. 128 a, b. Karajá oar.

This walking causes a violent rocking of the boat; the Indians are very skillful, however, so that no water pours in. If several Indians push with poles, they stand turned alternately to the right and left and move the poles from that position. When they pull forward, they set the poles so far from the boat that no water can enter.

Whereas rowing is practiced equally by men and women, I never saw women traveling with the poles.

[Text Continues on p. 202]

/277 cont./

501 [502] The boat is pushed over shallow places; to get over exposed sandbanks extending crosswise, wooden rollers are laid down on which the boat is rolled across (Ill. 9).

There are no anchors for securing the boat; stones with plaiting around them serve only as anchors for the bottom tackle for turtles. The boats are easily pulled up on the bank, and the boat pole is stuck into the sand through the loop; this is the whole mooring.

[415] Half-gourds are used to scoop out the water that enters.

[532] I saw decorated boats only in Village No. 20. Here, on the inner wall of a boat, there were light-colored human figures; [484] another boat had 36 notches on the edge, which were said to be [211] the number of nights required for a journey to the Sambioá.

184 Such trips lasting for weeks are usually undertaken in a large company; often the entire village sets out in a great number of boats packed high. By themselves the Indians only make [242] journeys of one or two days. By way of /278/ provisions they take only a little with them: manioc, maize, and the cooking pot; the fish are caught on the way twice a day. Rower and helmsman change places daily on longer journeys, especially if only two men are traveling in the boat.

502 132 Shipwrecks sometimes occur, especially while crossing the river in a storm. Such accidents, in which Indians lost their lives and of which several examples were recounted to me, are easily explainable in view of the high waves which storms create on the river and the narrow, low boats of the Indians. In fact, I myself with my boats (dugouts with one or two side planks set on them) was often forced to seek refuge from wind and waves for hours on high banks or on sandbanks.

The Indians endure bad weather on the journey rather simply. They quickly build themselves small sheltering walls out of poles and prepared palm leaves, which they always carry with them on longer journeys, or they pull the boat on land, turn it upside down, and lie down under it wrapped in their coverings beside a fire which they light in the center. They spend the worst nights of storm and rain in this manner.

/306 cont./

868 501 In order to learn to row, boys use small oars, which in general are similar in shape to those of the adults, but sometimes deviate in the shape of the blade (Ill. 166a). They are 64-96 centimeters long. Only one specimen /Ills. 162-166 appear here/ /307/ showed painting with red and black squares (Ill. 166b). They, too, have two grooves in the handle cylinder.

868 207 For learning to fish, boys use small anchored nets (hãdeke, lãhole) knotted out of bast, which they set up in the water on the edge of the sandbanks; they are mounted on two long side rods and are kept stretched by several vertical struts (Ill. 86). /Ill. 167 appears here/

865 283 Girls learn to spin and cook. They have small spindles on which they twist serviceable threads at an early age. One sees girls from six to seven years old already spinning almost constantly. The spinning whorls are either double-conical clay whorls or wooden whorls that are dome-shaped on one side (Ill. 167). This primitive shape has thus been preserved among the children, whereas it seems to have been lost to the adults.

868 415 Small clay dishes appear in all sizes; the larger ones may actually be used for cooking, whereas the smaller ones serve only as playthings. The actual cooking utensils are partly blackened with soot on the outside, in other words, have been exposed to the fire. Besides the usual forms (pot; Ill. 168a) and bowl (Ill. 168 b, c), other forms also appear: bowl with convex bottom (Ill. 168d), dish (Ill. 168 e, f); a four-part dish (Ill. 168g), the use of which did not become clear to me despite the long Indian explanation of the mother concerned, seems to be used for a very special purpose. /Ill. 168 appears here./

584 415 /308/ All the other dishes are used only for play; some of them are not fired and are so small that cooking with them is impossible. It is surprising in this connection that in addition to the [184] usual types there are quantities of different, almost European-looking vessels, which, strangely enough, all come from the village on the Tapirapé mouth. I did not see these peculiar forms

[Text continues on p. 246]

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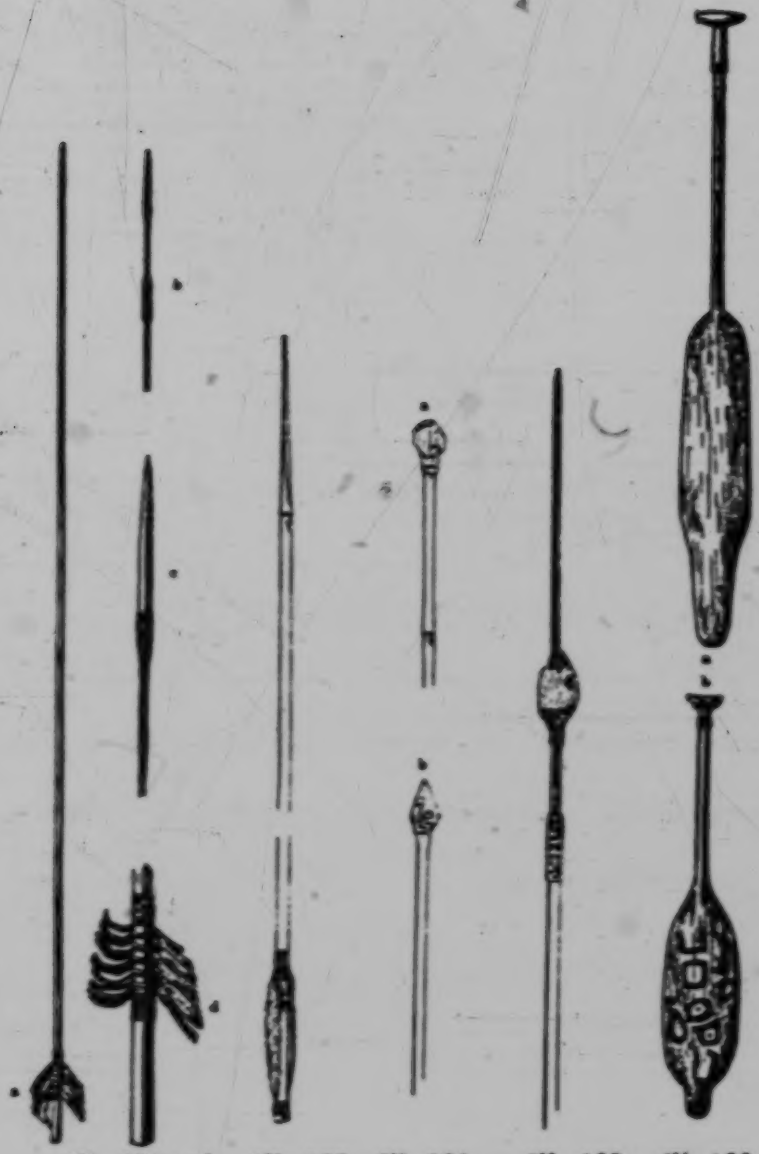


Ill. 162 a-d. Ill. 163. Ill. 164. Ill. 165 Ill. 166 a, b.

Ill. 162 a-d: Child's arrows. Ill. 163: Pointed bird-arrow. Ill. 164 a, b: Blunt bird-arrows, a) wax head, b) root end. Ill. 165: Arrow with nut pushed on it. Ill. 166 a, b: Child's oars, a) ordinary type, b) painted.

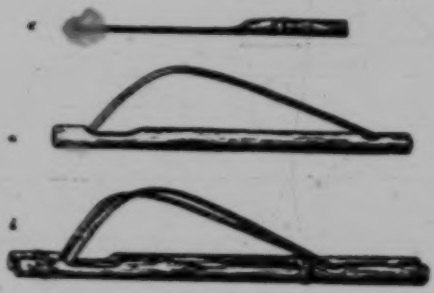
/311 cont./

524 small red and yellow feathers and small pieces of red wood, which make circular figures when spinning. The top is twirled between the palms of the hands in the air and then allowed to fall. It has achieved the desired speed of rotation only when it buzzes.

[824] Humming tops (ĩnãuĩnã) are also common. The body consists of a gourd that bears two lateral holes of different sizes opposite each other. The stem goes through from top to bottom and projects 14 1/2 centimeters at the bottom. It is fastened in the gourd with wax (Ill. 175). A string which bears a small

[501]

Ill. 172 a-d.
Child's toy oars (c and d painted).



Ill. 173 a c.
Gun reproductions. Karajá.
a) Simple, b) double-barreled gun, c) instrument for cleaning the tube.

wooden handle at the end is used to wind it up. Apparently there is no ring or the like to make it possible to wind it up without injury /Ills. 174-176 appear here/ to the left hand. Koch-

[M1] Grünberg in his book, Zwei Jahre unter den Indianern /Two Years Among the Indians/ (Berlin, 1910), Vol. 1, page 121, illustrates a humming top from the Rio Aiarỹ, which is quite similar and on which a plaited ring protects the hand. Perhaps the Karajá also

/361 cont./

411 (Ill. 196a). I did not see here clubs with plaiting around them or flat clubs.

[412] For grooving the clubs, the cutia tooth (haŭlidjŭ) mounted
[237] on a rod is also used by the Šavajé (Ill. 197).
[184] As for lances (dõnõli), I acquired only one specimen, which looks very old. It is constructed like those of the Karajá. The shaft is 2.5 centimeters thick and 200 centimeters long, the bone

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[531]

Ill. 196 a, b. Savajé club. b) Handle end of a second specimen.

Ill. 197. Club groover.

Ill. 198. Arrow thrower. Savajé.

Ill. 199. Savajé oar.

411 point 19.2 centimeters, the red winding 11.5 and the plaiting 63 centimeters long. The feather tassels hang down 42 centimeters. The plaiting pattern is the vertical zigzag pattern.

/362/

411 The arrow thrower (hāõbĭ) was relatively common. Whereas in the 22 villages of the Karajá I did not see any, but merely acquired a model, I found three specimens in this one small Šavajé village (Ill. 198). The implement is still used for fishing, bird hunting, and as a weapon for sport. One can execute high, horizontal, and low shots with it. The handle, 36-40 centimeters long, 3.5-6.5 centimeters wide, is edged and curved and has a small button at the lower end. The hole for the index finger is quite large and rectangular or square in shape. The staff, 30-35 centimeters long, is round and bears a small hook of bone, which is fastened with tight, fine lashing. Sometimes a few little feathers hang down from this lashing as an ornament.

I did not come across any other weapons among the Šavajé.

•501 184 8. Transportation and communication. The boats are the same as those of the Karajá, but usually very long and very wide. The oars differ from those of the Karajá mostly by the fact that 482 the cylinder on the handle bears four grooves (Ill. 199). Back- 184 baskets and other baskets are likewise similar to those of the Karajá. The back-basket [bāh(ĭ)ūlă] is also plaited at the lower edge, so that, when it is carried, the contents have firmer support than is the case in the Karajá back-baskets. It is 158 centimeters long, 27 centimeters wide, and has an edge 12 centimeters 285 high. Among the baskets I observed large carrying-baskets (wălīlĭ) plaited, with patterns, out of oaguassu palm pinnae, which are carried with a bast carrying-band, also oblong baskets (dādă), which likewise show patterning and are carried on a carrying band, oval baskets with a cover (wălăbăhĭ), and, finally, carrying sacks, and, to be sure, some of mat plaiting (mănsĭ), some which are plaited diagonally out of one palm leaf (lõlĭ), and rectangular sacks plaited out of two palm leaves (lõlĭ), the two ribs forming one longitudinal edge, whereas on the other and on the bottom edge the pinnae of both fronds are plaited together (Pl. 61, Ill. 3). [184] (Cf. Ehrenreich, Berlin 3886, Karajá.) All other baskets and such mentioned are identical with those of the Karajá.

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

CHAPTER IX.

KARAYÁ ACTIVITIES.—CANOE MAKING.—WEAPONS.—NATURE MADE UTENSILS.—ORNAMENT MAKING.—FAMILY LIFE.—PRIMITIVE ETHICS.—MARRIAGES.—CHILDREN.—GOVERNMENT.

THE industrial activities of the Karayá now make a better showing than in former times, for their primitive tools are now more and more replaced by tools introduced from the civilized world. The old stone-axes have disappeared, and little is known of them. Ancient inscriptions and figures upon the rocks represent men with stone-axes in their hands, but these drawings belong to a remote period. 412 179 [172]

To-day, the only primitive implements of the Karayá are those that Nature furnishes them ready for use. Their scraping tools, for instance, are sharp-edged shells; their chisel-like instruments are the teeth of certain powerful rodents; and smooth, flat stones, formed by the action of the water, are used as discs upon which to beat and prepare the web of bark which is their cloth. 412 [237]

It cannot be said of the Karayá that their primitive industries have fallen, in any degree, into decay because they have begun to use the tools of civilized men. Adaptability, beauty of form, and carefulness of execution, is evident in all their workmanship. Canoe building among them, for instance, has reached a high degree of perfection, though the method of constructing them is very crude. These canoes, which are all dugouts, are long and slim, and taper gradually to a point at both bow and stern. This form is perhaps best 461 396 501

501 suited to their purpose owing to the many shallow places in the river, and because it facilitates landing and pushing off. 39½ The tree selected to be transformed into a canoe is an ipiúba [824] or a jatóba, which must be very straight. Strange to say, the butt of the tree becomes the bow of the canoe; therefore, the finished canoe is broader at the bow than at the stern. As these children of Nature are preeminently imitators of Nature, it seems quite probable that in constructing their canoes, they have in mind the form of the fish, which always goes big end first.

The log is first hewn into the form of a canoe, then hollowed out with axes and with fire. It is not broadened amidships, therefore, when finished, it is no wider than was the 501 original tree. As it is thus very narrow and tapers gradually and uniformly high above the water at both bow and stern, it tips over very easily. Great care is taken to make it perfectly smooth outside and in. No seats are provided, but sticks are placed across the bottom to keep both the occupants and the freight out of any water that may leak in. As every family has a canoe, quite a fleet of them may be seen in front of every village. These canoes are propelled by paddles five feet in length, half of which is blade, the point [53] terminating like a lance. They are made with great care and labor, and are often nicely ornamented. When canoeing, the 503 pilot is always seen perched in a squatting position on the extreme point of the stern with his knees drawn up to his chin.

4 The weapons of the Karayá are as of old—there has [118] been no change whatever. In common with other Brazilian tribes, the length and stiffness of their bow is according to the height and strength of its owner. Some bows are seven feet in length, while a boy's bow is two and a half or three [824] feet long. They are made of the wood of a certain palm-tree [191] which the Brazilians call *pau de arco*—bow wood—which is the wood used by all the tribes of central and North Brazil for their bows. The bow is made flat inside, and the extremities taper to a point. Several lengths of string, carried

9:Gow-Smith T-5 (no date) 1925
SP9 Caraja SP9
Cayapo SP11

C Co 411 237 284 283 skilfully feathered at the end. The arrowheads are fastened to eighteen-inch foreshafts of hard-wood C [264] [531] [411] [501] tipped with bone, fitted in three- to four-foot bamboo shafts and bound in place with the strong cord that the native women spin from wild cotton. C Co [314] The binding is firmly cemented with a kind of resin. C Co 411 224 [223] Long needle-like arrows tipped with hard-wood are for shooting birds; the sharp bamboo tips curved hollowly are for deer and jaguars, for they permit the wounded animal

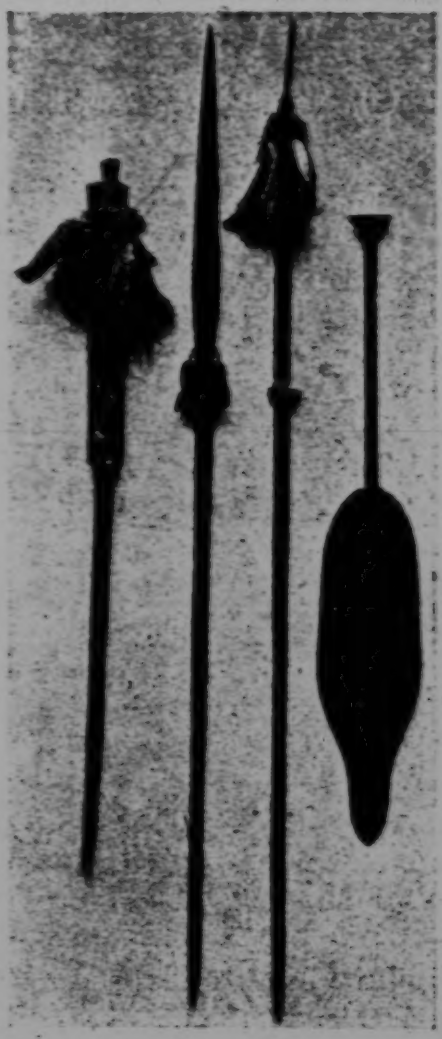

FIG. 98.—Caraja objects (grave-post, two spears, and a paddle)

9:Gow-Smith T-5 (no date) 1925
SP9 Caraja SP9
Cayapo SP11

Co 411 [531]

and have similar woven cane-covered handles, but are for more specialized use. Instead of a blunt round end, the club has a flat triangular wooden blade pointed at the end with sharp sides and stained with urucú. It is used, in the manner of a great ax, for decapitation.

C 524 [501]

Toy canoes (fig. 100), with which the Caraja youngsters play, are models in miniature of those their elders use, which are made from hollowed or

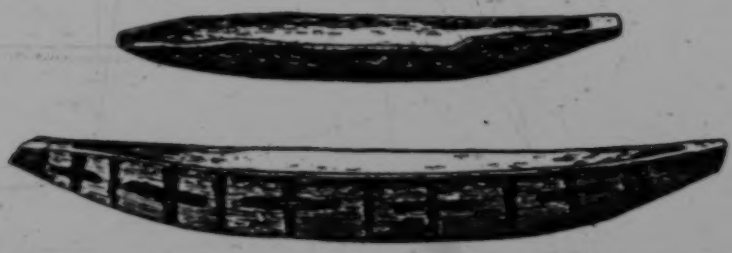

FIG. 100.—Toy canoes of the Caraja. (Length, 19 in. and 26 in.)

C [531] 98

burnt-out logs. They are decorated with designs colored with a black stain from the genepapa fruit and the urucú. Paddles (fig. 98) are of regulation length, but some have unusually wide blades often decorated in red and black designs.

C 532

Most curious of the collection are the little clay dolls (fig. 101), which may have some connection with magic or with religious observances. They vary in size from two to twelve

C [171]

inches, and are similar in workmanship and even

/276 cont./

482 415 Smaller loads are carried in containers on a hand-strap, for example, in carrying sacks (mãsi; Pl. 57, Ills. 5 and 6), carrying bags (lõlũ; Pl. 57, Ill. 4), two-piece baskets (wrãbãhĩ; Pl. 57, Ills. 16 and 17), small pouches (Pl. 55, Ill. 6 a-c), or in small gourd vessels, the perforated edges of which hold the carrying-bands or which are either plaited round with bast (dãlĩlĩkũ) or are set into a net of black cotton plaiting (wãlãbũkũ; Pl. 56, Ill. 4 a-c).

854 Children ride on the hip and are held there with the hand (Pl. 12, Ill. 4; Pl. 37, Ill. 2; Pl. 42, Ills. 2, 3).

50 [489] Their principal journeys take place by water in a boat. The boat (ãwõ), of which there is one or more in each family, consists of a dugout six to ten meters long and 40-60 meters wide. The two ends are greatly elongated and slope up from below, so that getting on and off the sandbanks is easily accomplished (Pl. 56, Ill. 5). The boats have no seats; one squats or sits on the narrow bottom. Sometimes cross-rods are put in, upon which the cargo is placed to protect it from the bilge water. In one place [392] in the boat there is often a layer of loam upon which lies the smoldering wood for transporting fire.

The boats are propelled with oars and poles; both are used in journeys upstream and downstream, the poles, of course, only in shallow water. The oars (nãlĩhĩ) are manipulated freely as paddles, and, indeed, the rowers kneel or sit in the boat, their faces in the direction of travel. If the boat is propelled by one [502] man, he sits at the rear end and steers at the same time; with a crew of two men, one sits at the front end and one at the rear; several rowers distribute themselves over the entire boat. In the latter case, the rowing rhythm is entirely spontaneous, since the [533] ones in the rear must adjust to the man in front. The song which young people like to take up while rowing has nothing to do with the rhythmical rowing. There are various ways of working the oars: short strokes with pauses after each stroke; long, evenly spaced strokes; slow strokes with a lifting of the blade at the end, so that the water falls off the blade in a broad surge, are regarded [149] as a particularly elegant manner of rowing. The Indians have great endurance; they row for many hours without interruption.

/277 cont./

501 The boat is pushed over shallow places; to get over ex-
[502] posed sandbanks extending crosswise, wooden rollers are laid down on which the boat is rolled across (Ill. 9).

There are no anchors for securing the boat; stones with plaiting around them serve only as anchors for the bottom tackle for turtles. The boats are easily pulled up on the bank, and the boat pole is stuck into the sand through the loop; this is the whole mooring.

[415] Half-gourds are used to scoop out the water that enters.

[532] I saw decorated boats only in Village No. 20. Here, on
[484] the inner wall of a boat, there were light-colored human figures;
[211] another boat had 36 notches on the edge, which were said to be the number of nights required for a journey to the Šambioá.

484 Such trips lasting for weeks are usually undertaken in a large company; often the entire village sets out in a great number of boats packed high. By themselves the Indians only make
[242] journeys of one or two days. By way of /278/ provisions they take only a little with them: manioc, maize, and the cooking pot; the fish are caught on the way twice a day. Rower and helmsman change places daily on longer journeys, especially if only two men are traveling in the boat.

502 Shipwrecks sometimes occur, especially while crossing the
132 river in a storm. Such accidents, in which Indians lost their lives and of which several examples were recounted to me, are easily explainable in view of the high waves which storms create on the river and the narrow, low boats of the Indians. In fact, I myself with my boats (dugouts with one or two side planks set on them) was often forced to seek refuge from wind and waves for hours on high banks or on sandbanks.

The Indians endure bad weather on the journey rather simply. They quickly build themselves small sheltering walls out of poles and prepared palm leaves, which they always carry with them on longer journeys, or they pull the boat on land, turn it upside down, and lie down under it wrapped in their coverings beside a fire which they light in the center. They spend the worst nights of storm and rain in this manner.

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca.1900) 1909
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501 suited to their purpose owing to the many shallow places in the river, and because it facilitates landing and pushing off. 391 The tree selected to be transformed into a canoe is an ipiúba [824] or a jatóba, which must be very straight. Strange to say, the butt of the tree becomes the bow of the canoe; therefore, the finished canoe is broader at the bow than at the stern. As these children of Nature are preeminently imitators of Nature, it seems quite probable that in constructing their canoes, they have in mind the form of the fish, which always goes big end first.

The log is first hewn into the form of a canoe, then hollowed out with axes and with fire. It is not broadened amidships, therefore, when finished, it is no wider than was the 501 original tree. As it is thus very narrow and tapers gradually and uniformly high above the water at both bow and stern, it tips over very easily. Great care is taken to make it perfectly smooth outside and in. No seats are provided, but sticks are placed across the bottom to keep both the occupants and the freight out of any water that may leak in. As every family has a canoe, quite a fleet of them may be seen in front of every village. These canoes are propelled by paddles five feet in length, half of which is blade, the point [531] terminating like a lance. They are made with great care and labor, and are often nicely ornamented. When canoeing, the 502 pilot is always seen perched in a squatting position on the extreme point of the stern with his knees drawn up to his chin.

411 The weapons of the Karayá are as of old—there has [178] been no change whatever. In common with other Brazilian tribes, the length and stiffness of their bow is according to the height and strength of its owner. Some bows are seven feet in length, while a boy's bow is two and a half or three [824] feet long. They are made of the wood of a certain palm-tree [191] which the Brazilians call *pau de arco*—bow wood—which is the wood used by all the tribes of central and North Brazil for their bows. The bow is made flat inside, and the extremities taper to a point. Several lengths of string, carried

5: Krause--27 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9

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Ill. 9. A place to which the Karajá push their canoes. Interior of Bananal. (Drawn from a photograph.)

/Ill. 9 appears on p. 136./

/203 cont./

361 The houses in general are oriented in such a way that one long side faces northwest, north, or northeast, thus providing shade.

[592] [340] Each house is occupied by only one family; to each house there generally belongs a mat wall, a supply stand, and one or two hearth areas.

[346] The mask hut lies away from the village, at a distance of about 200 meters.

621 The villages of the Karajá are small; many consisted of only one or two houses, the largest of eight huts (1). Ehrenreich be-

1. Rufino has already reported that the villages of the Karajá have only eight to ten huts on the average. Rev. trim. 10, p. 208.

lieves that this dispersion must be traced back to a lack of means [511] of subsistence. This is scarcely to be assumed, since there is sufficient food, especially fish. In my opinion, it is conditioned first [578] [571] by the many disputes that seem to prevail among the families of the Karajá and lead to the departure of some of them, and then by the prevalence of personal attitudes concerning the feeling of sociability; many families live permanently isolated in one place because they happen to like it there.

It is noteworthy that the villages decrease in size from north [166] to south. This may be explained by the direction of migration of the Karajá: the bulk of them still live in the north; toward the south, the first to be sent are advance groups, which, of course, are small in number.

361 484 On journeys the Karajá pitch camps of mat roofs or walls, in the shade and shelter of which they live and sleep. The walls are, of course, oriented in such a way that they provide as much shade as possible and as long as possible; hence they usually stand approximately from west to east, and likewise arranged in rows (Pl. 13, Ill. 1). If a village is moved, the Indians live under mat walls until the houses are erected (Pl. 41, Ill. 2).

221 361 The villages do not remain permanently in one place. During the dry season, the Indians live on the sandbanks of the river, which,

/353 cont./

166 Schischá, the deceased chief Pedro Manco, and Mother Joana from the migratory camp No. 9, people about 60-70 years old, are regarded as the children of the immigrant Šavajé. Recently, Šavajé again came from Bananal to Schischá; in October 1908 they lived in a separate house. These Šavajé, of course, entered into frequent alliances with the Karajá.

167 [101] A third branch is supposed to have separated from the Šavajé on Bananal, apparently in the previous generation. This horde crossed the Araguaya and moved toward the west; among the Karajá of the Araguaya they are regarded as lost. The separation took place in the region of the mouth of the Rio das Mortes or somewhat more to the south.

619 Before I enter into a discussion of the culture of the Šavajé, I should like to report very briefly what the Karajá told me about them: The Šavajé are their kinsmen; they speak the same lan-
628 [438] guage and have the same tribal tattooing. They live in peaceful relations with the Karajá, they intermarry; above all, there is an active trade in which the Karajá trade to the Šavajé stone tools, which the Šavajé lack, as well as iron goods, fabrics, and chains of beads in exchange for urucú, net coverings, araras, and
511 food. In clothing and ornamentation the Šavajé are supposed to be equal to the Karajá, but to have much more beautiful things. Among the Karajá, they are considered rich in ornaments and foodstuffs; hence, in times of hardship, the Karajá often migrate over to them. I found these statements to be generally true.

101 Phonetically the name of the people should be written Šăvăjé, in accordance with the pronunciation customary among the Karajá. The Karajá also call them: (ĭ)šăndjú, (ĭ)šă(n)dĭwăndú.
361 [114] I cannot give their number, because I became acquainted with only a small village of five huts. In any case, besides three or
[161] four such small villages, there seems to be a very large village, similar to those of the Šambioá, so that the number may perhaps
[162] be given as 800-1000. The Šavajé living among the southern Karajá perhaps reach 50 in number.

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
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not afflicted. Therefore, they have hidden their villages far 177
away from the slimy trail of the only "civilization" they 186
know, and do not wish to reveal their location. But they, too, well know the great superiority of steel implements over their stone utensils, so desire to obtain them, which they do indirectly through the Karayáhy. They are not unwise in their generation. They do not desire to receive, in its entirety, the "civilization" available to them, for it has been demonstrated to them that its evils outweigh its blessings. Therefore they try to catspaw civilization's good things and leave its evil things. What a pity it is that a civilization, which is the best fruit of the Gospel of Christ, should not have reached the Karayá!

The Sambiõa live in much larger, cleaner, and more or- 511
derly villages than the Karayáhy, and are better fed. They 184
also build better huts than the Karayáhy, and arrange them in regular streets. They have four large villages, located be- 361
tween Pau de Arco and the falls of S. Miguel. They trade 439
hammocks, vegetables, fruits, fowls, and other produce for such articles made by civilized men as they desire. As re- 241
gards agriculture, they are but little behind the semi-barbarous Brazilians of the far interior. They have many slaves, 727
which are women and children stolen from other tribes with whom they were at war.

Only the inhabitants of the second Sambiõa village are 609
hostile to strangers. When such appear at their port, the women and children are sent to a safe place, while the warriors, fully armed, assemble at the water's edge and assume a threatening attitude. It is necessary to be cautious in approaching them, though they dare not attack a large canoe full of men armed with repeating rifles. They greatly fear these weapons, believing that the rifleman can continue to fire indefinitely without reloading. The villages are always [361]
situated distant from the landing-place; and though they will allow the traveler to visit them, he must be on his guard.

The reception at the landing is interesting and exciting. The naked, bronze-bodied men are assembled in force. Many

/11 cont./

854 Some months later the broad, knitted cotton cuffs (deši) are
291 put around the wrists and ankles, while narrower bands provided with tassels hanging down in front are tied under the knee. The former are cylindrical, five to six centimeters wide, with thicker edges projecting out like a hat brim, the latter smooth and only one to two centimeters wide. With increasing growth these bands are gradually replaced by larger ones (Pl. VII /see p. 109/, 6 and 8).

291 The boys wear the ankle bands until after the lips have been pierced, the girls until they marry. The cuffs, which cover almost the whole forearm among the adults, are, like the knee bands, not taken off by either sex until after marriage, and by the women usually
[301] not before the birth of the first child. Upon the death of one of the two spouses, the surviving one puts them on again.

571 The sharp external division of single persons from married ones by such distinguishing marks is deeply rooted in the whole social life of this people, as we shall see later. Other ornamental objects will be discussed below.

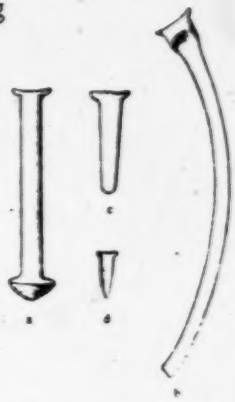

Fig. 2. Lip ornaments (1/4).

291 Also to be included among the articles of clothing is an object quite peculiar to the Karaya, the "riiŏ," incorrectly called "rede" (hammock) by the Brazilians and also designated as such by Castelnau and Martius (Pl. VII /see p. 109/, 1).

[284] This cotton plaiting looks very similar to an actual hammock, to be sure, but it is not used as such and is not hung up at all, not
[513] even having any cords for this purpose. It serves, rather, as a cloak by day and as an underlayer at night when sleeping on the ground.

/11 cont./

291 ground. One end is drawn hoodlike over the head, while the other covers the seat. Thus the riiõ is really part of the national costume.

[524] One sees, not only the adults, but also small children /12/ parading about with it, and even the little clay dolls of the latter are not

854 without it. Mats hung up by strings are used only for cradles for the newborn.

171 The question as to how the Karaya came to have this original

352 article of clothing is of great ethnographic interest. It is well-known that a large part of the Brazilian tribes does not use the hammock. These are chiefly the Gẽs nations occupying the entire eastern part of the country, such as the Kayapo, Akuã, Kaingan /Caingang/, Botocudo, etc., as well as the Bororo corresponding to them throughout, not in language, to be sure, but in their way of life, usage, and customs. They all sleep on the ground or on wooden frames.

Of the other tribes using hammocks, the Karaib /Carib/ make them out of cotton, the Nu-Aruak out of palm fiber.

This situation is so characteristic that the presence or absence of the hammock for a people, as well as the method of making it, is decisive for their ethnographic classification.

[513] Only the Karaya cannot be fitted into this scheme, because they make cotton hammocks, to be sure, but sleep in them on the ground.

[177] This permits one to conjecture that they only recently adopted the "rede" from another people and did not want to give up their old custom of sleeping on the ground (1).

1. Therefore the anonymous author of an old travel report in Revista trim., Vol. 25, p. 251, states correctly: "These Indians sleep on their redes and the same rede serves as a blanket. This idea is neither innate nor did it arise out of necessity. They learned it from someone." /Translated from the Portuguese./

/13 cont./

342 principally to close off the narrow sides. To the right and left of the door are planted two high poles which give the palm-leaf layers of the front side more solid support.

352 The interior furnishing of the houses is rather simple. Part of the floor is covered with buriti mats which also serve as an [513] underlayer for sleeping. A smooth wooden cylinder pushed underneath represents the pillow. The various storage baskets, the 353 [415] containers for ornamental feathers, the finished feather orna- [239] ments, bottle gourds, and other things hang from the horizontal beams. Bows and arrows are stuck in the rafters. [342] Lances and clubs stand in the corner, always at hand. Some sledge-like 352 415 stools, as well as pots and gourd /cuia/ bowls of varying sizes complete the household equipment.

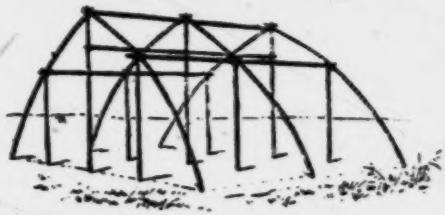

Fig. 3. Hut construction.

346 At some distance from the village is found the somewhat dif- [532] ferently constructed "medicine hut," where the mysterious dance masks are stored. It has the form of an ordinary rancho, with a steeply sloping roof, and is tightly closed on three sides, whereas [784] the side facing the village is wide open. Female creatures may not venture near it.

[114] Castelnau already makes mention of it. Couto Magelhães in his first report speaks of a hut which serves as an arsenal for storing weapons. Nothing of this sort is known to me. Evidently he means by it this mysterious sacred place whose true purpose no one wanted to reveal to him. We shall return to it in the following.

825 It is also noteworthy that in front of two Šambioa villages dead king-vultures (Sarcoramphus papa) with outspread wings were fastened on a high frame of poles. They are probably supposed to scare away demons in the manner of the bird figures carved out of wood in front of Malay villages.

/198 cont./

342 of the Karajá seem to us an impoverished form; significantly,
184 the ridge beam is preserved only in the mask house. The
177 mixed houses are thus of Indian origin, though, as far as the separation of wall and roof is concerned, with Brazilian influence.

342 Interior arrangement. The houses are very nicely cool, and the covering, if, as in the rainy season, it is more carefully made,
352 is rainproof. The floor is covered with large mats. These buriti-
[513]

[531]

Ill. 22.
Patterned sleeping mat for girls. Karajá.

fiber mats (bũlẽ́) serve as sitting and sleeping mats. On one of their long sides the fibers protrude as long fringe. My largest mat is four meters long and 1.70 meters wide. Smaller mats, which are patterned by black bast-strips plaited in, are rare (Ill. 22, girls' sleeping mat).

352 The sleeping areas are very simply furnished. To sleep, one
513 stretches out on the floor on a mat and covers himself with the other half of the mat or the rĩĩõ̃ (see below /see p. 93 /). Sometimes the legs are drawn up in the side position, the one end of the rĩĩõ̃ put over the feet and the other over the head, so that the entire body is protected from dew and mosquitoes. I did not see wooden cylinders as neck supports, which Ehrenreich mentioned. It is very possible that they have these, for they like to put the head high when sleeping.

/198 cont./

513 head high when sleeping. When they sleep in the open in the sand, they hollow out a pit for their bodies, put a mat over it and themselves on top of that, but in such a way that the head lies on the elevated edge of the pit; they cover themselves with the rest of the mat. It is very agreeable to sleep in this fashion, /199/ as I discovered for myself. In contrast to this, however, I also saw them lying flat on the level floor in the houses, without elevating their heads at all.

293 For fanning cool air and to drive away mosquitoes during the midday rest, plaited, patterned fans (kōlĭ; Pl. 21, Ill. 2) made of palm leaves are used.

352 532 [622] Seats are provided only for chiefs. They are the stool in animal form carved out of one piece of wood: the seat runs out on either side into a head that bears mother-of-pearl eyes with wax pupils; tassels of red-yellow parrot feathers are hung in the ear holes. The mother-of-pearl eyes are cut round on a stone and then glued on with wax. Finally, the entire stool is colored black with genipap coloring, which is applied with the palm of the hand. These stools are called kōlĭšŭ, the feather tassels kōlĭšŭlăbĕdŏsĭ. The stools are said to represent an arara (Pl. 19, Ill. 1a and b).

516 Ordinarily the Indians sit on the mats with their legs crossed under them, hand on hip, or they squat on the ground (Pl. 12, Ill. 1; Pl. 38, Ill. 1).

353 Usually no arrangement for the storing of ornaments, articles of clothing, implements, and weapons is found in the huts. Small things are stuck into the roof /Ill. 23 appears here/ or hung on [411] the posts. Bows, arrows, and lances usually lie along the side walls [415] on the floor or lean in a corner. For the rest, baskets, gourd vessels, and pots hang, stand, and lie around everywhere in the house, some of them filled with other household equipment. In [359] only two houses, in Village 6 and in Schischá, did I see along the wall stands made out of two forked sticks on which bows and arrows were placed (Ill. 23). They, too, seem to go back to Šavajé influence, for the Šavajé in Schischá used such stands.

/200 cont./

514 water about 5/4 meters deep with their knees slightly bent and there untie the long penis string and tie it on again.

342 The houses are merely living and sleeping houses; cooking [352] is done outside.

[600] The chiefs in part have better built, larger houses; thus, Plate 41 appears here/ /201/ the one belonging to Chief João III was three to four meters high, five to six meters wide, and equally long (Pl. 39).

[344] There are no meeting houses; in order to bring about a de- [205] cision or announce regulations, the chief goes to the individual [207] houses.

Other special houses are:

343 1. Birth houses. These are erected for the woman when birth 844 is imminent; their construction is said to be identical with that of the other houses.

346 2. The mask house in which the dance masks are kept. It always stands apart from the village and in its method of construction is a dry-season house with a round structure on the narrow side turned toward the village. The arches are usually slightly curved and strengthened on top by a ridge beam (Pl. 12, Ill. 3). The mask houses serve as bachelor houses; the young people are said to sleep here. I saw only four mask huts, but cannot confirm 513 these statements from my observations. In any case, the young people do not sleep in the houses, but rather, if there is no mask house, [609] by a fire which is away from the village. Strangers are given shelter by the chief; they sleep in his house, even though they are unmarried (see the reception which I, with my men, found among the Šavajé /pp. 129 ff. in the first part of the work, which is omitted in the translation/).

342 The house belongs to the woman. The man builds it before 423 the marriage, with the assistance of the young people, who are 562 paid for it by the woman with chains of beads. The construction 768 takes one or two days. After death the house is said to be burned.

821 According to the accounts of the Indians, the houses are protected from bolts of lightning by a fish spine stuck on the roof on a pole about half a meter long. Probably only magic is involved here.

[Text continues on P. 84]

/208 cont./

272 The net covering [rĩ(ĩ)ỗ, rĩũ̊], on the other hand, is worn by both sexes at all ages. It is knotted of cotton threads and has the shape of a hammock, the two ends of which are each tied together, but lack the cords for hanging it up. The net coverings of the Karajá are of a solid color; the original white color gradually becomes a dirty yellowish-brown with use. Patterned coverings come from the Šavajé or Tapirapé. They are worn for protection against mosquitoes, against sunburn, against the dew of the night, whether the Indians stand, lie, or sit. The manner of wearing them differs: either one end is pulled over the head so that the covering falls down the back (Pl. 12, Ill. 1), or the covering is wrapped around the shoulders so that the two ends fall down in front (Pl. 9, Ill. 1; Pl. 42, Ill. 1). At night they serve [513] as coverings: the feet of the drawn-up legs, in the side or back position, are stuck into one end, the head into the other end, so that the covering protects the body lying beneath it from mosquitoes and dew. Thus, they are not used as an underlayer, as Ehrenreich says, but as coverings. Small net coverings hung on strings as [854] [114] cradles for infants, such as Ehrenreich mentions, I did not see anywhere, despite the fact that I visited almost all the huts (1).

1. See, however, Šavajé, small net covering /see pp. 314 -315/.

[287] Small plaited mats of bast are worn by pregnant women before and after birth, and, to be sure, in such a way that they are wrapped around the body from the back and held together in front with the hands (Pl. 42, Ills. 2, 3). They serve as a protection against wind and rain. Above all, women with nursing babies take such mats with them when they go out, so as to be able to protect the child and themselves to some extent in a sudden downpour.

834 I should like to add a very few words here about the Indians' feeling of modesty. As far as the men are concerned, I should [177] like to refer to my remarks above about the purpose of the penis cord /see p. 88/: the question is, however, whether the explanation given by the Indians does not go back to Brazilian influence.

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
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123 about us, fully armed, maintaining silence and appearing bellicose. At length, the entire band drew off about fifty yards, then began to discharge volleys of blood-curdling yells, such as only wild men or maniacs can utter. Though we had [526] heard these yells before, we did not know if it was "the shout of war," or only a challenge to the wrestling game. Greatly to our relief, it was the latter. We now knew that we were in no immediate danger; though we had felt that as they had not attacked us at first, they would now be loathe to do so openly. After the wrestling game, the savages gradually became friendly to us, and began, at last, to retire to their huts in twos and threes until only a few were near us. The hour was now three A. M., so wrapping my blanket about me, I stretched myself on the sand to sleep a little, though we could not feel sure that we would not be attacked for the sake of our baggage. A party of six Brazilians who were [609] descending the Araguaya some months previous to the time of our trip, were clubbed to death near this place for their baggage.

This was a night of experiences that we shall not soon forget. When we were first surrounded, one of our party, especially, acted very imprudently, though with good intentions: He blew a bugle endeavoring to call to our aid the other canoes which were really far distant from us. This calling for help could accomplish nothing, and but served to excite greater suspicion in the minds of the savages and precipitate an attack. I think I was as much frightened as any one, yet I saw that to retain self-command was far the wisest course to pursue.

513 The sleep of these children of Nature is more like that of 721 the other wild creatures of the woods than of human beings. The night is much the same as the day to them. They are up and down during the night, just as during the day, ever vigilant, and living in constant expectancy of the sudden appearance of an enemy. It is almost impossible to approach their encampment without their knowledge, though one move never so stealthily.

301 [286] fancy. Sometimes, however, these ornaments are woven on a wooden form.

292 513 Another article of dress, which is peculiar to the Karayá, is the *hammock*. It is made of cotton cords. Strange to say, it is never used as a hammock; nor can it even be swung up, as it is not provided with any cords for this purpose. It is only the body of a hammock. During the day, it is used as a kind of cloak, and is hooked over the head so as to cover the shoulders and back; and at night, it is used as a mat to sleep upon, *on the ground*. Both adults and children may be seen going about during the day with these huge, half-open-pea-pod like objects hooked over them. It reminds one of a snail with its shell on its back. Even clay dolls have this hammock cloak. It is, however, occasionally fastened up [854] like a hammock in order that it may be used as a cradle for an infant.

513 171 This *hammock* is of great ethnological interest, because the primitive races of Brazil are classified ethnographically according to whether they sleep in a hammock or do not. It is known that all the tribes occupying the eastern half of Brazil, [352] which includes the Karayá, sleep on the ground, or on slightly raised platforms made of poles; while those that are really hammock using tribes—that sleep in hammocks—make their hammocks of cordage twisted from cotton and palm-leaf fibre. But the Karayá *hammock* is made of cotton only; moreover, it is not a complete hammock and is not used to sleep in. This proves that the Karayá are not to be classified as one [177] of the hammock tribes. We are to understand, therefore, that they got the idea of the hammock comparatively recently from some other people, probably from the "civilized" Brazilians, who make them of cotton only; and though they value them, they are yet unwilling to give up their old custom of sleeping on the ground. A certain Brazilian explorer asserts that [286] he taught the Karayá to make a simple loom and how to weave.

293 Another article of dress used by the Karayá, is a kind of eye-shade, called an eye-umbrella. It is used to protect the

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca.1900) 1909
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361 beyond endurance, compelling them, finally, to pull down
[364] their huts and move to a new site, perhaps to some other sand-bar. This is a case of moving the residence instead of the garbage. During the rainy season, or when the sand bottoms are submerged, which may not occur until two or three months after the rains begin, the Karayá dwell on the
[342] high banks of the mainland. Here, the huts are much better constructed, resembling the dwellings of "civilized" Brazilians.

342 It is seldom one sees among primitive peoples, such sub-
184 stantially constructed huts as those of the Sambiõa division. Here is seen the greater industry, the greater activity, and the better condition in every respect of the free, unmolested sons of the wilderness in comparison with their "tame" brethren who exist in more destitute circumstances, though in contact with, and under the influence of the "civilized" people—the semi-barbarous Brazilians. The dwellings of
342 the Sambiõa are not placed in disorder, but are arranged in
363 long rows, forming regular streets. "They make a favorable impression upon the visitor, because the streets appear clean and the huts orderly, comfortable and inviting." The four
361 Sambiõa villages each contain sixty, thirty, forty-five and
162 ninety huts, respectively, and each hut is occupied by one or
592 two, or more, families.

352 The furniture in these primitive abodes is very simple.
The floor, which is bare earth, is covered with matting made
[285] by braiding together the long, slender leaves of the burity-
[513] palm. The occupants sleep on this matting without any other bedding whatever, save a round billet of wood for a pillow upon which the neck rests, but not the head, Japanese
353 fashion. From the plates, or roof supports, hang baskets of various forms and sizes, in which are kept the bright feathers that are used in decorative work and ornament making. Finished ornaments and decorations made of brilliant feathers, pieces of regalia, bows and arrows in a finished and unfinished state, spear-throwing sticks and various small articles are also seen stuck into or suspended from the roof; while

/27/

579 The observation with which Im Thurn introduces his discussion of the social life of the Guiana tribes, "The Indian in his natural state, before he feels the influence of white man is of decidedly admirable morality" /cited in English/, is also true in its full extent for the Karaya. This natural morality, completely independent of religious beliefs, makes the existence of a primitive community such as theirs possible. It expresses itself in the [576] scrupulous observation of the commandments of external propriety (1), which does not escape even the casual visitor, but,

[514]

1. Of culture-historical interest and typical of the feeling of propriety of these savages is the manner of their defecation. It occurs as far as possible from the village. A hole is made in the sand. The individual sits on it with outstretched legs, hiding the upper body behind a small mat. The excrement is always carefully buried.

above all, in the exemplary conduct of family life. The 593 solidarity of the family group, which even Martius, rashly 602 generalizing from his observations among demoralized tribes, denied that the Americans possessed at all, has quite truly given this people the moral support which has prevented its decline up to now, despite a century of contact with civilization and, hopefully, will hold it off for a long time to come.

The Karaya family seems, according to its form to be a "mother family." The following facts speak in favor of this:

1. The married man does not eat with his family, but with that of his married sister. Accordingly, he is considered a member of his sister's family.

2. Likewise in the division of the hunting spoils he receives his share, not in his own house, but in that of his sister.

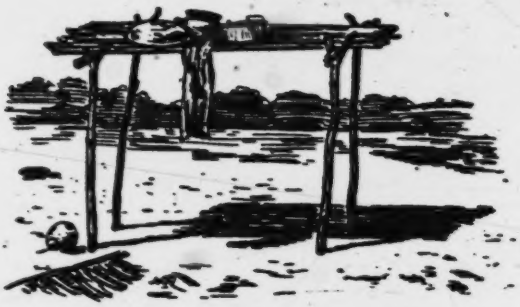
768 3. The children of a widower are cared for by his parents- 589 in-law, while he himself re-enters the ranks of the bachelors. 606

/200 cont./

000 136 361 to remaining outside the houses. In addition, there are the sand flies, /Ill. 26 appears here/ which, according to Ehrenreich, become so rampant that the Indians are forced to change their place of residence often (see below under "Village" /see p. 85 /).

417

[225]



Ill. 24.
Storage rack. Drawn from a photograph.

Ill. 25.
Rack for drying the turtle fishlines.

[824]

a b

Ill. 26.
a) Drying gourds.
b) Storing gourds.

514 There are no privies. To attend to their needs, the Indians go to a depression in the sandbank, behind the nearest bush, or into the woods. To clean themselves they use three small sticks which they break from a bush and then place parallel over the excrement. The urubus, which [136] live in great numbers near the settlements, quickly take care of cleaning the place. In order to piss the men go to the river. Here they go into

/200 cont./

514 water about 5/4 meters deep with their knees slightly bent and there untie the long penis string and tie it on again.

342 [252] The houses are merely living and sleeping houses; cooking is done outside.

[622] The chiefs in part have better built, larger houses; thus, /Plate 41 appears here/ /201/ the one belonging to Chief João III was three to four meters high, five to six meters wide, and equally long (Pl. 39).

[344] [203] [622] There are no meeting houses; in order to bring about a decision or announce regulations, the chief goes to the individual houses.

Other special houses are:

343 844 1. Birth houses. These are erected for the woman when birth is imminent; their construction is said to be identical with that of the other houses.

346 2. The mask house in which the dance masks are kept. It always stands apart from the village and in its method of construction is a dry-season house with a round structure on the narrow side turned toward the village. The arches are usually slightly curved and strengthened on top by a ridge beam (Pl. 12, Ill. 3). The mask houses serve as bachelor houses; the young people are said to sleep here. I saw only four mask huts, but cannot confirm 513 these statements from my observations. In any case, the young people do not sleep in the houses, but rather, if there is no mask house, [609] by a fire which is away from the village. Strangers are given shelter by the chief; they sleep in his house, even though they are unmarried (see the reception which I, with my men, found among the Šavajé /pp. 129 ff. in the first part of the work, which is omitted in the translation/).

342 443 562 768 The house belongs to the woman. The man builds it before the marriage, with the assistance of the young people, who are paid for it by the woman with chains of beads. The construction takes one or two days. After death the house is said to be burned.

821 According to the accounts of the Indians, the houses are protected from bolts of lightning by a fish spine stuck on the roof on a pole about half a meter long. Probably only magic is involved here.

[Text continues on p. 84]

/329 cont./

000 go fishing, but loitered around me in the camp). Children obey
593 their parents implicitly, and even adults still unquestioningly follow the advice of their mothers. Thus, Pedro's mother gave him the following good advice on his journey (Pedro was a widower with three children): Do not lend money (Pedro therefore flatly refused the attempts to borrow on the part of other comrades, with the argument that his mother had forbidden it); do not bring back a wife (in this respect, too, Pedro obeyed his mother and refused several attempts at matchmaking); men who run after women grow lean, but a person who eats a great deal grows fat.

Legally, too, parents, especially the mother, seem to retain authority over their grown sons. For I was obliged to conduct with his mother the final negotiations about Pedro's taking his children along. I did not negotiate at all with Pedro himself.

857 The result of this rearing is that the children are never ill-behaved and seldom quarrel among themselves; they are merry and gay and soon trusting toward the stranger, without being guilty of rude familiarity.

576 In general, great value is put on dignified and polite behavior. In the huts, the members of the family were separately introduced to me. When, in the evening beside the fire, I
[126] wanted to write down their information, they blew upon a chunk of wood and held it up to me in order to give me light. When they were looking for honey on the way, they always brought me part of it in a piece of tree bark.

• 514 Modesty is part of the Indians' good behavior. Defecation takes place far outside the village, if possible hidden from the
[291] glances of others. When a girl about eight years old was supposed to sell me her string belt, she ran behind the nearest mat wall, put on a new one there, and then brought me the old one. It is only in farting that they are somewhat more negligent. Loud sounds are greeted with laughter or accompanied by dog-barks. In some places this seemed actually to be good form, and one would outdo the other. On the other hand, foul smells were taken amiss; they would all glance indignantly at the presumed offender and would give expression to their annoyance with disapproving bw̃ and hm̃ sounds.

/10 cont./

302 The bristly or wavy black hair of both sexes is cut off straight above the eyebrows and hangs down in back over the neck. Dandies
[301] wear a part about three centimeters wide up to the crown /Fig. 1 appears here/, let the short crown-hair stick up like a brush, and with cotton strings tie the part hanging down in back into a braid, at the roots of which the men sometimes tie a decoration of blue arara or black mutum /curassow/ feathers (ušiktamaru).

301 In the pierced ear-lobes both sexes wear sticks of cane 15-20
[304] centimeters long for everyday.

The plug in the lower lip (anʒōŏ) is used only by the men. It
[814] consists of the light, flaky wood of the piuva tree and is either cut obliquely with a short point or runs out into a long, thin lamina hanging down on the chest (Fig. 2, b /see p. 18 /).

Boys primarily wear, instead of this, small T-shaped pieces of shell (idžă) (Fig. 2, d /see p. 18 /).

The most precious lip ornament, which is worn only on festive occasions, but otherwise is kept carefully wrapped in cotton, is a long, heavy, stone plug (manuterĕ) of hyaline or rose-colored quartz, the T-shaped end of which is stuck through the lower lip while the conical button hangs down (Fig. 2, a /see p. 18 /). Of the four specimens in the collection the largest is 17.5 centimeters long.

301 /11/ These lip stones, of which only a few have reached
439 European collections, are not made by the Karaya themselves, but are bartered from the Tapirapé, the Tupi people on the like-
[135] named left tributary of the Araguaia. The mountain chains of the left riverbank, such as the Serra dos Cayapos, are rich in this material. A Kayapo stone plug acquired in S. Maria is shorter and runs out to a tapered, blunt end (Fig. 2, c /see p. 18 /).

304 Tattooing is limited to the tribal badge which both sexes
619 wear on their cheeks: a blue ring 10-15 millimeters in diameter (auʒamanurĕ) just under the lower edge of the orbit.

● 515 On the whole the Karaya are distinguished by scrupulous care of the body. They bathe several times a day. Their hair is
302 always carefully combed. All the hair on the face and body is
[412] plucked out. Shears are now commonly used for hair cutting,
[231] whereas formerly piranha teeth were used for this.

/219 cont./

304 the two circles drawn with black color on small children. In
881 the case of boys, the time is determined according to when, after the last cropping, the hair reaches down to the tip of the nose in front and to the shoulders in back.

304 The tattooing is done by special persons who own stamps
463 and stone knives and are called wairădŭ. There was only one such person in the south horde (in Village 6), whereas in the north horde there were several (for example, Ilk in Village 13). They are paid for this operation. No ceremonies of any kind are said to take place, and the children are not always tattooed together, but also singly on occasion, whenever one happens to be able to get hold of the master.

304 The chief's tattooing, which is characteristic of chiefs
[622] and their wives, consists of vertical black strokes between the lower lip and the lower edge of the face, which are arranged side by side in one or sometimes also in two lines, one above the other (Ill. 53 a, b). According to Kurišř, this tattooing is supposed to be peculiar to women. Even girls are said to have such lines of blue dots on the chin, which is supposed to be regarded as very beautiful. I never observed this last phenomenon, however.

515 /220/ e) Body care. The Indians bathe a great deal; usually they take a bath early in the morning, and even during the day they plunge into the water whenever they feel like it, in most cases probably to cool off by means of the subsequent evaporation of the water in drying.

515 Two plant products serve as soap in washing; first, a
824 bark (ŭăbăkă = sabão do matto), from which one scrapes off a
388 little, /Ills. 54-57 appear here/, rubs this in water, and washes himself with the lather thus produced; then there is a tree bast (doŭ) which is also used as soap for cleansing.

302 The rubbing of the body, the arms, and especially the
824 hair with the fragrant resin (ăndĭlă) of the almecegeira (Hedwigia balsamifera), which is ordinarily stored in gourds, is very popular.

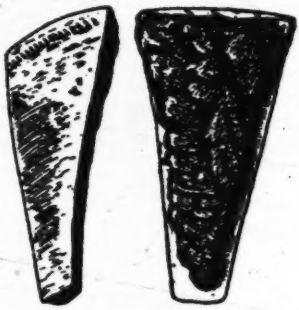
/355 cont./

292 Karajá, the Šavajé are supposed to make such coverings, whereas the coverings with a wide, black center stripe come, not from the Šavajé, but from the Tapirapé.

184 Even the smallest girls already wore firmly plaited, black
[301] belts which correspond to those of the Karajá. I did not see anywhere the loosely plaited string belts (Karajá, Ills. 30 and 31).
[291] Adult women wore the bast apron, called hăbĭŏdă here, made mostly out of white and only rarely of reddish bast.

303 The hair style does not show anything that is foreign to the
184 Karajá. The combs are plaited by the men in the same manner
[302] as among the Karajá. Forms and designs correspond to the others; the decorating by means of feather clusters or bundles of cotton is rare, however.
[304] The side cross-threads are also often absent.

302 Body painting is identi-
184 cal with that of the Karajá. As oil, coconut oil is used; as color, chiefly urucú, which, with the seeds removed, is stored in huge hollow gourds.



Ill. 189 a, b.
Scarifier (b = back side).

301

Ill. 190.
Ear rod.

304 Scarification is also customary among the Šavajé. The instrument for it (lālēdjŭ; Ill. 189), however, is covered with a thin coating of wax on the entire back side (cf. Ehrenreich's specimens, Berlin 3953 a b, from the Karajá).

• 515 As for body care, it should be remarked that the Šavajé go to bathe in the lake every morning at sunrise, even when there is heavy fog over the water and it is very cold. They then warm and dry themselves at the hearth fire in the hut.

Brazil.

Both sexes have a blue ring tattooed under the eye, forming a deep ugly scar, which is the special distinguishing mark of the tribe. 304 619

The Karayá take good care of the body, bathing many times each day—though this is more to cool and refresh themselves, and for sport—keep the hair well combed, and pull out the sparse beard. They formerly used the teeth of the piránha fish as a kind of saw with which to cut the hair, but they now have scissors. 515 ● 302 412 237

As already stated, the men wear no clothing, or covering whatever. The sash, or apron, worn by the women, is made of the inner bark of the jangáda tree. It is prepared for use by first soaking it a day or two in water, then pounding it with flat stones, and finally drying it. When the wearer of this primitive apron sits, she passes it back between the limbs and sits upon it. Besides this costume, both sexes wear various armlets, wristlets and leglets, as ornaments, which are peculiar to each division of the tribe. Soon after birth, the child's wrists and legs below the knees, are adorned with broad bands made by weaving together cotton cordage on the limbs themselves; while a black cotton band girts the body as a bandage. When the infant is a few months old, these articles are removed, and broad cotton wristlets, leglets and anklets are woven on the limbs, a tassel of cotton cords being attached to the leglets. The boys wear the leglets, or garterlets, until the lip is pierced, while the girls wear them until married. The wristlets worn by adults, cover nearly the whole forearm. They are not put aside until after marriage, and many females wear them until the first child is born. When one of the couple dies, the survivor puts the wristlets on again. This custom has come down from the ancients. As the wristlets and leglets are usually woven on the limbs themselves, they cannot be removed without being cut off. For this reason, they are never removed, nor washed until finally thrown aside. But I found the Karayá quite ready to cut these articles off and give them to me in exchange for some articles I had which took their fancy. 291 [287] 301 [184] [283] [286] [437] [439]

/78 cont./ [Plate II. Karaya. (cont'd)]

142 2. Two Šambioa warriors en face. The man on the left with
291 the feather diadem lurina on the back of the head (see p. 44),
301 bow, arrows, and club in his hand, the one on the right with the
302 small wreath-diadem (Pl. IX /see p. /, 6) and strings of glass
411 beads wound tightly around the neck. The large lower-arm cuffs identify him as unmarried.

Pl. III. Karaya. Karayahi Groups (taken in the last "summer camp" on a river island above the northern tip of Bananal Island).

1. Men, two of which wear arm-cuffs and knee-bands. One has the small feather rosettes with a central disk of mother-of-pearl in his ears (see. p. 46). Face painting with soot is recognizable. The straw hat of the older man sitting in front is not the one mentioned on p. 20, but a model directly borrowed
[501] from the settlers. In the background two long canoes and farther to the left in the distance the small Araguaia steamer.

342 2. Women, children, and young people sitting on the
361 ground in front of the tent-roofs of the summer camp, which are
516 made of mats. Two araras on the pole to the right, at the left on the bank a jabiru (black-headed stork).

Pl. IV. Karaya. Villages.

133
342 1. Full view of the first village of the Šambioa.
361 2. Reception scene in the third village of the Šambioa.
574

291 Pl. V. Karaya. Chief's hut (fourth village of the
342 Šambioa).
351
354 Group at the cooking place in front of the entrance.
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411 Pl. VI. Karaya. Weapons.

1. Bow with wound bowstring and feather tassel (1/8).

4: Ehrenreich--105 E-5 (1888) 1891 SP9 Caraja SP9

Plate III

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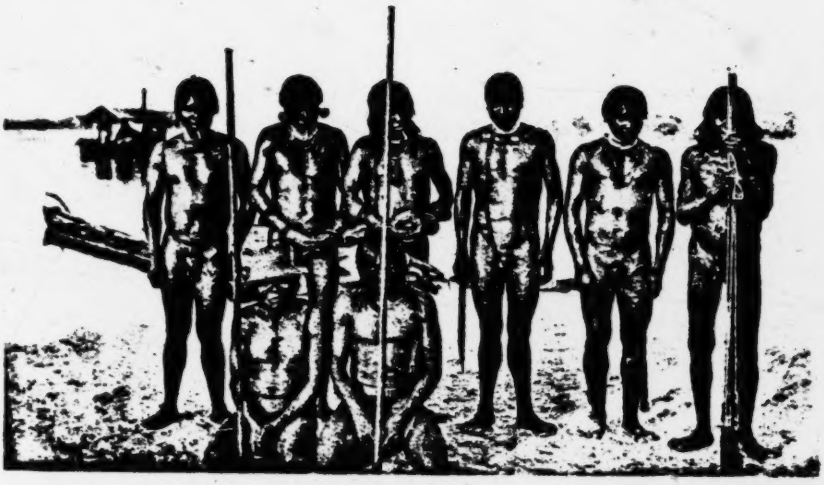

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4: Ehrenreich--107 E-5 (1888) 1891 SP9 Caraja SP9

Plate V

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Plate 11

342
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[361]

1. Dry-season hut of the Karajá.

2. Karajá village.

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[276]
[302]

3. Karajá women smoking.

4. Karajá siblings.

/Pl. 11 faces p. 52./

Plate 12

1. Cooking place of the Karaja Indians.

3. Mask hut in Village 7 (South Horde).

2. Karajá boys.

4. Karajá women and girls.

/Plate 12 faces p. 56. /

Plate 15

142
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[482]

1. Youth in full ornamentation. Karajá.

3. Back-basket carrier. Karajá.

2. A Karajá youth's braid wrapped in bast.

4a. Youths with braids wrapped in red cotton cord.

4b. The same youths from the front.

/Pl. 15 faces p. 68./

5: Krause--10 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9

Plate 16

142
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Painted Karajá maiden.

/Pl. 16 faces p. 72./

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5: Krause--11 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9

Plate 17

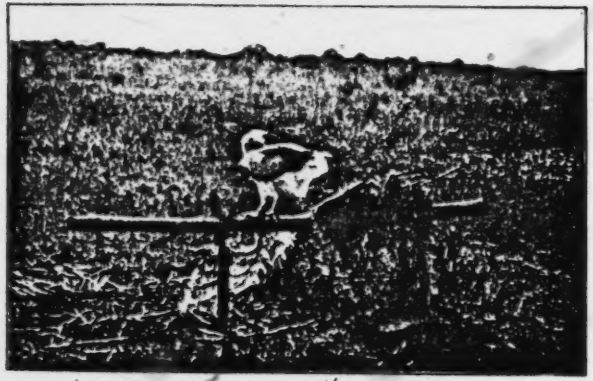
Karajá Indians.

/Pl. 17 faces p. 76./

342 ↑ 149 391 516 854 ↓ 149 891 301 516 ↓ 231 ↑

Plate 30

1. Houses of the Šavajé on Bananal.



2. Village bird of the Šavajé.

/Pl. 30 faces p. 136./

3. Šavajé women and children.

4. Šavajé men and youths.

5: Krause--28 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9

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/Ill. 10 appears on p. 138. /

Ill. 10. Savajé challenge-dance for a wrestling match. On the right, the Karajá. In front, the two paths on which the masked dances take place. Drawn from a photograph.

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/Ill. 11 appears on p. 139./

Ill. 11. Wrestling match between Karaja (right) and Suruí (left). Drawn from a photograph.

5: Krause--47 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9

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Plate 36

1. Three Karajá men.

2. Youth, boy, man. Karajá.

142
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1. Karajá youths.

[854]

2. Karajá women and children.

KAP 2917 30 200 516

Plate 38

1. Two men, a youth, two boys. Karajá.

2. Painted boy. Karajá.

/198 cont./

513 head high when sleeping. When they sleep in the open in the sand, they hollow out a pit for their bodies, put a mat over it and themselves on top of that, but in such a way that the head lies on the elevated edge of the pit; they cover themselves with the rest of the mat. It is very agreeable to sleep in this fashion, /199/ as I discovered for myself. In contrast to this, however, I also saw them lying flat on the level floor in the houses, without elevating their heads at all.

293 For fanning cool air and to drive away mosquitoes during the midday rest, plaited, patterned fans (kōlĭ; Pl. 21, Ill. 2) made of palm leaves are used.

352 532 [622] Seats are provided only for chiefs. They are the stool in animal form carved out of one piece of wood: the seat runs out on either side into a head that bears mother-of-pearl eyes with wax pupils; tassels of red-yellow parrot feathers are hung in the ear holes. The mother-of-pearl eyes are cut round on a stone and then glued on with wax. Finally, the entire stool is colored black with genipap coloring, which is applied with the palm of the hand. These stools are called kōlĭšŭ, the feather tassels kōlĭšŭlă bĕdŏsĭ. The stools are said to represent an arara (Pl. 19, Ill. 1a and b).

516 Ordinarily the Indians sit on the mats with their legs crossed under them, hand on hip, or they squat on the ground (Pl. 12, Ill. 1; Pl. 38, Ill. 1).

353 Usually no arrangement for the storing of ornaments, articles of clothing, implements, and weapons is found in the huts. Small things are stuck into the roof /Ill. 23 appears here/ or hung on [411] the posts. Bows, arrows, and lances usually lie along the side walls on the floor or lean in a corner. For the rest, baskets, gourd [415] vessels, and pots hang, stand, and lie around everywhere in the house, some of them filled with other household equipment. In [352] only two houses, in Village 6 and in Schischá, did I see along the wall stands made out of two forked sticks on which bows and arrows were placed (Ill. 23). They, too, seem to go back to Šavajé influence, for the Šavajé in Schischá used such stands.

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1. Women's clothing and hair style.

2. Karajá women and children.

3. Karajá women and children.

Plate 43

142
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1. Youth in typical attire.

2. Boy with close-cropped hair and hair-wreath.

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3. Karajá men with straw hat and tobacco pipe.

5: Krause--102 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9

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Plate 44

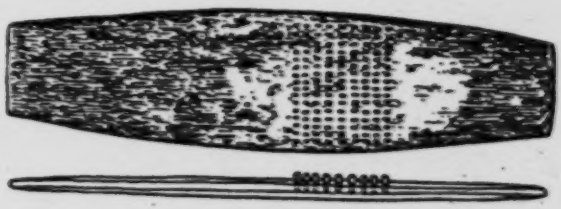
1. Karajá youths.

2. Karajá youth and boy.

/253 cont./

252 follows: The root, provided with incisions, /254/ is placed in
[412] water for several days, then scraped with a sharpened mussel shell,
[237] and after that grated on the wooden grater [(k)ōlānă]. The longish, rectangular, flat piece of wood bears in the center of one side several transverse rows of inset points of prejauva wood

[412]



Ill. 92.
Manioc grater.

[516]

[237]

[415]

(Ill. 92). The woman kneels while grating and holds the piece of wood against her body and braced against the ground. The well-known palates of the pirarucú fish also serve as graters. After that the mass is mixed with water and placed on the rod-sieve [bŭlĕĭdjú, pronounced: brē(ĭ)djĕ]. This consists of thin little cane rods arranged side by side, which at rather wide intervals are interwoven with two strings, in the same way as the net coverings (Plate 55, Ill. 1). Such rod-

[412]

Ill. 93.
Stirring spoon.

sieves serve, for one thing, as sieves for pounded manioc and for potter's clay, and then, too, as a manioc press, and finally as a base in pottery-making. On such sieves, therefore, the mass of manioc is cleaned, large pieces are picked out, and the sieve, along with the mass, is then rolled up and at the same time pressed hard with the hands, so that the poisonous juice flows out.
[262] The resulting coarse flour (kĕnōdĕ) is cooked to a manioc mush, the common food of the Indians. The sweet manioc (aipim) is
[412] treated somewhat differently. It is cut up and crumbled and then
[412] pounded with the thick wooden pestle approximately one and a half meters long (hăŏ) in the mortar about 50 centimeters high and 26

/314 cont./

526 steps half-right, then make a quarter turn and dance forward in
535 the same manner half-left, and so on, alternating in this manner.
574 In connection with this, they swing their hanging arms in the most peculiar way, and the one who happens to be in front utters a howling cry in a high pitch, shouting hū once with every step (Ills. 10, 11, wrestling match between Šavajé and Karajá). When they have reached the front of the opposite row, they stop, turn about on the left foot, whereby they fling their right arms far around and both utter a drawn-out, descending hū; then they run back to their ranks. The opposite side responds to this challenge in like manner. It is only then that from among the natives two men dance forward in the same way, but only to the middle, one pair of the strangers comes dancing toward them, and then, without further ado, the wrestling begins, until one of the opponents is
526 downed. Usually the fights last only one or two minutes. /315/
574 If the opponents are equally skillful and are unable to secure a fall, the fight is broken off. The one who ends up lying on his back is beaten. He remains prostrate; the victor, crying hū, dances around him and in the end climbs over him, or else the victor, with raised hand and shouting in the same manner, dances around the opponent who stands with bowed head. Then both return to
[535] their ranks. Thereupon the chiefs, along with the victor, with arms crossed over their shoulders, shouting hū, dance once around the wrestling place. Each subsequent fight is introduced in the same manner; the big ceremony, however, takes place only before the first fight. Only once did I see an individual man dance forward; otherwise they always went forward in pairs. Sometimes the challenge was not accepted; then the challengers danced to the opposite side, turned about there, and went back. I was unable to find out whether individuals choose certain opponents, or whether
[516] anyone may accept the challenge. After the fight they adopt a certain resting position: they stand bent forward and rest their outstretched arms on their knees. They remain in this position until they wrestle again. Concerning the wrestling match between Karajá and Šavajé /see pp. 330 - 332/.

[See pp. 28-29--Analyst

/366 cont./

526 The wrestling was very similar to that of the Karajá. If
574 one bout were not accepted, the challengers made a gesture of rejection with their arms, turned around, and went back to their row. Then one of them walked forward again, assumed the position of rest in the center, with his back to the opponents, and
[516] shouted until one of the latter accepted. The resting position was
[184] identical with that of the Karajá: they stood with the upper part of the body bent over and rested the arms on the knee. The victor performed a dance in front of the loser, shouting loudly; upon walking away, he moved his left hand over the head of the defeated one. Here, too, the chief stood on the side of the guests.

574 Only after the return from the wrestling match was food put before the Karajá; only now were they regarded as accepted and permitted to disperse into the individual houses.

843 Upon my departure from the village a strange ceremony took
628 place, the meaning of which, I believe, is that a girl made
123 pregnant during previous visits of Karajá was sent along with the Karajá to await the birth among them; whether she would then return could not be definitely ascertained; perhaps she went to the Karajá as a village prostitute. Shortly before departure, the chief took me by the hand and led me into the neighboring house. Here an obviously pregnant girl was sitting and /367/ spinning. She had to get up and lay her work aside; the chief's wife took off her neck ornament (I had already bought her leg bands from her in the morning). The girl then had to take a second bast apron and her net covering and go with us to the boat. Apparently this was very little to the girl's liking, for she wept bitterly and only gradually calmed down. The chief then made long speeches to me, the meaning of which, however, I could not understand. On the way, the girl was under the special charge of my Indian guide, who allegedly was her cousin. He was very gallant to her, carried her covering, brought food on a plate, etc. The girl always walked closely in front and behind him.

535 The masked dance that I saw among the Šavajé was a ĩdjãzõ
[184] dance and very similar to that of the Karajá. It took place on the first evening. The two masks stood side by side in front of the hut,

/16 cont./

* 532 could not create anything on their own initiative, but had to
126 have assignments set by me; others (and they were in the majority)
183 filled page after page with ever new figures as they happened to occur to them. In the following those drawn on demand are marked by *).

In this way I obtained representations of human beings, animals, birds, fish, reptiles, insects, trees, objects, constellations, and other things. They claimed unanimously that they could not draw human beings, but finally provided me with pictures when I asked for a portrait of myself. Of animals they liked best to draw birds and fish. Pictures of trees are very rare. They usually only produced objects on request. They liked most of all to produce patterns (see decorations /pp.42 ff./).

[412] [512] Drawings were made only by the male sex, usually in bed by candlelight in the evenings. The significance of individual figures was immediately ascertained through questions and written down next to each figure.

*532 We distinguish between three kinds of drawings:

1. Simple line drawing, 2. outline drawing, 3. filled-in figures.

The relationship of the simple line drawing to the other kinds has not yet been determined because of the lack of comparative material. I should like to discuss it here first of all. With regard to the other two kinds, it is certain that the filled-in figures represent a higher stage than the outline drawings (2).

[113] 2. Cf. Dr. S. Levinstein, Kinderzeichnungen bis zum 14. Lebensjahr /Children's Drawings up to the 14th Year/, R. Voigtländer's Publishing House, Leipzig, 1905.

Almost two-thirds of all the drawings are filled-in figures, whereas simple line drawings make up only one quarter, outline drawings only one seventh of the material. The Karajá therefore stand on a very high level artistically.

The line drawings are all made with a pencil, the outline drawings with pencil and colored crayon, the filled-in figures

/23 cont./

531 In some patterns I was successful in separating pattern and back-
[128] ground from each other; others still await satisfactory investigation.

531 These patterns are made in the following manner. On
285 baskets, fans, etc., they are produced simply through different, diagonal plaiting of the leaf pinnae. For plaiting around something with yellow cane and black embira, the black embira is plaited horizontally in spirals through the strips of cane hanging
531 down vertically. Carved decorations are made with the knife;
322 the latter is then held almost vertically to the surface to be carved, and /24/ in this way small pieces of the upper layer are chipped off broadside with the point. Finer and deeper lines are carved out naturally. In poker work a splinter of cane is used as the cautery, which is made to glow on an adjacent block of wood and then quickly pressed on the spot concerned. This is,
[462] of course, very slow work, which is practiced almost exclusively
[517] by the male sex, apparently only for fun.

531 The Indians always drew the patterns in the sketchbook on
[153] their own initiative. When they had barely drawn some figures, they would already go over to the patterns. Many refused to draw figures altogether, but just treated themselves to making patterns.
531 Now it was extremely interesting to observe how the people ar-
151 ranged the patterns. As an example I shall take the one in Fig. 199 (Plate X /see p. 56 /). First of all the space was divided up by four vertical lines according to exact calculation. The Indians sitting nearby already knew which decoration the artist wanted to draw, without the latter saying anything. Then each new line to be drawn was discussed in detail beforehand, criticized afterwards. Thus, the sketch was put together as a common task. During this the lines, once the people were completely clear about direction
531 and length, were drawn with a quick sure stroke. It should further
151 be noted that the Indians had observed how I wrote my remarks
153 about artist and pattern on the edge of the page, and now on their own initiative they left a narrow margin free on one side, as I ascertained through questions, so that I could write on it. They

/27 cont./

531 horizontal sectioning (Fig. 210a to c /see p. 60/), vertical sectioning (Fig. 211a and b /see p. 60/).

3. The half-gourds and whole gourds decorated by painting have a quite different character.

[415] Only one gourd ladle colored with paint is found (Fig. 212 /see p. 60/). It shows a black edge, simple zigzag line, and a cross in the middle.

/28/ All the others show poker work. Fig. 213 (Plate XI /see p. 57/) represents the first attempt at this by a small girl. The gourd ladles are very diversely decorated. The edge has a row of triangles (Fig. 214 /see p. 60/), or tree-like branched figures usually extend from it toward the center (Fig. 215 a to c /see p. 62/). /Fig. 221 appears here. /1 The patterns in Fig. 216 a to c /see p. 62/ are arranged in horizontal strips, in Fig. 217 /see p. 62/ in vertical strips. In Fig. 218 a and b /see p. 62/ the whole surface is filled in with one pattern, in Fig. 219 /see p. 62/ with different patterns. Plaiting patterns are represented only in Figs. 216c and 219. Whole gourds are either decorated only on the upper part (Fig. 220 /see p. 62/), or in a central zone reaching around them (Fig. 221 a to c /see p. 64/; b and c with three parts), or only on two opposite sides (Fig. [415] 222 a and b /see p. 64/). The water-carrying vessel of the Šavajé (in Fig. 223 /see p. 64/) shows very crude poker work.

531 462 [512] [172] 4. The artistic activity of the women is quite different from this of the men. It is very rare and in part has been taken over from the Brazilians. The women do not use the patterns of the men. It must be said that the women stand far behind /Figs. 222-224 appear here/2 the men artistically; for although they also plait and make pottery, they decorate their products only in the rarest cases. Homemade decorations are found on a mat, the apron of a clay doll, and on spinning whorls. The mat 531 [245] Fig. 224 /see p. 64/) is patterned by plaiting in bundles of black-dyed fibers in the fashion illustrated. One sees immediately that on the right the upper pattern is the negative of the lower one. On the doll's apron (Plate II /see p. 48/, Fig. 26) the red and

1, 2 [see p. 64--Analyst]

[Text continues on p. 65]

/19 cont./

411 Of the three specimens the largest has a total length of 72.5 centimeters, of which 14.5 make up the handle (Pl. VI /see p. 108/, 6). Moreover, there is a children's throwing board 38.5 centimeters long.

[824] The arrows thrown (kâura) are 150-180 centimeters long, unfeathered cane pieces made of uba (Gynerium saccharoides) with inserted, 12-20 centimeter long end-knobs of palm wood, which are covered with a thick layer of wax. Thus they should be considered only as sporting equipment. That tradition still knows them as weapons, however, is shown by the legend given on p. 85 (Pl. VI /see p. 108/, 7).

323 Ceramics. The art of making pots, practiced exclusively by the women, is not especially developed. Although the technique leaves little to be desired, the forms are rather simple. [517] An artistic desire to reproduce natural objects, animal shapes, etc., as among the Xingu tribes, is not expressed in them. Everything is reckoned more in terms of the practical.

As almost everywhere in South America, the vessels are made without a wheel by putting rolls of clay over one other circularly or spirally. By patting with the dampened hand and continuous smoothing with pieces of bone and mussel shell, the pot finally reaches the desired shape and strength.

[113] According to Couto Magelhães (Archiv. do museu nac. Rio, p. 77) the ash of certain vines is mixed with the clay; their silica content makes it more resistant.

According to further information from the above observer, the firing of the pots is done, after superficial drying, in a peculiar manner. A hole is made in the side of an earth termite nest, and it is heated. The vessel is put in, and under it there is made a second opening communicating with the first one, with a fire maintained in it. A third opening at the top serves as a chimney.

415 The collection shows the most important, but not the largest 106 types of vessels that occur (Fig. 5 /see p. 38/).

78 are the product of intermarriage and formal friendship. Intervillage
628 feuds are common and are restrained only by the religious community,
626 sanctuary being granted at all religious ceremonials.

ETIQUETTE

576 All dealings with visitors are conducted according to elaborate formal
195 patterns. The language is rich in formal appellations, exclamations, and
562 honorific phrases. The most remarkable feature is that women are permitted to behave with perfect freedom, whereas men, until they become fathers, behave with a shy and deferential modesty resembling but exceeding that of the Victorian maiden. Normal relations between members
[522] of the same village are formal and dignified; only in the men's house or on fishing and hunting trips is the behavior of men relaxed enough to permit horseplay and casual joking.

LIFE CYCLE

553 **Childbirth and Childhood.**—The child gets two sets of names, one
551 male and one female, as soon as the mother is known to be pregnant. These
843 are one's own names given by grandparents of both lines. Taboos in
846 regard to diet and behavior are required of both parents before and after birth. There is a well-developed couvade based on the notion of an
853 intimate connection between the infant and its father. Babies are nursed
862 until they turn to other food of their own volition; sometimes ridicule is used as a sanction against particularly recalcitrant children. No inter-
854 course is allowed during the period of lactation. Babies are carried on the hip, and sleep with the mother until weaning, when they are paired
[291] off with other children or with a grandparent. The girl child wears no clothing until weaned and then receives a fringed belt.

881 **Puberty and Initiations.**—At menstruation, a girl's cheeks are scarified and she assumes the girdle.

[304] A boy passes through a first initiation at about the age of 8 or 9,
[302] when his lower lip is pierced and a small bone labret inserted. A couple of years later, he passes through a second initiation, when his hair is cut short to a tonsure, his entire body is stained black with genipa, and he assumes the penis cord. When his hair has grown out to shoulder length, it is put up in a braid, and he attains full status as a young man.
885 The next change of status for both boys and girls occurs at marriage, when, for the first time, they take on the responsibilities of regular work.
551 Teknonymy is a matter of pride and follows the birth of the first child. The name is retained permanently thereafter, even though the child should
888 die. At about 45 both parents discard their ornaments and accept the
561 status of old age. All the above age grades are named and involve differential behavior and dietary observances.

[For information concerning the clay figurines or "dolls" see category 532.]

2: Krause

SP9 Caraja SP9

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[For illustrations of clay dolls see category 116, pp. 48-51.]

000 /3 cont./
forms are only the result of particularly high personal talent.
531 128 Decorative art is limited to the application of geometric patterns. These patterns, which are usually interpreted as animals, are borrowed from the plaiting technique. We shall therefore first of all look at the decorations borrowed from the plaiting technique which are on the plaited work itself, then at their transference in carving on gourd utensils, and at the same time we shall take into consideration the great number of such patterns which the Indians drew in the sketchbook for me. Only then will the other decorations, ordinarily in carving and poker work, be dealt with.

531 462 Decorative artistic activity is limited solely to the men; only they know how to execute the patterns. I have seen only a few clay tobacco pipes, two spindle whorls, some modern clay bowls, a doll's apron, and a mat which had been decorated by women. These objects show completely different patterns, though [172] it must be noted that they have apparently taken over the clay tobacco pipes and clay bowls only very recently from the Brazilians. *532 462 So here the woman stands completely behind the man. It is the same in free art. There only the stylized clay figures are made by the women, whereas the more lively figures in other material and the drawings are produced by the men. So here, too, we find 184 462 the striking pre-eminence of the man over the woman. Thus it seems as though among the Karajá the man is more artistically inclined than the woman, whereas in technical skills the two sexes are probably equal.

A. Representative Art

1. Plastic Art

*532 [524] Plastic representations are encountered frequently; they are produced only for play or as toys.

/5 cont./ Then later

*532 on a tree in the forest near the Šavajé settlement, I saw the adjacent
P31 relief of the female sexual organs (Fig. 15 /see p. 7/) driven in with an ax. It had been hewed there previously by a Karajá accompanying me.

c) Clay Figures (likŏkŏ)

(Plates II-IV)

*532 Clay is much more pliable; in it forms can be reproduced
[524] true to nature. The clay figures, which are made by the women
[462] and serve as toys for the girls, include only representations of human figures of both sexes and of all ages; they represent the following tribes: Karajá, Šavajé, Kayapó, and finally the Dōbāĭ on the Rio das Mortes. Such clay figures were present in large numbers in all villages and were offered to me everywhere. Wherever the stock
[126] was exhausted, some were quickly made for me, which, however, I seldom bought because they showed exactly the same typical forms as the figures on hand, that is to say, they showed no personal influence of any kind. Only once did I receive a portrait, the representation of the grandmother bent with age (Plate III, Fig. 42 /see p.49 /). Now it is very striking to observe that these representations are completely stylized. To be sure, several levels can be distinguished here, but only in the case of a few examples is a reasonably accurate reproduction of the shape of the human body achieved.

*532 Before I discuss the forms themselves, I wish to report briefly
323 on the method used to produce these figures. Bodies, legs, and head are made from a lump of clay. The fat buttocks and the penis are put on separately; the navel is bored in with a wooden stick. Then the lines for the later painting are pressed in with a slender bamboo rod by drawing the rod lightly over the soft clay and at the same time exerting light pressure at regular intervals. In this way lines with small holes strung along in a row like beads are produced. When the figure is prepared to this extent, it is put in
ooo the sun to dry; the figures are only very rarely fired. Then the next stage

/10 cont./

d) Wax Figures

(Plates IV-VI)

*532 Boys and youths very much like to make wax figures for fun. [232] Wax pigs in particular could be encountered in the hands of small [574] boys almost everywhere. I found an occasional one of another shape here and there in the baskets; all the others were made [123] spontaneously before my eyes when the Indians had seen my interest in such figures, and indeed of their own free judgment, not at my request. Thus these figures show the activity of instantaneous free creation by these Indians. There were skillful and un- [463] skillful modelers among them; one boy and one youth in particular distinguished themselves by lively reproductions.

The wax figures represent human beings and animals. [184] They all stem from the northern horde of the Karajá; I found none among the southern horde. The three best representations of human figures come from the Šavajé.

/11/ The human forms show many correspondences with the stylized forms of the clay dolls; only five of them stand out due to their true-to-life representation.

*532 I obtained five specimens of male figures from the Karajá, 126 one of which (Fig. 63 /see p. 50 /) represents a Šavajé youth. Of the nine female examples six come from the Karajá and three from the Šavajé. Three examples from the Karajá represented Karajá women (Figs. 60, 61 /see p.50 /); the three others, which, as an exception, were made by a woman, represented Tapirapé women (Fig. 62 /see p50 /). These two groups remind one much more strongly of the clay figures, whereas the three figures from the Šavajé (Figs. 65 and 66 /see p. 50 /) represent the most accomplished forms.

*532 The primitively made human-figures look like clay figures covered with wax.

Fig. 57 /see p. 50 / has legs of type 1 of the clay dolls and arms attached at the sides. Head and hair form a triangle pointed toward the top.

/28 cont./

black decorations are somewhat reminiscent of the decorations of the men. The clay spinning whorl (Fig. 225a) is provided on one surface with fine incising which is arranged in two concentric circles, with

Fig. 228 a and b. Small clay utensils for play.

Fig. 225. Spinning whorl, a) of clay, b) of white earth.

Fig. 226 a-d. Tobacco pipes of clay.

Fig. 227 a-e. Decorated eating dishes, export goods.

four spokes divided up several times, in between. /29/ The spinning whorl made of white earth (Fig. 225b) has a circle cut into it on both sides, from which rays extend. These indentations are made red and black.

The decorations on the clay tobacco pipes and the clay bowls were probably taken over from the Brazilians.

I found clay tobacco pipes only in the villages near S. José. They were evidently taken over altogether, and with them the ornamentation as well, from the Brazilians. It is true that their form is now made by the Indians rather differently from the Brazilian form, with a wide base which is lacking in the Brazilian one (Fig. 226 a to d).

/29 cont./

531 415 [104] [439] Clay bowls, in export form and decorated with red paint, were also produced only in the uppermost villages and actually as export goods. The decorations are limited /Fig. 227 appears here/ mostly to the upper edge; only rarely do they extend farther down. Despite their simplicity, they have a very pleasing effect (Fig. 227 a to e /see p. 65/). Moreover, a crudely [524] decorated play-bowl of the Karajá (Fig. 228a /see p. 65/) and a small clay bowl, likewise painted on the outer surface with red patterns, which comes from the Šavajé living with the southern horde of the Karajá (Fig. 228b /see p. 65/), were found.

000 /Appendices I, "Distribution of the Objects and Drawings among the Individual Tribes," II, "Index of the Figures and Patterns Drawn by the Same Persons," and III, "Systematic Index of the Objects Represented," pp. 30-31, have not been translated; see the foreign text./

/11 cont./

291 ground. One end is drawn hoodlike over the head, while the other covers the seat. Thus the riiõ is really part of the national costume.

[524] One sees, not only the adults, but also small children /12/ parading about with it, and even the little clay dolls of the latter are not

854 without it. Mats hung up by strings are used only for cradles for the newborn.

171 The question as to how the Karaya came to have this original

352 article of clothing is of great ethnographic interest. It is well-known that a large part of the Brazilian tribes does not use the hammock. These are chiefly the Gẽs nations occupying the entire eastern part of the country, such as the Kayapo, Akuã, Kaingan /Caingang/, Botocudo, etc., as well as the Bororo corresponding to them throughout, not in language, to be sure, but in their way of life, usage, and customs. They all sleep on the ground or on wooden frames.

Of the other tribes using hammocks, the Karaib /Carib/ make them out of cotton, the Nu-Aruak out of palm fiber.

This situation is so characteristic that the presence or absence of the hammock for a people, as well as the method of making it, is decisive for their ethnographic classification.

[513] Only the Karaya cannot be fitted into this scheme, because they make cotton hammocks, to be sure, but sleep in them on the ground.

[177] This permits one to conjecture that they only recently adopted the "rede" from another people and did not want to give up their old custom of sleeping on the ground (1).

1. Therefore the anonymous author of an old travel report in Revista trim., Vol. 25, p. 251, states correctly: "These Indians sleep on their redes and the same rede serves as a blanket. This idea is neither innate nor did it arise out of necessity. They learned it from someone." /Translated from the Portuguese./

/30/

852 304 The wound holes are kept open with cotton threads passed through them and changed often. The patient must fast for one day and is permitted to take only liquid nourishment for some time. The whole post-operative treatment is handled by an older woman experienced at it.

852 301 291 From now on the boys wear the T-shaped lip ornaments of mother-of-pearl, not until later the piuva wood plugs. On this occasion the bast apron of the women is put on the girls.

881 304 [824] [952] With the onset of puberty the young people of both sexes receive the tribal tattooing amid similar ceremonies. The outline of a circle is marked on both cheeks with a stamp made out of a piece of gourd (tešiã). Then the place is cut out with a small sharp stone, and cotton lint is put in the wound. After stopping the bleeding, genipa juice rubbed in causes the blue color of the scar.

881 The first appearance of the period is not celebrated with special ceremonies. The menstruating woman is considered unclean and must live apart from the others during this time. She is not permitted to bathe, but is washed by other women from a gourd bowl especially intended for this purpose.

857 524 Games and dancing. At an early age the children imitate the activities of adults. The boys practice archery and fishing; the girls give their mothers a hand in the household as soon as possible. The clay figures have already been mentioned as children's toys. There are also small tops (kotauã, Fig. 15 /see p. 61/), canoes and oars, cooking dishes, etc. represented in the collection.

Games popular with the adults as well are the feather ball made of corncobs with ring-shaped inset, and furthermore the "game of cats cradle" /cited in English/ common in North America, as is well known, and recently described by Boas for the Eskimo. Strings drawn from hand to hand through the fingers represent certain animal figures by changing their arrangement. /Fig. 15 appears here./

/30 cont. /

526 On beautiful moonlit nights the young people practice wrestling on the praias. The hold is the same as the one customary among us. It is principally a matter of bringing down the opponent by tripping him, at which even apparently weak individuals develop an astounding agility.

535 Some of the dances have already been described by Castelnau.
[114] I myself had the opportunity in the third Šambioa village to attend a war dance. Eight feather-adorned men armed with spears, clubs, and bows took part under the leadership of a head-dancer, whom they surrounded in a semicircle. The dancers moved only a little from their places, at most a few steps forward and back. Rapid hopping on one leg and artistically correct, rhythmic swinging of the weapons provided the main action. Everything was carried out with the greatest precision.
[177] This dance is said to have been borrowed from the Kayapo.

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[768]

[524] Fig. 15. Top (1/4).

Obsequies and burial. At the death of a Karaya all the objects that he used daily, weapons, ornaments, etc., are burned amidst loud lamentations of the relatives; the rest is divided among those who bury him. The mourners wound themselves with cuts and shear their hair.

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Next follows the dance of the dead around the corpse (1), which is colored

[763] 1. Not infrequently the ceremonies begin before death has actually occurred.

with urucú and, wrapped in mats, is hung up on a horizontal pole.

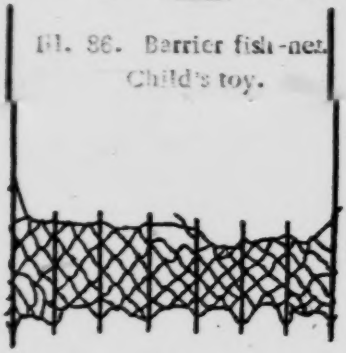
Under the direction of two leading singers, who are relieved from time to time, the row goes around in a circle, whereby the participants hold their fingers pushed over one another. The
[533] song is a kind of dialogue. The chorus asks the deceased where he is and how he is; one of the leading singers answers for him.

/250 cont./

[857] The way such anchored nets are set up is shown by the imitations with which children play (hãdĕkĕ). They are fastened to two long end rods; the net is stretched by means of several spaced sticks (Ill. 86). These stakes are driven down in front of the lake inlets, and by stretching the net on them the entrance to the lakes is blocked. From the boat the Indians beat the water and drive the thus frightened fish of the lake toward the entrance into the net, where they are then caught. (Such a device for catching pirarucú is called dãõlãlõ; see pirarucú net above.) Other nets (hãndũkũ[ši]) are allegedly set up along the sandbanks; the carí fish, which

[524]

[289] Ill. 85. Knot formation of the fish nets.



Ill. 86. Barrier fish-net. Child's toy.

swims against the sandbanks at night, is caught in them and taken out in the morning. I never saw nets of this type set up; probably the narrow nets are used for this.

The largest mass catches are made by poisoning the water of the lakes; but this is at the same time the worst plundering exploitation. The lakes are blocked off by fences (liklõ), which consist of driven piles to which palm leaves [824] are fastened. The stems of the poisonous cipo (timbo: ãnzĩ) are placed on a forked stick and beaten soft with another stick, whereupon they are shaken out over the lake and a fine dust falls out. Then they are beaten a second time and shaken out. From the boat a second man stirs the water, which takes on a black coloring. The fish are stupefied by it

/304 cont./

11. Play and Sport.

Children's Toys.

857 868 Children at an early age imitate the activities of the adults: the boys practice shooting, rowing, fishing, and plaiting; the girls, spinning and cooking. Small-scale implements of the 524 adults are used in this. In addition, however, there are some implements which serve purely for play, such as small boats, imitations of the guns, tops, and clay dolls. Other games need no further equipment, such as balls, string game, etc., or are limited to adult men, such as the humming top, whizzing disk, and puzzle carving.

As for small-scale imitations of the implements of the adults, the boys use small bows and arrows, nets, and oars; the /305/ girls, small spindles and clay dishes. Strangely enough, small lances are entirely lacking.

524 411 The bows vary in length. The smallest have a bowstring length of only 27 to 32 centimeters and a very crude construction which does not measure up to that of the large bows. Small, unfeathered arrows of split cane are shot with them (Ill. 160 a, b). They serve for the first shooting attempts of small boys. Larger bows, intended for boys from three to four years old and older, fluctuate between 60 and 120 centimeters in length, depending on the age of the boys. Their construction corresponds to that of the undecorated bows of the adults; only a single bow bears as decoration a white-colored cotton winding with a maize leaf in the center and a feather tassel on the upper end /Ill. 160 appears here/ (Ill. 161). The arrows for these bows in part exhibit types other than those of the adults. Arrows with barbs (fish arrows) and similarly those with a toothed wooden point are lacking. Arrows with bamboo blade points (Ill. 162c) are very rare; on the other hand, those with a round wooden point, /Ill. 161 appears here/ which is 25-40 centimeters long, with a shaft length of approximately 80 centimeters (Ill. 162 a, b), are common. It is noteworthy that the feathering of such arrows in the case of three of my specimens has a character different from the common

/305 cont./

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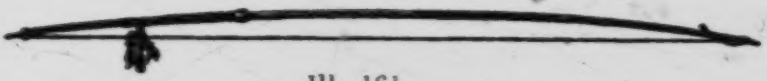
type. The feathers are halved and fastened to the shaft by a continuous spiral winding (Ill. 162d); it is similar to the pitch-feathering, except that the pitch is lacking (see also above, p. 187). Bird arrows, which are used to kill birds, are common and consist of a cane shaft pointed in front (mālŏl; Ill. 163). Whether the blunt arrows are used for bird hunting or whether they are supposed to prevent injuries during practice or serve for shooting vertically into the air is not known to me. They have either a lump of wax in front (Ill. 164a), or the entire arrow consists of one piece of cane whose circularly carved root knob serves as

Ill. 160 a, b.
Smallest child's bow with arrow.



Ill. 161.
Child's bow.

a blunt point (Ill. 164b). Inserted wooden-knob points are lacking here, too (however, see Šavajé /see p.323 and pages 328 - 330/). For shooting vertically or diagonally into the air, there are arrows upon whose wooden point is pushed a small nut with a lateral hole (Ill. 165). The weighting by means of the fruit has the effect that the arrow, at the turning point, /306/ turns with the point downwards; I did not hear a whistling sound in connection with the shooting of these arrows.

[868] Targets for shooting practice are, first of all, oblong fruits which are stuck into the sand; later, moving bast rings (wāšĭŏlōlo); and, finally, gourds thrown into the air.

/306 cont./

868 501 In order to learn to row, boys use small oars, which in general are similar in shape to those of the adults, but sometimes deviate in the shape of the blade (Ill. 166a). They are 64-96 centimeters long. Only one specimen /Ills. 162-166 appear here/ /307/ showed painting with red and black squares (Ill. 166b). They, too, have two grooves in the handle cylinder.

868 227 For learning to fish, boys use small anchored nets (hãdeke, lãhole) knotted out of bast, which they set up in the water on the edge of the sandbanks; they are mounted on two long side rods and are kept stretched by several vertical struts (Ill. 86). /Ill. 167 appears here./

865 283 Girls learn to spin and cook. They have small spindles on which they twist serviceable threads at an early age. One sees girls from six to seven years old already spinning almost constantly. The spinning whorls are either double-conical clay whorls or wooden whorls that are dome-shaped on one side (Ill. 167). This primitive shape has thus been preserved among the children, whereas it seems to have been lost to the adults.

868 415 Small clay dishes appear in all sizes; the larger ones may actually be used for cooking, whereas the smaller ones serve only as playthings. The actual cooking utensils are partly blackened with soot on the outside, in other words, have been exposed to the fire. Besides the usual forms (pot, Ill. 168a) and bowl (Ill. 168 b, c), other forms also appear: bowl with convex bottom (Ill. 168d), dish (Ill. 168 e, f); a four-part dish (Ill. 168g), the use of which did not become clear to me despite the long Indian explanation of the mother concerned, seems to be used for a very special purpose. /Ill. 168 appears here./

● 524 415 /308/ All the other dishes are used only for play; some of them are not fired and are so small that cooking with them is impossible. It is surprising in this connection that in addition to the [184] usual types there are quantities of different, almost European-looking vessels, which, strangely enough, all come from the village on the Tapirapé mouth. I did not see these peculiar forms

[Text continues on p. 246]

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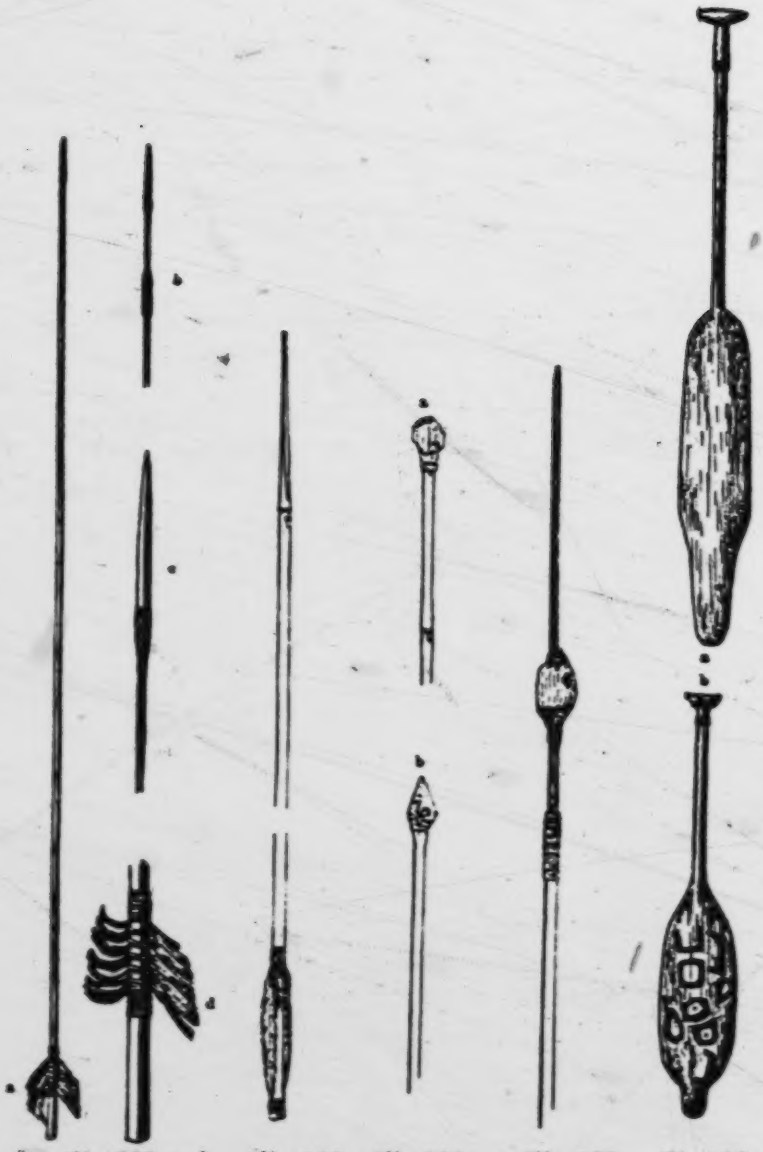

Ill. 162 a-d. Ill. 163. Ill. 164. Ill. 165 Ill. 166 a, b.

Ill. 162 a-d: Child's arrows. Ill. 163: Pointed bird-arrow. Ill. 164 a, b: Blunt bird-arrows, a) wax head, b) root end. Ill. 165: Arrow with nut pushed on it. Ill. 166 a, b: Child's oars, a) ordinary type, b) painted.

5: Krause- 245 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9

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283

Ill. 167.
Child's spindle
with wooden
whorl.

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415

Ill. 168 a-g.
Small clay dishes for children.

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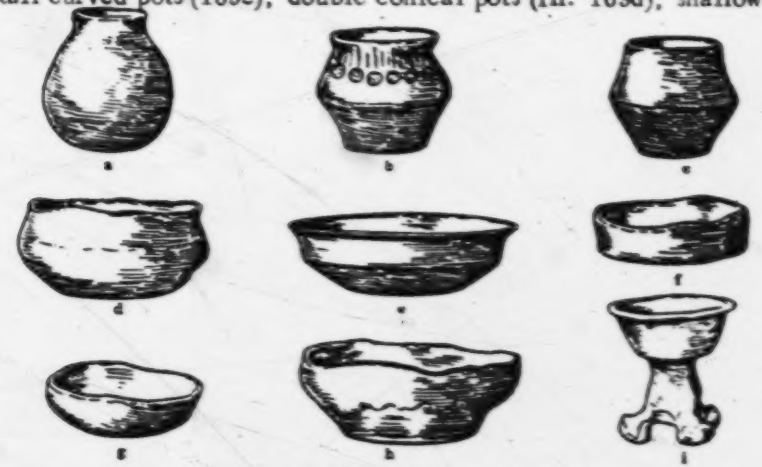
[184]
[177]

/308 cont. /
in other villages. /309/ Could influence from the Tapirapé Indians be present here? A few specimens seem to be merely unskillful versions of true Karajá types. Of the ordinary forms there should be mentioned: vessels like water jugs (Ill. 169 a, b), tall curved pots (169c), double conical pots (Ill. 169d), shallow



Ill. 169 a-i.
Small toy dishes.

Ill. 170 a-f.
Small toy dishes.

/309 cont. /

cooking pots (Ill. 169e), shallow dishes with straight or curved sides (Ill. 169 f-h), three-legged pot (Ill. 169i). The divergent forms consist of oval bowls (Ill. 170a), small pots with a minimal opening (Ill. 170 b, c), the bottom of which sometimes comes to a point (Ill. 170d), vase-like pots (Ill. 170e), stemmed pots (Ill. 170f), goblets (Ill. 170g), bowls like flower baskets, with a three-part handle (Ill. 170h), and lamp-like bowls with two points at the upper edge (Ill. 170i). 524 415

These smallest vessels already bring us to the actual playthings.

Small boats (hãwŏlĭŏlĕ) with oars are floated by children especially the boys, in the pools on the edge of the sandbanks. 524

Ill. 171 a-d.
Child's toy boats.
a) Ordinary type, b) isolated form, c) halved gourd, d) palm-leaf sheath.

Their form differs from that of the large boats insofar as the rear part is cut off crosswise and does not taper to a long point. The boat in Ill. 171a represents the ordinary type, to which belong two painted oars and a clay doll (girl with long string apron and feather tuft). The boat in Ill. 171b shows a divergent type; it was carved by Kuriśĭ, who had already been to Rio and São Paulo and spontaneously remarked that this form was the product of his own imagination. As a substitute for these imitations, halved gourd shells (ĭśĭ, Ill. 171c) or palm-leaf sheaths (ĕlŭdãzĭ, Ill. 171d) are used and are pulled along by ropes in the sand; they were observed only in the village on the Tapirapé mouth. The small oars which belong [824 184]

/309 cont./

524 to these boat models differ from the large oars in the construction of the handle and partly also in the blade (Ill. 172 a-d). Some [531] of them show the typical painting: red center cross-band on the black-painted blade.

/310/ The gun reproduction (mǎhaûǎ = gun) is the work of small boys. The barrel is represented by a piece of cane, into which a shorter cross-cut is carved near one end, a longer one near the other. Into the two cuts a fine loop of split cane is stretched (Ill. 173a). One holds the gun in the left hand, with the longer cross-cut away from one, pulls the loop in it back with the index finger of the right hand, and lets it spring forward again. The sound that is produced when it strikes in front represents the shot. The cane is carefully hollowed out; for cleaning it, there is a small instrument of bamboo with a short handle and a thin, narrow blade (Ill. 173c). Double-barreled guns, too, are customary. The two tubes are glued together with light resin and joined with two cotton windings (Ill. 173b). The shooting of small pebbles, which surely would be possible with this instrument, was not practiced. It was only after I had demonstrated this to them that they eagerly shot with small stones at a small wax pig which they set up in the sand. For an investigation as to whether this is actually only a matter of reproducing guns /Ills. 172 and 173 appear here/ or perhaps is an ancient plaything to which this name was merely applied, more comparative material than has been available up to now must be gathered among other Indian tribes.

Tops are very common (kŭdaûé). They consist of a double-conical wax disk three and a half to six centimeters in diameter and one to two centimeters thick, through which is stuck a little wooden rod from 5-18 1/2 centimeters in length, so that it projects only very little at the bottom (Ill. 174 a-d). I did not see any tops with plane-parallel clay disks which are covered on both sides with high layers of wax, such as Ehrenreich brought back, but, on the other hand, the tops with wax disks are lacking in Ehrenreich's collection. Usually the /311/ disks are covered with

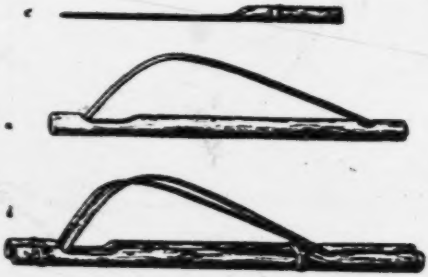
/311 cont./

●524 small red and yellow feathers and small pieces of red wood, which make circular figures when spinning. The top is twirled between the palms of the hands in the air and then allowed to fall. It has achieved the desired speed of rotation only when it buzzes.

[824] Humming tops (ĭnâuĭnã) are also common. The body consists of a gourd that bears two lateral holes of different sizes opposite each other. The stem goes through from top to bottom and projects 14 1/2 centimeters at the bottom. It is fastened in the gourd with wax (Ill. 175). A string which bears a small

[501]

Ill. 172 a-d.
Child's toy oars (c and d painted).



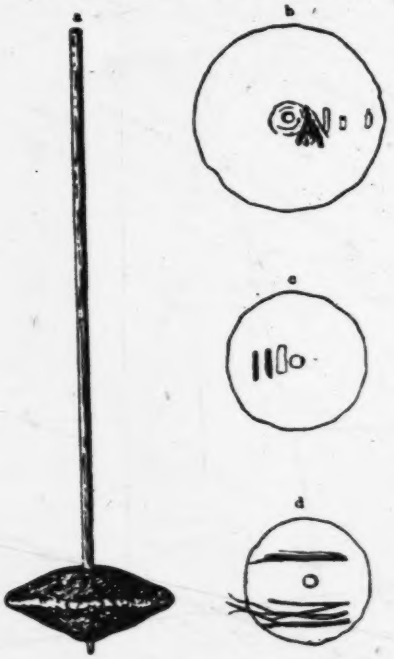
Ill. 173 a-c.
Gun reproductions. Karajá.
a) Simple, b) double-barreled gun, c) instrument for cleaning the tube.

wooden handle at the end is used to wind it up. Apparently there is no ring or the like to make it possible to wind it up without injury /Ills. 174-176 appear here/ to the left hand. Koch-

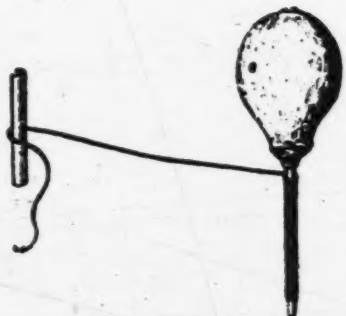
[M1] Grünberg in his book, Zwei Jahre unter den Indianern /Two Years Among the Indians/ (Berlin, 1910), Vol. 1, page 121, illustrates a humming top from the Rio Aiarý, which is quite similar and on which a plaited ring protects the hand. Perhaps the Karajá also

/311 cont./

524 use such rings. The humming top can be used only on firm ground, hence probably only on the high banks during the rainy



Ill. 174 a-d.
Top.



Ill. 175.
Humming top.

Ill. 176
Buzzing disk.

season. Allegedly it is supposed to be in general use, /312/ but I saw only this one specimen (in the Indian house in São José). The name, which is almost identical with the one for the dance mask, ĭnaũĩnĭ, is striking.

The buzzing disk [(ẑĩ)ẑãdĕkĕ] consists of a flat gourd disk seven centimeters in diameter, which bears two holes in the center, through which a string leading back upon itself is

/312 cont./

524 drawn (Ill. 176). The two loops are put over the thumbs; by tumbling it, the thread becomes twisted, and then, by letting it unroll, pulling and relaxing, one makes the disk rotate, whereby it makes a buzzing sound by itself. The Indians did not have such an instrument on hand, but they all knew it; the one shown in Ill. 176 represents a model which an Indian voluntarily made for me. My informant told me that only the men use this instrument, but not women and children. He also linked it up with the

Whizzer stick (nõlĭnõlĭ). This is manipulated fastened to a stick. I never saw a whizzer stick nor was I able to confirm this information. The Indian in question happened to mention

Ill. 177 a, b.
Puzzle carving:
a) covering each other, b) drawn apart.

it when he was looking at a picture in Steinen's second travel
[114] book, page 498. Since this information was obtained in the first village, where I was not yet completely familiar with the Indian's way of expressing himself, this may have been a misunderstanding In any case, subsequent verficiation would be
[535] necessary. If the whizzer stick should exist, it probably appears in connection with the masked dances. The buzzing-disk, too, which is supposed to be limited to the men, seems to be connected with them.

I saw the string game (lãlŭ) performed several times, though I did not succeed in retaining the difficult movements. Children, above all, occupy themselves with it, adults only occasionally. There are some who command many figures, whereas others are said not to complete any. They have figures which are made by only one person, and some for which

/312 cont./

•524 a second person takes part by lifting them off, etc. Each of the figures has a special name; I was shown wind, stars, deer. In general, the string game is regarded as a very difficult game.

[824] [177] I did not see balls, but was told that they make themselves balls out of maize leaves (dõki). They maintain that they learned to make them from the Brazilians. I also did not see anywhere the feather balls made out of corncobs with a ring-shaped insert, which Ehrenreich mentions.

Finally, still to be mentioned is a puzzle game which is popularly practiced by youths and men. The problem is to make two interlocking cane sections out of one piece. What matters here is only the clever way of making it. A piece of cane /313/ approximately 15 centimeters long and half a centimeter wide is split lengthwise, the two sections cut out in the upper layer by means of parallel cuts, the inner substance is scraped out except for two knobs at the ends, and the plaything is finished (Ill. 177 a, b).

Sport and Physical Abilities.

541 [177] As for animal fights, there are said to be cockfights, which, like the hens, they have taken over from the Brazilians. I did not see any; they were described to me as follows: children hide a hen under a mat; then they bring two roosters, one after the other, in order to provoke them.

526 Climbing is practiced a great deal. They are very adept at climbing tall trees; it is said that they sometimes tie a rope around both feet as a climbing loop.

Foot racing is very popular among the male youth; women and children, too, are said to participate in it. Apparently there are times when larger foot-race games are organized (rainy season). At other times the young people run for practice on the sandbank; the one in the lead often holds both arms stretched out sideways, in order not to let the other pass. Their resting position is peculiar: standing, they draw one leg up and place the sole of it against the inner side of the knee of the other (Pl. 30, Ill. 4).

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Ill. 200.
Gourd for carrying water.

Ill. 201 a, b.
Stone ax.

Ill. 202.
Cotton ball in bast covering.

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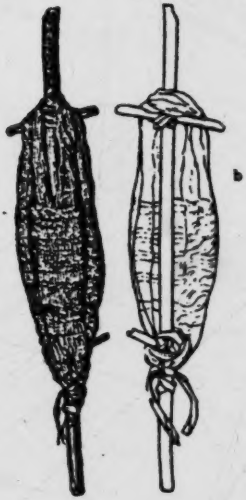

286 ←

Ill. 203 a, b.
Plaiting apparatus for girls' belt.
b) = rear view.

Ill. 204.
Crochet needle.

Ill. 205.
Black resin.

524 →

Ill. 206 a-c.
Child's bow with arrows.

/364 cont./

286 184 The making of the net coverings corresponds to that of the Karajá, and the apparatus is just as primitive as it is there. A small apparatus is used for plaiting the girls' belts: on a long stick, at some distance from either end, a short cross-stick is tied. Around these the warp is then wound (Ill. 203 a, b). The weft is intertwined by hand.

Here, too, crocheting is done with iron crochet needles [531] (dēšidūnă). The handle is only rarely decorated and then only simply wound with red cotton thread (Ill. 204).

386 314 184 Coloring and adhesive substances are identical with those of the Karajá. I obtained red dōmāle and black resin, zōbădāla, both in pieces 12-15.5 centimeters long, 5.5-6 centimeters wide, and 2 centimeters thick, and convex on one side (Ill. 205). These are pressed in rod sieves, the texture of which is sometimes still recognizable on the surface.

● 524 531

Ill. 207 a-d.
Toy dishes.
a, b) Bowls, c) painted vessel, d) its design.

237 Feathers, for storing, are either tied in small bundles or, as among the Karajá, arranged as wings.

524 10. As children's toys, I brought back: small bows and arrows, of which the bows are very crudely made, whereas the arrows either consist of the pointed shaft, on which, in front, a small /365/ nut with lateral hole is sometimes pushed (Ill. 206 a-c), or exhibit a round, inserted wooden point. The feathering is the ordinary bunch-feathering. I did not see any imitations of guns here. As toy clay dishes I acquired two small bowls [531] (wădjĭwĭlĭŏlĕ) and, in Schischá, a bowl and a vessel painted red on the outside, which is an imitation of a gourd spoon (207 a-d).

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

The older children are left to
occupy and amuse themselves entirely as they may feel in- 857
clined. Nevertheless, they show a natural good behavior. [855]
But in observing them, the idea is somehow suggested to one that they are, to some extent at least, creatures of instinct, like irrational nature about them. In common with the brutes, they seem not inclined to go beyond limits whereby they might suffer injury. Just as the wild creature, left to itself, does not need to be governed or restrained by anything apart from itself for its well-being, neither do these wild children, apparently, need the oversight of their parents. There seems to be no danger that they will harm themselves, or get into trouble. They play naturally in a very quiet and restrained manner as if to avoid all possibility of attracting the attention of enemies. To sell children to traders, as is done in some parts of Brazil, particularly on the Amazon river, is unknown among the Karayá.

While still at a tender age, the children begin to imitate the doings of their elders. The boys amuse themselves with archery, and by fishing and swimming; and the girls aid their mothers in the household duties. Children's toys are 524
clay figures, small tops, miniature canoes, and even little cooking utensils, corresponding to the "tea sets" of civilized children. An amusement of which even adults are fond, is to play with a ball made of corn cobs and feathers, and a ring. Another, is a game known to many of us as "cat's cradle," which is the looping of a cord over the hands held some distance apart, and relooping and crossing it over the fingers from hand to hand so as to make it represent the figures of various animals. This game is common among the Indians [171]
of North America.

There appears to be clans among the Karayá. Each vil- 621
lage considers itself one large family—a paternal communistic society—possessing a distinct name, and having a certain district for its own peculiar hunting and fishing ground. The [423]
cultivated land—the little village plantation—is owned in com- [476]
mon, is tilled by all, and the products are divided systematically to each family. A similar arrangement existed among

9:Gow-Smith T-5 (no date) 1925
SP9 Caraja SP9 ●
Cayapo SP11

Co 411 [53]

and have similar woven cane-covered handles, but are for more specialized use. Instead of a blunt round end, the club has a flat triangular wooden blade pointed at the end with sharp sides and stained with urucú. It is used, in the manner of a great ax, for decapitation.

C 524 [501]

Toy canoes (fig. 100), with which the Caraja youngsters play, are models in miniature of those their elders use, which are made from hollowed or

FIG. 100.—Toy canoes of the Caraja. (Length, 19 in. and 26 in.)

C [53] 3 P

burnt-out logs. They are decorated with designs colored with a black stain from the genepapa fruit and the urucú. Paddles (fig. 98) are of regulation length, but some have unusually wide blades often decorated in red and black designs.

C 532

Most curious of the collection are the little clay dolls (fig. 101), which may have some connection with magic or with religious observances. They vary in size from two to twelve

C [171]

inches, and are similar in workmanship and even

1:Lipkind E-5 (1937) 1948 SP9 Caraja SP9

775 **Death.**—At death, the soul becomes a wild ghost if the person has been violently killed and a regular resident of the village of the dead if he has suffered a quiet death. A shaman's soul is translated to the skies. Mourning puts an end to all religious ceremonies and is celebrated by self-laceration, the destruction of property, and daily keening. There 764 is separate burial in formal cemeteries for those who died quietly and [766] those who died violently. The corpse is wrapped in a mat with his weapons and ornaments, and the mat is hung in a shallow grave covered [765] by poles (fig. 22). Food and drink are provided for a short period. After the next change of season, the bones are exhumed and placed in a family urn.

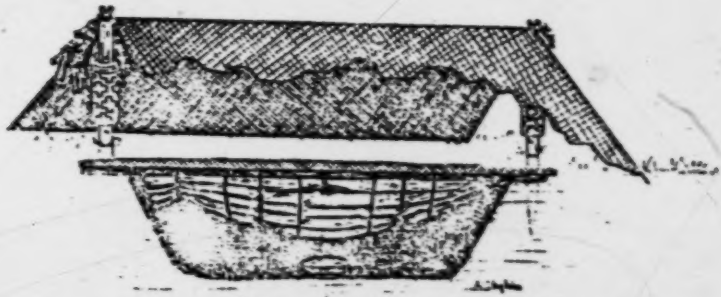

FIGURE 22.—*Carajá* burial. (Redrawn from Ehrenreich, 1891 b, fig. 16)

WARFARE

726 The *Carajá* are good fighters and have maintained themselves since prehistoric times in a territory surrounded on all sides by warlike enemies. Their usual tactics are waiting outside an enemy village at night and attacking at dawn. In defense, they run to the nearest water, where they [411] are unbeatable. They use the bow and arrow and club, and are skilled [526] wrestlers. They cut off a foot bone of a dead enemy and carry it back [727] to their village; this places them in control of the ghost, who now be- [775] comes a caretaker of the village and is impersonated in a special dry-season ceremony. At one such ceremony there were two *Tapirapé* ghosts, [648] three *Chavante*, one *Cayapó*, and one Neo-Brazilian. Present-day war- [727] fare is largely with the *Chavante*, the *Cayapó*, and the *Canoeiro*. Now and then a Neo-Brazilian may be killed by stealth to avenge a personal grievance. No captives are taken except women and small children, who are treated as full members of the group.

ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

531 **Art.**—Decorative art is confined to woven designs on baskets and mats, feather ornaments, elaborate masks with superimposed feather designs,

1:Lipkind E-5 (1937) 1948 SP9 Caraja SP9

Games.—Of numerous games, the most important is a formal wrestling match which is an indispensable part of most religious ceremonies and of all intervillage visits.

Narcotics and stimulants.—Like the other tribes in this region, the *Carajá* have no alcoholic beverages. They smoke tobacco in short cylindrical pipes (fig. 21, *c*). They are heavy smokers, some of the children beginning before they are weaned.

SUPERNATURALISM

Cults.—*Carajá* religion consists of two distinct cults: a cult of the dead and a mask cult (fig. 24). The cult of the dead, which is under the direction of the priest, has for its object the placation of ghosts by a periodical ceremonial which comes to its climax in several large calendrical feasts. The most important of these feasts is the Big House Feast, which is celebrated shortly after the beginning of the rainy season. All the villages which comprise a ceremonial unit come to the one village where the feast is conducted. There is a great mass of ceremonial addressed to various classes of ghosts, but the central portion of the ceremony is the impersonation of animal ghosts. Another important feast, already mentioned, occurs at the height of the dry season and is directed toward the control of enemy ghosts. Two other feasts held in the dry season are chiefly for the entertainment of the ancestors.

The mask cult is concerned with the worship of another class of supernaturals. It consists of an elaborate routine of feasts, interrupted only by death. In these feasts, conducted by the shaman, the supernaturals are impersonated in the complex dances mentioned above.

The two cults are independent of each other and are both strictly men's cults. Any women intruding upon the secrets of the cults is subjected to gang rape and remains a wanton thereafter.

Shamanism.—A shaman is trained by apprenticeship to an older shaman. A certain amount of medical lore is taught but the essence of the training is learning how to communicate with supernaturals in a state of trance.

There is a considerable amount of sorcery. The main technique is bottling a supernatural being into a small image and then directing it into the body of the victim. As almost all deaths are interpreted as the result of sorcery, feuding is continual.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Castlenau, 1850–59; Ehrenreich, 1891 b; Krause, 1911.

/9 cont./

000 reception uncommonly difficult. It is certain that this language
199 is related to no other Brazilian language known up to now, although odd word-similarities with Gês dialects do occur.

198 Its noteworthy peculiarity is the existence of separate men's and women's languages, as is found in like manner among the Guaicuru and Chiquitanos. Only a few words, however, are completely different; for most of them the form is merely modified unimportantly. For instance, where two vowels come one after the other in the men's dialect, a k comes between the two in the women's dialect. Thus:

rain ♂ biũ, ♀ bikũ, maize ♂ mahĩ, ♀ makĩ.

At times the women's word merely has one more syllable at the end, etc. Probably the women have merely retained an older
104 form of the language. The native words printed in italics in the text are accented on the final syllable where something different is not expressly noted.

External Appearance, Clothing, Adornment.

142 According to their physical appearance, the Karaya represent one of the handsomer types among the tribes of Brazil. They are not particularly robust in stature, but rather are medium-sized and gracile; however, the slender body, the regularity of their limbs, the proud mien make them seem bigger than they really are. Their
[526] impressive muscular power, the elasticity and agility of their movements come to the fore especially in boxing matches, their
[482] most popular sport. The neck musculature is very strongly developed, as among all Indians, which makes them capable of carrying enormous loads with a forehead-tumpline.

[141] The form of the skull is consistently hypsidolichocephalic, without especially prominent prognathism. The absence of eyebrow ridges make the face somewhat open. The eyelid, horizontal or slightly slanted, is remarkably small, but nevertheless does not lend the face a really Mongoloid appearance, because of the always very prominently projecting nose. The nose itself starts very far down.

/30 cont./

526 On beautiful moonlit nights the young people practice wrestling on the praias. The hold is the same as the one customary among us. It is principally a matter of bringing down the opponent by tripping him, at which even apparently weak individuals develop an astounding agility.

535 [114] Some of the dances have already been described by Castelnau. I myself had the opportunity in the third Šambioa village to attend a war dance. Eight feather-adorned men armed with spears, clubs, and bows took part under the leadership of a head-dancer, whom they surrounded in a semicircle. The dancers moved only a little from their places, at most a few steps forward and back. Rapid hopping on one leg and artistically correct, rhythmic swinging of the weapons provided the main action. Everything was carried out with the greatest precision. [177] This dance is said to have been borrowed from the Kayapo.

764 [768] Obsequies and burial. At the death of a Karaya all the objects that he used daily, weapons, ornaments, etc., are burned amidst loud lamentations of the relatives; the rest is divided among those who bury him. The mourners wound themselves with cuts and shear their hair.

[524] Fig. 15. Top (1/4).

764 535 Next follows the dance of the dead around the corpse (1), which is colored

[763] 1. Not infrequently the ceremonies begin before death has actually occurred.

with urucú and, wrapped in mats, is hung up on a horizontal pole.

Under the direction of two leading singers, who are relieved from time to time, the row goes around in a circle, whereby the participants hold their fingers pushed over one another. [533] The song is a kind of dialogue. The chorus asks the deceased where he is and how he is; one of the leading singers answers for him.

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5. Krause--28 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9

/Ill. 10 appears on p. 138./

Ill. 10. Savajé challenge-dance for a wrestling match. On the right, the Karajá. In front, the two paths on which the masked dances take place. Drawn from a photograph.

5. Krause--29 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Carajá SP9

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/Ill. 11 appears on p. 139./

Ill. 11. Wrestling match between Karajá (right) and Šavajé (left). Drawn from a photograph.

/261 cont./

7. Weapons for War, Hunting, Fishing.

128 In order not to disrupt the survey of the manifold forms of these implements by arranging them subordinately into individual groups according to use, I shall discuss them together here. This has already been referred to above under hunting and fishing. A brief survey of the distribution according to purpose might come first.

411 Clubs, as well as bows and arrows with bamboo blade points, serve as weapons of war. Lances and bows and arrows with wooden points and with bamboo blade points serve for hunting. For fishing, bows and arrows with small bone points added on are used exclusively. Sport is practiced with bows and arrows and the throwing board with arrows. Other, perhaps previously customary weapons are the pellet-bow /Kugelbogen/, the sling (?), the boomerang (?). Thus, bows and arrows play the chief role. Everything else is far behind them.

/262/ Bow [w(ă)š(ĭ)ūhădĕ] and arrow (ŭŏhŭ) are usually made by each one for himself. They are always taken along on boat trips, and, indeed, the most diverse kinds of arrows (war, hunting, and fishing arrows) are taken along.

For shooting, the bow is held vertically (Pl. 56, Ill. 1). The arrow rests on the bow between it and the second finger of the left hand, on the bowstring between the first and second fingers of the right hand, while the rest of the fingers draw the bowstring back. In the stretching, the arrow is drawn against the shoulder.

411 526 Shooting from the feet is done as a sport. I did not observe it myself; it was described to me as follows. The men lie on the ground and stretch their feet up close together. The bow lies across the soles of the feet; the bowstring is drawn with the hands toward the chest. Thus they shoot upward. The bow, of course, likewise flies off their feet; the recoiling bowstring is said to cause sharp pain in the feet (1).

[171 13] 1. In this connection cf. the same custom among

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1. (cont.)
the Indians near Rio de Janeiro, in Debret, Voyage pittoresque et historique du Brésil /Picturesque and historical journey to Brazil/, Vol. 1, Paris, 1836, Plate 5.

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Boys learn how to shoot arrows at an early age; I saw boys three to four years old handling small weapons. These weapons (see under "Toys" /see pp. 241 ff./) serve for practice in shooting. First they shoot toward a fixed goal, a soft, cylindrically shaped root about 30 centimeters high and ten centimeters thick, which is set in the sand (Ill. 109). Later the father proceeds to instruction with the movable target. The father rolls a bast ring along on the ground. The boy stands about ten meters away from the father and shoots from ever greater distances into the moving ring. The arrow must remain hanging in the bast. A little boy four years old succeeded in doing this on the third shot at a distance of two meters. This bast ring [(wã)sĩõlõlõ] is a ring-shaped bast pad three and a half centimeters thick and 18 1/2 centimeters in diameter, which is tightly wound with bast (Pl. 56, Ill. 2). Ehrenreich (Berlin 3960) designates it erroneously as a ring for carrying objects on the head, a practice which is not customary among the Karajá Indians. Later comes shooting at a flying target, with green gourds thrown into the air. Thus, the boys learn to shoot the bow at an early age and in general achieve great accuracy. There were Indians who made almost no missed shots while fishing; there were others, however, who were less skilled.

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The bow consists of palm wood. This wood (ŏlōtõ, wõãlũõ) allegedly grows only in the Tapirapé region. In any case, the Indians of the south horde, according to their unanimous testimony, obtain their bows or the material for them from the Karajá of the north horde or from the Tapirapé themselves. As a result, I was able to acquire bows only in the north horde; they were precious possessions in the south horde.

The bow is round, often slightly flattened on the front side, tapers /263/ /Ills. 109-112 appear here/ /264/ toward both ends,

[Text Continues on P. 182]

/274 cont./

411 words, rests between the latter and the board, while the fifth finger lies on the left edge. The front end of the arrow is supported with the outstretched left hand. The arrow is hurled with the same motion with which a spear is thrown. Horizontal, high, and low throws (the latter in fishing) may be executed with it.

I no longer came across this implement among the Karajá; they were familiar with it, to be sure, but in the south horde there were middle-aged persons who maintained that they had never [184] seen one. Its use was known, however, and it was universally reported that the Šavajé had many throwing sticks and still used them.

411 526 Among the Karajá it is now used only as a sporting weapon in the game called ǎnārkǎntědūčhŭ (game of the Tapirapé), which is supposed to take place at the time of the blossoming of the pau d'arco. According to the description, the game proceeds as follows: Two youths stand facing each other, both armed with arrow thrower and arrows. One of them issues a challenge to battle by singing, wōhŭlāḷǎkūdjé, wōhŭlāḷǎkūdjé: throw the arrow, you won't hit me anyway. The other replies, djŏbĭdjŏbĭkŏ, djŏbĭkŏ dĕhŏĭ: I shall indeed hit you. Then they start throwing arrows at each other toward the thighs or ankles, and each tries to show his skill in throwing, as well as in dodging the arrow. If a person does not dodge adroitly, the arrow is said to penetrate quite deep into the flesh and can be forced out only by being struck from both sides with the throwing stick. Bad wounds are said to result.

[171] The name of the game is striking: game of the Tapirapé. The Karajá reported that the Tapirapé were in possession of the throwing stick and also this game. This suggests that the Karajá took it over from there, if we think of the presence of this implement in the Xingu source region. The circumstances that caused the loss of this implement among the Karajá and its flourishing again among the Šavajé eludes our knowledge.

411 I did not see the pellet-bow (bŏdŏkĕ) among the Karajá. I was told in the south horde, however, that they knew how to make it and that the children threw stones with it to kill small [177] birds. Probably the Indians took it over from the Brazilians, whose children in Leopoldina largely used it as a toy. The lack

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524 a second person takes part by lifting them off, etc. Each of the figures has a special name; I was shown wind, stars, deer. In general, the string game is regarded as a very difficult game.

[824] [M] I did not see balls, but was told that they make themselves balls out of maize leaves (dõki). They maintain that they learned to make them from the Brazilians. I also did not see anywhere the feather balls made out of corncobs with a ring-shaped insert, which Ehrenreich mentions.

Finally, still to be mentioned is a puzzle game which is popularly practiced by youths and men. The problem is to make two interlocking cane sections out of one piece. What matters here is only the clever way of making it. A piece of cane /313/ approximately 15 centimeters long and half a centimeter wide is split lengthwise, the two sections cut out in the upper layer by means of parallel cuts, the inner substance is scraped out except for two knobs at the ends, and the plaything is finished (Ill. 177 a, b).

Sport and Physical Abilities.

541 [M] As for animal fights, there are said to be cockfights, which, like the hens, they have taken over from the Brazilians. I did not see any; they were described to me as follows: children hide a hen under a mat; then they bring two roosters, one after the other, in order to provoke them.

• 526 Climbing is practiced a great deal. They are very adept at climbing tall trees; it is said that they sometimes tie a rope around both feet as a climbing loop.

Foot racing is very popular among the male youth; women and children, too, are said to participate in it. Apparently there are times when larger foot-race games are organized (rainy season). At other times the young people run for practice on the sandbank; the one in the lead often holds both arms stretched out sideways, in order not to let the other pass. Their resting position is peculiar: standing, they draw one leg up and place the sole of it against the inner side of the knee of the other (Pl. 30, Ill. 4).

/313 cont./

●526 Diving is practiced a great deal; they are very skillful at it, dive for a very long time, and bring up lost objects almost with certainty. It is said that exercises in competitive diving take place, at which the winner receives an arrow. They are equally skilled in

[868] Swimming. Children allegedly are not taught it, but learn it through imitation and trial (like walking). They swim rapidly and with endurance. In one village all the young people swam after my boats. At my request they demonstrated for me the various methods of swimming: the men thrust their right and left arm forward alternately, turning over on the side concerned; the women paddle like dogs, but with both arms simultaneously, that is to say, with both arms closed they thrust them forward and under; girls are said to like to lie on their backs and, with both arms outstretched, to strike backwards with a jerk. According to another report, however, the women are said not to know how to swim (?). In swimming races, the distance from one bank of the river to the other (6-800 meters) serves as the course.

The most popular physical exercise is wrestling. At every opportunity, young people practice it; it then proceeds wholly without restraint. The holds are the same as ours, but interlocking the legs seems to be customary. Injuries to arms and legs are said to occur, but fatal ones only if the person concerned falls on his penis. The opponent is not blamed for this.

[527] When the tracajá lays eggs (August to September), wrestling matches (ĭdjāzŏ) are said to take place; when there is fishing for the tartaruga in the lagoons (September to /314/ October), all-day wrestling festivals (ănărkăn) take place. On these occasions the entire young male population wrestles. The one who causes the most falls is called dĕrĭdŏ (= chief); he is given presents by the others, such as arrows and the like. A person who has never been thrown in wrestling is called ĭdjāzūdú; he is also permitted to wear the arm cuffs as well as feather ornamentation, like a married man. The designations ĭdjāzŏ and ĭdjāzūdŭ are striking; is there perhaps some connection between the wrestling matches and the ĭdjāzŏ masked dances?

/314 cont./

526 574 When Karajá come to a strange village, they must officially engage in wrestling with the youth of the village before they are regarded as admitted (1). As soon as the village comes into view,

1. This is an ancient custom which even Fonseca reports in the year 1773 (Rev. trim. 8, 384/85). According to this, the Šavajé paid the Karajá a visit; they came in a large number of boats, adorned and armed, shouted and blew on trumpets. The Karajá responded in like manner, and while they came toward them, armed, in a boat, the others drew up on the shore behind the chief, who carried a large lance. The Šavajé landed and likewise stood in formation. Both clusters of people then moved forward and backward three times, during which they shouted and formed a circle, in the center of which the chiefs then greeted each other. Then a wrestling match began: from either side a warrior stepped up, the two wrestled, cheered on by the chiefs. The victorious nation was always greeted with three loud shouts. It was only after this ceremony that the Karajá chief led the one of the Šavajé to Fonseca in the camp.

one hears sounded from there the challenging shouts for a wrestling match: long and short kjū cries, like dog barks, varying in all kinds of ways. The strangers remain very quiet; I usually observed that my Indians, who afterwards did well in the fight, were trembling with fright. The kjū shouts continue until the strangers have landed and the chief has ordered them to fight. Then they set out for the wrestling place, usually near the mask hut, where the young male population is standing lined up, otherwise where there is firm sand. The two sides step up opposite each other; [535] the chief stands on the side of the strangers. The natives are the first to challenge: two youths side by side dance forward out of the ranks, in that, stamping, they dance forward about eight small

/314 cont./

526 steps half-right, then make a quarter turn and dance forward in
535 the same manner half-left, and so on, alternating in this manner.
574 In connection with this, they swing their hanging arms in the most peculiar way, and the one who happens to be in front utters a howling cry in a high pitch, shouting hũ once with every step (Ills. 10, 11, wrestling match between Šavajé and Karajá).[1] When they have reached the front of the opposite row, they stop, turn about on the left foot, whereby they fling their right arms far around and both utter a drawn-out, descending hũ; then they run back to their ranks. The opposite side responds to this challenge in like manner. It is only then that from among the natives two men dance forward in the same way, but only to the middle, one pair of the strangers comes dancing toward them, and then, without further ado, the wrestling begins, until one of the opponents is
526 downed. Usually the fights last only one or two minutes. /315/
574 If the opponents are equally skillful and are unable to secure a fall, the fight is broken off. The one who ends up lying on his back is beaten. He remains prostrate; the victor, crying hũ, dances around him and in the end climbs over him, or else the victor, with raised hand and shouting in the same manner, dances around the opponent who stands with bowed head. Then both return to
[535] their ranks. Thereupon the chiefs, along with the victor, with arms crossed over their shoulders, shouting hũ, dance once around the wrestling place. Each subsequent fight is introduced in the same manner; the big ceremony, however, takes place only before the first fight. Only once did I see an individual man dance forward; otherwise they always went forward in pairs. Sometimes the challenge was not accepted; then the challengers danced to the opposite side, turned about there, and went back. I was unable to find out whether individuals choose certain opponents, or whether
[516] anyone may accept the challenge. After the fight they adopt a certain resting position: they stand bent forward and rest their outstretched arms on their knees. They remain in this position until they wrestle again. Concerning the wrestling match between Karajá and Šavajé /see pp. 330 - 332/.

[1] [See pp. 28-29--Analyst

/315 cont./

535 I did not observe any dances, with the exception of mask-dances, which seem to be of a religious nature. Ehrenreich and Castelnau report on such among the Šambioá.

536 Shooting as a sport was not observed. I am unable to say whether shooting matches occur. Sometimes, for practice, they are said to toss green gourds into the air and shoot at them with arrows. Shooting from a position on the back, whereby they hold the bow with the feet, is a sport in which they occasionally indulge, but not too frequently, on account of the great pain which the recoil of the bowstring causes on the feet. I myself did not see it.

I never saw or heard anything about club-throwing about which Königswald reports.

12. Music.

534 The Karajá are very poor in musical instruments. They have only signal trumpets, small whistles, and turtle scrapers, rattles serve as the accompanying instrument for songs. That is [533] all. This lack seems very strange, since the Karajá sing very gladly and well and are apparently highly gifted musically (1).

1. Concerning the love of music of the Karajá, see Part I, p. 52 /untranslated/.

They have three types of signal trumpets.

The bamboo trumpet (ŭhŭhŭk) consists of a bamboo cylinder 44 centimeters long and seven centimeters in diameter, the mouth end of which is formed by a node, the center of which is pierced. The open, sounding end is richly carved (Pl. 58, Ill. 9).

/316/ The gourd trumpet consists of a curved bottle-gourd 26 centimeters long, which has the lateral blow-hole on the narrower end, the central sounding-hole on the wider end (Ill. 178a).

/365 cont./

574 eyes with soot. Having arrived in the chief's house, my men sat down on the mats in a row extending across the house. The chief sat in front of them at one end, his wife at the other; not a word was spoken, the Karajá sat there with bowed heads and made ex-
[302] tremely distressed faces. Then the chief's wife moved along the row from behind, oiled and combed out the hair of all of them. After that, they had to come to her one by one to have themselves painted by her with urucú. During this whole time the challenging shouts for the wrestling match kept coming over from the mask hut.

/366/ Finally the chief spoke a few words; the Karajá arose and went with him in front of the house. A second Šavajé man from the neighboring hut joined them. Now the procession formed: in front the two Šavajé, behind them the Karajá in twos or threes,
[346] all with arms crossed over shoulders. Women and children followed the procession to the mask hut, where the Šavajé young people were standing in an irregular row. All were painted with urucú; two wore dance belts and feather arm-bands. As soon as the Karajá arrived, the shouting ceased and the wrestling began.
526 The two adorned youths danced forward first, shouting and swing-
574 ing their arms, as we know it from the Karajá (Ills. 10 and 11). The Karajá did not accept. Then they danced forward a second time and were accepted. The wrestling followed; the Karajá were the victors. In the second round, the Karajá challenged, and so it went on, five or six times. Some bouts were not accepted; then the challengers turned around to the right, flinging their arms wide, and returned to the center. Here they stood in the resting position with their backs to the Karajá and shouted until one of the opponents accepted them. A few bouts remained indecisive, otherwise the Karajá won. This was astonishing, since the Šavajé were all larger figures and gave the impression of being more powerful; moreover, they did not have three difficult days of travel behind them. Perhaps the explanation is that the Karajá on the average were five to ten years older and therefore had better developed muscles. Scarcely had the chief announced the end when the Šavajé again shouted their cries; the women and children hastened away and hid in the huts, toward which all the participants betook themselves in an irregular procession.

/366 cont./

526 The wrestling was very similar to that of the Karajá. If
574 one bout were not accepted, the challengers made a gesture of rejection with their arms, turned around, and went back to their row. Then one of them walked forward again, assumed the position of rest in the center, with his back to the opponents, and
[516] shouted until one of the latter accepted. The resting position was
[184] identical with that of the Karajá: they stood with the upper part of the body bent over and rested the arms on the knee. The victor performed a dance in front of the loser, shouting loudly; upon walking away, he moved his left hand over the head of the defeated one. Here, too, the chief stood on the side of the guests.

574 Only after the return from the wrestling match was food put before the Karajá; only now were they regarded as accepted and permitted to disperse into the individual houses.

843 Upon my departure from the village a strange ceremony took
628 place, the meaning of which, I believe, is that a girl made
123 pregnant during previous visits of Karajá was sent along with the Karajá to await the birth among them; whether she would then return could not be definitely ascertained; perhaps she went to the Karajá as a village prostitute. Shortly before departure, the chief took me by the hand and led me into the neighboring house. Here an obviously pregnant girl was sitting and /367/ spinning. She had to get up and lay her work aside; the chief's wife took off her neck ornament (I had already bought her leg bands from her in the morning). The girl then had to take a second bast apron and her net covering and go with us to the boat. Apparently this was very little to the girl's liking, for she wept bitterly and only gradually calmed down. The chief then made long speeches to me, the meaning of which, however, I could not understand. On the way, the girl was under the special charge of my Indian guide, who allegedly was her cousin. He was very gallant to her, carried her covering, brought food on a plate, etc. The girl always walked closely in front and behind him.

535 The masked dance that I saw among the Šavajé was a īdjăzŏ
[184] dance and very similar to that of the Karajá. It took place on the first evening. The two masks stood side by side in front of the hut,

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
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"Monkey."
"What are you going to do with him?"
"Eat him—me like him much." [224]
"How did you catch him?"
"Me shoot him with an arrow."

Continuing our voyage at dawn, we encountered before 609
noon another cluster of Karayá huts on a sand island. Before [361]
we could get to shore, the natives ran out into the water [437]
to meet us, and surrounding our canoes, eagerly offered us balls of black beeswax and pottery in trade for what they supposed we had. It was amusing to see a Karayá couple trying to make a trade with our only woman voyager for a man's gauze undershirt. I could not but think of how the poor savage would appear with only that shirt on. He wanted it, [291] he motioned, to shield himself from the cold at night, and from the flies by day.

We passed the next night at another group of huts on [361] the sand. These Karayá who were very cordial, were expecting us for the news of our approach had preceded us; so they gave us a royal welcome. The *mayor of the city*— [622] the chief of the local horde—appeared arrayed in a complete [292] suit of civilian's clothes, consisting of white linen trousers and vest, black coat and hat. These he wore merely as decorations, not as a covering, for these people consider themselves fully and properly dressed without any such apparel. It was a remarkable sight indeed to us to descry in the gloaming, as we approached the land, what appeared to be a well-dressed representative of advanced civilization entirely alone in a remote, howling wilderness, surrounded by nude and painted savages. He had obtained these garments somewhere from a trading boat. We were escorted in state to a large hut where were assembled all the human inhabitants of the [526] island; and after the reception, we witnessed the wrestling game of which the Karayá are very fond, which will be described fully in future pages.

The same night, as I was sleeping soundly in the open 123
air in my hammock, which was swung between two stakes

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
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123 about us, fully armed, maintaining silence and appearing bellicose. At length, the entire band drew off about fifty yards, then began to discharge volleys of blood-curdling yells, such as only wild men or maniacs can utter. Though we had [506] heard these yells before, we did not know if it was "the shout of war," or only a challenge to the wrestling game. Greatly to our relief, it was the latter. We now knew that we were in no immediate danger; though we had felt that as they had not attacked us at first, they would now be loathe to do so openly. After the wrestling game, the savages gradually became friendly to us, and began, at last, to retire to their huts in twos and threes until only a few were near us. The hour was now three A. M., so wrapping my blanket about me, I stretched myself on the sand to sleep a little, though we could not feel sure that we would not be attacked for the sake of our baggage. A party of six Brazilians who were [609] descending the Araguaya some months previous to the time of our trip, were clubbed to death near this place for their baggage.

This was a night of experiences that we shall not soon forget. When we were first surrounded, one of our party, especially, acted very imprudently, though with good intentions: He blew a bugle endeavoring to call to our aid the other canoes which were really far distant from us. This calling for help could accomplish nothing, and but served to excite greater suspicion in the minds of the savages and precipitate an attack. I think I was as much frightened as any one, yet I saw that to retain self-command was far the wisest course to pursue.

513 The sleep of these children of Nature is more like that of 721 the other wild creatures of the woods than of human beings. The night is much the same as the day to them. They are up and down during the night, just as during the day, ever vigilant, and living in constant expectancy of the sudden appearance of an enemy. It is almost impossible to approach their encampment without their knowledge, though one move never so stealthily.

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
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graceful, and their limbs are well balanced. Their proud 142
bearing makes them appear larger than they really are. Their
great muscular power, elasticity, and quickness of movement, 142 47
is displayed to advantage in their wrestling games, which [526]
are their most loved sport. The muscles of the shoulders,
especially, are highly developed in both sexes, because they [482]
have been trained from childhood to carry heavy weights
on their backs, supported by a band which passes over the
forehead. The eye-brow ridge is flat, giving the appearance 142
of an open face, and the eyes are but slightly almond-shaped.
The women are much smaller than the men, are well proportioned, and have pretty hands and feet. The bust of the younger individuals is perfect, but they soon lose their beauty of form. It is difficult to determine at first just what the color of their skin is. Living, as they do, in the glowing heat of the sun on the sand-bars, their skin, which is really a clear, yellow-brown color, is turned into a dark copper-brown. This clear yellow-brown is found only under their heavy armlets, wristlets and leglets.

Many paint, or, more correctly, grease themselves from 302
head to foot a red or black color, or both; while others prefer brown, red and black. Sometimes a young warrior has himself painted in such a fashion, that seen at a short distance, he appears to be wearing a black European cutaway coat buttoned at the top with one button; while another has black rings painted around his brown body from his shoulders to just above the knees, giving him the appearance of being dressed in a bathing suit. Others, again, paint their faces black. But they like, best of all, to paint black lines on the faces and the extremities. The painting is done with a bit of wood, or with the fingers. Both sexes chop the hair off straight across over the forehead, leaving it in the form of "bangs," and allow it to drop down behind over the
shoulders. It is straight, black and coarse, like a horse's [142]
tail. Many of the young men, corresponding to what we call "dudes," clip a path, an inch wide, like a very wide part from the forehead back to the crown, and cut the hair of the

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
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CHAPTER X.

KARAYÁ SPORTS.—FUNERALS.—CARNIVALS.—RELIGION.

*526 THE young men love to wrestle on the sand on bright, moonlight nights. The chief object of the contest appears to be to cause the opponent to fall by tripping him. It is an exceedingly interesting sport. The Karayá of one village cannot pass another without stopping to indulge in the "struggle," as it is called. In all such cases where a visiting team is pitted against a home team of equal numbers, it seems to be more of a ceremony, or a performance, than a test of championship. The visitors, on arrival, do not go about the village nor mingle with their hosts, until after the struggle. Instead, they crouch in the sand by their canoes, their knees drawn up to their chins, their heads hanging down, and do not speak, except to reply in as few words as possible to the questions put to them. When the ceremony of the struggle is over, refreshments are set before them, and they may go about the encampment at will. On the occasion of my visit, the night was rather dark; and when the time came for the match, the home team, accompanied by every soul in the encampment, moved out to a broad, open space on the sand, there to await the approach of the visiting team. As the latter were coming up, a series of maniacal, blood-chilling war yells were exchanged by the teams as challenges. There was something about the performance that suggested cockfighting. Or is this "struggle" an imitation of a fight between rival tigers, who, having first challenged each other with terrifying roars, finally lock in deadly combat? The

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6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
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teams having lined up—there were four men to a side—they 526
approached each other waltzing, zig-zag fashion, back and 628
forth from one side of the ring to the other in a series of very rapid, stiff-legged, turkey-steps, the second man of each pair being close behind his partner and executing, lock-step, precisely the same movements in perfect unison with him; at the same time, the arms of all were extended in front, legs spread wide apart, bodies inclined forward and slightly squatting, and the entire anatomy of each rigid as if frozen stiff. As they worked gradually toward each other, they emitted fiendish challenges in the form of long-drawn-out yells. Finally, they came together and clinched, and the yelling ceased. The "first round" terminated quickly with four of the combatants sprawling upon the sand. For the second round, they jerked themselves out to one another in single pairs; while for the third round, a single individual, only, came out, first from one side then from the other, prancing like game cocks right up to the opponents' line.

Dr. Ehrenreich describes a war dance he saw at one of 535
the Sambiña villages. Eight warriors, fully armed with spears, clubs, and bows and arrows, and decorated with feathers executed the dance, led by a sort of dancing master, before whom they were arranged in the form of a crescent. They moved but little from one spot—merely a few steps forward and backward—hopping rapidly and artistically on one leg and waving their weapons in perfect unison, guided by the measured beats of their leader. Every movement was executed with the nicest precision. It is said that the Karayá [177]
learned this dance from the Kaiapó tribe.

When a Karayá dies, all his tools, weapons and ornaments 764
are burned, accompanied by a loud crying, wailing and lamen- [768]
tation by the surviving relatives and friends, among whom, because of having participated in the obsequies, will be distributed whatever articles belonging to the deceased that were not consigned to the flames. There is, therefore, some inducement to be a mourner. The death dance around the corpse is next in order. First, the body is ornamented by

/36 cont./

535 On both, the back side is decorated with a double row of
532 short green and blue parrot feathers placed in the long direction.
825 3. The mask of a black bird (tirehãñ) has no animal emblem. It is a human face made of a large gourd, the lower third painted black, the rest red. The mouth is equipped with wax lips and wooden teeth. The nose of black wax is located between the narrow eye slits at an unnatural height. A hanging of black and /37/ brown feathers falls from the back, while at the front and on the sides long strips of buriti bast cover the body of the wearer (Pl. X /see p. 112/, 3).

The number of masks is in no way exhausted with these.
[184] Each village has its special ones and many a "medicine hut" was actually crammed full of the different types.

Besides those mentioned the following were noted as particularly common among the Karayahi:

The fish: pintado (Pimelodus sorubim), trem-trem (Gymnotus electricus), chicote, piau, and pirarucú (Sudis gigas); the birds: tuyuyu (Mycteria jabiru), japuira (Cacicus sp.) mutum (Crax), jacu (Penelope); finally deer and crabs.

● 521 Masked festivals. If there is much food on hand after pro-
535 ductive hunting and fishing expeditions, the chief decides to hold a dance festival, which continues as long as the provisions last. The preparations begin several days before the date set. The women attend to the food and drink, the men set to work at making the dance costumes, unless they are still occupied with hunting.
[533] Each dance is known only to certain persons. The songs sung in
[198] connection with them, which are handed down from father to son, are allegedly performed in an ancient language incomprehensible to the masses.

[825] Each animal represented has its characteristic sound, which
[533] is repeated again and again in the songs. Thus, the pacu cries: heiyoñ he, heiyoñ he, the alligator hu — hu — hu.

[562] The women and children watch the dance, to be sure, but
[532] may not look at the masks by themselves, without their wearers,
[196] since they are made to believe that the "animal spirits" concerned are really present before them. Only the oldest women are sometimes told the secret.

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•529 The festival begins with a procession of the masks through
535 the village. The participants dress in the nearby forest and approach with a loud han̂ hm̄ han̂. Then everybody cries: nakunerare! There they come!

During the procession the masked men throw sticks of wood in all directions. After they have withdrawn, everything is readied for the feast and drinking bout, until after a few hours the dancers approach again and the dance begins. Like that of the duck-duck, it consists of an odd hopping. The dancer is not permitted to let himself be recognized in any way; he
[688] may neither speak nor cough or sneeze, and particularly not fall. Otherwise, as in the case of the duck-duck and the Northwest American hametz, he is killed immediately.

If he finds it necessary to cough, which in view of the stifling heat in his masquerade is not uncommon, of course, he jumps into the circle of men standing about, who cover up his voice by likewise coughing.

The dances take place in a certain sequence; it is the chief who decides which one is to be at the beginning.

532 If a woman enters the secret hut out of curiosity or other-
535 wise takes advantage of an opportunity to see the mask costumes,
562 she is punished by death.
688 Usually the other women then bring a petition to the chief. The latter lets mercy prevail if the guilty one promises silence and is willing to undertake a task of atonement, which usually consists of weaving a rilo or making a large buriti mat. If she refuses or if the work is not satisfactory, a place in the forest is pointed out to her, and she must appear there at a certain
[839] time. She is forced to yield to the men assembled there. If she does not appear, the latter have the right to kill her wherever
[766] they find her. The corpse of the guilty one is sunk in the river.
[778] No one may enter the hut of the victim, however, since this is considered a sanctuary.

In the same way a man who betrays the secret to a woman is declared an outlaw.

/244 cont./

●527 Regular harvest festivals probably do not take place; the time of the ripening of the food plants, that is to say, the time when they have a great deal to eat, is their chief festival time, however.

B. The Acquisition of Animal Food.

433 The acquisition of animal food is as yet limited to the appropriative form; the Indians have not arrived at animal breeding.

231 825 [262] To be sure, they keep a great many animals in their houses, but do not use them for food, nor do they mate them, but rather, after loss, they catch young specimens again to tame these anew. This pleasure in animals arises from the belief that animals are related to man, are the same in essence; they believe that animals speak and act like human beings, only in a different form. And so they surround themselves with them, in [235] order to divert themselves by their behavior. Only birds are kept for practical purposes, namely, as suppliers of feathers; they are repeatedly robbed of their feathers, which are then made into ornaments. Tamed quadrupeds, as well as chickens, usually run around free; birds have their wings clipped or they are tied to a pole on the roof, in the house, or under a special protective [438] roof (Plate 54, Ill. 1). Apparently there is a trade in birds, for several times I observed wandering Indians who carried little birds with them in small gourds, in order to sell them in other places. /Plate 53 appears here./

231 [136] /245/ Of such domestic animals, I observed the following: Of foreign, imported animals there were: chickens [(h)ănĭ(k)ĕ], pigs [(i)šā(nĕ)], dogs (kjŏlŏzĕ), cats [(găh)ănlōĕnĕ]. These [262] animals are not eaten; the Indians are not even acquainted with the eating of chicken eggs (hănĭkĕsi). Pigs are very rare; I saw only one large domestic pig, which was quite obviously kept only out of curiosity.

[Text continues on p. 155]

/313 cont./

526 Diving is practiced a great deal; they are very skillful at it, dive for a very long time, and bring up lost objects almost with certainty. It is said that exercises in competitive diving take place, at which the winner receives an arrow. They are equally skilled in

[868] Swimming. Children allegedly are not taught it, but learn it through imitation and trial (like walking). They swim rapidly and with endurance. In one village all the young people swam after my boats. At my request they demonstrated for me the various methods of swimming: the men thrust their right and left arm forward alternately, turning over on the side concerned; the women paddle like dogs, but with both arms simultaneously, that is to say, with both arms closed they thrust them forward and under; girls are said to like to lie on their backs and, with both arms outstretched, to strike backwards with a jerk. According to another report, however, the women are said not to know how to swim (?). In swimming races, the distance from one bank of the river to the other (6-800 meters) serves as the course.

The most popular physical exercise is wrestling. At every opportunity, young people practice it; it then proceeds wholly without restraint. The holds are the same as ours, but interlocking the legs seems to be customary. Injuries to arms and legs are said to occur, but fatal ones only if the person concerned falls on his penis. The opponent is not blamed for this.

[527] When the tracajá lays eggs (August to September), wrestling matches (ĭdjāzŏ) are said to take place; when there is fishing for the tartaruga in the lagoons (September to /314/ October), all-day wrestling festivals (ănărkăn) take place. On these occasions the entire young male population wrestles. The one who causes the most falls is called dĕrĭdŏ (= chief); he is given presents by the others, such as arrows and the like. A person who has never been thrown in wrestling is called ĭdjāzūdŭ; he is also permitted to wear the arm cuffs as well as feather ornamentation, like a married man. The designations ĭdjāzŏ and ĭdjāzūdŭ are striking; is there perhaps some connection between the wrestling matches and the idjāzŏ masked dances?

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

But these three classes of masks do not include all the modifications used by the tribe, for each village has its own particular kind, and many medicine huts are crammed with the most diverse types. 535 532 [184]

If a hunting or fishing expedition has been successful, and there is an abundance of food on hand, the chief of the village may determine to hold a masquerade festival, which shall continue as long as provisions hold out; whereupon the entire village hums with activity for many days preparing for the celebration. The women busy themselves making ready meat and drink, employing all their culinary skill; while the men, if not hunting and fishing, are occupied with the preparation of the dance costumes. One dance is distinguished from another by being performed exclusively by some one person or family, and handed down from father to son; and each one is executed to the accompaniment of songs which are apparently in an antiquated form of speech, unintelligible to the rest of the people. Each animal represented is indicated by the constant repetition in the songs of the peculiar note or sound characteristic of that animal. For example, the paca cries, "Heyon hey! Heyon hey!" The alligator, "Huu! Huu!" and another beast, "Too koo! Too koo! Too-hoo-oo-oo-oo!" 527 535 [533]

The women and children are merely spectators at these masquerades, and are never permitted, under any circumstances, to see the masquerade outfit, save when an individual is regaled in it, for they must be kept in the belief that the creatures represented, or rather, their shades, are really materialized before them, and that the garb and the being inside of it are one and inseparable, for of course the outfit always covers the entire body of the dancer. Occasionally, however, the old women are let into the secret. This indicates that the secret societies existing everywhere among civilized peoples, admitting men only to their membership and excluding women forever, and who take the most absurd and monstrous oaths to guard their childish secrets from other men, and from their own wives, sisters and mothers, are of savage origin in principle. [000]

The carnival begins with a procession of the masqueraders

527 535 through the encampment, who, having previously stolen away to the jungle and secretly donned their uncouth regalia, suddenly appear; and with a loud cry—"Han hm! Han hm!" rush toward the village, while all the villagers ejaculate loudly, in reply, "Nakum rare! Nakum rare!"—Here they come! Here they come! The procession is almost riotous, for the men throw billets of wood about in every direction. The parade over, all these imitation birds, bugs and beasts, or the materialization of their ghosts, retire again to the thicket, remove their gear, and becoming real men once more, quietly, reënter the village, and the savage banquet is brought on.

After some hours of "eating and drinking and making merry," the masqueraders again rush forth from the woods to begin the dancing. It consists of a peculiar hopping, turkey-step, and rocking the body from side to side. The dancer must not, under any circumstances, permit his real identity to become known to the spectators. He must not speak, nor cough, nor sneeze; and above all, he must not allow himself to stumble and fall, for if he does, he will be immediately put to death. If he should be compelled to cough or sneeze, as frequently happens because of the dust and the suffocating heat under his mask, he springs into the group of men standing near, all of whom begin instantly to cough, and thus contrive to drown his voice.

[688]

The various dances follow each other according to a programme arranged beforehand by the chief of the encampment, who presides over the ceremonies and festivities.

535 562 688 If a woman of the tribe should enter one of the secret mystery huts, or should avail herself of an opportunity to look upon a masquerade outfit when not in use, she will be punished with death. It is usual, in such cases, for the other women to intercede with the chief for her life, and he will exercise mercy in her behalf if she will promise silence and will undertake some work of expiation, such as to weave a *hammock*, or braid a large, palm-leaf mat. If she should refuse to do this, or her work should prove unsatisfactory, she will

/2 cont./

128 now in the Berlin Museum für Völkerkunde (2). I have not gone
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[113]

2. Published in: Ehrenreich, "Beiträge zur Völkerkunde Brasiliens /Contributions to the Ethnography of Brazil/," Veröffentlichungen aus dem Kgl. Museum für Völkerkunde, Vol. II, Nos. 1/2, Berlin, 1891.

into any detailed comparison of my material with that brought back from the Xingu by the Von den Steinen cousins and from the Rio Negro territory by Koch-Grünberg. A general comparison [53] shows the interesting fact that the Karajá are on a significantly higher level of development artistically than those primitive tribes.

/3/

Introduction

*532 The artistic activity of the Karajá is limited to interior art.
531 This is divided into free (representative) art and decorative art.

Free art here is concerned with the representation of the forms of living creatures and objects, which it reproduces in full form (plastic) or superficially (in drawings); decorative art, the adornment of objects with geometric patterns.

*532 In representative art we pursue the reproduction of forms
128 plastically in different materials, whereby we pass from the most brittle (plaiting with leaves) through fairly hard (clay and wood) to the most pliable (wax). In representation by drawing we consider first the types familiar to the Indian, in sand and on gourd utensils /Cuyen/, and only then the method of reproduction in a sketchbook, foreign to him until now. Each time the development from the simplest to the most accomplished form is shown, but it is not known whether this is really the course of the development, or whether simpler forms might perhaps represent stylizations which arose at later stages, whereas the most accomplished forms are only the result of particularly high personal talent.

1:Lipkind E-5 (1937) 1948 SP9 Caraja SP9

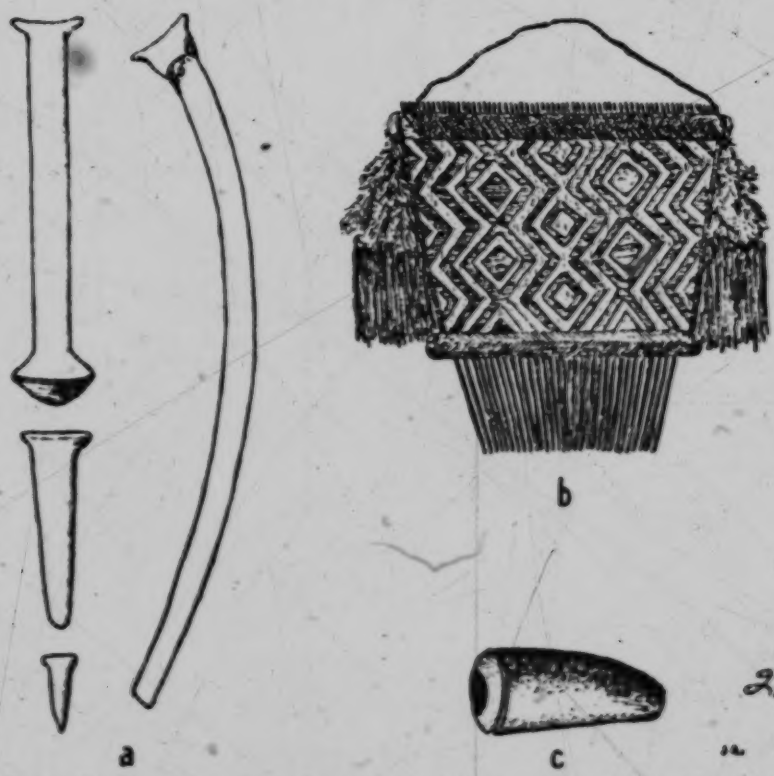
Basketry.—The *Carajá* excel in the variety and solidity of their plaitwork, which includes burden baskets, strainers, shoulder bags, bottles, elliptical feather cases, and boat-shaped containers for suspension. Twilling and twining are the dominant techniques (pl. 22). 285

Textiles.—The *Carajá* produce some taffetalike fabrics, but in 1775 Pinto da Fonseca found them using cotton solely for fish nets and bowstrings, so that he himself introduced a loom and taught the women how to work it. 286 177

Featherwork.—In contrast to their *Ge* neighbors of Eastern Brazil, the *Carajá* are outstanding for featherwork. They make wide-meshed and close-meshed caps with feathers tied to the intersection of the interlaced splints and arranged into rosettes, diadems of feathers stuck into radially mounted cane tubes, and other types of ornaments (pl. 21). 287

Axes.—Stone axes figure in old *Carajá* petroglyphs and have been found by many travelers in the area. They were used for adzing, chopping, and warfare, and as chief's badges. Iron axes have rapidly replaced them. 412 172

301 412 531



276

FIG. 21.—*Carajá* manufactures. *a*, Labrets; *b*, comb; *c*, pipe. (Approximately ⅓ actual size.) (Redrawn from Ehrenreich, 1891 b, figs. 2, 9, and 4.)

1:Lipkind E-5 (1937) 1948 SP9 Caraja SP9

775 **Death.**—At death, the soul becomes a wild ghost if the person has been violently killed and a regular resident of the village of the dead if he has suffered a quiet death. A shaman's soul is translated to the skies. Mourning puts an end to all religious ceremonies and is celebrated by self-laceration, the destruction of property, and daily keening. There 764 is separate burial in formal cemeteries for those who died quietly and [766] those who died violently. The corpse is wrapped in a mat with his weapons and ornaments, and the mat is hung in a shallow grave covered [765] by poles (fig. 22). Food and drink are provided for a short period. After the next change of season, the bones are exhumed and placed in a family urn.

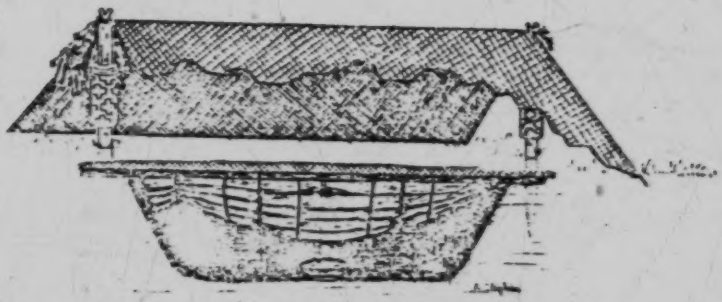


FIGURE 22.—*Carajá* burial. (Redrawn from Ehrenreich, 1891 b, fig. 16)

WARFARE

726 The *Carajá* are good fighters and have maintained themselves since prehistoric times in a territory surrounded on all sides by warlike enemies. Their usual tactics are waiting outside an enemy village at night and attacking at dawn. In defense, they run to the nearest water, where they [411] are unbeatable. They use the bow and arrow and club, and are skilled [526] wrestlers. They cut off a foot bone of a dead enemy and carry it back [727] to their village; this places them in control of the ghost, who now be- [775] comes a caretaker of the village and is impersonated in a special dry-season ceremony. At one such ceremony there were two *Tapirapé* ghosts, [648] three *Chavante*, one *Cayapó*, and one Neo-Brazilian. Present-day war- [727] fare is largely with the *Chavante*, the *Cayapó*, and the *Canoeiro*. Now and then a Neo-Brazilian may be killed by stealth to avenge a personal grievance. No captives are taken except women and small children, who are treated as full members of the group.

ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

531 **Art.**—Decorative art is confined to woven designs on baskets and mats, feather ornaments, elaborate masks with superimposed feather designs,

1:Lipkind E-5 (1937) 1948 SP9 Caraja SP9

small clay dolls (fig. 23), delicately carved clubs, body paint designs, and a little painting and incising of pottery.

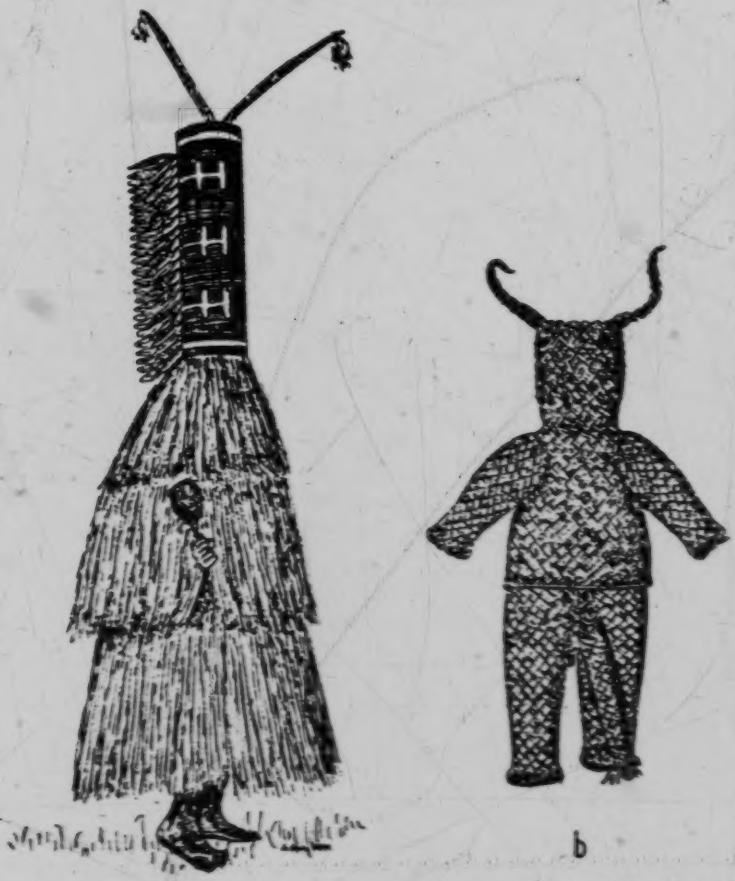


FIGURE 24.—*Carajá* masks. (Redrawn from Ehrenreich, 1891 b, figs. 18, 22.)

Music and dances.—The major art of the *Carajá* is music. A large number of elaborate dances with complex songs, each dance having a separate song style, make up the chief body of the music. These are all religious. In addition, there are some secular dances, and songs are interspersed in the tales. Musical instruments are very few, there being only a rattle accompanying the singers and a small flute which is used as a toy.

1:Lipkind E-5 (1937) 1948 SP9 Caraja SP9

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PLATE 22.—Carajá paddles, gourds, and basketry. (After Ehrenreich, 1891 b.)

[End Plate 2]

/2 cont./

128 now in the Berlin Museum für Völkerkunde (2). I have not gone
126

[113]

2. Published in: Ehrenreich, "Beiträge zur Völkerkunde Brasiliens /Contributions to the Ethnography of Brazil/," Veröffentlichungen aus dem Kgl. Museum für Völkerkunde, Vol. II, Nos. 1/2, Berlin, 1891.

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000 /3 cont./
forms are only the result of particularly high personal talent.
●531 128 Decorative art is limited to the application of geometric patterns. These patterns, which are usually interpreted as animals, are borrowed from the plaiting technique. We shall therefore first of all look at the decorations borrowed from the plaiting technique which are on the plaited work itself, then at their transference in carving on gourd utensils, and at the same time we shall take into consideration the great number of such patterns which the Indians drew in the sketchbook for me. Only then will the other decorations, ordinarily in carving and poker work, be dealt with.

531 462 Decorative artistic activity is limited solely to the men; only they know how to execute the patterns. I have seen only a few clay tobacco pipes, two spindle whorls, some modern clay bowls, a doll's apron, and a mat which had been decorated by women. These objects show completely different patterns, though [177] it must be noted that they have apparently taken over the clay tobacco pipes and clay bowls only very recently from the Brazilians. *532 462 So here the woman stands completely behind the man. It is the same in free art. There only the stylized clay figures are made by the women, whereas the more lively figures in other material and the drawings are produced by the men. So here, too, we find 184 462 the striking pre-eminence of the man over the woman. Thus it seems as though among the Karajá the man is more artistically inclined than the woman, whereas in technical skills the two sexes are probably equal.

A. Representative Art

1. Plastic Art

*532 [524] Plastic representations are encountered frequently; they are produced only for play or as toys.

/22 cont./

532 Among other animals there is still the crocodile. In Fig. 174a /see p.53 / it is reproduced from above. The conception in Fig. 174b*) /see p. 53 / is very strange; the square at the rear is inexplicable; the continuous cross-stroke through the neck, designating the front legs, is also noteworthy.

Plant representations are very rare as detailed drawings. There is a jatoba tree /Leguminosae/ (Fig. 175 /see p. 53 /) with widely spread branches, and also lũlãũ fruits (Fig. 176 /see p.53 /) which are arranged, chain-like, one above the other in rows.

Objects were usually only drawn on demand; /23/ the Indians seldom did it on their own initiative; they are represented in part from the side, in part from above. The doll (Fig. 177 /see p.53 /), which reproduces the doll type very well, is drawn from the front. The boat (Fig. 178* /see p. 53/) and the oar (Fig. 179* /see p. 53 /) are viewed from above. The bow (Fig. 180* /see p.53 /) and the gun (Fig. 181 /see p. 53 /) are drawn from the side. In the case of the club (Fig. 182 /see p.53 /) both views would be the same. The throwing stick (Fig. 183* /see p. 53 /) is reproduced from above for the grip, from the side for the pin.

B. Decorative Art

531 The men like to decorate their tools and objects with patterns. These patterns are geometric and all of them are borrowed from the plaiting technique. Whenever I asked the Indians what the patterns that they had drawn into the sketchbook meant they always said "hõdjũdjũ," which means, roughly, plaiting; only through further questioning did I receive the actual name of the pattern. They all represent animals, although interpreted in such stylized fashion that a stranger cannot possibly recognize them. I do not want here to go into the controversy about which is older, the pattern or the animal model. I want only to note that these patterns were known to all the Karajá Indians by the same name,

/23 cont./

531 whereas in general they did not recognize the figures and drawings created from free imagination, but asked me first what the latter were supposed to mean. Thus, these are well-established, apparently very old decorations.

We find the decorations plaited on fans and baskets, on the handles of crotchet needles, on lances, clubs, bows, arrows, rattles, combs; carved on whole- and half-gourd containers, gourd rattles, ear rods; pictured by poker work on gourd ladles and small gourds, and by color on gourd ladles.

[462] All these objects are made by the men; they are the bearers of this art. The women, too, sometimes decorate objects made by them, such as mats, spinning whorls, bast aprons. The patterns, however, in general differ from those of the men. Re-
[177] cently the women have gone over to decorating tobacco pipes and clay vessels under Brazilian influence; the decorations used for this, however, are quite alien, probably taken over from the Brazilians.

531 The patterns with which the Indians paint their bodies
302 have nothing in common with plaiting patterns. The patterns sometimes painted on the thighs appear similar to the plaiting patterns; they are probably connected with the masked dances
[535] at which we find similar decorations, usually depicting animals, on the cylinder masks and bask aprons.

531 The animal patterns are not line patterns, but surface
[285] patterns; thus, in plaiting, the strips plaited in one direction represent the pattern; in the same way, in the sketches, it is not the lines which stand for the pattern, but the surfaces enclosed by them. This follows from the fact that in the case of carved patterns these surfaces are in relief or indented, but in any case contrasted as surfaces from the background; in the same way in the sketches the surfaces are sometimes set off by dots or dashes. Only it is difficult in this case to decide which of the surfaces represents the background and which the pattern; here only inquiry among the Indians helps. For the characteristic features do not penetrate our awareness at all, accustomed as we are to seeing such patterns in terms of lines and not surfaces.

/23 cont./

531 In some patterns I was successful in separating pattern and back-
[128] ground from each other; others still await satisfactory investiga-
tion.

531 These patterns are made in the following manner. On
285 baskets, fans, etc., they are produced simply through different,
diagonal plaiting of the leaf pinnae. For plaiting around some-
thing with yellow cane and black embira, the black embira is
plaited horizontally in spirals through the strips of cane hanging
531 down vertically. Carved decorations are made with the knife;
322 the latter is then held almost vertically to the surface to be
carved, and /24/ in this way small pieces of the upper layer are
chipped off broadside with the point. Finer and deeper lines are
carved out naturally. In poker work a splinter of cane is used
as the cautery, which is made to glow on an adjacent block of
wood and then quickly pressed on the spot concerned. This is,
[412] of course, very slow work, which is practiced almost exclusively
[517] by the male sex, apparently only for fun.

531 The Indians always drew the patterns in the sketchbook on
[153] their own initiative. When they had barely drawn some figures,
they would already go over to the patterns. Many refused to draw
figures altogether, but just treated themselves to making patterns.
531 Now it was extremely interesting to observe how the people ar-
151 ranged the patterns. As an example I shall take the one in Fig.
199 (Plate X /see p. 56 /). First of all the space was divided up
by four vertical lines according to exact calculation. The Indians
sitting nearby already knew which decoration the artist wanted to
draw, without the latter saying anything. Then each new line to
be drawn was discussed in detail beforehand, criticized afterwards.
Thus, the sketch was put together as a common task. During this
the lines, once the people were completely clear about direction
and length, were drawn with a quick sure stroke. It should further
531 be noted that the Indians had observed how I wrote my remarks
151 about artist and pattern on the edge of the page, and now on
153 their own initiative they left a narrow margin free on one side, as
I ascertained through questions, so that I could write on it. They

/24 cont./

53/ first bordered off this part; then they divided up the rest of the
151 space. Of course, not all of them calculated so skillfully;
153 there were some among them who were very clumsy, managed no straight line, and never quite succeeded with complicated patterns. (Plate XI /see p.57 /, Fig. 202b.)

53/ About the arrangement of the patterns, it is to be noted that on baskets and fans they are restricted to the middle zone, but on plaiting around something they extend over the whole plaiting. Half-gourds are almost always completely carved, usually with four vertical zones set off, which show patterns differing in part. The edge is set off by special patterns on only a very few examples. Whole gourds bear carved patterns, each according to its purpose; gourds for oil are decorated only on the upper part around the opening, gourds for feathers over the whole surface, rattles likewise, but in a vertical zone arrangement or in individual vertical stripes. Ear rods are decorated only on the front part. On half-gourds poker-work covers the edge, vertical or horizontal zones, or the whole curved upper surface; on whole gourds, the upper part, the whole surface, or two symmetrically positioned zones.

531 1. Patterns borrowed from the plaiting technique
285 (Plates VII-XI) 1/A

we know from all the plaited objects and objects with plaiting around them, then as they are transferred in carving to gourd utensils and gourd rattles, and finally as sketchbook drawings. The meaning of the patterns was obtained only with difficulty. Either the Indians called them hõdjũdjũ = plaiting, or they gave names for which a translation could not be obtained. Only for a few could they give the Brazilian term.

1. Horizontal zigzag lines; dũlẽhãlõkõ, the bat. As a carved pattern on gourds it was also called õdãbũlã (cf. Ehrenreich, "Beiträge," Fig. 11b). Found in plaiting, on combs (Fig. 184a

1/A [see pp. 53-57 -- Analysis]

/24 cont./ Found in plaiting, on combs (Fig. 184a) /see p.53 /), crotchet needles, arrow (Fig. 184b /see p. 53 /), bow, carved on the signal horn (Fig. 184c$_{1,2}$ /see p.53 /; c$_2$ represents a rubbing from the carved end). It is probably derived from the simple basket plaiting pattern as the center part of the basket in Fig. 184d /see p. 53/ shows. Fig. 184e /see p.53 / represents the artistic reproduction. Perhaps the lance pattern in Fig. 184f /see p.53 / is a further development of it. /Plates I-XI appear here./

/25/ 2. Vertical zigzag line (according to Ehrenreich, "Beiträge," Fig. 11c, the rattlesnake). Only found plaited on combs, lances, clubs, and rattle handles (Fig. 185 a and b /see p. 54 /). Further developments are to be found in the lance plaiting (Fig. 185c /see p. 54/) and the comb plaiting (Fig. 185d /see p. 54 /). It probably arose from the basket plaiting pattern, as the edge strips of the basket in Fig. 184d.

3. A pattern of unknown meaning present on a lance plaiting (Fig. 186a /see p. 54 /). The negative of it is similar to the sketchbook pattern (Fig. 186b /see p. 54 /) called dogfish (lădă), the developments of which are reproduced in Fig. 186 c and d /see p. 54/.

4. Patterns of unknown meaning, occurring as plaiting patterns on combs (Fig. 187 a$_{1,2}$ /see p. 54 /) (1), lances,

1. On combs both sides are almost always reproduced (marked 1 and 2).

club-sticks (Fig. 187b /see p. 54 /), crotchet-needle handles; as carving patterns on gourd rattles and whole gourds (Fig. 187c /see p. 54 /).

5. This pattern is perhaps a development of the previous one, produced by the side attachment of hooks to the ends of the bars (Fig. 188 /see p.54 /).

6. The urubu pattern (lălădjă). It occurs plaited on a club-stick (Fig. 189a /see p. 55 /) and on a drawing (Fig. 189b /see p.55 /). This representation goes back to the way /Fig. 206 appears here/ in which the urubu customarily sits on the sand

[see p. 58 -- Analyst]

[Text continues on p. 58]

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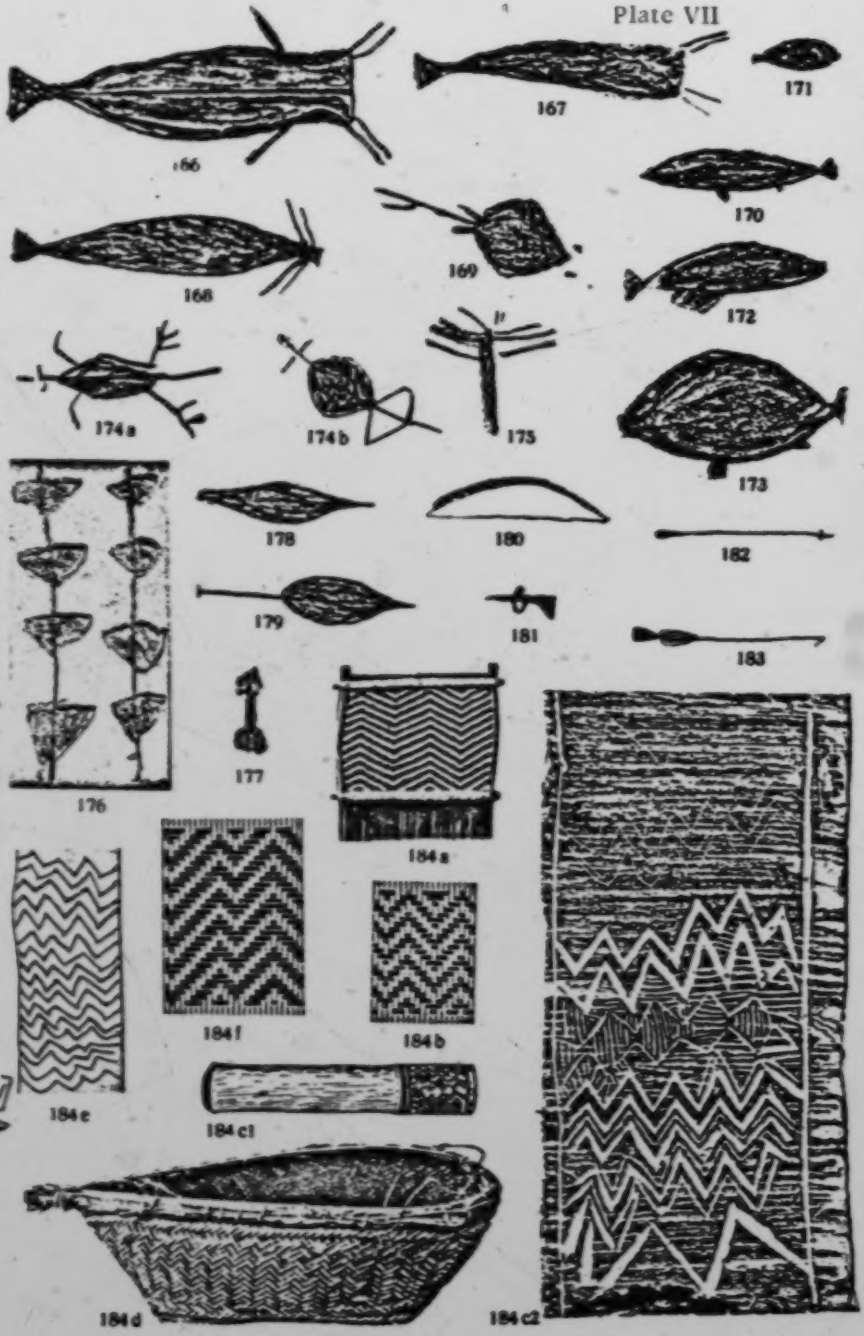
Plate VII



●531
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[412]
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[534]
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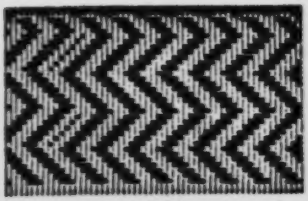
Plate VIII

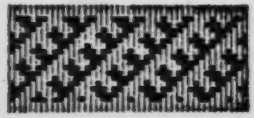


185 b

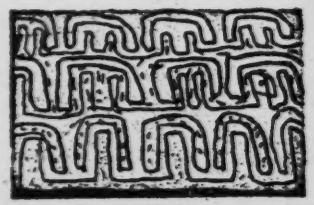
185 c

185 d

185 a



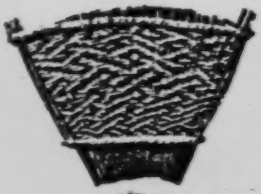
186 a



186 d

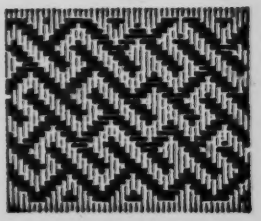
186 b

186 c

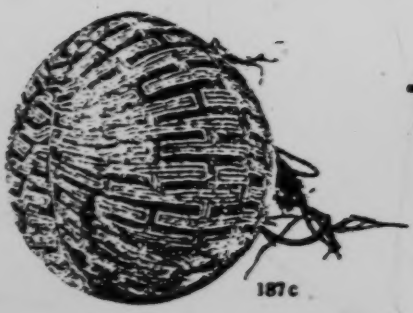


187 a1

187 a2



187 b



187 c

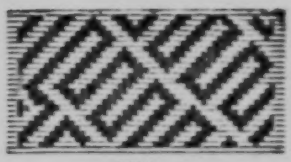
188 a1

188 a2

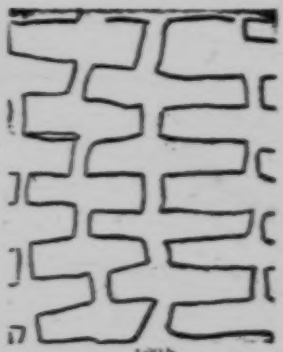
2: Krause--55 E-5 (1908) 1912 SP9 Caraja SP9

Plate IX

531
295

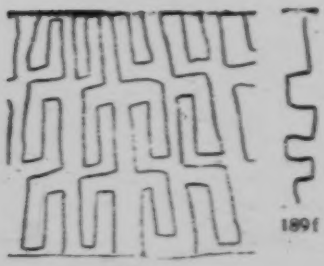


189a



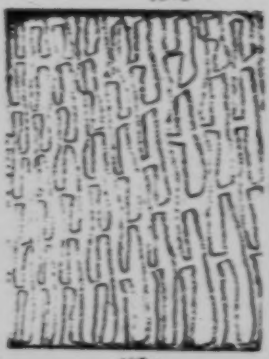
189b

189c

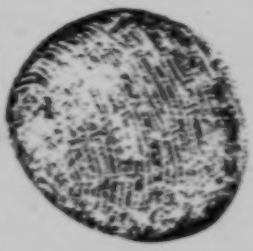


189f

190b

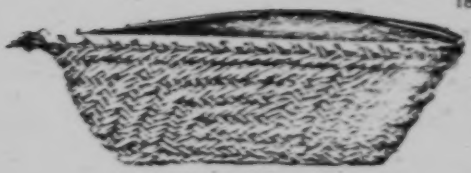


189e



189d

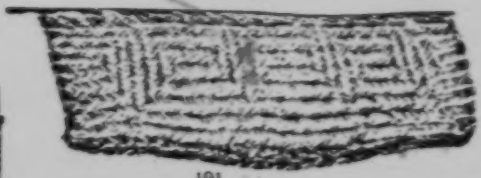
190a



190c

190d

190e

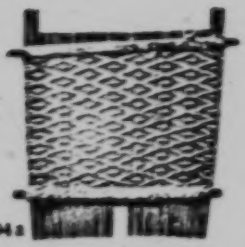


191

193

192

194b



194a

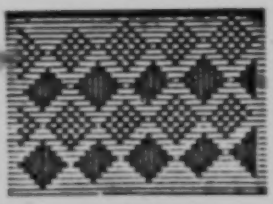
2: Krause--56 E-5 (1908) 1912 SP9 Caraja SP9

Plate X

531
RPS.

195 a1

195 a2



195 b

195 c

195 d1

195 d2

195 e1

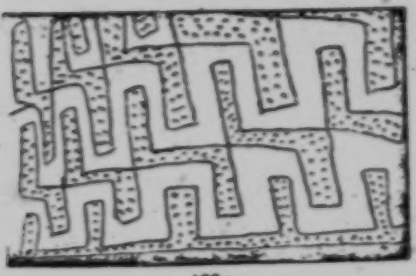
196 a1

196 a2

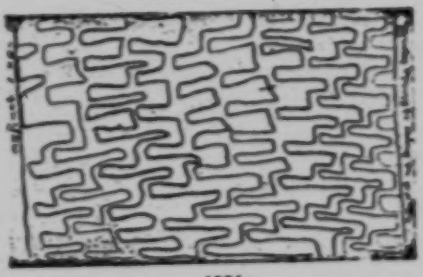
195 e2

197 a1

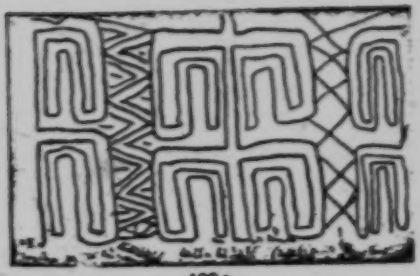
197 a2



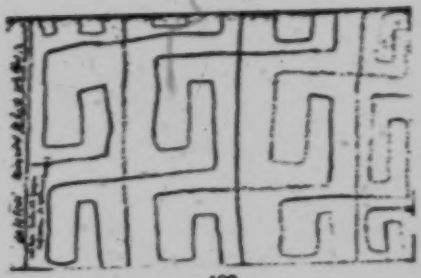
198 a



198 b



198 c

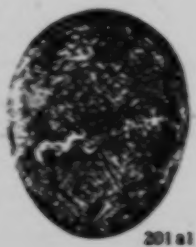


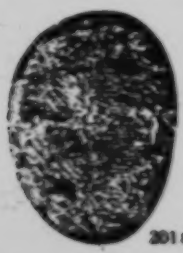
199

2: Krause--57 E-5 (1908) 1912 SP9 Caraja SP9

Plate XI

●531
265
[534]

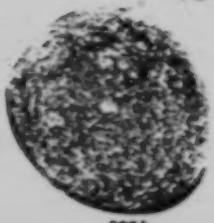

201 a1


201 a2

200 a

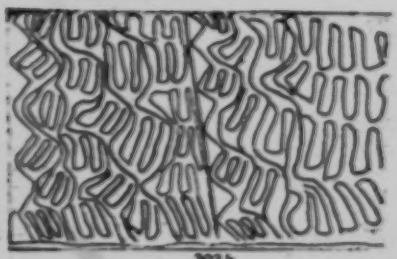
201 b1

201 b2


200 b

201 c1

201 c2

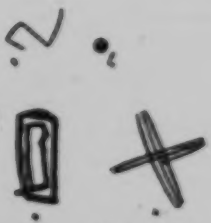

202 b

[534]

202 a

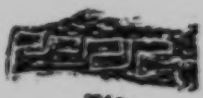
203 a

203 b


204

205

213


204 a

/25 cont./

531 with outspread wings, not unlike the Austrian double eagle. It is
285 further developed by hooks attached vertically to the side bars; see the drawing in Fig. 189c /see p. 55/ and the carving on the half-gourd in Fig. 189d /see p. 55/. It should be noted here that I received other names for this decoration in simple line execution without the counterpart of two corresponding continuous lines; the decoration in Fig. 189e /see p. 55/ was also called (kadã)

[415]

Fig. 206 a-d. Oil gourds, carved.

blehé, hãdõ, and tõmã, the simple serrated pattern (Fig. 189f /see p. 55/; ãlãsõmãdã.

7. Serrated patterns ããõã = gavião. Found plaited on baskets (Fig. 190a /see p. 55/), carved on gourds (see Fig. 204a /see p. 57/). The sketch reproduction which follows singly and with counterpart (Fig. 190b /see p. 55/), was also called dũbõté. The basket pattern (Fig. 190c /see p. 55/) is similar; the basket patterns in Fig. 190 d and e /see p. 55/ are further developments.

8. The meander, also called ããõã, is found plaited on baskets and fans (Fig. 191 /see p. 55/), carved on rattles (Plate VI /see p. 52/, Fig. 105). The sketch reproduction is given by the left pattern in Fig. 189c.

9. Small spirals. Basket patterns (Fig. 192 /see p. 55/).

10. Spirals standing on the tips. Comb pattern (Fig. 193 /see p. 55/).

11. Pattern of unknown meaning; found plaited on combs (Fig. 194a /see p. 55/), crotchet needles (Fig. 194b /see p. 55/), and bows.

/25 cont./

53/ 12. The pattern probably represents a snake. It is exemplified as a comb pattern (Fig. 195a /see p. 56/). On a crotchet needle (Fig. 195b /see p. 56/), it is present in two varieties, one of which designates the dorsal design, the other the ventral design, on the sucuriu /anaconda/ snake (leĭ). Developments of the decoration are the same pattern (Fig. 195c /see p. 56/and the two comb /26/ patterns of the Šavajé (Fig. 195 d and e /see p. 56/). Similar decorations are illustrated by Ehrenreich in his "Beiträge," namely, in Fig. 11a as a wasp's nest, in Fig. 11c as a caninanha snake. /Fig. 207 appears here./

13. Comb pattern of unknown meaning (Fig. 196 /see p. 56 /).

14. Snake pattern (according to Ehrenreich, "Beiträge," Fig. 11d); represented as a comb decoration (Fig. 197 /see p. 56/).

15. There were delivered to me as plaiting patterns a few other sketches, the originals of which I never saw in plaiting. They all portray the tail of the coati (tšūšõn-hãlalū) (Fig. 198 a, b, and c /see p. 56/).

531 I must add here several patterns which may have arisen from the plaiting technique, but which the Indians did not designate for me as plaiting patterns. They are found as carved decorations and drawings.

16. dūlālĭdī (Fig. 199) /see p. 56/).

[534] 17. kŏdūnĭ = tartaruga /Chelonia/. Found on rattles (Fig. 200a /see p. 57/) and on half-gourds (Fig. 200b /see p. 57/).

18. kŏdūbõnãblõlõdé = river turtle. As a filled-in surface found on half-gourds (Fig. 201a /see p. 57/) and rattles, arranged in a row as rim patterns of a half-gourd (Fig. 201b$_{1,2}$ /see p. 57 /). Further developed on the gourd rattle (Plate VI /see p. 52 /, Fig. 105) and in the Šavajé comb (Fig. 201c /see p. 57 /). /Figs. 208 and 209 appear here./

19. ãlĭwã = pacu /Prochilodus/ fish. Square standing on the point (Fig. 198c /see p. 56/).

20. Gourd pattern of unknown meaning (Fig. 202a /see p. 57/), with which /Figs. 210-212 and 214 appear here/ the artist in question, as a result of the difficulty of the pattern and in

[see p. 60--Analyst]

[Text continues on p. 61]

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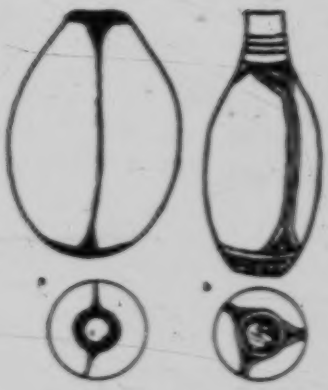

Fig. 207 a and b. Resonance gourds. (Including their bottom surfaces.)

531
301

Fig. 208 a and b. Ear rods.

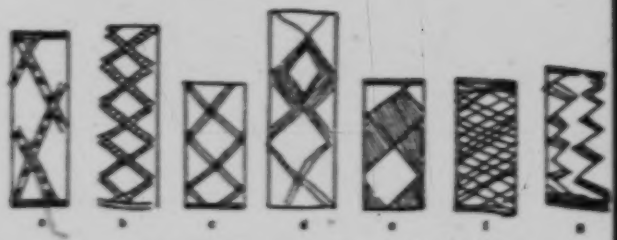

Fig. 209 a-g. Ear rods.

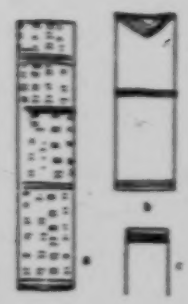

Fig. 210 a-c. Ear rods.

Fig. 211 a and b. Ear rods.

Fig. 212. Gourd ladle.

Fig. 214. Gourd ladle.

/26 cont./

● 531 spite of two attempts, did not quite succeed, is similar.

21. The cross, lālādjā = urubu. Found as gourd-carving [534] on a rattle (Fig. 203a /see p. 57/) and as a sketchbook drawing (Fig. 203b /see p. 57/). According to Ehrenreich ("Beiträge," Fig. 16c) a lizard is represented in the form of a cross.

/27/ I furthermore obtained a gourd (Fig. 204 /see p. 57/) which bears no fewer than 20 different figures, five of which are patterns discussed above. The individual figures are as follows:

a) ŏāoā = gavião; b) dōlē = parrot; c) āndādōlā = arara; d) lālā = urubu; e) kŭōlī; f) klāŏbī = monkey; g) wātī = stag; h) tīlū = excrement; i) krādjāīqū /Fig. 215 appears here/ = sexual parts of the Karajá Indian women; k) bīū = rain; l) bĕnū = navel; m) ōmālūdī; n) djūĕtā = piranha; o) kjŏlŏzā = dog; p) ūōhū = arrows; q) dōnōlī = lance; r) ŏdābŭlā; s) ūōmā; t) hādō = house; u) kŏdūnī = tartaruga.

Unfortunately it was broken on the journey, so that, apart from the plaiting patterns, only the figures a, e, k, l, o can be recognized with certainty.

2. Carved decorations

are in part different from these plaiting patterns; they show quite distinctive features. Two half-gourds have distinct edge strips (Plate XI /see p. 57/, Figs. 201a and 202a). Two gourd con- [415] tainers for feathers are decorated with strange decorations (Plate XI, Fig. 205). The gourds for oil bear the ornamentation on the /Figs. 216 and 217 appear here/ 2 upper part around the opening, usually in four parts (Fig. 206 a to c/see p. 57/), rarely with [534] more parts (Fig. 206d /see p. 58/). The resonance gourds for the signal trumpets are decorated over the whole expanse, in two parts in Fig. 207a /see p. 60/, in three parts in Fig. 207b /see [30] p. 60/. Of other carvings only carved ear-rods are found. These have the following decorations; spirals (Fig. 208a /Figs. 218-220 appear here/ 2 and b /see p. 60/), intersections (Fig. 209 a to g /see p. 60/; the decoration in Fig. 209f was called ĭlĕdĭlĕgā),

1, 2 [see p. 62--Analyst]

[Text continues on p. 63]

/27 cont./

531
415

Fig. 215 a-c. Gourd ladles.

Fig. 216 a-c. Gourd ladles.

Fig. 217.
Gourd ladle.

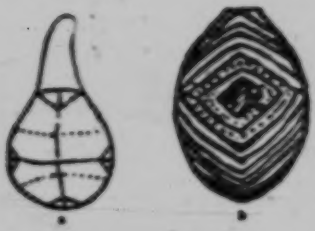

Fig. 218 a and b.
Gourd ladles.

Fig. 219.
Gourd ladle.

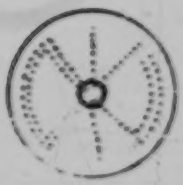

Fig. 220.
Whole gourd
viewed from above.

/27 cont./

531 horizontal sectioning (Fig. 210a to c /see p. 60/), vertical sectioning (Fig. 211a and b /see p. 60/).

3. The half-gourds and whole gourds decorated by painting have a quite different character.

[415] Only one gourd ladle colored with paint is found (Fig. 212 /see p. 60/). It shows a black edge, simple zigzag line, and a cross in the middle.

/28/ All the others show poker work. Fig. 213 (Plate XI /see p. 57/) represents the first attempt at this by a small girl. The gourd ladles are very diversely decorated. The edge has a row of triangles (Fig. 214 /see p. 60/), or tree-like [illegible]ched figures usually extend from it toward the center (Fig. 215 a to c /see p. 62/). /Fig. 221 appears here./ The patterns in Fig. 216 a to c /see p. 62/ are arranged in horizontal strips, in Fig. 217 /see p. 62/ in vertical strips. In Fig. 218 a and b /see p. 62/ the whole surface is filled in with one pattern, in Fig. 219 /see p. 62/ with different patterns. Plaiting patterns are represented only in Figs. 216c and 219. Whole gourds are either decorated only on the upper part (Fig. 220 /see p. 62/), or in a central zone reaching around them (Fig. 221 a to c /see p. 64/; b and c with three parts), or only on two opposite sides (Fig. [415] 222 a and b /see p. 64/). The water-carrying vessel of the Šavajé (in Fig. 223 /see p. 64/) shows very crude poker work.

531 462 [512] [172] 4. The artistic activity of the women is quite different from this of the men. It is very rare and in part has been taken over from the Brazilians. The women do not use the patterns of the men. It must be said that the women stand far behind /Figs. 222-224 appear here./ the men artistically; for although they also plait and make pottery, they decorate their products only in the rarest cases. Homemade decorations are found on a mat, the apron of a clay doll, and on spinning whorls. The mat 531 [345] (Fig. 224 /see p. 64/) is patterned by plaiting in bundles of black-dyed fibers in the fashion illustrated. One sees immediately that on the right the upper pattern is the negative of the lower one. On the doll's apron (Plate II /see p. 48/, Fig. 26) the red and

[see p. 64--Analyst]

[Text continues on p. 65]

/28 cont./

531

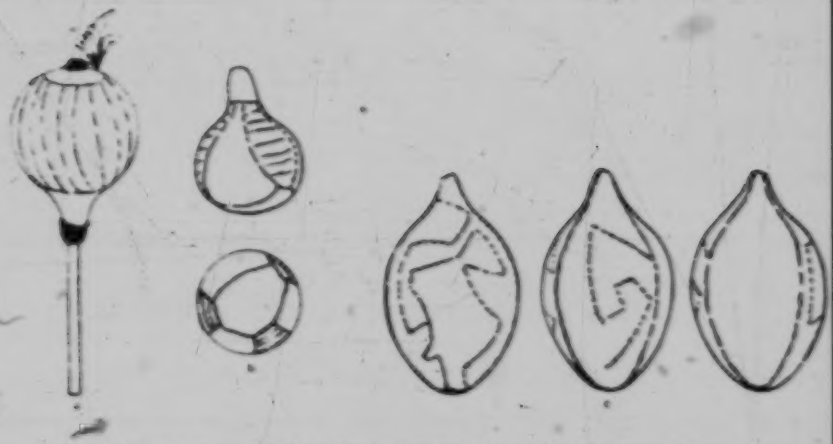

Fig. 221 a-c. Three whole gourds (b with bottom view, c unrolled).

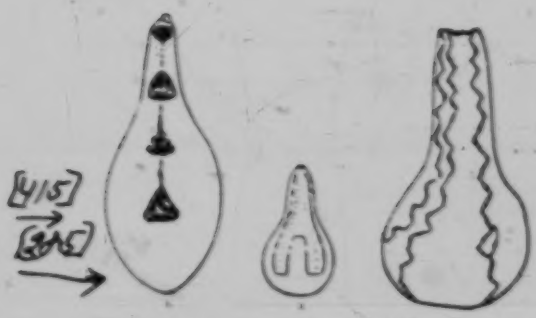

Fig. 222 a and b. Whole gourds.

Fig. 223. Water vessel.

Fig. 224. Decorated mat.

/28 cont./

black decorations are somewhat reminiscent of the decorations of the men. The clay spinning whorl (Fig. 225a) is provided on one surface with fine incising which is arranged in two concentric circles, with

Fig. 228 a and b. Small clay utensils for play.

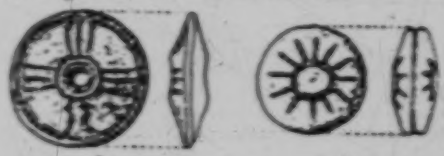

Fig. 225. Spinning whorl, a) of clay, b) of white earth.

Fig. 226 a-d. Tobacco pipes of clay.

Fig. 227 a-e. Decorated eating dishes, export goods.

four spokes divided up several times, in between. /29/ The spinning whorl made of white earth (Fig. 225b) has a circle cut into it on both sides, from which rays extend. These indentations are made red and black.

The decorations on the clay tobacco pipes and the clay bowls were probably taken over from the Brazilians.

I found clay tobacco pipes only in the villages near S. Jose. They were evidently taken over altogether, and with them the ornamentation as well, from the Brazilians. It is true that their form is now made by the Indians rather differently from the Brazilian form, with a wide base which is lacking in the Brazilian one (Fig. 226 a to d).

/29 cont./

531 415 [484] [439] Clay bowls, in export form and decorated with red paint, were also produced only in the uppermost villages and actually as export goods. The decorations are limited /Fig. 227 appears here/ mostly to the upper edge; only rarely do they extend farther down. Despite their simplicity, they have a very pleasing effect (Fig. 227 a to e /see p. 65/). Moreover, a crudely [524] decorated play-bowl of the Karajá (Fig. 228a /see p. 65/) and a small clay bowl, likewise painted on the outer surface with red patterns, which comes from the Šavajé living with the southern horde of the Karajá (Fig. 228b /see p. 65/), were found.

000 /Appendices I, "Distribution of the Objects and Drawings among the Individual Tribes," II, "Index of the Figures and Patterns Drawn by the Same Persons," and III, "Systematic Index of the Objects Represented," pp. 30-31, have not been translated; see the foreign text./

/11 cont./

291 Clothing. The men go about completely naked, but tie the foreskin over the penis glans with a black cotton thread, like the end of a sausage (Pl. I /see p. 103/, 1). The women wear the nantŏ, [824] a kind of sash made of the bast of the jangada tree (Apeiba jangada). [289] /Fig. 2 appears here./ Softened in water and beaten and dried with flat stones, it acquires a high degree of pliability and a gleaming white, almost cloth-like appearance, very similar to the Polynesian tapa cloth made in the same way. A piece one span wide and 1 1/2 meters long is placed around the hips, both ends drawn be-

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Fig. 1. Body painting.

291 tween the legs from back to front and knotted below the navel, so that the ends hang down to the feet. When sitting down, the ends are thrown back under the seat (Pl. I /see p. 103 /, 2).

This primitive costume is supplemented by various arm and leg bands which represent a special tribal peculiarity.

854 Soon after birth the lower arm and lower leg of the child are
291 wrapped with heavy black cotton cords (aʒonrubĕ), while a band five centimeters wide and likewise black is put around the body (uaitākauj) (Pl. VII /see p. 109/, 3 and 4).

/17 cont./ Elegant

50] oars are painted black. The middle third of the blade is covered
[531] by a decoration made up of black zigzag lines and dots on a white background (see p. 49).

411 The weapons of the Karaya are still the original ones throughout.

The bows (ŭahĕtĕ) are of various sizes according to the age and strength of the owner. The longest of the collection measures 220 centimeters, the shortest child's bow 70 centimeters. They
[824] consist in part of the wood of the brejauba palm (Astrocaryum sp.) or the so-called pau d'arco (Tecoma sp.). The front side is usually somewhat smoothed down, the ends tapered with thornlike, offset tips (Pl. VI /see p. 108 /, 1).

/18/ The string (mahūga) and the way it is fastened show
411 certain peculiarities similar to those found among the Guiana
284 tribes. The material is embira bast (Malvaceae sp.), the leaf
[824] fiber of a Bromelia (caraguatá) or that of the pati palm (Syagrus botryophora). The length of the string twisted from it exceeds that of the bow by six to eight times. Of a appropriate thickness at one end, it tapers more and more toward the other, finally ending in a thin thread. The strong end is wound around the upper tip of the bow. From there the string goes directly to the lower end and along the front side of the bow upward to about the middle. Then it runs back again and is wound fast around the lower part of the bow with its thinner end. The last, thread-like part hangs down, decorated with a feather tassel.

In order that the wound end does not slip up, it is wound at the place of the curve with a layer of maize leaves which are tied fast with black cotton cords. Sometimes the ends of the bow are also wrapped with thin white threads below the tip. A similar, but looser cotton binding ties the part of the string running on the outside of the bow to the bow wood. This prevents too great a strain on the string. If the upper end of the string breaks, a replacement can easily be brought up by unwinding from below. A break at the lower end is not easily possible because of the counter pressure present there.

/18 cont./

411 The form of the arrows (uehě) is very manifold.

The shaft of the arrow consists of two pieces, a lower one of cane and the one inserted in it of wood. The latter bears either a special tip or, sharpened and correspondingly shaped, serves in some way as one itself.

In general the length of the cane shaft amounts to two-thirds of the length of the whole arrow, and that of the wooden shaft one-third.

411 239 The feathers of the lower cane-end are always placed so that their uppermost tip, wound around itself, lies at the level of the notch. The quill describes a 1/8 to 1/4 turn around the shaft. The heavy arrows, especially those provided with a broad cane tip, usually have a heavier winding of feathers.

Through the twisting of the feather tip, the outer feathers of the quill are sharply bent outward. The inner feathers are cut off short in order to lie closer to the shaft.

In the case of many arrows the lowest piece, which bears the notches and feathering, is separately inserted into the cane shaft. Probably the original arrow end was split here during the cutting or bending the bow and was supplemented by an insert.

411 230 284 [531] [534] The feathers are tied with black cotton strings, between which are usually placed small red and yellow decorative feathers. The attached pieces are held together by waimbě (Philodendron sp.) bast bands. The feathered part of the cane end often has crossbands touched up with red lacquer (tamararu).

411 [126] The following arrow types are represented in the collection:

1. War arrows, with point made from the tail-spine of a thornback, 150-180 centimeters long, two-thirds of which makes up the cane shaft. The spine, six to eight centimeters long and supplied on both sides with countless small barbs, is tied to the wooden shaft with thread and wax in such a way that the lower part projects as a long barb. The wooden shaft itself is painted with red lines, wavy lines, and dots (Pl.V/see p.108 /, 8).

2. War arrows with cane tip cut in the shape of a knife, related to the Bororo arrows in their form. Total length 140-160 centimeters, of which the cane shaft takes up only one-third. On the upper end of the 3/4 centimeter thick wooden shaft made

/18 cont./

411 of smoothly planed jeriva palm wood, the knife-shaped taquara splint, 30-40 centimeters long and 10-30 centimeters wide, is tied with waimbẽ bindings (Pl. VI /see p. 108/, 9).

On one specimen the short cane shaft is decorated with plaiting in simple rectangular patterns.

3. Hunting arrows with bone points (from the tapir and deer), otherwise of the same length and execution as No. 1. They also have red painting on the wooden shaft.

4. Hunting arrows with point of bird bone. Cane shaft two-thirds, palm-wood shaft one-third of the total length of 160-170 centimeters.(Pl. VI, 4).

5. Fishing arrows, whose ends of palm wood serve at the same time as points, 150-160 centimeters long.

6. Hunting arrows with knife-shaped palm-wood tip which makes up one-third of the total length of 160 centimeters (Pl. VI, 2 and 3).

7. Arrows with simple cane shaft, which bears a wooden cylinder instead of the point, to catch smaller mammals alive. Length 125-137 centimeters. Around the feathered shaft part a black band-decoration runs spirally (Pl. VI, 5).

8. Children's arrows occur in three types. The simplest are split leaf-stalks of the uaguassú palm, 90-95 centimeters long and weighted with wax. Others 140 centimeters in length are sharpened cane sticks. Finally those that are 150 centimeters long with a pointed wooden end are more finished.

Weapons for hand-to-hand fighting are clubs (hãte) and spears (tonâri).

Of the former there are two forms:

1. Flat, shovel-like clubs. A quite crudely worked specimen with slightly curved hand-grip and oval blade was obtained among the Karayahi.

I am grateful to Dr. Leite Moraes of São Paulo for two excellent pieces of this type.

The war club of Chief Ambura (Village IV of the Sambioa) is a showpiece of the Indian weapon industry. It is 165 centimeters long, of hard Tecoma wood. The grip, from the knob

[531] of which two black tassels decorated with snail shells hang, is

/18 cont./

411 wrapped with decorative plaiting in a lozenge pattern. The
[531] four-sided, prismatic blade, which broadens towards the bottom and has sharp edges, runs out into a lancet-shaped point (Pl. VI /see p. 108/, 11, 12).

/19/ The palm-wood club of the Šambiao chief Roco (Village I) is of similar form but much smaller (121.5 centimeters long). Its blade has an elliptical cross-section. The plaiting pattern is simpler.

On both the plaiting is tied on the lower part by a broad red cotton binding ending in tassels.

2. Round clubs of various lengths (95-137 centimeters).

They are stick-shaped with a knobby, broadened end-part which runs out into a flat knob. The handle end also has a knob-like projecting part.

They are either smooth or, more often, provided with longitudinal grooving, which sometimes extends over the whole length of the weapon, sometimes only over the lower part. On the most beautiful specimen the grooving is interrupted on both sides by a smooth strip one centimeter wide, in which small holes are sunk at finger-width intervals (Pl. VI /see p. 108/, 13).

Finally, the 2-2 1/2 meters long, feather-decorated thrusting lances (Pl. VI /see p.108 /, 10) are part of the war armor.
[237] The shaft is of palm wood, the 15-20 centimeter long tip from the thigh bone of the jaguar or deer; below the beginning of the latter, two long dangling feather-tassels are tied on with cotton
[531] bindings. On the larger spears the whole upper third of the shaft is surrounded with plaiting in zigzag patterns (snake decoration). Small red feather wreaths encircle it at the top and bottom.

[191] Arrow thrower (throwing board) (kåobi). After we had found this instrument, almost forgotten in South America, still in use among the Xingu tribes of the Kamayura, Auetö, and Trumai, I was surprised to find it again in exactly the same form on the Araguaia. Only its execution is somewhat cruder. The stick-shaped part with the bone hooks set in it is round in the upper third, the rest worked into a hexagon.

/19 cont./

415 1. The most common form can be described as two truncated cones with their bases touching. A tall model with a narrow opening and a shorter one with a wide opening are in use.

2. Wide open, deep bowls of similar basic form serve as cooking pots.

3. Flat, round plates, perhaps imitated from European forms.

4. Low elliptical double bowls with a partition running lengthwise.

5. Cylindrical pots with bent or projecting rim.

[191] 6. Small bowls (uatiui) with three feet, used especially by children; an analogous form is found in Ecuador.

7. Clay spoons.

The vessels do not have handles; instead bast cords are wound around the neck of the pot or drawn through the edge.

[824] The gourd bowls (ũĩa) (fruit of Crescentia cuyete) also belong among the vessels. They are not found here in the size and diversity of form as among the Xingu /20/ tribes by far. On the other hand, they are much more carefully prepared and dried, and possess incomparably greater durability. They are usually [531] blackened inside and out and provided with engraved decorations (Fig. 6 /see p. 38/ and Fig. 10 /see p. 47 /). Painted gourds, like those of the Xingu tribes, do not occur.

415 534 In their natural shape, i.e., not cut through and provided with a round opening only at one pole, and also with hanging cords (Pl. VIII /see p. 110 /, 7), they serve as bottles or containers for smaller /Fig. 5 appears here/ objects, such as seeds, decorative feathers, and such things; with a wooden handle and the seeds left inside, or pebbles, they serve as a dance rattle (uãrõ). [531] As such, they are often decorated with bands of feathers hanging down (Pl. X /see p. 112/, 1 and 2). /Fig. 6 appears here./

285 Plaited work, in view of the inexhaustible wealth of plant material which the bounteous nature of South America puts at the disposal of the savage primitive inhabitants, occupies the most prominent place in Indian home industry. Actually it forms the yardstick of the culture of these tribes. The Karaya are second to no other nation in this art, but their works are distinguished

/20 cont./

285 less by decorativeness than by practicality, care in execution, and diversity of form.

[824] The leaves of the uaguassú and buriti palms serve them for making mats. The diagonally plaited leaf pinnae of the former provide, as was mentioned above, an important material for

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Fig. 5. Types of clay vessels (1/6).

[531]

Fig. 6. Gourd bowl with decorations.

285 house construction. These simple mats are also used for floor covering; because they are so easy to make, they are usually put together at the moment of need.

The true mats (esteiras), which are used as an underlayer while sleeping and as tent roofs, are made from the finely divided fan-leaves of the buriti palm. The tender fibers, split lengthwise, are always stored for use in braidlike plaited skeins.

/21 cont./

285 lengthwise. The sides and the double bottom are formed by the leaf pinnae crossing twill-like (Pl. VIII /see p. 110/, 17).

3. Rucksack-like bags with cords to hang them up (mansi) are made out of buriti leaf-fibers. Black waimbẽ strips are plaited in longitudinally (Pl. VIII, 15).

4. The elastic, bottle-like baskets of buriti leaf-strips in twill plaiting (moti) present a peculiar shape. In the smaller specimen the expansibility is increased by tying a row of new leaf-strips below the neck, which are knotted to each other above the base strips (Pl. VIII, 9 and 11).

[415] 5. For the storing of feather ornaments and the like, there are the double baskets of uaguassũ pinnae in an elliptical shape. They consist of two completely equal halves, one of which is pushed over the other as a cover (uarabehã). The leaf strips, each covering half of the other, are sewed together over an elliptically curved palm-wood edging as a rim. A longitudinal stick gives the bottom solidity and is connected with the other half by a string (Pl. VIII, 6).

6. Boat-shaped hanging baskets (lala) of carandasinha leaves. In the more complete specimens the edge formed by a split leaf-stalk is covered with black jangada bast and provided with a similar hanging-cord. The plaiting shows a rectangular
• [531] mirror-pattern, in which a cross decoration is drawn with red lacquer (Pl. VIII, 6).

[415] 7. A large, rectangular bag with carrying band serves for storing tobacco. Two pieces of palm leaf are fastened together with a middle rib to make one long side of the bag. Their pinnae are interwoven and with their knotted ends form the opposite long side (Pl. VIII, 12).

8. The small tobacco pouches of the men, made out of carandasinha, are very nice. A continuous piece provides the front and back sides, bottom, and cover-flap. The side parts are sewed in separately with a strip running over the bottom. The entire plaiting is horizontally running twill.

9. Small baskets of split cane with a rectangular bottom, but round opening, in three-splint twill plaiting. The sides show

/22 cont./

286 is wound around these without crossing and thus consists of two parallel rows of thread. The woof threads are now led in pairs from top to bottom with a long needle and knotted to a pair of warp threads one after another. Two woof threads always encircle two warp threads. Their distance from each other is always twice as great as that of the pair of warp threads. The woof threads are knotted at both edges.

Since various colors are chosen for different warp strands, one gets "redes" with red and black stripes. The background color is usually white.

On the same apparatus, however, real weaving of a taffeta-like texture can also be made. For example, the above-mentioned "rede" of the Yavahē consists of such material. Also the strong

[283] [532]

Fig. 7. Spindles (1/4).

Also the strong

[487] [531] [237] carrying-bands of certain baskets, the black forehead-bands decorated with mother-of-pearl disks (Pl. VII /see p. 109/, 7), the black body-bands for children (Pl. VII, 3, 4), and the dance belts decorated with feather strips hanging down are made in this manner.

In this smaller weaving a single continuous woof thread runs through the whole warp. It was not learned whether special, handier tools were used for this.

The arm cuffs and leg bands are knitted over a heavy, cone-shaped wooden block (kauarū) with a crochet needle (desi-tan), now usually of iron, insofar as this is not done on the body itself (Pl. VII, 9).

283 [301] The long fringe hangings falling over the chest and neck (Pl. VII, 2), as well as the shorter ones which are tied under the knee, a popular adornment for young people, are simple knotted work. Two strong parallel strands are entwined with a number of

/24 cont./

535 often bear rattles of Thevetia pods. Other belts are entirely made up of the latter (Pl. X /see p. 112/, 8-10).

Around the knee or ankle joints the dancer places bands from which strands ending in rattles and tufts of feathers hang down. They are held apart by a horizontal wooden stick and are sometimes covered with a thick layer of white down feathers (Pl. X, 4).

412 531

301 237 439

Fig. 9. Comb (1/4).

Necklaces in their original form are no longer seen. Pierced animal teeth and stones, shell disks, etc. have long been supplanted by glass beads imported in great quantities. The white and black beads of the cheap "rosaries" widespread everywhere

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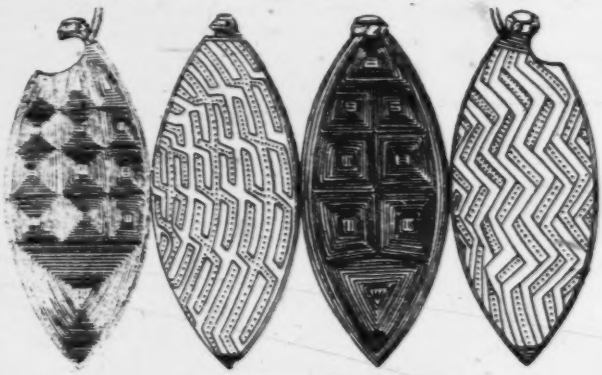

Fig. 10. Decorations on the gourd vessel of Pl. VIII /see p. /, 7 (1/4).

301 in Goyaz are the most prized, but they are strung in a manner corresponding to the national taste. A whole series of short strings goes around the neck as tightly as possible (cf. Pl. II /see p. 104/, 2; III /see p. 105/, 1). From the lowermost hangs a number of small chains which have small fruit shells or tufts of feathers at the ends.

/24 cont./

412 Combs (ʒěhŏ), the only toilet articles, but much used, are made in the most varied sizes. The largest specimen in the collection is 18 centimeters wide and 17 centimeters long. There are pieces twice as large, however. A converging row of sharp palm wood or /Fig. 10 appears here/ taquara splints are held together by two pairs of parallel cross-sticks. A plaiting of black or white cotton threads in various patterns drawn through the space between the latter serves for stability. Sometimes small feather tassels hang from the two upper corners (Fig. 9 /see p. 47/).

534 Musical instruments are represented in the collection only by a trumpet (adžuranĕ) (Plate X /see p. 112/, 7). It is a large gourd bowl with openings at both ends. A taquara reed with a slit at the side is stuck in one as a mouthpiece.

Furthermore, simple Pan flutes of taquara are in use.

● 531 Artistic activity. The ornamentation of the Karaya consists
532 of patterns in zigzag lines, crosses, dots, lozenges, and peculiar interrupted meanders, while rectangles and triangles appear only accidentally (e.g., through filling in other figures), and circles are completely lacking (Fig. 10 / see p. 47/).

/25/ As in the ornamentation of the Xingu tribes, here, too, the basis for these apparently completely arbitrarily chosen geometric combinations are quite definite, concrete models whose most typical characteristics are reproduced in them in a stylized manner.

/25 cont./

531 Unfortunately it is not always possible to ascertain with certainty
534 the pertinent natural object. The following patterns, whose meaning was determined, suffice, however, for an explanation.

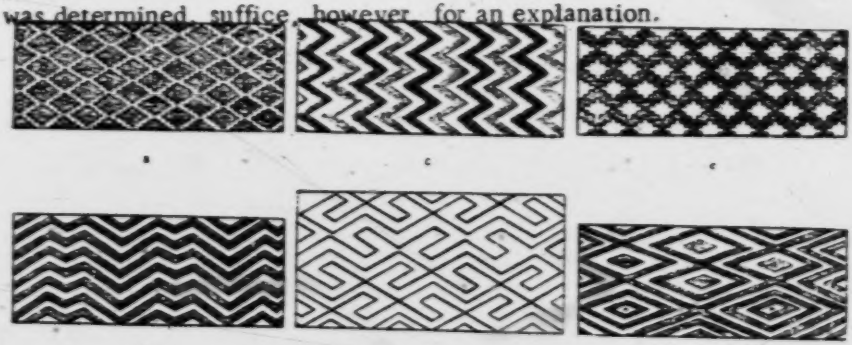

Fig. 11. Comb patterns

The oar patterns (Pl. VIII /see p. 110/, 1-3) all represent fish; likewise the feather mosaic designs of some of the dance helmets (cf. p. 72).

[873] The frequently appearing cross (cf. Fig. 16c /see p.63 / and Pl. VIII, 6), which has given rise to airy hypotheses so often in America, is nothing here but a species of lizard (uatä-9ä).

Anyone who has seen the large wasp nests of the camp-forests with the blunt knobs will immediately recognize this mark in the comb ornamentation (Fig. 11a).

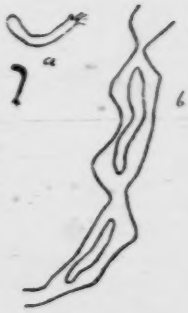

Fig. 12.

As especially characteristic there are still to be mentioned the bat (turehereko, Fig. 11b), recognizable by the outstretched wings, as well as the snake patterns, which occur the most frequently. Thus Fig. 11c is the rattlesnake (Crotalus horridus); Fig. 11e the caninanha (Spilotes).

Other snakes are represented by Figures 11d and f.

532 Real drawings of human beings and animals, like the ones known to us in such excellent execution by the Bushmen and Eskimo, do not seem to occur among the Karaya. Nowhere did we see strikingly reproduced representations painted in the sand or carved in trees with a few strokes, like the ones which so often aroused our attention among the Bakairi and Mehinaku /Mehinacu/ of the upper Xingu.

[Plate VI. Karaya. (Cont'd.)]

/78 cont./

411 2, 3. Arrows with palm-wood knives (1/6).

4. Arrow with bird-bone tip (1/6).

5. Bird-arrow with blunt, knob-shaped tip (1/6).

6. Throwing board (1/6).

7. Arrow thrown by it, with blunt wooden tip (1/6).

8. War arrow with ray-spine tip (1/6).

9. War arrow with taquara-cane knife(1/6).

●[531] 10. Lance with shaft-plaiting (1/9).

11. Flat club of the Šambioa chief Ambura (from the collection of Leite Moraes (1/9).

12. Plaiting pattern of the latter (2/3).

13. Grooved, round club of Ambura (1/9).

/79/

Pl. VII. Karaya. Cotton Work.

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301 1. Large black and white striped sleeping-mat or cape (1/8).

2. Fringed hangings of twisted cotton thread to be worn hanging down from the neck over the chest and back. Dyed with urucú red (1/8).

3, 4. Black, closely woven body-belts for small children (1/8).

5. Black tassels with pierced snail shells tied on in pairs with plaited cords taken doubled. Worn by small children around the neck (1/6).

6. Knee band of unmarried persons (1/8).

7. Black, closely woven forehead-band with rectangular mother-of-pearl disks sewed on (1/8).

8. A pair of tightly knitted, red, lower-arm cuffs, mark of the unmarried state (1/6).

Pl. VIII. Karaya. Oars, Gourds, Plaited Work.

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412 1-3. Oars with fish patterns (1/9).

415 4. Cassava grater (1/9).

Small tobacco pouch (1/8).

Plate VI

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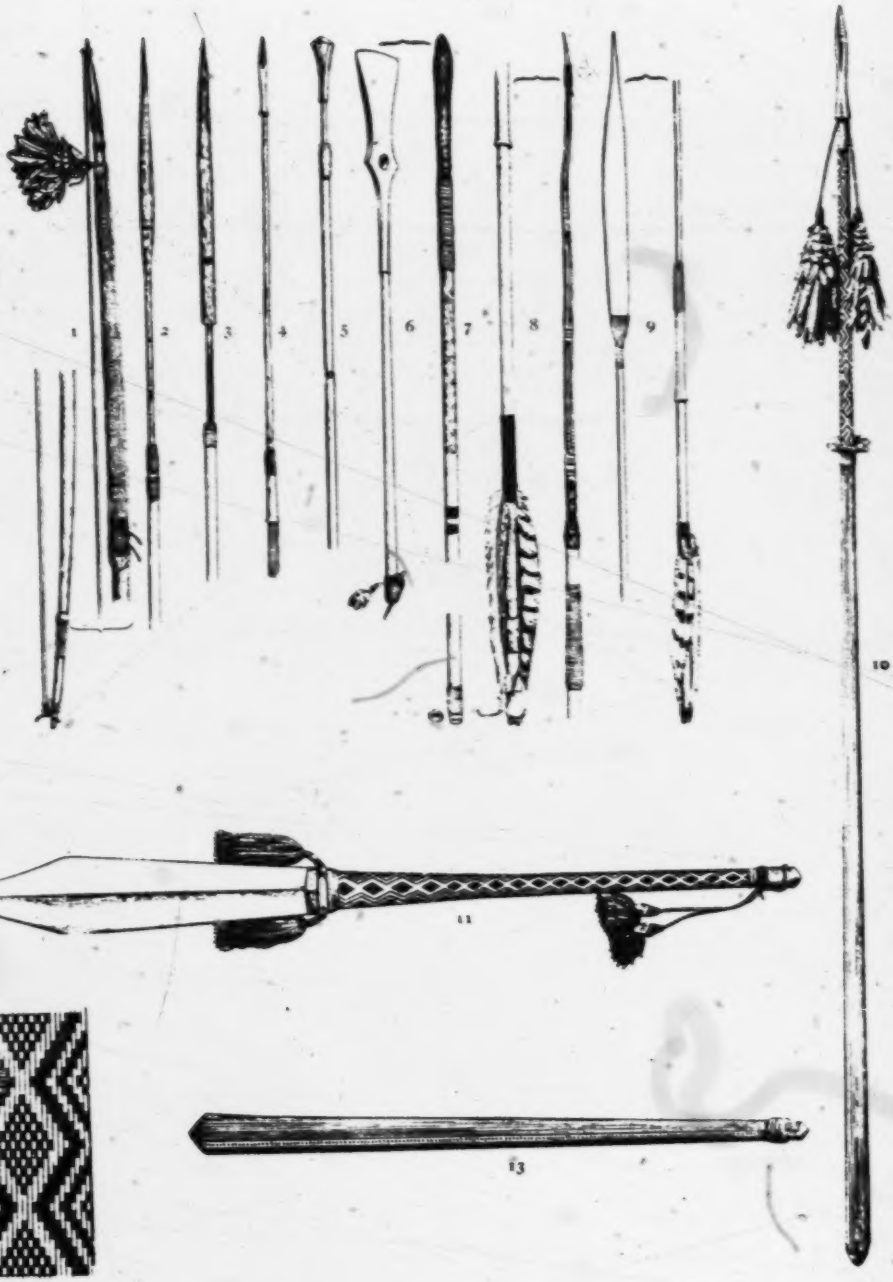
[531]



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4: Ehrenreich 110 E-5 (1888) 1891 SP9 Caraja SP9

Plate VIII

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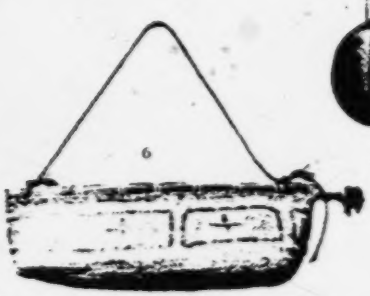

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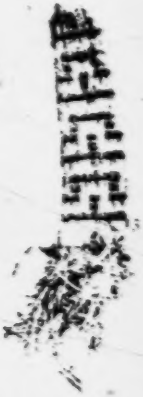

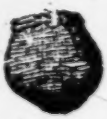

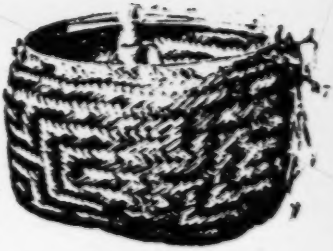

5: Krause--14 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9

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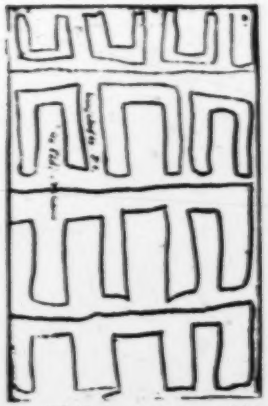
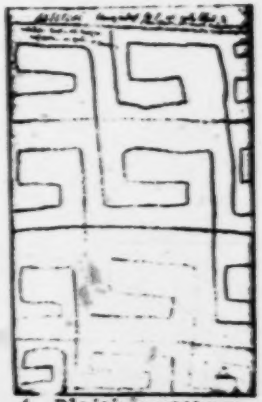
Plate 20

1. Koduni masked dancers.

2. Ladeni masked dancers.



3. Plaiting pattern: dogfish.



4. Plaiting pattern.

/Pl. 20 precedes p. 81. /

5: Krause--15 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9

Plate 21

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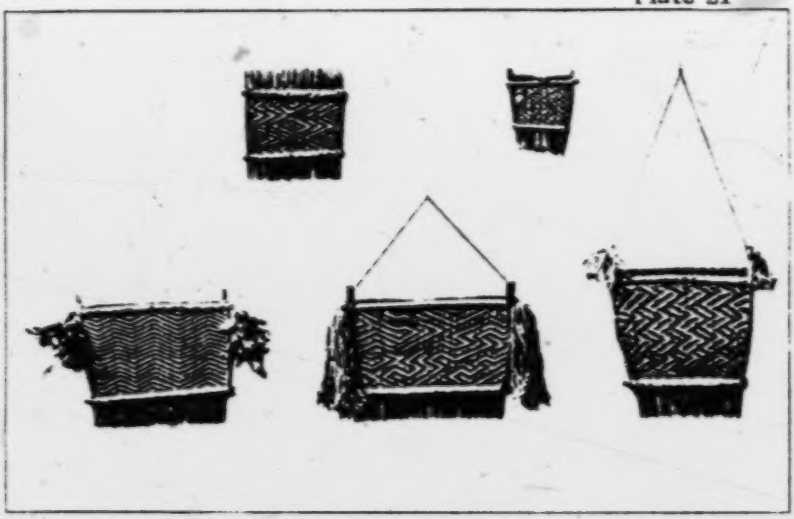

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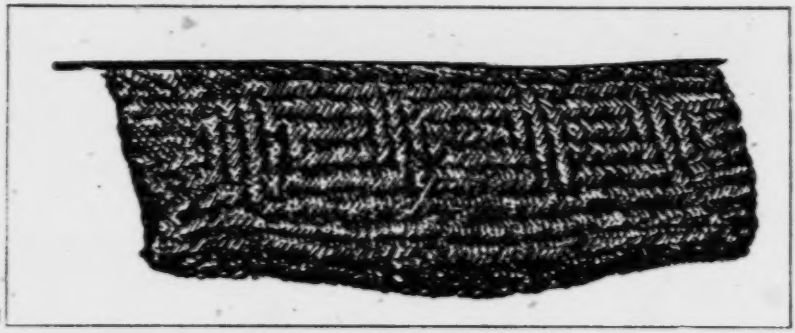

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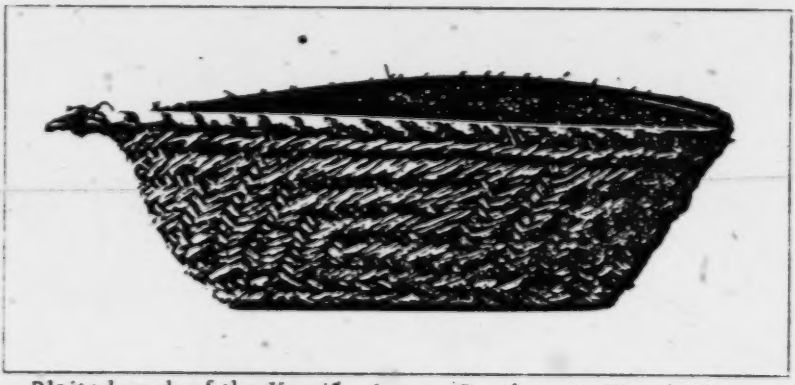


3

Plaited work of the Karajá: 1 a-e: Combs. 2. Fly whisk.
3. Oblong basket.

/Pl. 21 faces p. 84./

/198 cont./

342 of the Karajá seem to us an impoverished form; significantly,
184 the ridge beam is preserved only in the mask house. The
197 mixed houses are thus of Indian origin, though, as far as the separation of wall and roof is concerned, with Brazilian influence.

342 Interior arrangement. The houses are very nicely cool, and the covering, if, as in the rainy season, it is more carefully made,
352 is rainproof. The floor is covered with large mats. These buriti-
[513]

[531]

Ill. 22.
Patterned sleeping mat for girls. Karajá.

fiber mats (bũlẽ) serve as sitting and sleeping mats. On one of their long sides the fibers protrude as long fringe. My largest mat is four meters long and 1.70 meters wide. Smaller mats, which are patterned by black bast-strips plaited in, are rare (Ill. 22, girls' sleeping mat).

352 The sleeping areas are very simply furnished. To sleep, one
513 stretches out on the floor on a mat and covers himself with the other half of the mat or the rĩĩõ (see below /see p. 93 /). Sometimes the legs are drawn up in the side position, the one end of the rĩĩõ put over the feet and the other over the head, so that the entire body is protected from dew and mosquitoes. I did not see wooden cylinders as neck supports, which Ehrenreich mentioned. It is very possible that they have these, for they like to put the head high when sleeping.

/211 cont./

visit, the chief's wife combs and oils their hair.

412 303 The combs (zĭhŏ) consist of flat, sharpened splinters of palm wood, more rarely of taquara, which, with the flat sides laid on one another, are held together by two pairs of little sticks, one of which is fastened at the upper edge and the other at one-third of the height from the points. These splinters are interlaced with cotton threads in patterns. On either side two or three splinters project a bit above the upper edge. These extensions often bear bunches of feathers or red-colored cotton tassels and are usually connected with one another by a suspension thread. On the outer

415 531

Ill. 39 a, b.
Gourd vessels for hair oil.

412 [303] side of these lateral splinters, between the two cross-sticks, several intersecting threads are often stretched. The combs are always one-sided; only in the village on the Tapirapé mouth did I acquire a double-sided comb (Pl. 21, Ill. 1e). The shapes of the combs may be traced back to three basic types: a simple rectangular comb, wide combs with small curved lateral rods and converging teeth, and finally trapeze-shaped combs (Pl. 21, Ill. 1 a-d).

303 [824] The hair oil (tālĭ) is made from the seeds of palm fruits. The fruits of the coceiro (āhădĕtĕ), as well as of the tucum palm (hālŭ), were mentioned. The oil is stored in special whole [415] [531] gourd-vessels (tālĭlŭkŭ), which are usually decorated with large designs made by peeling off the upper layer of the gourd rind (Ill. 39 a, b). Tufts of raw cotton are tossed into these oil-filled gourd vessels and now become saturated with oil. They

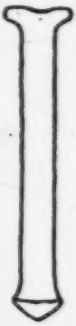
/222 cont./

¥301 latter are sometimes cut off obliquely at the bottom (Ill. 58 b, c). Older bachelors wear plugs which do not differ essentially from those of the married men (Ill. 59 a, b). The married /Ill. 60 appears here/ men likewise wear wooden plugs which in the beginning still resemble the forms worn by the older youths, but later become ever shorter and thicker, and finally, in the case of older men (from about 50 on), consist of a button 1.8 centi-

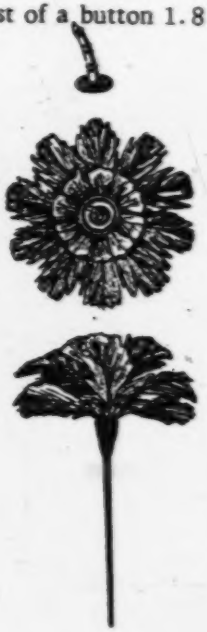
[531] [237]

Ill. 61.
Painted wooden lip-plug.

Ill. 64.
Capybara teeth in storage form.



Ill. 62.
Stone lip-plug.



Ill. 63.
Ear covering with double feather wreath.

meters in diameter, which sometimes still has a little point in front at the lower edge (Ill. 60 a-d).

[531] On special occasions painted wooden lip-plugs are said to be worn by young people; I never saw such specimens, however. In the first village, the boy Mauzí, on the day after he had told me this, had his plug painted "as it is done farther [532] downstream" (Ill. 61). Among the wax reproductions of dance figures which I was able to acquire among the Karajá, there is the ĭnãuĩnĩ mask. This has a strip hanging down from the chin,

/255 cont./

261 that the women usually refused salted food. Instead, however,
263 they all ate whole handfuls of sand. Charcoal and ashes are also eaten, but all this is supposed to be very constipating. They are also said to make little pellets of clay which are eaten; the eating of them is supposed to cause jaundice.

D. Eating.

264 Eating utensils are very few in number. Roasted things, as well as boiled fish, are eaten with the fingers; mush, etc. are spooned out of the large cooking dish or out of small eating dishes.
415 Halved gourds are used as such and are generally decorated on the outside with carved decorations (Ill. 94). Shallow clay bowls are also customary (Ill. 95). I did not see oval clay bowls with a partition (Berlin 3866) or round and elliptical clay plates (Berlin 3863-3865), as described by Ehrenreich. Only in Schischá were [197] tall clay dishes with a red border decoration made (1), evidently [53]

1. See also my article on "Die Kunst der Karaja-
[13] Indianer /The Art of the Karaja Indians/," in the Bässler-Archiv, Vol. 2, No. 1, 1911.

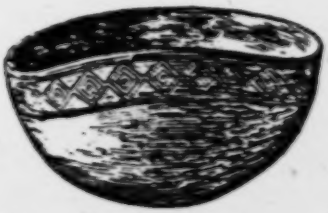
412 under Brazilian influence (Ill. 96). Mussel shells serve as spoons, and, to [illegible] sure, the three types kădāĭă (Plate 55, Ill. 5a), kădāĭă iĭŏlĕ (I[illegible]b), and wălăbōkădāĭă (Ill. 5c); also small half-gourds ĭĭă liŏle, kăĭsŏ, ŭăĭm, which are generally decorated with pyrography and exhibit various shapes (Ills. 97, 98). I did not come across anywhere the spoons (katară) of wood (Berlin 3934, 35) and clay (Berlin 3870) mentioned by Ehrenreich.

/256/ To crack open the roasted palm nuts striking stones are used. Rather heavy blows are required to split the shells of the nuts. Flat stones serve as a base; as beaters, fist-sized round ones of quartz, ground conical stones, or old stone axes. All these stones come from the regions north of the Tapirapé mouth. For all striking stones the name mānă (stone) was given. Ill. 99 a-c

/256 cont./

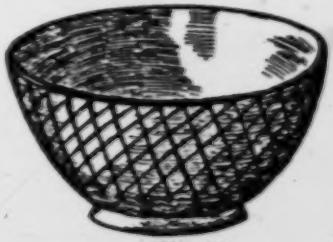
412 shows a pointed cone-shaped striking stone with hollowed-out striking place and with flat base; Ills. 100-102 show three stone axes, namely, a long flat-ax, a short flat-ax, and an ax with a shaft groove running around it, whose blade is already heavily worn as a result of the pounding.

415 [53] 199



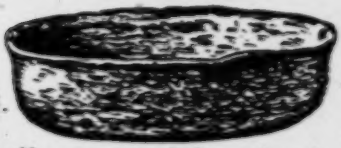
Ill. 94.

Gourd vessel for eating.



Ill. 96.

Modern eating dish.



Ill. 95.

412 Shallow eating dish made of clay.

Ill. 97.

Gourd spoon.

Ill. 98.

Gourd spoon.

Ill. 99 a-c.

a) Striking stone, b) its striking surface, c) base.

264 There are two meals, breakfast (andoldoho) at about eight or nine
/257/ o'clock, and supper (lĩrõsík) at about five or six o'clock. In between,
[262] however, this and that is munched, fruits, nuts, etc.; at noon they like to eat grilled piranhas (fish jacuba: djũdẽã). The menu consists mostly of boiled manioc mush and fish. Much is eaten, but the people do not

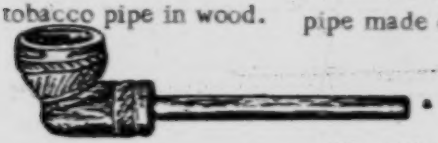
/260 cont./

276 The empty capsule is thoroughly cleaned with the knife, cut smooth on the outside, and then usually painted red. There are two kinds of pipes: one without and one with a groove on the upper edge. I saw only a single example of a decorated pipe. 276 531 In Ill. 104 a-c all the stages from the crudely carved to the

Ill. 105.
Reproduction of a tobacco pipe in wood.

Ill. 106 a, b.
Decorated tobacco pipe made of wood.

Ill.107
Tobacco pipe with suction tube.



Ill. 108 a-d.
Clay tobacco-pipes.

smoothed, long-used pipe are shown. Ill. 105 shows a reproduction of a pipe in wood, as is likewise occasionally customary. Ill. 106 a, b shows a pipe decorated with raised carving and painted black from a village of the north horde. The pipe in Ill. 107 shows a short suction tube, which is joined to the pipe by a black lashing.

276 These pipes were "invented by the ancestors when they took over tobacco from the Brazilians" (?). In the south horde and in part in the north horde they are now already imitated in wood (Ills. 105, 106): in the uppermost villages, which are in contact with the Brazilians, there is already use of /261/ clay bowls set

/261 cont./

276 on pieces of cane (1), which generally resemble the Brazilian

1. In this connection cf. that Fonseca already mentions clay peace pipes in 1773, without, however, describing their shape. Rev. trim. 8, p. 378.

ones and differ from them only by the flattening of the underside. [531] They are usually provided with incised decoration and the clay (zõũ), light in itself, has taken on a black color from the burning [415] (Ill. 108 a-d). The daily supply, as well as the pipes, is kept in small baskets (mõdĩ, Plate 55, Ill. 6a) or in small plaited pouches, which, in rectangular shape, are made out of simple bast plaiting (sãhũ) or out of a bast plaiting similar to the sitting mats (mãši) (Plate 55, Ill. 6 b,c).

Smoking is done in the following manner: The tobacco is firmly pressed into the pipe until it is about three-quarters full; then a smoldering piece of wood from the fire is laid on it, and the opening is closed off with the hand or a finger. Then one sucks rapidly many times in succession until the tobacco is burning; the charcoal is then usually, but not always, removed. In smoking, they draw the smoke up rapidly many times in succession: it looks as though they were sucking or drinking (Plate 11, Ill. 3); only then do they take the pipe out and expel the smoke.

171 276 It seems remarkable that the Kayapó use the name wãlĩkõkõ, thus, in the form from the women's language. They likewise use pipes made from the fruit of the jequitiba tree; as a unique specimen I saw a pipe of clay fashioned in the same shape. But they already generally use suction tubes which are stuck into the pipe from the side. Such pipes were present only in small numbers, and the Kayapó were constantly demanding them from me. Apparently the implement, and with it the name, reached them from the Karajá or Šambioá through the Brazilians. The women's word is explained by the fact that the men, too, usually use this form in speaking to strangers.

5: Krause--181 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9

411
531

Ill. 110. Bow with white-colored winding, maize leaf, and feather tassel.

Ill. 112 a, b.
Complete arrows.

Ill. 109.
Fruit as target for bow-shooting.

Ill. 111. Bow with patterned plaiting around it and feather wreath.

/264 cont./

411 and terminates in offset thorn extensions. The length of the bowstring for my specimens amounts to 184-204 centimeters.

[283] The bowstring (ãnzŭ, mbãŭ; according to Ehrenreich, manhũga) is made by each person for himself by twisting together three twisted imbauva fiber strings. Its strength gradually decreases from the thicker end to the other one, and it finally terminates in a thin string. Ill. 110 shows how it is attached. The bowstring proper is the strong part, which is attached so that it can be lifted off at one end. The weaker part is led from the firm bow-end along the front side of the bow-wood to approximately the center of the bow, is fastened there, and then is tightly wound around the bow, back to the bow-end. The last [531] little end hangs down freely; it often bears a feather tassel. This winding is usually rubbed with white-earth coloring. In the middle of the bow, where it begins, a maize leaf is fastened as an ornament by means of a black cotton winding. The unwound part of the bow sometimes bears black and yellow plaiting around it (Ill. 111).

The arrows. In order to give a survey of the arrows, it is advisable first of all to group them according to the shapes of the points, for the formation of this part of the arrow depends, of course, on what it is to be used for, which is, after all, the most important thing about the arrow. In addition, however, I also wish to point out other varying characteristics, some of which seem to represent ownership and tribal signs.

First of all, it should be noted that each one makes his own [436] arrows. In view of the custom of using arrows as a means of pay- [431] ment, however, and exchanging them with the chief on visits to strange villages, as well as in turn receiving some as gifts from him, arrows of the most diverse origins are assembled in the hands of one individual; nevertheless, in view of the brief life-span of the arrows, those made by each one for himself predominate. Poisoning is not customary.

Before being shot, the arrows are examined with regard to their curvature by being turned between the right hand lifted up to the right shoulder and the left hand stretched far downward. If

/264 cont./

411 shaft and point do not form a straight line, but rather stand at a slight angle to each other, as can very easily happen, the deviation is removed by a slight bending. Only then is it shot.

On the arrow we distinguish between point and shaft, the latter with the feathering (Ill. 112 a, b). Arrows on which the point and shaft consist of one cane occur only among children (for bird hunting, see "Children's Toys" /see p.241 /); for adults, the point is always set in separately.

The point consists of a wooden rod (ŭhāhūnĭ), which either tapers to a point itself or at its front end bears a point made of a bamboo blade or a small bone.

[224] Arrows with a simple wooden point are used for hunting big game (jaguar, red deer, tapir, monkey). The point is round, flat, or three to four-edged and sometimes has an offset point at the top. Its length is 38-50 centimeters. Sometimes it is painted black (Ill. 113 a-f). A variation of such arrows /265/ has notched wooden points (hādŭbĭrādādā, ādĕdĕ). The notches are either cut on the edges of the three-edged wooden point or on one edge of flat wooden points. The number and arrangement of notches differ greatly (Ill. 113 g-i).

Ehrenreich mentions arrows with an inset, blunt wooden-block point for hunting birds and small animals. I did not see such arrows among the Karajá, but certainly among the Šavajé (see there /see p. 323 /). /Ill. 113 appears here./

/266/ Arrows with bamboo knives set on them (dī(ŭ)ādā) are used for hunting big game, but chiefly as war arrows. Since they break off easily and tear large wounds, they are very dangerous and usually lead to death. The bamboo knife is usually flat, only seldom considerably arched; it is joined to the [531] wooden stem by a fine bast winding. Often the knives are painted with black cross-stripes on the back. Knife and wooden stem usually have approximately the same length (30-40 centimeters); both /Ills. 114-117 appear here/ /267/ together are as long as the cane shaft proper (60-80 centimeters) (Ill. 114 a-c).

[Text Continues on P. 186]

/267 cont./

411 The arrows with the bone point set on them are used ex-
22 clusively for fishing. The bone point is set on in such a way
23 that its rear end projects laterally and thus forms a small barb.
284 It is four to six centimeters long and is fastened to the wooden
314 stem by a fine bast winding and a coating of black resin (Ill. 115). On my specimens this bone point is round throughout, whereas Ehrenreich brought back a second type of such arrow with a flat bone point (Berlin 4008) (1) and a third type with a tubular

1. I obtained arrows with flat bone points only from the Kayapó.

bone set on as a point (Berlin 4009). The stem in the case of these arrows is 40-50 centimeters long, sometimes natural color or painted red, but mostly painted black; the shaft has a length of 100-200 centimeters. The one reproduced in Ill. 117 was probably to be used as a point for an arrow with a monkey bone stuck on it (ūhĭdŏ̆, dūrŏ̆lēnĭdĭ̆).

A single arrow bears, instead of the bone point, one made of a ray spine (Ill. 116); it comes from the village on the Tapirapé mouth.

411 The stem of the point has no other ornamentation than the
314 black or red painting. It is inserted in the shaft and made fast
531 in it with resin. In order to detach it from the broken shaft and set it on a new one, the tube is warmed over the fire until the resin melts and the stem can be pulled out. The shaft end is cut to fit for the insertion of the stem, so that the transition into the stem is gradual. When the stem is set into the shaft, the latter often splits; the cracks are glued over with black resin.

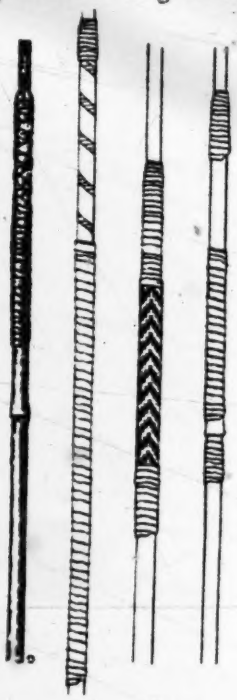
411 A black, narrow strip of embira is wound over the place
284 of insertion; it is fastened to the shaft with light-colored resin.
314 This winding (dŏ̆dé) is done in different ways; it either covers stem and shaft in a continuous course, or, separated from the short attachment-winding, there is a longer shaft winding whose intermediate space is sometimes bridged by spirally wound or
531 crossed winding. At this place one arrow will bear spiral incised ornamentation (ŭŏ̆hūlăd̆ĭ, ĭlādĭ), another a black and yellow plaiting. A three-part attachment-winding is very rare (Ill. 118).

/270 cont./

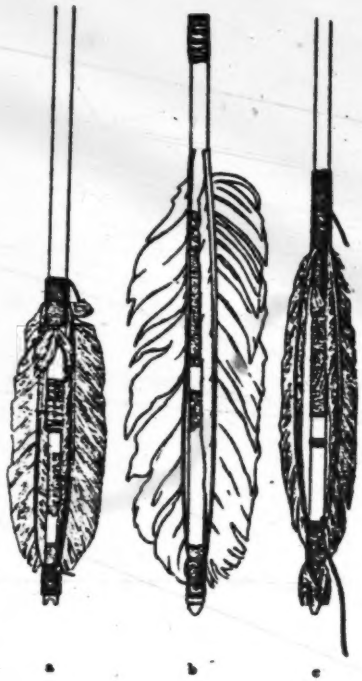
411 237 Little feathers which project in toward the inner part of the feathering and are mostly red, more rarely yellow, are tied into the cotton winding on the quill ends.

[531] The shaft part between the feathers is mostly decorated by bands or rings of red or yellow lacquer (Ill. 120 a-k). This

[284]



Ill. 118.
Point of attachment between the arrow shaft and point stem.



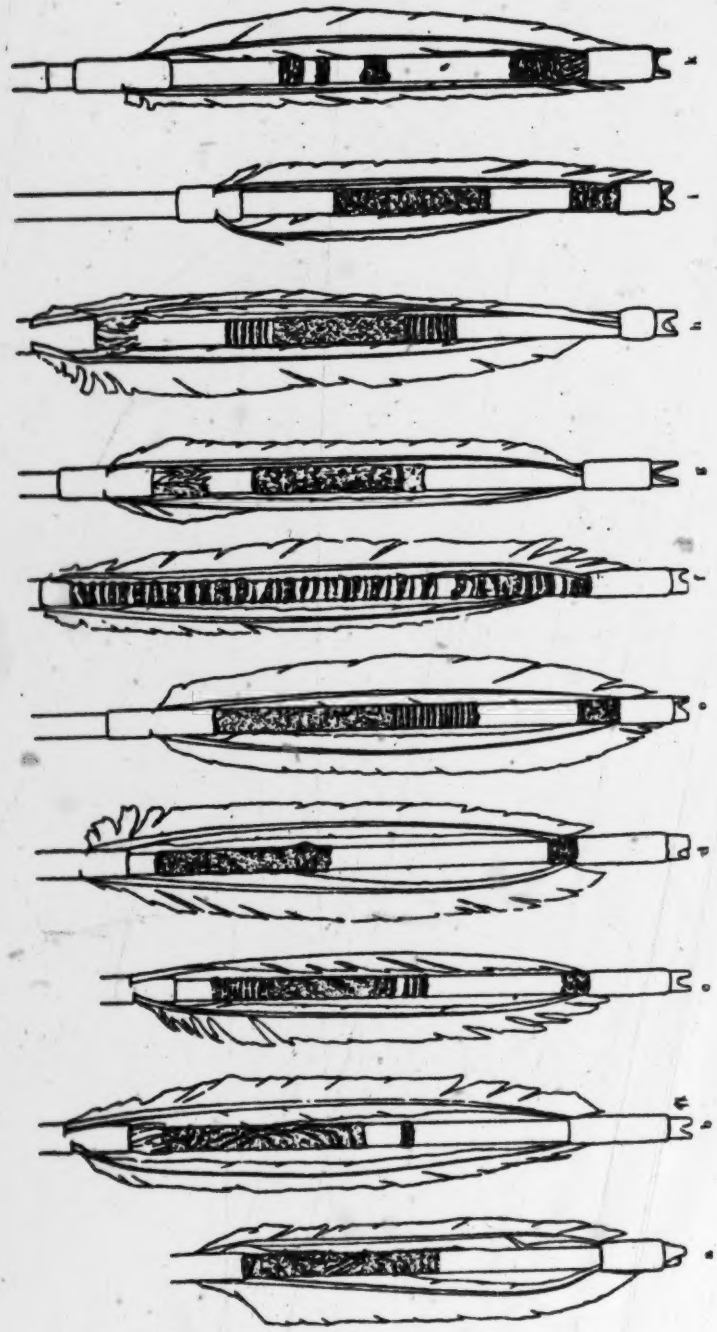
Ill. 119 a-c.
Feathering: a) completed end, b) putting on the feathers, c) complete feathering.

decoration is put on only for the sake of a pleasing appearance.

411 283 The notch winding consists of fine white cotton thread. In the case of the arrows of the Karajá it extends up to the notch. According to Kuriší, the characteristic of Karajá [184] arrows lies in this; the Šavajé arrows are said to exhibit a small space between notch and lashing. Among the Šavajé, however, I also obtained arrows with the Karajá winding; perhaps this

[Text continues on p. 190]

411
531



Fl. 170 a-k.

Decoration of the shaft between the feathers.

/271 cont./

411 The club (gŏhŏrdĕ) is the true war weapon of the Indians. The Karajá do not undertake a boat trip without having the club in the boat, along with arrows and bows, and on land journeys it is usually their sole companion. Even in the villages one sees the Indians, if they are armed at all, walking around with clubs.

The clubs are made of heavy wood (wŏālūŏ). They are round, become thicker toward the striking end, and terminate in a pointed convexity with a sharp edge. The handle end terminates in a knob which is separated from the club by a thicker intermediate piece with two or three deep grooves. In Ehrenreich, the number of grooves varies between one deep one and four or five shallow grooves, while his Šambioá clubs show three grooves throughout. The type of clubs (and oar handles) which Ehrenreich brought back from the Šambioá, on which the intermediate piece is divided by a long, thin, smooth piece with wide, thick pieces projecting over it at both ends and each bearing a groove (3979 and elsewhere), does not occur among the Karajá.

The upper half of the club (from the striking end) is provided with lengthwise grooves. I did not see any smooth clubs such as Ehrenreich brought back. This lengthwise grooving is [412] made with the tooth of a rodent (cutia: haûlĭ; according to [237] Ehrenreich, also agouti or capybara) fastened to a wooden stick (Ill. 122). This grooving instrument, called haûlīdjŭ (= cutia tooth), is therefore not used to make arrows, as Ehrenreich assumed.

Occasionally there have remained standing in the length- [531] wise grooving two diametrally placed smooth stripes about one centimeter wide, which, for the entire length, are decorated with incised decorations (Ill. 123).

411 Only rarely does one find clubs that bear a patterned plait- 285 ing of yellow taquara cane and black embira around them (Ill. 124).

This plaiting is always present in the small club-sticks, which I never saw in use and which Königswald designates as dance clubs. They either have the shape of the clubs, without, however, having a special handle, or they end in a wide blade and have an offset handle (Pl. 56, Ill. 3 a-c). The first type is

/272 cont./

411 [237] [284] The point is formed by a sharpened thigh bone of the jaguar; /Pl. 56 appears here/ /273/ it is about 20 centimeters long. Where it is mounted on the shaft, the latter is wound for about ten centimeters with red cotton string, from the upper circuits of which long tassels of arara feathers hang down. To

Ill. 123. Club.

Ill. 124. Club with plaiting around the handle end.

Ill. 125. Child's club. Karajá.

Ill. 126. Lance.

411 285 [531] this winding is joined below a patterned plaiting which consists of yellow longitudinal strips of taquara interwoven crosswise all around with strips of embira. The plaiting is 50-80 centimeters long; its ornaments are the common plaited ornaments (1). To

[113] 1. See my article, "Die Kunst der Karajá-Indianer /The Art of the Karajá Indians/," Bässler Archiv, Vol. II, No. 1, 1911.

[Text continues on p. 195]

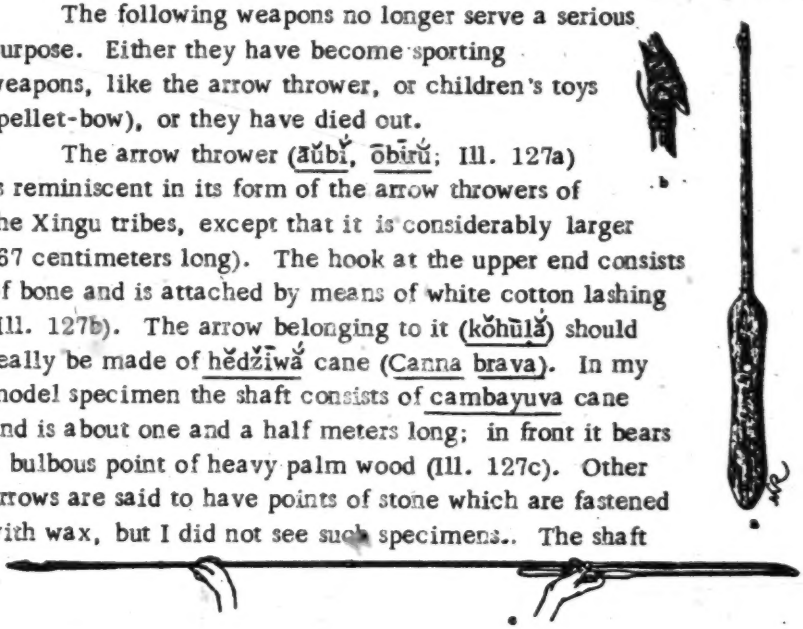
/273 cont./

411 [531] [285] Ehrenreich also says that this plaiting is decorated above and below with small feather wreaths; this is not the case among my specimens.

According to statements by the Indians, in olden times their spears did not have bone points, but rather ran out in front into the pointed shafts; otherwise they were equipped like the spears of today.

[178] The following weapons no longer serve a serious purpose. Either they have become sporting weapons, like the arrow thrower, or children's toys (pellet-bow), or they have died out.

The arrow thrower (ãŭbĭ, ōbĭrŭ; Ill. 127a) is reminiscent in its form of the arrow throwers of the Xingu tribes, except that it is considerably larger (67 centimeters long). The hook at the upper end consists of bone and is attached by means of white cotton lashing (Ill. 127b). The arrow belonging to it (kŏhūlă) should [824] really be made of hĕdžĭwă cane (Canna brava). In my model specimen the shaft consists of cambayuva cane and is about one and a half meters long; in front it bears a bulbous point of heavy palm wood (Ill. 127c). Other arrows are said to have points of stone which are fastened with wax, but I did not see such specimens.. The shaft



Ill. 127 a-c.

a) Arrow thrower, b) detail of the hook, c) handling the arrow-thrower.

is unfeathered; it has no notch. Ehrenreich's arrows of ubá cane, on the other hand, have at the end a cut-out section that contains the notch hole. The specimen of throwing stick and arrow reproduced here was made by the Indians at my request.

The manner of handling it is shown in Ill. 127c. The thrower is held in the right hand; the arrow, with the rear, hollow end hooked into the peg, is laid on the board and grasped here with the right hand as follows: the thumb lies on the right edge of the /274/ throwing board, the second finger is stuck into the hole of the handle, the third finger reaches from the left edge over the arrow, the fourth extends from the left edge under the arrow, in other

/276 cont./

501 The oars are about 130 centimeters long and have a blade 18-19 centimeters wide and about 70 centimeters long, which [531] terminates in an offset, elongated point. The blade is sometimes painted black; a center cross-band is left blank and painted red. The handle end has a short, curved /Pl. 57 appears here/ /277/ crutch. Below this on the handle there are three raised rings, which are produced by two notched grooves; they are characteristic of the Karajá (1) (Ill. 128 a, b).

1. See club handles above /see pp. 191-192/.

Ill. 128 a, b. Karajá oar.

The rudder is identical with the oar; it is likewise freely manipulated.

[824] Poles (hōdjŭ, wăłŏtŏ, made of meijú wood) are about four to five meters long; they are cut out of slender, thin trees, under the white bark of which lies a red bast, which, freshly peeled, smells like cress. When the pole is not in use, it is stuck into a short loop which is drawn through the boat wall in front and floats alongside. The poling is done from the front end of the boat, whether the Indian moves the boat alone or has a helmsman with him. He sets the pole in, now on this side, now on that, depending on the direction of travel, then turns around, presses the end against his chest, and, going five or six paces to the middle of the boat, pushes again toward the middle. Then he goes back to the front and starts anew (Pl. 1).

This walking causes a violent rocking of the boat; the Indians are very skillful, however, so that no water pours in. If several Indians push with poles, they stand turned alternately to the right and left and move the poles from that position. When they pull forward, they set the poles so far from the boat that no water can enter.

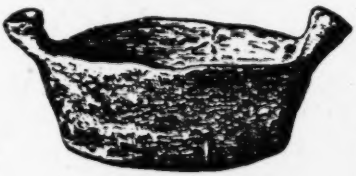
Whereas rowing is practiced equally by men and women, I never saw women traveling with the poles.

[Text continues on p. 202]

/284 cont. /

415 177 [439] very pronounced in the pottery in the villages from Leopoldina to São José. These villages furnish the Brazilians with cooking and eating vessels, so that in São José and Leopoldina one finds Indian vessels almost exclusively. They have already been [531] adapted, however, to the taste of the Brazilians: the small eating dishes have the typical bowl-shape and on the edge bear a decoration in red color (Ill. 96). The water-cooling vessels, too, which the Indians in the villages mentioned make for the Brazilians, show the purely Brazilian type and red decoration. [386] The red designs are made with an earth color. The red earth [317] for this (zūzĕ, zōŭbūlĕ) comes from the Barreira do Veado and is taken along to São José and Schischá by the Indians of the north horde traveling south for arrow cane, in order to sell it to the Indians [531] there. It is applied mixed with water. The true Indian vessels are undecorated.

172



Ill. 133.
Old clay-vessel.

I obtained in Schischá a most peculiar vessel, whose origin is unknown (Ill. 133). It is irregularly spotted dark red and black as a result of uneven firing; it is apparently made out of very crude clay and in a very primitive fashion. The two knobs on the edge, which are slightly hollowed out on top, are striking. The vessel was found several decades ago in the sand of a sandbank by Indians from Schischá on a journey downstream. The Indians themselves were unable to say where the vessel might come from.

415 114 I did not see anywhere the pot and bowl forms brought back by Ehrenreich: shallow, round dishes (Berlin 3862), flat, round plates (3863 and 3864), flat, oval plates (3865), low elliptical double bowls with a dividing wall running lengthwise (3866), cylindrical pot with turned-down rim and bast hanging-band (3861), double conical pot with hanging band (3858), and clay spoons (3878).

/286 cont./

396 out with the ax. In this crude shape the boat is brought into the village and placed on two forked posts about half a meter high (Pl. 56, Ill. 5). With oaguassu palm fronds, which are laid in the hollow, the interior space is completely burned out and blackened, while at the same time burning through the walls is prevented by quickly snatching out the fire. Then, while the wood is still warm, about 20 cross-sticks, each approximately three centimeters thick, are stretched from wall to wall; palm fronds are propped against the boat all around and are lighted at four or five places on either side by one man each. After about five minutes the outside charring and blackening of the boat is completed. The struts remain in the boat until the next day; they are very bent. Afterwards the boat is put through an inspection, during which possible irregularities, especially of the bottom, which could cause disturbances in the balance, are removed with the ax. At the front, narrowly tapering end a hole is cut into the right wall, directly under the edge, for the loop into which the boat pole is stuck during the rowing or lying quietly on the bank. This hole is supposedly cut in with a sharp knife under the application of a wooden mallet.

415 I did not see wooden vessels. Ehrenreich brought back a
412 few: a round vessel hollowed out from a tree root, with a carry-
114 ing string (Berlin 3875) and two spoons, the handle of one of which terminates in a tucano head (3934, 3935). In the case of fire
[372] sticks, according to him, the drilling stick consists of taquara, the base of Bixa orellana.

415 Of larger fruits only gourds are used. They are carefully
[824] dried by being stuck on sticks that stand in the glaring sun and in the sand of the sandbanks. Later, tied together, they are hung on a vertical stick (Ill. 26 a, b). Hollowed out, they serve as oil containers, as hanging containers for white down feathers, with a bast stopper (Pl. 58, Ill. 3a) or wax seal (the hanging band is fastened with wooden wedges; Pl. 58, Ill. 3 b, c), halved paint bowls and eating dishes, smaller ones as spoons. The whole-
[531] gourd vessel and larger half-gourd vessels are usually decorated with incised ornamentation, the smaller half-gourds with pyrography.

/286 cont./

000 824 [206] [301] pyrography. Of the other fruits, jequitiba is used for tobacco pipes, hollowed out and crudely carved on the outside (Ills. 103 and 104); Thevetia is used for necklaces or pendants on belts, etc. The latter usually bear a small /287/ bunch of feathers in the hollow. Other small, whitish fruits are bored and strung as [415] chains. In Ehrenreich's collection there is a small bowl, made out of a timbo fruit, for storing the urucú color (Berlin 3876).

287 [824] The bark of trees is made into women's aprons. Above all the bark of the gameleira is used, which furnishes the reddish aprons (ǎndähülĕ). Other species (also gameleira?) furnish red materials (ǎmbüŏdă) or white shiny materials (hidēülĕ). Ehrenreich, in addition, also mentions Apeiba jangada (Berlin 3696). The preparation is as follows: Thick branches of the trees concerned are hewed off in the required length (one and a half to two meters) and brought into the house. Here the men, with [462] an angular stone, strike off the solid pieces of bark, slit the bark lengthwise, and peel it off. The further treatment is the task of the women: [283] the pieces of bark are soaked, laid folded together on the manioc mortar turned upside down, and are now beaten with a flat stone, usually an old stone ax, until they are completely soft.

Ill. 134 a, b.
Embira: a) wound on a rod,
b) rolled up.

283 H. Bast is used in wide layers as an ornamental binding material and in fine strands as material for strings and for knotting mats.

[824] As ornamental binding material, the bast of Malvaceae (embira: dõdĕ, etc.) is used above all. There are light red, red, and black varieties. It is kept in all widths: the finest (0.3 centimeters wide) is wound on rods (Ill. 134a), the wider (2.5-4 centimeters wide) is rolled up into stout rolls in such a way that the [531] colored, shiny side is on the inside (Ill. 134b). They are used

/287 cont./

283 [531] for the ornamental winding on arrow shafts, spear shafts, implement handles, etc. A kind of black bast four centimeters wide (ōūnă, āãwŭ) is used exclusively to decorate the edge of the pointed-oval baskets (Pl. 57, Ill. 7); it is colored with black loam.

[824] Finely split bast fibers of imbauva and buriti serve as material for ropemaking and mat-knotting. I do not know how the imbauva fiber is made. The buriti bast fibers (cedo de burity: lādĕhõwŭ) are obtained as follows: The not yet unfolded leaves of the buriti palm (so-called olhos de burity), which lie stacked up in heaps in the houses of the plaiters, are beaten against the floor several times with one end, until the stalk has split open sufficiently into many narrow longitudinal pieces. Of these longitudinal pieces the fine, soft inner bast (ĩŭ) is then separated from the coarser outer leaf-strips (lādĕhõdĕhĕ). The latter are used as leaf strips in the manufacture of hats; the former are further prepared for twisting and knotting. The imbauva fibers (Pl. 58, Ill. 4a), as well as the buriti fibers (Pl. 58, Ill. 4b; /288/ Ill. 135), are stored in larger bundles that are made up of thin bunches (according to Ehrenreich, in plaited braids, Berlin 3996).

Cords are made out of these by twisting them between the thigh and the palm of the hand. Stouter cords are made out of two or more /Ills. 135 and 136 appear here/ such fine cords with the spindle. They are used as binding string of all kinds, such as bowstrings, as ropes for strong fish-nets, fishlines, etc.

286 Fine twisted bast strings are used to knot the feather-cap nets. The large fish nets are made in the same way as these nets; it is pure netting work. Implements are not used for this; I did not see any in use, and the Indians denied to me that they existed. In Ehrenreich's collection, however, there is the beginning of a net of fine bast threads (Berlin 3938) bearing two small wooden rods at the upper edge, which Ehrenreich is inclined to regard as knitting needles. The cap-nets are made as follows: Out of a string twisted on the thigh a loop is knotted and hung over the great toe of the sitting worker. A second thread is knotted to it, and with this the first /Ills. 137 and 138 appear here/ row of meshes

[Text continues on p. 218]

/293 cont./

283 first cleaned and picked. A small bow (wăsĭhŭătă; Ill. 143) is used for this purpose. One puts the cotton on a mat in front of one, holds the bow close to it, and lets the bowstring snap into it. In this way the cotton is loosened up, the impurities are taken out, and it is picked apart into a thin band about four centimeters wide. This band is then twisted at one end and fastened to the top of the spindle (Pl. 58, Ill. 6).

Spinning. The thread is twisted with the palm of the hand on the thigh; then one lets the spindle spin, in order to tighten the twist. When a thread about one meter long has been made in this way, the spindle is stopped, any irregularities of the thread are evened out by pulling it apart and retwisting it, the thread is wound on the spindle, it is again fastened to the knob on top, and the twisting begins anew. Thicker threads, too, are twisted together out of two spun threads in this manner. /294/ [462] Spinning is the task of the women, especially the girls, who acquire this skill at an early age.

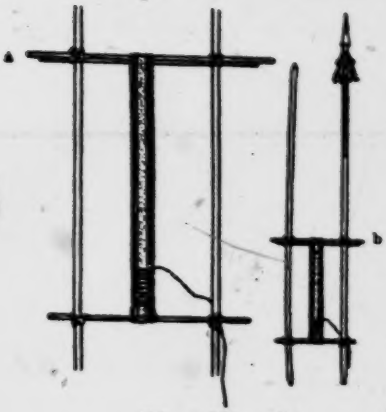
The spindles consist of a black wooden stem 32-44 centimeters long (ăsõtă), which bears a small knob at the top and exhibits an extended thickening at the bottom. The spindle whorl [(kŭ)dãwă], which consists of bone, clay, a mass of white earth, or wax, is pushed up on it. I came across spindle whorls of bark, such as Ehrenreich brought back (Berlin 3939), only in children's spindles (see "Toys" /see p. 241 /). Bone whorls are plane-parallel, 4 1/2-6 1/2 centimeters in diameter (Ill. 144a). Breastplate bones of the tartaruga turtle are usually used for this. Clay whorls consist of crudely fired, gray pottery clay and are usually attached to the staff with wax. /Ills. 144 and 145 appear here./ Their shape is flat or slightly double-conical. Only [531] rarely are they decorated; I once saw a cross-like decoration (Ill. 144c), another whorl bears an incised decoration on its red-colored surface. Whorls of white earth [mãŭlĕ, mănã(k)ŭlă] are usually slightly double-conical in shape (Ill. 144b). In the village on the Tapirapé mouth I obtained two whorl-like objects made out of such white earth, but they are not perforated. Incised on

/297 cont./

286 The art of crocheting is peculiar to the women; it is practiced by them from childhood on. Arm cuffs and calf and ankle bands are crocheted. As a crochet needle (dēšidūnā) an iron needle about 12-16 centimeters long, /298/ with a barb, is now used; it is inserted into a cane handle 17-23

Ill. 146.
Frame for plaiting belts.

[531]



Ill. 147 a, b.
Apparatus for plaiting belts.

Ill. 149.
Sample of crocheting.

Ill. 148 a, b.
Crochet needles.

286 531 centimeters long and fastened in it with resin. The handle is usually decorated: both ends are wound with red cotton threads, between which there is a patterned plaiting made of yellow longitudinal stripes with black stripes running through them (Ill. 148a). Sometimes, too, the entire handle is wound with red and bears a few tassels on the end (Ill. 148b). The patterns

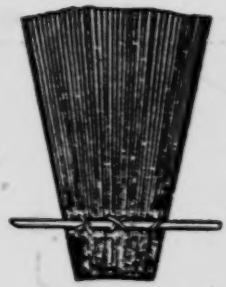
/298 cont. /

286 correspond to the other plaiting patterns such as we find on
[531] bows, lances, on baskets, fans, etc. The arm cuffs are crocheted over the club or the pestle; I never saw crocheting blocks such as Ehrenreich describes and illustrates in "Beiträge," Plate VII, Fig. 9. I did not observe nor could I find out how the thicker edge is made. The sample of crocheting (Ill. 149) is already more advanced and shows only how the meshes are made. Calf and ankle bands are crocheted directly on the body itself. They remain there until they become too tight; then they are carefully cut off, during which one pushes flat sticks underneath in order not to injure oneself. When they are crocheted on, the person concerned lies down on the mat in

303

Ill. 150. Small rod for making a comb.

Ill. 151. First interlacing of the comb rods.



Ill. 152. Fastening of the cross-rod.

Ill. 153 a, b. Cross-threads on the narrow edges of the combs.

286 the hut, has a bundle of coverings shoved under his knees, and has the bands crocheted by a female relative.

283 The various methods of knotting cotton threads into fringes and tassels is shown on Ills. 4 and 6 of Plate 45 (arm cuffs, calf hangings) and Ill. 68 (neck tassels).

303 K. Finally, comb manufacture should be mentioned here. Small fine wooden rods about 15 centimeters long and pointed at one end /299/ (Ill. 150) serve as the material. They are laid

[See p. 119 -- Analyst]

/302 cont./
237 tied in front of the large feathers, or down feathers glued on with
[301] resin. In the case of the feather wheels, for example, entire bands of feathers are tied in front of the main layer of the wheel as covering layers, and, to be sure, among the Karajá these are always two layers of feathers of different lengths and different colors.

237 Color combinations play an important role in surface
301 feather-ornamentation, whether it be upright or hanging; a
531 lesser one, on the other hand, in the case of cluster-like ornamentation. The following combinations are most popular: yellow and red feathers side by side or on top of each other; dark green, white, and yellow feathers.

Ill. 159
Reinforcing feathers by sewing two halved feathers together.

Surface feather-ornamentation. In the case of the feather wheels the covering layers appear only on the front side, and, to be sure, there are always two, of which the uppermost, shorter one is white, green, or variegated, the second, longer one generally dark green. The main layer, but for one exception (feathers of the roseate spoonbill), consists of white jabiru feathers. In one specimen these are interrupted in three places by three inserted blue arara feathers. The little end feathers which are put on the upper end of the feathers of the main layer are yellow or variegated and usually bear small red covering-feathers.

Diadems consist of colorful feathers of various birds or of green and red feathers that alternate in groups. In the case of the solid diadem (Pl. 48, Ill. 7) small red feathers are fastened to the rods wound with white, and small yellow feathers to the rods wound with black.

/302 cont./

237 301 531 Forehead feathers usually consist of long, dark green feathers, the quills of which are covered with yellow-green parrot feathers. Deviating from this, one tuft has one red and one green feather, which are covered at the bottom with a red and yellow feather-rod; another has two blue feathers including a red feather, and the quills are covered with small yellow feathers.

Tufts on forehead hoops consist of long, blue arara feathers. The forehead hoops themselves are made of red or yellow feathers (forehead hoops without feather tufts are generally made of only red feathers). One such feather tuft bears covering feathers at the bottom, which are tied on in the manner of the feather rods, and, to be sure, from the bottom up, first little yellow, then little red feathers. At the upper end the long tuft feathers bear yellow end feathers with small little red covering feathers.

/303/ Flat ear rosettes, if they are of one color, always consist of little red feathers; if they are multicolored, of red and yellow feathers, and, to be sure, a yellow outer and a red inner layer occur, as well as the opposite of this. Ear-tulips consist of yellow, reddish, or variegated parrot feathers and on the inside bear a red feather wreath, if they have one at all.

The pendant feather ornamentation on the waist belts is shaped very diversely. Rosette-rods, which essentially consist of yellow feathers, are usually attached to them. In the case of one belt the lower ends of these yellow rosette-rods are formed by bluish feathers; in another the two center rods bear long red arara feathers as end pieces. In the case of a third belt, the feather rods are red in the upper half, yellow in the lower; finally, in the case of a last belt, the yellow feather-rods alternately bear white, long feathers or red cotton strings at the lower ends. Other hangings alternate with these feather rods on the lower edge of the belt: three to four Thevetia pendants at a time, small shells, shell and Thevetia pendants together. One belt alternately bears two Thevetia fruits with little variegated end feathers at a time and in between a red feather set directly on the edge of the belt.

/303 cont. /

237 301 531 Arm bands bear either rosette-rods which carry short feathers on top and long ones on the bottom (yellow on top, red on the bottom, or the reverse) or layers of feathers which are usually gaily-colored in the same color, but which, in one specimen, consist of a red covering layer on a yellow main layer.

287 531 301 The transition to the cluster-like feather ornamentation is represented by the feather caps, which have either single feathers tied into them or small rosettes, which are often arranged in zones of the same color. Feather caps of one color consist of yellow, red-yellow, variegated, and white feathers; one cap, as a rarity, bears long white heron feathers. In the case of multicolored feather caps, we distinguish the border feathers from those of the cover. The cover feathers are usually one color (red, seldom white), seldom multicolored (red and blue arara feathers, the same mixed with vulture feathers or even with pink heron feathers). The border feathers consist either of a zone of red or mixed red and yellow feathers, or pink heron feathers, or of two zones, which from bottom to top are pale blue and green, or of a yellow hoop and red rosettes, or of white feathers and red and pale blue rosettes. Only one specimen shows three border zones, namely, a yellow hoop at the bottom, above it red feathers, and above them yellow feathers.

237 301 The cluster-like feather ornamentation is not very diverse. Feather tassels in fruits, snail shells, and the like are red throughout, irrespective of whether they appear on arm bands, ear pendants, combs, or the like. Feather tassels as arm bands consist of red rosette-rods or variegated feathers; as tuft feathers they bear long, colorful parrot feathers on red rosettes. On bows they consist of red rosettes, from which usually hang long, red or yellow feather clusters; on spears they are made up of red or red-yellow rosettes with long clusters of colorful arara and parrot feathers, and on gourd rattles they consist either of /304/ individual feathers or of clusters of yellow or variegated feathers or of rosette rods with clusters of long arara feathers.

5: Krause--244 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9

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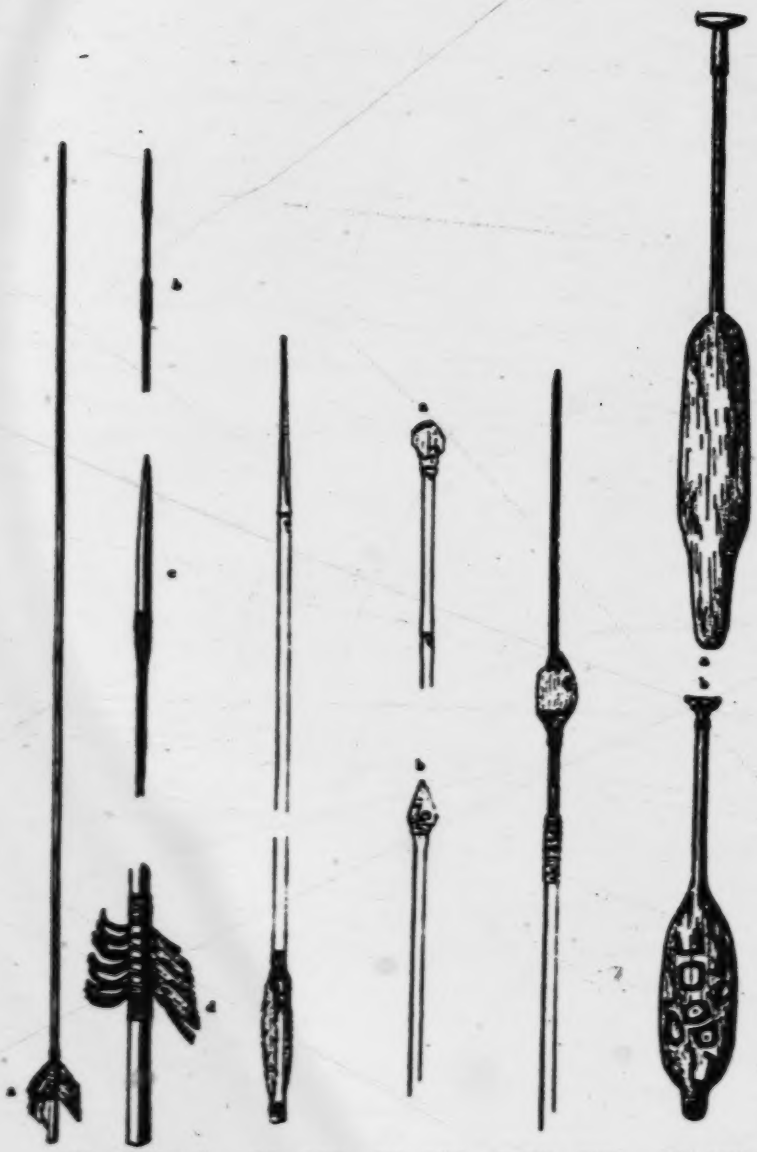
[531]



Ill. 162 a-d. Ill. 163. Ill. 164. Ill. 165 Ill. 166 a, b.

Ill. 162 a-d: Child's arrows. Ill. 163: Pointed bird-arrow. Ill. 164 a, b: Blunt bird-arrows, a) wax head, b) root end. Ill. 165: Arrow with nut pushed on it. Ill. 166 a, b: Child's oars, a) ordinary type, b) painted.

/309 cont./

524 to these boat models differ from the large oars in the construction of the handle and partly also in the blade (Ill. 172 a-d). Some [531] of them show the typical painting: red center cross-band on the black-painted blade.

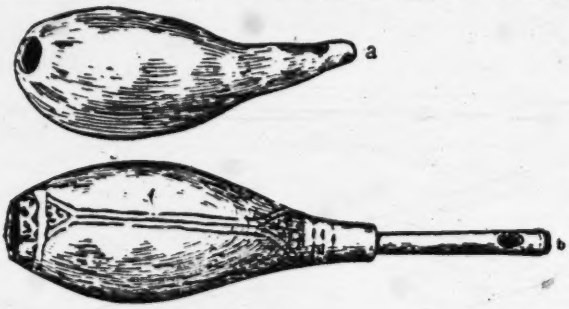
/310/ The gun reproduction (mǎhaûǎ = gun) is the work of small boys. The barrel is represented by a piece of cane, into which a shorter cross-cut is carved near one end, a longer one near the other. Into the two cuts a fine loop of split cane is stretched (Ill. 173a). One holds the gun in the left hand, with the longer cross-cut away from one, pulls the loop in it back with the index finger of the right hand, and lets it spring forward again. The sound that is produced when it strikes in front represents the shot. The cane is carefully hollowed out; for cleaning it, there is a small instrument of bamboo with a short handle and a thin, narrow blade (Ill. 173c). Double-barreled guns, too, are customary. The two tubes are glued together with light resin and joined with two cotton windings (Ill. 173b). The shooting of small pebbles, which surely would be possible with this instrument, was not practiced. It was only after I had demonstrated this to them that they eagerly shot with small stones at a small wax pig which they set up in the sand. For an investigation as to whether this is actually only a matter of reproducing guns /Ills. 172 and 173 appear here/ or perhaps is an ancient plaything to which this name was merely applied, more comparative material than has been available up to now must be gathered among other Indian tribes.

Tops are very common (kŭdaûé). They consist of a double-conical wax disk three and a half to six centimeters in diameter and one to two centimeters thick, through which is stuck a little wooden rod from 5-18 1/2 centimeters in length, so that it projects only very little at the bottom (Ill. 174 a-d). I did not see any tops with plane-parallel clay disks which are covered on both sides with high layers of wax, such as Ehrenreich brought back, but, on the other hand, the tops with wax disks are lacking in Ehrenreich's collection. Usually the /311/ disks are covered with

/316 cont./

534 [824] The most common are taquara flutes with a gourd for resonance [(h)ă(n)djūlōnă]. The flutes consist of a taquara tube 44-46 centimeters long and about three and a half centimeters thick, one end of which is closed, the other open. Near the closed end is the lateral blow-hole. For resonance there is a gourd 33-38 centimeters long and 16-24 centimeters thick, which is open on both ends and into the large opening of which the flute is

[531]



Ill. 178 a, b.
Gourd trumpets.

[531] obliquely inserted. These resonating gourds are usually decorated with pyrography (Ill. 178b).

533 Hollow sounds which carry very far are drawn from these trumpets. Through alternating long and short tones, blown-in [574] and drawn-out tones, there are produced various tonal sequences, [202] which, on boat trips, are blown near the villages to announce arrival. An actual signal language, however, does not seem to 534 have been developed as yet. At present, ox-horn trumpets, such as the Brazilian deck-hands carry, are already finding entry.

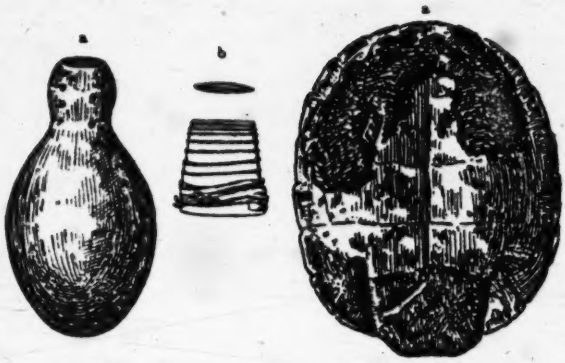
I did not see other kinds of flutes, especially not the Pan-pipes of taquara mentioned by Ehrenreich.

[533] In Village 8 I saw a small horn made of a gourd shell, which [824] apparently is blown at the masked dances. It may not be blown in the presence of women, so I was unable to find out its use and the nature of its sound. Also I was unable to acquire the implement; I did not see it again anywhere else.

534

[824]

[237]



Ill. 179 a, b.
Whistles:
a) gourd, b) leaf.

Ill. 180 a, b.
Turtle-scraper and its manipulation.

[531]

Ill. 181a, b.
Gourd rattles.

/318 cont./

534 used, are very rare. I came across only two of these specimens
[237] (Pl. 58, Ill. 10 a, b). Otherwise gourds (ŭälŭ) are commonly used
[824] as the bodies of rattles, which are usually 12-15.5 centimeters long and 5.5-13 centimeters thick (a small rattle is 6.5 centimeters
[531] long and 6 centimeters thick). Most of these gourd rattles are carved with the customary designs (1); many bear feather ornaments

[113] 1. See my article on "Die Kunst der Karajá-indianer," Bässler Archiv, Vol. II, No. 1.

on the stem end projecting out of the gourd at the top (Ill. 181 a, b). These rattles are swung rhythmically in the hand by the masked dancers.

533 Singing plays a considerably larger role. Only the men sing; it is only during the period of mourning that the women, like the men, intone monotonous songs of lament in a high pitch. The singing is one-part singing; mass singing seldom occurs. Only once did I hear a cappella singing. During dances two men simultaneously sing the same thing; otherwise they sing individually, especially when fishing. Apparently the Karajá are very musical;
[176] they sing gladly and well. Most of their songs are masked-dance songs, but it seems as though certain people invented and handed down specific songs. It was often said to me: this is the song of this boy or of that youth. Certain dances and songs seem to be transmitted through tradition only in certain families; others are quite familiar with them, but do not sing them. In 1908 Chief Ilk in Village 13 just below Izabel do Morro knew most of the songs. He was almost inexhaustible. The wŏrĭzŏ dance and song were handed down in his family. He knew not only Karajá songs, but also sang songs of the Šavajé and Tapirapé. He was known as a singer in all the villages, and everywhere people requested me to
126 play back the phonograms recorded with him. In all I recorded
533 phonographically 44 cylinders of songs. The Indians liked to sing
152 into the apparatus, as soon as the initial shyness had been overcome. To do this I used European music, which amazed them very much. They laughed aloud in astonishment, and many held

/355 cont./

301 Ornaments as marks of distinction. The lip plugs assume
184 tremendous proportions among the young men. The longest wooden lip-plug (ōdŭŏ) was 31.5 centimeters long and 2.2 centimeters wide. The shell lip-plugs (ĭdjĕ) of boys almost all terminate in a turned-up point. I did not see stone lip-plugs.

As for ear ornaments, there are yellow rods (dŏhŏ), rods with red feather rosettes and a dot of wax in the middle of the mother-of-pearl disk (dōlĭĕ, dŏhōdŭĕ), and tulip-like rosettes with a rodent tooth in the center (gūēdjŭ). /356/ The latter are almost universal among children; the two former kinds appeared only rarely, especially the simple ear rods, in contrast to the Karajá, almost all of whom wear them. Also, the ear
●[531] rods are only quite simply decorated with a few rings cut in at the front end (Ill. 190).

The arm cuffs (dēšĭ), calf bands (dēōbĭdă) and ankle bands (wālālĭ) are similar to those of the Karajá. Young men often wore a bast band bound over the arm cuffs and calf bands.

As for other ornaments, very many cotton ornaments were worn. Black neck-tassels of the girls (wādjīklīdjă) sometimes bore snail shells pushed on, as among the Karajá. The long string skirts (gūŏhĭ) are also worn by the Šavajé girls. The arm and leg ornaments with hangings were very elaborate. Of the three kinds among the Karajá, I observed the first kind, strings with tassels, as upper-arm and lower-arm ornaments, the second kind, flat-plaited or tasseled bands with long hangings, only as calf ornaments, and the third kind, two thick pads with long hangings, only as arm ornaments. Whereas among the Karajá each of the strings of the first kind (dōlŭ) have two tassels at the end, those of the Šavajé always have three (Pl. 59, Ill. 1). These tassels, along with the strings, are always dyed black. In the case of one specimen, intended for the upper arm of a child, the wrapping strings are 325 centimeters long; on the other hand, in the case of another, which allegedly was intended for the lower arm of a man, 925 centimeters! The second kind was encountered
[822] only as a calf ornament, and, to be sure, dyed black for children (dēăhūlă), dyed red for youths (lūdjaûwŭ). The fringe hangings,

/356 cont./

301 as is always the case among the leg bands, reaches all around
184 (Pl. 59, Ill. 2). The third kind, observed only as an arm ornament (dēšlādǎzi) and, dyed red, worn by youths on the lower arm behind the arm cuffs, is identical with the calf hangings of the Karajá (Ill. 75), whereas those intended for the upper arm resemble the fringed bands of the Karajá (Ill. 74 a, b). In these specimens the fringe reaches a length of 55 centimeters and is stored away plaited into thick braids (Ill. 191 a, b).

301 Among the feather ornaments, I obtained the hindhead
237 ornament lōlinǎ (Pl. 59, Ill. 4), many specimens of which were acquired by Ehrenreich from the Karajá, but which I did not find there. The specimen I acquired is incomplete, since the cane rods between the two plaited surfaces, into which the pink heron feathers are stuck, are not covered with feather wreaths. The plaiting is patterned and smeared with white color (cf. Ill. 192 a-c /see p. 319/, the construction of this ornament).

With regard to feather caps (dōlǐdōli), I acquired two specimens from the Šavajé in Schischá. Both bore the feathers arranged in three zones. In one specimen the lowest zone consisted of red feather rosettes, the middle one of clusters of two small blue-yellow arara feathers, the uppermost one of single
●[531] long, colored feathers tied in (Pl. 59, Ill. 11). In the second specimen the lowest zone consisted of two rows of red rosettes, the middle zone /Pl. 60 appears here/ /357/ of two rows of yellow rosettes, the uppermost one of clusters of two colorful parrot feathers each (Pl. 59, Ill. 10). The feathers and rosettes, like those of the Karajá, are fastened, not in the knots, but on the threads of the net.

Of feather hoops I likewise obtained from the Šavajé in Schischá a specimen with a tuft (hǎnānǎ). The hoop bears little
[531] yellow feathers; in front, six long blue-black arara feathers are fastened standing upright, the quills of which are covered with small feathers (Pl. 59, Ill. 5).[2]

[Text continues on p. 319]

[2] See p. 311 -- Analyst

/360 cont./

411 arrows with angular wooden points, which were in part colored red, with wooden knob tips (dŏbōlă), the knob of which was up to four centimeters thick (Ill. 195c), with bamboo-blade points on a separate wooden intermediate rod, with round bone points which are fastened to a wooden insert colored red on the lower part, and with ray-spine points. Especially noteworthy for the Šavajé are the ray-spine points and the arrows with the red-colored intermediate stem. The length of the arrows amounts to 130-160 centimeters; the fish arrows are the longest. The winding with [284] black embira at the place where the point is inserted in the shaft is of one to three parts and popularly shows a spiral binding between the individual parts (Ill. 195a). The feathered end is formed analogously to that of the Karajá arrows (Ill. 195b). Its upper winding generally consists of black cotton yarn, into which are usually tied little yellow, seldom red, feathers. (In the case of the Karajá, the situation is exactly reversed.) [531] Among the Šavajé, too, the intermediate part between the feathers is decorated with rings and bands of red lacquer, which usually are arranged in two groups. The notch lashing, usually white, is only rarely colored red. On the basis of my specimens, [284] I cannot confirm Kurisí's statement that the Šavajé arrows are recognizable by the notch lashing, which does not quite reach as far as the notch; on these, the lashing always reaches as far as the notch. In the arrangement of this lashing we again find the Karajá types, /Pl. 61 appears here/ /361/ but in simpler form. I did not see little end feathers in connection with the Šavajé arrows.

[184] The clubs (gŏhŏrdĕ), like the Karajá clubs, are grooved only halfway, but differ from the latter by the fact that the intermediate piece on the handle end bears more than three grooves [531] (four or five) (1) (Ill. 196b). In one specimen, as ornamentation

1. Cf. Karajá, club handles /see pp. 191-193/.

within the grooving, two narrow bands with incised points diametrically opposite each other have been left standing (Ill. 196a).

[Text Continues on P. 326]

/361 cont./

411 (Ill. 196a). I did not see here clubs with plaiting around them or flat clubs.

[412] [237] [184] For grooving the clubs, the cutia tooth (haŭlidjŭ) mounted on a rod is also used by the Šavajé (Ill. 197).

As for lances (dõnõli), I acquired only one specimen, which looks very old. It is constructed like those of the Karajá. The shaft is 2.5 centimeters thick and 200 centimeters long, the bone

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[531]

Ill. 196 a, b. Savajé club. b) Handle end of a second specimen.

Ill. 197. Club groover.

Ill. 198. Arrow thrower. Savajé.

Ill. 199. Savajé oar.

411 point 19.2 centimeters, the red winding 11.5 and the plaiting 63 centimeters long. The feather tassels hang down 42 centimeters. The plaiting pattern is the vertical zigzag pattern.

/362 cont./

312 Water was transported in long gourds (rŭkŭ) with short
415 hanging bands; the gourds were usually crudely decorated with
●531 pyrography (Ill. 200).

184 9. The techniques are even more primitive than those of
[438] the Karajá; in fact, the Šavajé obtain their iron implements and all foreign wares only through barter with the Karajá. Hence, everything that was said about the latter also applies to the Šavajé.

412 I still found a few examples of stone axes [ūōmădū(ĕ)]; they were used as beaters in pounding soft the women's bast aprons on mortars turned upside down. The two specimens acquired by me are strong, wedge-shaped axes 14 and 20.5 centimeters long; on one, the cutting edge is considerably hollowed out, probably through use as a nutcracker (Ill. 201 a, b).

323 The pottery is as primitive as that of the Karajá. Here,
184 too, we find no decorated vessels. The two vessels acquired by me consist of red clay, are of the Karajá type, and represent a cooking pot (wădjĭwĭ) and a bowl (wădjĭwāŭdă). /363/ /Ills. 200-206 appear here./

283 /364/ Working with cotton. For picking cotton apart, a small, quite crudely worked bow is used (Pl. 61, Ill. 4). The spindles (ăzŏdāŏ, Pl. 61, Ill. 5) consist of round rods 32.5-49 centimeters long, with whorls of wax, unfired or fired clay, or bone. By far the most prevalent are wax whorls, which in part are clumsy disks, in part have sharp edges and taper conically
[323] at the top and bottom. The unfired or crudely fired whorls usually have a double-conical form with a sharp edge; only one specimen consists of a thick plate with a rounded edge. Fired clay whorls are disk-shaped and have two sharp edges and flat, conical elevations on both surfaces. Bone whorls consist of quite flat disks, as among the Karajá.

Balls of thread of white (ăzō) or black (ăzōdĕbĕ) cotton are also customary among the Šavajé; some of them are kept tied up in a bast covering (Ill. 202).

[Text Continues on p. 330]

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Ill. 200.
Gourd for carrying water.

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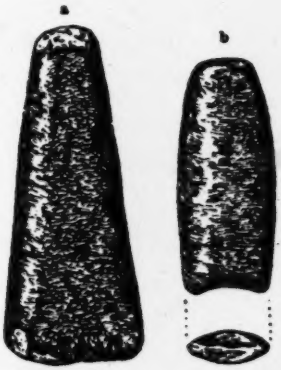

Ill. 201 a, b.
Stone ax.

Ill. 202.
Cotton ball in bast covering.

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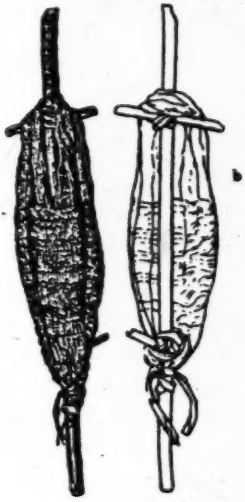
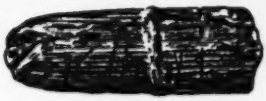
286



Ill. 203 a, b.
Plaiting apparatus for girls' belt.
b) = rear view.

Ill. 204.
Crochet needle.



Ill. 205.
Black resin.

524

Ill. 206 a-c.
Child's bow with arrows.

/364 cont./

286 184 The making of the net coverings corresponds to that of the Karajá, and the apparatus is just as primitive as it is there. A small apparatus is used for plaiting the girls' belts: on a long stick, at some distance from either end, a short cross-stick is tied. Around these the warp is then wound (Ill. 203 a, b). The weft is intertwined by hand.

Here, too, crocheting is done with iron crochet needles [531] (dēšidūnă). The handle is only rarely decorated and then only simply wound with red cotton thread (Ill. 204).

386 314 184 Coloring and adhesive substances are identical with those of the Karajá. I obtained red dōmālĕ and black resin, zōbădāla, both in pieces 12-15.5 centimeters long, 5.5-6 centimeters wide, and 2 centimeters thick, and convex on one side (Ill. 205). These are pressed in rod sieves, the texture of which is sometimes still recognizable on the surface.

524 531

Ill. 207 a-d.
Toy dishes.
a, b) Bowls, c) painted vessel, d) its design.

237 Feathers, for storing, are either tied in small bundles or, as among the Karajá, arranged as wings.

524 10. As children's toys, I brought back: small bows and arrows, of which the bows are very crudely made, whereas the arrows either consist of the pointed shaft, on which, in front, a small /365/ nut with lateral hole is sometimes pushed (Ill. 206 a-c), or exhibit a round, inserted wooden point. The feathering is the ordinary bunch-feathering. I did not see any imitations of guns [531] here. As toy clay dishes I acquired two small bowls (wădjĭwĭlĭŏlĕ) and, in Schischá, a bowl and a vessel painted red on the outside, which is an imitation of a gourd spoon (207 a-d).

501 suited to their purpose owing to the many shallow places in the river, and because it facilitates landing and pushing off. 396 The tree selected to be transformed into a canoe is an ipiúba [824] or a jatóba, which must be very straight. Strange to say, the butt of the tree becomes the bow of the canoe; therefore, the finished canoe is broader at the bow than at the stern. As these children of Nature are preeminently imitators of Nature, it seems quite probable that in constructing their canoes, they have in mind the form of the fish, which always goes big end first.

The log is first hewn into the form of a canoe, then hollowed out with axes and with fire. It is not broadened amidships, therefore, when finished, it is no wider than was the 501 original tree. As it is thus very narrow and tapers gradually and uniformly high above the water at both bow and stern, it tips over very easily. Great care is taken to make it perfectly smooth outside and in. No seats are provided, but sticks are placed across the bottom to keep both the occupants and the freight out of any water that may leak in. As every family has a canoe, quite a fleet of them may be seen in front of every village. These canoes are propelled by paddles five feet in length, half of which is blade, the point [531] terminating like a lance. They are made with great care and labor, and are often nicely ornamented. When canoeing, the 502 pilot is always seen perched in a squatting position on the extreme point of the stern with his knees drawn up to his chin.

411 The weapons of the Karayá are as of old—there has [178] been no change whatever. In common with other Brazilian tribes, the length and stiffness of their bow is according to the height and strength of its owner. Some bows are seven feet in length, while a boy's bow is two and a half or three [824] feet long. They are made of the wood of a certain palm-tree [171] which the Brazilians call *pau de arco*—bow wood—which is the wood used by all the tribes of central and North Brazil for their bows. The bow is made flat inside, and the extremities taper to a point. Several lengths of string, carried

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

as a reserve, are kept wound around the bow. The Karayá take great pride in their bows, ornamenting them beautifully with tassels of brilliant feathers. 411 [531]

They use several different styles of arrows. Some are harpoon-like for fishing purposes; others are made with broad blades for hunting; while still others are for use in war. They are all made with the utmost care, as much as one or two days being consumed in the making of but one. Two or three different kinds of wood are always used in constructing a single arrow, one kind being for the spear, or lance part, another kind—heavy palm wood—for the middle staff, and light bamboo wood for the base, and all are spliced and bound together with the greatest nicety by means of long, narrow strips of bark taken from certain climbers, and finally, the weapon is burnished. It is about four feet in length. [461] [824] [284]

The weapons used for fighting at close quarters, which is the method of warfare liked best, are heavy clubs and lances. The clubs are of two kinds—first, shovel-like clubs and round clubs, resembling base-ball bats, varying in length from three to four and a half feet. The lances are nine or ten feet in length, the shaft being of palm wood, and the point, the shin-bone of the spotted *onca*—jaguar—or of a deer. A beautiful, basket-like work of black and white wooden strips is woven, or braided, tightly over the shaft of the spear, and to this is attached tassels of brilliant plumage. The Karayá have spear-throwing sticks, but I understand they are no longer used in war, but for sport only. The contrivance is a long strip of wood so formed that it can be used, sling-like to hurl a spear. In common with all the savage tribes of South America, the weapons, implements, ornaments and ceremonial instruments are all made by the men of the Karayá, while the women make only the household utensils. [726] [824] [837] [531] 462 171

The Karayá housewife, therefore, makes several styles of pots and pans; but pottery has not yet reached a very high degree of perfection with this tribe for the forms are simple and crude. They do not make pots in the form of natural objects as do the tribes of the Xingú river. Utility, and this 323

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

feathers on hand, they can replace worn-out pieces at any moment. Many of these ornaments are beautiful. One, made of white feathers and secured around the head as a band, looks like a halo encircling the head when seen from a distance when the wind is blowing. These ornaments are worn principally on festal occasions, or when visitors are present. Three styles of a peculiar feather hood are also made. The foundation is a net hood of three different sized meshes, one of which is very closely woven. The stems of the feathers are worked in between the meshes. This is worn at the dance festival. 301 237

The ear and arm ornaments have already been described. A dancing belt is made of strong black and white braiding embellished with tassels of beautiful feathers with shell rattles. The legs and ankles of the dancers are also decorated with feather tassels and shell rattles. Sometimes the savages "tar and feather" themselves, besmearing the body with gum, then putting on a thick layer of white down. In former times they wore necklaces of animal teeth, bones, and shell discs. But these have now been replaced by the glass beads obtained in trade. [439]

The Karayá are very fond of black and white beads, and may often be seen wearing a number of strings around the neck, to the lowest one of which is attached little chains terminating in fruit shells, or tiny bunches of feathers. 301

The only, though much used, article of toilet of the Karayá is the comb, which is made in various sizes, the largest being fourteen inches wide and of equal length. The teeth are flat, slender pieces of palm wood or taquara, which are secured between two small blocks of wood. The spacing between the teeth is made by passing yarn between them. This comb is ornamented with small tassels of bright feathers. 412

The ornamental work of the Karayá consists of patterns of zig-zag lines, crosses, or lizard-shaped forms, dots, diamond shapes, and peculiar broken, irregular lines; while squares and triangles occur only to fill out, and circles are entirely wanting. The patterns seem to be chosen at random, nevertheless 531

8:Gow-Smith T-5 (no date)1925
SP9 Caraja SP9

535 [346] These costumes are made and kept guarded in a wigwam at some distance from the village, and at the conclusion of the [411] [531] festivities are destroyed. Covering the entire body as it does, the masquerade completely conceals the identity of the dancer, who must not under any circumstances reveal his identity to the women onlookers. 535 562 [858] Women and children are merely spectators and are never permitted to view the dress except when it encases the form of the dancer. The women of the tribe apparently cherish a profound respect for

FIG. 43.—A personator in the Fish Dance.

9:Gow-Smith T-5 (no date) 1925
SP9 Caraja SP9
Cayapo SP11

C 411 237 C 411 531

a cluster of feathers hanging below the point guides the spear unerringly when flung at its victim. The spear-shafts are beautifully decorated with a covering of black and white cane-work woven in intricate designs. No two of these woven handles are of the same pattern, but they all represent the various markings of snakes.

Co 292 237 C Co 411 C Co 824 283

FIG. 97.—Cayapó head-dress

The bow and arrow are a favorite weapon with both the Cayapó and the Caraja. The bows, six feet long, are stoutly made of palm-wood, and are strung with the strong hand-spun cord of wild cotton, with the ends cunningly wrapped to the bow so that the string can be lengthened or mended according to the hunter's needs. Arrows are of wide variety and are used for many purposes, but all of them have long bamboo shafts

C Co 824

9:Gow-Smith T-5 (no date) 1925
SP9 Caraja SP9
Cayapo SP11

C Co 411 237 284 283 skilfully feathered at the end. The arrowheads are fastened to eighteen-inch foreshafts of hard-wood C [264] [531] [411] [501] tipped with bone, fitted in three- to four-foot bamboo shafts and bound in place with the strong cord that the native women spin from wild cotton. C Co [314] The binding is firmly cemented with a kind of resin. C Co 411 224 [223] Long needle-like arrows tipped with hard-wood are for shooting birds; the sharp bamboo tips curved hollowly are for deer and jaguars, for they permit the wounded animal

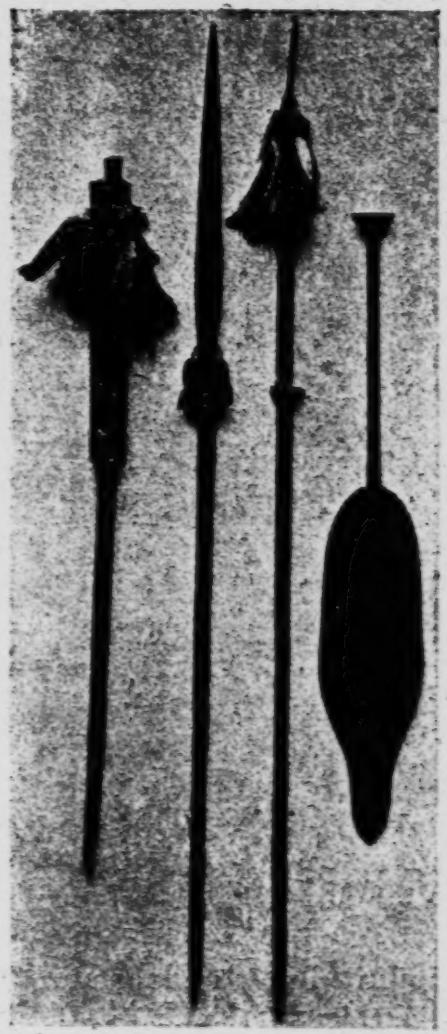


FIG. 98.—Caraja objects (grave-post, two spears, and a paddle)

9:Gow-Smith T-5 (no date) 1925
SP9 Caraja SP9
Cayapo SP11

C
Co
411
224
[226]
[237]

to bleed freely in order that it will weaken before it can travel far. Barbed arrows are used for killing monkeys and shooting fish. The tail of the sting-ray is also used for tipping arrows.

C
411
[227]
[688]
[888]

Co
[534]
[531]

Formidable objects are the clubs that the Caraja tribesmen use to kill captives, as well as members of their own tribe who have broken taboo or who are too old to make the periodic migrations. These clubs vaguely resemble a baseball bat, except that they are heavier and a trifle thicker at the end. They are made of hard-wood, the long handle decorated with a beautiful covering of black and white woven canework in designs similar to those of the spears, and the heavy end is stained a sinister red with the juice of the urucú-berry and the blood of its victim.

FIG. 99.—Cayapó rattle

C
[531]

C
[386]

Co
411

The Cayapó clubs are of the same heavy wood,

9:Gow-Smith T-5 (no date) 1925
SP9 Caraja SP9
Cayapo SP11

Co 411 [531] and have similar woven cane-covered handles, but are for more specialized use. Instead of a blunt round end, the club has a flat triangular wooden blade pointed at the end with sharp sides and stained with urucú. It is used, in the manner of a great ax, for decapitation.

C 524 [501] Toy canoes (fig. 100), with which the Caraja youngsters play, are models in miniature of those their elders use, which are made from hollowed or

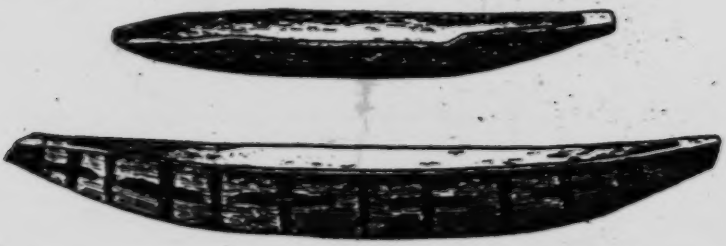


FIG. 100.—Toy canoes of the Caraja. (Length, 19 in. and 26 in.)

C [531] burnt-out logs. They are decorated with designs colored with a black stain from the genepapa fruit and the urucú. Paddles (fig. 98) are of regulation length, but some have unusually wide blades often decorated in red and black designs.

C 532 Most curious of the collection are the little clay dolls (fig. 101), which may have some connection with magic or with religious observances. They vary in size from two to twelve

C [171] inches, and are similar in workmanship and even

1:Lipkind E-5 (1937) 1948 SP9 Caraja SP9

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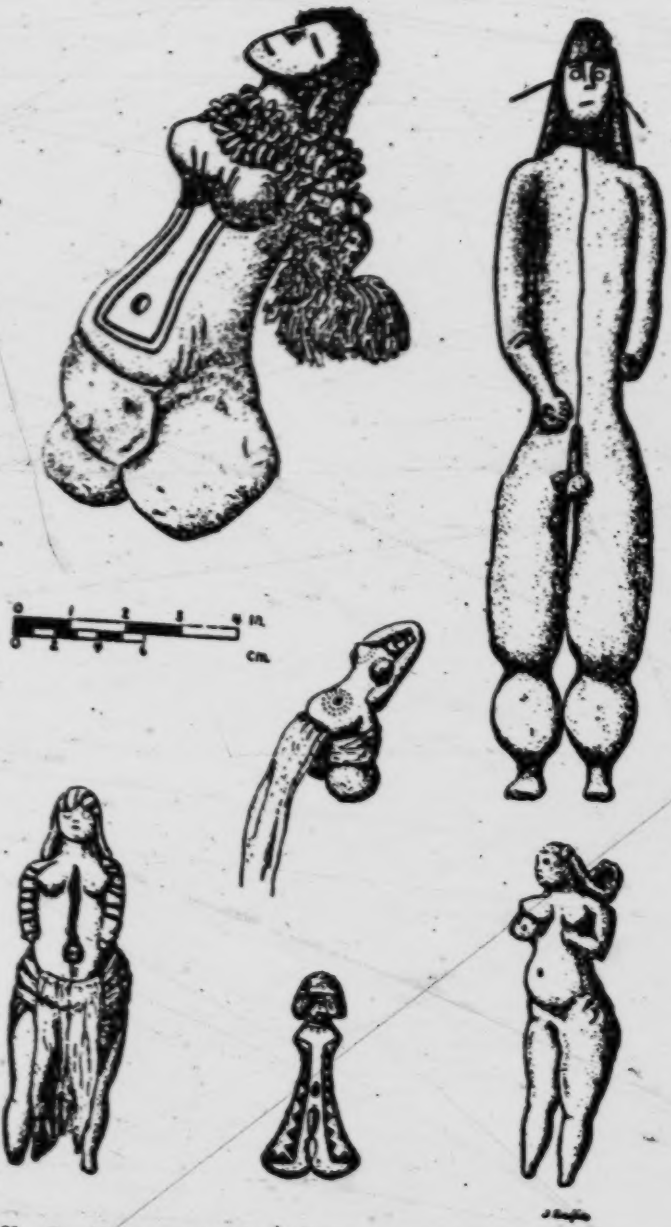

FIGURE 23.—*Carajá* wax and clay dolls. (Redrawn from Ehrenreich, 1891 b, pl. 12.)

1:Lipkind E-5 (1937) 1948 SP9 Caraja SP9

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small clay dolls (fig. 23), delicately carved clubs, body paint designs, and a little painting and incising of pottery.

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795

FIGURE 24.—*Carajá* masks. (Redrawn from Ehrenreich, 1891 b, figs. 18, 22.)

535
533

Music and dances.—The major art of the *Carajá* is music. A large number of elaborate dances with complex songs, each dance having a separate song style, make up the chief body of the music. These are all religious. In addition, there are some secular dances, and songs are interspersed in the tales. Musical instruments are very few, there being only a rattle accompanying the singers and a small flute which is used as a toy.

534

2: Krause SP9 Caraja SP9

532

[For information on various forms of representational art among the Caraja, see category 116, pp. 3-42, and 47-53.]

/13 cont./

342 principally to close off the narrow sides. To the right and left of the door are planted two high poles which give the palm-leaf layers of the front side more solid support.

352 The interior furnishing of the houses is rather simple. Part of the floor is covered with buriti mats which also serve as an [513] underlayer for sleeping. A smooth wooden cylinder pushed underneath represents the pillow. The various storage baskets, the 353 [415] containers for ornamental feathers, the finished feather orna- [939] ments, bottle gourds, and other things hang from the horizontal beams. Bows and arrows are stuck in the rafters. [342] Lances and clubs stand in the corner, always at hand. Some sledge-like 352 415 stools, as well as pots and gourd /cuia/ bowls of varying sizes complete the household equipment.

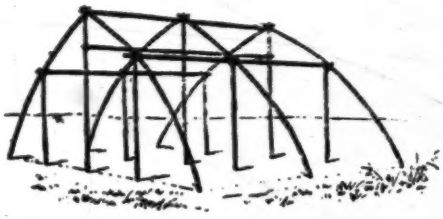

Fig. 3. Hut construction.

346 At some distance from the village is found the somewhat dif- [532] ferently constructed "medicine hut," where the mysterious dance masks are stored. It has the form of an ordinary rancho, with a steeply sloping roof, and is tightly closed on three sides, whereas [784] the side facing the village is wide open. Female creatures may not venture near it.

[114] Castelnau already makes mention of it. Couto Magelhães in his first report speaks of a hut which serves as an arsenal for storing weapons. Nothing of this sort is known to me. Evidently he means by it this mysterious sacred place whose true purpose no one wanted to reveal to him. We shall return to it in the following.

825 It is also noteworthy that in front of two Šambioa villages dead king-vultures (Sarcoramphus papa) with outspread wings were fastened on a high frame of poles. They are probably supposed to scare away demons in the manner of the bird figures carved out of wood in front of Malay villages.

/21 cont./

285 vertical striping. By turning the diagonal splints toward the outside, there arises on each side a diagonal cross-pattern in dark color. All the splints come together at right angles at the bottom.

10. Round shallow baskets (uäriri) made of pliable vines,
[415] whose vertical splints join at the bottom in four groups intersecting at right angles (Pl. VIII /see p. 110 /, 14), serve as sieves.

11. A spherical basket for storing raw cotton has a quite similar plaiting. The vertical strips are of less pliable material (Pl. VIII /see p. 110/, 16).

283 The textile industry of the Karaya is essentially still plaited
[824] work. Primarily natural vegetable materials, the fiber of the buriti and certain Bromeliaceae, as well as the varieties of bast of the Malvaceae (embira and jangada) known for extraordinary cohesion, provide material for threads. Finer threads are made by rubbing the fibers between moistened hands or between hand and thigh. Stronger ones are then twisted out of these in the manner described by Im Thurn, op. cit., p. 284, a method which, moreover, is also practiced by every Brazilian sertanejo /inlander/. The thread and strands thus obtained are, however, used almost
[286] exclusively for twine, cords, and bow strings. To be sure, mesh goods is knitted out of them with long wooden needles, for example, fishing and carrying nets, as well as peculiar, collapsible caps of cotton thread, which are decorated in various ways with feathers (see p.44).

The true weaving material is cotton. The hand spindle (ä-θondäǎ) in the usual form, a round disk of bone or fired clay, serves for making thread. It bears in its pierced center a palmwood stick about a foot long, provided on the lower end with a sharply /22/ offset knob. The stick is set in motion by stroking
• [532] it on the hip in a turning motion. One of the clay whorls here is spherically decorated with four human faces carved around it (Fig. 7 /see p. 42/).

286 The loom, or rather plaiting apparatus, on which the sleeping nets are made, is as simple as possible. Two strong wooden poles are rammed into the ground at a distance of 2-2 1/2 meters. The central roof-supports of the hut can serve as such. The warp

/22 cont./

286 is wound around these without crossing and thus consists of two parallel rows of thread. The woof threads are now led in pairs from top to bottom with a long needle and knotted to a pair of warp threads one after another. Two woof threads always encircle two warp threads. Their distance from each other is always twice as great as that of the pair of warp threads. The woof threads are knotted at both edges.

Since various colors are chosen for different warp strands, one gets "redes" with red and black stripes. The background color is usually white.

On the same apparatus, however, real weaving of a taffeta-like texture can also be made. For example, the above-mentioned "rede" of the Yavahē consists of such material. Also the strong

[283] [532]

Fig. 7. Spindles (1/4).

Also the strong

[482] [531] [237] carrying-bands of certain baskets, the black forehead-bands decorated with mother-of-pearl disks (Pl. VII /see p. 109/, 7), the black body-bands for children (Pl. VII, 3, 4), and the dance belts decorated with feather strips hanging down are made in this manner.

In this smaller weaving a single continuous woof thread runs through the whole warp. It was not learned whether special, handier tools were used for this.

The arm cuffs and leg bands are knitted over a heavy, cone-shaped wooden block (kauarū) with a crochet needle (desi-tan), now usually of iron, insofar as this is not done on the body itself (Pl. VII, 9).

283 [301] The long fringe hangings falling over the chest and neck (Pl. VII, 2), as well as the shorter ones which are tied under the knee, a popular adornment for young people, are simple knotted work. Two strong parallel strands are entwined with a number of

/24 cont./

412 Combs (ϑĕhŏ), the only toilet articles, but much used, are made in the most varied sizes. The largest specimen in the collection is 18 centimeters wide and 17 centimeters long. There are pieces twice as large, however. A converging row of sharp palm wood or /Fig. 10 appears here/ taquara splints are held together by two pairs of parallel cross-sticks. A plaiting of black or white cotton threads in various patterns drawn through the space between the latter serves for stability. Sometimes small feather tassels hang from the two upper corners (Fig. 9 /see p. 47/).

534 Musical instruments are represented in the collection only by a trumpet (adžuranĕ) (Plate X /see p. 112/, 7). It is a large gourd bowl with openings at both ends. A taquara reed with a slit at the side is stuck in one as a mouthpiece.

Furthermore, simple Pan flutes of taquara are in use.'

531 Artistic activity. The ornamentation of the Karaya consists
532 of patterns in zigzag lines, crosses, dots, lozenges, and peculiar interrupted meanders, while rectangles and triangles appear only accidentally (e.g., through filling in other figures), and circles are completely lacking (Fig. 10 / see p. 47/).

/25/ As in the ornamentation of the Xingu tribes, here, too, the basis for these apparently completely arbitrarily chosen geometric combinations are quite definite, concrete models whose most typical characteristics are reproduced in them in a stylized manner.

/25 cont./

53 Unfortunately it is not always possible to ascertain with certainty
530 the pertinent natural object. The following patterns, whose meaning was determined, suffice, however, for an explanation.

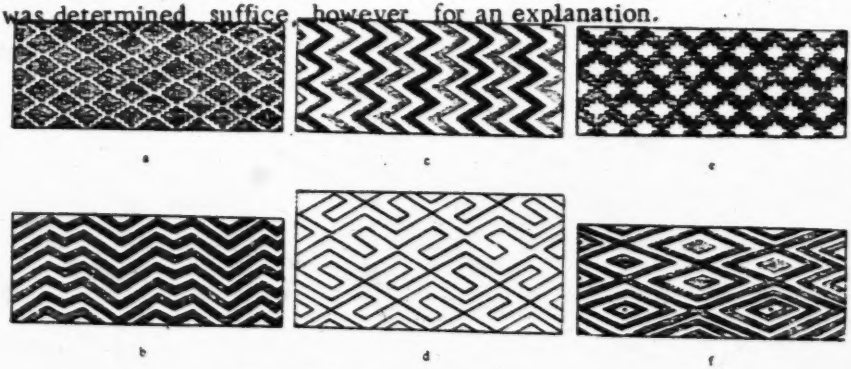

Fig. 11. Comb patterns

The oar patterns (Pl. VIII /see p. 110/, 1-3) all represent fish; likewise the feather mosaic designs of some of the dance helmets (cf. p. 72).

[873] The frequently appearing cross (cf. Fig. 16c /see p.63 / and Pl. VIII, 6), which has given rise to airy hypotheses so often in America, is nothing here but a species of lizard (uatä-9ä).

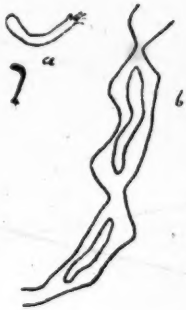

Fig. 12.

Anyone who has seen the large wasp nests of the camp-forests with the blunt knobs will immediately recognize this mark in the comb ornamentation (Fig. 11a).

As especially characteristic there are still to be mentioned the bat (tureherekŏ, Fig. 11b), recognizable by the outstretched wings, as well as the snake patterns, which occur the most frequently. Thus Fig. 11c is the rattlesnake (Crotalus horridus); Fig. 11e the caninanha (Spilotes).

Other snakes are represented by Figures 11d and f.

532 Real drawings of human beings and animals, like the ones known to us in such excellent execution by the Bushmen and Eskimo, do not seem to occur among the Karaya. Nowhere did we see strikingly reproduced representations painted in the sand or carved in trees with a few strokes, like the ones which so often aroused our attention among the Bakairi and Mehinaku /Mehinacu/ of the upper Xingu.

/25 cont./

●532 The Karaya also proved themselves rather helpless in drawing with a pencil. In the foot depicted in Fig. 12a /see p. 49/ everyone will see instead an arm with outstretched hand.

[823] The topographical sketch of the Araguaia with its bends and islands shows greater talent and true understanding (Fig. 12b /see p. 49/).

532 352 Unfortunately the collection possesses only a few specimens of wood carvings. The handsomest of the sledge-like stools (koriša) in stylized animal shape could not be obtained. The specimen from the Šambioa, however, is of excellent workmanship (Fig. 13 /see p. 51/).

The two heads into which the elegantly curved seat runs were originally supplied with mother-of-pearl eyes.

532 [412] The wooden spoons (katarǎ), too, otherwise appearing only very sporadically in South America, are noteworthy. The handle end of the larger specimen ends in an easily recognizable toucan head (Fig. 14 /see p. 51/).

/26/ The most outstanding artistic achievement of the Karaya is the plastic reproduction of human forms in wax and unfired clay. Small figures (likokó, children's dolls?) are offered to travelers in large quantities. Their execution shows, despite the somewhat stereotyped manner of production, a high degree of ingenuous sense of form and excellent observation of nature. /Fig. 13 appears here./

The most successful pieces, in their proper depiction of body forms, are equal to the best works of the peoples of the ancient American civilizations and surpass anything which other savage tribes, with the exception of the Northwest Americans and the Eskimo, have achieved in this respect. Although there is an inclination to give the lower extremities an unnatural thickness, there is nothing really grotesque.

The collection numbers 52 specimens which in their different types demonstrate extremely well the gradual perfecting of this primitive artistic activity.

The simplest figures make rather large demands on the imagination. The Indian imitates in them only what seems most

/26 cont./

●532 essential to him, namely, mouth opening and navel. They are simply spindle-shaped clay forms widened only in the lower section and having holes, the upper one representing the mouth and the lower one the navel (Pl. XI /see p. 113/, 1). Parallel cuts go out longitudinally from each hole. A somewhat more

[352]

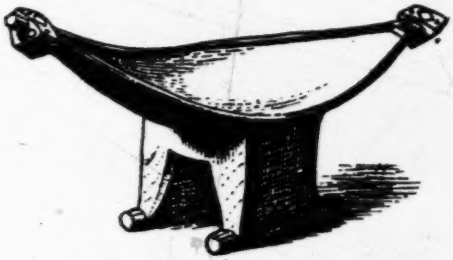

Fig. 13. Stool in animal form (ca. 1/8).

complete form already shows the thorax clearly. In male figures the arms are indicated as stumps, as are the genitals, and in female figures, the breasts. The lower extremities are only nodular swellings. On the face only the mouth is indicated.

[412]

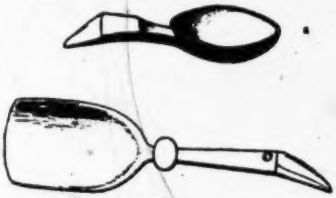

Fig. 14. Carved wooden spoons (a 1/4, b 1/8).

The female figures, however, wear the national apron (Pl. XI /see p. 113/, 2 and 3).

A further advance consists of putting on black wax to represent the hair. The face is already clearly recognizable. Tribal tattooing and body painting are imitated (Pl. XI, 4 and 5). The legs still appear as stumps. Probably the kneeling position is supposed to be expressed in them. The largest of the figures

/26 cont./

●532 collected, 24 centimeters high, without an apron, belongs here. The face is clearly modeled, the hair reproduced by a thin layer of wax with cotton fringes hanging down in front, a chain of Ricinus kernels and pierced snail-shells with black tassels decorates the neck (Pl. XI /see p. 113/, 6).

Finally we have completely finished forms (obtained only from the Šambioa). Face and body are imitated completely true to nature, the arms folded over the stomach. The wax hair hangs far down in back. Line painting covers the chest and limbs. Some are supplied with ear sticks and necklaces, others with small "redes." Unfortunately the legs and the seat of almost all of them are of unnatural thickness (Pl. XI, 7). A black wax figure, the best one of the collection, nevertheless shows proportional form throughout (Pl. XI, 9). Whereas all figures of this type wear an apron, others of gray clay are without it. They also lack hair; on the other hand, they have on their backs a carrying basket likewise made of clay. The arms are drawn up against the chest (Pl. XI, 8). The male figures of this category are disproportionately long and narrow in the upper trunk, with almost spherical lower legs. Hair and genitals are of wax. There are sticks in the ears, chains of glass beads around the neck (Pl. XI, 10).

[177] The caricatures of Brazilian soldiers made out of lumps of wax, with the uniform indicated by bits of blue and red cloth pasted on, are very crude, but not without a certain humor in the execution.

Social Life, Law and Custom.

114 The social arrangements of the Karaya can for the present be treated only fragmentarily. Nevertheless, the little that I [115] observed myself or that was learned through the agency of my companion and most important informant, the old chief Pedro Manco, may at least provide points of reference for further research.

/28 cont./

836 property and are offered to ships' crews, despite their usually
727 most horrible appearance. Unfortunately, one also sees children
used for the same purpose. Here is clearly shown the dualism in
836 the ethics of the savages, whose moral laws apply only to mem-
727 bers of their own tribe. This view, common to all primitive
577 peoples, cannot therefore change our judgment of the morality
[186] of the Karaya in general. When Castelnau doubts this, saying,
[114] "Ce fait (the stern punishment of a transgression against morals) est peu d'accord avec les offres qui étaient fait continuellement a nos gens /this fact is hardly in accord with the offers that were continually made to our men/" (Hist. du voyage, I, p. 446), he overlooks the fact that these "offres" concerned not their own, but foreign women.

855 In spite of the lack of external signs of tenderness, which are absent among all Indians, the treatment of the children is very loving throughout.

854 The smaller ones are continually carried about by the mothers and tended with tireless care, hung with ornaments and
853 painted, etc. They are suckled for an extraordinarily long time.

857 Older children are left entirely to themselves, but in spite of this demonstrate a natural decency and a modesty of behavior that the highly educated offspring of civilized men only all too
858 often lack. It would be unthinkable among the Karaya that children be traded to the settlers, as unfortunately still frequently occurs in other regions of Brazil, especially on the Amazon. Upon the founding of the Collegio Izabel at Leopoldina, whose purpose was to train young Indians and settle them later as colonists, efforts to obtain Karaya children for it were in vain. Since they once allowed themselves to be misled years ago, and some were lured away and abducted by force, all the young people as a rule take flight at the approach of a boat and only with great difficulty are persuaded to return.

764 The fact that the animal decorations put on the grave poles
●532 (cf. p. 63) are marks of the family concerned or of a wider kin
602 grouping indicates the existence of totemism, or clan formation. To be sure, nothing more precise is known about this, but the family system discovered among the Arawak by Im Thurn (1) may also hold for the relationship prevailing among the Karaya.

1. Im Thurn, op. cit., p. 175.

/31 cont./

764 The external equipment of the grave is evidently supposed to represent a house. Two poles (itäõ) 1 1/3 meters
[776] high and decorated on the short, forked tip with bundles of feathers hanging down, are planted at the head and foot ends of the grave in order to keep away the "animals," that is, in any case the demons (the kenaima of Guiana). The drum-like thickness in the middle part of the pole bears the family mark of the deceased, engraved or indicated by feather

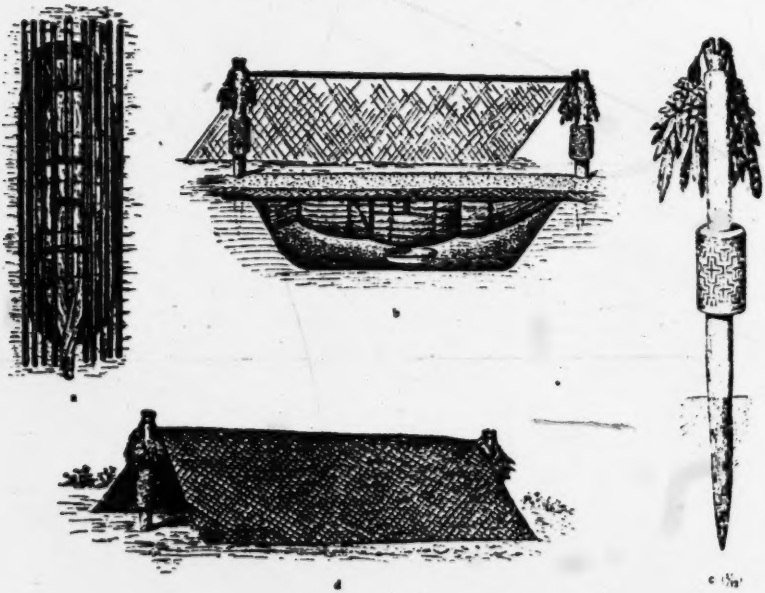

Fig. 16. Grave equipment.

[532] mosaic. One of the specimens available (c) shows the cross-decoration of the lizard (hädauã). The feather pattern of both the others is unfortunately unrecognizable.

Both poles are connected with a cord, over which two
[775] buriti mats are spread like a roof (d). /32/ Under this tent is put a gourd with food and drink for the soul, which after the burial stays for a while in the vicinity of the grave.

/34 cont./

535 detail that Kleinschmidt's description of the duck-duck festival
121 of New Britain would also fit mutatis mutandis the animal dances of the Karaya.

535 Castelnau, who first mentions them, obtained one of these
114 masks with great difficulty (1), but it was later lost, along with

1. Castelnau, op. cit., p. 441.

all the other collections, in the cataracts of the Tocantins. The depiction of a dance given by him on Plate IX of his Vues et scenes /Views and Scenes/ (Paris, 1852) is incorrect inasmuch as the lower trunk and legs of the dancers are not uncovered, as the illustration shows, but are hidden under long buriti hangings. Also the height of the headdresses seems exaggerated.

Later Spinola (2) published something about them and also

2. Op. cit., p. 45.

obtained some mask costumes for the anthropological exhibition in Rio (1882), which, however, never reached their destination, but were lost in Goyaz.

126 That I was successful in luckily bringing home some of the
535 most interesting masks I owe to the intervention of the chief Pedro
● 532 Manco, without whose intercession the superstitious mistrust of
[123] his fellow tribesmen could hardly have been overcome. These
[178] sacred objects had already been unwisely profaned several times by travelers, in particular by Spinola himself. Contrary to expecta-
532 tion, the most beautiful specimens were found among the
535 Karayahi, whose villages alone exhibit the above-described
184 "medicine huts." Smaller camps had, instead of them, simple semicircular compartments, open at the top and back, as Castelnau depicts them, whereas the huts are completely absent among the Šambioa. Probably in this case they had already been torn down again after the conclusion of the festivities. The palm-straw costumes collected there lay thrown in a heap in the nearby forest and are for that reason somewhat defective.

/34 cont./

535 All of the dance masks represent animals. The imitation of
●532 the animal form, however, does not go so far as among the masks
825 of the North Americans and the Tekuna, since the creature concerned /35/ is merely indicated by some of its most striking

Fig. 18. Mask of the dolphin (1/20).

Fig. 19. Mask of the fish doori (probably the pirarara) (1/20).

Fig. 20. Mask of the scarabacus (dung beetle) (1/20).

Fig. 21. Large anteater (headdress) (1/24).

characteristics or even only by the decorations placed on it.

The masks, which are either used individually or belong in pairs, fall into three classes according to their shape.

/35 cont./

535
●532 1. Costumes and headdresses of simple palm-straw plaiting
825 (inaudä). Of these there were collected:

a) The dolphin. Male figure with genitals made extremely large; plaited out of uaguassú leaves. A sleeved jacket reaching to the belt covers the upper body of the dancer; the lower trunk and the legs down to the knee are in a type of trousers, while the head is covered with a cap completely hiding the face and on top running out into two wound braids (Fig. 18 /see p. 70/).

b) A similar figure without genitals, representing the doori fish (pirarara?). The covering of the thorax is sleeveless. The hood has six short braids provided with end knots (Fig. 19 /see p. 70/).

c) The scarabaeus (korehaǧǒ, dung beetle, one of the most common insects of the campos), is a mask plaited out of buriti leaves for the upper body. Hiding the head is a rhomboidal cap of fine plaiting, through the upper part of which runs a cross-stick provided with palm-straw tassels at the ends, reproducing quite typically the antennae of the beetle. The lower part, made out of coarser plaiting, consists only of a layer covering the chest and stomach. On both sides there are slit-shaped armholes. The legs of the dancer are probably covered with buriti hangings (Fig. 20 /see p. 70/).

/36/ d) The large anteater (uariri), for which there is likewise only a headpiece for the head and upper trunk, is plaited in a funnel shape out of a single buriti leaf whose stem, projecting upward and split several times, is lengthened artificially by a wooden stick set into it. The extreme tip bears a huge tassel of leaves. The whole is three meters and eighty-two centimeters high (Fig. 21 /see p. 70/).

The preceding masks are those obtained among the Šambioa. In addition, the sketch of a fifth costume of the same type was drawn in a Karayahi village. This is

e) the caracara hawk (iira), likewise funnel-shaped, but not as tall as the "anteater" and provided with armholes (Fig. 22 c /see p. 72/).

/36 cont./

535 2. Masks of the duck-duck type (ya-ꞵõ). These are cylin-
532 drical dance hats, covered with ornamental feather mosaic, the
825 pattern of which reproduces the animal concerned.

a) The piabussu fish (abuseura) consists of a strong buriti plaiting 82 centimeters high and 45 centimeters in circumference in the middle, running out at the top, into a braidlike continuation wound with black bast, which bears a tuft of feathers at the end. The lower end of the cylinder broadens like a funnel in order to receive the head of the wearer. This lower part is about 25 centimeters high and so densely covered with buriti strips that the face of the dancer remains completely hidden (Pl. XII /see p. 114 /, 1 a and b).

Fig. 22. Masks and masked dancer.

The cylindrical middle-piece is covered lengthwise with thin sticks of cane, on which the feather mosaic is applied with wax. Running vertically on the front side there is a yellow strip ten centimeters wide and bordered by black and white cotton threads twisted together, which is accompanied on either side by a red one half as wide with the same border. From each of the latter a broad red continuation branches off at right angles toward the back, which divides each side of the cylinder into two rectangular fields. These are filled with blue rectangles on a yellow background, which are divided off by black cords.

/36 cont./

535 At both ends the cylinder is wound with strips of blue army
532 cloth. In any case the original binding was a tightly woven
825 black or black-white cotton band, as on the masks illustrated in Fig. 22 a and b /see p. 72/.

A small green feather border surrounds the upper edge, which is also adorned with a row of upright red arara feathers.

On the back side, with white down pasted on it, two rows of blue arara feathers hand down over each other.

A cross-stick decorated at the ends with long feather tassels is stuck through the upper third of the cylinder.

b) The pacu fish (ariua) is of similar form. The cylindrical part is shorter, but of larger diameter (height 50 centimeters, circumference 55 centimeters). In this case, too, a braid runs out from the upper surface (60 centimeters) (Pl. XII /see p. 114/, 2 a and b).

A broad red stripe with a black and white border likewise runs down the front. The side parts show a complementary pattern of oblique, blunt zigzag stripes running somewhat irregularly, red on a yellow background within a black border. Two rows of feathers likewise hang down in back.

Long buriti hangings to be placed around the shoulders and hips belong to both masks. The neck is wound with an ornament of black bast strips. The dancer carries gourd rattles in his hands and wears bands with rattling Thevetia pods around his ankles (Fig. 22 a /see p. 72/).

Two other such masks could be sketched.

c) One allegedly represents the kabroro (alligator). The cylindrical part is red with horizontally placed double-crosses in yellow (Fig. 22 a /see p. 72/) and bears two short diverging braids.

d) The meaning of the other, the animal yarenĕ, is uncertain. The basic color of the cylinder is blue. A chain of yellow rectangles on a red background runs down each side. According to the ornamentation, it may represent a snake (Fig. 22 b /see p. 72/).

/36 cont./

535 On both, the back side is decorated with a double row of
532 short green and blue parrot feathers placed in the long direction.
825 3. The mask of a black bird (tirehäṅ) has no animal emblem. It is a human face made of a large gourd, the lower third painted black, the rest red. The mouth is equipped with wax lips and wooden teeth. The nose of black wax is located between the narrow eye slits at an unnatural height. A hanging of black and /37/ brown feathers falls from the back, while at the front and on the sides long strips of buriti bast cover the body of the wearer (Pl. X /see p. 112/, 3).

The number of masks is in no way exhausted with these.
[184] Each village has its special ones and many a "medicine hut" was actually crammed full of the different types.

Besides those mentioned the following were noted as particularly common among the Karayahi:

The fish: pintado (Pimelodus sorubim), trem-trem (Gymnotus electricus), chicote, piau, and pirarucú (Sudis gigas); the birds: tuyuyu (Mycteria jabiru), japuira (Cacicus sp.) mutum (Crax), jacu (Penelope); finally deer and crabs.

527 Masked festivals. If there is much food on hand after pro-
535 ductive hunting and fishing expeditions, the chief decides to hold a dance festival, which continues as long as the provisions last. The preparations begin several days before the date set. The women attend to the food and drink, the men set to work at making the dance costumes, unless they are still occupied with hunting.
[533] Each dance is known only to certain persons. The songs sung in
[198] connection with them, which are handed down from father to son, are allegedly performed in an ancient language incomprehensible to the masses.

[825] Each animal represented has its characteristic sound, which
[533] is repeated again and again in the songs. Thus, the pacu cries: heiyoṅ he, heiyoṅ he, the alligator hu — hu — hu.

[562] The women and children watch the dance, to be sure, but
[532] may not look at the masks by themselves, without their wearers,
[176] since they are made to believe that the "animal spirits" concerned are really present before them. Only the oldest women are sometimes told the secret.

/37 cont./

[509] The festival begins with a procession of the masks through
535 the village. The participants dress in the nearby forest and approach with a loud han hm han. Then everybody cries: nakunerare! There they come!

During the procession the masked men throw sticks of wood in all directions. After they have withdrawn, everything is readied for the feast and drinking bout, until after a few hours the dancers approach again and the dance begins. Like that of the duck-duck, it consists of an odd hopping. The dancer is not permitted to let himself be recognized in any way; he
[688] may neither speak nor cough or sneeze, and particularly not fall. Otherwise, as in the case of the duck-duck and the Northwest American hametz, he is killed immediately.

If he finds it necessary to cough, which in view of the stifling heat in his masquerade is not uncommon, of course, he jumps into the circle of men standing about, who cover up his voice by likewise coughing.

The dances take place in a certain sequence; it is the chief who decides which one is to be at the beginning.

532 If a woman enters the secret hut out of curiosity or other-
535 wise takes advantage of an opportunity to see the mask costumes,
562 she is punished by death.
688 Usually the other women then bring a petition to the chief. The latter lets mercy prevail if the guilty one promises silence and is willing to undertake a task of atonement, which usually consists of weaving a riio or making a large buriti mat. If she refuses or if the work is not satisfactory, a place in the forest is pointed out to her, and she must appear there at a certain
[839] time. She is forced to yield to the men assembled there. If she does not appear, the latter have the right to kill her wherever
[766] they find her. The corpse of the guilty one is sunk in the river.
[778] No one may enter the hut of the victim, however, since this is considered a sanctuary.

In the same way a man who betrays the secret to a woman is declared an outlaw.

/37 cont./

535 That such barbaric customs prevailed, at least formerly,
532 is all the less to be doubted, since analogies can be shown in
562 other regions of the world. Today, however, the matter does
688 not seem to be handled as strictly. It is said that among the
178 neighboring Tapirapé all the women once saw the masks by chance, so there was nothing else to do but to pardon them all and give up the secret.

According to a statement of Pedro Manco, the custom has fallen into disuse among the Šambioa, too. Nevertheless, they did not permit us simply to take the masks found in the forest along with us, because women /38/ were presumed to be in the area. Rather our men had to put on special clothing for the purpose of bringing them to our camp.

Whether these customs have now become milder or not, in any case the respect the women have for the masks and their mysterious storage place is quite great.

535 After the end of the festival the masks are thrown away or
532 burned. In any case the feathers used for them are saved.

It is unlikely that we shall ever fully understand the real meaning of these dances. It is even doubtful whether the Indians themselves are fully aware of it. On the basis of analogies among better known peoples, a few conjectures about it can at least be made.

535 It is certain that the mask represents the spirit of the ani-
532 mal portrayed. The animals themselves are either game animals
776 or those that play a certain role in the national legend, such as
825 the stork, the alligator, and the Gymnotus. In North America
[191] there are bear dances, buffalo dances, etc., in order to persuade the bear and buffalo spirit to make these animals appear in larger numbers, whereas other dances refer to animals which are regarded as original ancestors or have other mythological significance. Similar notions may also be the basis for the masked dances of the Karaya. This would already be a step beyond the lowest form of animism, since the acceptance of a spirit representing all animals of a certain class presumes a certain amount

/38 cont./

535 of abstraction (1). Insofar as these animal spirits are supposed to
532
776
825

1. Im Thurn, op. cit., p. 370.

be influenced in a way favorable to human beings, the first trace of a cult appears in these dances.

535 If one asks the Indians themselves why they keep the secret
532 from the women, they answer without exception that the women
567 are not permitted to see everything, they talk too much.

The need to maintain the authority of the men over the women appears wherever such mysterious festivals are current. The same thing is known from Greek and Oriental antiquity. It is possible that in this effort, which may often appear to the civilized man as a brutal tyranny over the weaker sex, one of the most ancient "folk ideas" belonging to all mankind finds its expression.

The whizzing stick does not seem to be in use among the Karaya; at least nothing could be learned about it.

Legends and Folklore

126 In the last days of our stay in S. Maria old Pedro Manco
[115] dictated a number of legends, which, given the paucity of
[773] such materials from South America and despite their simplicity and poverty of ideas, as well as the in part garbled form, nevertheless command some interest. Unfortunately because of the lack of time, they could not be written down in the original language, and in particular working out an interlinear translation met insuperable difficulties.

773 Whether these traditions have remained completely free of
199 foreign influence can be decided with certainty only when someone is successful in drawing on other informants as a check. The chances, to be sure, are very slight. For the present nothing opposes the presumption that we are actually dealing here with genuine products of the Indian folk-spirit.

773 These myths differ neither in form nor in content from those otherwise from America. The very saga which is most

/79 cont./

535 Pl. X. Karaya. Ornaments and Equipment for Dancing.

1. Dance rattle with feather hangings and incised ornamentation (1/7).

2. Dance rattle without feather hangings (1/8).

[532] 3. Mask of the bird tirehän (see p. 74) with long buriti-fiber hangings in front and black feather decoration in back (1/9).

4. Dance rattles of Thevetia pods to be tied around the knee, with cross-sticks and down covering (partly removed) (1/8).

5. Simple dance-rattles to be tied on the arms or legs (1/8).

6. Dance belts made of strung Thevetia fruit capsules (1/7).

[534] 7. Trumpet made of gourd shell with an inserted taquara mouthpiece (1/9).

[236] [237] 8-10. Dance belts made of strong black or black-white cotton weave with feather hangings (9 and 10 also with Thevetia pods) (1/7).

532 Plate XI. Karaya. Clay and Wax Figures.

1. Simplest form without indication of the sex (1/2).

2. Simple female figure (1/2).

3. Female figure with wax hair, without facial modeling, but with the lower extremities. Probably gravidity is indicated (3/4).

4. Female figure with wax hair, face and upper body modeled. Legs as stumps (3/4).

5. Male figure in similar execution with zigzag painting indicated (3/4).

6. Large female figure with stump feet, but clearly modeled face. The apron is lacking. The neck is adorned with a chain of strung Ricinus kernels and snail shells (1/2).

[Plate XI. Karaya. (Cont'd)]

/80/

•532 7. Completely fashioned female figure clothed in an apron (1/2).

8. Completely fashioned female figure with carrying basket, without apron and painting (1/2).

9. Female figure made of black wax, with ear sticks. Best specimen of the collection (1/2).

10. Large male figure with wax hair, ear and neck ornaments. Cuffs indicated (1/2).

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Plate XII. Karaya. Fish-dance Masks (Headdresses).

1a. Piabussu fish, front view.
1b. Piabussu fish, side view (left)
} of the same specimen (1/8).

2a. Pacu fish, front view
2b. Pacu fish, side view (left)
} of specimens of different sizes (1/8).

Pl. XII a (Supplement). Color Sketch of Pl. XII.

The broad crossbands of blue European military cloth, which the originals have, are reproduced here in black crosshatching, since the original bands probably consisted of black cotton weaving, as in Fig. 22b /see p. 72/.

/The explanations for Plates XIII-XV, which refer to the untranslated portion of the source and are therefore not reproduced here, are omitted. The errata listed at the bottom of p. 80 have been corrected in the text./

Plate X

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[534]

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4: Ehrenreich--113 E-5 (1888) 1891 SP9 Caraja SP9

Plate XI

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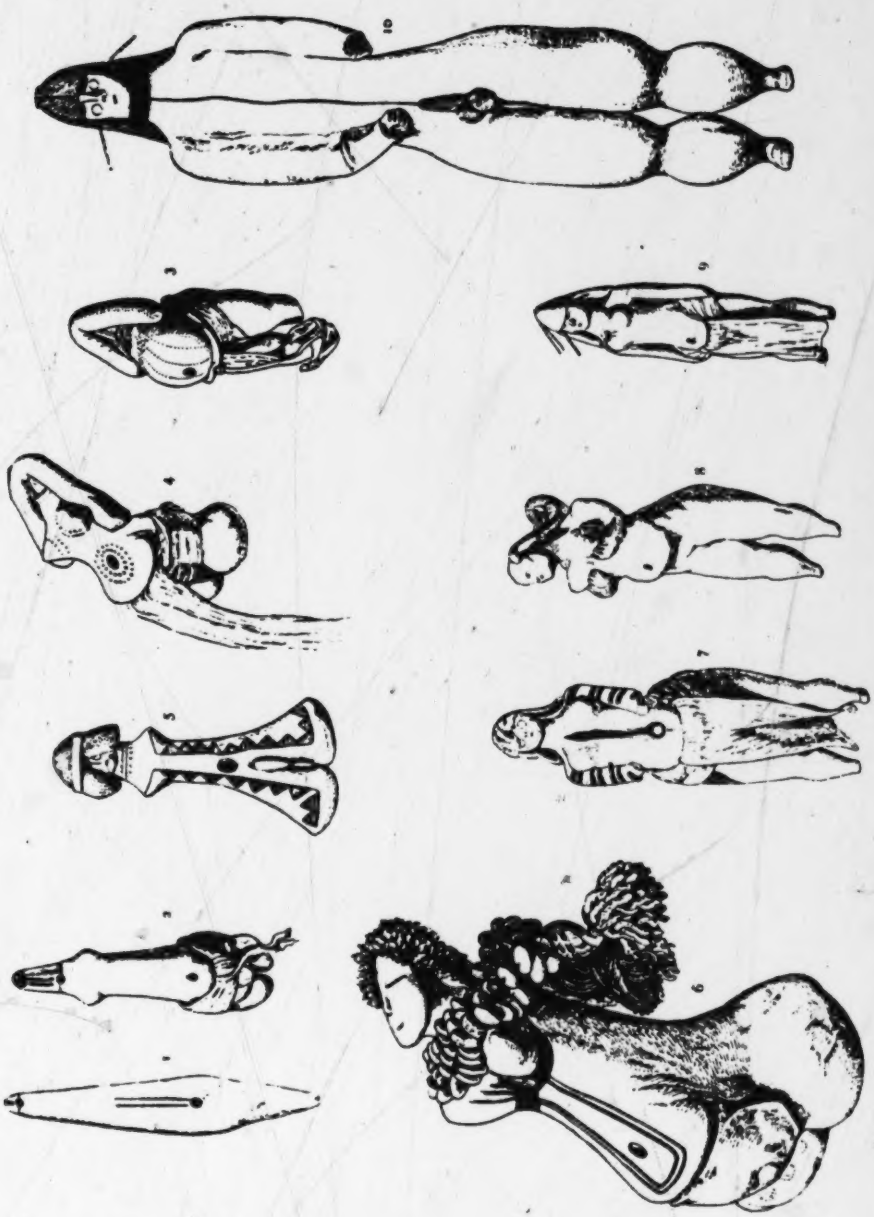

4: Ehrenreich--114 E-5 (1888) 1891 SP9 Caraja SP9

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Plate XII

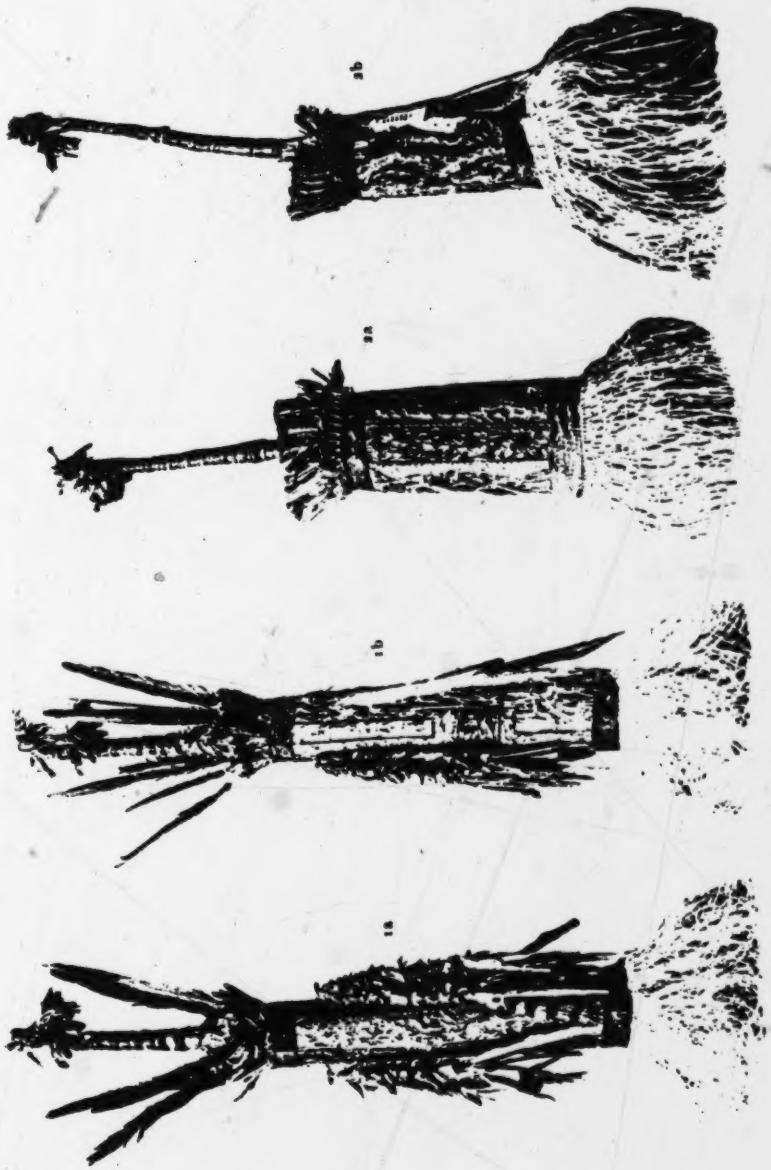

Plate XII (Supplement)

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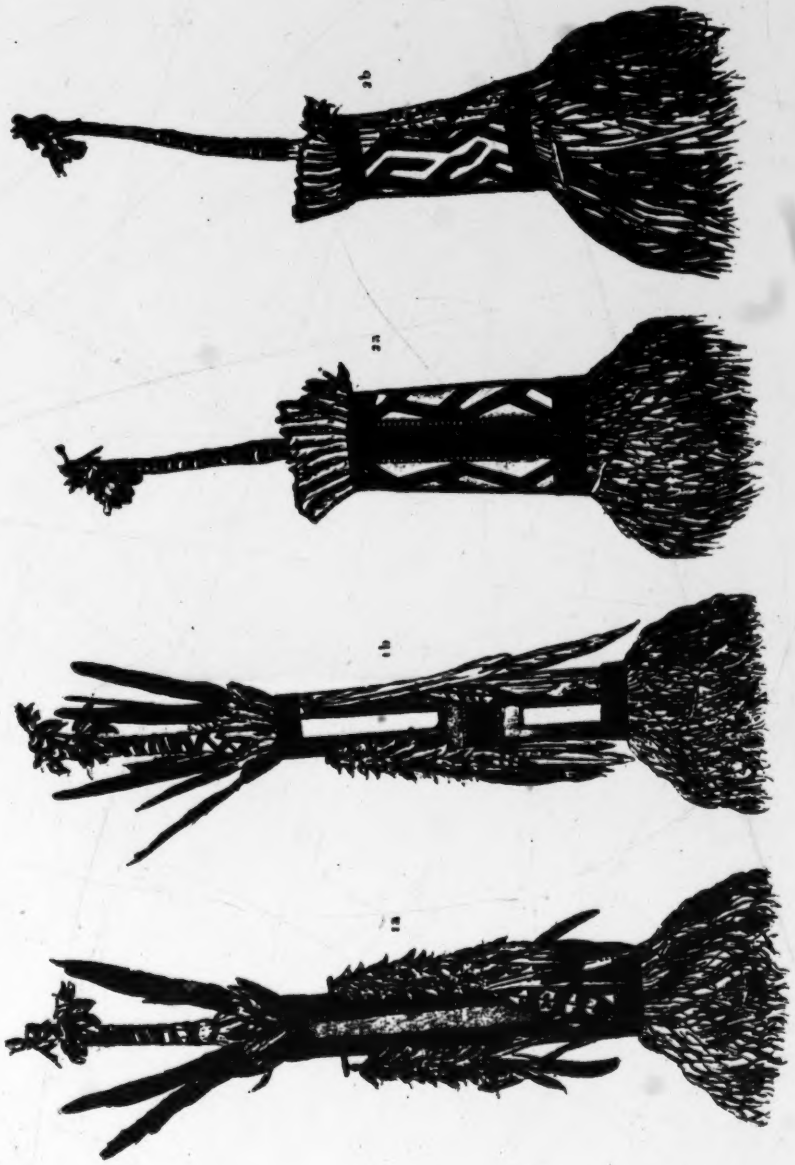

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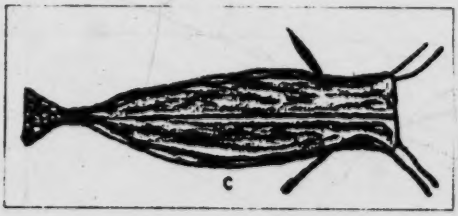
Plate 7



Karajá sketchbook drawings:

a. jacu, b. mutum, c. pirarara /Phractocephalus/,
d. dogfish, e. tokunerã, f. Adam, g. Dr. Krause.

/Pl. 7 faces p. 40./

Plate 8

•532

a. Woman from the front.

b. Woman from the side.

c. Man.

d. Boy with ear-rosettes.

e. Youth with lance.

f. Boy with feather ornament.

g. Girl with cord skirt.

Clay dolls of the Karajá.

/Pl. 8 precedes p. 41./

Plate 19

352

1a. Karajá chief's stool.

[532]

1b. Front view of the stool.

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3. Wax reproduction of the iooní mask.

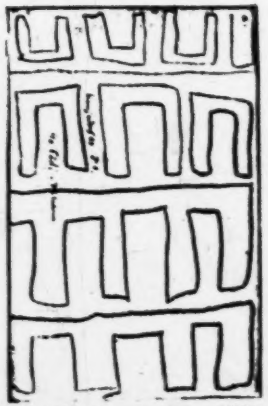
2. Wooden doll of the Karajá.

/Pl. 19 facing p. 20./

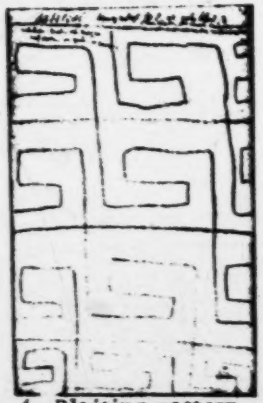
Plate 20

1. Koduni masked dancers.

2. Ladeñi masked dancers.



3. Plaiting pattern; dogfish.



4. Plaiting pattern.

/Pl. 20 precedes p. 81. /

Plate 22

532

a. Rider with gun.

b. Youth.

c. Maiden.

d. Jabiru.

e. Caracara.

f. Caracara.

g. Pig.

h. Tortoise.

i. Jaguar.

Wax figures: all except c (Šavajé) from the Karajá.

/Pl. 22 precedes p. 85./

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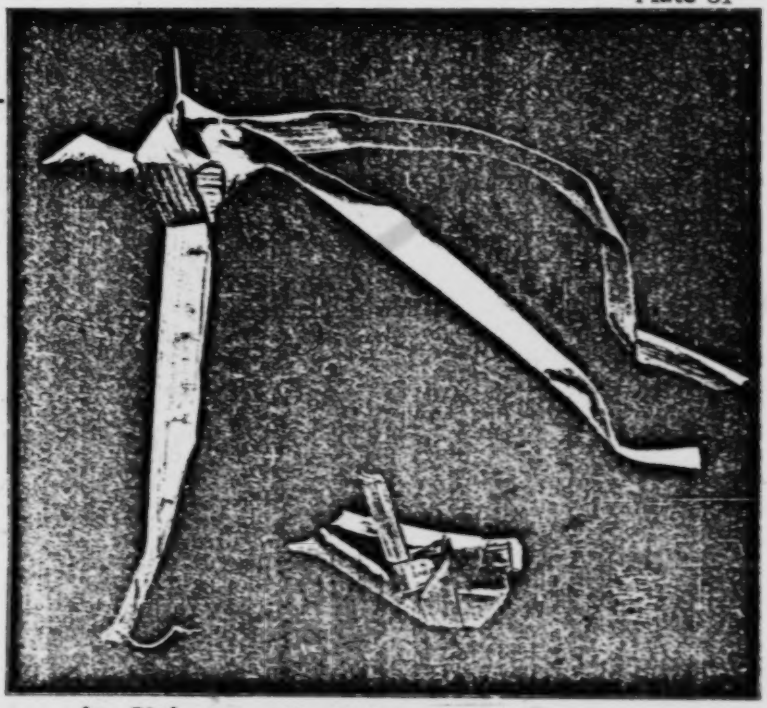
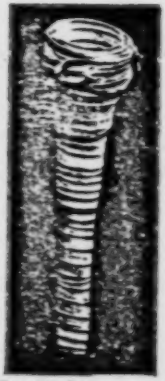


1a. Bird. 1b. Bird.



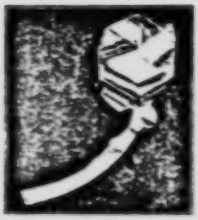
2. Tobacco pipe.

3

3. Honeycomb.

4

4. Puzzle figure.



5. Honeycomb.

6. Lip plug.

Leaf plaiting.

/Pl. 31 faces p. 140./

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Plate 34

Dance-mask reproductions: a) idjazõ mask; b) ladeni mask.

/Pl. 34 faces p. 160./

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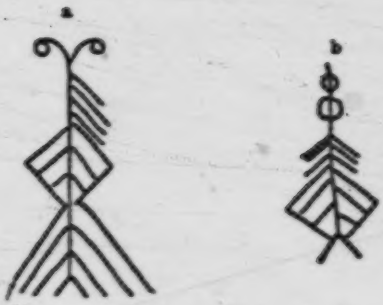
Plate 35

Dance-mask reproductions:
a) djalheni mask,
b) idjazõ mask,
c) ladeni mask.
b and c are made entirely of feathers.

[237]

/Pl. 35 faces p. 161./

● 532



Ill. 1. Sand drawings of dance masks.
a) idjazõ mask. b) ladenĩ mask.

/Ill. 1 appears on p. 57./

Ill. 2. iooni mask. From a sketch.

/Ill. 2 appears on p. 79./

5: Krause--26a E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9

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Ill. 8. Tree figure. Represents the female sex organs. Karajá.

/Ill. 8 appears on p. 135./

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[821]

/Ills. 13 and 14 appear on p. 153./

Ill. 13. Sketchbook drawing: moon with mountains (toad).

Ill. 14. Sketchbook drawing: a) Pleiades (parakeets); b) the jaguar leaps c), on the ostrich (α and β Centauri).

Ill. 15. Clay doll: caricature of the old grandmother. Karajá. /Ill. 15 appears on p. 155./

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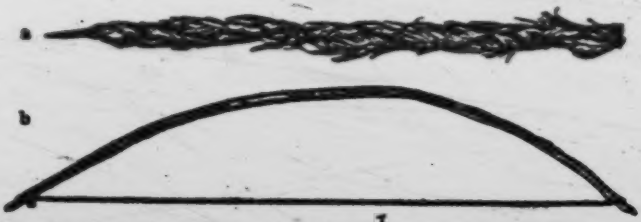

Ill. 16. Magic arrow with bow.[1] Karajá.
/Ill. 16 appears on p. 156./

[1] [See description of use on p. 283--Analyst]

/198 cont./

513 head high when sleeping. When they sleep in the open in the sand, they hollow out a pit for their bodies, put a mat over it and themselves on top of that, but in such a way that the head lies on the elevated edge of the pit; they cover themselves with the rest of the mat. It is very agreeable to sleep in this fashion, /199/ as I discovered for myself. In contrast to this, however, I also saw them lying flat on the level floor in the houses, without elevating their heads at all.

293 For fanning cool air and to drive away mosquitoes during the midday rest, plaited, patterned fans (kōlī; Pl. 21, Ill. 2) made of palm leaves are used.

352 532 [622] Seats are provided only for chiefs. They are the stool in animal form carved out of one piece of wood: the seat runs out on either side into a head that bears mother-of-pearl eyes with wax pupils; tassels of red-yellow parrot feathers are hung in the ear holes. The mother-of-pearl eyes are cut round on a stone and then glued on with wax. Finally, the entire stool is colored black with genipap coloring, which is applied with the palm of the hand. These stools are called kŏlĭšŭ, the feather tassels kōlĭšŭlăbĕdŏsĭ. The stools are said to represent an arara (Pl. 19, Ill. 1a and b).

516 Ordinarily the Indians sit on the mats with their legs crossed under them, hand on hip, or they squat on the ground (Pl. 12, Ill. 1; Pl. 38, Ill. 1).

353 Usually no arrangement for the storing of ornaments, articles of clothing, implements, and weapons is found in the huts. Small things are stuck into the roof /Ill. 23 appears here/ or hung on [411] the posts. Bows, arrows, and lances usually lie along the side walls [415] on the floor or lean in a corner. For the rest, baskets, gourd vessels, and pots hang, stand, and lie around everywhere in the house, some of them filled with other household equipment. In [352] only two houses, in Village 6 and in Schischá, did I see along the wall stands made out of two forked sticks on which bows and arrows were placed (Ill. 23). They, too, seem to go back to Šavajé influence, for the Šavajé in Schischá used such stands.

/222 cont./

*301 latter are sometimes cut off obliquely at the bottom (Ill. 58 b, c). Older bachelors wear plugs which do not differ essentially from those of the married men (Ill. 59 a, b). The married /Ill. 60 appears here/ men likewise wear wooden plugs which in the beginning still resemble the forms worn by the older youths, but later become ever shorter and thicker, and finally, in the case of older men (from about 50 on), consist of a button 1.8 centi-

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Ill. 61.
Painted wooden lip-plug.

Ill. 64.
Capybara teeth in storage form.

Ill. 62.
Stone lip-plug.

Ill. 63.
Ear covering with double feather wreath.

meters in diameter, which sometimes still has a little point in front at the lower edge (Ill. 60 a-d).

[531] On special occasions painted wooden lip-plugs are said to be worn by young people; I never saw such specimens, however. In the first village, the boy Mauẑĩ, on the day after he had told me this, had his plug painted "as it is done farther [532] downstream" (Ill. 61). Among the wax reproductions of dance figures which I was able to acquire among the Karajá, there is the ĩnãũĩnĩ mask. This has a strip hanging down from the chin,

/224 cont./

*301 very expensive, and they are all the more expensive the smaller
435 they are. They are used as money for buying boats; one buys
[436] a boat for two such teeth. They are stored in the packing shown in Illustration 64: two long and two short teeth are tied together at the lower part with cotton threads and partly coated with wax. /Pl. 45 appears here./

*301 /225/ I obtained the gourd disk in Ill. 65 under the name of ăndŏhŏmāli. It is covered with four concentric wax rings, some of the interspaces of which are painted red; in the center there are three holes. Allegedly this is supposed to be a disk of an ear rosette, but I did not see such large disks elsewhere.
[532] On the dance masks, however, there are large ear rosettes; perhaps it is the disk of such a mask rosette.

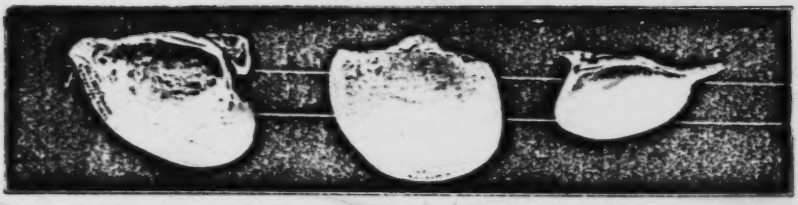
The mature young people of both sexes wear a slightly different ear ornament, but only occasionally, probably more as a festive ornament. It is called dŏhŏlüä (= dŏhŏ-eye; the mother-of-pearl disk in the center was also called this). A feather rosette is put on the front of a taquara stick by means of a cotton wrapping, and the middle of it is covered with a mother-of-pearl disk with a wax button in the center (1) (Ill. 66 a, b). /Ills. 65-67 appear here./

1. Ehrenreich brought back a few specimens with a wax cross on the disk. I never saw
[184] such ear rosettes. Königswald (Globus, Vol. 94, p. 219) states that these only come from the Šambioá, whereas those of the Karajá show only the wax button. My findings would agree with this. See also the previous footnote /see p. 117/ and compare in this connection the Šavajé /see pp. 315-316/.

[Text continues on p. 120]

Plate 45

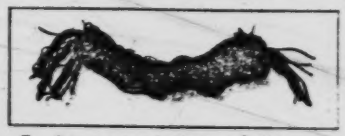
*301
[237]



1. Shells for lip plugs: a) triangular, b) mother-of-pearl, c) two-pointed.

2. Tuft feather-tassel.

4. Calf band (a) and ankle band (b) of a girl.



5. Leg wrapping of the smallest children.

3. Arm cuff of a child.

• [532]
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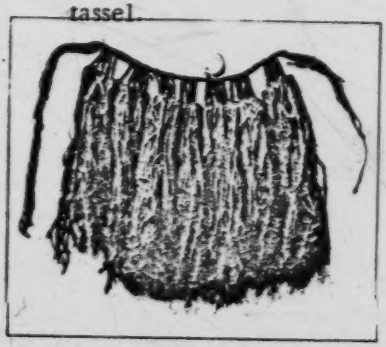
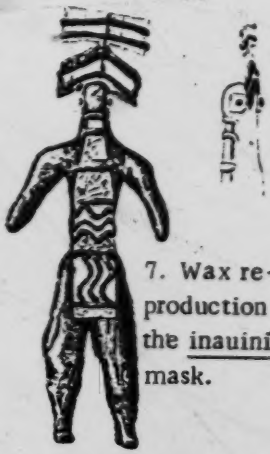


6. Calf band with tasseled string-hangings.



7. Wax reproduction of the inauiní mask.

/277 cont./

501 [502] The boat is pushed over shallow places; to get over exposed sandbanks extending crosswise, wooden rollers are laid down on which the boat is rolled across (Ill. 9).

There are no anchors for securing the boat; stones with plaiting around them serve only as anchors for the bottom tackle for turtles. The boats are easily pulled up on the bank, and the boat pole is stuck into the sand through the loop; this is the whole mooring.

[415] Half-gourds are used to scoop out the water that enters.

[532] I saw decorated boats only in Village No. 20. Here, on the inner wall of a boat, there were light-colored human figures; [484] another boat had 36 notches on the edge, which were said to be [211] the number of nights required for a journey to the Šambioá.

484 Such trips lasting for weeks are usually undertaken in a large company; often the entire village sets out in a great number of boats packed high. By themselves the Indians only make [242] journeys of one or two days. By way of /278/ provisions they take only a little with them: manioc, maize, and the cooking pot; the fish are caught on the way twice a day. Rower and helmsman change places daily on longer journeys, especially if only two men are traveling in the boat.

502 132 Shipwrecks sometimes occur, especially while crossing the river in a storm. Such accidents, in which Indians lost their lives and of which several examples were recounted to me, are easily explainable in view of the high waves which storms create on the river and the narrow, low boats of the Indians. In fact, I myself with my boats (dugouts with one or two side planks set on them) was often forced to seek refuge from wind and waves for hours on high banks or on sandbanks.

The Indians endure bad weather on the journey rather simply. They quickly build themselves small sheltering walls out of poles and prepared palm leaves, which they always carry with them on longer journeys, or they pull the boat on land, turn it upside down, and lie down under it wrapped in their coverings beside a fire which they light in the center. They spend the worst nights of storm and rain in this manner.

/331 cont./

765 loud, high voice in a monotonous intonation; at the same time rattle gourds are swung. It seems that laments take place as soon as anything reminds them of the deceased. In any case definite times of the day for these could not be determined. The people, however, are sincerely grieved; one can see their sorrow in their faces, at least at first. The father allegedly mourns a child only one day, the mother four days. This statement is certainly not true, for in Schischá I heard lamentations for a child who was said to have died three weeks before. The husband mourns his wife only a short time; on the other hand, the wife her husband for a year. After this time has elapsed, the widow is painted with urucú and hung with ornaments at the command of the chief. After this she mourns one more day, and with this the period of mourning is at an end.

15. Religion, Masks, Magic, Medicine.

114 Concerning the religious views of the Karajá I was able to
771 discover but little. The researcher does not come across anything that could suggest any belief in spirits or a cult, with the exception of the masked dances.

114 Unfortunately, I saw very few such dances, since I traveled
535 in the Karajá region from June to October, whereas the time of
796 the dancing seems to be precisely from November to April. Thus, I am unable to report anything about the meaning of these dances; all my efforts to find out anything about this from the people by questions failed because of the meager possibility of mutual
[532] understanding or the deliberate withholding of information. I assume, however, that these dances, which coincide with the time of ripening of certain field produce and at which masks representing animals are used, are in part harvest festival dances, but in part originate from ideas out of which the so-called magic by analogy developed later on. More cannot be said about this; all
532 else would be useless speculation. Some of the masks are not

/331 cont./

532 dance masks, but masks of beggars who travel around on certain occasions and beg for food; others seem to be connected with the /332/ cult of the dead. In any case, these are still quite primi-
561 tive forms; a strict organization of the young people seems to be entirely lacking; only the age group of the unmarried men and the men's house (mask house) have developed (1). As a

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1. Dr. Walter Lehmann-München, in a discussion of my essay on masks in the Zentralblatt für Anthropologie, XVI, 1911, p. 100, suspects that the dance masks, like those in Central America, could in part be connected with the cult of the dead, and that they could be associated with totemistic ideas in combination with puberty rites. The connection with the cult of the dead seems actually to exist for the ĭōōnĭ mask, but, unfortunately, I was able to obtain too little information about this (see Part I, p. 78 /untranslated/) to be able to say anything about it with certainty. As for the second point, I suspected totemism among the Karajá Indians from the very beginning, but, in spite of all efforts, I could not discover anything of this nature. And it is the same with puberty rites. I therefore believe that I am right if I abstain from such combinations. It must one day be the task of a researcher who visits the Karajá during the rainy (dance) season to devote his attention to this problem.

As a

535 result, priests are, as yet, entirely lacking; everyone may still
796 take part equally in all the dances. The arrang~~ement is the duty~~
[793] of the chief. Everything concerning the masks is kept secret from the women. For more detail on the mask arrangements, see
[113] my article, "Tanzmaskennachbildungen vom mittleren Araguaya (Zentralbrasilien) /Copies of Dance Masks from the Middle

/332 cont. /
535 Araguaia (Central Brazil)/" (2).
796
[113]

2. Jahrbuch des städtischen Museums für Völkerkunde zu Leipzig, Vol. 3, Leipzig, 1910, pp. 97-122.

346 I should like only to make a few remarks here about the
532 mask huts. Castelnau mentions and illustrates (Vue et scènes, Paris, 1853, Plate 8 and text page 7) in the first Sambioá village an almost semicircular, vertical palm-leaf wall, the convex side of which is turned toward the village. In the open space stand about ten dance masks. Beside this there is a framework of poles which consists of several oblique poles stuck in a circle, from the center of which projects a long pole bearing a bunch of leaves at the end. These two structures are shown somewhat larger on page 9. In front of the palm-leaf wall are two dancers who have placed the masks on their heads. The way they are portrayed (the absence of the leaf-aprons and the way they are leaping about) proves that Castelnau was not present at the dances. Ehrenreich also reports on such semicircular compartments for masks, and, to be sure, also among the Karajá ("Beiträge," p. 34). I never saw such compartments, but only the house-like mask huts described by me.

775 About the world beyond, the Karajá were unable to give me any information. Allegedly the deceased go to the heavens.

787 Dreams, which are said to be very frequent, are regarded as reality. For example: "If someone dreams that a relative of his has died, he gets into his boat and rides there, in order to see whether it is true." (Kurisĭ.)

789 Magic (lŏbūnĭ) of all kinds is very widespread; even enlightened Karajá still firmly believe in its effect. It is believed that through /333/ manipulations natural events (rain) can be influenced or that other people can be harmed through magic.

Rain magic is very common; everyone can use it, everyone has the apparatus necessary for it. I obtained several of these:

/367 cont./

535 but turned toward each other, and sang a verse with gourd-rattle accompaniment. They then danced forward together toward the village and back again. This was repeated several times. The 533 dance ended with lively bows at the village. At night the young men sat in front of the mask hut and sang dance songs with the [184] rattle accompaniment. These songs, too, were very similar to those of the Karajá. The Šavajé did not permit photographing 532 535 the masks on the next day, so I was obliged to resort to sketching. 126 The masks were cylinder masks with a feather-mosaic covering. Black-dyed leaf-aprons for hips and shoulders served as body coverings.

In Schischá I acquired copies of masks, and, to be sure, of the ĭdjālhēnĭ mask, the ăm̆bŭšăwādĭă mask, and the lăděnĭ mask. Of these, ĭdjālhēnĭ seems to be a typical Šavajé mask, for the songs of this mask which I was able to record phonographically among the Karajá were always designated by the latter as Šavajé [533] songs. Of other Šavajé songs I obtained phonographically děsóĭ děsóĭ, a song that they sing after slaying a jaguar.

For further data on the masks of the Šavajé, see my article, [113] "Tanzmaskennachbildungen vom mittleren Araguaya /Dance Mask Reproductions from the Middle Araguaia/," Jahrbuch des Museums für Völkerkunde zu Leipzig, Volume 3, Leipzig, 1910.

197 Their language, according to my data, seems to be identical with that of the Karajá. It does contain some completely different words; see tapir, gavião, maize, red and black neck tassels, lower-arm ornament of two pads with fringe hangings, calf ornament with tassels, leaf pipe; caracara is divergent.

A comparison shows that the south horde of the Karajá is linguistically somewhat closer to the Šavajé than the north horde, undoubtedly a result of the migrations of the Šavajé to the south horde. /Section III, "Die Kayapó (The Cayapo)," pp. 368-402, with Plates 62-68 and Ills. 209-261, is omitted in the translation./

Brazil.

The patterns seem to be chosen at random, nevertheless
532 the artificers have clear ideas of what they wish to make. These designs are an attempt to represent the forms of natural objects about them. For example, the colored markings on the canoe, represent fish; so also the feather mosaic work. The wasp, or hornets' nest is represented in the decoration of combs; and figures of bats with outstretched wings, and snakes, are also made. The tribes of the Xingú river and some others make drawings of men and animals in the sand.

It is difficult for a Karayá to sketch anything with a lead-
[322] pencil. They do very little wood-carving. The most important work of art among them is the fashioning of human forms
[439] with wax or clay. Figures, apparently children's dolls, are offered in trade to travelers in large numbers. The execution of this work shows that they have ideas of form, and that they observe nature. Their best pieces are as well made as those of the old American civilization. The lower extremities of the human form, though, are made too large and out of proportion with the rest of the body. But the face is natural with no trace of hideousness.

534 About the only instrument of *music* possessed by the Karayá, is a sort of trumpet, called by the civilized Brazilians a *buzzina*. It is, in truth, a kind of combination of the flute and drum. The flute part is a section of a bamboo or taquara cane, eighteen inches in length, with the mouth-piece, of course, in the side. To the outer end of this base flute is glued, with wax, the neck of a large, bottle-shaped gourd-shell, six inches in diameter, in the big end of which a large opening is made. Of course, a tune cannot be played on this uncouth instrument, for but one note can be produced with it. But these nature folk seem well pleased with this one roaring, booming note, for, like all savages, their musical tastes appear quite satisfied with hideous, discordant sounds and charivari noises.

000 As previously mentioned, the primitive peoples of South America, and indeed, of every other part of the world, have been degraded both morally and socially wherever they have come under the influence of the civilized races, excepting

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

535 171 North American races is well known; but thus far, surprisingly little has been learned of similar customs that prevail among South American tribes. Only the mask dances of the Tequna, the Zuñi and the Uaupé races are mentioned casually in literature. The temples and idols alluded to by the old Jesuit missionaries are often nothing but medicine huts, or flute players' houses where are kept the mysterious mask costumes. These mask dances are of peculiar interest because of their striking similarity to those of the Melanesians as regards the forms of the mask and other customs of the dance.

535 532 The Dance Masks represent animals only; but the representation of animal forms is not carried so far among the Karayá as it is in the case of the masks of the North American aborigines and the Tequna, as the particular animal sought to be represented is indicated only by some of its most striking characteristics and not by the form of the mask outfit; or certain parts of the paraphernalia may suggest what animal is being represented.

The masquerade outfits are used singly or in pairs, and are divided, according to their forms, into three classes. The first, are suits and head gears of simple or plain braided palm-leaves. The second class is a cylindrical dance hood which looks like a sheaf of wild hay inverted over the head, which it completely obscures, while the upper part of the sheaf tapers to a point about two feet above the head, and is overlaid with beautiful feather mosiacs, patterned to suggest the creatures the primitive masqueraders desire to represent, such as certain fish or birds. The third class does not bear any representations or emblems of animals. To this class belongs what is called the black-bird mask, though this is a human face, made from a large calabash shell. The lower part is black and the upper is red, while the mouth is furnished with wax lips and wooden teeth. Between the small eye-holes, is a nose of wax placed unnaturally high, and a hanger of black and brown feathers falls down behind; while long, slender palm-leaves, hung from a belt, or girdle, form a skirt which covers the body of the masquerader. But these three classes

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

But these three classes
of masks do not include all the modifications used by the tribe, 535 532
for each village has its own particular kind, and many medicine [184]
huts are crammed with the most diverse types.

If a hunting or fishing expedition has been successful, and 527
there is an abundance of food on hand, the chief of the village 535
may determine to hold a masquerade festival, which shall continue as long as provisions hold out; whereupon the entire village hums with activity for many days preparing for the celebration. The women busy themselves making ready meat and drink, employing all their culinary skill; while the men, if not hunting and fishing, are occupied with the preparation of the dance costumes. One dance is distinguished from another by being performed exclusively by some one person or [533] family, and handed down from father to son; and each one is executed to the accompaniment of songs which are apparently in an antiquated form of speech, unintelligible to the rest of the people. Each animal represented is indicated by the constant repetition in the songs of the peculiar note or sound characteristic of that animal. For example, the paca cries, "Heyon hey! Heyon hey!" The alligator, "Huu! Huu!" and another beast, "Too koo! Too koo! Too-hoo-oo-oo-oo!"

The women and children are merely spectators at these masquerades, and are never permitted, under any circumstances, to see the masquerade outfit, save when an individual is regaled in it, for they must be kept in the belief that the creatures represented, or rather, their shades, are really materialized before them, and that the garb and the being inside of it are one and inseparable, for of course the outfit always covers the entire body of the dancer. Occasionally, however, the old women are let into the secret. This indicates [000] that the secret societies existing everywhere among civilized peoples, admitting men only to their membership and excluding women forever, and who take the most absurd and monstrous oaths to guard their childish secrets from other men, and from their own wives, sisters and mothers, are of savage origin in principle.

The carnival begins with a procession of the masqueraders

9:Gow-Smith T-5 (no date) 1925
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Co 411 [531]

and have similar woven cane-covered handles, but are for more specialized use. Instead of a blunt round end, the club has a flat triangular wooden blade pointed at the end with sharp sides and stained with urucú. It is used, in the manner of a great ax, for decapitation.

C 524 [501]

Toy canoes (fig. 100), with which the Caraja youngsters play, are models in miniature of those their elders use, which are made from hollowed or

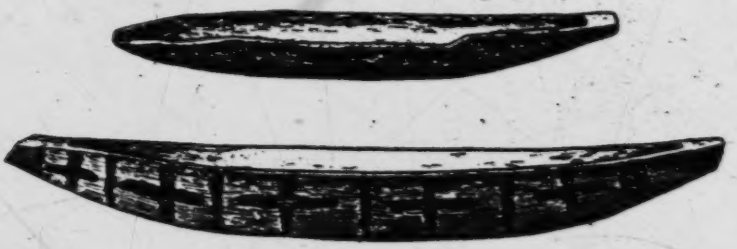

FIG. 100.—Toy canoes of the Caraja. (Length, 19 in. and 26 in.)

C [531] [38]

burnt-out logs. They are decorated with designs colored with a black stain from the genepapa fruit and the urucú. Paddles (fig. 98) are of regulation length, but some have unusually wide blades often decorated in red and black designs.

C 532

Most curious of the collection are the little clay dolls (fig. 101), which may have some connection with magic or with religious observances. They vary in size from two to twelve

C [171]

inches, and are similar in workmanship and even

9:Gow-Smith T-5 (no date) 1925
SP9 Caraja SP9
Cayapo

●532 171 in spirit to little clay images from excavations in Crete and Asia Minor. They are male and 532 female figures, the latter made with exaggerated hips and lower limbs. Though the little faces

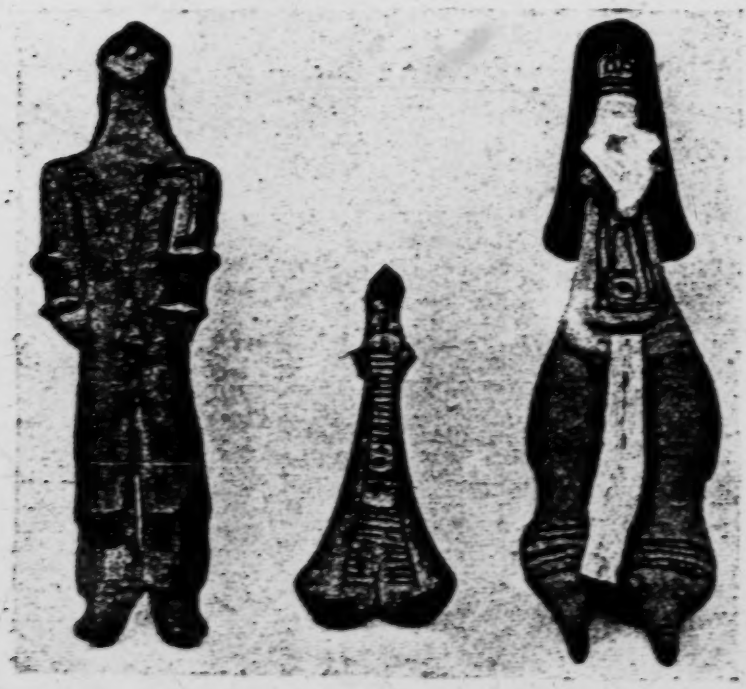

FIG. 101.—Caraja images

of the figures are crudely modeled, the head-dress and the manner of wearing the hair are faith- [171] fully reproduced. In some instances the hair-dressing is identical in style with that of the little images found in the Old World.

9:Gow-Smith T-5 (no date) 1925
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images found in the Old World. Though the 532 ● little figures are usually nude, occasionally one is adorned with bits of red-colored home-made [283] cotton twine.

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1:Lipkind E-5 (1937) 1948 SP9 Caraja SP9

small clay dolls (fig. 23), delicately carved clubs, body paint designs, and a little painting and incising of pottery.

FIGURE 24.—*Carajá* masks. (Redrawn from Ehrenreich, 1891 b, figs. 18, 22.)

Music and dances.—The major art of the *Carajá* is music. A large number of elaborate dances with complex songs, each dance having a separate song style, make up the chief body of the music. These are all religious. In addition, there are some secular dances, and songs are interspersed in the tales. Musical instruments are very few, there being only a rattle accompanying the singers and a small flute which is used as a toy.

/29 cont./

833 2. (cont.)
sursum attrahit, manus natibus ejus supponens. /The Karaya have intercourse with women in the fashion of the native Australians. The man sits on the ground, feet extended, and takes the woman, lying arched backwards above him, his hands supporting her buttocks. / (Cf. Miclucho Maclay, Verhandl. d. berl. Ges. f. Anthr., 1880, p. 87.)

844 Birth. For this the woman kneels on her heels, clasping a post with her hands, while the husband grasps her from behind with strong pressure around her body. Once the child is born, the afterbirth is awaited patiently; then the navel cord is compressed and cut off about three inches from the body with a sharp taquara splint. The blood contained in it is carefully pressed [752] out, "in order to prevent tetanus /Starrkrampf/," and hot ashes and powder from pulverized piranha teeth are sprinkled on the surface of the wound as a styptic. Since no ligature is applied, it is not rare that the child bleeds to death. The newborn is daubed with urucú red, wrapped tightly in a broad strip of jangada 846 bast, and laid in a "rede", tied by strings (see p. 19). For three days both spouses stay on a strict diet. In order to make the uterus contract, the wife lies down on her back and has her abdomen pressed together for a couple of hours by her husband, who sits next to her, or other persons who relieve him. Some 854 months after birth the child receives the above-mentioned cotton bands.

852 At the age of six to seven years the girls' ear-lobes are 304 pierced; for boys, the lower lip as well. The whole community gathers for this. The child sits on a stool decorated with arara feathers in the middle of a large circle. One of the relatives pierces his ears with spines from the tucuma palm, the lower lip with a sharpened monkey-bone. During this the men stand around [533] and sing a song with the closing verse: idžohã hã haṅ, hã haṅ idžiohã, i.e., "now it has happened!"

/30 cont./

526 On beautiful moonlit nights the young people practice wrestling on the praias. The hold is the same as the one customary among us. It is principally a matter of bringing down the opponent by tripping him, at which even apparently weak individuals develop an astounding agility.

535 Some of the dances have already been described by Castelnau.
[114] I myself had the opportunity in the third Šambioa village to attend a war dance. Eight feather-adorned men armed with spears, clubs, and bows took part under the leadership of a head-dancer, whom they surrounded in a semicircle. The dancers moved only a little from their places, at most a few steps forward and back. Rapid hopping on one leg and artistically correct, rhythmic swinging of the weapons provided the main action. Everything was carried out with the greatest precision.
[177] This dance is said to have been borrowed from the Kayapo.

764
[168]

[524] Fig. 15. Top (1/4).

Obsequies and burial. At the death of a Karaya all the objects that he used daily, weapons, ornaments, etc., are burned amidst loud lamentations of the relatives; the rest is divided among those who bury him. The mourners wound themselves with cuts and shear their hair.

764
535

Next follows the dance of the dead around the corpse (1), which is colored

[763] 1. Not infrequently the ceremonies begin before death has actually occurred.

with urucú and, wrapped in mats, is hung up on a horizontal pole.

Under the direction of two leading singers, who are relieved from time to time, the row goes around in a circle, whereby the participants hold their fingers pushed over one another. The
[533] song is a kind of dialogue. The chorus asks the deceased where he is and how he is; one of the leading singers answers for him.

/32 cont./

765 If the survivors so desire, the bones are later dug up again and deposited in separate shallow clay containers near the grave.

Memories of the dead do not fade quickly. Long after the death of a family member, the devotion of his relatives is expressed in violent outbreaks of pain when a reminder of the deceased is evoked by some event. If, while examining storage baskets in the houses, we came across objects from the estate of departed spouses or children, the women broke out in loud lamentation, which stopped only when the object concerned was hidden again.

765 [464] In the last Šambioa village I witnessed a scene of mourning as unique as it was touching, when the news arrived that a Karaya had died in Pará, where he had gone on a boat as a hired rower. His mother and wife paced up and down on the bank for two days, while solemnly mourning loudly in song, holding ornamental objects of the lamented in their hands and continually waving them downstream where he had disappeared.

[533] The mourning songs were continued, accompanied by other women, far into the night.

Sicknesses and Witch Doctors

164 On the whole the Karaya have been spared from the worst scourges of primitive peoples, smallpox and syphilis, just as little are they subject to the leprosy and goiter so widespread in the population of Goyaz. On the other hand tuberculosis, the infectiousness of which is well known to the Indians, is steadily increasing among the Karayahi. Ahi catarrho naõ tem? Is there no catarrh, too? is always the first question which they ask the foreign visitor before they allow him to enter their huts. Malaria fevers occur in their more intensive form also only in the Karayahi region, particularly in the lowlands between São José and the mouth of the Rio das Mortes.

757 Medicines are apparently used by the savage tribes of South America to a much lesser degree than one generally assumes.

/36 cont./

535 On both, the back side is decorated with a double row of
532 short green and blue parrot feathers placed in the long direction.
825 3. The mask of a black bird (tirehäñ) has no animal emblem. It is a human face made of a large gourd, the lower third painted black, the rest red. The mouth is equipped with wax lips and wooden teeth. The nose of black wax is located between the narrow eye slits at an unnatural height. A hanging of black and /37/ brown feathers falls from the back, while at the front and on the sides long strips of buriti bast cover the body of the wearer (Pl. X /see p. 112/, 3).

The number of masks is in no way exhausted with these.
[184] Each village has its special ones and many a "medicine hut" was actually crammed full of the different types.

Besides those mentioned the following were noted as particularly common among the Karayahi:

The fish: pintado (Pimelodus sorubim), trem-trem (Gymnotus electricus), chicote, piau, and pirarucú (Sudis gigas); the birds: tuyuyu (Mycteria jabiru), japuira (Cacicus sp.) mutum (Crax), jacu (Penelope); finally deer and crabs.

521 Masked festivals. If there is much food on hand after pro-
535 ductive hunting and fishing expeditions, the chief decides to hold a dance festival, which continues as long as the provisions last. The preparations begin several days before the date set. The women attend to the food and drink, the men set to work at making the dance costumes, unless they are still occupied with hunting.
[533] Each dance is known only to certain persons. The songs sung in
[196] connection with them, which are handed down from father to son, are allegedly performed in an ancient language incomprehensible to the masses.

[825] Each animal represented has its characteristic sound, which
[533] is repeated again and again in the songs. Thus, the pacu cries: heiyoñ he, heiyoñ he, the alligator hu — hu — hu.

[564] The women and children watch the dance, to be sure, but
[532] may not look at the masks by themselves, without their wearers,
[196] since they are made to believe that the "animal spirits" concerned are really present before them. Only the oldest women are sometimes told the secret.

/248 cont./

223 until the uppermost one, finally, closed the opening of the little pyramid. Strings ran down along the edges, were fastened to the lowest rods, and crossed at the top on the surface; they barely held the whole construction together. The type of release is clearly shown in the sketch, Ill. 84.

[198] To lure birds and game the Indians use specific calls which differ according to the particular species of animal, as they know how to imitate animal sounds masterfully.

Birds must be plucked on the spot; they may not be brought to the village unplucked ("otherwise the chief will be angry"). While plucking, the fingertips are dipped in wood ashes.

223 254 [538] It is said that there are no magic devices for making the hunt productive; on the other hand, the Indians are fond of telling one another hunting stories, and, in doing so, they like to exaggerate and tell improbable things.

Ill. 84.
Construction of the bird trap.

226 362 Fishing supplies by far the largest portion of the meat food; the subsistence of the Indians is to a large extent based on it.

136 The Araguaya is extremely rich in fish (kãdõlã); still richer, however, are the tributaries, especially the Rio Tapirapé and the many lakes that accompany these rivers on either side.

In the deep water of the lakes and on the high, steep banks, especially where fallen trees lie in the water, live the pirarucú (b'dõlẽkẽ; Sudis gigas), three to four meters long, and the pirarara (dõlẽ; Phractocephalus discolor), which is equipped with strong bone armor and is up to two meters long. Upon being [533] [825] pulled out of the water, it emits air with strange sounds; the humorous Indian likes to imitate these sounds in his songs. Furthermore, the dogfish (lãdã), with its powerful teeth, lives here, and above all the worst predatory fish, the piranha. Various

/249 cont./

227 The fishing implements are the following:

The fishing rod was originally unknown to the Indians.
[439] For the last few decades iron hooks (wãsi) have been bartered for in order to catch the piranha; one comes across them relatively rarely, however, because many are lost during the fishing, and an opportunity for barter only rarely presents itself (the fishing line is called wãsiŝã, the rod wãsidãõ, and the bait wãsidõ). On the other hand, the Indians seem to have already known harpoons (wõhũnã). They were used to catch pirarucú. Points and barbs consisted of red-deer bone; they were attached with resin. I no longer saw such implements as described; the present harpoons all had iron points.

The chief implements are bow and arrow, which, with the clear water, are handled with great skill and success. The fishing arrows (ũõhũ) bear on the shaft a wooden point, on the front end of which a small point made of monkey bone (ũhĩdõ or dũrõlẽnĩdĩ) is fastened by a thread lashing and resin, and the rear end of which projects laterally out of the lashing and thus forms a barb (Ill. 115). The arrows have an average length of 140-170 centimeters, the bows (wãsĩlũhãtẽ) one of approximately 200 centimeters (Ills. 110, 111).

226 Twice a day, forenoon and afternoon, the husbands and sons
[533] go out to fish and usually return with rich booty. On the way home they sing the song "that is sung every day." At specific spots the names of the fish caught are inserted, so that one may easily tell what kind of booty the fisherman is bringing back.

/250/ Besides this individual fishing, mass fishing is also
226 carried on. Nets knotted out of cotton string or bast are used
227 for this. Their measurements vary considerably, according to the purpose they serve. The net plaited out of embira (lõdẽ) shown in Ill. 3 on Plate 54 is ten centimeters wide and 10.35 meters long. Ill. 85 shows the knot-formation of a net for catching pirarucú (dãõlãlũ); it has a mesh extension of 25 centimeters with a thread strength of half a centimeter. The largest net that I saw lay on a sandbank on the Tapirapé near a lake inlet; it was six meters wide and 160 meters (!) long.

/276 cont./

482 Smaller loads are carried in containers on a hand-strap, for
415 example, in carrying sacks (mãsĭ; Pl. 57, Ills. 5 and 6), carrying bags (lōlŭ; Pl. 57, Ill. 4), two-piece baskets (wrãbãhĭ; Pl. 57, Ills. 16 and 17), small pouches (Pl. 55, Ill. 6 a-c), or in small gourd vessels, the perforated edges of which hold the carrying-bands or which are either plaited round with bast (dãlīlĭkŭ) or are set into a net of black cotton plaiting (wãlãbŭkŭ; Pl. 56, Ill. 4 a-c).

854 Children ride on the hip and are held there with the hand (Pl. 12, Ill. 4; Pl. 37, Ill. 2; Pl. 42, Ills. 2, 3).

50 Their principal journeys take place by water in a boat. The
[484] boat (āwŭ), of which there is one or more in each family, consists of a dugout six to ten meters long and 40-60 meters wide. The two ends are greatly elongated and slope up from below, so that getting on and off the sandbanks is easily accomplished (Pl. 56, Ill. 5). The boats have no seats; one squats or sits on the narrow bottom. Sometimes cross-rods are put in, upon which the cargo is placed to protect it from the bilge water. In one place
[372] in the boat there is often a layer of loam upon which lies the smoldering wood for transporting fire.

The boats are propelled with oars and poles; both are used in journeys upstream and downstream, the poles, of course, only in shallow water. The oars (nãlĭhĭ) are manipulated freely as paddles, and, indeed, the rowers kneel or sit in the boat, their
[502] faces in the direction of travel. If the boat is propelled by one man, he sits at the rear end and steers at the same time; with a crew of two men, one sits at the front end and one at the rear; several rowers distribute themselves over the entire boat. In the latter case, the rowing rhythm is entirely spontaneous, since the
[533] ones in the rear must adjust to the man in front. The song which young people like to take up while rowing has nothing to do with the rhythmical rowing. There are various ways of working the oars: short strokes with pauses after each stroke; long, evenly spaced strokes; slow strokes with a lifting of the blade at the end, so that the water falls off the blade in a broad surge, are regarded
[147] as a particularly elegant manner of rowing. The Indians have great endurance; they row for many hours without interruption.

/315 cont./

535 I did not observe any dances, with the exception of mask-dances, which seem to be of a religious nature. Ehrenreich and Castelnau report on such among the Šambioá.

526 Shooting as a sport was not observed. I am unable to say whether shooting matches occur. Sometimes, for practice, they are said to toss green gourds into the air and shoot at them with arrows. Shooting from a position on the back, whereby they hold the bow with the feet, is a sport in which they occasionally indulge, but not too frequently, on account of the great pain which the recoil of the bowstring causes on the feet. I myself did not see it.

I never saw or heard anything about club-throwing about which Königswald reports.

12. Music.

534 The Karajá are very poor in musical instruments. They have only signal trumpets, small whistles, and turtle scrapers, rattles serve as the accompanying instrument for songs. That is [533] all. This lack seems very strange, since the Karajá sing very gladly and well and are apparently highly gifted musically (1).

1. Concerning the love of music of the Karajá, see Part I, p. 52 /untranslated/.

They have three types of signal trumpets.

The bamboo trumpet (ŭhŭhŭk) consists of a bamboo cylinder 44 centimeters long and seven centimeters in diameter, the mouth end of which is formed by a node, the center of which is pierced. The open, sounding end is richly carved (Pl. 58, Ill. 9).

/316/ The gourd trumpet consists of a curved bottle-gourd 26 centimeters long, which has the lateral blow-hole on the narrower end, the central sounding-hole on the wider end (Ill. 178a).

/316 cont./

534 The most common are taquara flutes with a gourd for
[824] resonance [(h)ă(n)djūlōnă]. The flutes consist of a taquara tube 44-46 centimeters long and about three and a half centimeters thick, one end of which is closed, the other open. Near the closed end is the lateral blow-hole. For resonance there is a gourd 33-38 centimeters long and 16-24 centimeters thick, which is open on both ends and into the large opening of which the flute is

[531]

Ill. 178 a, b.
Gourd trumpets.

[531] obliquely inserted. These resonating gourds are usually decorated with pyrography (Ill. 178b).

533 Hollow sounds which carry very far are drawn from these trumpets. Through alternating long and short tones, blown-in
[574] and drawn-out tones, there are produced various tonal sequences,
[202] which, on boat trips, are blown near the villages to announce arrival. An actual signal language, however, does not seem to
534 have been developed as yet. At present, ox-horn trumpets, such as the Brazilian deck-hands carry, are already finding entry.

I did not see other kinds of flutes, especially not the Pan-pipes of taquara mentioned by Ehrenreich.

[533] In Village 8 I saw a small horn made of a gourd shell, which
[824] apparently is blown at the masked dances. It may not be blown in the presence of women, so I was unable to find out its use and the nature of its sound. Also I was unable to acquire the implement; I did not see it again anywhere else.

/316 cont. /

534 [824] There are various kinds of whistles.

The gourd whistle (wŏlăwŭk, ădjūlōnă, lăkŭ) consists of a small, twin-bellied bottle-gourd 8.2 centimeters long, whose smaller belly is cut off crosswise (Ill. 179a). At this cross-cut surface the gourd is blown on from one side and then produces a shrill, high tone.

[824] Buriti-leaf whistles (ădjūlōnă) consist of a narrow buriti leaf strip which is rolled up spirally and then pressed flat. By means of a narrow bast-band wrapped around it the whistle re-rains its shape. Such whistles are about three centimeters wide and one to two and a half centimeters high and sometimes have a middle reed, while in other specimens this is lacking (Ill. 179b). They are blown by sticking one end of the whistle flat into the mouth.

[237] /317/ The scraper from the shell of the kŏdŭ turtle (hūli-hūli) is made from the shell, eight centimeters long and three centimeters wide, in such a way that the tail end of the hollow is completely glued over with wax, while the neck peg of the ventral shell is surrounded by a thick layer of wax (Ill. 180a). One takes the shell in the right hand, places it with the wax peg inclined somewhat /Ills. 179-181 appear here/ obliquely against the tightly stretched palm of the left hand, and strokes the peg vigorously downward over the sweaty palm (Ill. 180b), by means [533] of which a squeaky, muffled sound is produced. According to statements by the Indians, the instrument is said to be used when boys come out of the forest. I did not succeed in finding out whether this is a reference to boys' training, initiation, etc. in the forest.

[533] Rattles serve as the sole instrument accompanying their songs. On all the rattles, the stem is led through the entire body of the rattle and /318/ is fastened at both ends with wax. It is kept plain and only rarely has plaiting around a bit of it. Its length below the body of the rattle varies between nine and 16 [237] centimeters. Monkey-skull rattles, for which monkey skulls seven centimeters long and four to five and a half centimeters wide are

[Text Continues on P. 260]

/318 cont./

534 used, are very rare. I came across only two of these specimens
[237] (Pl. 58, Ill. 10 a, b). Otherwise gourds (ŭälŭ) are commonly used
[824] as the bodies of rattles, which are usually 12-15.5 centimeters long and 5.5-13 centimeters thick (a small rattle is 6.5 centimeters
[531] long and 6 centimeters thick). Most of these gourd rattles are carved with the customary designs (1); many bear feather ornaments

[113] 1. See my article on "Die Kunst der Karajá-indianer," Bässler Archiv, Vol. II, No. 1.

on the stem end projecting out of the gourd at the top (Ill. 181 a, b). These rattles are swung rhythmically in the hand by the masked dancers.

533 Singing plays a considerably larger role. Only the men sing; it is only during the period of mourning that the women, like the men, intone monotonous songs of lament in a high pitch. The singing is one-part singing; mass singing seldom occurs. Only once did I hear a cappella singing. During dances two men simultaneously sing the same thing; otherwise they sing individually, especially when fishing. Apparently the Karajá are very musical;
[176] they sing gladly and well. Most of their songs are masked-dance songs, but it seems as though certain people invented and handed down specific songs. It was often said to me: this is the song of this boy or of that youth. Certain dances and songs seem to be transmitted through tradition only in certain families; others are quite familiar with them, but do not sing them. In 1908 Chief Ilk in Village 13 just below Izabel do Morro knew most of the songs. He was almost inexhaustible. The wŏřizŏ dance and song were handed down in his family. He knew not only Karajá songs, but also sang songs of the Šavajé and Tapirapé. He was known as a singer in all the villages, and everywhere people requested me to
126 play back the phonograms recorded with him. In all I recorded
533 phonographically 44 cylinders of songs. The Indians liked to sing
152 into the apparatus, as soon as the initial shyness had been overcome. To do this I used European music, which amazed them very much. They laughed aloud in astonishment, and many held

/318 cont./

126 their outspread hand in front of their faces; the women usually
533 clicked their tongues in astonishment. Above all, the spoken
152 announcement preceding the songs and pieces of music caused merriment. They were completely unaccustomed to instrumental music; they recognized bird voices as such; they preferred to listen to songs and were delighted with the volume of tone, especially in the case of women's voices. With that their timidity was overcome; usually they themselves pressed forward to be recorded. For this I first used the horn, but later the tube, into which they sang with less constraint. If several Indians were present, they first consulted for a long time as to who should sing, then they all considered the text, first sang the song softly /319/ to themselves for practice, and only then did the chosen one settle down in front of the apparatus. Even Ilk always memorized the song concerned before making the recording. After the recording I immediately played back the song. To hear their own voice at first always provoked great merriment, then they regularly sang along softly to check it, and finally laughed, extremely satisfied because everything agreed perfectly. Even when songs from other villages were played, the text and melody were meticulously checked. It was remarkable that Ilk's songs were always recognized, even when I had not previously mentioned his name and even though he also sang songs which I had heard elsewhere, which were therefore not his alone. The Indians could not figure out the phonograph. When their songs were played back, they always looked into the horn, "to see who is singing in it." After one recording Ilk kept on talking into the apparatus for a long time; when I questioned him, he replied that he was talking to the Ilk who was in there.

533 Unfortunately, the cylinders became distorted through the
[126] influence of the humidity and heat, so that they became oval at one end; work on them has therefore not yet succeeded. As for the melodies, I can only say the following: "The song that is sung every day" starts with high head tones, then in a few tones it descends and ends in a long phrase of deep chest tones. The high head tones and the shift of the voice do not sound good,

/319 cont./

533 especially among older men, whereas the tones were purely sung by boys and young men. This song was sung particularly upon returning from fishing. Then at certain places the names of the fish caught were inserted. In some songs, animal sounds are imitated, for example, the tones which the pirarara makes when it is pulled out of the water. This song always evoked general merriment.

126 533 I obtained only a few texts; see Appendix II, "Texts" /untranslated; see foreign text, pp. 471-482/. They were not given to me from dance songs as long as women were present. Also, in view of the Indians' slight knowledge of the Brazilian language, the translation came up against the greatest difficulties.

In addition, I obtained the following songs:

Masked-dance songs of the Karajá: aruana (1) (S, N) 2

1. In Karaja: ĩdjãzõ. Included in this is: "The song that is sung every day."

djãlhẽnĩ (N)
dšewẽlĩã (N)
ĩdjãzõ (S, N)
ĩkonã (N)
ũĩjũ (S)
wõrĩzõ (N), 5 songs, as well as 9 dance songs without a name, and the mask-cry: kjũ.

/320/ Songs of the Karajá: djauhĩ (S)
hĩdãhõ (N)
ĩõbẽzẽ (N)
makanditã (S)
Paku song (N)
Pirarara song (S, N)
as well as 10 songs without names.

Dance songs of the Šavaje: ĩdjãlhẽnĩ (N)

Song of the Šavajé: dẽsõĩ, dẽsõĩ (N), allegedly sung when a jaguar is killed.

Song of the Tapirapé: àklĩlĩ (N).

The Tapirapé also know a djãlhẽnĩ mask-song, it is said.

2 [The (S) and (N) here and below refer to the "South" and "North" hordes respectively--Analyst]

/367 cont./

535 but turned toward each other, and sang a verse with gourd-rattle accompaniment. They then danced forward together toward the village and back again. This was repeated several times. The
533 dance ended with lively bows at the village. At night the young men sat in front of the mask hut and sang dance songs with the
[184] rattle accompaniment. These songs, too, were very similar to those of the Karajá. The Šavajé did not permit photographing
532 the masks on the next day, so I was obliged to resort to sketching.
535 The masks were cylinder masks with a feather-mosaic covering.
126 Black-dyed leaf-aprons for hips and shoulders served as body coverings.

In Schischá I acquired copies of masks, and, to be sure, of the ĭdjālhēnĭ mask, the ămbŭšāwādiă mask, and the lădēnĭ mask. Of these, ĭdjālhēnĭ seems to be a typical Šavajé mask, for the songs of this mask which I was able to record phonographically among the Karajá were always designated by the latter as Šavajé
[533] songs. Of other Šavajé songs I obtained phonographically dĕsoĭ dĕsoĭ, a song that they sing after slaying a jaguar.

For further data on the masks of the Šavajé, see my article,
[113] "Tanzmaskennachbildungen vom mittleren Araguaya /Dance Mask Reproductions from the Middle Araguaia/," Jahrbuch des Museums für Völkerkunde zu Leipzig, Volume 3, Leipzig, 1910.

197 Their language, according to my data, seems to be identical with that of the Karajá. It does contain some completely different words; see tapir, gavião, maize, red and black neck tassels, lower-arm ornament of two pads with fringe hangings, calf ornament with tassels, leaf pipe; caracara is divergent.

A comparison shows that the south horde of the Karajá is linguistically somewhat closer to the Šavajé than the north horde, undoubtedly a result of the migrations of the Šavajé to the south horde. /Section III, "Die Kayapó (The Cayapo)," pp. 368-402, with Plates 62-68 and Ills. 209-261, is omitted in the translation./

Brazil.

136 They are as tall as a man, and, standing in line, their uniform black heads, white breasts and long, black legs, gave them a decidedly military appearance. The reflection in the water gave the illusion of a double line. I believe this is the largest bird that flies. It must have a long, clear space or it cannot rise. From standing humped up, like a goose on a cold day, it takes a few hesitating steps, then several determined strides, then breaks into a run, followed by a long series of big jumps and flapping of its huge wings, until, finally, it gets clear of the ground.

114 As we were borne along at night where the river was broad and deep and free of obstructions, all slept, or tried to sleep, excepting one or two watchers. My improvised bed in our large canoe was made of a large, square tin can, the side of a big tin wash-basin and the half of a gourd shell. My companions reclined on similar beds.

609 One obscure night, as we moved silently onward, like a giant phantom, we descried a light some distance ahead and heard Karayá shouting to us from a sand island. Fearing that they might not be friendly, and because of the darkness, our first thought was to pass on and not land where they [226] were. But a moment later, we discovered that they were a friendly fishing party: so we went ashore. As we drew [533] near to land, our Karayá pilot, Pedro Monco, sang one of their familiar tribal songs. It was of a joyful strain, though extremely peculiar, suggesting, somewhat, the running and bleating of a deer. tI is usually sung for the purpose of announcing to those on shore that visitors are arriving, that they are friendly, and that they are happy to meet their friends on land. Our trumpets were also sounded, and I played a hymn on the cornet. Our arrival appeared to give the fishing party much pleasure. The first thing they asked for was manioc meal and fish hooks. They were all in nature's dress, except the captain of the band, who wore a blanket.

262 Soon after we disembarked, which was past midnight, a [252] Karayá appeared with what resembled a skinned cat, and placed it over the fire to broil. "What is this?" I inquired.

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

764 gumming feathers onto it, then a pole nine feet long is laid upon it, lengthwise, as it lies upon its back, and the whole is enwrapped in the palm-leaf mat which had served as the bed of the deceased during life, and wound with long strips of bark. The purpose of this pole is that the remains may hang sus-
764 pended from it in the grave. The group that dances and wails
535 as it moves around the corpse, is led by a kind of precentor,
533 who is relieved from time to time as he grows weary. As the performers dance, they hold their arms extended in front with the fingers of one hand placed upon the backs of the fingers of the other hand, thus forming a bow. The singing is alternate and responsive. The chorus asks the deceased where he has gone and how he fares, and the leader of the chorus responds for the corpse. The chorus wails, "He lives no more! It is all over with him! Think no more of him! He is hanging from the bar!" Then the leader, speaking for the departed, responds hopefully, "I am in a beautiful land! Give me some tobacco! Did you put the plug"—the tobacco pipe—"between my lips? I am in need of nothing! But, be sure to place water at the grave!" The chorus now repeats but one question, and answers in a doleful voice: "It is all over with him! It is all over!" Very frequently these ceremonies begin before the subject is even dead.

764 Interment occurs the next day after death except where death has taken place very early in the morning, in which event it is the same day, at evening. The singing, wailing,
[765] lamentations, dancing and other lugubrious festivities continue three or four days, during which time all work is abandoned. The Karayá cemeteries are always located on top of a high hill near the river. The civilized Brazilians, imitating, perhaps, their savage ancestors, also place their cemeteries on the highest ground near the town, where it often endangers the health of the living.

A Karayá grave is a hole in the ground nearly seven feet in length, three feet wide and thirty inches deep. The body is hung horizontally into this excavation so that it swings freely from the already mentioned pole, each end of which

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

But these three classes 535
of masks do not include all the modifications used by the tribe, 532
for each village has its own particular kind, and many medicine [184]
huts are crammed with the most diverse types.

If a hunting or fishing expedition has been successful, and 527
there is an abundance of food on hand, the chief of the village 535
may determine to hold a masquerade festival, which shall continue as long as provisions hold out; whereupon the entire village hums with activity for many days preparing for the celebration. The women busy themselves making ready meat and drink, employing all their culinary skill; while the men, if not hunting and fishing, are occupied with the preparation of the dance costumes. One dance is distinguished from another by being performed exclusively by some one person or [533] family, and handed down from father to son; and each one is executed to the accompaniment of songs which are apparently in an antiquated form of speech, unintelligible to the rest of the people. Each animal represented is indicated by the constant repetition in the songs of the peculiar note or sound characteristic of that animal. For example, the paca cries, "Heyon hey! Heyon hey!" The alligator, "Huu! Huu!" and another beast, "Too koo! Too koo! Too-hoo-oo-oo-oo!"

The women and children are merely spectators at these masquerades, and are never permitted, under any circumstances, to see the masquerade outfit, save when an individual is regaled in it, for they must be kept in the belief that the creatures represented, or rather, their shades, are really materialized before them, and that the garb and the being inside of it are one and inseparable, for of course the outfit always covers the entire body of the dancer. Occasionally, however, the old women are let into the secret. This indicates [600] that the secret societies existing everywhere among civilized peoples, admitting men only to their membership and excluding women forever, and who take the most absurd and monstrous oaths to guard their childish secrets from other men, and from their own wives, sisters and mothers, are of savage origin in principle.

The carnival begins with a procession of the masqueraders

8:Gow-Smith T-5 (no date)1925
SP9 Caraja SP9

THE ARAWANA, OR FISH DANCE, OF THE CARAJA INDIANS OF MATTO GROSSO, BRAZIL

535 825 OF ALL the dances of the Caraja, the *Arawana* is the most important. It takes its name from a fish found in the tributaries of the Amazon, particularly the River Araguaya. This fish, the *arawana* [776] or *iraco*, is thought by the natives to be semi-human and is much venerated.

535 The dance, a cross between a turkey-step and a [538] foxtrot, accompanied by weird songs, is performed by two Indian men representing the male and the female fish. Both are dressed alike, except that there is hidden in the headgear of the male representative a cluster of threaded nuts from the palm tree, which rattle as the dancers move.

The dress consists of long slender palm-leaves hanging from the waist to the knees like a skirt. A similar kilt arrangement of leaves covers the body from neck to waist. The head-dress is made from palm-leaves closely braided together in the form of a hood, with coarse grass hanging loose at the bottom, obscuring the face. The upper part tapers almost to a point about two feet above the head and is overlaid with beautiful feather mosaics patterned to suggest the *arawana*. Two "horns" made of grass top the headdress. (Fig. 43.)

1:Lipkind E-5 (1937) 1948 SP9 Caraja SP9

small clay dolls (fig. 23), delicately carved clubs, body paint designs, and a little painting and incising of pottery.

a b

FIGURE 24.—*Carajá* masks. (Redrawn from Ehrenreich, 1891 b, figs. 18, 22.)

Music and dances.—The major art of the *Carajá* is music. A large number of elaborate dances with complex songs, each dance having a separate song style, make up the chief body of the music. These are all religious. In addition, there are some secular dances, and songs are interspersed in the tales. Musical instruments are very few, there being only a rattle accompanying the singers and a small flute which is used as a toy.

* /15 cont./
532 I was able to observe two sand pictures in relief, which were also made by Manoel.

Fig. 102 /see p. 26/ represents a woman. The sexual parts were marked out by a small stone.

Fig. 103 /see p. 26/ is a crocodile. It could just as well be any other long-tailed animal.

b) Gourd drawings

[415] are found on gourd containers for oil. They are made by taking off the top layer with a knife. The figures are a kind of silhouette, since they stand out in darker color against the light background. /Fig. 104 appears here./

Fig. 104 /see p. 26/ represents an entire stag hunt. This is the only representation of a scene that I found among the Karajá. The figures are, in order, dog, stag, rider, dog, man.

● [534] A Iládēni mask carved on the gourd rattle (Plate VI, Fig. 105 /see p.52 /) does not differ much from the sand drawing of the same mask (Fig. 97 /see p. 25/).

* 532 /16/
126
153

c) Sketchbook Drawings
(Plate VI-VII)

While these types of representations were familiar to the Indians, at first they did not know how to begin with the pencil and sketchbook. I first had to show them this manipulation; then they would try, always timidly at first, to see whether the pencil left a line behind it, but then went courageously to work with sure strokes. There were some who set about it very clumsily, whereas others were very skillful at it (1). Many

1. For the distribution of sketches among individual artists, see Appendix 2 /not translated; see the foreign text/.

/18 cont./

128 /see p. 34/. The body is /19/ not closed at the bottom, the only example of this kind among the Karajá. . The arms are put on separately. 532*

Aquatic animals are represented more abundantly, for example,

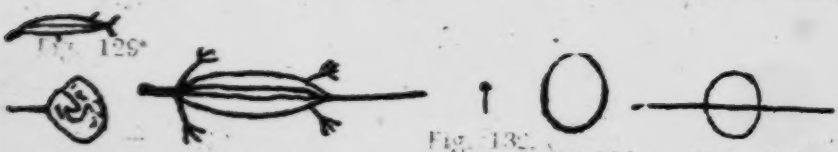

Fig. 129* Fig. 130. Fig. 131. Fig. 132. Fig. 133. Fig. 134.

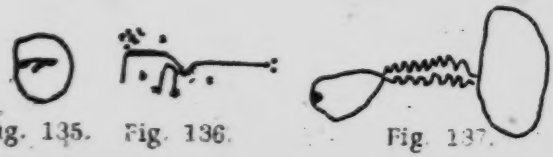

Fig. 135. Fig. 136. Fig. 137.

Fig. 129*, dogfish; Fig. 130, ray; Fig. 131, crocodile; Fig. 132 gourd on a stick; Fig. 133*, pot; Fig. 134*, whir-disk; Fig. 135, moon with mountains; Fig. 136, constellations. a) Pleiades; b) jaguar, which is leaping at the ostrich c); Fig. 137, egg-laying of the tortoise.

dogfish (Fig. 129*) represented from the side, the ray viewed from above (Fig. 130) with the drawing of the body marked in, and the crocodile (Fig. 131) also seen from above, whose dorsal ridge is depicted by two horizontal lines on the back.

With respect to plants only the gourd drying on a stick placed in the sand, is present (Fig. 132), just as it is encountered everywhere near the houses of the Indians.

The sketches of two objects are interesting.

Fig. 133*, reproduces a pot. It is viewed from above, the circular line of the upper rim is not badly drawn.

Fig. 134*, represents a whir-disk. A circular gourd disk is pierced twice in the center, and through these holes is led a string which is reversed upon itself. If one then takes hold of both ends [534]

/19 cont./

*532 534 of the string, hurls the disk around himself so that the string twists together, pulls on the string, and lets it go loose again, then the disk will start rotating and produce a whirring noise. It is drawn by the Indians as a circle through which the string runs as a horizontal line.

*532 821 There follow representations of stars and constellations. Fig. 135 /see p. 35/ portrays the moon with the lunar mountains conceived as a toad. The small circles in Fig. 136a /see p. 35/ signify the Pleiades, which are interpreted as parakeets. I should like to add, although it does not strictly belong here, the further representation of two constellations: the jaguar leaping at the ostrich from the rear (Fig. 136 b and c /see p. 35/). The principal stars are shown by dots, the two frontmost stars of the ostrich correspond to α and β Centauri.

*532 Finally there is still the representation of an event to be added here, a sketch which, along with the representation of the stag hunt on the gourd (Fig. 104 /see p. 26/), stands quite alone among the Karajá drawings. From the lagoon the track of the tortoise leads over the sand to the spot where the eggs are laid. One egg is drawn in the nest (Fig. 137 /see p. 35/).

γ) Filled-in figures

represent by far the majority of all the drawings present. As already noted above, they are executed only in colored crayon, from which it is to be concluded that the broad stroke and surface covering thus made possible, together with the possibility of color effects, has brought about the transition from line and outline drawing to the surface figure. As we shall see later with regard [151] to the ornamentation, surface perception and just such representation is in general peculiar to the Karajá Indians. The drawings were executed in such a way that first of all a center line was drawn, with reference to this the outlines, and only then was the whole surface drawn in. The filling-in is simple and takes no account of characteristic coloring and drawing of the bodies to be represented.

/24 cont./ Found in plaiting, on combs (Fig. 184a) /see p.53 /), crotchet needles, arrow (Fig. 184b /see p. 53 /), bow, carved on the signal horn (Fig. 184c$_{1,2}$ /see p.53 /; c$_2$ represents a rubbing from the carved end). It is probably derived from the simple basket plaiting pattern as the center part of the basket in Fig. 184d /see p. 53/ shows. Fig. 184e /see p.53 / represents the artistic reproduction. Perhaps the lance pattern in Fig. 184f /see p.53 / is a further development of it. /Plates I-XI appear here./

/25/ 2. Vertical zigzag line (according to Ehrenreich, "Beiträge," Fig. 11c, the rattlesnake). Only found plaited on combs, lances, clubs, and rattle handles (Fig. 185 a and b /see p. 54 /). Further developments are to be found in the lance plaiting (Fig. 185c /see p. 54/) and the comb plaiting (Fig. 185d /see p. 54 /). It probably arose from the basket plaiting pattern, as the edge strips of the basket in Fig. 184d.

3. A pattern of unknown meaning present on a lance plaiting (Fig. 186a /see p. 54 /). The negative of it is similar to the sketchbook pattern (Fig. 186b /see p. 54 /) called dogfish (lǎdǎ), the developments of which are reproduced in Fig. 186 c and d /see p. 54/.

4. Patterns of unknown meaning, occurring as plaiting patterns on combs (Fig. 187 a$_{1,2}$ /see p. 54 /) (1), lances,

1. On combs both sides are almost always reproduced (marked 1 and 2).

club-sticks (Fig. 187b /see p. 54 /), crotchet-needle handles; as carving patterns on gourd rattles and whole gourds (Fig. 187c /see p. 54 /).

5. This pattern is perhaps a development of the previous one, produced by the side attachment of hooks to the ends of the bars (Fig. 188 /see p.54 /).

6. The urubu pattern (lālǎdjǎ). It occurs plaited on a club-stick (Fig. 189a /see p. 55 /) and on a drawing (Fig. 189b /see p.55 /). This representation goes back to the way /Fig. 206 appears here/ in which the urubu customarily sits on the sand

[see p. 58 -- Analyst]

[Text continues on p. 58]

2: Krause--52 E-5 (1908) 1912 SP9 Caraja SP9

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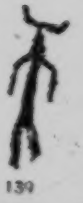
Plate VII



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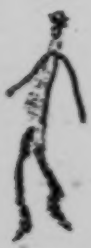

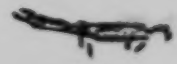

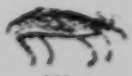

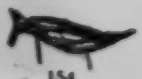

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Plate VII

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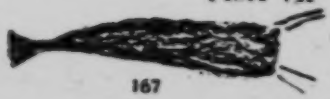
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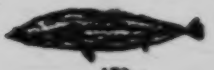
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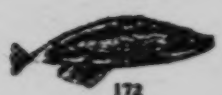
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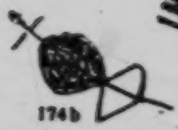
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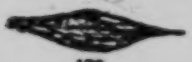
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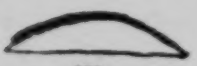
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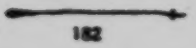
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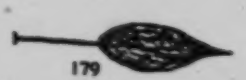
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184a

184c2

184e

184f

184b

[534]
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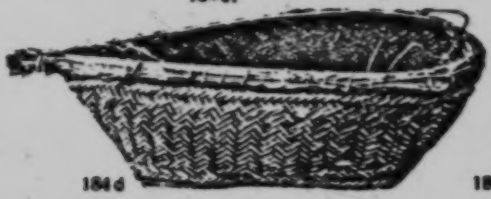
184c1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2: Krause--57 E-5 (1908) 1912 SP9 Caraja SP9

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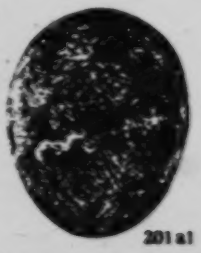
Plate XI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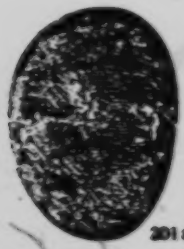
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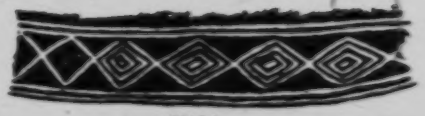
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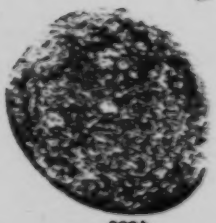
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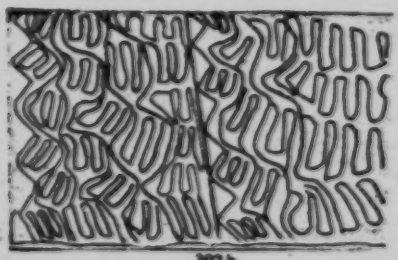
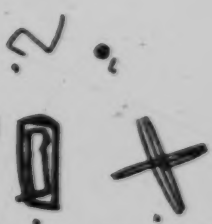

202 b

[534]

202 a

203 a

203 b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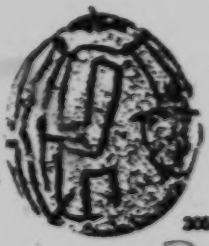
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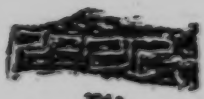
204 a

/25 con./

53/ 12. The pattern probably represents a snake. It is exempli-
285 fied as a comb pattern (Fig. 195a /see p. 56/). On a crotchet needle (Fig. 195b /see p. 56/), it is present in two varieties, one of which designates the dorsal design, the other the ventral design, on the sucuriu /anaconda/ snake (leĭ). Developments of the decoration are the same pattern (Fig. 195c /see p. 56/and the two comb /26/ patterns of the Šavajé (Fig. 195 d and e /see p. 56/). Similar decorations are illustrated by Ehrenreich in his "Beiträge," namely, in Fig. 11a as a wasp's nest, in Fig. 11c as a caninanha snake. /Fig. 207 appears here./

13. Comb pattern of unknown meaning (Fig. 196 /see p. 56 /).

14. Snake pattern (according to Ehrenreich, "Beiträge," Fig. 11d); represented as a comb decoration (Fig. 197 /see p. 56/).

15. There were delivered to me as plaiting patterns a few other sketches, the originals of which I never saw in plaiting. They all portray the tail of the coati (tšūšŏn-hālālū) (Fig. 198 a, b, and c /see p. 56/).

53/ I must add here several patterns which may have arisen from the plaiting technique, but which the Indians did not designate for me as plaiting patterns. They are found as carved decorations and drawings.

16. dūlālĭdĭ (Fig. 199) /see p. 56/).

● [53Y] 17. kŏdūnĭ = tartaruga /Chelonia/. Found on rattles (Fig. 200a /see p. 57/) and on half-gourds (Fig. 200b /see p. 57/).

18. kŏdūbōnālblōlōdé = river turtle. As a filled-in surface found on half-gourds (Fig. 201a /see p. 57/) and rattles, arranged in a row as rim patterns of a half-gourd (Fig. 201b 1, 2 /see p. 57 /). Further developed on the gourd rattle (Plate VI /see p. 52 /, Fig. 105) and in the Šavajé comb (Fig. 201c /see p. 57 /). /Figs. 208 and 209 appear here./

19. ālĭwā = pacu /Prochilodus/ fish. Square standing on the point (Fig. 198c /see p. 56/).

20. Gourd pattern of unknown meaning (Fig. 202a /see p. 57/), with which /Figs. 210-212 and 214 appear here/ the artist in question, as a result of the difficulty of the pattern and in

2 [see p. 60--Analysis]

[Text continues on p. 61]

2: Krause--60 E-5 (1908) 1912 SP9 Caraja SP9

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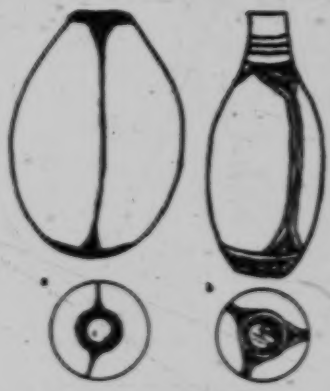

Fig. 207 a and b. Resonance gourds. (Including their bottom surfaces.)

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Fig. 208 a and b. Ear rods.

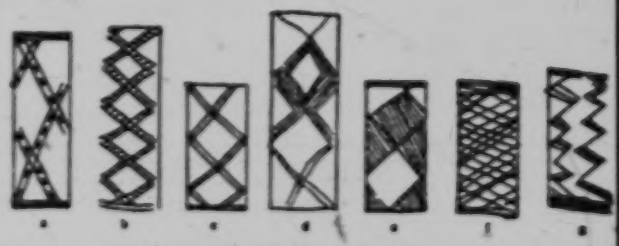

Fig. 209 a-g. Ear rods.

[415]

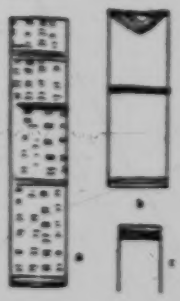

Fig. 210 a-c. Ear rods.

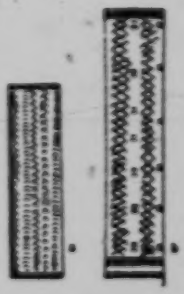

Fig. 211 a and b. Ear rods.

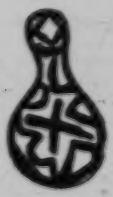

Fig. 212. Gourd ladle.

Fig. 214. Gourd ladle.

/26 cont./

53/ spite of two attempts, did not quite succeed, is similar.

21. The cross, lālādjā = urubu. Found as gourd-carving [534] on a rattle (Fig. 203a /see p. 57/) and as a sketchbook drawing (Fig. 203b /see p. 57/). According to Ehrenreich ("Beiträge," Fig. 16c) a lizard is represented in the form of a cross.

/27/ I furthermore obtained a gourd (Fig. 204 /see p. 57/) which bears no fewer than 20 different figures, five of which are patterns discussed above. The individual figures are as follows:

a) ŏāoā = gavião; b) dōlē = parrot; c) ăndādōlā = arara; d) lālā = urubu; e) kŭōlī; f) klāŏbī = monkey; g) wātī = stag; h) tīlū = excrement; i) krādjāīqū /Fig. 215 appears here/ = sexual parts of the Karajá Indian women; k) bīū = rain; l) bĕnū = navel; m) ōmālūdī; n) djūĕtā = piranha; o) kjŏlŏzā = dog; p) ūŏhū = arrows; q) dōnōlī = lance; r) ŏdābŭlā; s) ŭōmā; t) hādō = house; u) kŏdūnī = tartaruga.

Unfortunately it was broken on the journey, so that, apart from the plaiting patterns, only the figures a, e, k, l, o can be recognized with certainty.

2. Carved decorations

are in part different from these plaiting patterns; they show quite distinctive features. Two half-gourds have distinct edge strips (Plate XI /see p. 57/, Figs. 201a and 202a). Two gourd con- [415] tainers for feathers are decorated with strange decorations (Plate XI, Fig. 205). The gourds for oil bear the ornamentation on the /Figs. 216 and 217 appear here/ 1/A upper part around the opening, usually in four parts (Fig. 206 a to c/see p. 57/), rarely with [534] more parts (Fig. 206d /see p. 58/). The resonance gourds for the signal trumpets are decorated over the whole expanse, in two parts in Fig. 207a /see p. 60/, in three parts in Fig. 207b /see [30] p. 60/. Of other carvings only carved ear-rods are found. These have the following decorations; spirals (Fig. 208a /Figs. 218-220 appear here/ 2/A and b /see p. 60/), intersections (Fig. 209 a to g /see p. 60/; the decoration in Fig. 209f was called ĭlĕdĭlĕgā),

1/A, 2/A [see p. 62--Analyst]

[Text continues on p. 63]

/19 cont./

415 1. The most common form can be described as two truncated cones with their bases touching. A tall model with a narrow opening and a shorter one with a wide opening are in use.

2. Wide open, deep bowls of similar basic form serve as cooking pots.

3. Flat, round plates, perhaps imitated from European forms.

4. Low elliptical double bowls with a partition running lengthwise.

5. Cylindrical pots with bent or projecting rim.

[191] 6. Small bowls (uatiui) with three feet, used especially by children; an analogous form is found in Ecuador.

7. Clay spoons.

The vessels do not have handles; instead bast cords are wound around the neck of the pot or drawn through the edge.

[824] The gourd bowls (ũša) (fruit of Crescentia cuyete) also belong among the vessels. They are not found here in the size and diversity of form as among the Xingu /20/ tribes by far. On the other hand, they are much more carefully prepared and dried, and possess incomparably greater durability. They are usually [531] blackened inside and out and provided with engraved decorations (Fig. 6 /see p. 38/ and Fig. 10 /see p. 47 /). Painted gourds, like those of the Xingu tribes, do not occur.

415 In their natural shape, i.e., not cut through and provided
● 534 with a round opening only at one pole, and also with hanging cords (Pl. VIII /see p. 110 /, 7), they serve as bottles or containers for smaller /Fig. 5 appears here/ objects, such as seeds, decorative feathers, and such things; with a wooden handle and the seeds left inside, or pebbles, they serve as a dance rattle (uãrõ). [531] As such, they are often decorated with bands of feathers hanging down (Pl. X /see p. 112/, 1 and 2). /Fig. 6 appears here./

285 Plaited work, in view of the inexhaustible wealth of plant material which the bounteous nature of South America puts at the disposal of the savage primitive inhabitants, occupies the most prominent place in Indian home industry. Actually it forms the yardstick of the culture of these tribes. The Karaya are second to no other nation in this art, but their works are distinguished

/24 cont./

412 Combs (ʒẽhõ), the only toilet articles, but much used, are made in the most varied sizes. The largest specimen in the collection is 18 centimeters wide and 17 centimeters long. There are pieces twice as large, however. A converging row of sharp palm wood or /Fig. 10 appears here/ taquara splints are held together by two pairs of parallel cross-sticks. A plaiting of black or white cotton threads in various patterns drawn through the space between the latter serves for stability. Sometimes small feather tassels hang from the two upper corners (Fig. 9 /see p. 47/).

534 Musical instruments are represented in the collection only by a trumpet (adžuranẽ) (Plate X /see p. 112/, 7). It is a large gourd bowl with openings at both ends. A taquara reed with a slit at the side is stuck in one as a mouthpiece.

Furthermore, simple Pan flutes of taquara are in use.

531 Artistic activity. The ornamentation of the Karaya consists
532 of patterns in zigzag lines, crosses, dots, lozenges, and peculiar interrupted meanders, while rectangles and triangles appear only accidentally (e.g., through filling in other figures), and circles are completely lacking (Fig. 10 / see p. 47/).

/25/ As in the ornamentation of the Xingu tribes, here, too, the basis for these apparently completely arbitrarily chosen geometric combinations are quite definite, concrete models whose most typical characteristics are reproduced in them in a stylized manner.

/79 cont./

535

Pl. X. Karaya. Ornaments and Equipment for Dancing.

1. Dance rattle with feather hangings and incised ornamentation (1/7).

2. Dance rattle without feather hangings (1/8).

[532] 3. Mask of the bird tirehãi (see p. 74) with long buriti-fiber hangings in front and black feather decoration in back (1/9).

4. Dance rattles of Thevetia pods to be tied around the knee, with cross-sticks and down covering (partly removed) (1/8).

5. Simple dance-rattles to be tied on the arms or legs (1/8).

6. Dance belts made of strung Thevetia fruit capsules (1/7).

[534] 7. Trumpet made of gourd shell with an inserted taquara mouthpiece (1/9).

[236] [237] 8-10. Dance belts made of strong black or black-white cotton weave with feather hangings (9 and 10 also with Thevetia pods) (1/7).

532

Plate XI. Karaya. Clay and Wax Figures.

1. Simplest form without indication of the sex (1/2).

2. Simple female figure (1/2).

3. Female figure with wax hair, without facial modeling, but with the lower extremities. Probably gravidity is indicated (3/4).

4. Female figure with wax hair, face and upper body modeled. Legs as stumps (3/4).

5. Male figure in similar execution with zigzag painting indicated (3/4).

6. Large female figure with stump feet, but clearly modeled face. The apron is lacking. The neck is adorned with a chain of strung Ricinus kernels and snail shells (1/2).

Plate X

535

[532]

[534]

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286
237

Plate 58

1. Addition to pottery clay.

2. Pot bottom with rod-sieve texture.

3 a-c. Feather gourd vessels.

4. a Bunch of imbauva fibers. b Bunch of buriti fibers.

5 Sample of basket plaiting.

8 a and b. Manner of storing feathers.

7. Ball of cotton.

6. Spindle with picked-cotton band.

10. Monkey-skull rattles.

11. Funerary urn.

9. Bamboo trumpet.

313 ← 415

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764 415 →

534 [237] ←

/315 cont./

535 I did not observe any dances, with the exception of mask-dances, which seem to be of a religious nature. Ehrenreich and Castelnau report on such among the Šambioá.

526 Shooting as a sport was not observed. I am unable to say whether shooting matches occur. Sometimes, for practice, they are said to toss green gourds into the air and shoot at them with arrows. Shooting from a position on the back, whereby they hold the bow with the feet, is a sport in which they occasionally indulge, but not too frequently, on account of the great pain which the recoil of the bowstring causes on the feet. I myself did not see it.

I never saw or heard anything about club-throwing about which Königswald reports.

12. Music.

●534 The Karajá are very poor in musical instruments. They have only signal trumpets, small whistles, and turtle scrapers, rattles serve as the accompanying instrument for songs. That is [533] all. This lack seems very strange, since the Karajá sing very gladly and well and are apparently highly gifted musically (1).

1. Concerning the love of music of the Karajá, see Part I, p. 52 /untranslated/.

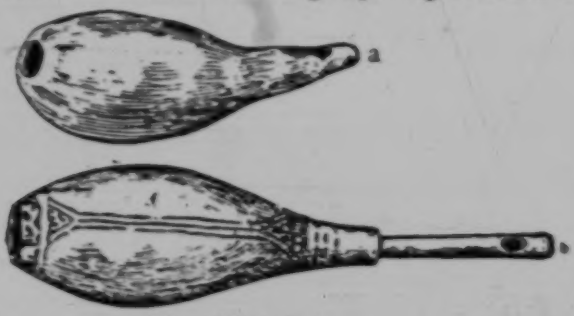
They have three types of signal trumpets.

The bamboo trumpet (ŭhùhŭk) consists of a bamboo cylinder 44 centimeters long and seven centimeters in diameter, the mouth end of which is formed by a node, the center of which is pierced. The open, sounding end is richly carved (Pl. 58, Ill. 9).

/316/ The gourd trumpet consists of a curved bottle-gourd 26 centimeters long, which has the lateral blow-hole on the narrower end, the central sounding-hole on the wider end (Ill. 178a).

/316 cont./

534 [824] The most common are taquara flutes with a gourd for resonance [(h)ă(n)djūlōnă]. The flutes consist of a taquara tube 44-46 centimeters long and about three and a half centimeters thick, one end of which is closed, the other open. Near the closed end is the lateral blow-hole. For resonance there is a gourd 33-38 centimeters long and 16-24 centimeters thick, which is open on both ends and into the large opening of which the flute is



[531]

Ill. 178 a, b.
Gourd trumpets.

[531] obliquely inserted. These resonating gourds are usually decorated with pyrography (Ill. 178b).

533 Hollow sounds which carry very far are drawn from these trumpets. Through alternating long and short tones, blown-in [574] and drawn-out tones, there are produced various tonal sequences, [202] which, on boat trips, are blown near the villages to announce arrival. An actual signal language, however, does not seem to 534 have been developed as yet. At present, ox-horn trumpets, such as the Brazilian deck-hands carry, are already finding entry.

I did not see other kinds of flutes, especially not the Pan-pipes of taquara mentioned by Ehrenreich.

[533] In Village 8 I saw a small horn made of a gourd shell, which [824] apparently is blown at the masked dances. It may not be blown in the presence of women, so I was unable to find out its use and the nature of its sound. Also I was unable to acquire the implement; I did not see it again anywhere else.

/316 cont./

534 There are various kinds of whistles.

[82A] The gourd whistle (wŏlăwŭk, ădjūlōnă, lăkŭ) consists of a small, twin-bellied bottle-gourd 8.2 centimeters long, whose smaller belly is cut off crosswise (Ill. 179a). At this cross-cut surface the gourd is blown on from one side and then produces a shrill, high tone.

[82A] Buriti-leaf whistles (ădjūlōnă) consist of a narrow buriti leaf strip which is rolled up spirally and then pressed flat. By means of a narrow bast-band wrapped around it the whistle retains its shape. Such whistles are about three centimeters wide and one to two and a half centimeters high and sometimes have a middle reed, while in other specimens this is lacking (Ill. 179b). They are blown by sticking one end of the whistle flat into the mouth.

[237] /317/ The scraper from the shell of the kŏdŭ turtle (hūli-hūli) is made from the shell, eight centimeters long and three centimeters wide, in such a way that the tail end of the hollow is completely glued over with wax, while the neck peg of the ventral shell is surrounded by a thick layer of wax (Ill. 180a). One takes the shell in the right hand, places it with the wax peg inclined somewhat /Ills. 179-181 appear here/ obliquely against the tightly stretched palm of the left hand, and strokes the peg vigorously downward over the sweaty palm (Ill. 180b), by means [533] of which a squeaky, muffled sound is produced. According to statements by the Indians, the instrument is said to be used when boys come out of the forest. I did not succeed in finding out whether this is a reference to boys' training, initiation, etc. in the forest.

[533] Rattles serve as the sole instrument accompanying their songs. On all the rattles, the stem is led through the entire body of the rattle and /318/ is fastened at both ends with wax. It is kept plain and only rarely has plaiting around a bit of it. Its length below the body of the rattle varies between nine and 16 [237] centimeters. Monkey-skull rattles, for which monkey skulls seven centimeters long and four to five and a half centimeters wide are

[Text Continues on P. 260]

534

[824]

[239]

Ill. 179 a, b.
Whistles:
a) gourd, b) leaf.

Ill. 180 a, b.
Turtle-scraper and its manipulation.

[531]

Ill. 181a, b.
Gourd rattles.

/318 cont./

534 used, are very rare. I came across only two of these specimens
[237] (Pl.-58, Ill. 10 a, b). Otherwise gourds (ŭãlŭ) are commonly used
[824] as the bodies of rattles, which are usually 12-15.5 centimeters long and 5.5-13 centimeters thick (a small rattle is 6.5 centimeters
[531] long and 6 centimeters thick). Most of these gourd rattles are carved with the customary designs (1); many bear feather ornaments

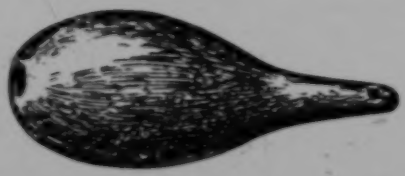
[113] 1. See my article on "Die Kunst der Karajá-indianer," Bässler Archiv, Vol. II, No. 1.

on the stem end projecting out of the gourd at the top (Ill. 181 a, b). These rattles are swung rhythmically in the hand by the masked dancers.

533 Singing plays a considerably larger role. Only the men sing; it is only during the period of mourning that the women, like the men, intone monotonous songs of lament in a high pitch. The singing is one-part singing; mass singing seldom occurs. Only once did I hear a cappella singing. During dances two men simultaneously sing the same thing; otherwise they sing individually, especially when fishing. Apparently the Karajá are very musical;
[196] they sing gladly and well. Most of their songs are masked-dance songs, but it seems as though certain people invented and handed down specific songs. It was often said to me: this is the song of this boy or of that youth. Certain dances and songs seem to be transmitted through tradition only in certain families; others are quite familiar with them, but do not sing them. In 1908 Chief Ilk in Village 13 just below Izabel do Morro knew most of the songs. He was almost inexhaustible. The wŏrĭzŏ dance and song were handed down in his family. He knew not only Karajá songs, but also sang songs of the Šavajé and Tapirapé. He was known as a singer in all the villages, and everywhere people requested me to
126 play back the phonograms recorded with him. In all I recorded
533 phonographically 44 cylinders of songs. The Indians liked to sing
152 into the apparatus, as soon as the initial shyness had been overcome. To do this I used European music, which amazed them very much. They laughed aloud in astonishment, and many held

/365 cont./

534 11. Musical instruments are also very rare among the Šavajé. I did not see flutes with gourd resonance; on the other hand, there were flutes made of gourds themselves. The bottle-shaped gourd has a round opening on the broad end, a rectangular one laterally on the narrow end (Ill. 208). This flute is called ǎdjūlōnǎ. The other flute, also called lōkū, consists of a long gourd open on both sides. On one opening there are traces of wax, as though a special mouthpiece had



Ill. 208.
Gourd flute.

been attached there. Perhaps a taquara flute had been attached there, as is customary among the Kayapó. Whistles made of leaf plaiting with a reed are also present here (dūlĕhĕ). The chief instrument among the Šavajé, too, is the gourd rattle (wālū), which was usually undecorated. Only one specimen bears a few feathers on the upper handle end.

In their artistic activity the Šavajé follow in the footsteps of [184] the Karajá. In this connection I refer to my article: "Die Kunst der Karajáindianer /The Art of the Caraja Indians/."

622 12. Political and Social. The chief seems to play a considerable 123 role among the Šavajé. In the village that I visited there was none; a man who was probably appointed for this instance represented his office. He put me up in his house, along with my men. He remained by my side the whole time. In purchases he acted as intermediary, finally led me through all the houses, told the people my wishes, and helped to determine the purchase price. When we left the village, he accompanied us across the lake and several hundred meters farther into the campo before he took his leave.

574 The reception ceremony was strange. Even before arriving in the village, my Karajá had made themselves a black band across the

323 only, is sought. The Karayá once more like all the South American tribes, form the pots without the use of the potter's wheel, the work being done by building up rings of clay, stroking and shaping, first with the hands, then with bones and shells until the vessel reaches the desired form and strength. The ashes of certain plants are mixed with the clay to give it greater firmness.

To secure an oven in which to bake the pots, these children of Nature again look to their common Mother. In the large, dome-shaped ant-hills which abound in their world, they find a nearly complete natural oven. They further prepare this oven for use by carving a hole in one side and starting a fire in it. This done, they put the pot, previously sun-baked into the kiln; then open a second hole on another side of the ant-hill to communicate with the first, by which to feed the fire. A draft is secured by opening a vent in the top of the natural oven. The women make clay spoons as well as pots. Though a few of these clay vessels are provided with legs, none of them have handles, except as cords are secured around them to serve as handles.

415 824 Besides these manufactured vessels, Nature again comes to the aid of these primitive people and furnishes them jugs, bottles, basins and pans of a great variety of shapes and sizes from calabash or gourd-shells. These vegetable vessels are not only as hard as wood, but very durable, though they 534 cannot, of course, be placed over the fire. Large rattles for 824 ceremonial purposes are also made from the gourd by replacing the seeds with pebbles, and attaching handles of wood.

285 Nature has supplied the Karayá with such a rich and varied material that braid-work is the principal household industry, a product notable for its utility and variety of form. The long, [824] slender leaves of the oaguasse, or burity-palm, are braided together diagonally into mats to serve as flooring for the huts, and even for roofing. The flooring mats, being so easily produced, are made only as wanted. The finest grades of matting are made to sleep upon and to roof the hut. For this work,

Brazil.

The patterns seem to be chosen at random, nevertheless
532 the artificers have clear ideas of what they wish to make. These designs are an attempt to represent the forms of natural objects about them. For example, the colored markings on the canoe, represent fish; so also the feather mosaic work. The wasp, or hornets' nest is represented in the decoration of combs; and figures of bats with outstretched wings, and snakes, are also made. The tribes of the Xingú river and some others make drawings of men and animals in the sand.

It is difficult for a Karayá to sketch anything with a lead-
[322] pencil. They do very little wood-carving. The most important work of art among them is the fashioning of human forms
[439] with wax or clay. Figures, apparently children's dolls, are offered in trade to travelers in large numbers. The execution of this work shows that they have ideas of form, and that they observe nature. Their best pieces are as well made as those of the old American civilization. The lower extremities of the human form, though, are made too large and out of proportion with the rest of the body. But the face is natural with no trace of hideousness.

● 534 About the only instrument of *music* possessed by the Karayá, is a sort of trumpet, called by the civilized Brazilians a *buzzina*. It is, in truth, a kind of combination of the flute and drum. The flute part is a section of a bamboo or taquara cane, eighteen inches in length, with the mouth-piece, of course, in the side. To the outer end of this base flute is glued, with wax, the neck of a large, bottle-shaped gourd-shell, six inches in diameter, in the big end of which a large opening is made. Of course, a tune cannot be played on this uncouth instrument, for but one note can be produced with it. But these nature folk seem well pleased with this one roaring, booming note, for, like all savages, their musical tastes appear quite satisfied with hideous, discordant sounds and charivari noises.

000 As previously mentioned, the primitive peoples of South America, and indeed, of every other part of the world, have been degraded both morally and socially wherever they have come under the influence of the civilized races, excepting

1:Lipkind E-5 (1937) 1948 SP9 Caraja SP9

252 minutes, then allowed to stand for a while. The resulting fermentation is not allowed to continue long enough to produce an intoxicating drink. 262 This soup, along with a similar soup made of maize, is a daily staple. 252 Manioc and ground maize are also made into cakes, but this is a holiday variation of diet rather than the staff of life as in other regions. The standard methods of cooking meat, fish, and vegetables are boiling, roasting on a spit, roasting on a grate, and roasting in the embers. Occasionally, some vegetables are baked in hot sand. Maize is the only food that [251] is stored. On platform shelves at the top of their rainy-season houses, the *Izvahé* pile a supply of maize dried on the cob sufficient to last throughout the dry season.

HOUSES AND VILLAGES

361 The permanent or rainy-season village is erected on a high bank overlooking the river. One or two rows of houses face the river, and the men's [535] house, about 50 feet (15.2 m.) back, faces down river. All the space between the men's house and the family houses is kept perfectly clean and constitutes the dancing plaza of the village. The surrounding clearing extends only a few yards in all directions. All neighboring forest which [487] must be traversed in hunting or gathering is threaded by well-marked trails. A path leads down from the center of the village to the main port where women, married men, and children bathe, and married men land their canoes. Another path cuts diagonally down from the men's house to the bachelor's port where the young men bathe and visitors to the masked dances land their canoes.

342 The house is rectangular in ground plan with supported horizontal ridge poles (fig. 18). Saplings are sunk into the ground at the sides and

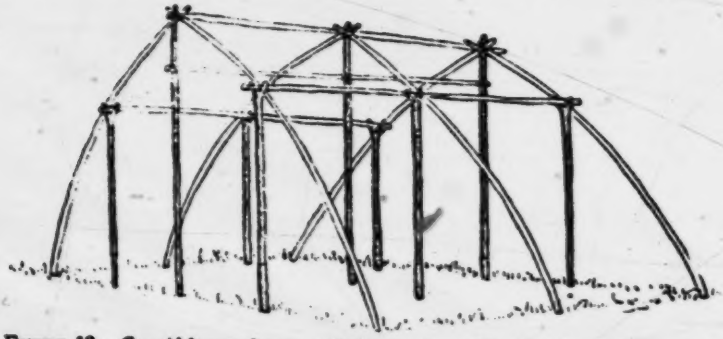
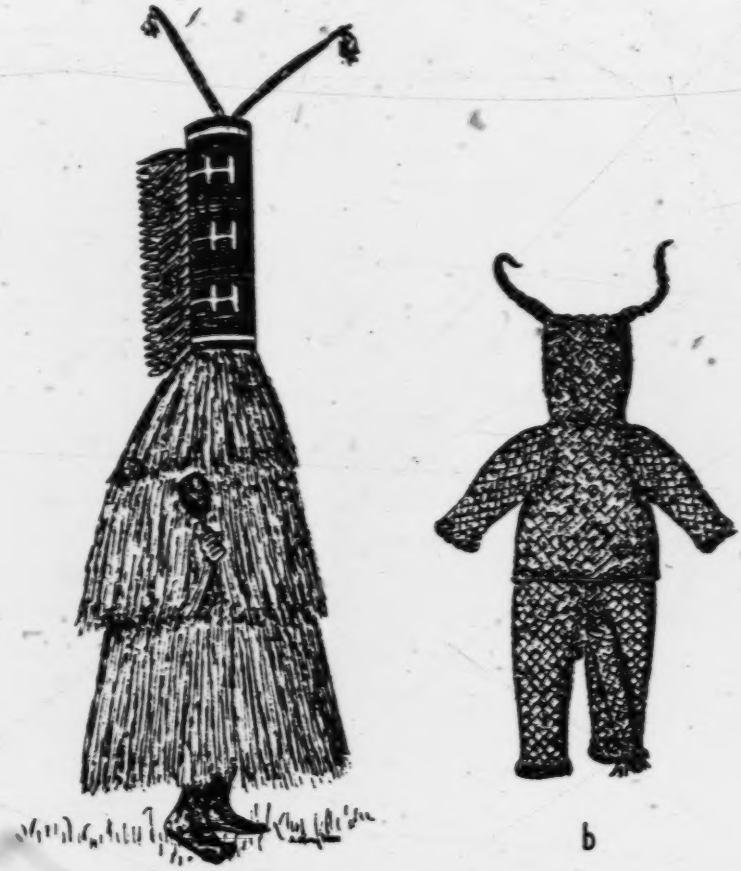


FIGURE 18.—*Carajá* house frame. (Redrawn from Ehrenreich, 1891 b, fig. 3.)

bent over to the ridge pole at the top, where they are firmly tied with bast. Then the whole structure is tightly thatched with successive overlapping layers of palm frond tied to the saplings (pl. 20, *top*). The entrance is a small rectangular opening at the bottom, through which one crawls after

1:Lipkind E-5 (1937) 1948 SP9 Caraja SP9

small clay dolls (fig. 23), delicately carved clubs, body paint designs, and a little painting and incising of pottery.



a b

FIGURE 24.—*Carajá* masks. (Redrawn from Ehrenreich, 1891 b, figs. 18, 22.)

Music and dances.—The major art of the *Carajá* is music. A large number of elaborate dances with complex songs, each dance having a separate song style, make up the chief body of the music. These are all religious. In addition, there are some secular dances, and songs are interspersed in the tales. Musical instruments are very few, there being only a rattle accompanying the singers and a small flute which is used as a toy.

/11 cont./

*532 on the nose slightly in relief. The tattooing is cut in as a small circle. The apron is reproduced in bast. The necklaces on two are made of bast, on the third of cotton. All three wear cuffs of cotton thread, which is wound around the arm between two raised rolls of wax. Likewise, all three wear ear rods. The shapes are thus reproduced fairly proportionately. The fashioning of the chin, the arms and legs, hands and feet is particularly good. Gentle reminders of the schematic representation of the clay figures are found in the formation of the fat buttocks and the stomach plate.

Other human figures are a rider and a gourd figure.

The rider (Fig. 67 /see p. 51 /) is represented very true to life. On the horse the head and tail /12/ are depicted, the legs supplied by long sticks. The rider has long cylindrical arms and legs; hands and feet are lacking; the head is offset. The lower body and legs are wrapped with raw cotton as trousers. At his belt he carries a sword and revolver, in both arms the gun ready to fire, all fashioned in wax.

The gourd figure (Fig. 68 /see p. 51 /), which represents a youth, is formed in most peculiar fashion. The torso consists [824] of a small round gourd, on the top of which a well-fashioned wax head is placed. On the head are attached a topknot, a braid wound with red thread, ear rosettes, and necklaces of cotton thread. /Figs. 69 and 70 appear here./ 2/1

*532 I would like to add here the reproduction of masked dancers.
● 535 Masked dances resting on an animistic foundation take place [1.22] among the Karajá particularly in the rainy season (from October to April). Dance masks are used for this, and for the most part they represent animals. These masks are either plaited out of [245] [824] palm leaves and conceal the whole form of the dancer, or they [337] consist of a cane cylinder with a brightly colored mosaic of feathers stuck on, which is put on the head. The face is concealed by a covering attached to the lower edge of the cylinder; a leaf covering is tied around the shoulders and hips, so that of the dancer only the feet and the hands with the dance rattle are

2/1 [see p. 21 -- Analyst]

/12 cont./

*532 visible (1).
●535

[113]

1. For more details about these dance masks, see my article: "Tanzmaskennachbildungen vom mittleren Araguaya (Zentral Brasilien) /Dance-mask Reproductions from the Central Araguaia (Central Brazil)/, in the Jahrbuch des städtischen Museums für Völkerkunde zu Leipzig, Vol. 3, Leipzig, 1910, pp. 97-122. (R. Voigtländer, Leipzig.) A number of illustrations from that article are reproduced here.

Fig. 69. Model of the idjazó mask in natural material.

Fig. 70. Reproduction of the idjazó mask in wax.

Fig. 69 shows the ĭdjăzŏ mask in a model of natural material. The rather crudely executed wax reproduction of the same mask (Fig. 70) is to be compared with it. The two legs are indicated by two tips into which the mask runs at the bottom, the apron by two projections, one above the other. The cylinder is depicted by the pointed roll of wax; at the top it has two small points, evidently the two feathered rods.

/12 cont./

The two other figures of masks are known only in these reproductions. Fig. 71 represents the ĭōōnĭ mask which in its natural form has the shape of a triangular paper-screw about two meters high and consists entirely of palm-leaf plaiting. On the front, above the lower edge, there are two holes through which the arms are inserted when dancing. In the reproduction the body consists of a wax roll to which two rolls are attached at the bottom as legs. The covering is made from a piece of maize leaf, bent at the top and stuck together with wax at the front; another maize leaf sticks up on the back and ends in a long point. The arms

532* 535 ● RA5

Fig. 71. Reproduction of the iooni mask in wax.

Fig. 72. Reproduction of the inauini mask in wax.

are of wax; they are attached to the maize leaf, and thus the arm holes are not reproduced.

The ināuini mask (Fig. 72) has no mask costume, but instead a patterned headdress at the back of the head. A long, wide, brightly painted leaf-strip, patterned with rolls of wax, hangs down from the chin; it evidently represents a painted lip plug.

2: Krause--25 E-5 (1908) 1912 SP9 Caraja SP9

/14 cont./

*532 2. Surface Representations = Drawings (1)

[114] 1. All of the examples of surface representations published in the following come only from the Karajá.

Representations of this kind are found in sand as well as on gourd
[126] utensils; in addition the Indians gave me considerable material in my sketchbook.

*532
535

Fig. 96. Iadení masked dancers.

Fig. 97. Sand drawing of the Iadení mask.

Fig. 95. Sand drawing of the idjazó mask.

/14 cont./

a) Sand drawings 532*

were often made for explanations during our conversations; first the wavy sand of the sandbanks was simply smoothed by hand and then lines were drawn with the index finger. More delicate drawings, such as animal tracks, were made with the help of a knife or small sticks. In addition to these indented outline drawings, there are also

Fig. 98. Track of the giant anteater.

Fig. 99. Track of the dešio.

Fig. 100. Track of the jabiru.

Fig. 101. Track of the duck.

Fig. 102. Woman.

Fig. 103. Crocodile.

bas-reliefs which are produced by letting sand run out of the closed hand in a fine stream. I once saw such figures in relief being made for fun, but I was told that larger sand pictures of this kind /Figs. 95 and 97 appear here/ were also executed with sand colored red and black in or near the mask hut. I received this information from only one source and was unable to confirm it through other informants or from my own observation, not the latter in particular because I traveled through the Indian territory outside of the proper dancing season. [128]

I was able to record these drawings only by means of sketches copying them, since they were usually made in the evening or at night so that photographic records were out of the question. [126]

Fig. 104. Stag hunt.

In indented figures I saw two masked dancers, īdjăʒŏ and lădēnĭ. [535]

/14 cont./

*532 535 ĭdjăzŏ (Fig. 95 /see p. 25/). The arrangement goes out from a center line, to which the component parts are symmetrically added. The two aprons are represented by parallel strokes, which run diagonally downward from the middle toward both sides; the fall of the leaf strips /15/ of the apron is thus well reproduced. The cylinder is designated by the center line; the feathered wings, by parallel lines going away from it diagonally downward; the rods with the tufts of feathers on the end, by two diverging lines, each with a circle at the end.

Fig. 96 /see p. 25/ can be taken as a model for the lădēni mask. This mask consists of a plaited palm-leaf cylinder running out into a long tube whose upper edge forms a feather wreath, from the center of which rises a stick with feather ornamentation on the end. The arrangement of the drawing (Fig. 97 /see p. 25/) is also symmetrical with respect to a vertical center line. Two diverging lines at the lower end form the feet. The aprons are represented as on the ĭdjăzŏ masks, except that here the lower apron is closed, the upper apron is open, whereas in the case of ĭdjăzŏ it was the other way around. The head structure is reproduced by the center line, which goes through a larger and a smaller circle, the two feather wreaths.

*532 [115] My Indian comrade, Manoel, drew a number of animal tracks for me in the sand. /Figs. 98-103 appear here./

Fig. 98 /see p. 26/, wālĭlĭ (large anteater). The hand is curved and the edge pressed into the sand; then with the bent forefinger the toes are added to this impression.

Fig. 99 /see p. 26/, dĕšĭŏ (?). A fist is made, and the upper side, formed by the thumb and the forefinger, is pressed into the sand. The six (!) toes were drawn with the forefinger.

To make the tracks of the capybara (hūă), the hand is pressed into the sand with the fingers spread out.

Fig. 100 /see p. 26/, wālūlĭ (jabiru). The four toe furrows are drawn by the finger, and then the center hole is pressed in.

Fig. 101 /see p. 26/, hĕdăulĕ (duck). The track was made with a knife. The impressions of the web were produced by pushing the sand aside, the claw impressions by cutting into and lifting out the sand.

/23 cont./

531/ whereas in general they did not recognize the figures and drawings created from free imagination, but asked me first what the latter were supposed to mean. Thus, these are well-established, apparently very old decorations.

We find the decorations plaited on fans and baskets, on the handles of crotchet needles, on lances, clubs, bows, arrows, rattles, combs; carved on whole- and half-gourd containers, gourd rattles, ear rods; pictured by poker work on gourd ladles and small gourds, and by color on gourd ladles.

[462] All these objects are made by the men; they are the bearers of this art. The women, too, sometimes decorate objects made by them, such as mats, spinning whorls, bast aprons. The patterns, however, in general differ from those of the men. Re-
[177] cently the women have gone over to decorating tobacco pipes and clay vessels under Brazilian influence; the decorations used for this, however, are quite alien, probably taken over from the Brazilians.

531/ The patterns with which the Indians paint their bodies
302 have nothing in common with plaiting patterns. The patterns sometimes painted on the thighs appear similar to the plaiting patterns; they are probably connected with the masked dances
[535] at which we find similar decorations, usually depicting animals, on the cylinder masks and bask aprons.

531/ The animal patterns are not line patterns, but surface
[285] patterns; thus, in plaiting, the strips plaited in one direction represent the pattern; in the same way, in the sketches, it is not the lines which stand for the pattern, but the surfaces enclosed by them. This follows from the fact that in the case of carved patterns these surfaces are in relief or indented, but in any case contrasted as surfaces from the background; in the same way in the sketches the surfaces are sometimes set off by dots or dashes. Only it is difficult in this case to decide which of the surfaces represents the background and which the pattern; here only inquiry among the Indians helps. For the characteristic features do not penetrate our awareness at all, accustomed as we are to seeing such patterns in terms of lines and not surfaces.

/5 cont./

175 Nevertheless, the relationship of the Karaya to the immigrant
177 population remained rather good. On various occasions individuals of this people reached Pará on trading ships. In 1791 the chief, Aribedu, gave the then governor of this province information about the currents of the Araguaia. The trading expedition which traveled along the Tocantins and Araguaia in 1792 also brought many Karaya from the interior.

On the other hand, in the beginning of this century serious
[721] hostilities broke out. The newly established post of Santa Maria
[648] was completely destroyed in 1813 by the Karaya and the Ajuã (Chavante) allied with them (2).

[113] 2. Rev. trim., Vol. 25, II, p. 91.

175 Then for a long time the reports are silent; the Karaya are mentioned by Martius, Pohl, and Aug. St. Hilaire only in passing.

We do not get more detailed information again until the great expedition of Castelnau in 1844. Since the French traveler did not travel on the left arm of the river, now navigated exclusively, but rather on the right one, east of Bananal Island, he did not become acquainted with the Karayahi. He also saw no Yavahẽ. He erroneously designates the island as uninhabited. On the other hand, he spent several days in the large Šambioa villages. He
[535] wrote down the first word-list and above all, described the strange dance masks, whose true significance, however, remained hidden from him. Unfortunately his whole collection was lost in the cataracts of the lower Tocantins.

Three years later the Brazilian official, Dr. Rufino Theotonio
[131] Segurado, came upstream from Pará. His excellent travel report contains notes on the Šambioa whom he encountered just above the rapids Carreira comprida. He also visited the Karayahi (3).

[113] 3. Rev. trim, Vol. 5, pp. 178 ff.

Of other Brazilian travelers, General Couto Magelhães, who did so much for Araguaia shipping and who, as president of Goyaz,

/23 cont./

237 301 A small rhomboidal base-plate bears two strong feather-covered quills, into which two pairs of Cacicus feathers, standing out fork like, are inserted.

237 297 5. Feather caps in three shapes are used:

[171] a) The simplest (ǥori-ǥori) consist of a wide-meshed plaiting of bast, with feathers tied in the knots. They appear again in the same execution among the Xingu tribes of the Kamayura, Trumai, and Suya, who may have borrowed them from the local Karaya or Aruma.

[301]

Fig. 8. Feather ornament to be worn on the crown of the head.

b) The second type has greater durability and decorativeness. A narrow-meshed cap plaited out of strong palm fibers forms the base for the tying (hatukö). Small yellow and red feathers, fastened rosette-like around a little piece of cane, are tied into the meshes (Pl. IX /see p. 111/, 4).

c) Tightly knitted, narrow-meshed caps, which are covered on the outside with a layer of down feathers. In the examples here the latter are no longer present.

535 237 301 6. The true dance ornament (lurinä) is worn on the back of the head on a string running around the forehead (Pl. IX, 2; cf. Pl. II /see p. 104/, 2). The base is a horseshoe-shaped support. It consists of two layers of palm leaf-ribs bent together and held together by patterned cotton plaiting daubed with white clay. Between these two plates lie short canes arranged next to one

/23 cont./

535 another radially, the upper opening of which holds the shaft of
237 the ornamental feathers. /Figure 8 appears here./ The part
301 of the little canes protruding over the supporting plates is covered by a band of feathers placed over it.

This ornament also appears in a less solid form, in which a thick layer of wax holds the ornamental feathers instead of the canes. In order to penetrate the wax better, each of them is sewed to a pointed wooden splint.

7. A second dance ornament in diadem form (ahetŏ) is simpler, but no less stately. Here the support consists of a row of long cane sticks wound with white thread and arranged in a row on a horizontal wooden stick. When the lower corners of the support are drawn together, the upper ones move away from one another to the sides so that the long ornamental feathers are spread far apart (Pl. IX /see p. 111/, 5).

[171] The first Xingu expedition acquired such a headdress of the Xingu Karaya among the Yuruna.

301 8 and 9. The use made of two ornamental pieces is still
237 unclear. There were acquired among the Karayahi two helmet-like headdresses plaited out of buriti leaf-strips and provided with tufts of feathers at the top(tatenerǎ), which the Indians themselves designated as incomplete. Allegedly more feathers should have been placed around the lower part of these helmets. One of them, moreover, is covered with a layer of down feathers (Pl. IX /see p. 111/, 1).

In another locality two feather ornaments were found, one of which perhaps represents the above-mentioned missing piece. It consists of a layer of long arara and short yellow Cascicus feathers in a fan-shaped row on a strong cotton strand. On the lower part of the outside there is yet another covering layer made up of blue and green parrot feathers. In order to make the cacicus feathers equally as long as the arara feathers, each of them is sewed to a wooden stick of corresponding length, whose protruding end piece, wound with cotton, bears a small tuft of feathers at its tip. The little stick is missing on the arara feathers, which are sufficiently long. In their case only a part

/23 cont./

301 of the feathers are removed, and the quill at this point is like-
230 wise wound with cotton. A cord runs through the middle of the whole thing. If one ties its ends and those of the thick strand on which all the feathers stand in a row, the fan can be folded up mantle-like and fits exactly around the above-mentioned helmets (Pl. IX /see p. 111 /, 7).

The second specimen, otherwise quite similarly constructed, cannot be closed completely. It has, outside and inside, a double layer of cover feathers, which proves that both sides were meant to be exposed and thus could hardly have served as a helmet covering. Either it is tied crosswise over the head, or it is the completion of the braid feather-tuft mentioned under No. 1. A third possibility is that both feather fans were worn hanging down over the neck, similar to the feather cloaks customary in Guiana. But the extreme narrowness of the neck opening would argue against this. A definite decision must await further information.

The common ear-ornaments, the cane sticks, are replaced by delicate feather rosettes (ϑohoruã) for festive adornment (Pl. IX, 10). They are round disks made of concentrically arranged small red and yellow feathers on cane stalks, which [illegible] the center bear a small mother-of-pearl disk with a black [illegible]oss or a rodent's tooth (cf. Pl. III /see p. 105 /, 1).

Festive arm-bands for the upper arm (deoϑanã) are made out of ounce or wildcat skin decorated with tufts of parrot or heron feathers (Pl. IX, 9), or they are simple feather tassels tied to cotton cords.

Arm-bands made out of bird bones in parallel rows are not represented in the collection and were not seen in use by me. They seem to have been used more commonly in former times. The private collections of Dr. Leite Moraes and Sertorio in São Paulo, as well as the Museo nacional in Rio have a whole number of them.

535 /24/ Also belonging among the dance ornaments are the belts (uatakanã) worked out of strong black and white striped cotton plaiting and with feather hangings, which on the ends

/24 cont./

535 often bear rattles of Thevetia pods. Other belts are entirely made up of the latter (Pl. X /see p. 112/, 8-10).

Around the knee or ankle joints the dancer places bands from which strands ending in rattles and tufts of feathers hang down. They are held apart by a horizontal wooden stick and are sometimes covered with a thick layer of white down feathers (Pl. X, 4).

412 531

301 237 439

Fig. 9. Comb (1/4).

Necklaces in their original form are no longer seen. Pierced animal teeth and stones, shell disks, etc. have long been supplanted by glass beads imported in great quantities. The white and black beads of the cheap "rosaries" widespread everywhere

415 531

Fig. 10. Decorations on the gourd vessel of Pl. VIII /see p. /, 7 (1/4).

301 in Goyaz are the most prized, but they are strung in a manner corresponding to the national taste. A whole series of short strings goes around the neck as tightly as possible (cf. Pl. II /see p. 104/, 2; III /see p. 105/, 1). From the lowermost hangs a number of small chains which have small fruit shells or tufts of feathers at the ends.

/30 cont./

526 On beautiful moonlit nights the young people practice wrestling on the praias. The hold is the same as the one customary among us. It is principally a matter of bringing down the opponent by tripping him, at which even apparently weak individuals develop an astounding agility.

535 Some of the dances have already been described by Castelnau.
[114] I myself had the opportunity in the third Šambioa village to attend a war dance. Eight feather-adorned men armed with spears, clubs, and bows took part under the leadership of a head-dancer, whom they surrounded in a semicircle. The dancers moved only a little from their places, at most a few steps forward and back. Rapid hopping on one leg and artistically correct, rhythmic swinging of the weapons provided the main action. Everything was carried out with the greatest precision.
[199] This dance is said to have been borrowed from the Kayapo.

764
[768]

[524] Fig. 15. Top (1/4).

Obsequies and burial. At the death of a Karaya all the objects that he used daily, weapons, ornaments, etc., are burned amidst loud lamentations of the relatives; the rest is divided among those who bury him. The mourners wound themselves with cuts and shear their hair.

764
535

Next follows the dance of the dead around the corpse (1), which is colored

[763] 1. Not infrequently the ceremonies begin before death has actually occurred.

with urucú and, wrapped in mats, is hung up on a horizontal pole.

Under the direction of two leading singers, who are relieved from time to time, the row goes around in a circle, whereby the participants hold their fingers pushed over one another. The
[533] song is a kind of dialogue. The chorus asks the deceased where he is and how he is; one of the leading singers answers for him.

/30 cont./

764 One such verse might be reproduced in translation, at least
535 the sense of it.
539 Chorus: džoiri koniko -- hidžohoho (repeated 4-5 times) otohoniko -- kudžã beboniko, i.e.: He lives no more, it is over for him, do not think of him any more, he hangs on the pole (kudžã).

The deceased: roniro nira -- koti naidžã naniro bioko nero -- aidžodžã biowa, i.e.: I am in a beautiful country, bring me tobacco (koti), have you put the lip plug on me? Further: I lack nothing, but bring water to the grave, etc.

Between times the chorus repeats over and over the muted: haidžã hã hã hãñ -- hã hãñ -- hã hãñ, i.e.: It is all over.

764 /31/ The burial takes place the next day, or, when death has occurred in the morning, in the evening of the same day.
[765] The ceremonies, songs, and dances are then continued for three or four more days, during which time no one works.

The burial places are always close to the river on higher
[126] ground. Two of them, one near S. José, the other somewhat above the mouth of the Rio das Mortes on the right bank, were more closely investigated by me and some skeletons exhumed.

The grave (Fig. 16 a-d /see p. 63/) is a rectangular pit two meters long, one meter wide, and 50-70 centimeters deep, over which some poles are placed in the long direction. The corpse, wrapped in buriti mats, hangs in a horizontal position, swinging free, on the centermost pole (1) (a). A container filled with food

[114]

1. Castelnau's statement, op. cit., I, p. 446, that the deceased stands vertically in the grave (la tête fait une saillie au dessus du sol /the head projects above the ground/) is probably based on confusion with the method of burial in a squatting position customary among the Kayapo.

/Fig. 16 appears here/ stands under it on the ground. The pit is covered with a mat, over which lies a foot-high layer of earth (b).

/34/

775 The souls of the dead, which, as mentioned above, are thought of as remaining for a while in the vicinity of the grave, later like to return to their former home. They appear to their relatives especially on stormy nights. When the rain streams [787] down and lightning brightens the darkness, the old people remember their dead relatives and attempt by loud lamentations and singing to put themselves in a state of artificial ecstasy, which finally conjures up in their aroused imaginations any desired phantom.

771 The animistic "religion," if one wishes to call it this, still lacks any ethical basis. It has not elevated itself to the acceptance of a higher, omnipotent spirit upon which man feels dependent in the expectation of punishment and reward for his actions. Thus there is also lacking anything which would indicate the external relationships of man to the godhead, idols, cult performances, prayers, etc. There are among them, however, those ceremonies from which apparently the higher cult forms have come everywhere in the world, the mysterious

•535 121 Masked dances. The important role which such masked dances play among the North American tribes is known everywhere. Until now remarkably little was known about the analogous customs on the southern continent. Only the dances of the Tekuna, Juri, and Uaupē tribes are mentioned in passing in the literature. The "temples" and "idols" which the oldest missionary reports mention are obviously nothing other than the "medicine huts" or "flute houses" with the fantastic mask costumes stored in them.

Only recently has the wealth of mask material brought back by the two Xingu expeditions again directed attention to these festive dances which are so important for an understanding of Indian life. Observations made later among the Karaya supplied a desirable supplement to this.

Their masked dances are of quite special interest ethnologically on account of the remarkable analogies which they exhibit in the form of the masks, as well as in other festive customs, with those of Melanesia. This correspondence goes into such

/34 cont./

535 detail that Kleinschmidt's description of the duck-duck festival
121 of New Britain would also fit mutatis mutandis the animal dances of the Karaya.

535 Castelnau, who first mentions them, obtained one of these
114 masks with great difficulty (1), but it was later lost, along with

1. Castelnau, op. cit., p. 441.

all the other collections, in the cataracts of the Tocantins. The depiction of a dance given by him on Plate IX of his Vues et scenes /Views and Scenes/ (Paris, 1852) is incorrect inasmuch as the lower trunk and legs of the dancers are not uncovered, as the illustration shows, but are hidden under long buriti hangings. Also the height of the headdresses seems exaggerated.

Later Spinola (2) published something about them and also

2. Op. cit., p. 45.

obtained some mask costumes for the anthropological exhibition in Rio (1882), which, however, never reached their destination, but were lost in Goyaz.

126 That I was successful in luckily bringing home some of the
535 most interesting masks I owe to the intervention of the chief Pedro
532 Manco, without whose intercession the superstitious mistrust of
[123] his fellow tribesmen could hardly have been overcome. These
[1078] sacred objects had already been unwisely profaned several times by travelers, in particular by Spinola himself. Contrary to expecta-
532 tion, the most beautiful specimens were found among the
535 Karayahi, whose villages alone exhibit the above-described
184 "medicine huts." Smaller camps had, instead of them, simple semicircular compartments, open at the top and back, as Castelnau depicts them, whereas the huts are completely absent among the Šambioa. Probably in this case they had already been torn down again after the conclusion of the festivities. The palm-straw costumes collected there lay thrown in a heap in the nearby forest and are for that reason somewhat defective.

/34 cont./

535 All of the dance masks represent animals. The imitation of
532 the animal form, however, does not go so far as among the masks
825 of the North Americans and the Tekuna, since the creature concerned /35/ is merely indicated by some of its most striking

Fig. 18. Mask of the dolphin (1/20).

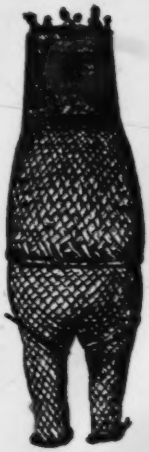


Fig. 19.
Mask of the fish doori (probably the pirarara) (1/20).

Fig. 20.
Mask of the scarabacus (dung beetle) (1/20).

Fig. 21.
Large anteater (headdress) (1/24).

characteristics or even only by the decorations placed on it.

The masks, which are either used individually or belong in pairs, fall into three classes according to their shape.

/35 cont./

535 1. Costumes and headdresses of simple palm-straw plaiting
532 (inaudä). Of these there were collected:
825 a) The dolphin. Male figure with genitals made extremely large; plaited out of uaguassú leaves. A sleeved jacket reaching to the belt covers the upper body of the dancer; the lower trunk and the legs down to the knee are in a type of trousers, while the head is covered with a cap completely hiding the face and on top running out into two wound braids (Fig. 18 /see p. 70/).

b) A similar figure without genitals, representing the doori fish (pirarara?). The covering of the thorax is sleeveless. The hood has six short braids provided with end knots (Fig. 19 /see p. 70/).

c) The scarabaeus (korehaǧǧ, dung beetle, one of the most common insects of the campos), is a mask plaited out of buriti leaves for the upper body. Hiding the head is a rhomboidal cap of fine plaiting, through the upper part of which runs a cross-stick provided with palm-straw tassels at the ends, reproducing quite typically the antennae of the beetle. The lower part, made out of coarser plaiting, consists only of a layer covering the chest and stomach. On both sides there are slit-shaped armholes. The legs of the dancer are probably covered with buriti hangings (Fig. 20 /see p. 70/).

/36/ d) The large anteater (uariri), for which there is likewise only a headpiece for the head and upper trunk, is plaited in a funnel shape out of a single buriti leaf whose stem, projecting upward and split several times, is lengthened artificially by a wooden stick set into it. The extreme tip bears a huge tassel of leaves. The whole is three meters and eighty-two centimeters high (Fig. 21 /see p. 70/).

The preceding masks are those obtained among the Šambioa. In addition, the sketch of a fifth costume of the same type was drawn in a Karayahi village. This is

e) the caracara hawk (iira), likewise funnel-shaped, but not as tall as the "anteater" and provided with armholes (Fig. 22 c /see p. 72 /).

/36 cont./

535 2. Masks of the duck-duck type (ya-ŏŏ). These are cylin-
532 drical dance hats, covered with ornamental feather mosaic, the
825 pattern of which reproduces the animal concerned.

a) The piabussu fish (abušeura) consists of a strong buriti plaiting 82 centimeters high and 45 centimeters in circumference in the middle, running out at the top, into a braidlike continuation wound with black bast, which bears a tuft of feathers at the end. The lower end of the cylinder broadens like a funnel in order to receive the head of the wearer. This lower part is about 25 centimeters high and so densely covered with buriti strips that the face of the dancer remains completely hidden (Pl. XII /see p.114 /, 1 a and b).

Fig. 22. Masks and masked dancer.

The cylindrical middle-piece is covered lengthwise with thin sticks of cane, on which the feather mosaic is applied with wax. Running vertically on the front side there is a yellow strip ten centimeters wide and bordered by black and white cotton threads twisted together, which is accompanied on either side by a red one half as wide with the same border. From each of the latter a broad red continuation branches off at right angles toward the back, which divides each side of the cylinder into two rectangular fields. These are filled with blue rectangles on a yellow background, which are divided off by black cords.

/36 cont./

535 At both ends the cylinder is wound with strips of blue army
532 cloth. In any case the original binding was a tightly woven
825 black or black-white cotton band, as on the masks illustrated in Fig. 22 a and b /see p. 72/.

A small green feather border surrounds the upper edge, which is also adorned with a row of upright red arara feathers.

On the back side, with white down pasted on it, two rows of blue arara feathers hand down over each other.

A cross-stick decorated at the ends with long feather tassels is stuck through the upper third of the cylinder.

b) The pacu fish (ariua) is of similar form. The cylindrical part is shorter, but of larger diameter (height 50 centimeters, circumference 55 centimeters). In this case, too, a braid runs out from the upper surface (60 centimeters) (Pl. XII /see p. 114/, 2 a and b).

A broad red stripe with a black and white border likewise runs down the front. The side parts show a complementary pattern of oblique, blunt zigzag stripes running somewhat irregularly, red on a yellow background within a black border. Two rows of feathers likewise hang down in back.

Long buriti hangings to be placed around the shoulders and hips belong to both masks. The neck is wound with an ornament of black bast strips. The dancer carries gourd rattles in his hands and wears bands with rattling Thevetia pods around his ankles (Fig. 22 a /see p. 72/).

Two other such masks could be sketched.

c) One allegedly represents the kabroro (alligator). The cylindrical part is red with horizontally placed double-crosses in yellow (Fig. 22 a /see p. 72/) and bears two short diverging braids.

d) The meaning of the other, the animal yarenĕ, is uncertain. The basic color of the cylinder is blue. A chain of yellow rectangles on a red background runs down each side. According to the ornamentation, it may represent a snake (Fig. 22 b /see p. 72/).

/36 cont./

535 On both, the back side is decorated with a double row of
532 short green and blue parrot feathers placed in the long direction.
825 3. The mask of a black bird (tirehäñ) has no animal emblem. It is a human face made of a large gourd, the lower third painted black, the rest red. The mouth is equipped with wax lips and wooden teeth. The nose of black wax is located between the narrow eye slits at an unnatural height. A hanging of black and /37/ brown feathers falls from the back, while at the front and on the sides long strips of buriti bast cover the body of the wearer (Pl. X /see p. 112/, 3).

The number of masks is in no way exhausted with these.
[184] Each village has its special ones and many a "medicine hut" was actually crammed full of the different types.

Besides those mentioned the following were noted as particularly common among the Karayahi:

The fish: pintado (Pimelodus sorubim), trem-trem (Gymnotus electricus), chicote, piau, and pirarucú (Sudis gigas); the birds: tuyuyu (Mycteria jabiru), japuira (Cacicus sp.) mutum (Crax), jacu (Penelope); finally deer and crabs.

527 Masked festivals. If there is much food on hand after pro-
535 ductive hunting and fishing expeditions, the chief decides to hold a dance festival, which continues as long as the provisions last. The preparations begin several days before the date set. The women attend to the food and drink, the men set to work at making the dance costumes, unless they are still occupied with hunting.
[533] Each dance is known only to certain persons. The songs sung in
[198] connection with them, which are handed down from father to son, are allegedly performed in an ancient language incomprehensible to the masses.

[825] Each animal represented has its characteristic sound, which
[533] is repeated again and again in the songs. Thus, the pacu cries: heiyoñ he, heiyoñ he, the alligator hu — hu — hu.

[564] The women and children watch the dance, to be sure, but
[532] may not look at the masks by themselves, without their wearers,
[176] since they are made to believe that the "animal spirits" concerned are really present before them. Only the oldest women are sometimes told the secret.

/37 cont./

537 The festival begins with a procession of the masks through
535 the village. The participants dress in the nearby forest and approach with a loud han̓ hm han̓. Then everybody cries: nakunerare! There they come!

During the procession the masked men throw sticks of wood in all directions. After they have withdrawn, everything is readied for the feast and drinking bout, until after a few hours the dancers approach again and the dance begins. Like that of the duck-duck, it consists of an odd hopping. The dancer is not permitted to let himself be recognized in any way; he
[688] may neither speak nor cough or sneeze, and particularly not fall. Otherwise, as in the case of the duck-duck and the Northwest American hametz, he is killed immediately.

If he finds it necessary to cough, which in view of the stifling heat in his masquerade is not uncommon, of course, he jumps into the circle of men standing about, who cover up his voice by likewise coughing.

The dances take place in a certain sequence; it is the chief who decides which one is to be at the beginning.

532 If a woman enters the secret hut out of curiosity or other-
535 wise takes advantage of an opportunity to see the mask costumes,
562 she is punished by death.
688 Usually the other women then bring a petition to the chief. The latter lets mercy prevail if the guilty one promises silence and is willing to undertake a task of atonement, which usually consists of weaving a riio or making a large buriti mat. If she refuses or if the work is not satisfactory, a place in the forest is pointed out to her, and she must appear there at a certain
[839] time. She is forced to yield to the men assembled there. If she does not appear, the latter have the right to kill her wherever
[766] they find her. The corpse of the guilty one is sunk in the river.
[778] No one may enter the hut of the victim, however, since this is considered a sanctuary.

In the same way a man who betrays the secret to a woman is declared an outlaw.

/37 cont./

535 That such barbaric customs prevailed, at least formerly,
532 is all the less to be doubted, since analogies can be shown in
562 other regions of the world. Today, however, the matter does
688 not seem to be handled as strictly. It is said that among the
178 neighboring Tapirapé all the women once saw the masks by chance, so there was nothing else to do but to pardon them all and give up the secret.

According to a statement of Pedro Manco, the custom has fallen into disuse among the Šambioa, too. Nevertheless, they did not permit us simply to take the masks found in the forest along with us, because women /38/ were presumed to be in the area. Rather our men had to put on special clothing for the purpose of bringing them to our camp.

Whether these customs have now become milder or not, in any case the respect the women have for the masks and their mysterious storage place is quite great.

535 After the end of the festival the masks are thrown away or
532 burned. In any case the feathers used for them are saved.

It is unlikely that we shall ever fully understand the real meaning of these dances. It is even doubtful whether the Indians themselves are fully aware of it. On the basis of analogies among better known peoples, a few conjectures about it can at least be made.

535 It is certain that the mask represents the spirit of the ani-
532 mal portrayed. The animals themselves are either game animals
776 or those that play a certain role in the national legend, such as
825 the stork, the alligator, and the Gymnotus. In North America
[171] there are bear dances, buffalo dances, etc., in order to persuade the bear and buffalo spirit to make these animals appear in larger numbers, whereas other dances refer to animals which are regarded as original ancestors or have other mythological significance. Similar notions may also be the basis for the masked dances of the Karaya. This would already be a step beyond the lowest form of animism, since the acceptance of a spirit representing all animals of a certain class presumes a certain amount

/38 cont./

535 of abstraction (1). Insofar as these animal spirits are supposed to
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1. Im Thurn, op. cit., p. 370.

be influenced in a way favorable to human beings, the first trace of a cult appears in these dances.

535 If one asks the Indians themselves why they keep the secret
532 from the women, they answer without exception that the women
562 are not permitted to see everything, they talk too much.

The need to maintain the authority of the men over the women appears wherever such mysterious festivals are current. The same thing is known from Greek and Oriental antiquity. It is possible that in this effort, which may often appear to the civilized man as a brutal tyranny over the weaker sex, one of the most ancient "folk ideas" belonging to all mankind finds its expression.

The whizzing stick does not seem to be in use among the Karaya; at least nothing could be learned about it.

Legends and Folklore

126 In the last days of our stay in S. Maria old Pedro Manco
[115] dictated a number of legends, which, given the paucity of
[773] such materials from South America and despite their simplicity and poverty of ideas, as well as the in part garbled form, nevertheless command some interest. Unfortunately because of the lack of time, they could not be written down in the original language, and in particular working out an interlinear translation met insuperable difficulties.

773 Whether these traditions have remained completely free of
199 foreign influence can be decided with certainty only when someone is successful in drawing on other informants as a check. The chances, to be sure, are very slight. For the present nothing opposes the presumption that we are actually dealing here with genuine products of the Indian folk-spirit.

773 These myths differ neither in form nor in content from those otherwise from America. The very saga which is most

/79 cont./

• 535 Pl. X. Karaya. Ornaments and Equipment for Dancing.

1. Dance rattle with feather hangings and incised ornamentation (1/7).

2. Dance rattle without feather hangings (1/8).

[532] 3. Mask of the bird tirehäñ (see p. 74) with long buriti-fiber hangings in front and black feather decoration in back (1/9).

4. Dance rattles of Thevetia pods to be tied around the knee, with cross-sticks and down covering (partly removed) (1/8).

5. Simple dance-rattles to be tied on the arms or legs (1/8).

6. Dance belts made of strung Thevetia fruit capsules (1/7).

[534] 7. Trumpet made of gourd shell with an inserted taquara mouthpiece (1/9).

[236] [237] 8-10. Dance belts made of strong black or black-white cotton weave with feather hangings (9 and 10 also with Thevetia pods) (1/7).

532 Plate XI. Karaya. Clay and Wax Figures.

1. Simplest form without indication of the sex (1/2).

2. Simple female figure (1/2).

3. Female figure with wax hair, without facial modeling, but with the lower extremities. Probably gravidity is indicated (3/4).

4. Female figure with wax hair, face and upper body modeled. Legs as stumps (3/4).

5. Male figure in similar execution with zigzag painting indicated (3/4).

6. Large female figure with stump feet, but clearly modeled face. The apron is lacking. The neck is adorned with a chain of strung Ricinus kernels and snail shells (1/2).

[Plate XI. Karaya. (Cont'd)]

/80/
532 7. Completely fashioned female figure clothed in an apron (1/2).

8. Completely fashioned female figure with carrying basket, without apron and painting (1/2).

9. Female figure made of black wax, with ear sticks. Best specimen of the collection (1/2).

10. Large male figure with wax hair, ear and neck ornaments. Cuffs indicated (1/2).

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Plate XII. Karaya. Fish-dance Masks (Headdresses).

1a. Piabussu fish, front view.
1b. Piabussu fish, side view (left)
} of the same specimen (1/8).

2a. Pacu fish, front view
2b. Pacu fish, side view (left)
} of specimens of different sizes (1/8).

Pl. XII a (Supplement). Color Sketch of Pl. XII.

The broad crossbands of blue European military cloth, which the originals have, are reproduced here in black crosshatching, since the original bands probably consisted of black cotton weaving, as in Fig. 22b /see p. 72/.

/The explanations for Plates XIII-XV, which refer to the untranslated portion of the source and are therefore not reproduced here, are omitted. The errata listed at the bottom of p. 80 have been corrected in the text./

Plate X

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[534]

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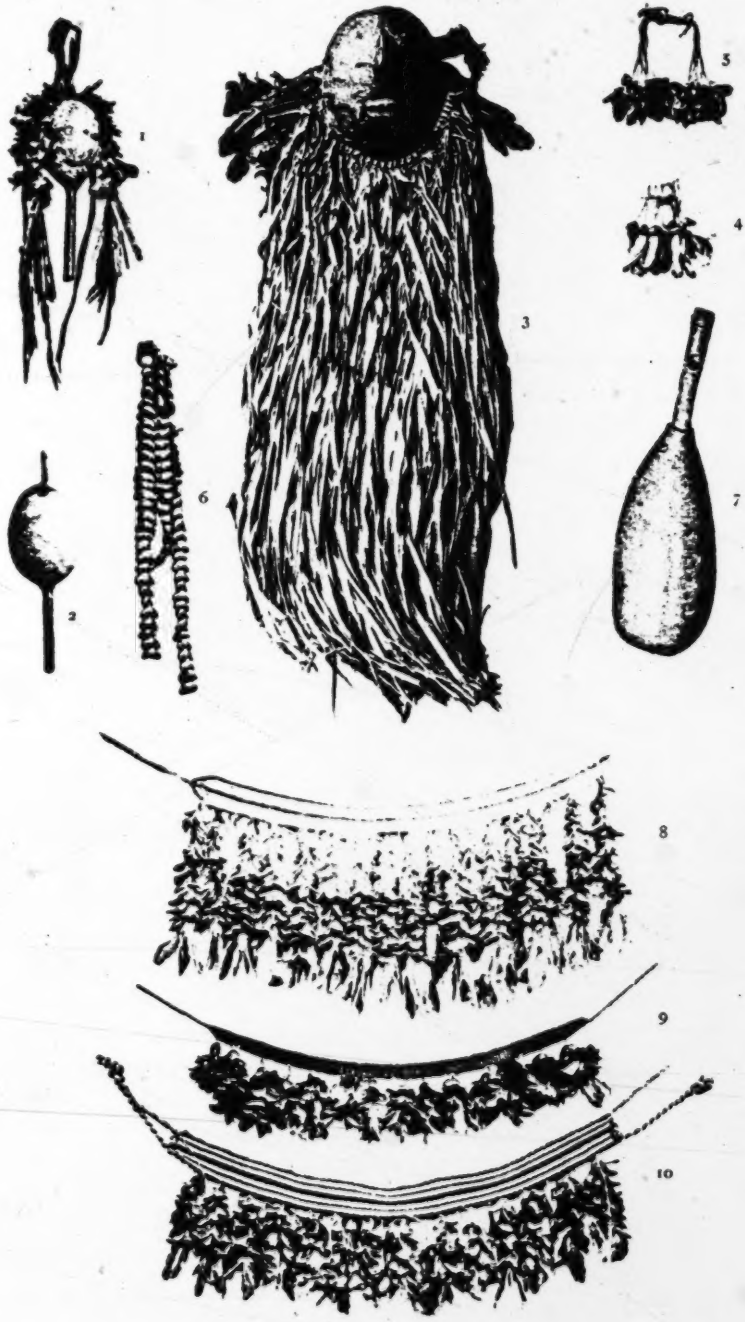

4: Ehrenreich--114 E-5 (1888) 1891 SP9 Caraja SP9

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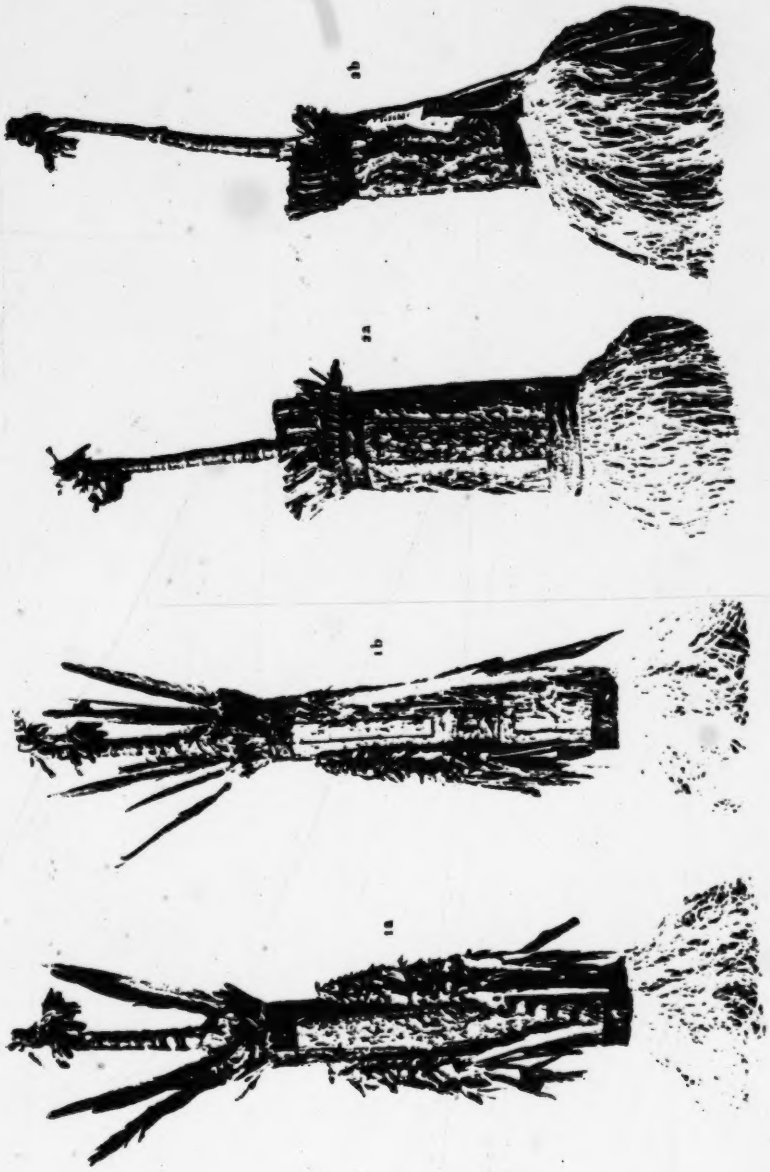
Plate XII



4: Ehrenreich--115 E-5 (1888) 1891 SP9 Caraja SP9

Plate XII (Supplement)

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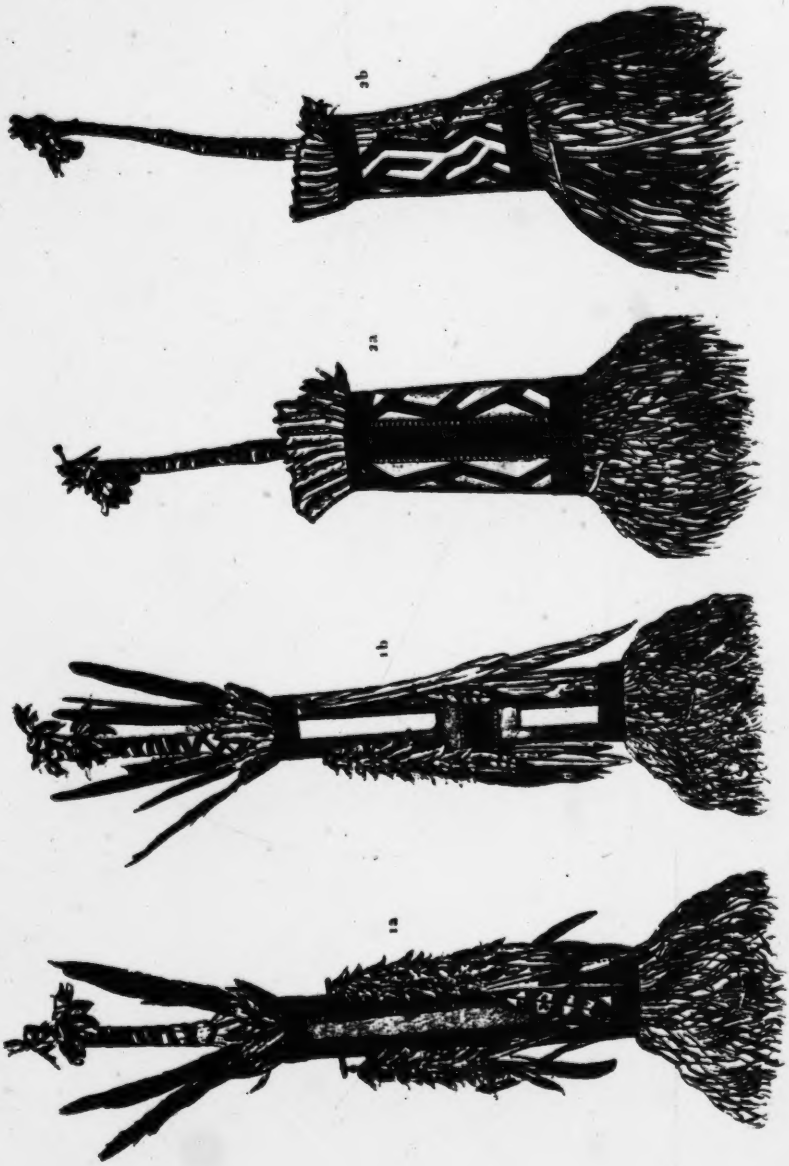

5: Krause

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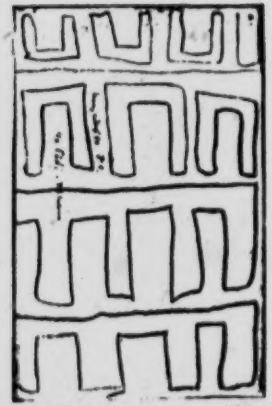
SP9 Caraja SP9

[For the description and use of feathered ornaments such as caps, helmets, belts, hoops, etc. on festive and ceremonial occasions, see category 301.]

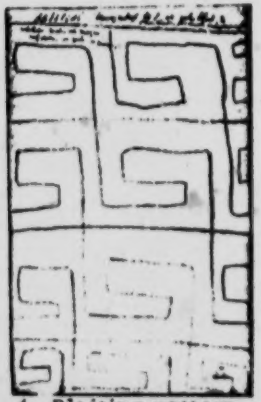
Plate 20

1. Koduni masked dancers.

2. Ladeni masked dancers.



3. Plaiting pattern: dogfish.



4. Plaiting pattern.

/Pl. 20 precedes p. 81./

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Plate 34

Dance-mask reproductions: a) idjazõ mask; b) ladeni mask.

/Pl. 34 faces p. 160./

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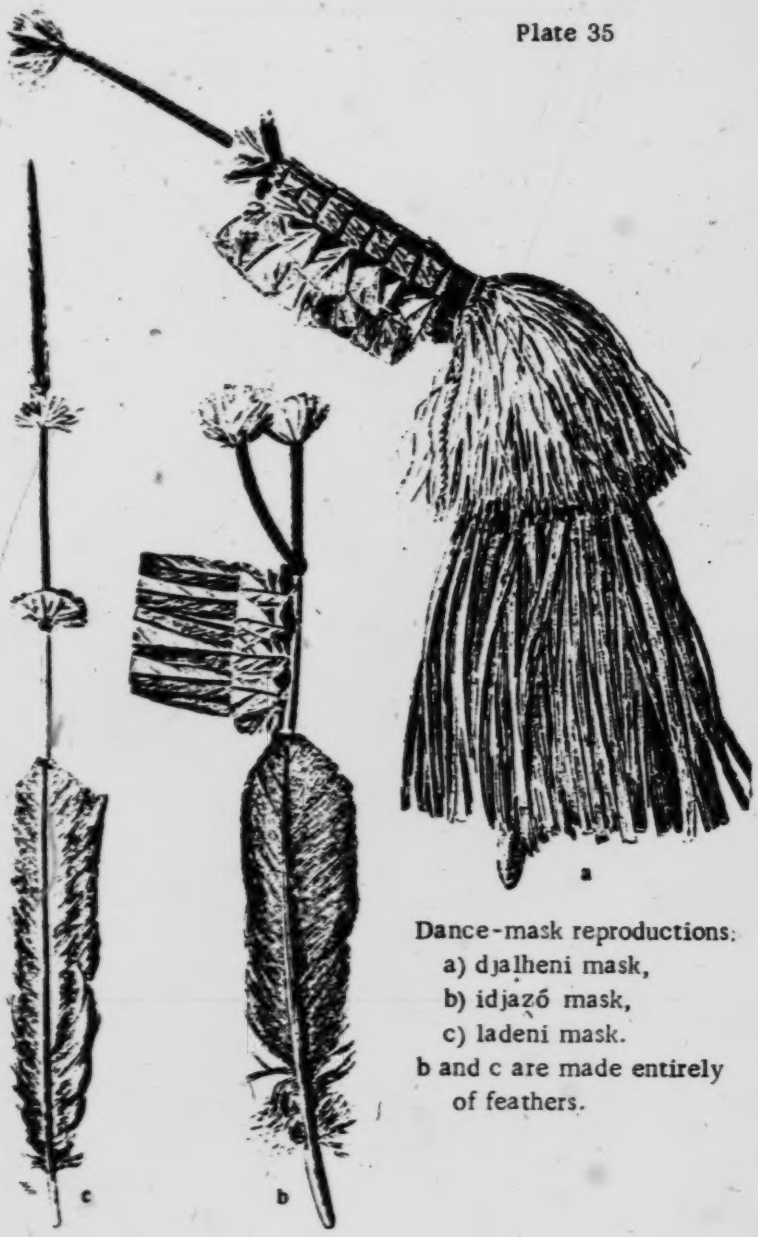
Plate 35



Dance-mask reproductions:
a) djalheni mask,
b) idjazõ mask,
c) ladeni mask.
b and c are made entirely of feathers.

[237]

/Pl. 35 faces p. 161./

5: Krause--28 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9

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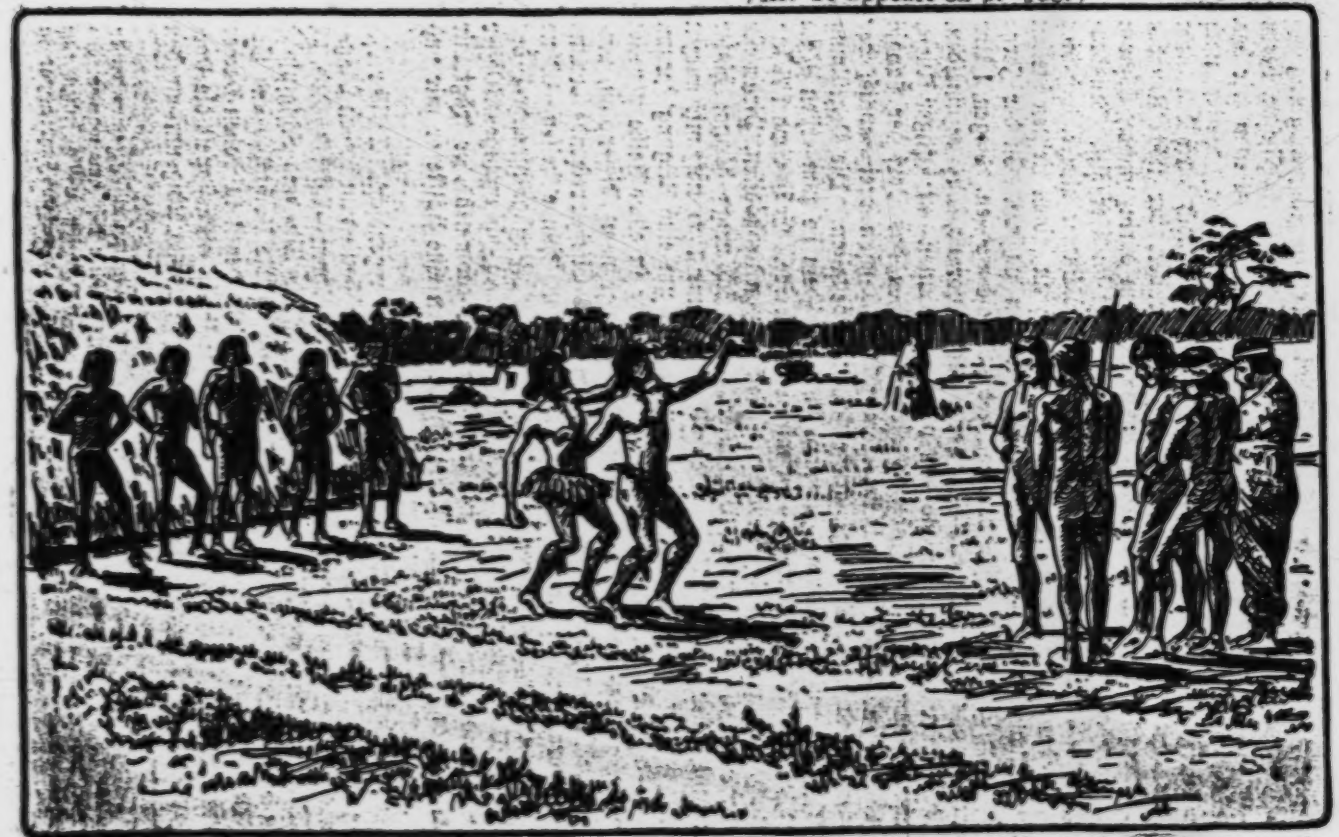
/Ill. 10 appears on p. 188./



Ill. 10. Savajé challenge-dance for a wrestling match. On the right, the Karajá. In front, the two paths on which the masked dances take place. Drawn from a photograph.

/211 cont./

303 are tossed in until there is no longer any liquid oil. For use, a
[302] tuft is pulled out, squeezed out between the hands, and the oil is rubbed into the hair, on the skin of the body, mixed with pigments, etc. The tuft is again tossed into the gourd vessel.

302 b) Body hair. The beard growth is little developed. When a
[142] small hair appears, it is plucked out. Cheek and chin hair allegedly does not grow at all among them; some, however, have short, faint /212/ mustache hairs. Since they find them ugly, however (they compared our mustaches with the long barbs of the
[535] pirarara), they pluck them out. On the other hand, they are supposed to wear artificial beards of human hair in the cascudo dance, according to their statements. The mustache-like beard is placed between the lower lip and the chin, pulled up toward the ears, and fastened in back of the head with strings (1).

[113] 1. See Jahrbuch des Museums für Völkerkunde zu Leipzig, Vol. 3, 1910, p. 114.

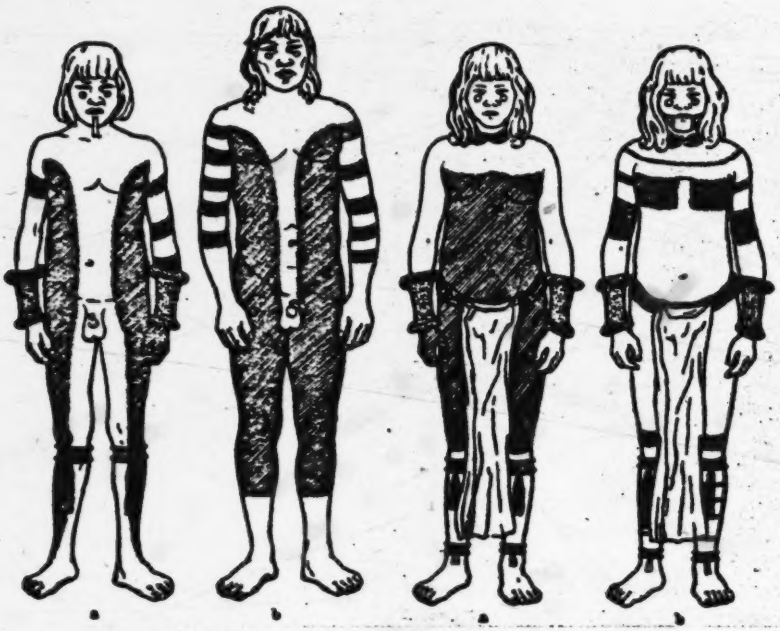
Eye hair. Eyebrows and lashes are removed, and, to be sure, pulled out with the fingers. For this purpose, the fingers are first dipped in ashes, probably so that they will not slip off the smooth hair. This plucking is said to be very painful; it is undertaken even in the case of small children and repeated when the hair has grown in again. As a reason for it they could only say that they did not want this hair to grow. Why they do not want this, they could not explain.

142 The rest of the body hair is usually only slightly developed.
302 The fine hairs of the skin were scarcely to be seen. Underarm hair, too, was only slightly developed; its removal is left to the discretion of the individual. The pubic hair was heavily developed; it was not removed, as far as I could see, at least among the men.

302 c) Body painting. For body painting, red, black, and white color is used.

/214 cont./

302 from ear to ear with soot scraped from the charred campo trees.
[535] For dance festivities the men and youths are painted by the women. In general, this patterning is their ornamentation,
[226] their festive clothing. Mothers often painted their sons when the latter were to set out with us on a fishing expedition.



Ill. 43.
Boy (a) and man (b) with full patterning.

Ill. 44.
Two girls with full patterning.

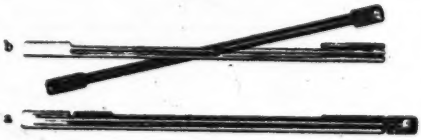
[965] For mourning, the entire body, even the face, is said to be provided with genipap painting. I did not see this custom, however, in the case of Kabisá's family.

There are no differences in the painting between the two sexes, except that perhaps the men, who have more to do out in the open than the women, who essentially remain in the village and in the houses, wear the full painting more than the women. The patterns themselves are the same for both sexes, except that the men like a somewhat more extensive patterning.

/312 cont./

524 drawn (Ill. 176). The two loops are put over the thumbs; by tumbling it, the thread becomes twisted, and then, by letting it unroll, pulling and relaxing, one makes the disk rotate, whereby it makes a buzzing sound by itself. The Indians did not have such an instrument on hand, but they all knew it; the one shown in Ill. 176 represents a model which an Indian voluntarily made for me. My informant told me that only the men use this instrument, but not women and children. He also linked it up with the

Whizzer stick (nōlĭnōlĭ). This is manipulated fastened to a stick. I never saw a whizzer stick nor was I able to confirm this information. The Indian in question happened to mention



Ill. 177 a, b.
Puzzle carving:
a) covering each other, b) drawn apart.

it when he was looking at a picture in Steinen's second travel [114] book, page 498. Since this information was obtained in the first village, where I was not yet completely familiar with the Indian's way of expressing himself, this may have been a misunderstanding In any case, subsequent verficiation would be ● [535] necessary. If the whizzer stick should exist, it probably appears in connection with the masked dances. The buzzing-disk, too, which is supposed to be limited to the men, seems to be connected with them.

I saw the string game (lälŭ) performed several times, though I did not succeed in retaining the difficult movements. Children, above all, occupy themselves with it, adults only occasionally. There are some who command many figures, whereas others are said not to complete any. They have figures which are made by only one person, and some for which

/314 cont./

526 574 When Karajá come to a strange village, they must officially engage in wrestling with the youth of the village before they are regarded as admitted (1). As soon as the village comes into view,

1. This is an ancient custom which even Fonseca reports in the year 1773 (Rev. trim. 8, 384/85). According to this, the Šavajé paid the Karajá a visit; they came in a large number of boats, adorned and armed, shouted and blew on trumpets. The Karajá responded in like manner, and while they came toward them, armed, in a boat, the others drew up on the shore behind the chief, who carried a large lance. The Šavajé landed and likewise stood in formation. Both clusters of people then moved forward and backward three times, during which they shouted and formed a circle, in the center of which the chiefs then greeted each other. Then a wrestling match began: from either side a warrior stepped up, the two wrestled, cheered on by the chiefs. The victorious nation was always greeted with three loud shouts. It was only after this ceremony that the Karajá chief led the one of the Šavajé to Fonseca in the camp.

one hears sounded from there the challenging shouts for a wrestling match: long and short kjū cries, like dog barks, varying in all kinds of ways. The strangers remain very quiet; I usually observed that my Indians, who afterwards did well in the fight, were trembling with fright. The kjū shouts continue until the strangers have landed and the chief has ordered them to fight. Then they set out for the wrestling place, usually near the mask hut, where the young male population is standing lined up, otherwise where there is firm sand. The two sides step up opposite each other; [535] the chief stands on the side of the strangers. The natives are the first to challenge: two youths side by side dance forward out of the ranks, in that, stamping, they dance forward about eight small

/314 cont./

526 steps half-right, then make a quarter turn and dance forward in
535 the same manner half-left, and so on, alternating in this manner.
574 In connection with this, they swing their hanging arms in the most peculiar way, and the one who happens to be in front utters a howling cry in a high pitch, shouting hū once with every step (Ills. 10, 11, wrestling match between Šavajé and Karajá).[2] When they have reached the front of the opposite row, they stop, turn about on the left foot, whereby they fling their right arms far around and both utter a drawn-out, descending hū; then they run back to their ranks. The opposite side responds to this challenge in like manner. It is only then that from among the natives two men dance forward in the same way, but only to the middle, one pair of the strangers comes dancing toward them, and then, without further ado, the wrestling begins, until one of the opponents is
526 downed. Usually the fights last only one or two minutes. /315/
574 If the opponents are equally skillful and are unable to secure a fall, the fight is broken off. The one who ends up lying on his back is beaten. He remains prostrate; the victor, crying hū, dances around him and in the end climbs over him, or else the victor, with raised hand and shouting in the same manner, dances around the opponent who stands with bowed head. Then both return to
[535] their ranks. Thereupon the chiefs, along with the victor, with arms crossed over their shoulders, shouting hū, dance once around the wrestling place. Each subsequent fight is introduced in the same manner; the big ceremony, however, takes place only before the first fight. Only once did I see an individual man dance forward; otherwise they always went forward in pairs. Sometimes the challenge was not accepted; then the challengers danced to the opposite side, turned about there, and went back. I was unable to find out whether individuals choose certain opponents, or whether
[516] anyone may accept the challenge. After the fight they adopt a certain resting position: they stand bent forward and rest their outstretched arms on their knees. They remain in this position until they wrestle again. Concerning the wrestling match between Karajá and Šavajé /see pp. 330 - 332/.

[2] [See pp. 28-29 -- Analyst

/315 cont./

535 I did not observe any dances, with the exception of mask-dances, which seem to be of a religious nature. Ehrenreich and Castelnau report on such among the Šambioá.

526 Shooting as a sport was not observed. I am unable to say whether shooting matches occur. Sometimes, for practice, they are said to toss green gourds into the air and shoot at them with arrows. Shooting from a position on the back, whereby they hold the bow with the feet, is a sport in which they occasionally indulge, but not too frequently, on account of the great pain which the recoil of the bowstring causes on the feet. I myself did not see it.

I never saw or heard anything about club-throwing about which Königswald reports.

12. Music.

534 The Karajá are very poor in musical instruments. They have only signal trumpets, small whistles, and turtle scrapers, rattles serve as the accompanying instrument for songs. That is [533] all. This lack seems very strange, since the Karajá sing very gladly and well and are apparently highly gifted musically (1).

1. Concerning the love of music of the Karajá, see Part I, p. 52 /untranslated/.

They have three types of signal trumpets.

The bamboo trumpet (ŭhŭhŭk) consists of a bamboo cylinder 44 centimeters long and seven centimeters in diameter, the mouth end of which is formed by a node, the center of which is pierced. The open, sounding end is richly carved (Pl. 58, Ill. 9).

/316/ The gourd trumpet consists of a curved bottle-gourd 26 centimeters long, which has the lateral blow-hole on the narrower end, the central sounding-hole on the wider end (Ill. 178a).

/331 cont./

765 loud, high voice in a monotonous intonation; at the same time rattle gourds are swung. It seems that laments take place as soon as anything reminds them of the deceased. In any case definite times of the day for these could not be determined. The people, however, are sincerely grieved; one can see their sorrow in their faces, at least at first. The father allegedly mourns a child only one day, the mother four days. This statement is certainly not true, for in Schischá I heard lamentations for a child who was said to have died three weeks before. The husband mourns his wife only a short time; on the other hand, the wife her husband for a year. After this time has elapsed, the widow is painted with urucú and hung with ornaments at the command of the chief. After this she mourns one more day, and with this the period of mourning is at an end.

15. Religion, Masks, Magic, Medicine.

114 771 Concerning the religious views of the Karajá I was able to discover but little. The researcher does not come across anything that could suggest any belief in spirits or a cult, with the exception of the masked dances.

114 535 796 Unfortunately, I saw very few such dances, since I traveled in the Karajá region from June to October, whereas the time of the dancing seems to be precisely from November to April. Thus, I am unable to report anything about the meaning of these dances; all my efforts to find out anything about this from the people by questions failed because of the meager possibility of mutual [532] understanding or the deliberate withholding of information. I assume, however, that these dances, which coincide with the time of ripening of certain field produce and at which masks representing animals are used, are in part harvest festival dances, but in part originate from ideas out of which the so-called magic by analogy developed later on. More cannot be said about this; all 532 else would be useless speculation. Some of the masks are not

/331 cont./

532 dance masks, but masks of beggars who travel around on certain occasions and beg for food; others seem to be connected with the /332/ cult of the dead. In any case, these are still quite primi-
561 tive forms; a strict organization of the young people seems to be entirely lacking; only the age group of the unmarried men and the men's house (mask house) have developed (1). As a

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1. Dr. Walter Lehmann-München, in a discussion of my essay on masks in the Zentralblatt für Anthropologie, XVI, 1911, p. 100, suspects that the dance masks, like those in Central America, could in part be connected with the cult of the dead, and that they could be associated with totemistic ideas in combination with puberty rites. The connection with the cult of the dead seems actually to exist for the ĭōōnĭ mask, but, unfortunately, I was able to obtain too little information about this (see Part I, p. 78 /untranslated/) to be able to say anything about it with certainty. As for the second point, I suspected totemism among the Karajá Indians from the very beginning, but, in spite of all efforts, I could not discover anything of this nature. And it is the same with puberty rites. I therefore believe that I am right if I abstain from such combinations. It must one day be the task of a researcher who visits the Karajá during the rainy (dance) season to devote his attention to this problem.

As a

535 result, priests are, as yet, entirely lacking; everyone may still
796 take part equally in all the dances. The arrangement is the duty
[793] of the chief. Everything concerning the masks is kept secret from the women. For more detail on the mask arrangements, see
[113] my article, "Tanzmaskennachbildungen vom mittleren Araguaya (Zentralbrasilien) /Copies of Dance Masks from the Middle

/332 cont./
535 Araguaia (Central Brazil)/" (2).
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[113]

2. Jahrbuch des städtischen Museums für Völkerkunde zu Leipzig, Vol. 3, Leipzig, 1910, pp. 97-122.

346 I should like only to make a few remarks here about the
532 mask huts. Castelnau mentions and illustrates (Vue et scènes, Paris, 1853, Plate 8 and text page 7) in the first Sambioá village an almost semicircular, vertical palm-leaf wall, the convex side of which is turned toward the village. In the open space stand about ten dance masks. Beside this there is a framework of poles which consists of several oblique poles stuck in a circle, from the center of which projects a long pole bearing a bunch of leaves at the end. These two structures are shown somewhat larger on page 9. In front of the palm-leaf wall are two dancers who have placed the masks on their heads. The way they are portrayed (the absence of the leaf-aprons and the way they are leaping about) proves that Castelnau was not present at the dances. Ehrenreich also reports on such semicircular compartments for masks, and, to be sure, also among the Karajá ("Beiträge," p. 34). I never saw such compartments, but only the house-like mask huts described by me.

775 About the world beyond, the Karajá were unable to give me any information. Allegedly the deceased go to the heavens.

787 Dreams, which are said to be very frequent, are regarded as reality. For example: "If someone dreams that a relative of his has died, he gets into his boat and rides there, in order to see whether it is true." (Kurisí.)

789 Magic (lŏbūnĭ) of all kinds is very widespread; even enlightened Karajá still firmly believe in its effect. It is believed that through /333/ manipulations natural events (rain) can be influenced or that other people can be harmed through magic.

Rain magic is very common; everyone can use it, everyone has the apparatus necessary for it. I obtained several of these:

/366 cont./

526 The wrestling was very similar to that of the Karajá. If
574 one bout were not accepted, the challengers made a gesture of rejection with their arms, turned around, and went back to their row. Then one of them walked forward again, assumed the position of rest in the center, with his back to the opponents, and
[516] shouted until one of the latter accepted. The resting position was
[184] identical with that of the Karajá: they stood with the upper part of the body bent over and rested the arms on the knee. The victor performed a dance in front of the loser, shouting loudly; upon walking away, he moved his left hand over the head of the defeated one. Here, too, the chief stood on the side of the guests.

574 Only after the return from the wrestling match was food put before the Karajá; only now were they regarded as accepted and permitted to disperse into the individual houses.

843 Upon my departure from the village a strange ceremony took
628 place, the meaning of which, I believe, is that a girl made
123 pregnant during previous visits of Karajá was sent along with the Karajá to await the birth among them; whether she would then return could not be definitely ascertained; perhaps she went to the Karajá as a village prostitute. Shortly before departure, the chief took me by the hand and led me into the neighboring house. Here an obviously pregnant girl was sitting and /367/ spinning. She had to get up and lay her work aside; the chief's wife took off her neck ornament (I had already bought her leg bands from her in the morning). The girl then had to take a second bast apron and her net covering and go with us to the boat. Apparently this was very little to the girl's liking, for she wept bitterly and only gradually calmed down. The chief then made long speeches to me, the meaning of which, however, I could not understand. On the way, the girl was under the special charge of my Indian guide, who allegedly was her cousin. He was very gallant to her, carried her covering, brought food on a plate, etc. The girl always walked closely in front and behind him.

●535 The masked dance that I saw among the Šavajé was a īdjāzõ
[184] dance and very similar to that of the Karajá. It took place on the first evening. The two masks stood side by side in front of the hut,

/367 cont./

535 but turned toward each other, and sang a verse with gourd-rattle accompaniment. They then danced forward together toward the village and back again. This was repeated several times. The 533 dance ended with lively bows at the village. At night the young men sat in front of the mask hut and sang dance songs with the [184] rattle accompaniment. These songs, too, were very similar to 532 those of the Karajá. The Šavajé did not permit photographing 535 the masks on the next day, so I was obliged to resort to sketching. 126 The masks were cylinder masks with a feather-mosaic covering. Black-dyed leaf-aprons for hips and shoulders served as body coverings.

In Schischá I acquired copies of masks, and, to be sure, of the ĭdjālhēnĭ mask, the ămbŭšāwādiă mask, and the lădēnĭ mask. Of these, ĭdjālhēnĭ seems to be a typical Šavajé mask, for the songs of this mask which I was able to record phonographically among the Karajá were always designated by the latter as Šavajé [533] songs. Of other Šavajé songs I obtained phonographically dĕsóĭ dĕsóĭ, a song that they sing after slaying a jaguar.

For further data on the masks of the Šavajé, see my article, [113] "Tanzmaskennachbildungen vom mittleren Araguaya /Dance Mask Reproductions from the Middle Araguaia/," Jahrbuch des Museums für Völkerkunde zu Leipzig, Volume 3, Leipzig, 1910.

197 Their language, according to my data, seems to be identical with that of the Karajá. It does contain some completely different words; see tapir, gavião, maize, red and black neck tassels, lower-arm ornament of two pads with fringe hangings, calf ornament with tassels, leaf pipe; caracara is divergent.

A comparison shows that the south horde of the Karajá is linguistically somewhat closer to the Šavajé than the north horde, undoubtedly a result of the migrations of the Šavajé to the south horde. /Section III, "Die Kayapó (The Cayapo)," pp. 368-402, with Plates 62-68 and Ills. 209-261, is omitted in the translation./

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
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teams having lined up—there were four men to a side—they 526
approached each other waltzing, zig-zag fashion, back and 628
forth from one side of the ring to the other in a series of very rapid, stiff-legged, turkey-steps, the second man of each pair being close behind his partner and executing, lock-step, precisely the same movements in perfect unison with him; at the same time, the arms of all were extended in front, legs spread wide apart, bodies inclined forward and slightly squatting, and the entire anatomy of each rigid as if frozen stiff. As they worked gradually toward each other, they emitted fiendish challenges in the form of long-drawn-out yells. Finally, they came together and clinched, and the yelling ceased. The "first round" terminated quickly with four of the combatants sprawling upon the sand. For the second round, they jerked themselves out to one another in single pairs; while for the third round, a single individual, only, came out, first from one side then from the other, prancing like game cocks right up to the opponents' line.

Dr. Ehrenreich describes a war dance he saw at one of 535
the Sambiõa villages. Eight warriors, fully armed with spears, clubs, and bows and arrows, and decorated with feathers executed the dance, led by a sort of dancing master, before whom they were arranged in the form of a crescent. They moved but little from one spot—merely a few steps forward and backward—hopping rapidly and artistically on one leg and waving their weapons in perfect unison, guided by the measured beats of their leader. Every movement was executed with the nicest precision. It is said that the Karayá [177]
learned this dance from the Kaiapó tribe.

When a Karayá dies, all his tools, weapons and ornaments 764
are burned, accompanied by a loud crying, wailing and lamen- [768]
tation by the surviving relatives and friends, among whom, because of having participated in the obsequies, will be distributed whatever articles belonging to the deceased that were not consigned to the flames. There is, therefore, some inducement to be a mourner. The death dance around the corpse is next in order. First, the body is ornamented by

764 gumming feathers onto it, then a pole nine feet long is laid upon it, lengthwise, as it lies upon its back, and the whole is enwrapped in the palm-leaf mat which had served as the bed of the deceased during life, and wound with long strips of bark. The purpose of this pole is that the remains may hang suspended from it in the grave. The group that dances and wails
764 as it moves around the corpse, is led by a kind of precentor,
535 who is relieved from time to time as he grows weary. As the
633 performers dance, they hold their arms extended in front with the fingers of one hand placed upon the backs of the fingers of the other hand, thus forming a bow. The singing is alternate and responsive. The chorus asks the deceased where he has gone and how he fares, and the leader of the chorus responds for the corpse. The chorus wails, "He lives no more! It is all over with him! Think no more of him! He is hanging from the bar!" Then the leader, speaking for the departed, responds hopefully, "I am in a beautiful land! Give me some tobacco! Did you put the plug"—the tobacco pipe—"between my lips? I am in need of nothing! But, be sure to place water at the grave!" The chorus now repeats but one question, and answers in a doleful voice: "It is all over with him! It is all over!" Very frequently these ceremonies begin before the subject is even dead.

764 Interment occurs the next day after death except where death has taken place very early in the morning, in which event it is the same day, at evening. The singing, wailing,
[765] lamentations, dancing and other lugubrious festivities continue three or four days, during which time all work is abandoned. The Karayá cemeteries are always located on top of a high hill near the river. The civilized Brazilians, imitating, perhaps, their savage ancestors, also place their cemeteries on the highest ground near the town, where it often endangers the health of the living.

A Karayá grave is a hole in the ground nearly seven feet in length, three feet wide and thirty inches deep. The body is hung horizontally into this excavation so that it swings freely from the already mentioned pole, each end of which

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
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at will into a trance or semi-death, in which state their souls, 771
or doubles, explore the occult, or what is hidden from men 754
in a normal state. They also believe that these conjurers can transform themselves at pleasure into animals—into the form of a witch-wolf, for example, in order to terrify, injure and domineer over men; and, in brief, can do all things whereby shamanism—primitive priestcraft—secures and maintains its influence over the tribe. They have no images or idols, nor 771
even fetiches, for the reason that they have not yet advanced to this more complex belief, if advancement it may be called.

The ghosts or spirits of the dead, which, as previously stated, 775
are believed to tarry for a time in the vicinity of the graves where hang the bodies they were forced to abandon because they had fallen so into disrepair, take delight, in after time, in returning to haunt the places of their habitation during the days of their flesh; moreover, it is believed that they appear to their relatives, especially on wild and stormy nights: When the darkness is inky black, illumined only by the ceaseless play of the terrifying lightnings, and the thunders crash and boom as if the unseen Powers were engaged in mighty conflict, while the winds moan and shriek in the forest, then the old folk think of their dear departed; and by loud lamentations and wailings, put themselves into a state of ecstacy whereby their inflamed imagination creates every wished-for phantasm.

This animistic religion is without any ethical foundation. 771
It has not in this stage attained to a conception of a higher or ruling Spirit upon whom man feels himself dependent for rewards and punishments for his deeds; and as just stated, lacks everything which connects man externally with divinity, such as images, the paraphernalia of worship, ritual, and the like. But we find among the Karayá those ceremonials from 796
which apparently everywhere throughout the world the higher and more elaborate forms of worship have come, that is, the mystery rites.

Mask dances occupy an important place in Karayá life. 535
The prominent rôle which these masquerades play among [771]

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
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Brazil.

535 171 North American races is well known; but thus far, surprisingly little has been learned of similar customs that prevail among South American tribes. Only the mask dances of the Tequna, the Zuñi and the Uaupé races are mentioned casually in literature. The temples and idols alluded to by the old Jesuit missionaries are often nothing but medicine huts, or flute players' houses where are kept the mysterious mask costumes. These mask dances are of peculiar interest because of their striking similarity to those of the Melanesians as regards the forms of the mask and other customs of the dance.

535 532 The Dance Masks represent animals only; but the representation of animal forms is not carried so far among the Karayá as it is in the case of the masks of the North American aborigines and the Tequna, as the particular animal sought to be represented is indicated only by some of its most striking characteristics and not by the form of the mask outfit; or certain parts of the paraphernalia may suggest what animal is being represented.

The masquerade outfits are used singly or in pairs, and are divided, according to their forms, into three classes. The first, are suits and head gears of simple or plain braided palm-leaves. The second class is a cylindrical dance hood which looks like a sheaf of wild hay inverted over the head, which it completely obscures, while the upper part of the sheaf tapers to a point about two feet above the head, and is overlaid with beautiful feather mosiacs, patterned to suggest the creatures the primitive masqueraders desire to represent, such as certain fish or birds. The third class does not bear any representations or emblems of animals. To this class belongs what is called the black-bird mask, though this is a human face, made from a large calabash shell. The lower part is black and the upper is red, while the mouth is furnished with wax lips and wooden teeth. Between the small eye-holes, is a nose of wax placed unnaturally high, and a hanger of black and brown feathers falls down behind; while long, slender palm-leaves, hung from a belt, or girdle, form a skirt which covers the body of the masquerader. But these three classes

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
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But these three classes of masks do not include all the modifications used by the tribe, for each village has its own particular kind, and many medicine huts are crammed with the most diverse types. 535 532 [184]

If a hunting or fishing expedition has been successful, and there is an abundance of food on hand, the chief of the village may determine to hold a masquerade festival, which shall continue as long as provisions hold out; whereupon the entire village hums with activity for many days preparing for the celebration. The women busy themselves making ready meat and drink, employing all their culinary skill; while the men, if not hunting and fishing, are occupied with the preparation of the dance costumes. One dance is distinguished from another by being performed exclusively by some one person or family, and handed down from father to son; and each one is executed to the accompaniment of songs which are apparently in an antiquated form of speech, unintelligible to the rest of the people. Each animal represented is indicated by the constant repetition in the songs of the peculiar note or sound characteristic of that animal. For example, the paca cries, "Heyon hey! Heyon hey!" The alligator, "Huu! Huu!" and another beast, "Too koo! Too koo! Too-hoo-oo-oo-oo!" 527 535 [533]

The women and children are merely spectators at these masquerades, and are never permitted, under any circumstances, to see the masquerade outfit, save when an individual is regaled in it, for they must be kept in the belief that the creatures represented, or rather, their shades, are really materialized before them, and that the garb and the being inside of it are one and inseparable, for of course the outfit always covers the entire body of the dancer. Occasionally, however, the old women are let into the secret. This indicates that the secret societies existing everywhere among civilized peoples, admitting men only to their membership and excluding women forever, and who take the most absurd and monstrous oaths to guard their childish secrets from other men, and from their own wives, sisters and mothers, are of savage origin in principle. [000]

The carnival begins with a procession of the masqueraders

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
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527 through the encampment, who, having previously stolen away
535 to the jungle and secretly donned their uncouth regalia, suddenly appear; and with a loud cry—"Han hm! Han hm!" rush toward the village, while all the villagers ejaculate loudly, in reply, "Nakum rare! Nakum rare!"—Here they come! Here they come! The procession is almost riotous, for the men throw billets of wood about in every direction. The parade over, all these imitation birds, bugs and beasts, or the materialization of their ghosts, retire again to the thicket, remove their gear, and becoming real men once more, quietly, reënter the village, and the savage banquet is brought on.

After some hours of "eating and drinking and making merry," the masqueraders again rush forth from the woods to begin the dancing. It consists of a peculiar hopping, turkey-step, and rocking the body from side to side. The dancer must not, under any circumstances, permit his real identity to be-
[688] come known to the spectators. He must not speak, nor cough, nor sneeze; and above all, he must not allow himself to stumble and fall, for if he does, he will be immediately put to death. If he should be compelled to cough or sneeze, as frequently happens because of the dust and the suffocating heat under his mask, he springs into the group of men standing near, all of whom begin instantly to cough, and thus contrive to drown his voice.

The various dances follow each other according to a programme arranged beforehand by the chief of the encampment, who presides over the ceremonies and festivities.

535 If a woman of the tribe should enter one of the secret
567 mystery huts, or should avail herself of an opportunity to look
688 upon a masquerade outfit when not in use, she will be punished with death. It is usual, in such cases, for the other women to intercede with the chief for her life, and he will exercise mercy in her behalf if she will promise silence and will undertake some work of expiation, such as to weave a *hammock*, or braid a large, palm-leaf mat. If she should refuse to do this, or her work should prove unsatisfactory, she will

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
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be ordered to appear at a designated spot in the woods when the sun reaches a certain position in the heavens, and here she will be compelled to submit herself to the assembled men. If she should fail to appear as ordered, the men may slay her wherever they find her and sink her body in the river. But if she should flee to the mystery hut, no one will enter to take her for this is an asylum of refuge. If a man should betray the secret of the masquerade to a woman of the tribe, he may, nevertheless, be allowed to go unmolested. But these barbarous customs do not appear to be so strictly observed to-day as in former times. It is related that owing to an accident, all the women of a certain village, caught sight at the same moment of the masquerade outfit when not in use. In this case, of course, nothing could be done but to pardon them all and make known to them the whole secret. It is said that among the Sambiõa, these masquerades are falling somewhat into disuse. Nevertheless, they would not allow Dr. Ehrenreich and his party to bring away the masquerade outfits that they had stumbled upon at a spot in the woods where they had been thrown at the termination of a festival, as they feared that some of their women might be in the vicinity and see them. To get permission to take them, the men of the party had to dress in them. Though these customs may be less strictly observed to-day than formerly, nevertheless, the women cherish a profound respect for these supposed creatures of the forest and their mysterious hiding-places.

535 562 688 [703] 535 [178] [126]

The masquerade outfits seem to be thrown away, or burned, at the conclusion of a festival, the feather decorations having first been removed.

Of the real significance of these masquerades, little or nothing is known, or perhaps ever will be known. It is doubtful if even the savages themselves are fully conscious of their significance. But we may get some light upon the subject from our knowledge of the customs and beliefs of other primitive peoples.

It is certain that the "make up"—the creature, animated [825]

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca.1900) 1909
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535 object, or apparition, that rushes forth from the forest to
805 parade and dance—is supposed to be the materialization of the spirit, or double, of the creature indicated. The animals represented are always either game animals, or those that play a certain rôle in the tribal legends, such as the stork, the alligator and the electric eel. In accordance with a similar idea, [171] the aborigines of North America were accustomed to hold buffalo and bear dances for the purpose of inducing the spirits of these particular animals to send their own kind to earth in abundance.

The Karayá have other dances, which are held in honor of animals regarded as ancestors, or to which some mythological significance is attributed. There may be similar reasons for the masquerades. The Karayá may believe, moreover, that by these festivities, they are cultivating the favor of the game animals.

535 When the men are asked why they keep from their women
562 the secret of the real character of the masqueraders, they always, without exception, reply that the women are not allowed to see and know everything because they talk too much. The belief that the authority and superiority of the men over the women must be maintained and fortified, is quite evident wherever the mystery festivals are held.

7:Lipkind E-5 (1938-1939) 1940
SP9 Caraja SP9

among the last. He got stuck in the hole. His belly was too big. He decided 772
to go back. It was a dead leaf that he spied. He spoke to his wife, 'Let's go 773
back. There is death there.' They went back again. Those that had come out were very happy. They were all happy. Then one of them climbed a tree. It was a child that climbed. He fell and died. They all mourned. Suddenly they got cheerful again. For this reason they were angry, his mother and father. His brother and sister, married to each other, were angry. For this reason there was keening. They say that there in the depths of the water there was no death."

In addition to being the original home of the Carajá, the underworld is 772
also the home of the dead. Those who die a quiet death and are properly 775
buried live there much in the same fashion as they lived on earth. But they
are always a bit crazed and dangerous to the living. They must be placated [772]
by offerings and ceremonial observances. Otherwise they assume the form [845]
of poisonous snakes and bite those who neglect them. Those who die a 766
violent death, who are clubbed or torn by beasts, become violent unappeas- 772
able ghosts. They are buried in the woods without arms or fire, in a posi- 775
tion contrary to the traditional position in order to disorient them. A woman's girdle is tied about their eyes to blind them. Their desire is to kill, and especially to kill their closest kin. Their afterlife is extremely unpleasant. They wander about in a perpetual rage and feed on little birds which they eat raw.

The other dimension of the Carajá universe is the sky. Only the south- 772
eastern quadrant of the sky interests the Carajá. The rest is uninhabited 756
forest. Starting at the Southern Cross virtually every star and constella- 776
tion visible in the east is a named supernatural. The Milky Way is the 821
shaman's road. When the shaman falls into his trance he goes up the shaman's road into one of the villages of the sky supernaturals. There he receives his power and knowledge and, if he has not eaten or drunk, there- [754]
after is a curer. If he has, he becomes a sorcerer and killer. The good shaman after his death goes to live in the sky. He squats up there in the [775]
heat of the sun with his inexhaustible pot of food and gourd of water in front of him and his shamanistic rattle in his hand, held up to shade his eyes from the glare of the sun. At night he dances with the supernaturals. This is considered the happiest afterlife.

The earth and underworld are also inhabited by supernaturals. Every 772
pool, every deep spot in the river, every bit of forest or savannah, has its 776
supernatural owners. These are of two kinds. Many are amiable and beau- 823
tiful beings who have friendly relations with humans. They are invited [535]
to feasts and impersonated in the masked dances. The others are ugly and dangerous monsters who cannot be placated. Their woods are avoided and nobody fishes in their pools.

The sorcerer has a wide variety of techniques at his disposal. He may 754

8:Gow-Smith T-5 (no date)1925
SP9 Caraja SP9

THE ARAWANA, OR FISH DANCE, OF THE CARAJA INDIANS OF MATTO GROSSO, BRAZIL

535 825 Of all the dances of the Caraja, the *Arawana* is the most important. It takes its name from a fish found in the tributaries of the Amazon, particularly the River Araguaya. This fish, the *arawana* [776] or *iraco*, is thought by the natives to be semi-human and is much venerated.

535 The dance, a cross between a turkey-step and a [533] foxtrot, accompanied by weird songs, is performed by two Indian men representing the male and the female fish. Both are dressed alike, except that there is hidden in the headgear of the male representative a cluster of threaded nuts from the palm tree, which rattle as the dancers move.

The dress consists of long slender palm-leaves hanging from the waist to the knees like a skirt. A similar kilt arrangement of leaves covers the body from neck to waist. The head-dress is made from palm-leaves closely braided together in the form of a hood, with coarse grass hanging loose at the bottom, obscuring the face. The upper part tapers almost to a point about two feet above the head and is overlaid with beautiful feather mosaics patterned to suggest the *arawana*. Two "horns" made of grass top the headdress. (Fig. 43.)

8:Gow-Smith T-5 (no date)1925
SP9 Caraja SP9

535 [349] Th : costumes are made and kept guarded in a wigwam at some distance from the village, and at the conclusion of the [411] [531] festivities are destroyed. Covering the entire body as it does, the masquerade completely conceals the identity of the dancer, who must not under any circumstances reveal his identity to the women onlookers.

535 562 [258] Women and children are merely spectators and are never permitted to view the dress except when it encases the form of the dancer. The women of the tribe apparently cherish a profound respect for

FIG. 43.—A personator in the Fish Dance.

8:Gow-Smith T-5 (no date)1925
SP9 Caraja SP9

535 562 [346] this ritual and never seek to penetrate its mysteries. At any rate they seemed to keep at a distance from the sacred wigwam where the men ate and drank in tribute to the sacred fish.

535 562 688 627 Should a woman, however, so far forget her position as to enter this mysterious hut or should avail herself of an opportunity to look at this mystery dress, she may be punished by death. Executive clemency is granted by the chief, at the request of the women of the tribe, providing she will promise silence and expiate her crime by some appointed work. If she should refuse, she will be ordered to appear at a designated spot in the woods, at a certain height of the sun, where she will find assembled a group of warriors. Failing to comply with their desires, she may be killed and the body thrown into the river. Should she flee to the [346] sacred wigwam, however, this being sanctuary, she goes free at the termination of the festivities to resume her place in society.

126 535 Wishing to preserve the costumes as a memento of my visit among them, I asked the chief if I might take them with me. Reluctantly he consented, and ordered his men under cover of darkness to take them in a canoe down the river and await my coming. It was by this means that the costumes ultimately came in possession of the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation.

8:Gow-Smith T-5 (no date)1925
SP9 Caraja SP9

INDIAN NOTES

In answer to the query of why the Arawana 535 dance was veiled in such secrecy, the chief replied 562 that women are not allowed to know everything, as they talk too much. These Indians believe that the authority and superiority of man must be maintained, and that these festivals impress the woman with her inferiority.

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/13 cont./

231 825 Domestic animals. In a description of the Indian house its animal fellow-lodgers must not be passed over. A genuine Indian still-life is inconceivable without them. The naïve joy of primitive man in animals and their behavior is expressed in his care for them. He considers the animal as [181] his equal. The feeling of solidarity, indeed, of relation- [538] ship with the animal world, which expresses itself in tribal tales and a rich treasury of animal fables, is a principal characteristic trait of the Indian national-spirit. This at the same time explains the often stressed contradiction that the savage Indian, in spite of his astonishing ability to tame the wild, timid animals of his country, has never brought this to the actual breeding of domestic animals in our sense. The animals are captured young and reared, but only to please themselves, for entertainment, out of joy in associating with them, not in order to make them useful. Therefore they 235 are not mated. Even the domestic chicken, which the 171 Araguaia tribes have had for a long time in a domesticated [262] state and which multiplies in great numbers, is not, as a member of the household, /14/ used for food, nor are its [939] eggs (1). In recent times, however, however, it serves as a trade item

[13] 1. Im Thurn, Among the Indians of Guyana /Guiana/, p. 265, reports the same thing.

in the trade with the commercial travelers, who sell the poultry in the first settlements of the province of Pará at a great profit.

231 Of the imported domestic animals, dogs and cats are already widespread. On the other hand, the pig is absent, but, in contrast, it is raised and traded by preference by the Kayapo tribes.

235 825 A large Šambioa village is always at the same time a kind of menagerie. The bird kingdom is most noticeable. The largest and most colorful birds are made use of, at least insofar as they must give up their feathers for feather ornaments.

/248 cont./

223 until the uppermost one, finally, closed the opening of the little pyramid. Strings ran down along the edges, were fastened to the lowest rods, and crossed at the top on the surface; they barely held the whole construction together. The type of release is clearly shown in the sketch, Ill. 84.

[198] To lure birds and game the Indians use specific calls which differ according to the particular species of animal, as they know how to imitate animal sounds masterfully.

Birds must be plucked on the spot; they may not be brought to the village unplucked ("otherwise the chief will be angry"). While plucking, the fingertips are dipped in wood ashes.

223 224 [538] It is said that there are no magic devices for making the hunt productive; on the other hand, the Indians are fond of telling one another hunting stories, and, in doing so, they like to exaggerate and tell improbable things.

Ill. 84.
Construction of the bird trap.

226 562 Fishing supplies by far the largest portion of the meat food; the subsistence of the Indians is to a large extent based on it.

136 The Araguaya is extremely rich in fish (kădōlă); still richer, however, are the tributaries, especially the Rio Tapirapé and the many lakes that accompany these rivers on either side.

In the deep water of the lakes and on the high, steep banks, especially where fallen trees lie in the water, live the pirarucú (b'dōlĕkĕ; Sudis gigas), three to four meters long, and the pirarara (dōlĕ; Phractocephalus discolor), which is equipped with strong bone armor and is up to two meters long. Upon being pulled out of the water, it emits air with strange sounds; the humorous Indian likes to imitate these sounds in his songs. Furthermore, the dogfish (lādă), with its powerful teeth, lives here, and above all the worst predatory fish, the piranha. Various

[533] [825]

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

clubs and lances, various kinds of clay pots and pans and 353
gourd-shell vessels occupy the corners of the hut.

A short distance from the encampment is the "Casa do 346
Bicho," or medicine hut; or better yet, the Demon Hut. It is roofed and closed in on three sides only. The side facing away from the village is always left entirely open. The [562]
women of the tribe are not allowed to go near this hut, or to look into it. In front of two Sambiõa villages, two dead 825
kingfishers were secured to the top of a high pole, for the purpose, probably, of keeping away the demons.

The Karayá have a few domestic, or domesticated crea- 231
tures. These are considered members of the family, and live 825
in and out of the family hut, and on equal terms generally with the people. These children of Nature are evidently lovers of Nature, and their mode of life can scarcely be conceived of without these creatures. The way they treat them indicates the idea they entertain regarding them and their doings—that they look upon them as their companions and equals. The feeling of companionship—even of relationship— [538]
with the animal world, is characteristic of the Karayá, and is evidenced by the way the animals are spoken of in their tribal legends, and by the fact that they have quite a treasury of animal fables. Although these people are successful 231
in taming wild creatures, they have never made any economic use of them as have the civilized people. They are captured while still young, and reared, but for no purpose, in most cases, other than to be kept as pets and esteemed members of the families of their captors, where their presence seems to give much pleasure. They are seldom thought of as regards any material benefits they may confer. The only economic [237]
use that is made of any of these creatures, is of those that have bright-colored plumage, which is used in the making of the many feathered adornments that are so much admired by these primitive people. Nor are these animals permitted to multiply themselves, if this can be avoided. Some poultry 235
is kept, which was obtained originally from the "civilized" [177]
Brazilians, and these, of course, multiply rapidly. But even

/30 cont./

764 One such verse might be reproduced in translation, at least
535 the sense of it.

539 Chorus: džoiri koniko -- hidžohoho (repeated 4-5 times) otohoniko -- kudžä beboniko, i.e.: He lives no more, it is over for him, do not think of him any more, he hangs on the pole (kudžä).

The deceased: roniro nira -- koti uaidžä uaniro bioko nero -- aidžodžä biowa, i.e.: I am in a beautiful country, bring me tobacco (koti), have you put the lip plug on me? Further: I lack nothing, but bring water to the grave, etc.

Between times the chorus repeats over and over the muted: haidžä hä hä hãṅ -- hä hãṅ -- hä hãṅ, i.e.: It is all over.

764 /31/ The burial takes place the next day, or, when death has occurred in the morning, in the evening of the same day.
[765] The ceremonies, songs, and dances are then continued for three or four more days, during which time no one works.

The burial places are always close to the river on higher
[126] ground. Two of them, one near S. José, the other somewhat above the mouth of the Rio das Mortes on the right bank, were more closely investigated by me and some skeletons exhumed.

The grave (Fig. 16 a-d /see p. 63/) is a rectangular pit two meters long, one meter wide, and 50-70 centimeters deep, over which some poles are placed in the long direction. The corpse, wrapped in buriti mats, hangs in a horizontal position, swinging free, on the centermost pole (1) (a). A container filled with food

[114]

1. Castelnau's statement, op. cit., I, p. 446, that the deceased stands vertically in the grave (la tête fait une saillie au dessus du sol /the head projects above the ground/) is probably based on confusion with the method of burial in a squatting position customary among the Kayapo.

/Fig. 16 appears here/ stands under it on the ground. The pit is covered with a mat, over which lies a foot-high layer of earth (b).

/38 cont./

773 easily suggested to the Indians by missionaries, that of the great flood, shows no connection to the Christian story in the version given here.

[171] Analogies, moreover, are found with myths from Guiana, North America, and especially Polynesia.

Legends I-VI seem to be fragments of an old tribal saga.

Not all are complete. In the case of some the conclusion is missing, or perhaps, for our understanding at least, the point.

[172] /39/ Everywhere the genuinely Indian idea of the equality of the human and the animal worlds stands out clearly. The animal here seems to differ from man only in external appearance; for this reason both change their form continually. As a rule the narrator in the course of his presentation, whenever a new animal was introduced in the action, expressly added the remark that it was actually also a Karaya.

I.

Kabõi.

•539 Kabõi, the ancestor of the Karaya, lived with his people in the underworld. The sun shone there when it was night on earth and vice versa. The cry of the camp bird seriema (Dicholophus cristatus) once penetrated that far, and Kabõi decided to follow the sound, accompanied by several people. Thus he reached a hole which led to the surface of the earth. But only his people could get through, whereas he himself, on account of his overly large size, remained stuck in it and could only look out of the opening with his head. The Karaya roamed through the area and found many fruits, bacury /Platonia insignis/, piqui, fruta do veado, and furthermore bees and wild honey, but also saw many a dead tree and dry wood. All this they brought to the place where Kabõi waited for them and showed what they had found. To be sure, the land is beautiful and fruitful, said the latter, but this rotten wood proves that whatever lives here must soon die. Therefore it is better that we remain where we are.

/39 cont./

539 In Kabōi's land people became very old; they died only when they could no longer move on account of their age.

When Kabōi returned to his people and showed the fruits, most of them wanted to go to the upper world; in vain he warned: You will find everything that you need, but you will soon die off. In spite of this part of the people moved away and populated the earth. The rest remained with Kabōi in the underworld. They are still living today in full strength, whereas the people on the earth are steadily approaching their downfall.

[171] A quite similar tale from the Warrau /Warao/ is communicated by Im Thurn (op. cit., p. 360), but it tells of a descent of the people from heaven to earth. From North America we know of an analogous one among the Mandan (cf. Catlin, Indianer Nordamerikas, Brussels, 1851, p. 131). Considering [194] that in the language of the Karaya "b" and "m" often change into each other, particularly in loan words, the name Kabōi reminds one of the name of the sun and the sun hero of the Aruak /Arawak/ tribes, Kamu, Kamui, Kamoti, or Kamutši (see the remarks about the celebration of the Ipurina below /untranslated/), frequently recurring in South American mythology. Also Tamoi, the ancestor of the Tupi, may be identical with this.

II.

Sun Myth.

Kahererŏ, a Karaya girl, married the rich Šokrůä. She was sent into the forest to fetch wood. The sun ran so fast, however, that night fell before she was finished. Then the girl complained to her mother Idžokarerŏ: Why did I marry such a rich and mighty man if I am to be forced to work so fast. I cannot stand that. Make the sun go slower."

The mother then sent out her son (1) Beϑauä (2). He

1. Also named were Komahera and Kuarodžä.

2. "The dove."

/39 cont./

539 succeeded in breaking the sun's leg; since then it goes slower.

[171] The correspondence to the Polynesian Maui myth is very striking here.

III.

The Two Powerful Ones.

A festival had been celebrated in a village. The dancers had taken off their masks. Everybody went out to hunt and to fish. Each one promised to be the first to return with rich booty. In three canoes the people moved upstream, only one youth alone downstream. His old mother, who, blind and lame, could not leave the fire, had remained behind. She asked him when he returned: Who danced there, were they really dead people who danced? The son answered: No, it /40/ was the Karaya, but they placed their fingers over one another in the manner of the deceased (cf. p. 61). Then the others returned; among them were two powerful ones, Teuira and Šokroã. One cut off the old woman's head with his knife of piranha teeth, showed it about, and had a deep pit dug. Then he commanded that bark and pieces of wood be brought, filled the pit with them, and set the whole thing on fire. Into the blazing fire the two "powerful ones" then threw one Karaya after the other. Thereupon they danced around the fire with wild shouting and sang:

Teuira idžeura
kabo kabo
aehe aehe aehe hehehaṅ
deara Teuita deara Šokroã.

Then the two took up positions opposite each other for the battle game. Each of them boasted that he could shoot the other's eye out. So both sent off their shots at the same time and one fell by the other's hand.

/40 cont./

539 Thus of the whole village only two parakeets (dwarf parrots) remained. Two young Karaya who stayed late to hunt now returned and found the village empty. Terrified, one wanted to flee, but the other held him back. When they went away to hunt the next day, they heard pounding in the mortar from the village, as if the women were working. On their return they found the food prepared by an unknown hand. In vain they called for the women who had done it. Nobody answered. On the next day the same thing happened. Finally on the third day they were driven by curiosity to turn back when they heard the pounding. In the house they found two girls who hung their heads dumbly when they entered. Finally they revealed themselves as the two transformed parakeets. The two youths took them as wives, and the present Karaya are descended from them.

[171] In the Peruvian tale of the flood communicated by Bancroft (Native Races, V, 15) the survivors are served in the same manner by two parrots, whom they later take as wives. (Cf. Andree, Flutsagen /Flood Legends/, p. 117.)

IV.

Karaya and Tori.

Kudžä had a Karaya run a race with a tori (white man). At the end, as prizes, there were a bow and arrow and a gun. The Karaya came to the end first and took the gun; the tori received the bow and arrow. Soon, however, the gun became too heavy for the Karaya, and he had the tori exchange with him; since then the latter carries a gun and the Karaya the bow and arrow.

[171] The Tširoki myth communicated by Müller, Urreligionen /Primitive Religions/, p. 114, is quite similar.

/40 cont./

V.

The Flood.

• 539 The Karaya were hunting pigs and drove the animals into their hole. They began to dig them out, brought out one pig after the other, and killed them. They they suddenly came across a deer, then a tapir, and finally a white deer. When they dug further, the feet of a man appeared. Then the Karaya became afraid and fetched a powerful sorcerer who knew all the animals of the forest. He succeeded in getting the man out of the ground. He was called Anatiuã and had a thin body, but a fat belly. (Accordingly, perhaps identical with Kabõi.) The latter began to sing (in his, that is, ancient, language): Anatiuã, anatiuã, biuwa noiri ʒa aritokrẽ -- "I am Anatiuã, bring me tobacco to smoke!" The Karaya did not understand him. They ran about in the forest, brought back all sorts of flowers and fruits. He refused everything and pointed to someone who was smoking at the time. Then they brought him tobacco. He smoked until he fell down unconscious.

They loaded him in a canoe and took him to the village. There he awoke and began to dance and sing. His behavior and his incomprehensible language frightened the Karaya and they moved away with wives and children. Then Anatiuã became angry. He turned himself into a large piranha and pursued them. He carried along many calabashes with water. When the Karaya did not want to stop at his call, he shattered one of the containers, whereupon the water began to rise. When /41/ this remained unsuccessful, he also broke the second one, and the water rose still higher, and so on until finally all the land was flooded and only the mountains along the Tapirapé (cf. p. 9) still towered out of the flood. The Karaya had fled to these two tops. Then Anatiuã called all the fish together in order to drag the people down into the water. The jahu, the pintado and the pacu tried, but none could do it. Finally the bicudo (fish with long, beak-like mouth) succeeded in climbing the mountain from behind and pulling the Karaya down. Today a large lagoon still shows the

/41 cont./

539 place where they fell down. Only some few people were left and climbed down here when the water subsided.

Although, in general, regularly appearing floods as on the Araguaia do not give rise to flood legends, as Andree correctly points out (op. cit., p. 146), nevertheless here the local conditions are favorable for one. The traveler who, after a long trip through endless low bank-landscapes, suddenly sees the mighty conical mountains on the Tapirapé rising directly from the plain can easily understand how the Karayahi, who, as mentioned above, suffer greatly from floods, arrived at their flood story. In the case of abnormally high water these mountains may have once really presented themselves as a last refuge.

As in most South American flood tales, the flood here, too, does not come from rain, but by the shattering of containers filled with water.

VI.

The Jacare and the Quarreling Women.

The women of a village customarily went at certain times to a lagoon where a big jacare (kabrorõ, alligator) lived. Here they had erected huts with cooking utensils, pots, etc. They took along feather ornaments and beautiful body-belts, also musk to rub into the body. One of the women, decked out with all these ornaments, her skin rubbed with musk, remained sitting on the bank, while the others gathered fruits in the forest. Others fished or prepared food.

The woman in festive ornaments said, as soon as all were gone: kabroro -- kabroro -- u-u-uh aϑamah mriãkotã beϑiuã menaka menaka -- Jacare come, bring fish, matrincham /Caracinidae/, curimata /Prochilodus/, papa terra /Prochilodus/, avoadeira /piaba/!

/41 cont./

539 The jacare answered: bubububu -- anakre -- I am coming. Then it came forth, carrying a bundle of fish. Then it put its head on the woman's thigh, let her pick the parasites off, and went to sleep. In the meantime the other women prepared the meal and went home after the end of the feast, bringing the men only the empty fruit shells. The adorned woman remained behind with the jacare and followed later.

Finally the men wondered why the women always returned with only empty shells and decided to get to the heart of the matter. One ordered his son to accompany the mother. After a lengthy refusal by the latter he was allowed to go and then told the men what he had seen.

Two days later the latter themselves went together to the lake, while the women had to remain behind. They, too, rubbed themselves with musk and called the jacare. It came as usual, brought fish, and lay down to sleep, but it was killed with a club by the men and thrown into the forest.

Thereupon the men went hunting, killed still other jacares, herons, and ducks, as well as urubus (vultures), and returned with the booty. Caustically they called to the women: You have deceived us, now you can eat urubu meat.

The next day the women went out again. But the jacare did not appear. Its corpse was finally found in the woods. Full of anger, they hurried home, made themselves arrows and bows, and challenged the men to a battle.

The men did not take the matter seriously and put the arrows in the bow backwards in order not to do any harm, but the women shot with the point and killed the men, except for a few who escaped. The women then moved down the river. Nothing more has been heard of them.

As long as the jacare lived, all jacares spoke. Since then none speaks any more.

Evidently this is a story about the Amazons in the simplest form without the additions borrowed from Old World tales with which the first travelers embroidered and distorted the legend of

/41 cont./

539 the warrior women so widespread in South America. That the former existence of a nation of Amazons in America is as little demonstrable as it is in Europe or /42/ Asia does not give us the right to declare that any New World myth concerning the Amazons was imported, as has often happened (cf. Martius, Ethnogr., I, p. 730). America can possess its own Amazon myths as well as its own flood myths, but the one here may be the only one which has been preserved for us in its primitive version.

VII.

The Magic Arrows.

In a forest lived two large howling monkeys who ate any people they could get hold of. Two brothers went out to kill them. On the way they saw a toad sitting on the path. Where are you going? it asked. -- We are going to kill the monkeys. -- If you will take me as a wife, I will tell you what you must do; if not, you will meet certain death. -- Laughing, the brothers refused the offer and went on. Soon they reached the tree on which the monkeys sat, armed with throwing arrows. All around bleached the bones of the human beings who had fallen victim to them. The two youths also carried some and immediately opened the battle. But the monkeys ducked cleverly, and the arrows flew over them harmlessly.

Then they, too, went over to the attack. Soon one of the brothers fell, hit in the right eye, and soon afterward the other fell, hit in the left eye, and the monkeys seized their booty.

A third brother had remained at home. He was sick, his body full of wounds and sores; only his grandmother was able to force herself to take care of him. Once he went to hunt birds. One of his arrows fell in front of a snake hole. The snake came out and asked: What are you doing here? How can you hunt, since you are so sick? Yes, he answered sighing, I am indeed sick and unhappy, everyone has deserted me, my brothers are dead, only my grandmother takes pity on me and takes care of me. Then the snake spoke: I will give you medicine, but do not tell

/42 cont./

539 anyone who helped you. Then it smeared his whole body with black salve. When he came home, the old woman asked how he had become so black. I went under the charred trees was his excuse. On the following day he had himself smeared a second time by the snake and told his grandmother the same thing.

On the third day he felt healthy and then decided to go off to avenge his brothers.

The snake gave him an arrow and spoke: With this weapon you will kill the monkeys who devoured your brothers. On the way you will meet a toad who will demand that you do as she wishes. Pretend that you agree and stroke her with your member between foot and toes.

When he came to the toad, he did as he was ordered. The toad allowed itself to be fooled and as a reward advised him to let the monkeys shoot first and then to aim at their eyes.

Then he came to the tree of the monsters and saw the bones of his brothers lying beneath it. The monkeys called to him to shoot first. He waited patiently, however, until the opponents shot, then hit first the one and then the other in the eye. The monkeys fell, but remained hanging in the branches by their tails. On the advice of the toad he then sent a lizard to fetch them down, which was also successful.

The youth then returned to the snake to announce the fortunate result of his adventure.

The latter now gave him a whole bundle of arrows which had the power to hit and bring back any game that they were directed at. Also, the arrows could deliver forest fruits, honey, etc. A special arrow was designed for each type of hunting; also, each one had a special charm associated with it, enclosed in a gourd, with which one could weaken the effect of arrows flying back all too violently and bring them to rest.

Thus the young man obtained for himself all sorts of game and fish with little effort. Soon thereafter he took a wife, built himself a hut, and set out plantings. He had admonished his wife that no one was to use the arrows in his absence; otherwise all

/42 cont./

539 people would die. In spite of this his brother-in-law was once able to persuade his wife to let the arrows go. In the beginning all went well. The pig and fish arrows did their work and were brought to rest by the charm. When the honey arrow came back, however, a large /43/ ghostly head with a wide maw armed with teeth suddenly appeared. Terrified, the brother-in-law ran away without thinking of the counter charm. Then the ghost attacked the people and killed whomever it found. Brought back by the noise, the man returned from the roça; he finally succeeded in exorcising the monster. Half of the village, however, was already dead. Again he went to the snake to complain of his sorrow. It serves you right, it answered, but what is to be changed. Let us go hunting together tomorrow to kill the pirarucú. If one of my daughters touches you, however, you must tell me. The next day the snake came with its whole family and met the Karaya, who were supplied with nets (1), at the

1. The nets mentioned here and in the following legend are probably the catching apparatus made of cipos mentioned on p. 25.

lagoon. The latter fished while the man roamed in the forest with the snake. In the meantime, one of the daughters had touched him, but he said nothing.

Then the snake changed itself into a pirarucú and persuaded the man to do the same. Both got into the nets of the fishermen. The snake escaped through a hole, the man was pulled on land by the other Karaya. One man tried to kill him by clubbing him, but he grabbed him and dragged him under the water, so that he let go of the club. When the snake saw that he would eventually have to die if it did not help him, it helped him out of the net and disenchanted him. That was the punishment, it cried, for your not saying anything when my daughter touched you!

Two different legends have been loosely connected here. Only the first seems to be complete; it shows many features in

/43 cont./

539 common with our own fairy tales. Of particular interest is the mention of the arrow thrower as a real weapon.

VIII.

The Pirarucús.

In a lagoon on the Mañriuãbero (Rio Cristallino, left tributary of the Araguaia) there were rich fishing grounds, where many fish were always speared at the water time. It often happened, however, that the fish pulled the canoes after them and made them tip over on a big tree in the middle of the lake. One day Ašurã went fishing there with some comrades. Then suddenly the feather mask of a pirarucú appeared before them. At first the people retreated in terror, but soon they pulled themselves together again, called other companions to come, and began to drive and to surround with nets the pirarucú. After a number had been killed already, an old man said, that is enough now, but the others killed more. Then when suddenly a pintado (sorubím) jumped over the net, the old man repeated his command to desist from further catching. But in vain Finally he saw a piaba jump, too. This portends nothing good, cried the old man, usually the piaba does not jump, but this one jumped; stop! Instead of this, the others tried to kill the captured fish with club blows. Then suddenly the lake and everything in it disappeared. Only a boy who was sitting on a tree on the bank was saved. He cried, his tears fell into the water, and a small fish caught them (he drew them out of his eyes into the water).

Then the pirarucús reappeared in Karaya form. One after another they asked the boy: Do I look like your father, do I look like your uncle, your brother, etc.? until the boy had finally identified all his relatives. Then they went together to the village to the women whose husbands they now represented. One of the pirarucú put his head in his wife's lap, in order to have it searched, but ordered her not to look in his neck under any circumstances, and soon afterwards he went to sleep. But the woman

/43 cont./

539 could not control her curiosity, investigated the neck of her husband, and found a row of short spines there. Then she was frightened and awakened her husband by a loud cry. What is the matter with you? he asked. Oh, it is nothing, only a louse fell out. The husband accepted the apology and went to the festival hut to dance.

The woman decided to flee with her child. Before her departure she spoke to her parrot: If the father comes and asks for me, say I am fetching water, if he comes again, say that I am looking for fruit and wood. This is what happened, and the man was delayed by the parrot until the woman was far away. Finally, however, he noticed the deceit and angrily tore out the feathers from the bird, who cried mockingly: Now I know that you are not a man, but /44/ a pirarucú and hastened after his wife. The latter seeks protection with a heron, in whose crop she hides. The husband comes along and asks the bird why it is so fat?

I have eaten so many small fish, answered the latter. -- So let me see your droppings. The heron did as he was bid, whereupon the woman almost appeared. The man hurried on. The woman later continued her flight with her child, but far and wide there was no water, and almost dying of thirst she finally reached a swamp in which an electric eel lay. She asked it for water, but it would grant it only on the condition that she do his will.

Later the woman met a second eel who made the same demand in order to provide water, but is deceived by the woman, and finally a third, which, however, will not provide any water. Out of thirst the child changes itself into a bird and flies away. The mother calls after it: The whole world will call you kabidži from now on! - - - Here the continuity seems to be disrupted, since in the following not only is the child named again, but also a sister of the woman, who was not mentioned before.

/44 cont./

•539 Further on the woman meets an ounce /jaguar/. The latter asks: With what have you painted your child so beautifully? - I made it out of boiled wax. The ounce then asks the woman to make it likewise so beautifully spotted and lies down quietly before her. The woman cooks a large amount of wax and pours it on the ounce so that it dies. The sister takes the fat from the ounce and stuffs it in a hollow tree, whereupon both women continue their flight. After a while the sister says: Let me go back, I forgot my pipe. Go, says the woman, but do not eat any of the fat from the ounce, or you will turn into an ounce yourself. The sister did not obey, however, and, driven by hunger, she ate a great deal of it. Later she returned a second time with the excuse that she had forgotten her apron, ate again of the fat, and was then turned into an ounce. So in animal form she followed her sister, the latter tried to get rid of her, persuaded her to close her eyes, and in the meantime climbed a tree, from which she cried scornfully to the ounce: That is the punishment for your curiosity, now see how you shall get on. Finally she comes to a river at which a jacare sits, whom she asks to ferry her across. The latter makes the same demand that the electric eel made earlier, but likewise finds itself deceived. Full of anger he puts the husband on her track. In the meantime the woman has reached a deserted hut and lighted a fire, when she suddenly sees a cloud of steam rise. It was her husband (that is, the pirarucú), who came along smoking his pipe. She throws ashes in his face so that the husband does not see her and his pipe goes out. While he is lighting it again, she gains an advantage and when he approaches her a second time she throws coals at him. He is still unsuccessful the third time, since she throws salt. A large river forms between them, so that the woman is saved. Angry and ashamed that he was not successful in getting the woman into his power, the pirarucú returns to his people, who, when they realized that they were recognized, went back to their lake and have not been seen since.

/44 cont./

•539 This rather disconnected legend, which lacks an ending, is evidently aimed at giving the imagination of the narrator some latitude so that he can add further adventures and encounters of the woman as he pleases. For comparative mythology the passage about the woman being swallowed by the heron is of special importance (cf. Im Thurn's remarks, op. cit., p. 386). The episode of the ounce is found in quite similar form and with almost the same words in the North American legend of the Kootenay /Kutenai/ on the Columbia River published by F. Boas (Verh. d. Berl. Ges. f. Anth., 1891, p. 171), except that there a giant who wishes to be painted white meets the woman.

821 Finally, as a contribution to the folklore of the Karaya some of their names for constellations and other celestial phenomena might be mentioned, from which their concept of nature can be recognized to some extent. In general they are more appropriate than our own. I shall offer no opinion as to whether the constellations are really viewed as what their names signify. According to our experiences with other tribes this is highly probable, however.

821 192 The Milky Way is the "ash road" (bribi), a very common conception among the South Americans.

The brightly shining stars α and β Centauri are the feet of the "ostrich" (naukiä, Rhea americana), whose body is represented by the neighboring large coalsack.

/45/ In the Southern Cross they see the lozenge-shaped form of the "river ray" (barahoä).

The Pleiades (ϑeraboto) are a flock of small "dwarf parrots" analogous to the "doves" of the Hellenes and the "chicks" of Germanic peoples.

Orion (hatedäotä) is the burning roça (among the Slavs and Lithuanians, too, as is well known, this constellation is associated with agriculture and harvests).

The tail of Scorpio is the "ounce" (anϑauä).

The moon spots are "toads" (krāu).

/345 cont./

The Creation Myth

539

(According to Kurisĩ: as his mother told it.)

A boy saw a girl, married her. Her female cousin came. The one sent the other into the forest, without a net covering, without anything. The boy saw the girl from the rear, he liked her; from the front, he liked her. He married her.

Her mother came. Everything was still dark. They lived on the roots and fruits of the forest, of which there were as many as in a planting. But only when occasionally a ray of light shone forth could they get them out. The mother smashed her hands getting them out. Then the woman grew angry: the boy should work at something else.

The boy ate "codo," after scraping it. He became quite fat from it and lay down; his eyes rotted.

The stench of his belly attracted many urubu and they settled on his belly. He trembled; they said: he is still alive. Then they settled in his eyes; he blinked; they said: he is still alive. Many urubu came, they settled all around and tried again and again, but he still continued to shake and blink.

The caracara (ĩlẽnĩ) came, circled around in the air. The man kept blinking his eyes and saw the bird flying above. The bird came circling down, the man was still blinking. The caracara saw it, came down, settled on a limb beside him, and cried: he is alive. The urubu said he is dead. The bird flew away and came back with the Urubú-Re. The dispute went on: he is dead -- he is alive. Then an uncle of the Urubú-Re came, a very old urubu; he said: he is dead. Then the Urubú-Re flew down on the belly; then there was a bang. The man stretched out his hands and caught him.

He said to the Urubú-Re (had a red beak and very few hairs): I want to have ornaments (infeitos). That one said that he had some, but they were scattered everywhere. Brought a star. The other was not satisfied. Brought the moon. The other was still not satisfied. Then he brought the sun.

/345 cont./

539 The other was satisfied, said: Now you may pluck me, just /346/ as you are. This he did; then he had nothing but hair. Likewise all other urubu. That is why the urubu all have bald skulls. (?) The caracara came again and wanted to pluck too, but he only cut off the hair all around.

The mother came and asked how they were supposed to live. The Urubú-Re showed plants with which they might spin and showed how they make their net coverings. The mother wanted to know how to catch fish; the former showed a cane, showed how one ties on feathers, how one makes the bow, how one draws it, how one shoots fish.

Then the man freed the Urubú-Re. The mother said he should also have asked how old people become young. Then the Urubú-Re cried out an answer from above; they all heard, trees, animals, fish, but not human beings. Only one heard it, who lives beyond Pará, who knows it; that tall man who rolls it up in the big canvas.

(As told by Cadete Chico.)

The father of the Karajá is god (kĭnŏsĭwé).

It was dark. God swallowed air, then he got a fat belly; he lay on the ground.

The jabiru came. Then came the little bird, caracara, and sat down beside him. The one said: come, let us eat. The other said: wait, later. The jabiru flew around in a circle up above. The little bird said, he is dead; the jabiru said, no, he is alive. The jabiru was still flying around in a circle. Then he lighted on the belly of the god.

The god seized him and was alive. He made the jabiru promise to bring light, for as yet there was no light. The jabiru brought a small light; God said: No, I want another. The jabiru brought a bigger light, the moon, asked: is this it? "No, I want another one." Then the jabiru brought the sun itself, then everything was light as day; asked, is this it? God said: That is it, I want that. Then the jabiru flew away; the little bird flew away, too.

/346 cont./

539 The Karajá stayed there; it was day. At that time they lived under water; their home is on the Furo das Pedras (ãhõdiã).

How the Karajá Acquired Manioc.

(As told by Kurišĩ).

They have manioc from God himself.

A beautiful girl was fishing. A star peeped down, said: she is beautiful. It came down and was a handsome youth, was white. The girl asked: Who are you? -- "I." -- I do not know you; who are you? -- "I myself." -- Do tell me your name. -- "That you do not have to know, for, of course, you saw how I played up there with the stars." -- Oh, that was you? -- "I want to marry you, but I want /347/ to come into the house of your mother, old and ugly, and want to marry you and your sister."

He came there as an old man, asked whether she would marry him; she said yes, the other one did not want him. The mother scolded the one who wanted him. He married, laid out the first planting, planted cara, bananas, maize, beans, manioc, gourds, peanuts. When everything was planted, he went away, since the sister, when he asked her once more, still did not want him.

He came back in the canoe as a young, handsome man. Then the other sister said: yes, I want that one. Then he said: "No, now I do not want to; I am the old man, the husband of your sister." Then he turned her into the little owl (dãrũtaũ).

He rapidly produced children, more quickly than usual. He taught them to plant and to prepare maize, etc., likewise all plant food. The mother always tried a little first and then ate the whole piece.

Someone told one of the children that if he takes away a piece of maize from the father he will not notice it, because he only knows fishing. But when the maize was planted, no

/347 cont./

539 maize grew, only mosquitoes. Then he went back to the stars; he left the family here, and the latter showed it to all the others.

The Howling Monkeys (āzõ wōbūrǎ).

(According to Kuriši.)

Detailed version:

Two brothers (hauĕkŭbādŭ; ĭšăhăn) went into the forest. They met a band of shrieking monkeys with arrows. They told the monkeys they should shoot. The monkeys said: he should shoot. So one of the two brothers shot, missed; then the monkey shot and killed him. Thereupon the other brother shot, also missed; the monkeys killed him too.

The mother (šĭlĭkĕrŭ) waited for the two boys day and night, but they did not come. So she went into the forest to look for them; the father (ămbūolă), too, went looking; but they did not find them. On the way, the mother met an old woman (krāōtĕ) (1), who said that the children were dead, the monkeys

1. = frog, toad.

had killed them. So the mother went home, tore her hair, and wept day and night.

She still had a third son (ūlă) (2), small and ugly. She

2. = white.

gave him to the grandfather (sābŭză), for, since the other two were dead, she no longer wanted him either.

One day the boy went into the forest to shoot birds. He lost an arrow, he looked for it; the arrow had fallen directly in front of the door of the man in the hole (hŏkūmălĭ). When he was about to pick it up, /348/ the man seized him and asked: you are now with your grandfather, does he give you something

/348 cont./

●539 to eat? Then the boy said: no, only scraped-off manioc peel and soup made of fish bones. -- And do you have any covering? -- No, only this one, and pointed to an old piece of net covering that he had on his shoulder. The man said: Good, come here tomorrow morning when you go out to catch birds. The children of the man, however, did not want him to come again; only one of them said: Come again, we want to rub you with medicine. The man said: Be sure to come, my friend.

The boy went home and told the grandfather, and the next day he went to the man. He had made a large pot full of medicine (wãwẽnĩ) and rubbed him with it. Then he sent him to bathe until afternoon. Then he rubbed him again, also with charcoal, for his skin was full of wounds (he had the sickness kũẽdjĩ) (1), and sent him to bathe again until it was dark. Then

1. = festering leg wounds; see the word list /untranslated; see the foreign text, p. 446/.

the boy went home.

The next day the same thing happened. Then the little boy became big, strong, handsome, and healthy and again went to the man in the hole. He gave him bow and arrow and said: Now I want to dress you up. Then all the man's children came and wanted to help. But the boy said: No, only the one who first wanted to keep me. Thereupon the man and the child put the arm cuffs, calf and ankle bands on him, gave him ear ornaments (dõhõlũã), oiled his hair, bound it, and painted him with genipap. The man gave him a stone lip-plug and said to him: Go this way here; on the way you will find an ugly old woman (krãõtẽ), like a toad; she will offer herself to you. Use her and go on, then you will find the monkeys; do not shoot first, then you will kill them.

He went and met the ugly old woman sitting by the wayside. She trembled and said: Come to me and use me. He went and used her thoroughly. Then he went on and already from afar

/348 cont./

539 heard the monkeys shrieking. They said: Shoot; but he did not shoot; instead he said: You shoot. And the monkeys shot, but missed. And then he shot; then they fell down from the tree, and he beat them to death.

Then he went to bathe in the lake and beat the water. Two large gaviões /Port., sparrow hawks/ (dẽnidẽnĭ) then came, one after the other; he grabbed them by the legs and killed them. Thereupon he went back to the man, who questioned him, and he said: They are dead.

Then the man gave him the stick (õbĭrŭ) (2) and said: Now

2. = throwing stick.

go home to your mother. If she gives you something to eat, do not eat, but eat only what your grandfather gives you! And then he also gave him a magic stick (hĕtsĭwã (3); two sticks of Canna

3. Cf. also electric-eel magic /see p.283/; see the word list /untranslated; see p. 447 in the foreign text/ and rain magic, p. 282, Ill. 182a.

brava, glued with wax /349/ and with black feathers at the end). When he beats with it, the wind will bring all kinds of things: honey, wild pigs, etc.

The boy went home. His mother came to meet him; and the others cried out: There comes your son! But he said: You are not my mother. And the mother brought him manioc mush to eat, but he ate only manioc leftovers and fish-bone soup from his grandfather. She laid down a beautiful mat for him to sit on, but he sat down on a small torn one of his grandfather's.

Then he took the õbĭrŭ and produced wind. Then came snakes (ũõhŭ) (1), which crawled into the hĕtsĭwã. Then came

1. = wind; also arrow.

/349 cont./

539 honey, fish, wild pigs. He gave the honey to all to taste; he ate the rest with his mother. In the evening his aunt came and wanted to marry him; he married her.

One day he went fishing for tokunaré. Then a child seized the ōbīrŭ; then the wind came and brought snakes; but the child did not know how to get the snakes into the hĕtšīwă, and the snakes bit the child and all the people, so that they all died. And that one in the forest heard the wind and immediately realized what had happened and ran home. On the way he met the snakes; but since he did not have the ōbīrŭ with him, they bit him, too, and he died. Itŭ̄ărĕ.

Shorter Version.

First there were the monkeys, who had arrows. They killed the two brothers.

The little brother, who was very ugly, still remained. His mother gave him to the grandfather, for she did not want him any more. The grandfather raised him.

The boy went out to shoot birds, and an arrow fell in front of the door of the man (ŏkŭmārĕ). The man wanted to raise the little one. His daughters, however, did not want the ugly boy; only one did.

Then the man smeared the boy with medicine and ordered him to bathe. At noon he came back from the water. He smeared him again. Then he sent him off to bathe a second time, early in the morning. When he came out of the water toward noon, he was already a man. And he adorned him with arm cuffs; ear rods (dōhŏ), oiled his hair, painted him with genipap, etc.

And ordered his grandfather: if the mother comes and wants to fetch his things, he should not give them. The grandfather went and gave them to him. Then his mother brought food, but he did not want to eat. Then the grandfather brought poor food, such as fish bones and manioc leftovers: he ate that.

/349 cont./

539 And the next day he went in order to find his brothers. Then the man said to him: On the way you will meet an old woman who /350/ is called toad (krãõtẽ); she will ask you to use her. Do so, go to her. From there he ordered him to look for his brothers.

One of the monkeys shot first, missed. Then he shot with the õbĩrũ, hit and killed him. Then the other shot; thereupon he hit him too. Thus he killed the monkeys.

Then he went into the water in order to look for his brothers. He beat upon the water, tõũ, tõũ. Then a gavião came to kill the boy. He seized him by the hand. Then another one came; he killed him in the same way.

He stopped killing, went on, and came to the house of the man. He said: Give your gear to your mother; now you are going; your mother is coming; give her your gear.

He came into the house of his mother. Another woman asked him to marry her; he married her at once. Then he produced wind with the hẽtsĩwã; when he beat, the wind came. The wind brought honey, snakes, deer, etc. Then he hid the snake in the hẽtsĩwã.

One day he was in the forest. The child grabbed the hẽtsĩwã, produced wind too. It did not understand it. The snake came and cleared out all the people. The boy heard the wind and thought that the child had done this. And the snake came and bit him and killed him. That was the end of it. Now there are no more people.

For the mutum /curassow/ legend, see Appendix II, "Texts," No. VII /untranslated; see the foreign text, pp. 473, 477-478, and 480-481/.

/312 cont./

524 a second person takes part by lifting them off, etc. Each of the figures has a special name; I was shown wind, stars, deer. In general, the string game is regarded as a very difficult game.

[824] [177] I did not see balls, but was told that they make themselves balls out of maize leaves (dōki). They maintain that they learned to make them from the Brazilians. I also did not see anywhere the feather balls made out of corncobs with a ring-shaped insert, which Ehrenreich mentions.

Finally, still to be mentioned is a puzzle game which is popularly practiced by youths and men. The problem is to make two interlocking cane sections out of one piece. What matters here is only the clever way of making it. A piece of cane /313/ approximately 15 centimeters long and half a centimeter wide is split lengthwise, the two sections cut out in the upper layer by means of parallel cuts, the inner substance is scraped out except for two knobs at the ends, and the plaything is finished (Ill. 177 a, b).

Sport and Physical Abilities.

• 541 [177] As for animal fights, there are said to be cockfights, which, like the hens, they have taken over from the Brazilians. I did not see any; they were described to me as follows: children hide a hen under a mat; then they bring two roosters, one after the other, in order to provoke them.

526 Climbing is practiced a great deal. They are very adept at climbing tall trees; it is said that they sometimes tie a rope around both feet as a climbing loop.

Foot racing is very popular among the male youth; women and children, too, are said to participate in it. Apparently there are times when larger foot-race games are organized (rainy season). At other times the young people run for practice on the sandbank; the one in the lead often holds both arms stretched out sideways, in order not to let the other pass. Their resting position is peculiar: standing, they draw one leg up and place the sole of it against the inner side of the knee of the other (Pl. 30, Ill. 4).

/194 cont./

648 [115] 1. (cont.)
the river in order to make exchanges, and that there is now a Karajá boy among the Kayapó and a Kayapó boy among the Karajá for the purpose of learning the other language and later using it at home, probably refer to these efforts.

[721] The feuds, therefore, continue to this day, and even today women and children are abducted by both sides. Thus, the Šambioá are in constant strife with the Kayapó, the Karajá with the Tapirapé, and the Šavajé with the Canoeiros. Among the [729] [548] Šambioá Ehrenreich found many Kayapó women who are used as prostitutes by the tribe. The same is true of the Tapirapé women among the Karajá. In 1908 their number was small: in the south horde there was one girl, in the north horde three women, a girl, 177 and two boys. These Tapirapé seem not to have exerted any cultural, linguistic, or physical influence, whereas the cultural influence of the Tapirapé on the Karajá in former times must have been very strong, especially at the mouth of the Tapirapé, there was a great number of objects which were not seen in any other Karajá village and which appeared to be foreign.

3. House and Village.

342 The house (hãtõ) is built in different ways, depending on the season of the year (dry season, rainy season).

[335] The framework of the dry-season house consists of three arches, one behind the other, each made out of two sticks tied together at the top with bast. Palm fronds serve as covering: the pinnae are bent over to one side; two such fronds are then placed one on top of the other and tied together at the ribs. These fronds are then fastened to the arches from below in such a way that the upper ones cover the lower ones somewhat. The ridge is not finished off; it is not specially covered. About 15 centimeters below the ridge, on either side, a pole is tied parallel to it on the leaf covering (see Pl. 39). These simple huts are about three meters long, two meters wide, and one and a half meters high.

/320 cont./

648 Of course, it is not only the Karajá who abduct women from the enemy; they are exploited in the same manner by the latter.

727 /321/ Slain enemies are left lying. I was unable to find out anything about anthropophagy. Wounded fellow-tribesmen are brought back to the village and treated by the doctor. Captured women and children are used as work slaves; captured boys who do not wish to work are exposed, if they do not themselves run away. In both cases they probably face destruction.

The owner in question (their captor) benefits by the work of the war captives. In return, he gives them food and clothing.

727 Women war captives are also used as village prostitutes. In ex-
548 change for the payment of an arrow they are put at the disposal of the young men of the village as well as of other villages. A permanent claim is acquired by the payment of a net covering to the owner. At present the Karajá have only Tapirapé women as prostitutes; altogether I met only five such women and maidens among them, as well as two small boys. Šavajé women are also supposed to play this role occasionally; these are not abducted women, however, but women who, on trade expeditions, joined the Karajá or were banished because of offenses with them (?). One instance which I am able to explain to myself only in this manner occurred during my visit among the Šavajé, where an obviously pregnant Šavajé girl was handed over to my Karajá to be taken along to their villages.

622 The Karajá are led by chiefs (ĭdjāõ, dērĭdõ, ĭtrĭ). As external insignia they wear the chin tattooing, their wives the large Thevetia neck ornament (see above /see pp. 110 and 122/). Otherwise they have no distinguishing mark of any kind; "one recognizes them by their dignified behavior," Kurišĭ said.

The duties of the chief are the following: He determines and supervises the work in the plantings, the mask festivals and the preparation for them (making the dance masks); he keeps order in the village, settles disputes, decides cases, and supports the poor, widows, and orphans. He determines the fishing and trade expeditions; he decides on expeditions of war. Moreover, he shelters strangers in his house and provides for them,

/326 cont./

586 longer wants the other. In any case the children remain with the father. The divorced wife keeps her property. Ehrenreich re-
[587] ports ("Beiträge," p. 27) that a man who rejects his wife may not marry again, but merely takes a housekeeper. According to my observations, the case from Village No. 5 reported above is quite typical. Contempt is by no means the lot of such a man, as Königswald reports (1).

[113] 1. Globus, Vol. 94, p. 237.

589 768 Widows and orphans. Widowed persons again don their leg and arm bands. The widower lives like a bachelor; he may marry again, but generally does so only if he has children who need a mother. Otherwise he is afraid of the work incumbent on a husband. Widows continue to live in the house, which, of course, is their property. They may marry again. They get their 589 736 maintenance from the chief, in case there are no grown sons who are able to care for them. Otherwise the chief appoints someone who is to plant and fish for her, and pays him for it. Orphans are reared and provided for by the brother of the mother.

836 Extramarital sex life. The girls do their utmost to preserve their purity; thus, they do not go into the forest alone, for fear of the young men. If a girl nevertheless has misfortune, she is not punished, at any rate not in the south horde. Even in
[114] this case she is married by another party. I was unable to learn anything about the severe punishment for premarital intercourse and adultery, as reported by Ehrenreich and Königswald. /327/
● [548] Before marriage, the men enjoy complete freedom. In many
[485] villages there are Tapirpaé and Šavajé women who serve as prostitutes and are also put at the disposal of strangers. The Karajá nevertheless also seem to become involved occasionally in adventures even with tribal members. Pedro flirted in many villages with young girls whom he called his primas (cousins); in Camp No. 23 proposals for nocturnal trysts were made to him by two women, but he refused them. I did not discover anything about the arrangement of viri viduarum, about which Ehrenreich reports from Magalhães ("Beiträge," p. 28).

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

The adulterous
woman is punished by her husband either by flogging, or by 684
torturing with fire brands. It is said that she is sometimes
even burned to death. The adulterous man is punished by
the nearest relatives of his wife. But among these people as,
unfortunately, among the higher races, far greater license is
allowed the man than the woman.

The Karayá seem to cherish an earnest desire to preserve 593
the integrity of the family, and to guard it against disturbing
influences of every kind. Children are reared with strictness 834
and maidenhood is respected; and any transgression of the
tribal laws regarding the relations of the sexes is severely
punished—even with death, in some cases. But children born 848
out of wedlock are not put to death, as is usually done among
savage peoples, but instead, are, like other orphans, reared
by the chief of the village as his own children.

The unmarried individuals, who are distinguished from the 589
married by the previously described wristlets and armlets,
are not required to support themselves, but are provided for
by the community as a whole. The bachelors and widowers
live together in a sort of "bachelors' hall"—a separate hut—
and participate in the hunting and fishing and other occupa-
tions of the tribe only as they feel inclined. But the un-
married women, while, like the single men, not required to
work, are not segregated, for they dwell in the huts of their
nearest relatives. These females are allowed certain liberties 836
with the unmarried men in order that they may not perturb 548
the married men and their families. They are the village
prostitutes. By this arrangement the single men, on the
other hand, are kept from endangering family life. Women [727]
taken captive from the enemy in intertribal wars, are retained
as prostitutes and semi-slaves. These unhappy females are
the common property of all the men, the married as well as
the single. Captive female children share the same sad fate;
and probably also the children born of captive parents.

We see in these customs, the dualism of the "ethics" of 577
the savage. They are moral, if we may use this term, only
when their own well-being is at stake—when it is a question

are the product of intermarriage and formal friendship. Intervillage feuds are common and are restrained only by the religious community, sanctuary being granted at all religious ceremonials.

ETIQUETTE

All dealings with visitors are conducted according to elaborate formal patterns. The language is rich in formal appellations, exclamations, and honorific phrases. The most remarkable feature is that women are permitted to behave with perfect freedom, whereas men, until they become fathers, behave with a shy and deferential modesty resembling but exceeding that of the Victorian maiden. Normal relations between members of the same village are formal and dignified; only in the men's house or on fishing and hunting trips is the behavior of men relaxed enough to permit horseplay and casual joking.

LIFE CYCLE

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Puberty and Initiations.—At menstruation, a girl's cheeks are scarified and she assumes the girdle.

A boy passes through a first initiation at about the age of 8 or 9, when his lower lip is pierced and a small bone labret inserted. A couple of years later, he passes through a second initiation, when his hair is cut short to a tonsure, his entire body is stained black with genipa, and he assumes the penis cord. When his hair has grown out to shoulder length, it is put up in a braid, and he attains full status as a young man. The next change of status for both boys and girls occurs at marriage, when, for the first time, they take on the responsibilities of regular work. Teknonymy is a matter of pride and follows the birth of the first child. The name is retained permanently thereafter, even though the child should die. At about 45 both parents discard their ornaments and accept the status of old age. All the above age grades are named and involve differential behavior and dietary observances.

/45 cont./

601 the children of their sister "nephew-niece" (without distinction as to sex). This only makes sense if one wishes to emphasize, along with the unity of the brothers and sisters, the unity of a patrilineal minimal lineage, the children of a sister then belong-
[613] ing to another small exogamic patrilineal group. Now, at present, there is no patrilineal lineage. This would allow us to
[611] suppose an historic change from a patrilineal preponderance to a matrilineal preponderance, a change which would be expressed today in double descent. The kinship system which most emphasizes the unity of patrilineal lineage /46/ (of the mother) is the "Omaha" system, which, moreover, one could imagine as structured according to the principle of the classificatory unity of brothers and sisters, which is never the case so far as I know, but which would push the logic of this system to the extreme (the same statement would be valid for the "Crow" system, which marks the unity of the matrilineal lineage, this time of the father).

551 Now, brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law (as well as
601 parents-in-law) are classified by "teknonymy," and since in the designation the reference "...of my child" seems to be customarily omitted, this is the same, for the husbands, as the way in which, in the "Omaha" system, the men designate their matrilateral male and female cross-cousins, and for the wives, as the manner of designation used by the women in the "Crow" system, when it is a matter of their patrilateral male and female cousins. I wonder whether there is not a connection between teknonymy in the broad sense and the types produced by linear or consecutive classification.

Teknonymy in the restricted sense, i.e., the terms "lord of so-and-so" and "source of so-and-so" used by a third person, is voluntarily chosen by the parents themselves. "Source of the grandchild" is the daughter-in-law, whereas the son-in-law is called "black-nephew" (the speech of the man being borrowed, this time, by his wife!). This would again be in accord with a historic state of patrilineal preponderance, if one does not

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852 Soon after birth the children have their ear lobes pierced for the insertion of the ear tulips (kũãdjŭ), which are later replaced by the ear rods; it is only later that the lip-hole is pierced for the boys. Both procedures take place without any further ceremony.

291 The boys run about naked; girls wear a black string-belt.
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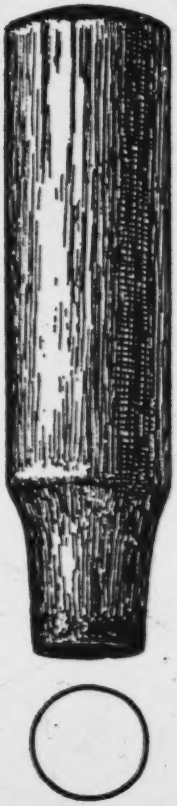
/218 cont./

304 [171]

1. (cont.)
from among the Cherentes (Rev. trim. 38, p. 23), although he does not give full credence to his informant.

[302]

Ill. 50.
Full facial painting.



Ill. 51.
Scarifier.

Ill. 52.
a) Tattooing stamp with cross-section and circular surface in natural size.
b) Tattooing knife of stone, natural size.

[554] Concerning such decorative scars Kurisĩ told me that only a person who had killed an enemy was permitted to have such incisions made across the chest and back.

Tattooing. We distinguish between two types of tattooing: tribal and chief's tattooing.

/226 cont./

*301 c) Arm and leg ornaments of red-colored cotton. These ornaments, consisting of arm cuffs and calf and ankle bands and worn by both sexes, are the insignia of the unmarried and are therefore worn from earliest youth until marriage and then again by widowed persons.

*301 286 The arm cuff (dẽsi) is crocheted out of cotton with the crochet hook as a long cylinder the thickened edges of which are bent outward like a rim (Pl. 45, Ill. 3; see on Pl. 16, 18; 44, Ill. 2). The upper opening is wider than the lower one. They are made by the women, and, to be sure, are crocheted over a club or a manioc pounder (according to Ehrenreich, also over a [386] special wooden cone not observed by me anywhere). When the cuffs are finished, they are colored red with urucũ oil-color. *301 They may be put on and taken off; they are laid aside especially for heavy work. On the whole, they are not worn constantly, but [412] most of the time. Young men sometimes insert their knives into them from behind, so that the blade sticks out toward the elbow. If they become too tight, they are removed and new ones are made. They are ultimately removed only at marriage. There is a possibility, however, that they may be put on again later, [554] and, to be sure, in three instances: first, widowed persons wear them again; then, men may wear them again if their wives are satisfied with them and put them on for them; and, finally, the best wrestler may wear them again.

[286] Ankle bands (wãlãũ) and calf bands (dẽõbutã) are likewise crocheted out of cotton and colored red. These are narrow bands with thickened edges, which are crocheted together in front. At this closing place a long tassel of thread hangs down from both edges (Pl. 45, Ill. 4 a, b; see also Pl. 15, Ill. 1; 16; 36, Ill. 1, 43, Ill. 1). The tassels of the calf bands are often tied together in back for long marches or rapid sprints, in order not to impede the movement of the wearer (Pl. 44, Ill. 2). On the calf bands bast bindings are sometimes also tied (perhaps a sign of mourning?).

/226 cont./

*301 In the case of the ankle bands the upper edge, in the case of the calf bands the lower edge, is somewhat wider than the other one. The small circumference of the calf and ankle bands is noteworthy. In the case of a 16-year-old girl the circumference of the calf band is 24 centimeters, that of the ankle band, 17 centimeters; in the case of a young man, that of the calf band, 29 centimeters.

*301 286 Both bands are crocheted by women directly onto the leg of the wearer. The person concerned lies on a mat on the ground, the head put on /227/ a bundle; a rolled-up net covering is [602] pushed under his knees. A woman related to him crochets the bands out of white cotton thread on each leg; only after they are finished are they colored red.

The bands are put on soon after birth. If they become too tight, they are cut and replaced by new ones. In the meantime people often walk around without the bands. To cut them off, they insert a small stick between the band and the leg, so as not to injure themselves with the knife, which, because of the strong, firm netting, must be pressed quite hard to cut through it.

Boys remove their ankle bands at an early age; girls wear them constantly until marriage, when the two sexes cut off each other's calf and ankle bands. Widowed persons put the calf bands on again.

*301 Ornamentation as a sign of rank scarcely exists; at any rate [554] I did not see anything of the sort. Kurišĭ, however, said that [622] chiefs' wives wear a necklace of chains made of Thevetia fruits [824] (mālĭ̆ni). The chains are arranged vertically on two threads, which are tied at the back of the neck, in such a way that the chains increase in length in front and extend down the body to the navel.

C. Other Ornamentation.

All the other ornaments are limited to unmarried persons (children and young people) and are worn only occasionally.

1:Lipkind E-5 (1937) 1948 SP9 Caraja SP9

pushing aside a door of plaited palm. Every married woman in the family cooks at her own fireplace, which consists of two lumps of hardened clay. Mats used for sleeping and sitting are spread over the entire floor. Wooden stools (fig. 19) may also be found. Bows, arrows, and rattles

FIGURE 19.—*Carajá* wooden stool. (Redrawn from Ehrenreich, 1891 b, fig. 13.)

are shoved into the wall thatch. Baskets, used for storing such things as tobacco, urucú, and feathers, are hung by a string from the ridge poles. Large baskets containing vegetables lie on the ground next to the thatch.

The dry-season house is identical in form but smaller and of flimsier construction. Thatching is looser and the walls are thatched only about halfway to the ground, the north and west sides often being left completely open. The dry-season village is generally constructed on a long beach and, as the site grows dirty, is moved along the beach. The ground plan of the dry-season village is identical with the rainy-season village.

DRESS AND ORNAMENTS

The most prominent facial decoration is a blue-black circular scarification about an inch in diameter over each cheekbone. The ears of infants are pierced and an ornament consisting of a small polished capybara tooth with a feather attached is inserted. A common ear ornament for children is a mother-of-pearl disk with a cut feather fringe set on a blackened thin rod. In a perforation of their lower lips, men wear wood or bone labrets of a variety of shapes (pl. 21; fig. 21, *a*), each assigned to a different age grade; old men use simple wooden plugs.

Men wear their hair long, winding it round a plaited cotton rope reddened with urucú. Women wear their hair about shoulder length.

Armlets crocheted of cotton are worn at the wrists and just above the elbow; similar ornaments are worn just below the knee and at the ankle. These are worn particularly by children and are supposed to aid growth.

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/280 cont./

462 A. The division of labor by age and sex is such that the
561 male youths actually do nothing other than to practice the weapons craft and occasionally travel out to fish. In addition, they make their own weapons, as well as their feather ornaments and the cotton dance-belts. The married men, on the other hand, are usually busy; either they work in the plantings, or they go out twice a day to fish for their families, go hunting, plait baskets
[589] and hats, build houses, and bring in the harvest. In general, the men, when they are married, have a great deal of work and that is why young people no longer want to get married, having been infected by a few older bachelors who preach the ideal of bachelorhood: idling, smoking, chatting in the mask house.

The women learn their manual skills, such as spinning and weaving, from childhood on. Married women take care of the plantings, the harvest, tend the children, cook, make pottery, spin and weave, and plait mats. In general, to be sure, they have to work the whole day, so that one never sees them unoccupied, but in general their lot is a good one; hard work is never demanded of them, but is always taken over by the men.

412 B. Of their ancient tools some have already disappeared (1)
178

> 1. Iron tools seem to have penetrated in the previous generation. A 40-year old Indian of the south horde told me that he had not seen work done with stone axes any more, only his mother told him about it.

or are used in another way, they still, however, use stone axes /281/ as striking stones, small stone knives for tattooing, bone needles for sewing, mussel shells as scrapers and spoons, sets of piranha teeth for cutting the strips for plaiting baskets. More and
[177] more, however, iron implements are coming in: axes, bush knives, small knives, and shears are used everywhere, likewise iron crochet needles. In spite of these foreign implements, how-
[176] ever, the technique has happily kept its ancient character, and only occasionally are innovations, under the influence of the Brazilian inhabitants, to be noted.

/327 cont./

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/328 cont./

881 With the onset of puberty both sexes have the tribal rings
[304] cut on their cheeks; apparently no further ceremonies take place
•561 in connection with this. From then on the maidens wear the
301 complete costume of the women, and the cotton pendant orna-
ment is given the red color instead of the black, which was proper
561 for children. The youths live by themselves; where there is a
591 mask house, they spend the day in it and sleep there at night or
beside a fire in its vicinity. Where there is none, they sleep
beside a fire away from the village. In small settlements with
one or two houses, they, too, live in the house.

855 Parents love their children very much. It is touching to
observe with what tenderness they cling to them, and how, far
from them, they are constantly with them in their thoughts.
When Pedro received the (false) message that his children had
died, he scarcely spoke for hours and even after that he was
noticeably more silent than he had been otherwise. The mothers
play with their small children; I even observed the kissing of
855 children. All conceivable ornamentation is put on the little
301 ones; the older the children become, the less ornamentation is
put on, until, finally, married persons give it up almost entirely.
One woman about 50 years old laughed at her own vanity when she
put chains of beads which I had given to her grandchild around
her own neck and looked down on them with pleasure. This
mania /329/ for adorning children goes so far that they hang
around their necks large pieces of broken colorful porcelain
[842] plates, without being aware of the danger (1). "Boys mean more

1. This custom is already reported for the Šambioá by Rufino in the year 1846 (Rev. trim. X, p. 196).

to the father, the mother would rather have girls" (Kurišf). The
861 father teaches the son, the motner the daughter. Contrary to
other reports, I was assured that beating as a punishment also
occurs. Otherwise I observed only the denial of food as a means
of punishment (in Village 17, because the boy in question did not
go fishing, but loitered around me in the Camp).

/331 cont./

532 dance masks, but masks of beggars who travel around on certain occasions and beg for food; others seem to be connected with the /332/ cult of the dead. In any case, these are still quite primi-
561 tive forms; a strict organization of the young people seems to be entirely lacking; only the age group of the unmarried men and the men's house (mask house) have developed (1). As a

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1. Dr. Walter Lehmann-München, in a discussion of my essay on masks in the Zentralblatt für Anthropologie, XVI, 1911, p. 100, suspects that the dance masks, like those in Central America, could in part be connected with the cult of the dead, and that they could be associated with totemistic ideas in combination with puberty rites. The connection with the cult of the dead seems actually to exist for the ĭõõnĭ mask, but, unfortunately, I was able to obtain too little information about this (see Part I, p. 78 /untranslated/) to be able to say anything about it with certainty. As for the second point, I suspected totemism among the Karajá Indians from the very beginning, but, in spite of all efforts, I could not discover anything of this nature. And it is the same with puberty rites. I therefore believe that I am right if I abstain from such combinations. It must one day be the task of a researcher who visits the Karajá during the rainy (dance) season to devote his attention to this problem.

535 result, priests are, as yet, entirely lacking; everyone may still
796 take part equally in all the dances. The arrangement is the duty
[793] of the chief. Everything concerning the masks is kept secret
[113] from the women. For more detail on the mask arrangements, see my article, "Tanzmaskennachbildungen vom mittleren Araguaya (Zentralbrasilien) /Copies of Dance Masks from the Middle

1:Lipkind E-5 (1937) 1948 SP9 Caraja SP9

441 **Weapons.**—The *Carajá* use bows and arrows (pls. 20, *bottom, left;* 21, *left* and *center*), and their mythology indicates aboriginal use of the spear thrower for hunting monkeys. Recently, they have used a spear thrower of the upper Xingú River type for sport.

[773] [774]

323 **Pottery.**—Pottery vessels include several forms of plain ware (fig. 20).

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

611 The kinship structure may be described as double descent. Both lines are important, the greater emphasis falling on the mother's line, and both lines serve different functions. Village citizenship, adoption, and the closest affectional ties are reckoned in the mother's line. Moiety membership and the offices of chief, priest, and food-divider are patrilineally inherited.

[428]

621 622 The fundamental unit of social organization is the village. Every village has one or more ioló, children of chiefly line, designated by the chief for preferential treatment by the members of the village. The chief names the ioló who is to succeed him or, if he fails to do so, the village makes the choice at his death. Girls of chiefly line are similarly chosen for preferential treatment; each of them is known as the "hidden woman." There is some indication that women functioned as chiefs in former times, but today there is no woman chief. The chief has no coercive powers but directs the village by recognizing the will of the majority in such matters as the selection of camp and garden sites and the announcement of a move at change of season. His principal function is to act as peacemaker, and people readily submit to his adjudication. Because of the importance of religious ceremonials, the priest and the shaman frequently exercise more authority than the chief. When all three offices are vested in a single individual, his authority may be considerable, but it is kept in check by the right of a discontented person to move at any time to another village.

[562] [177] [756] [793] [622]

59 Within the village the important unit is the household. Residence being matrilocal, a household consists of sisters, their husbands, children, and the husbands of grown daughters. Marriage is restricted to one's own generation, the preferred mate being a cousin on the mother's side. There is no sanction but ridicule against wrong marriages, and there are many cases of cross-generational marriage. Marriage is predominantly monogamous, but a few instances of polygyny and one of polyandry were encountered. The avunculate is very important and involves many social and especially ceremonial duties. Cooperation in the household is close and in the village fairly close. In addition, villages are grouped together in ceremonial units, generally consisting of three or four neighboring villages, which celebrate important feasts jointly. This ceremonial unit acts as an insurance group when a village's crop fails or its fish supplies grow scarce. Beyond this, the only intervillage ties

[591] [592] [582] [626] [595] [604] 78 628 [476]

1:Lipkind E-5 (1937) 1948 SP9 Caraja SP9

78 are the product of intermarriage and formal friendship. Intervillage
628 feuds are common and are restrained only by the religious community,
626 sanctuary being granted at all religious ceremonials.

ETIQUETTE

576 All dealings with visitors are conducted according to elaborate formal
195 patterns. The language is rich in formal appellations, exclamations, and
562 honorific phrases. The most remarkable feature is that women are permitted to behave with perfect freedom, whereas men, until they become fathers, behave with a shy and deferential modesty resembling but exceed-
[522] ing that of the Victorian maiden. Normal relations between members of the same village are formal and dignified; only in the men's house or on fishing and hunting trips is the behavior of men relaxed enough to permit horseplay and casual joking.

LIFE CYCLE

553 **Childbirth and Childhood.**—The child gets two sets of names, one
551 male and one female, as soon as the mother is known to be pregnant. These
843 are one's own names given by grandparents of both lines. Taboos in
846 regard to diet and behavior are required of both parents before and after birth. There is a well-developed couvade based on the notion of an
853 intimate connection between the infant and its father. Babies are nursed
862 until they turn to other food of their own volition; sometimes ridicule is used as a sanction against particularly recalcitrant children. No inter-
854 course is allowed during the period of lactation. Babies are carried on the hip, and sleep with the mother until weaning, when they are paired
[291] off with other children or with a grandparent. The girl child wears no clothing until weaned and then receives a fringed belt.

881 **Puberty and Initiations.**—At menstruation, a girl's cheeks are scarified and she assumes the girdle.

[304] A boy passes through a first initiation at about the age of 8 or 9,
[302] when his lower lip is pierced and a small bone labret inserted. A couple of years later, he passes through a second initiation, when his hair is cut short to a tonsure, his entire body is stained black with genipa, and he assumes the penis cord. When his hair has grown out to shoulder length, it is put up in a braid, and he attains full status as a young man.
885 The next change of status for both boys and girls occurs at marriage, when, for the first time, they take on the responsibilities of regular work.
551 Teknonymy is a matter of pride and follows the birth of the first child. The name is retained permanently thereafter, even though the child should
888 die. At about 45 both parents discard their ornaments and accept the
561 status of old age. All the above age grades are named and involve differential behavior and dietary observances.

/27 cont./

582 4. The marriage of Karaya women to foreigners is permitted only when the latter allow themselves to be adopted into the tribe and take up permanent residence in the village concerned, a case which in Castelnau's time was not at all rare, but could hardly occur today.

593 Although the husband is naturally in charge as head of the
562 family, the position of the wife is a completely honorable one. There is no trace of the degradation of women into beasts of burden, as has been falsely imputed for all Indians by analogy with the North American tribes. Certain tasks, to be sure, are performed exclusively by the women and they are tireless in fulfilling their manifold duties. The man, too, however, has his share to perform. His wife is his complete equal; he does nothing of importance without her advice. Even the chief shares his honors with his wife. Mistreatment of women is unheard of.

595 Monogamy is the usual thing. The husband, however, not uncommonly finds it necessary to take a second wife when the
[582] first one becomes too old. This is conditioned by the peculiar
[171] custom, widespread, it seems, among all South American tribes (2), that the young men court older women and the old

[113] 2. Cf. Im Thurn, op. cit., p. 223.

men younger ones. Perhaps the relatively small number of children can be traced to this.

847 Artificial abortion occurs, but only on the demand of the husband. It is brought about by pressing the uterus together with the hands and is said to cause death not uncommonly.

586 If married people do not get along, the husband is allowed
587 to trade off his wife for that of another. Anyone who repudiates his wife cannot marry again, but is allowed to have a housekeeper.

684 The husband himself punishes an adulterous wife by a beating or burning her with glowing wood. Sometimes (3) the guilty one

[113] 3. Couto Magelhães, Selvagem, p. 116.

is said to be even burned to death.

/36 cont./

535 On both, the back side is decorated with a double row of
532 short green and blue parrot feathers placed in the long direction.
825 3. The mask of a black bird (tirehäñ) has no animal emblem. It is a human face made of a large gourd, the lower third painted black, the rest red. The mouth is equipped with wax lips and wooden teeth. The nose of black wax is located between the narrow eye slits at an unnatural height. A hanging of black and /37/ brown feathers falls from the back, while at the front and on the sides long strips of buriti bast cover the body of the wearer (Pl. X /see p. 112/, 3).

The number of masks is in no way exhausted with these.
[184] Each village has its special ones and many a "medicine hut" was actually crammed full of the different types.

Besides those mentioned the following were noted as particularly common among the Karayahi:

The fish: pintado (Pimelodus sorubim), trem-trem (Gymnotus electricus), chicote, piau, and pirarucú (Sudis gigas); the birds: tuyuyu (Mycteria jabiru), japuira (Cacicus sp.) mutum (Crax), jacu (Penelope); finally deer and crabs.

521 Masked festivals. If there is much food on hand after pro-
535 ductive hunting and fishing expeditions, the chief decides to hold a dance festival, which continues as long as the provisions last. The preparations begin several days before the date set. The women attend to the food and drink, the men set to work at making the dance costumes, unless they are still occupied with hunting.
[533] Each dance is known only to certain persons. The songs sung in
[198] connection with them, which are handed down from father to son, are allegedly performed in an ancient language incomprehensible to the masses.

[825] Each animal represented has its characteristic sound, which
[533] is repeated again and again in the songs. Thus, the pacu cries: heiyoñ he, heiyoñ he, the alligator hu — hu — hu.

[562] The women and children watch the dance, to be sure, but
532 may not look at the masks by themselves, without their wearers,
[196] since they are made to believe that the "animal spirits" concerned are really present before them. Only the oldest women are sometimes told the secret.

/37 cont./

[597] The festival begins with a procession of the masks through
535 the village. The participants dress in the nearby forest and approach with a loud han̓ hm han̓. Then everybody cries: nakunerare! There they come!

During the procession the masked men throw sticks of wood in all directions. After they have withdrawn, everything is readied for the feast and drinking bout, until after a few hours the dancers approach again and the dance begins. Like that of the duck-duck, it consists of an odd hopping. The dancer is not permitted to let himself be recognized in any way; he
[688] may neither speak nor cough or sneeze, and particularly not fall. Otherwise, as in the case of the duck-duck and the Northwest American hametz, he is killed immediately.

If he finds it necessary to cough, which in view of the stifling heat in his masquerade is not uncommon, of course, he jumps into the circle of men standing about, who cover up his voice by likewise coughing.

The dances take place in a certain sequence; it is the chief who decides which one is to be at the beginning.

532 If a woman enters the secret hut out of curiosity or other-
535 wise takes advantage of an opportunity to see the mask costumes,
562 she is punished by death.
688 Usually the other women then bring a petition to the chief. The latter lets mercy prevail if the guilty one promises silence and is willing to undertake a task of atonement, which usually consists of weaving a riio or making a large buriti mat. If she refuses or if the work is not satisfactory, a place in the forest is pointed out to her, and she must appear there at a certain
[839] time. She is forced to yield to the men assembled there. If she does not appear, the latter have the right to kill her wherever
[766] they find her. The corpse of the guilty one is sunk in the river.
[778] No one may enter the hut of the victim, however, since this is considered a sanctuary.

In the same way a man who betrays the secret to a woman is declared an outlaw.

/37 cont./

535 That such barbaric customs prevailed, at least formerly,
532 is all the less to be doubted, since analogies can be shown in
562 other regions of the world. Today, however, the matter does
688 not seem to be handled as strictly. It is said that among the
178 neighboring Tapirapé all the women once saw the masks by chance, so there was nothing else to do but to pardon them all and give up the secret.

According to a statement of Pedro Manco, the custom has fallen into disuse among the Šambioa, too. Nevertheless, they did not permit us simply to take the masks found in the forest along with us, because women /38/ were presumed to be in the area. Rather our men had to put on special clothing for the purpose of bringing them to our camp.

Whether these customs have now become milder or not, in any case the respect the women have for the masks and their mysterious storage place is quite great.

535 After the end of the festival the masks are thrown away or
532 burned. In any case the feathers used for them are saved.

It is unlikely that we shall ever fully understand the real meaning of these dances. It is even doubtful whether the Indians themselves are fully aware of it. On the basis of analogies among better known peoples, a few conjectures about it can at least be made.

535 It is certain that the mask represents the spirit of the ani-
532 mal portrayed. The animals themselves are either game animals
776 or those that play a certain role in the national legend, such as
825 the stork, the alligator, and the Gymnotus. In North America
[191] there are bear dances, buffalo dances, etc., in order to persuade the bear and buffalo spirit to make these animals appear in larger numbers, whereas other dances refer to animals which are regarded as original ancestors or have other mythological significance. Similar notions may also be the basis for the masked dances of the Karaya. This would already be a step beyond the lowest form of animism, since the acceptance of a spirit representing all animals of a certain class presumes a certain amount

/38 cont./

535 of abstraction (1). Insofar as these animal spirits are supposed to
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1. Im Thurn, op. cit., p. 370.

be influenced in a way favorable to human beings, the first trace of a cult appears in these dances.

535 If one asks the Indians themselves why they keep the secret
532 from the women, they answer without exception that the women
562 are not permitted to see everything, they talk too much.

The need to maintain the authority of the men over the women appears wherever such mysterious festivals are current. The same thing is known from Greek and Oriental antiquity. It is possible that in this effort, which may often appear to the civilized man as a brutal tyranny over the weaker sex, one of the most ancient "folk ideas" belonging to all mankind finds its expression.

The whizzing stick does not seem to be in use among the Karaya; at least nothing could be learned about it.

Legends and Folklore

126 In the last days of our stay in S. Maria old Pedro Manco
[115] dictated a number of legends, which, given the paucity of
[773] such materials from South America and despite their simplicity and poverty of ideas, as well as the in part garbled form, nevertheless command some interest. Unfortunately because of the lack of time, they could not be written down in the original language, and in particular working out an interlinear translation met insuperable difficulties.

773 Whether these traditions have remained completely free of
199 foreign influence can be decided with certainty only when someone is successful in drawing on other informants as a check. The chances, to be sure, are very slight. For the present nothing opposes the presumption that we are actually dealing here with genuine products of the Indian folk-spirit.

773 These myths differ neither in form nor in content from those otherwise from America. The very saga which is most

/200 cont./

514 water about 5/4 meters deep with their knees slightly bent and there untie the long penis string and tie it on again.

342 The houses are merely living and sleeping houses; cooking [252] is done outside.

[622] The chiefs in part have better built, larger houses; thus, Plate 41 appears here/ /201/ the one belonging to Chief João III was three to four meters high, five to six meters wide, and equally long (Pl. 39).

[344] There are no meeting houses; in order to bring about a de- [203] cision or announce regulations, the chief goes to the individual [207] houses.

Other special houses are:

343 1. Birth houses. These are erected for the woman when birth 844 is imminent; their construction is said to be identical with that of the other houses.

346 2. The mask house in which the dance masks are kept. It always stands apart from the village and in its method of construction is a dry-season house with a round structure on the narrow side turned toward the village. The arches are usually slightly curved and strengthened on top by a ridge beam (Pl. 12, Ill. 3). The mask houses serve as bachelor houses; the young people are said to sleep here. I saw only four mask huts, but cannot confirm 513 these statements from my observations. In any case, the young people do not sleep in the houses, but rather, if there is no mask house, [609] by a fire which is away from the village. Strangers are given shelter by the chief; they sleep in his house, even though they are unmarried (see the reception which I, with my men, found among the Šavajé /pp. 129 ff. in the first part of the work, which is omitted in the translation/).

342 The house belongs to the woman. The man builds it before 423 the marriage, with the assistance of the young people, who are 562 paid for it by the woman with chains of beads. The construction 768 takes one or two days. After death the house is said to be burned.

821 According to the accounts of the Indians, the houses are protected from bolts of lightning by a fish spine stuck on the roof on a pole about half a meter long. Probably only magic is involved here.

[Text continues on p. 84]

/281 cont./

412 Brazilian inhabitants, to be noted. This shows us how tenaciously
178 the Karajá cling to their nationality, in spite of long association with their civilized neighbors.

311 C. The exploitation of the natural kingdom varies in intensity; the mineral kingdom is exploited least, the vegetable kingdom, which can, of course offer the Indian the most abundant resources, the most.

135 The mineral kingdom is as yet little utilized. Stones are rare in the alluvial valley of the Araguaya; at most there is small rubble on a few sandbanks; otherwise fine sand covers the river valley. On the steep vertical banks there is canga, a ferrous sandstone which cannot be utilized except perhaps in larger pieces which, with plaiting around them, serve as anchors for turtle tackle. Stones are found only north of the Tapirapé, and all of the few stone implements that were present came from there.

317 More frequently used is the gray clay which is embedded in
323 narrow layers in the sandstone of the high banks. It is used for pottery. This art, however, in its technique and form, is still very primitive; ornamentation is entirely lacking. The vessels are shaped according to their practical use; they are made by
562 the women. Apparently the women are more practical and less artistically endowed than the men, for we find everywhere that the things made by the women are simple and practical, those by the men, by contrast, show pleasing forms and ornamentation.

317 Earths are also but little utilized as colors.

237 The animal kingdom is utilized somewhat more intensively for technical purposes by the Indians. Bones and teeth of mammals are worked into tools and ornaments; mussel shells serve as implements. The bird kingdom is most abundantly drawn upon: their brilliant feathers are used for magnificent ornaments such as
235 scarcely any other Indian tribe displays in this abundance. In order to have the material for this always at hand, the Indians keep young birds, taken from the nest, tamed in their huts in order to
237 pluck them from time to time. The wax of bees plays an important role as gluing material.

/322 cont./

624 191 but mostly men who understand a little Brazilian and, as a result, act as intermediaries in dealings with the boatmen (for example, Ilk).

622 571 During my stay at the mouth of the Tapirapé I observed that there may also be rivalry between chiefs. On the downstream journey, in Village No. 18, I met two chiefs, the good-natured old tribal chief Cyriāki and a so-called capitão, the energetic, feared Chico Cadete. Of the two, Cyriaki had the more dignified bearing, though he had no following in the village; Cadete ruled there absolutely, so that Cyriāki was left entirely in the background. On the upstream journey I met the [439] village in the act of undertaking a trading expedition to Santa Maria. When I returned from my navigation of the Tapirapé, I found Cyriāki in the village on the mouth of the Tapirapé. He had moved from Village 18 on account of disputes with Cadete and had settled here in Village 17.

622 The privileges enjoyed by the chiefs for their administration of office are the following: They do not work in the plantings; they do not hunt, and they fish only for tokunaré, pintado, and pirarucu, besides tartaruga and tracajá. They are not subject to any restrictions in diet. They may have several wives, who live together in their houses; there is no chief wife. Their houses are built by the villagers; they are sometimes larger and higher than the other houses.

[562] If the chief is absent, he entrusts the leadership to his wife his son also seems to represent him frequently.

The chief is educated for his position from infancy on. After an ablution with hot water, he lives for four years shut in a special hut; here he learns from his father the dances and dance songs, the administration of justice, and whatever else is necessary for his office. He may already pronounce decisions, which are announced through his father. In return he is given arrows, stones for lip plugs, and similar things as gifts. The apprenticeship ends with a large festival.

[562] The chief's successor is his son. If he only has daughters, one of them becomes chief (hau͡ěkě, děrōdĭ). If she marries,

/325 cont./

584 and the suitor must also work for the father-in-law (?). During the engagement, the bridegroom, along with the young men, builds the house. This subsequently becomes the property of the woman, who, after the wedding, pays off the builders. The bride, however, apparently provides the furnishings, the sleeping mats, pots, etc.

585 I obtained only unclear reports about the wedding ceremony. Thus, the grandfather is said to carry the bridegroom, painted and adorned, into the house of the bride and back again. The suitor, accompanied by the young men, fetches the woman and leads her into the new house. There they cut off each other's leg bands and remove their arm cuffs for the duration of the marriage. According to another statement, however, the bride cuts off the calf bands of the man; the mother of the man, however, those of the bride. The bridal journey takes place without luggage. Only after the couple have arrived in the house does the husband have the property of the bride brought and take charge of them.

595 [622] In general the Karajá have only one wife at a time; only the chief may have simultaneously several wives who live together in his house. As has been said above, there is no chief wife, but many quarrels are said to take place among them. When the wife grows old, the husband may send her away and marry a second, younger woman. This is based on the fact that only the older girls are left over for the young men, and that, when these grow too old, they then turn to the young girls.

593 562 The position of the wife is very good. The house, the furnishings, and the boat belong to her; the husband simply lives with her. She also gives her opinion in all matters. The husband takes on all the hard work: laying out the plantings, carrying the harvest home, hunting and fishing. The wife must do the lighter work in connection with planting and harvesting and take care of the housekeeping. The two are seldom idle. The men do not 589 like to do the heavy work. At any rate, the young men, for fear of it, do not want to marry and postpone marriage as long as possible, misled, chiefly, by a few old bachelors. The carefree bachelor's life is, of course, free of all work; one does only what

/343 cont./

192 north horde. With Ehrenreich's Karajá words and Castelnau's
184 Sambioá words and Coudreau's Karajá words my records show
[114] correspondences as well as differences. The latter probably go back in part to misunderstandings on both sides, as may be definitely proved in a few cases. With regard to the Šavajé language, there are several very striking differences, the reason for which is as yet unknown.

197 The language of the Karajá, for the time being, is still to be regarded as isolated; the few agreements with Ge languages do not, for the present, justify our counting it among these.

192 From the beginning I followed up the differences between
126 the men's dialect and the women's dialect, which Ehrenreich (1)
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[113]

1. "Materialien zur Sprachenkunde Brasiliens /Materials for Brazilian Linguistics/": I. Die Sprache der Caraya (Goyaz) /The Language of the Caraja (Goiáz)/. Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, Vol. 26, 1894, p. 23.

discovered, and in this way obtained a great number of women's words. Those from the south horde were obtained directly from women, those from the north horde from men. The latter were able to say many words immediately; often, however, they reflected a long time before they found the word. It is doubtful whether they always gave the proper word; in any case, the women's words from the north horde should be taken with some
[191] caution. The men described the language of the women as ibinãli = very poor. They maintained that the two sexes did not understand all of each other's expressions, but that there were words which were foreign to the other sex. My records have so
194 far not confirmed this assertion. The chief difference is that in
562 the women's language a k is inserted where, among the men two vowels stand next to each other; the initial k of the women is omitted among the men. Ehrenreich gives a few further

/343 cont./

194 modifications (2). That the omission of k is regarded as the

562 [191]

2. Ibid., p. 24.

chief characteristic /344/ of the men's language may be illustrated by a joke of Pedro I. Pedro said one day that my companion Adam was a woman because he says sakuba (= jacuba, the Brazilian name for a drink made of farina, rapadura /Port., a form of sugar/, and water); if he were a man, he would have to say šăŭbă. Probably the women's dialect with a fuller sound represents an older form of the language. For there can be no question here of a different language which could have originated through the taking in of women captured from alien tribes during [127] battle. First of all, the taking of alien women (Tapirapé, Kayapó, Šavajé) is too limited for their language to be a possible influence; on the other hand, the deviations from the men's language are too slight to permit viewing the women's language as of foreign origin.

194 In speaking, many syllables are swallowed, especially at the end of words; the mouth is only slightly opened, so that a soft, indistinct speech is produced. Yet they are able to make themselves understood in a whisper far over the water. The intonation is slightly singsong, the manner of speaking uneven. Sometimes the syllables are uttered in rapid succession, then again a syllable is drawn out at length, just as though the speaker were considering how to express himself further. And this goes on in confused alternation, a way of speaking which the Brazilians greatly like to imitate. Perhaps the custom of pronouncing short-ending words long in compounds (mānă -- mănāŭlă, mănādjŭ, etc.) goes back to this.

195 In conversations among themselves the listener accompanies the speech of the other with many nde, nde (= yes), hm̄, hm̄, or he repeats the last word of every sentence. In communicating with Brazilians they like to start the sentences with ăhĭ (= there) and to ask after every explanation: săbĕ (= understand?). In

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
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clubs and lances, various kinds of clay pots and pans and 353
gourd-shell vessels occupy the corners of the hut.

A short distance from the encampment is the "Casa do 346
Bicho," or medicine hut; or better yet, the Demon Hut. It
is roofed and closed in on three sides only. The side facing
away from the village is always left entirely open. The [562]
women of the tribe are not allowed to go near this hut, or
to look into it. In front of two Sambiõa villages, two dead 825
kingfishers were secured to the top of a high pole, for the
purpose, probably, of keeping away the demons.

The Karayá have a few domestic, or domesticated crea- 231
tures. These are considered members of the family, and live 825
in and out of the family hut, and on equal terms generally
with the people. These children of Nature are evidently lovers
of Nature, and their mode of life can scarcely be conceived
of without these creatures. The way they treat them in-
dicates the idea they entertain regarding them and their do-
ings—that they look upon them as their companions and
equals. The feeling of companionship—even of relationship—
with the animal world, is characteristic of the Karayá, and [538]
is evidenced by the way the animals are spoken of in their
tribal legends, and by the fact that they have quite a treas-
ury of animal fables. Although these people are successful 231
in taming wild creatures, they have never made any economic
use of them as have the civilized people. They are captured
while still young, and reared, but for no purpose, in most
cases, other than to be kept as pets and esteemed members
of the families of their captors, where their presence seems
to give much pleasure. They are seldom thought of as regards
any material benefits they may confer. The only economic [231]
use that is made of any of these creatures, is of those that have
bright-colored plumage, which is used in the making of the
many feathered adornments that are so much admired by
these primitive people. Nor are these animals permitted to
multiply themselves, if this can be avoided. Some poultry 235
is kept, which was obtained originally from the "civilized" [197]
Brazilians, and these, of course, multiply rapidly. But even

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca.1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

527 through the encampment, who, having previously stolen away
535 to the jungle and secretly donned their uncouth regalia, suddenly appear; and with a loud cry—"Han hm! Han hm!" rush toward the village, while all the villagers ejaculate loudly, in reply, "Nakum rare! Nakum rare!"—Here they come! Here they come! The procession is almost riotous, for the men throw billets of wood about in every direction. The parade over, all these imitation birds, bugs and beasts, or the materialization of their ghosts, retire again to the thicket, remove their gear, and becoming real men once more, quietly, reënter the village, and the savage banquet is brought on.

After some hours of "eating and drinking and making merry," the masqueraders again rush forth from the woods to begin the dancing. It consists of a peculiar hopping, turkey-step, and rocking the body from side to side. The dancer must not, under any circumstances, permit his real identity to be-
[688] come known to the spectators. He must not speak, nor cough, nor sneeze; and above all, he must not allow himself to stumble and fall, for if he does, he will be immediately put to death. If he should be compelled to cough or sneeze, as frequently happens because of the dust and the suffocating heat under his mask, he springs into the group of men standing near, all of whom begin instantly to cough, and thus contrive to drown his voice.

The various dances follow each other according to a programme arranged beforehand by the chief of the encampment, who presides over the ceremonies and festivities.

535 If a woman of the tribe should enter one of the secret
•562 mystery huts, or should avail herself of an opportunity to look
688 upon a masquerade outfit when not in use, she will be punished with death. It is usual, in such cases, for the other women to intercede with the chief for her life, and he will exercise mercy in her behalf if she will promise silence and will undertake some work of expiation, such as to weave a *hammock*, or braid a large, palm-leaf mat. If she should refuse to do this, or her work should prove unsatisfactory, she will

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

be ordered to appear at a designated spot in the woods when the sun reaches a certain position in the heavens, and here she will be compelled to submit herself to the assembled men. If she should fail to appear as ordered, the men may slay her wherever they find her and sink her body in the river. But if she should flee to the mystery hut, no one will enter to take her for this is an asylum of refuge. If a man should betray the secret of the masquerade to a woman of the tribe, he may, nevertheless, be allowed to go unmolested. But these barbarous customs do not appear to be so strictly observed to-day as in former times. It is related that owing to an accident, all the women of a certain village, caught sight at the same moment of the masquerade outfit when not in use. In this case, of course, nothing could be done but to pardon them all and make known to them the whole secret. It is said that among the Sambiõa, these masquerades are falling somewhat into disuse. Nevertheless, they would not allow Dr. Ehrenreich and his party to bring away the masquerade outfits that they had stumbled upon at a spot in the woods where they had been thrown at the termination of a festival, as they feared that some of their women might be in the vicinity and see them. To get permission to take them, the men of the party had to dress in them. Though these customs may be less strictly observed to-day than formerly, nevertheless, the women cherish a profound respect for these supposed creatures of the forest and their mysterious hiding-places.

535 562 688 [708] 535 [178] [126]

The masquerade outfits seem to be thrown away, or burned, at the conclusion of a festival, the feather decorations having first been removed.

Of the real significance of these masquerades, little or nothing is known, or perhaps ever will be known. It is doubtful if even the savages themselves are fully conscious of their significance. But we may get some light upon the subject from our knowledge of the customs and beliefs of other primitive peoples.

It is certain that the "make up"—the creature, animated [825]

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

535 885 object, or apparition, that rushes forth from the forest to parade and dance—is supposed to be the materialization of the spirit, or double, of the creature indicated. The animals represented are always either game animals, or those that play a certain rôle in the tribal legends, such as the stork, the alligator and the electric eel. In accordance with a similar idea, [171] the aborigines of North America were accustomed to hold buffalo and bear dances for the purpose of inducing the spirits of these particular animals to send their own kind to earth in abundance.

The Karayá have other dances, which are held in honor of animals regarded as ancestors, or to which some mythological significance is attributed. There may be similar reasons for the masquerades. The Karayá may believe, moreover, that by these festivities, they are cultivating the favor of the game animals.

535 562 When the men are asked why they keep from their women the secret of the real character of the masqueraders, they always, without exception, reply that the women are not allowed to see and know everything because they talk too much. The belief that the authority and superiority of the men over the women must be maintained and fortified, is quite evident wherever the mystery festivals are held.

8:Gow-Smith T-5 (no date)1925
SP9 Caraja SP9

535 [349] These costumes are made and kept guarded in a wigwam at some distance from the village, and at the conclusion of the festivities are destroyed. [411 531] Covering the entire body as it does, the masquerade completely conceals the identity of the dancer, who must not under any circumstances reveal his identity to the women onlookers.

535 562 [358] Women and children are merely spectators and are never permitted to view the dress except when it encases the form of the dancer. The women of the tribe apparently cherish a profound respect for

FIG. 43.—A personator in the Fish Dance.

8:Gow-Smith T-5 (no date)1925
SP9 Caraja SP9

535 562 [346] this ritual and never seek to penetrate its mysteries. At any rate they seemed to keep at a distance from the sacred wigwam where the men ate and drank in tribute to the sacred fish.

535 562 627 Should a woman, however, so far forget her position as to enter this mysterious hut or should avail herself of an opportunity to look at this mystery dress, she may be punished by death. Executive clemency is granted by the chief, at the request of the women of the tribe, providing she will promise silence and expiate her crime by some appointed work. If she should refuse, she will be ordered to appear at a designated spot in the woods, at a certain height of the sun, where she will find assembled a group of warriors. Failing to comply with their desires, she may be killed and the body thrown into the river. Should she flee to the [348] sacred wigwam, however, this being sanctuary, she goes free at the termination of the festivities to resume her place in society.

126 535 Wishing to preserve the costumes as a memento of my visit among them, I asked the chief if I might take them with me. Reluctantly he consented, and ordered his men under cover of darkness to take them in a canoe down the river and await my coming. It was by this means that the costumes ultimately came in possession of the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation.

8:Gow-Smith T-5 (no date)1925
SP9 Caraja SP9

INDIAN NOTES

In answer to the query of why the Arawana dance was veiled in such secrecy, the chief replied that women are not allowed to know everything, as they talk too much. These Indians believe that the authority and superiority of man must be maintained, and that these festivals impress the woman with her inferiority. 535 562

FRANCIS GOW-SMITH

/323 cont./

685 remain concealed for long. The injured person complains to the
627 chief; he sends him to the thief with the instruction to demand compensation from him. If the thief refuses, however, the injured one again complains to the chief and may, if the latter agrees, start a "fight" with the former, in other words, demand his rights by force.

682 Murders seem to occur, though seldom. The custom of
627 blood vengeance prevails: the relatives of the slain one pursue the murderer everywhere, even into other villages, until they have slain him.

689 Social life. Objectionable elements (boasters, gossipers, quarrelsome persons) are on occasion flogged. Thus, my camarada Pedro II in Village 17 is said to get a beating almost weekly on account of his incredible boasting.

/324/ Malicious elements who, with their quarreling, never leave the village in peace are finally, as Kuriší reported, killed by the others at the command of the chief; their relatives then have no right to take blood vengeance.

• 565 There are no class distinctions. Women and children captured in war serve as slaves of sorts. On the other hand, there are differences in wealth; there are rich and poor people. "The rich man has everything, axes, knives, pots; the poor one has nothing. He goes to the rich one and says: Give me a pot, an ax. The rich man must give it to him." (Kuriší.)

[622] The chiefs in particular are regarded as rich, and they, indeed, must share their surplus of goods with the poor. Ilk in Village 13 and Crisote in Village 22 were regarded as especially
[184] rich. The Indians of the south horde are regarded as poor, and they are in comparison with the north horde, which, in turn, is to be designated as poor in relation to the Šavajé.

609 Forms of greeting. If someone comes into a strange village,
576 he remains, with bowed head, in the boat (sta sem vergonha, that is, without shame, as the Indians erroneously said, instead of com v., that is, full of shame) until the others come, greet him, and invite him to come along to the village. Only then do they go on land. This custom was observed in particular among the

/46 cont./

551 wish to infer at the outset a marriage, formerly prescribed,
601 with the matrilateral female cross-cousin. One must remember,
[183] however, that the present state characterized by a great degree of freedom, in other words, by a degree of "information" or of greater entropy, is also found in the performance of ceremonies, such as in the narration of myths and legends, these expressions of the spiritual life of the Carajá which allow great freedom of variation around a principal theme stubbornly preserved. — Finally teknonymy guides the reciprocal terms of grandparents and grandchildren, so that the grandparents, designated according to their sex, reply by the same word, even if the grandchild is of the opposite sex.

561 Before finishing my article, I must quickly touch on the
554 last two columns of Murdock's attempt. The Carajá distinguish,
615 by speech and by ornaments, age grades. At the same time, an idea of stratification is outlined in the fact that political and religious roles are the heritage of only one of the three patrilineal groups with an endogamous tendency. It is tempting to think
[567] of the classes or castes of the Guaycurú /Guaicuru/, for example, and since there are reports which speak of temporary slaves, Murdock's information in this direction must be corrected (A_1, with a tendency towards C_1, instead of O; column 14). The
628 villages are politically autonomous, but the Carajá themselves
621 unite some villages in amphictyonies for the performance of
622 certain ceremonies. The hereditary succession of the chiefs
621 goes in the patrilineal line, a grandson being chosen as the candidate, or, if one is lacking, a granddaughter. Consequent-
[178] ly, there is a temporary matrilineal succession in the heart of the patrilineal group, for which there is reserved the role of the chief, who, incidentally, is on the way to complete disappearance (thus: Pp and m, for the Carajá themselves, Ap and m for the Javahé and Chambioá /Shambioa/; column 15).

121 You would not wish me to end on this melancholy note.
[178] I repeat: a people small in number and too little known, despite appearances, is in the process of losing at least its traditional aspect, which would have been fascinating for comparative sociology as well as for the history of the South American Indians.

/11 cont./

854 Some months later the broad, knitted cotton cuffs (deši) are
291 put around the wrists and ankles, while narrower bands provided with tassels hanging down in front are tied under the knee. The former are cylindrical, five to six centimeters wide, with thicker edges projecting out like a hat brim, the latter smooth and only one to two centimeters wide. With increasing growth these bands are gradually replaced by larger ones (Pl. VII /see p. 109/, 6 and 8).

291 The boys wear the ankle bands until after the lips have been pierced, the girls until they marry. The cuffs, which cover almost the whole forearm among the adults, are, like the knee bands, not taken off by either sex until after marriage, and by the women usually
[301] not before the birth of the first child. Upon the death of one of the two spouses, the surviving one puts them on again.

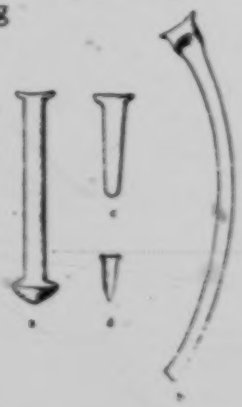


Fig. 2. Lip ornaments (1/4).

571 The sharp external division of single persons from married ones by such distinguishing marks is deeply rooted in the whole social life of this people, as we shall see later. Other ornamental objects will be discussed below.

291 Also to be included among the articles of clothing is an object quite peculiar to the Karaya, the "riiõ," incorrectly called "rede" (hammock) by the Brazilians and also designated as such by Castelnau and Martius (Pl. VII /see p. 109/, 1).

[584] This cotton plaiting looks very similar to an actual hammock, to be sure, but it is not used as such and is not hung up at all, not
[513] even having any cords for this purpose. It serves, rather, as a cloak by day and as an underlayer at night when sleeping on the ground.

/203 cont./

361 The houses in general are oriented in such a way that one long side faces northwest, north, or northeast, thus providing shade.

[572] [349] Each house is occupied by only one family; to each house there generally belongs a mat wall, a supply stand, and one or two hearth areas.

[346] The mask hut lies away from the village, at a distance of about 200 meters.

624 The villages of the Karajá are small; many consisted of only one or two houses, the largest of eight huts (1). Ehrenreich be-

1. Rufino has already reported that the villages of the Karajá have only eight to ten huts on the average. Rev. trim. 10, p. 208.

lieves that this dispersion must be traced back to a lack of means [511] of subsistence. This is scarcely to be assumed, since there is sufficient food, especially fish. In my opinion, it is conditioned first [578] by the many disputes that seem to prevail among the families of [571] the Karajá and lead to the departure of some of them, and then by the prevalence of personal attitudes concerning the feeling of sociability; many families live permanently isolated in one place because they happen to like it there.

It is noteworthy that the villages decrease in size from north [166] to south. This may be explained by the direction of migration of the Karajá: the bulk of them still live in the north; toward the south, the first to be sent are advance groups, which, of course, are small in number.

361 484 On journeys the Karajá pitch camps of mat roofs or walls, in the shade and shelter of which they live and sleep. The walls are, of course, oriented in such a way that they provide as much shade as possible and as long as possible; hence they usually stand approximately from west to east, and likewise arranged in rows (Pl. 13, Ill. 1). If a village is moved, the Indians live under mat walls until the houses are erected (Pl. 41, Ill. 2).

221 361 The villages do not remain permanently in one place. During the dry season, the Indians live on the sandbanks of the river, which,

/322 cont./

628 but mostly men who understand a little Brazilian and, as a result,
191 act as intermediaries in dealings with the boatmen (for example, Ilk).

627 During my stay at the mouth of the Tapirapé I observed
571 that there may also be rivalry between chiefs. On the downstream journey, in Village No. 18, I met two chiefs, the good-natured old tribal chief Cyriãki and a so-called capitão, the energetic, feared Chico Cadete. Of the two, Cyriaki had the more dignified bearing, though he had no following in the village; Cadete ruled there absolutely, so that Cyriãki was left entirely in the background. On the upstream journey I met the
[439] village in the act of undertaking a trading expedition to Santa Maria. When I returned from my navigation of the Tapirapé, I found Cyriãki in the village on the mouth of the Tapirapé. He had moved from Village 18 on account of disputes with Cadete and had settled here in Village 17.

632 The privileges enjoyed by the chiefs for their administration of office are the following: They do not work in the plantings; they do not hunt, and they fish only for tokunaré, pintado, and pirarucu, besides tartaruga and tracajá. They are not subject to any restrictions in diet. They may have several wives, who live together in their houses; there is no chief wife. Their houses are built by the villagers; they are sometimes larger and higher than the other houses.

[562] If the chief is absent, he entrusts the leadership to his wife his son also seems to represent him frequently.

The chief is educated for his position from infancy on. After an ablution with hot water, he lives for four years shut in a special hut; here he learns from his father the dances and dance songs, the administration of justice, and whatever else is necessary for his office. He may already pronounce decisions, which are announced through his father. In return he is given arrows, stones for lip plugs, and similar things as gifts. The apprenticeship ends with a large festival.

[562] The chief's successor is his son. If he only has daughters, one of them becomes chief (nãuĕkĕ, dĕrōdĭ). If she marries,

/78 cont./ [Plate II. Karaya. (cont'd)]

142 2. Two Šambioa warriors en face. The man on the left with
291 the feather diadem lurina on the back of the head (see p. 44),
301 bow, arrows, and club in his hand, the one on the right with the
302 small wreath-diadem (Pl. IX /see p. /, 6) and strings of glass
411 beads wound tightly around the neck. The large lower-arm cuffs identify him as unmarried.

Pl. III. Karaya. Karayahi Groups (taken in the last "summer camp" on a river island above the northern tip of Bananal Island).

1. Men, two of which wear arm-cuffs and knee-bands. One has the small feather rosettes with a central disk of mother-of-pearl in his ears (see. p. 46). Face painting with soot is recognizable. The straw hat of the older man sitting in front is not the one mentioned on p. 20, but a model directly borrowed
[501] from the settlers. In the background two long canoes and farther to the left in the distance the small Araguaia steamer.

342 2. Women, children, and young people sitting on the
361 ground in front of the tent-roofs of the summer camp, which are
516 made of mats. Two araras on the pole to the right, at the left on the bank a jabiru (black-headed stork).

Pl. IV. Karaya. Villages.

133
342 1. Full view of the first village of the Sambioa.
361
● 574 2. Reception scene in the third village of the Šambioa.

Pl. V. Karaya. Chief's hut (fourth village of the Šambioa).

291
342
351
354 Group at the cooking place in front of the entrance.
415

Pl. VI. Karaya. Weapons.

411

1. Bow with wound bowstring and feather tassel (1/8).

4: Ehrenreich--106 E-5 (1888) 1891 SP9 Caraja SP9

Plate IV

133
342
361

[579]
[609]
[501]

/314 cont./

526 When Karajá come to a strange village, they must officially
574 engage in wrestling with the youth of the village before they are regarded as admitted (1). As soon as the village comes into view,

1. This is an ancient custom which even Fonseca reports in the year 1773 (Rev. trim. 8, 384/85). According to this, the Šavajé paid the Karajá a visit; they came in a large number of boats, adorned and armed, shouted and blew on trumpets. The Karajá responded in like manner, and while they came toward them, armed, in a boat, the others drew up on the shore behind the chief, who carried a large lance. The Šavajé landed and likewise stood in formation. Both clusters of people then moved forward and backward three times, during which they shouted and formed a circle, in the center of which the chiefs then greeted each other. Then a wrestling match began: from either side a warrior stepped up, the two wrestled, cheered on by the chiefs. The victorious nation was always greeted with three loud shouts. It was only after this ceremony that the Karajá chief led the one of the Šavajé to Fonseca in the camp.

one hears sounded from there the challenging shouts for a wrestling match: long and short kjū cries, like dog barks, varying in all kinds of ways. The strangers remain very quiet; I usually observed that my Indians, who afterwards did well in the fight, were trembling with fright. The kjū shouts continue until the strangers have landed and the chief has ordered them to fight. Then they set out for the wrestling place, usually near the mask hut, where the young male population is standing lined up, otherwise where there is firm sand. The two sides step up opposite each other;
[535] the chief stands on the side of the strangers. The natives are the first to challenge: two youths side by side dance forward out of the ranks, in that, stamping, they dance forward about eight small

/314 cont./

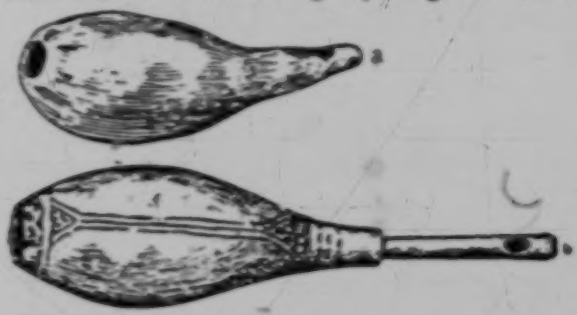
526 steps half-right, then make a quarter turn and dance forward in
535 the same manner half-left, and so on, alternating in this manner.
574 In connection with this, they swing their hanging arms in the most peculiar way, and the one who happens to be in front utters a howling cry in a high pitch, shouting hũ once with every step (Ills. 10, 11, wrestling match between Šavajẽ and Karajá).[1] When they have reached the front of the opposite row, they stop, turn about on the left foot, whereby they fling their right arms far around and both utter a drawn-out, descending hũ; then they run back to their ranks. The opposite side responds to this challenge in like manner. It is only then that from among the natives two men dance forward in the same way, but only to the middle, one pair of the strangers comes dancing toward them, and then, without further ado, the wrestling begins, until one of the opponents is
526 downed. Usually the fights last only one or two minutes. /315/
574 If the opponents are equally skillful and are unable to secure a fall, the fight is broken off. The one who ends up lying on his back is beaten. He remains prostrate; the victor, crying hũ, dances around him and in the end climbs over him, or else the victor, with raised hand and shouting in the same manner, dances around the opponent who stands with bowed head. Then both return to
[535] their ranks. Thereupon the chiefs, along with the victor, with arms crossed over their shoulders, shouting hũ, dance once around the wrestling place. Each subsequent fight is introduced in the same manner; the big ceremony, however, takes place only before the first fight. Only once did I see an individual man dance forward; otherwise they always went forward in pairs. Sometimes the challenge was not accepted; then the challengers danced to the opposite side, turned about there, and went back. I was unable to find out whether individuals choose certain opponents, or whether
[516] anyone may accept the challenge. After the fight they adopt a certain resting position: they stand bent forward and rest their outstretched arms on their knees. They remain in this position until they wrestle again. Concerning the wrestling match between Karajá and Šavajẽ /see pp. 330 - 332/.

[1] [See pp. 28-29 -- Analyst

/316 cont./

534 [824] The most common are taquara flutes with a gourd for resonance [(h)ă(n)djūlōnă]. The flutes consist of a taquara tube 44-46 centimeters long and about three and a half centimeters thick, one end of which is closed, the other open. Near the closed end is the lateral blow-hole. For resonance there is a gourd 33-38 centimeters long and 16-24 centimeters thick, which is open on both ends and into the large opening of which the flute is

[531]



Ill. 178 a, b.
Gourd trumpets.

[531] obliquely inserted. These resonating gourds are usually decorated with pyrography (Ill. 178b).

533 Hollow sounds which carry very far are drawn from these trumpets. Through alternating long and short tones, blown-in [574] and drawn-out tones, there are produced various tonal sequences, [202] which, on boat trips, are blown near the villages to announce arrival. An actual signal language, however, does not seem to 534 have been developed as yet. At present, ox-horn trumpets, such as the Brazilian deck-hands carry, are already finding entry.

I did not see other kinds of flutes, especially not the Pan-pipes of taquara mentioned by Ehrenreich.

[533] [824] In Village 8 I saw a small horn made of a gourd shell, which apparently is blown at the masked dances. It may not be blown in the presence of women, so I was unable to find out its use and the nature of its sound. Also I was unable to acquire the implement; I did not see it again anywhere else.

/351/

II. The Šavajé.

175 1. Historical.

Up to the present time the Šavajé /Javahe/ have been known almost only by name. The first to see the entire island of Bananal was Diogo Pinto da Caia in 1720; I was unable to obtain his report, however, so I cannot say whether he encountered the Šavajé. We have the oldest report by José Pinto da Fonseca, who in 1773 navigated the Araguaya and pacified the Karajá. [62] He reported (Rev. trim. 8, pp. 376 ff.) that they lived in three [31] villages on the island of Bananal. He says that in the interior of the island there was a large lake abounding in fish (1).

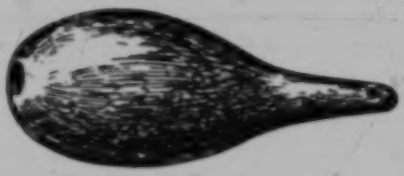
1. Ibid., p. 389.--This report does not show that the Šavajé lived on this lake, as subsequent investigators construed (Ehrenreich, "Beiträge," pp. 5, 7).

[574] During his sojourn among the Karajá, the latter were visited by the Šavajé; wrestling took place as a greeting. According to his statements, the two peoples lived in peace. The Šavajé came riding up in large numbers in boats; they bore feather ornaments on their heads and lances adorned with feathers in their hands and blew on trumpets.

In 1774 Vasconcellos was on the Araguaya with Fonseca; he established a presidio and the aldeamendo Nova Beira on the east arm of Bananal where he settled Karajá and Šavajé. He [103] named the three villages of the Šavajé Cunha, Mello, and Ponte de Lima (Rev. trim. 37, p. 393). The presidio and aldeamendo soon ceased to exist: in 1782 the Indians of the aldeamendo were resettled in the new aldea of São José de Mossamedes, where they gradually perished. It is not absolutely certain whether there were Šavajé also at the aldea Pedro III (Carretão). In 1786 Miguel de Arrudo e Sá received the order to make war on the Chavánte and establish an aldea for them. He

/365 cont./

534 11. Musical instruments are also very rare among the Šavajé. I did not see flutes with gourd resonance; on the other hand, there were flutes made of gourds themselves. The bottle-shaped gourd has a round opening on the broad end, a rectangular one laterally on the narrow end (Ill. 208). This flute is called ǎdjūlõnǎ. The other flute, also called lõkŭ, consists of a long gourd open on both sides. On one opening there are traces of wax, as though a special mouthpiece had



Ill. 208.
Gourd flute.

been attached there. Perhaps a taquara flute had been attached there, as is customary among the Kayapó. Whistles made of leaf plaiting with a reed are also present here (dūlĕhĕ). The chief instrument among the Šavajé, too, is the gourd rattle (wǎlŭ), which was usually undecorated. Only one specimen bears a few feathers on the upper handle end.

In their artistic activity the Šavajé follow in the footsteps of [184] the Karajá. In this connection I refer to my article: "Die Kunst der Karajáindianer /The Art of the Caraja Indians/."

622 12. Political and Social. The chief seems to play a considerable 123 role among the Šavajé. In the village that I visited there was none; a man who was probably appointed for this instance represented his office. He put me up in his house, along with my men. He remained by my side the whole time. In purchases he acted as intermediary, finally led me through all the houses, told the people my wishes, and helped to determine the purchase price. When we left the village, he accompanied us across the lake and several hundred meters farther into the campo before he took his leave.

574 The reception ceremony was strange. Even before arriving in the village, my Karajá had made themselves a black band across the

/365 cont./

574 eyes with soot. Having arrived in the chief's house, my men sat down on the mats in a row extending across the house. The chief sat in front of them at one end, his wife at the other; not a word was spoken, the Karajá sat there with bowed heads and made ex-
[302] tremely distressed faces. Then the chief's wife moved along the row from behind, oiled and combed out the hair of all of them. After that, they had to come to her one by one to have themselves painted by her with urucú. During this whole time the challenging shouts for the wrestling match kept coming over from the mask hut.

/366/ Finally the chief spoke a few words; the Karajá arose and went with him in front of the house. A second Šavajé man from the neighboring hut joined them. Now the procession formed: in front the two Šavajé, behind them the Karajá in twos or threes,
[346] all with arms crossed over shoulders. Women and children followed the procession to the mask hut, where the Šavajé young people were standing in an irregular row. All were painted with urucú; two wore dance belts and feather arm-bands. As soon as the Karajá arrived, the shouting ceased and the wrestling began.
526 The two adorned youths danced forward first, shouting and swing-
574 ing their arms, as we know it from the Karajá (Ills. 10 and 11). The Karajá did not accept. Then they danced forward a second time and were accepted. The wrestling followed; the Karajá were the victors. In the second round, the Karajá challenged, and so it went on, five or six times. Some bouts were not accepted; then the challengers turned around to the right, flinging their arms wide, and returned to the center. Here they stood in the resting position with their backs to the Karajá and shouted until one of the opponents accepted them. A few bouts remained indecisive, otherwise the Karajá won. This was astonishing, since the Šavajé were all larger figures and gave the impression of being more powerful; moreover, they did not have three difficult days of travel behind them. Perhaps the explanation is that the Karajá on the average were five to ten years older and therefore had better developed muscles. Scarcely had the chief announced the end when the Šavajé again shouted their cries; the women and children hastened away and hid in the huts, toward which all the participants betook themselves in an irregular procession.

/366 cont./

526 The wrestling was very similar to that of the Karajá. If
574 one bout were not accepted, the challengers made a gesture of rejection with their arms, turned around, and went back to their row. Then one of them walked forward again, assumed the position of rest in the center, with his back to the opponents, and
[516] shouted until one of the latter accepted. The resting position was
[184] identical with that of the Karajá: they stood with the upper part of the body bent over and rested the arms on the knee. The victor performed a dance in front of the loser, shouting loudly; upon walking away, he moved his left hand over the head of the defeated one. Here, too, the chief stood on the side of the guests.

574 Only after the return from the wrestling match was food put before the Karajá; only now were they regarded as accepted and permitted to disperse into the individual houses.

843 Upon my departure from the village a strange ceremony took
628 place, the meaning of which, I believe, is that a girl made
123 pregnant during previous visits of Karajá was sent along with the Karajá to await the birth among them; whether she would then return could not be definitely ascertained; perhaps she went to the Karajá as a village prostitute. Shortly before departure, the chief took me by the hand and led me into the neighboring house. Here an obviously pregnant girl was sitting and /367/ spinning. She had to get up and lay her work aside; the chief's wife took off her neck ornament (I had already bought her leg bands from her in the morning). The girl then had to take a second bast apron and her net covering and go with us to the boat. Apparently this was very little to the girl's liking, for she wept bitterly and only gradually calmed down. The chief then made long speeches to me, the meaning of which, however, I could not understand. On the way, the girl was under the special charge of my Indian guide, who allegedly was her cousin. He was very gallant to her, carried her covering, brought food on a plate, etc. The girl always walked closely in front and behind him.

535 The masked dance that I saw among the Šavajé was a Ĩdjãzõ
[184] dance and very similar to that of the Karajá. It took place on the first evening. The two masks stood side by side in front of the hut,

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
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CHAPTER X.

KARAYÁ SPORTS.—FUNERALS.—CARNIVALS.—RELIGION.

526 THE young men love to wrestle on the sand on bright, moonlight nights. The chief object of the contest appears to be to cause the opponent to fall by tripping him. It is an exceedingly interesting sport. The Karayá of one village cannot pass another without stopping to indulge in the "struggle," as it is called. In all such cases where a visiting team is pitted against a home team of equal numbers, it seems to be more of a ceremony, or a performance, than a test of championship. The visitors, on arrival, do not go about the village nor mingle with their hosts, until after the struggle. Instead, they crouch in the sand by their canoes, their knees drawn up to their chins, their heads hanging down, and do not speak, except to reply in as few words as possible to the questions put to them. When the ceremony of the struggle is over, refreshments are set before them, and they may go about the encampment at will. On the occasion of my visit, the night was rather dark; and when the time came for the match, the home team, accompanied by every soul in the encampment, moved out to a broad, open space on the sand, there to await the approach of the visiting team. As the latter were coming up, a series of maniacal, blood-chilling war yells were exchanged by the teams as challenges. There was something about the performance that suggested cockfighting. Or is this "struggle" an imitation of a fight between rival tigers, who, having first challenged each other with terrifying roars, finally lock in deadly combat? The

526 628 [874]

1:Lipkind E-5 (1937) 1948 SP9 Caraja SP9

78 are the product of intermarriage and formal friendship. Intervillage
628 feuds are common and are restrained only by the religious community,
626 sanctuary being granted at all religious ceremonials.

ETIQUETTE

576 All dealings with visitors are conducted according to elaborate formal
195 patterns. The language is rich in formal appellations, exclamations, and
562 honorific phrases. The most remarkable feature is that women are permitted to behave with perfect freedom, whereas men, until they become fathers, behave with a shy and deferential modesty resembling but exceeding that of the Victorian maiden. Normal relations between members
[522] of the same village are formal and dignified; only in the men's house or on fishing and hunting trips is the behavior of men relaxed enough to permit horseplay and casual joking.

LIFE CYCLE

553 **Childbirth and Childhood.**—The child gets two sets of names, one
551 male and one female, as soon as the mother is known to be pregnant. These
843 are one's own names given by grandparents of both lines. Taboos in
846 regard to diet and behavior are required of both parents before and after birth. There is a well-developed couvade based on the notion of an
853 intimate connection between the infant and its father. Babies are nursed
862 until they turn to other food of their own volition; sometimes ridicule is used as a sanction against particularly recalcitrant children. No inter-
854 course is allowed during the period of lactation. Babies are carried on the hip, and sleep with the mother until weaning, when they are paired
[291] off with other children or with a grandparent. The girl child wears no clothing until weaned and then receives a fringed belt.

881 **Puberty and Initiations.**—At menstruation, a girl's cheeks are scarified and she assumes the girdle.

[304] A boy passes through a first initiation at about the age of 8 or 9,
[302] when his lower lip is pierced and a small bone labret inserted. A couple of years later, he passes through a second initiation, when his hair is cut short to a tonsure, his entire body is stained black with genipa, and he assumes the penis cord. When his hair has grown out to shoulder length, it is put up in a braid, and he attains full status as a young man.
885 The next change of status for both boys and girls occurs at marriage, when, for the first time, they take on the responsibilities of regular work.
551 Teknonymy is a matter of pride and follows the birth of the first child. The name is retained permanently thereafter, even though the child should
888 die. At about 45 both parents discard their ornaments and accept the
561 status of old age. All the above age grades are named and involve differential behavior and dietary observances.

/27/

577 The observation with which Im Thurn introduces his discussion of the social life of the Guiana tribes, "The Indian in his natural state, before he feels the influence of white man is of decidedly admirable morality" /cited in English/, is also true in its full extent for the Karaya. This natural morality, completely independent of religious beliefs, makes the existence of a primitive community such as theirs possible. It expresses itself in the [576] scrupulous observation of the commandments of external propriety (1), which does not escape even the casual visitor, but,

[514]

1. Of culture-historical interest and typical of the feeling of propriety of these savages is the manner of their defecation. It occurs as far as possible from the village. A hole is made in the sand. The individual sits on it with outstretched legs, hiding the upper body behind a small mat. The excrement is always carefully buried.

above all, in the exemplary conduct of family life. The 593 solidarity of the family group, which even Martius, rashly 602 generalizing from his observations among demoralized tribes, denied that the Americans possessed at all, has quite truly given this people the moral support which has prevented its decline up to now, despite a century of contact with civilization and, hopefully, will hold it off for a long time to come.

The Karaya family seems, according to its form to be a "mother family." The following facts speak in favor of this:

1. The married man does not eat with his family, but with that of his married sister. Accordingly, he is considered a member of his sister's family.

2. Likewise in the division of the hunting spoils he receives his share, not in his own house, but in that of his sister.

768 3. The children of a widower are cared for by his parents-589 in-law, while he himself re-enters the ranks of the bachelors. 606

/323 cont./

685 remain concealed for long. The injured person complains to the
627 chief; he sends him to the thief with the instruction to demand compensation from him. If the thief refuses, however, the injured one again complains to the chief and may, if the latter agrees, start a "fight" with the former, in other words, demand his rights by force.

682 Murders seem to occur, though seldom. The custom of
627 blood vengeance prevails: the relatives of the slain one pursue the murderer everywhere, even into other villages, until they have slain him.

689 Social life. Objectionable elements (boasters, gossipers, quarrelsome persons) are on occasion flogged. Thus, my camarada Pedro II in Village 17 is said to get a beating almost weekly on account of his incredible boasting.

/324/ Malicious elements who, with their quarreling, never leave the village in peace are finally, as Kurišť reported, killed by the others at the command of the chief; their relatives then have no right to take blood vengeance.

565 There are no class distinctions. Women and children captured in war serve as slaves of sorts. On the other hand, there are differences in wealth; there are rich and poor people. "The rich man has everything, axes, knives, pots; the poor one has nothing. He goes to the rich one and says: Give me a pot, an ax. The rich man must give it to him." (Kurišť.)

[622] The chiefs in particular are regarded as rich, and they, indeed, must share their surplus of goods with the poor. Ilk in Village 13 and Crisote in Village 22 were regarded as especially
[184] rich. The Indians of the south horde are regarded as poor, and they are in comparison with the north horde, which, in turn, is to be designated as poor in relation to the Šavajé.

609 Forms of greeting. If someone comes into a strange village,
576 he remains, with bowed head, in the boat (sta sem vergonha, that is, without shame, as the Indians erroneously said, instead of com v., that is, full of shame) until the others come, greet him, and invite him to come along to the village. Only then do they go on land. This custom was observed in particular among the

/324 cont./

609 Indians who were in the service of whites. When I came into a
576 village, my Indians sat motionless in the boat, with bowed heads and disconcerted faces, until the chief of the village had addressed them. During the entire time of my stay in the village they did not lift a hand, nor did they eat any of my cooking, but rather went hungry, if they did not have relatives in the village who provided for them. They were precisely sem vergonha.

576 Upon returning from the journey, they were received with tearful speeches by their female relatives and family (1). During

1. This way of greeting long unseen kin by female relatives is already mentioned by Fonseca in 1773 (Rev. trim. 8, p. 379).

this the two parties seldom look at each other; they often stand one behind the other. The laments are made in a whimpering tone. Suddenly, they stop and converse in an entirely friendly manner with the ones who have returned. Apparently the whole thing is merely ceremony, the exaggeration of which on the part of particular women evoked derisive smiles even among the other Indians.

14. Marriage, Birth, Education, Death.

114 Marriage. I did not witness an engagement or a marriage, so my statements about this are based merely on the accounts of the Indians.

582 The age at which marriage takes place was difficult to determine. Men apparently marry between 17 and 20 years, women sooner, at 14-16. The only obstacle to marriage is the immediate relationship between siblings; cousins, on the other hand, may marry each other. I did not encounter anywhere any suggestion of marriage prohibitions which might perhaps be based on totemism.

584 /325/ The suitor first tries to win over the mother and the other relatives of the girl. The decision rests with the girl herself, however. The mother gives the suitor the answer. According to Pedro, the father-in-law receives presents from the suitor's father,

/329 cont./

000 go fishing, but loitered around me in the camp). Children obey
593 their parents implicitly, and even adults still unquestioningly follow the advice of their mothers. Thus, Pedro's mother gave him the following good advice on his journey (Pedro was a widower with three children): Do not lend money (Pedro therefore flatly refused the attempts to borrow on the part of other comrades, with the argument that his mother had forbidden it); do not bring back a wife (in this respect, too, Pedro obeyed his mother and refused several attempts at matchmaking); men who run after women grow lean, but a person who eats a great deal grows fat.

Legally, too, parents, especially the mother, seem to retain authority over their grown sons. For I was obliged to conduct with his mother the final negotiations about Pedro's taking his children along. I did not negotiate at all with Pedro himself.

857 The result of this rearing is that the children are never ill-behaved and seldom quarrel among themselves; they are merry and gay and soon trusting toward the stranger, without being guilty of rude familiarity.

576 In general, great value is put on dignified and polite be-
[126] havior. In the huts, the members of the family were separately introduced to me. When, in the evening beside the fire, I wanted to write down their information, they blew upon a chunk of wood and held it up to me in order to give me light. When they were looking for honey on the way, they always brought me part of it in a piece of tree bark.

514 Modesty is part of the Indians' good behavior. Defecation takes place far outside the village, if possible hidden from the
[291] glances of others. When a girl about eight years old was supposed to sell me her string belt, she ran behind the nearest mat wall, put on a new one there, and then brought me the old one. It is only in farting that they are somewhat more negligent. Loud sounds are greeted with laughter or accompanied by dog-barks. In some places this seemed actually to be good form, and one would outdo the other. On the other hand, foul smells were taken amiss; they would all glance indignantly at the presumed offender and would give expression to their annoyance with disapproving bw and hm̃ sounds.

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca.1900) 1909
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Returning to our canoes, we saw a wild fruit tree growing close to the water—its habitat—the fruit of which the Brazilians call *arása*. It resembles a reddish plum, but has a double stone and is very acid. But it is a very wholesome fruit and would make, I imagine, an excellent sauce. The tree appears to be partly a climber, for the limbs, which are one or two inches thick, maintain a uniform size throughout their length, and coil around one another, serpent like. The river was now a mile or more broad and the navigation very open; so, wishing to take advantage of the current as much as possible, we reembarked after a five o'clock dinner one day and floated along quietly hour after hour in the obscurity until past midnight. Then, desiring to find a sandbar on which to sleep until morning, we at last descried a gray outline and pulled for it. Happening to enter shallow water, we grounded before getting close to shore, and lost a pike overboard. But just as we were getting afloat again, we suddenly heard a shuffling sound coming from the shore close by; and looking that way, our hearts stood still as we beheld the dusky forms of thirty or forty naked and painted savages rushing down upon us fully armed with long war lances and heavy killing clubs, ready to scatter our brains on the beach. We now discovered that we were innocently attempting to land just above a portable Karayá village, the existence of which, at this place, was not known even to our pilot, Pedro Monco. Our creeping up here at the dead of night without giving any signals announcing who we were, and if we were friends or foes, had convinced the villagers that we were enemies.

The situation in which we found ourselves was extremely critical for a few minutes. But the natives, seeing who we were, paused briefly, which gave us an opportunity to communicate with them and explain matters, and also to make them some presents to pacify them. Our large canoe only was involved in this midnight adventure, the other having pulled up elsewhere for the night; so our party was small. Our canoe was drawn up on the sand, and the savage band stood

/27/

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768 3. The children of a widower are cared for by his parents- 589 in-law, while he himself re-enters the ranks of the bachelors. 606

/28 cont./

836 property and are offered to ships' crews, despite their usually
929 most horrible appearance. Unfortunately, one also sees children
used for the same purpose. Here is clearly shown the dualism in
836 the ethics of the savages, whose moral laws apply only to mem-
929 bers of their own tribe. This view, common to all primitive
571 peoples, cannot therefore change our judgment of the morality
[186] of the Karaya in general. When Castelnau doubts this, saying,
[114] "Ce fait (the stern punishment of a transgression against morals)
est peu d'accord avec les offres qui étaient fait continuellement
a nos gens /this fact is hardly in accord with the offers that
were continually made to our men/" (Hist. du voyage, I, p. 446),
he overlooks the fact that these "offres" concerned not their own,
but foreign women.

855 In spite of the lack of external signs of tenderness, which
are absent among all Indians, the treatment of the children is
very loving throughout.

854 The smaller ones are continually carried about by the
mothers and tended with tireless care, hung with ornaments and
853 painted, etc. They are suckled for an extraordinarily long time.

857 Older children are left entirely to themselves, but in spite of
this demonstrate a natural decency and a modesty of behavior
that the highly-educated offspring of civilized men only all too
858 often lack. It would be unthinkable among the Karaya that chil-
dren be traded to the settlers, as unfortunately still frequently
occurs in other regions of Brazil, especially on the Amazon.
Upon the founding of the Collegio Izabel at Leopoldina, whose
purpose was to train young Indians and settle them later as
colonists, efforts to obtain Karaya children for it were in vain.
Since they once allowed themselves to be misled years ago, and
some were lured away and abducted by force, all the young
people as a rule take flight at the approach of a boat and only with
great difficulty are persuaded to return.

764 The fact that the animal decorations put on the grave poles
532 (cf. p. 63) are marks of the family concerned or of a wider kin
602 grouping indicates the existence of totemism, or clan formation.
To be sure, nothing more precise is known about this, but the
family system discovered among the Arawak by Im Thurn (1) may
also hold for the relationship prevailing among the Karaya.

1. Im Thurn, op. cit., p. 175.

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
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The adulterous
woman is punished by her husband either by flogging or by 684
torturing with fire brands. It is said that she is sometimes
even burned to death. The adulterous man is punished by
the nearest relatives of his wife. But among these people as,
unfortunately, among the higher races, far greater license is
allowed the man than the woman.

The Karayá seem to cherish an earnest desire to preserve 593
the integrity of the family, and to guard it against disturbing
influences of every kind. Children are reared with strictness 834
and maidenhood is respected; and any transgression of the
tribal laws regarding the relations of the sexes is severely
punished—even with death, in some cases. But children born 848
out of wedlock are not put to death, as is usually done among
savage peoples, but instead, are, like other orphans, reared
by the chief of the village as his own children.

The unmarried individuals, who are distinguished from the 589
married by the previously described wristlets and armlets,
are not required to support themselves, but are provided for
by the community as a whole. The bachelors and widowers
live together in a sort of "bachelors' hall"—a separate hut—
and participate in the hunting and fishing and other occupa-
tions of the tribe only as they feel inclined. But the un-
married women, while, like the single men, not required to
work, are not segregated, for they dwell in the huts of their
nearest relatives. These females are allowed certain liberties 836
with the unmarried men in order that they may not perturb 548
the married men and their families. They are the village
prostitutes. By this arrangement the single men, on the
other hand, are kept from endangering family life. Women [727]
taken captive from the enemy in intertribal wars, are retained
as prostitutes and semi-slaves. These unhappy females are
the common property of all the men, the married as well as
the single. Captive female children share the same sad fate;
and probably also the children born of captive parents.

We see in these customs, the dualism of the "ethics" of 577
the savage. They are moral, if we may use this term, only
when their own well-being is at stake—when it is a question

Brazil.

577 of preserving their own health and the perpetuity of their tribe. With them, the abstaining from or checking of vice, is not a question of conscience, or ethics. They do not regard vice, and evil generally, as wrong in a moral sense, but in a physical and utilitarian sense—because they see that it injures them physically and materially. Right and wrong, virtue and vice mean to them simply material well-being or damage—a question of expediency only. Their perception of moral principles is very dim. They possess the innate ideas of right and wrong, as do all human beings, but seemingly in a blind, instinctive, unintelligent sense only, like a child. [626] Though the taboo, or belief that dire calamities will be visited upon them if they should transgress the will of their divinities, exercises a powerful influence on their conduct.

584 Matrimony is consummated by the man in question making known his wishes to the parents of the maiden of his choice. These in turn ask their daughter if she gives her consent. If 585 she is willing, her affianced delivers to her all his weapons. He then conducts her to the domicile of one of his relatives, as he, of course, has no house of his own. Here they both remain four days as guests of the family. The fifth day, the bride is led back to the hut of her parents, following which, she returns to the bridegroom his weapons. As if to prove that he is competent to care for a family, the groom goes on a few days' hunt, returning when he has secured a quantity of game. The marriage ceremony terminates with a bacchanalian feast, given by the bride's parents, which corresponds to the wedding supper of civilized people. The couple may now live together, and a hut is built for them.

855 The Karayá love their children and treat them kindly, though they are stoical and make no display of their affections. This is true of most of the South American tribes. 854 Very young children are carried about constantly by the mother, and cared for untiringly; and are coated with colored grease and decorated with bright feathers with the same pride and solicitude that the most civilized mothers care 000 for and dress their children. The older children are left to

7:Lipkind E-5 (1938-1939) 1940
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754 request a ghost to do his killing. In this case the ghost takes the form of a wild beast, usually a leopard. He may request a supernatural either to enter the body of his victim, or to turn loose on the victim his subject animals, 756 particularly the alligator and piranha. The curing shaman sucks out the intrusive supernatural or persuades the ghosts or supernaturals to withhold their attack.

776 The dichotomy of ghosts and supernaturals is quite clear in Carajá re-
769 ligion. Ghosts are placated by calendrical feasts, run by a hereditary priest.
746 Supernaturals are invited to the masked dances by a shaman who takes
[754] complete charge of this cult. There is little relationship between the two cults. There is a momentary appearance of masks during the Big-house Feast of the ghost cult, and an occasional offering to ancestors during the mask cult ceremonies.

775 What is of special interest is that there are many maleficent supernaturals
776 who cannot be approached at all. There is no technique for handling them except keeping out of their way. The violent ghosts really fall in the same category as far as their relation to humans is concerned. And yet they are chiefly the best men of the Carajá who have fallen in battle against their [154] enemies. In this curious bit of fantasy there seems to be a projection of the fear and aggression which are overtly present in the social life.

771 In recent years a few Carajá have been able to visit Rio and Belém. They
772 have brought back a somewhat different picture of the extent of the world,
597 a picture with which many Carajá are now familiar. It never intrudes into Carajá life. It is reserved solely for discourse with outsiders. No contradiction is felt because the two conceptions are never brought into the same universe of discourse. I was not able to detect any signs of skepticism. The Carajá is perfectly sure that he has a clear view of the true character of the world. The peculiar beliefs of outsiders are in keeping with their quaint behavior and lack of good breeding. A Carajá will not dispute about such things. He listens to the opinions of others with courtesy and curiosity but cannot be induced to take them seriously. It is much easier to pretend to [747] agree. If you are a missionary, you will give him presents. Later he may have the additional pleasure of expounding your fantastic ideas to his fellows.

182 Two factors seem to me to contribute largely to the maintainance of this
772 attitude. In the first place, the old way of life is still intact. When a man is
773 able to find full occupation and joy in his activities, it is difficult to get him to doubt the premises on which they are founded. Secondly, every important feature of life is validated by mythical tales which are the Carajá history. The emergence myth, given above in its simplest and shortest variant, is one of many. I can do no more than mention some of the most important here. The full form of the emergence myth gives the names of all the ancestors who emerged and the precise social divisions which they

/188 cont./

361 Tŭmănăkū (said to have died in September 1908), João III,
[162] Alfredo, Cyriāki-Cadete (Cyriāki moved to the mouth of the
[622] Tapirapé in September 1908), village on the mouth of the Tapirapé, village of the chief João II, José, Fŏtūnă, Ilk, village on the Izabel Morro, Cadete João, village of the deceased Cincinati. The villages are divided into three groups and an
[484] outlying settlement: Walata lives four days' journey (the days'
[622] journeys are calculated for the descent in a rowboat) below
[578] Crisote, since he is hostile to all the Karajá and therefore is duly feared by them; in the fall of 1908, however, there seems to have been a reconciliation between them. Crisote also lives somewhat isolated, namely, a full day's journey below Tumanakū. From Tumanakū to José there is a string of villages; the average distance between them is a three hours' journey. Only the village on the mouth of the Tapirapé is a trip of four or five hours away from either of the two neighboring villages. Between José and Fotuna there is a distance of one and a half days' journey; then the villages again follow at shorter distances.

[622] A branch of the north horde is the Karajá village of Chief Kŏrŭmăré along the river on Bananal, located a day's march to the east from the village of José. /Pl. 38 appears here./

361 /189/ The south horde lives from the Rio Crixá to the Rio
[162] Vermelho in eight fixed settlements: on the Lago Luiz Alves,
[103] below and above the Rio Crixá, on the Lago de Café, in São José (āŭwĭ), just above São José (hōlĕnĕkă), just below the Rio de Peixe (šĭšă), on the mouth of the Rio Vermelho above
[484] Leopoldina (šĭšămādŏ). These villages, too, are divided into several groups: three villages lie on the Rio Crixá at a distance of about three to four hours' travel apart. The village on the Lago de Café is midway between Rio Crixá and São José and is
[103] about four to six hours of travel in distance from the two. Near
[484] São José there are two villages: šĭšă is one and a half days' journey away; šĭšămādŏ is two and a half days' journey from
[621] šĭšă. šĭšămādŏ is an outlying settlement that has existed for

[TEXT Continues on P. 62]

/203 cont./

361 The houses in general are oriented in such a way that one long side faces northwest, north, or northeast, thus providing shade.

[592] [340] Each house is occupied by only one family; to each house there generally belongs a mat wall, a supply stand, and one or two hearth areas.

[346] The mask hut lies away from the village, at a distance of about 200 meters.

621 The villages of the Karajá are small; many consisted of only one or two houses, the largest of eight huts (1). Ehrenreich be-

1. Rufino has already reported that the villages of the Karajá have only eight to ten huts on the average. Rev. trim. 10, p. 208.

lieves that this dispersion must be traced back to a lack of means [511] of subsistence. This is scarcely to be assumed, since there is sufficient food, especially fish. In my opinion, it is conditioned first [578] by the many disputes that seem to prevail among the families of [571] the Karajá and lead to the departure of some of them, and then by the prevalence of personal attitudes concerning the feeling of sociability; many families live permanently isolated in one place because they happen to like it there.

It is noteworthy that the villages decrease in size from north [166] to south. This may be explained by the direction of migration of the Karajá: the bulk of them still live in the north; toward the south, the first to be sent are advance groups, which, of course, are small in number.

361 484 On journeys the Karajá pitch camps of mat roofs or walls, in the shade and shelter of which they live and sleep. The walls are, of course, oriented in such a way that they provide as much shade as possible and as long as possible; hence they usually stand approximately from west to east, and likewise arranged in rows (Pl. 13, Ill. 1). If a village is moved, the Indians live under mat walls until the houses are erected (Pl. 41, Ill. 2).

221 361 The villages do not remain permanently in one place. During the dry season, the Indians live on the sandbanks of the river, which,

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161 Without the Šavajé of the south horde, the total figure
[162] thus comes to 815; with the Šavajé, 831 persons. Therefore, on the average, there are seven to eight persons in one house.

[131] For the large area that the Karajá inhabit (about 800 kilometers in length), the population is thus very small. It is indeed possible that it was once larger, though the huge figures
162 of earlier reports seem greatly exaggerated. The small number
164 of youths and maidens is striking. Perhaps maidens were kept hidden from me; perhaps, however, very many young persons were in fact victims of the measles epidemic which, according to statements by the Indians, raged terribly among the young people in 1906 or 1907 (1). For the present, no retrogression is

1. In 1908 very good health conditions seemed to prevail among the Karajá. It was only in the village on the mouth of the Tapirapé that many small children were suffering from a kind of whooping cough. From July to the end of October, as far as I know, only one child and two old men died. I did not observe any births, but obviously several were imminent in a short time.

163 to be seen. The number of children seems appropriate for the conditions, about three children to a family. There were a few-
589 middle-aged bachelors; their influence on the male youth is
581 not good. They preach the ideal of bachelorhood, which the young try to emulate, and all the more since, with marriage, they are obliged to undertake hard daily work (fishing, laying out plantings). More than one told me that he did not want to marry, because then he would have to work so much. The parents seem to work against this, however.

175 If we look more closely at the relationship of the south
167 horde to the north horde, it seems that the south horde originated only within the course of the last hundred years. The Karajá thus seem to be in the process of migrating to the south. We have the following information about the dwelling sites of the Karajá.

1:Lipkind E-5 (1937) 1948 SP9 Caraja SP9

441 **Weapons.**—The *Carajá* use bows and arrows (pls. 20, *bottom, left;* 21, *left* and *center*), and their mythology indicates aboriginal use of the spear thrower for hunting monkeys. Recently, they have used a spear thrower of the upper Xingú River type for sport.

323 **Pottery.**—Pottery vessels include several forms of plain ware (fig. 20).

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

611 The kinship structure may be described as double descent. Both lines are important, the greater emphasis falling on the mother's line, and both lines serve different functions. Village citizenship, adoption, and the closest affectional ties are reckoned in the mother's line. Moiety membership and the offices of chief, priest, and food-divider are patrilineally inherited.

621 622 The fundamental unit of social organization is the village. Every village has one or more ioló, children of chiefly line, designated by the chief for preferential treatment by the members of the village. The chief names the ioló who is to succeed him or, if he fails to do so, the village makes the choice at his death. Girls of chiefly line are similarly chosen for preferential treatment; each of them is known as the "hidden woman." There is some indication that women functioned as chiefs in former times, but today there is no woman chief. The chief has no coercive powers but directs the village by recognizing the will of the majority in such matters as the selection of camp and garden sites and the announcement of a move at change of season. His principal function is to act as peacemaker, and people readily submit to his adjudication. Because of the importance of religious ceremonials, the priest and the shaman frequently exercise more authority than the chief. When all three offices are vested in a single individual, his authority may be considerable, but it is kept in check by the right of a discontented person to move at any time to another village.

59 Within the village the important unit is the household. Residence being matrilocal, a household consists of sisters, their husbands, children, and the husbands of grown daughters. Marriage is restricted to one's own generation, the preferred mate being a cousin on the mother's side. There is no sanction but ridicule against wrong marriages, and there are many cases of cross-generational marriage. Marriage is predominantly monogamous, but a few instances of polygyny and one of polyandry were encountered. The avunculate is very important and involves many social and especially ceremonial duties. Cooperation in the household is close and in the village fairly close. In addition, villages are grouped together in ceremonial units, generally consisting of three or four neighboring villages, which celebrate important feasts jointly. This ceremonial unit acts as an insurance group when a village's crop fails or its fish supplies grow scarce. Beyond this, the only intervillage ties

/44 cont./

59 so great, and there are, besides the linear families or nonnamed minimal lineages, some independent families (i.e., rather Ll, often Ss and In, instead of Ee; column 7), which agrees with the fact that, besides the customary matrilocal marriage, "neolocal" residence is found (Mn, instead of Mm; column 8) in the dry season on the one hand, and, on the other hand, as a possible
595 nucleus of a new extended family. Polygyny is neither frequent
583 nor favored, whereas it is true that material considerations are absent on the occasion of marriage (thus Mo or To rather than Lo; column 9).

611 We shall now take up the most confused aspect of Carajá
[121] ethnography. The Handbook of South American Indians speaks
615 correctly of double descent. I have shown elsewhere that be-
[114] cause of some inattention in the editing of the famous manual, an incorrect idea of the real nature of this coexistence of patrilineal and matrilineal groupings has arisen. It is a matter, not of moieties, but of three large, named, patrilineal groups, which are primarily the men's affair, in their ceremonial and political life, but nevertheless are concerned with women in the sense of an endogamous tendency. Thus it is not a matter of true parallel descent, and, on the other hand, it is by no
[621] means a question of exogamy, and still less of moieties. At the most one may speak of nonexogamy or agamy as in the case of the villages, which are themselves matrilineal groupings on account of the matrilocal rule of the domestic group just men-
613 tioned. In a strict sense only the small extended family,
596 which can be described as a non-named, minimal, matrilineal
582 lineage, seems to be exogamous. Marriage is permitted with any cousin, parallel or cross, and the matrilateral preference reported by Lipkind (incidentally without any indication of whether it is a matter of parallel or cross cousins!) seems to be only the normative expression of matrilocal marriage, whereas the slight patrilateral preference ascertained by myself is equally in agreement with the rule of endogamy of the patrilineal groups.
[601] In reality, since the relatives are usually "brother" and "sister" with regard to each other, being male and female cousin, as we

/44 cont./

●582 shall presently see, the difference does not have much explicative value. In the light of what has been said, it is therefore
[616] necessary to correct the categories set up by Murdock, taking
[615] into account the fact that his category "agamous (nonexogamous)
[114] moieties" should be completed by "agamous phratries" (thus: Pa or Na, La, Da; columns 10-12).

601 The kinship system of the Carajá must now be set forth for the first time, albeit briefly. Murdock left the pertinent
[114] column completely blank. /45/ With regard to male and female cousins, the terminology is of the "Hawaii" type, that is to say, my own generation contains only brothers and sisters.
128 Before continuing, permit me to remind you that we have been able to speak of principles which govern kinship systems. In order not to fall into the trap of "verbalism" decried by Murdock, I hasten to add that it is not a question of causes, but rather of logical principles likely to operate in view of a given situation, whether these be circumstances pertaining to the environment, demography, or the fundamental type of social communication which is involved in each case. Now we could pair up these principles by forming contrasts in the manner of the linguists, contrasts whose terms exclude each other when it is a question of particular relations, but which can alternatively be combined into a whole system of kinship relations. Perhaps it would be preferable to formulate only opposite contrasts, but for the moment I will be satisfied, except in the first case, with contrasts which are clearly contradictory, and thus easier to handle, for that will suffice to attain our immediate goal of elucidating
601 the kinship system of the Carajá. There is contradiction between the classified unity of the generation and the unity of the line of filiation, there is contradiction between differentiation and nondifferentiation of the sexes, as well as of respective ages, between reciprocity and nonreciprocity of terms, finally between classificatory unity and nonunity of brothers and sisters — classificatory unity which, by the way, is not to be confused with the unity of the group of brothers and sisters classified together, nor with a denominative unity.

/27 cont./

582 4. The marriage of Karaya women to foreigners is permitted only when the latter allow themselves to be adopted into the tribe and take up permanent residence in the village concerned, a case which in Castelnau's time was not at all rare, but could hardly occur today.

593 Although the husband is naturally in charge as head of the
562 family, the position of the wife is a completely honorable one. There is no trace of the degradation of women into beasts of burden, as has been falsely imputed for all Indians by analogy with the North American tribes. Certain tasks, to be sure, are performed exclusively by the women and they are tireless in fulfilling their manifold duties. The man, too, however, has his share to perform. His wife is his complete equal; he does nothing of importance without her advice. Even the chief shares his honors with his wife. Mistreatment of women is unheard of.

595 Monogamy is the usual thing. The husband, however, not uncommonly finds it necessary to take a second wife when the
[582] first one becomes too old. This is conditioned by the peculiar
[171] custom, widespread, it seems, among all South American tribes (2), that the young men court older women and the old

[113] 2. Cf. Im Thurn, op. cit., p. 223.

men younger ones. Perhaps the relatively small number of children can be traced to this.

847 Artificial abortion occurs, but only on the demand of the husband. It is brought about by pressing the uterus together with the hands and is said to cause death not uncommonly.

586 If married people do not get along, the husband is allowed
587 to trade off his wife for that of another. Anyone who repudiates his wife cannot marry again, but is allowed to have a housekeeper.

684 The husband himself punishes an adulterous wife by a beating or burning her with glowing wood. Sometimes (3) the guilty one

[113] 3. Couto Magelhães, Selvagem, p. 116.

is said to be even burned to death.

/324 cont./

609 Indians who were in the service of whites. When I came into a
576 village, my Indians sat motionless in the boat, with bowed heads and disconcerted faces, until the chief of the village had addressed them. During the entire time of my stay in the village they did not lift a hand, nor did they eat any of my cooking, but rather went hungry, if they did not have relatives in the village who provided for them. They were precisely sem vergonha.

576 Upon returning from the journey, they were received with tearful speeches by their female relatives and family (1). During

1. This way of greeting long unseen kin by female relatives is already mentioned by Fonseca in 1773 (Rev. trim. 8, p. 379).

this the two parties seldom look at each other; they often stand one behind the other. The laments are made in a whimpering tone. Suddenly, they stop and converse in an entirely friendly manner with the ones who have returned. Apparently the whole thing is merely ceremony, the exaggeration of which on the part of particular women evoked derisive smiles even among the other Indians.

14. Marriage, Birth, Education, Death.

114 Marriage. I did not witness an engagement or a marriage, so my statements about this are based merely on the accounts of the Indians.

582 The age at which marriage takes place was difficult to determine. Men apparently marry between 17 and 20 years, women sooner, at 14-16. The only obstacle to marriage is the immediate relationship between siblings; cousins, on the other hand, may marry each other. I did not encounter anywhere any suggestion of marriage prohibitions which might perhaps be based on totemism.

584 /325/ The suitor first tries to win over the mother and the other relatives of the girl. The decision rests with the girl herself, however. The mother gives the suitor the answer. According to Pedro, the father-in-law receives presents from the suitor's father,

Brazil.

593 The husband does not eat with his family, but instead
[264] with the family of his married sister, and is considered a member of his sister's family. Secondly, his share of the pro-
[768] ceeds of the day's hunting and fishing, does not go to his own hut, but to that of his sister; and, lastly, if his wife should die leaving dependent children, they are taken in charge by her parents and the widower again becomes one of the bachelors.

582 A Karayá woman is not permitted to marry an alien, unless
648 he will become adopted, or naturalized, into the tribe, and will consent to reside permanently at the wife's native village.
593 The Karayá wife appears to be considered the equal of her husband in many respects, for he never takes any important step in life without first consulting her. Even the village chief divides his honors with his wife. Furthermore, the wife as
[962] well as the husband, has an important part to perform, not only in the family, but in the social economy of the village; though her part is to do the heavy, laborious work, while her man does the light and fancy-work; his only heavy work being to hunt and fish.

595 The men usually have but one wife, though a few have
582 two. One reason for having two wives seems to be owing to the custom prevailing among nearly all South American tribes that the young men marry the older women, and the old men marry the young women. Therefore, when the first wife becomes old, her young husband takes to himself a youth-
163 ful wife. Perhaps this custom of the young men marrying the
[582] older women will account in part for the small number of
[862] children born to these primitive races; though another reason may be that children are allowed to nurse until they are six
171 or seven years of age. The custom of aged men marrying girls fourteen or fifteen years of age is common among the
847 civilized people of Brazil. Abortion among the Karayá is practiced only when the husband demands it. Whenever a
586 couple cannot live together harmoniously, the husband is al-
587 lowed to trade his wife for another woman. If he should drive her away, he will not be permitted to marry another
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627 trator, by loud proclamations in the middle of the village, to
685 return the stolen goods. A response usually follows, and the object is simply put back in its place secretly, whereby the matter is settled.

Otherwise the chief has the right to have the huts searched. An object is taken away from a suspect as security until the corpus delicti is delivered. If the thief is found out, it is left to the victim to have himself indemnified.

622 If the chief does not fulfill his position or if the community cannot tolerate him for other reasons, he is simply deserted and another is chosen.

584 Marriage. The young man states his purpose to the parents of the chosen one; the latter ask their daughter for her consent. According to Couto Magelhães, a formal announcement is made
585 before the assembled community. Then the bridegroom hands over his weapons to the bride to keep and takes her to the house of one of his closest relatives, since, as a bachelor, he does not yet have one of his own. For four nights the two sleep on one mat, but separated by a wide intervening space, with no advances allowed. On the fifth day the bride is brought back to her father's house, where she hands the weapons back to the bridegroom. As a sign that he is capable of taking care of a family, the young man goes hunting for a few days and returns only with slain booty (1).

1. It is doubtful whether the test of strength by dragging a heavy block of palm wood, as is required among certain Gês tribes, also occurs among the Karaya.

A drinking bout, which the parents of the bride arrange, concludes the whole thing. Only then is the more intimate intercourse of the two spouses allowed (2). Then the erection of their own home follows.

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/325 cont./

584 and the suitor must also work for the father-in-law (?). During the engagement, the bridegroom, along with the young men, builds the house. This subsequently becomes the property of the woman, who, after the wedding, pays off the builders. The bride, however, apparently provides the furnishings, the sleeping mats, pots, etc.

585 I obtained only unclear reports about the wedding ceremony. Thus, the grandfather is said to carry the bridegroom, painted and adorned, into the house of the bride and back again. The suitor, accompanied by the young men, fetches the woman and leads her into the new house. There they cut off each other's leg bands and remove their arm cuffs for the duration of the marriage. According to another statement, however, the bride cuts off the calf bands of the man; the mother of the man, however, those of the bride. The bridal journey takes place without luggage. Only after the couple have arrived in the house does the husband have the property of the bride brought and take charge of them.

595 [622] In general the Karajá have only one wife at a time; only the chief may have simultaneously several wives who live together in his house. As has been said above, there is no chief wife, but many quarrels are said to take place among them. When the wife grows old, the husband may send her away and marry a second, younger woman. This is based on the fact that only the older girls are left over for the young men, and that, when these grow too old, they then turn to the young girls.

593 562 The position of the wife is very good. The house, the furnishings, and the boat belong to her; the husband simply lives with her. She also gives her opinion in all matters. The husband takes on all the hard work: laying out the plantings, carrying the harvest home, hunting and fishing. The wife must do the lighter work in connection with planting and harvesting and take care of the housekeeping. The two are seldom idle. The men do not 589 like to do the heavy work. At any rate, the young men, for fear of it, do not want to marry and postpone marriage as long as possible, misled, chiefly, by a few old bachelors. The carefree bachelor's life is, of course, free of all work; one does only what

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●584 Matrimony is consummated by the man in question making known his wishes to the parents of the maiden of his choice. These in turn ask their daughter if she gives her consent. If 585 she is willing, her affianced delivers to her all his weapons. He then conducts her to the domicile of one of his relatives, as he, of course, has no house of his own. Here they both remain four days as guests of the family. The fifth day, the bride is led back to the hut of her parents, following which, she returns to the bridegroom his weapons. As if to prove that he is competent to care for a family, the groom goes on a few days' hunt, returning when he has secured a quantity of game. The marriage ceremony terminates with a bacchanalian feast, given by the bride's parents, which corresponds to the wedding supper of civilized people. The couple may now live together, and a hut is built for them.

855 The Karayá love their children and treat them kindly, though they are stoical and make no display of their affections. This is true of most of the South American tribes. 854 Very young children are carried about constantly by the mother, and cared for untiringly; and are coated with colored grease and decorated with bright feathers with the same pride and solicitude that the most civilized mothers care ooo for and dress their children. The older children are left to

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582 A Karayá woman is not permitted to marry an alien, unless
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593 The Karayá wife appears to be considered the equal of her husband in many respects, for he never takes any important step in life without first consulting her. Even the village chief divides his honors with his wife. Furthermore, the wife as
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/45 cont./

601 With regard to the terminology of cousins, we are concerned here with the principle of the unity of the generation and that of the differentiation of the sexes, which remains true for the generation of the grandparents. Between brothers and sisters, to be more precise (and this is naturally valid for male and female cousins), there is only a partial differentiation of the sexes and of the respective ages, just as there is only a partial classificatory unity of the brothers and sisters (and, consequently, of male and female cousins). The terms used for the "parallel" uncles and aunts, on the other hand, are of mixed type according to the relative ages (relative to the parents), the designations for the eldest ones being derived from the terms "father" and "mother," those for the younger ones being from the same root as the words used for designating the grandparents, which, for that matter, is the case for the "cross" uncle and aunt, who, for their part, are not differentiated according to their respective ages. It is evident that there is a tendency to [587] reunite the generation of the parents and to bring it closer to the generation of the grandparents, with an exception being made for the parents themselves, as well as for the oldest brother of the father and for the oldest sister of the mother, for whom the terms are derived from those for the parents — here the levirate and the sororate certainly play their part, and the nuclear family is taken separately. In Murdock's classification it is thus a matter, so far as the uncles (and the aunts) are concerned, of a linear terminology and "bifurcate merging," respectively, and in both cases, derived (Hn and 1; column 13). It must be added that the classificatory unity of brothers and sisters comes into play.

The most striking example of this classificatory unity is shown in an exceptional type of designation for nephews and nieces. A brother and a sister use, it is true, without distinguishing the sex, two different words which we shall translate "nephew-niece," but what is more essential is that both of them conjointly call the children of their brother "son" and "daughter,"

/27 cont./

582 4. The marriage of Karaya women to foreigners is permitted only when the latter allow themselves to be adopted into the tribe and take up permanent residence in the village concerned, a case which in Castelnau's time was not at all rare, but could hardly occur today.

593 Although the husband is naturally in charge as head of the
562 family, the position of the wife is a completely honorable one. There is no trace of the degradation of women into beasts of burden, as has been falsely imputed for all Indians by analogy with the North American tribes. Certain tasks, to be sure, are performed exclusively by the women and they are tireless in fulfilling their manifold duties. The man, too, however, has his share to perform. His wife is his complete equal; he does nothing of importance without her advice. Even the chief shares his honors with his wife. Mistreatment of women is unheard of.

595 Monogamy is the usual thing. The husband, however, not uncommonly finds it necessary to take a second wife when the
[582] first one becomes too old. This is conditioned by the peculiar
[971] custom, widespread, it seems, among all South American tribes (2), that the young men court older women and the old

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577 The observation with which Im Thurn introduces his discussion of the social life of the Guiana tribes, "The Indian in his natural state, before he feels the influence of white man is of decidedly admirable morality" /cited in English/, is also true in its full extent for the Karaya. This natural morality, completely independent of religious beliefs, makes the existence of a primitive community such as theirs possible. It expresses itself in the [576] scrupulous observation of the commandments of external propriety (1), which does not escape even the casual visitor, but,

[514]

1. Of culture-historical interest and typical of the feeling of propriety of these savages is the manner of their defecation. It occurs as far as possible from the village. A hole is made in the sand. The individual sits on it with outstretched legs, hiding the upper body behind a small mat. The excrement is always carefully buried.

above all, in the exemplary conduct of family life. The 593 solidarity of the family group, which even Martius, rashly 602 generalizing from his observations among demoralized tribes, denied that the Americans possessed at all, has quite truly given this people the moral support which has prevented its decline up to now, despite a century of contact with civilization and, hopefully, will hold it off for a long time to come.

The Karaya family seems, according to its form to be a "mother family." The following facts speak in favor of this:

1. The married man does not eat with his family, but with that of his married sister. Accordingly, he is considered a member of his sister's family.

2. Likewise in the division of the hunting spoils he receives his share, not in his own house, but in that of his sister.

768 3. The children of a widower are cared for by his parents- 589 in-law, while he himself re-enters the ranks of the bachelors. 606

/27 cont./

684 Adultery on the part of the husband is avenged by the closest relatives of the wife.

Everywhere in the social order of the Karaya the endeavor to preserve the peace of family life from any disturbance is prominent. The young people are for that reason kept under strict
836 discipline. Virginity is highly prized and protected (4);
837
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4. Couto Magelhães, Peterm. Mitth., 1876, p. 222.

extramarital intercourse between the sexes is punished with strict
848 penalties and under certain conditions with death. Children originating from such relationships are not, as among other primitive peoples, likewise killed, however, but rather are turned over to the chief's care, like other orphans.

589 /28/ Single persons, distinguished externally from the married
[291] ones by the above-mentioned cotton bands, are not obliged to
[736] support themselves, but rather are supported by the community.
[591] Bachelors and widowers live together in a special hut and take part in hunting expeditions only when they please. Likewise, unmarried and widowed women are excused from supporting themselves. They live in the house of one of their nearest relatives.

589 According to a communication from Couto Magelhães, the
736 latter seem to have some freedom in intercourse with unmarried
[836] men: "There are in the Karaya villages men destined to be viri viduarum /men deprived of a wife/. These people have no other occupation; they are supported by the tribe and do not, like the others, undergo the hardships of long travels and raids. To my remark that it did not seem right to me that the community take on the support of these people, Chief Koinama replied that the peace which the families enjoyed because of this far outweighed the effort spent on their support." (Selvagem, p. 116.)

836 For the rest, the unmarried men who wish to turn to the
736 female sex are dependent on intercourse with the captured Kayapo
[589] women kept in half-slavery, of which among the Šambioa every village shelters at least a few. They are considered common

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161 Without the Šavajé of the south horde, the total figure
[162] thus comes to 815; with the Šavajé, 831 persons. Therefore, on the average, there are seven to eight persons in one house.

[131] For the large area that the Karajá inhabit (about 800 kilometers in length), the population is thus very small. It is indeed possible that it was once larger, though the huge figures
162 of earlier reports seem greatly exaggerated. The small number
164 of youths and maidens is striking. Perhaps maidens were kept hidden from me; perhaps, however, very many young persons were in fact victims of the measles epidemic which, according to statements by the Indians, raged terribly among the young people in 1906 or 1907 (1). For the present, no retrogression is

1. In 1908 very good health conditions seemed to prevail among the Karajá. It was only in the village on the mouth of the Tapirapé that many small children were suffering from a kind of whooping cough. From July to the end of October, as far as I know, only one child and two old men died. I did not observe any births, but obviously several were imminent in a short time.

163 to be seen. The number of children seems appropriate for the
589 conditions, about three children to a family. There were a few
581 middle-aged bachelors; their influence on the male youth is not good. They preach the ideal of bachelorhood, which the young try to emulate, and all the more since, with marriage, they are obliged to undertake hard daily work (fishing, laying out plantings). More than one told me that he did not want to marry, because then he would have to work so much. The parents seem to work against this, however.

175 If we look more closely at the relationship of the south
167 horde to the north horde, it seems that the south horde originated only within the course of the last hundred years. The Karajá thus seem to be in the process of migrating to the south. We have the following information about the dwelling sites of the Karajá:

/280 cont./

462 A. The division of labor by age and sex is such that the
561 male youths actually do nothing other than to practice the weapons craft and occasionally travel out to fish. In addition, they make their own weapons, as well as their feather ornaments and the cotton dance-belts. The married men, on the other hand, are usually busy; either they work in the plantings, or they go out twice a day to fish for their families, go hunting, plait baskets
[589] and hats, build houses, and bring in the harvest. In general, the men, when they are married, have a great deal of work and that is why young people no longer want to get married, having been infected by a few older bachelors who preach the ideal of bachelorhood: idling, smoking, chatting in the mask house.

The women learn their manual skills, such as spinning and weaving, from childhood on. Married women take care of the plantings, the harvest, tend the children, cook, make pottery, spin and weave, and plait mats. In general, to be sure, they have to work the whole day, so that one never sees them unoccupied, but in general their lot is a good one; hard work is never demanded of them, but is always taken over by the men.

412 B. Of their ancient tools some have already disappeared (1)
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> 1. Iron tools seem to have penetrated in the previous generation. A 40-year old Indian of the south horde told me that he had not seen work done with stone axes any more, only his mother told him about it.

or are used in another way, they still, however, use stone axes /281/ as striking stones, small stone knives for tattooing, bone needles for sewing, mussel shells as scrapers and spoons, sets of piranha teeth for cutting the strips for plaiting baskets. More and
[177] more, however, iron implements are coming in: axes, bush knives, small knives, and shears are used everywhere, likewise iron crochet needles. In spite of these foreign implements, how-
[176] ever, the technique has happily kept its ancient character, and only occasionally are innovations, under the influence of the Brazilian inhabitants, to be noted.

/325 cont./

584 and the suitor must also work for the father-in-law (?). During the engagement, the bridegroom, along with the young men, builds the house. This subsequently becomes the property of the woman, who, after the wedding, pays off the builders. The bride, however, apparently provides the furnishings, the sleeping mats, pots, etc.

585 I obtained only unclear reports about the wedding ceremony. Thus, the grandfather is said to carry the bridegroom, painted and adorned, into the house of the bride and back again. The suitor, accompanied by the young men, fetches the woman and leads her into the new house. There they cut off each other's leg bands and remove their arm cuffs for the duration of the marriage. According to another statement, however, the bride cuts off the calf bands of the man; the mother of the man, however, those of the bride. The bridal journey takes place without luggage. Only after the couple have arrived in the house does the husband have the property of the bride brought and take charge of them.

595 [622] In general the Karajá have only one wife at a time; only the chief may have simultaneously several wives who live together in his house. As has been said above, there is no chief wife, but many quarrels are said to take place among them. When the wife grows old, the husband may send her away and marry a second, younger woman. This is based on the fact that only the older girls are left over for the young men, and that, when these grow too old, they then turn to the young girls.

593 562 The position of the wife is very good. The house, the furnishings, and the boat belong to her; the husband simply lives with her. She also gives her opinion in all matters. The husband takes on all the hard work: laying out the plantings, carrying the harvest home, hunting and fishing. The wife must do the lighter work in connection with planting and harvesting and take care of the housekeeping. The two are seldom idle. The men do not

589 like to do the heavy work. At any rate, the young men, for fear of it, do not want to marry and postpone marriage as long as possible, misled, chiefly, by a few old bachelors. The carefree bachelor's life is, of course, free of all work; one does only what

/325 cont./

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6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

The adulterous
woman is punished by her husband either by flogging, or by 684
torturing with fire brands. It is said that she is sometimes
even burned to death. The adulterous man is punished by
the nearest relatives of his wife. But among these people as,
unfortunately, among the higher races, far greater license is
allowed the man than the woman.

The Karayá seem to cherish an earnest desire to preserve 593
the integrity of the family, and to guard it against disturbing
influences of every kind. Children are reared with strictness 834
and maidenhood is respected; and any transgression of the
tribal laws regarding the relations of the sexes is severely
punished—even with death, in some cases. But children born 848
out of wedlock are not put to death, as is usually done among
savage peoples, but instead, are, like other orphans, reared
by the chief of the village as his own children.

The unmarried individuals, who are distinguished from the 589
married by the previously described wristlets and armlets,
are not required to support themselves, but are provided for
by the community as a whole. The bachelors and widowers
live together in a sort of "bachelors' hall"—a separate hut—
and participate in the hunting and fishing and other occupa-
tions of the tribe only as they feel inclined. But the un-
married women, while, like the single men, not required to
work, are not segregated, for they dwell in the huts of their
nearest relatives. These females are allowed certain liberties 836
with the unmarried men in order that they may not perturb 548
the married men and their families. They are the village
prostitutes. By this arrangement the single men, on the
other hand, are kept from endangering family life. Women [727]
taken captive from the enemy in intertribal wars, are retained
as prostitutes and semi-slaves. These unhappy females are
the common property of all the men, the married as well as
the single. Captive female children share the same sad fate;
and probably also the children born of captive parents.

We see in these customs, the dualism of the "ethics" of 577
the savage. They are moral, if we may use this term, only
when their own well-being is at stake—when it is a question

1:Lipkind E-5 (1937) 1948 SP9 Caraja SP9

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SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

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621 622 The fundamental unit of social organization is the village. Every village has one or more ioló, children of chiefly line, designated by the chief for preferential treatment by the members of the village. The chief names the ioló who is to succeed him or, if he fails to do so, the village makes the choice at his death. Girls of chiefly line are similarly chosen for preferential treatment; each of them is known as the "hidden woman." There is some indication that women functioned as chiefs in former times, but today there is no woman chief. The chief has no coercive powers but directs the village by recognizing the will of the majority in such matters as the selection of camp and garden sites and the announcement of a move at change of season. His principal function is to act as peacemaker, and people readily submit to his adjudication. Because of the importance of religious ceremonials, the priest and the shaman frequently exercise more authority than the chief. When all three offices are vested in a single individual, his authority may be considerable, but it is kept in check by the right of a discontented person to move at any time to another village.

59 Within the village the important unit is the household. Residence being matrilocal, a household consists of sisters, their husbands, children, and the husbands of grown daughters. Marriage is restricted to one's own generation, the preferred mate being a cousin on the mother's side. There is no sanction but ridicule against wrong marriages, and there are many cases of cross-generational marriage. Marriage is predominantly monogamous, but a few instances of polygyny and one of polyandry were encountered. The avunculate is very important and involves many social and especially ceremonial duties. Cooperation in the household is close and in the village fairly close. In addition, villages are grouped together in ceremonial units, generally consisting of three or four neighboring villages, which celebrate important feasts jointly. This ceremonial unit acts as an insurance group when a village's crop fails or its fish supplies grow scarce. Beyond this, the only intervillage ties

/43 cont./

241 is not lacking; true domesticated animals are absent. Planting
433 is important as a source of subsistence, but fishing and turtle
462 hunting stand higher in masculine preference as well as being a basis of life. Not only are the men charged with fishing and hunting — less important owing to the scarcity of game — but activity in the gardens is also primarily the business of the men, since the women are satisfied to help as they please, which is undeniably rare among the Amazonian Indians.

433 Up to here we are in perfect agreement with the cate-
462 gories chosen by Murdock (Ro, Im, Oo, Dm; columns 1-4). However, in column 5 we find the /44/ first gap. The division of labor assigns gathering to the female sex, except for the harvesting of wild honey, which is considered more as hunting and belongs among the men's tasks. So the Carajá could, after all, be put in the category of "standard division of labor by sex" (thus Ia; column 5).

114 Real difficulties arise when we take into consideration what is properly called social organization. Categorial decisions
361 are not so easy to make there. It is true that our Indians live
[221] in compact villages, especially during the rainy seasons. During the rest of the year the Carajá proper like to disperse on the beaches, forming smaller local units, which, nevertheless, are always lined up along the river, the houses of the men (if there are any in the encampments) remaining at the rear, as if the periphery of a circle had been opened and rolled back in a straight line, leaving the center — the houses of the men — at
361 the side of the line. Since the large villages of the rainy season,
62 which are all like this and bear a name, are in reality agamous
[114] and without clans, but display a certain tendency toward endogamy, the category assigned by Murdock — compact village observing agamy — (Va; column 6), if it is not definitely wrong, is nevertheless to be taken cum grano salis (tendency toward Sd).

●59 As for the family structure, it is normally of the extended type, at least during the rainy season, but the extension is not

/44 cont./

●59 so great, and there are, besides the linear families or nonnamed minimal lineages, some independent families (i.e., rather Ll, often Ss and In, instead of Ee; column 7), which agrees with the fact that, besides the customary matrilocal marriage, "neolocal" residence is found (Mn, instead of Mm; column 8) in the dry season on the one hand, and, on the other hand, as a possible 595 nucleus of a new extended family. Polygyny is neither frequent 583 nor favored, whereas it is true that material considerations are absent on the occasion of marriage (thus Mo or To rather than Lo; column 9).

611 We shall now take up the most confused aspect of Carajá [121] ethnography. The Handbook of South American Indians speaks 615 correctly of double descent. I have shown elsewhere that be- [114] cause of some inattention in the editing of the famous manual, an incorrect idea of the real nature of this coexistence of patrilineal and matrilineal groupings has arisen. It is a matter, not of moieties, but of three large, named, patrilineal groups, which are primarily the men's affair, in their ceremonial and political life, but nevertheless are concerned with women in the sense of an endogamous tendency. Thus it is not a matter of true parallel descent, and, on the other hand, it is by no [621] means a question of exogamy, and still less of moieties. At the most one may speak of nonexogamy or agamy as in the case of the villages, which are themselves matrilineal groupings on account of the matrilocal rule of the domestic group just men- 613 tioned. In a strict sense only the small extended family, 596 which can be described as a non-named, minimal, matrilineal 582 lineage, seems to be exogamous. Marriage is permitted with any cousin, parallel or cross, and the matrilateral preference reported by Lipkind (incidentally without any indication of whether it is a matter of parallel or cross cousins!) seems to be only the normative expression of matrilocal marriage, whereas the slight patrilateral preference ascertained by myself is equally in agreement with the rule of endogamy of the patrilineal groups. [601] In reality, since the relatives are usually "brother" and "sister" with regard to each other, being male and female cousin, as we

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/27 cont./

684 Adultery on the part of the husband is avenged by the closest relatives of the wife.

Everywhere in the social order of the Karaya the endeavor to preserve the peace of family life from any disturbance is prominent. The young people are for that reason kept under strict
836 discipline. Virginity is highly prized and protected (4);
837
[113]

4. Couto Magelhães, Peterm. Mitth., 1876, p. 222.

extramarital intercourse between the sexes is punished with strict
848 penalties and under certain conditions with death. Children originating from such relationships are not, as among other primitive peoples, likewise killed, however, but rather are turned over to the chief's care, like other orphans.

589 /28/ Single persons, distinguished externally from the married
[291] ones by the above-mentioned cotton bands, are not obliged to
[736] support themselves, but rather are supported by the community.
Bachelors and widowers live together in a special hut and take
[591] part in hunting expeditions only when they please. Likewise, unmarried and widowed women are excused from supporting themselves. They live in the house of one of their nearest relatives.

589 According to a communication from Couto Magelhães, the
736 latter seem to have some freedom in intercourse with unmarried
[834] men: "There are in the Karaya villages men destined to be viri viduarum /men deprived of a wife/. These people have no other occupation; they are supported by the tribe and do not, like the others, undergo the hardships of long travels and raids. To my remark that it did not seem right to me that the community take on the support of these people, Chief Koinama replied that the peace which the families enjoyed because of this far outweighed the effort spent on their support." (Selvagem, p. 116.)

836 For the rest, the unmarried men who wish to turn to the
727 female sex are dependent on intercourse with the captured Kayapo
[589] women kept in half-slavery, of which among the Šambioa every village shelters at least a few. They are considered common

/328 cont./

881 With the onset of puberty both sexes have the tribal rings
[304] cut on their cheeks; apparently no further ceremonies take place
561 in connection with this. From then on the maidens wear the
301 complete costume of the women, and the cotton pendant orna-
ment is given the red color instead of the black, which was proper
561 for children. The youths live by themselves; where there is a
591 mask house, they spend the day in it and sleep there at night or
beside a fire in its vicinity. Where there is none, they sleep
beside a fire away from the village. In small settlements with
one or two houses, they, too, live in the house.

855 Parents love their children very much. It is touching to
observe with what tenderness they cling to them, and how, far
from them, they are constantly with them in their thoughts.
When Pedro received the (false) message that his children had
died, he scarcely spoke for hours and even after that he was
noticeably more silent than he had been otherwise. The mothers
play with their small children; I even observed the kissing of
855 children. All conceivable ornamentation is put on the little
301 ones; the older the children become, the less ornamentation is
put on, until, finally, married persons give it up almost entirely.
One woman about 50 years old laughed at her own vanity when she
put chains of beads which I had given to her grandchild around
her own neck and looked down on them with pleasure. This
mania /329/ for adorning children goes so far that they hang
around their necks large pieces of broken colorful porcelain
[842] plates, without being aware of the danger (1). "Boys mean more

1. This custom is already reported for the Šambioá by Rufino in the year 1846 (Rev. trim. X, p. 196).

to the father, the mother would rather have girls" (Kuriší). The
861 father teaches the son, the mother the daughter. Contrary to
other reports, I was assured that beating as a punishment also
occurs. Otherwise I observed only the denial of food as a means
of punishment (in Village 17, because the boy in question did not
go fishing, but loitered around me in the camp).

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/203 cont./

361 The houses in general are oriented in such a way that one long side faces northwest, north, or northeast, thus providing shade.

[592] Each house is occupied by only one family; to each house
[340] there generally belongs a mat wall, a supply stand, and one or two hearth areas.

[346] The mask hut lies away from the village, at a distance of about 200 meters.

634 The villages of the Karajá are small; many consisted of only one or two houses, the largest of eight huts (1). Ehrenreich be-

1. Rufino has already reported that the villages of the Karajá have only eight to ten huts on the average. Rev. trim. 10, p. 208.

lieves that this dispersion must be traced back to a lack of means
[511] of subsistence. This is scarcely to be assumed, since there is suf-
[578] ficient food, especially fish. In my opinion, it is conditioned first
[571] by the many disputes that seem to prevail among the families of the Karajá and lead to the departure of some of them, and then by the prevalence of personal attitudes concerning the feeling of sociability; many families live permanently isolated in one place because they happen to like it there.

It is noteworthy that the villages decrease in size from north
[166] to south. This may be explained by the direction of migration of the Karajá: the bulk of them still live in the north; toward the south, the first to be sent are advance groups, which, of course, are small in number.

361 On journeys the Karajá pitch camps of mat roofs or walls,
484 in the shade and shelter of which they live and sleep. The walls are, of course, oriented in such a way that they provide as much shade as possible and as long as possible; hence they usually stand approximately from west to east, and likewise arranged in rows (Pl. 13, Ill. 1). If a village is moved, the Indians live under mat walls until the houses are erected (Pl. 41, Ill. 2).

221 The villages do not remain permanently in one place. During
361 the dry season, the Indians live on the sandbanks of the river, which,

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca.1900) 1909
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361 beyond endurance, compelling them, finally, to pull down
[364] their huts and move to a new site, perhaps to some other sand-bar. This is a case of moving the residence instead of the garbage. During the rainy season, or when the sand bottoms are submerged, which may not occur until two or three months after the rains begin, the Karayá dwell on the
[342] high banks of the mainland. Here, the huts are much better constructed, resembling the dwellings of "civilized" Brazilians.

342 It is seldom one sees among primitive peoples, such sub-
184 stantially constructed huts as those of the Sambiõa division. Here is seen the greater industry, the greater activity, and the better condition in every respect of the free, unmolested sons of the wilderness in comparison with their "tame" brethren who exist in more destitute circumstances, though in contact with, and under the influence of the "civilized" people—the semi-barbarous Brazilians. The dwellings of
342 the Sambiõa are not placed in disorder, but are arranged in
363 long rows, forming regular streets. "They make a favorable impression upon the visitor, because the streets appear clean and the huts orderly, comfortable and inviting." The four
361 Sambiõa villages each contain sixty, thirty, forty-five and
162 ninety huts, respectively, and each hut is occupied by one or
592 two, or more, families.

352 The furniture in these primitive abodes is very simple.
The floor, which is bare earth, is covered with matting made
[285] by braiding together the long, slender leaves of the burity-
[513] palm. The occupants sleep on this matting without any other bedding whatever, save a round billet of wood for a pillow upon which the neck rests, but not the head, Japanese
353 fashion. From the plates, or roof supports, hang baskets of various forms and sizes, in which are kept the bright feathers that are used in decorative work and ornament making. Finished ornaments and decorations made of brilliant feathers, pieces of regalia, bows and arrows in a finished and unfinished state, spear-throwing sticks and various small articles are also seen stuck into or suspended from the roof; while

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577 The observation with which Im Thurn introduces his discussion of the social life of the Guiana tribes, "The Indian in his natural state, before he feels the influence of white man is of decidedly admirable morality" /cited in English/, is also true in its full extent for the Karaya. This natural morality, completely independent of religious beliefs, makes the existence of a primitive community such as theirs possible. It expresses itself in the [576] scrupulous observation of the commandments of external propriety (1), which does not escape even the casual visitor, but,

[514]

1. Of culture-historical interest and typical of the feeling of propriety of these savages is the manner of their defecation. It occurs as far as possible from the village. A hole is made in the sand. The individual sits on it with outstretched legs, hiding the upper body behind a small mat. The excrement is always carefully buried.

above all, in the exemplary conduct of family life. The 593 solidarity of the family group, which even Martius, rashly 602 generalizing from his observations among demoralized tribes, denied that the Americans possessed at all, has quite truly given this people the moral support which has prevented its decline up to now, despite a century of contact with civilization and, hopefully, will hold it off for a long time to come.

The Karaya family seems, according to its form to be a "mother family." The following facts speak in favor of this:

1. The married man does not eat with his family, but with that of his married sister. Accordingly, he is considered a member of his sister's family.

2. Likewise in the division of the hunting spoils he receives his share, not in his own house, but in that of his sister.

768 3. The children of a widower are cared for by his parents-589 in-law, while he himself re-enters the ranks of the bachelors.
606

/27 cont./

582 4. The marriage of Karaya women to foreigners is permitted only when the latter allow themselves to be adopted into the tribe and take up permanent residence in the village concerned, a case which in Castelnau's time was not at all rare, but could hardly occur today.

593 Although the husband is naturally in charge as head of the
562 family, the position of the wife is a completely honorable one. There is no trace of the degradation of women into beasts of burden, as has been falsely imputed for all Indians by analogy with the North American tribes. Certain tasks, to be sure, are performed exclusively by the women and they are tireless in fulfilling their manifold duties. The man, too, however, has his share to perform. His wife is his complete equal; he does nothing of importance without her advice. Even the chief shares his honors with his wife. Mistreatment of women is unheard of.

595 Monogamy is the usual thing. The husband, however, not uncommonly finds it necessary to take a second wife when the
[582] first one becomes too old. This is conditioned by the peculiar
[171] custom, widespread, it seems, among all South American tribes (2), that the young men court older women and the old

[113] 2. Cf. Im Thurn, op. cit., p. 223.

men younger ones. Perhaps the relatively small number of children can be traced to this.

847 Artificial abortion occurs, but only on the demand of the husband. It is brought about by pressing the uterus together with the hands and is said to cause death not uncommonly.

586 If married people do not get along, the husband is allowed
587 to trade off his wife for that of another. Anyone who repudiates his wife cannot marry again, but is allowed to have a housekeeper.

684 The husband himself punishes an adulterous wife by a beating or burning her with glowing wood. Sometimes (3) the guilty one

[113] 3. Couto Magelhães, Selvagem, p. 116.

is said to be even burned to death.

/325 cont./

584 and the suitor must also work for the father-in-law (?). During the engagement, the bridegroom, along with the young men, builds the house. This subsequently becomes the property of the woman, who, after the wedding, pays off the builders. The bride, however, apparently provides the furnishings, the sleeping mats, pots, etc.

585 I obtained only unclear reports about the wedding ceremony. Thus, the grandfather is said to carry the bridegroom, painted and adorned, into the house of the bride and back again. The suitor, accompanied by the young men, fetches the woman and leads her into the new house. There they cut off each other's leg bands and remove their arm cuffs for the duration of the marriage. According to another statement, however, the bride cuts off the calf bands of the man; the mother of the man, however, those of the bride. The bridal journey takes place without luggage. Only after the couple have arrived in the house does the husband have the property of the bride brought and take charge of them.

595 [622] In general the Karajá have only one wife at a time; only the chief may have simultaneously several wives who live together in his house. As has been said above, there is no chief wife, but many quarrels are said to take place among them. When the wife grows old, the husband may send her away and marry a second, younger woman. This is based on the fact that only the older girls are left over for the young men, and that, when these grow too old, they then turn to the young girls.

593 562 The position of the wife is very good. The house, the furnishings, and the boat belong to her; the husband simply lives with her. She also gives her opinion in all matters. The husband takes on all the hard work: laying out the plantings, carrying the harvest home, hunting and fishing. The wife must do the lighter work in connection with planting and harvesting and take care of the housekeeping. The two are seldom idle. The men do not 589 like to do the heavy work. At any rate, the young men, for fear of it, do not want to marry and postpone marriage as long as possible, misled, chiefly, by a few old bachelors. The carefree bachelor's life is, of course, free of all work; one does only what

/325 cont./

589 he pleases, there is no "must." Widowers, too, usually marry
[587] again only out of consideration for their children. If they have no children, or if they can avoid marriage in any way, they are only too glad to do so.

● 593 The two sexes take their meals together. In general,
[264] married life is very peaceful, quarrels and disputes are rare. Nevertheless, I observed a few marital scenes: In Village 17 one evening the loud shouting and screaming of a woman arose, followed by a half hour of loud abusive speeches by the woman. The next evening the husband came to me and asked me for food, because, he said, his wife would not give him anything to eat on account of the previous day's quarrel. /326/ I was unable to discover the reason for the quarrel. In Village 13, Chief Ilk beat his wife because, on a visit to Village 11, she had been stealing. That is what he said; the others, however, said that the wife had greeted him angrily when he returned from Village 11 because he had had something to do with a woman there; it was only then
[587] that he beat her. In Village 7, Kuriší already had his third wife. The first had run away from him, the second died, the third and present one was much older than he and very jealous. On the first evening of my stay she observed how he had twice given a girl tobacco, at the latter's request. As a result, a quarrel was said to have broken out at home; she pulled his hair, he beat her. The result was that the wife departed during the night with her children; I then met her again in Village No. 8. The husband was therefore a grass widower, had nothing to eat, and was obliged to move into the bachelor house. On my return journey I met the two reunited; they were living in peace and, smiling in some embarrassment, spoke of the incident.

586 Divorce occurs in the aforementioned case, when the woman becomes too old. The husband then sends her away and usually marries a young girl. Thus, in Village No. 5 the husband sent his old wife to São José to her brother and married a younger one. He kept the children; he was obliged to go on providing the older wife with food supplies. The mother of the wife supervises the separation of the spouses; both parties turn to her if one no

/329 cont./

000 go fishing, but loitered around me in the camp). Children obey
593 their parents implicitly, and even adults still unquestioningly follow the advice of their mothers. Thus, Pedro's mother gave him the following good advice on his journey (Pedro was a widower with three children): Do not lend money (Pedro therefore flatly refused the attempts to borrow on the part of other comrades, with the argument that his mother had forbidden it); do not bring back a wife (in this respect, too, Pedro obeyed his mother and refused several attempts at matchmaking); men who run after women grow lean, but a person who eats a great deal grows fat.

Legally, too, parents, especially the mother, seem to retain authority over their grown sons. For I was obliged to conduct with his mother the final negotiations about Pedro's taking his children along. I did not negotiate at all with Pedro himself.

857 The result of this rearing is that the children are never ill-behaved and seldom quarrel among themselves; they are merry and gay and soon trusting toward the stranger, without being guilty of rude familiarity.

576 In general, great value is put on dignified and polite behavior. In the huts, the members of the family were separately introduced to me. When, in the evening beside the fire, I
[126] wanted to write down their information, they blew upon a chunk of wood and held it up to me in order to give me light. When they were looking for honey on the way, they always brought me part of it in a piece of tree bark.

514 Modesty is part of the Indians' good behavior. Defecation takes place far outside the village, if possible hidden from the
[291] glances of others. When a girl about eight years old was supposed to sell me her string belt, she ran behind the nearest mat wall, put on a new one there, and then brought me the old one. It is only in farting that they are somewhat more negligent. Loud sounds are greeted with laughter or accompanied by dog-barks. In some places this seemed actually to be good form, and one would outdo the other. On the other hand, foul smells were taken amiss; they would all glance indignantly at the presumed offender and would give expression to their annoyance with disapproving bw and hm̃ sounds.

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
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648 forest, the course usually adopted, whether the work is done by "secular" agents, or by friars paid by the government, is to select a site within fifty or one hundred miles of the villages of the tribe, and erect the desired buildings. Then, when all is ready, the agents repair to the villages and try to secure a number of boys, either by making presents of knives and beads to the parents, or by kidnapping the children. This latter method was pursued with the Karayá, [593] for the parents refused to part with their children for any consideration. The friars are opposed to having the entire families of the Indians live near their schools. But, on the other hand, they do desire the mixed Portuguese speaking multitude—the ignorant, superstitious, immoral, rum-drinking people—called "the civilized ones," to "live at their feet." These people are more profitable to the friar than the Indians, for they give him much money to perform various priestly functions. But the primitive people have no money; nor have they learned to value these priestly services. Therefore, when the "school" is organized, the young savage, besides hearing the doctrine taught, has ample opportunity to see it exemplified.

127 I stayed with a private family at Leopoldina while waiting
000 to descend the river. In the meantime, I occupied myself going among the people, reading God's message to them and talking with them. I had many interesting and enjoyable experiences. I heard, long afterward, that the village blacksmith, with whom I had talked and left a Bible, was reading, or having it read to him daily, and was literally devouring it. It was the joy of his life. He would often exclaim with emotion as he listened to the reading. "Great is Jehovah!" Perhaps few who read these lines can understand the great worth of this Book to this sincere man in his declining years, dwelling at this remote, forsaken and forgotten spot, rarely reached by the fewest printed lines of any kind.

Another man, a visitor from up the river, was ill, and wished me to suggest a remedy for him. I thought that if he would forsake his vices, he would probably regain his

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

where that influence has been genuinely and positively Christian. It is humiliating to admit this; but the most overwhelming evidences of it are found everywhere. How very many sad examples there are that the representatives of even Christian civilizations have imposed a curse instead of conferring a blessing upon their poor, ignorant, primitive brethren! All too frequently, the "civilized" world which first comes into contact with savagery, is of the world, worldly. Its vices are prominent and positive, while its virtues are negative and obscure. Naturally, the uncultured savage acquires the vices without effort, but knows nothing of the virtues, if there be any; and his own virtues, or wholesome customs, become more or less overshadowed and broken down; for the savage man, in common with other men of every race and social grade, is a more apt scholar in the school of vice than in the school of virtue. The influence of the Christ life, on the other hand, is positively and powerfully virtuous. It purifies and transforms the inner man, and exalts and beautifies the whole outward expression of his life, at the same time, preserving and ennobling all that he had formerly that was good.

Many people think that savages, living in a state of nature, intermingle as promiscuously as swine, and without any restraints to their passions. This is very far from the truth, for they have customs, usages and traditions that are rigidly observed; and within certain limits, the inviolability of womanhood is guaranteed; while vicious propensities are so restrained or regulated that the tribe is safeguarded against physical impairment. Unfortunately, this can scarcely be said of many of the civilized people of South America.

For a savage people, human life among the Karayá is valued and protected; and family ties are strong—between husband and wife as well as between parents and children. The mother, instead of the father, appears to be the head of the family, for the following reasons:

The husband does not eat with his family, but instead,

Brazil.

593 The husband does not eat with his family, but instead
[864] with the family of his married sister, and is considered a member of his sister's family. Secondly, his share of the pro-
[768] ceeds of the day's hunting and fishing, does not go to his own hut, but to that of his sister; and, lastly, if his wife should die leaving dependent children, they are taken in charge by her parents and the widower again becomes one of the bachelors.

582 A Karayá woman is not permitted to marry an alien, unless
648 he will become adopted, or naturalized, into the tribe, and will consent to reside permanently at the wife's native village.
593 The Karayá wife appears to be considered the equal of her husband in many respects, for he never takes any important step in life without first consulting her. Even the village chief divides his honors with his wife. Furthermore, the wife as
[962] well as the husband, has an important part to perform, not only in the family, but in the social economy of the village; though her part is to do the heavy, laborious work, while her man does the light and fancy-work; his only heavy work being to hunt and fish.

595 The men usually have but one wife, though a few have
582 two. One reason for having two wives seems to be owing to the custom prevailing among nearly all South American tribes that the young men marry the older women, and the old men marry the young women. Therefore, when the first wife becomes old, her young husband takes to himself a youth-
163 ful wife. Perhaps this custom of the young men marrying the
[582] older women will account in part for the small number of
[862] children born to these primitive races; though another reason may be that children are allowed to nurse until they are six
191 or seven years of age. The custom of aged men marrying girls fourteen or fifteen years of age is common among the
847 civilized people of Brazil. Abortion among the Karayá is
586 practiced only when the husband demands it. Whenever a couple cannot live together harmoniously, the husband is al-
587 lowed to trade his wife for another woman. If he should drive her away, he will not be permitted to marry another
000 woman, though he may take a concubine. The adulterous

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

The adulterous
woman is punished by her husband either by flogging, or by 684
torturing with fire brands. It is said that she is sometimes
even burned to death. The adulterous man is punished by
the nearest relatives of his wife. But among these people as,
unfortunately, among the higher races, far greater license is
allowed the man than the woman.

The Karayá seem to cherish an earnest desire to preserve 593
the integrity of the family, and to guard it against disturbing
influences of every kind. Children are reared with strictness 834
and maidenhood is respected; and any transgression of the
tribal laws regarding the relations of the sexes is severely
punished—even with death, in some cases. But children born 848
out of wedlock are not put to death, as is usually done among
savage peoples, but instead, are, like other orphans, reared
by the chief of the village as his own children.

The unmarried individuals, who are distinguished from the 589
married by the previously described wristlets and armlets,
are not required to support themselves, but are provided for
by the community as a whole. The bachelors and widowers
live together in a sort of "bachelors' hall"—a separate hut—
and participate in the hunting and fishing and other occupa-
tions of the tribe only as they feel inclined. But the un-
married women, while, like the single men, not required to
work, are not segregated, for they dwell in the huts of their
nearest relatives. These females are allowed certain liberties 836
with the unmarried men in order that they may not perturb 548
the married men and their families. They are the village
prostitutes. By this arrangement the single men, on the
other hand, are kept from endangering family life. Women [727]
taken captive from the enemy in intertribal wars, are retained
as prostitutes and semi-slaves. These unhappy females are
the common property of all the men, the married as well as
the single. Captive female children share the same sad fate;
and probably also the children born of captive parents.

We see in these customs, the dualism of the "ethics" of 577
the savage. They are moral, if we may use this term, only
when their own well-being is at stake—when it is a question

1:Lipkind E-5 (1937) 1948 SP9 Caraja SP9

411 **Weapons.**—The *Carajá* use bows and arrows (pls. 20, *bottom, left;* 21, *left* and *center*), and their mythology indicates aboriginal use of the spear thrower for hunting monkeys. Recently, they have used a spear thrower of the upper Xingú River type for sport.

323 **Pottery.**—Pottery vessels include several forms of plain ware (fig. 20).

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

611 The kinship structure may be described as double descent. Both lines are important, the greater emphasis falling on the mother's line, and both lines serve different functions. Village citizenship, adoption, and the closest affectional ties are reckoned in the mother's line. Moiety membership and the offices of chief, priest, and food-divider are patrilineally inherited.

621 622 The fundamental unit of social organization is the village. Every village has one or more ioló, children of chiefly line, designated by the chief for preferential treatment by the members of the village. The chief names the ioló who is to succeed him or, if he fails to do so, the village makes the choice at his death. Girls of chiefly line are similarly chosen for preferential treatment; each of them is known as the "hidden woman." There is some indication that women functioned as chiefs in former times, but today there is no woman chief. The chief has no coercive powers but directs the village by recognizing the will of the majority in such matters as the selection of camp and garden sites and the announcement of a move at change of season. His principal function is to act as peacemaker, and people readily submit to his adjudication. Because of the importance of religious ceremonials, the priest and the shaman frequently exercise more authority than the chief. When all three offices are vested in a single individual, his authority may be considerable, but it is kept in check by the right of a discontented person to move at any time to another village.

59 Within the village the important unit is the household. Residence being matrilocal, a household consists of sisters, their husbands, children, and the husbands of grown daughters. Marriage is restricted to one's own generation, the preferred mate being a cousin on the mother's side. There is no sanction but ridicule against wrong marriages, and there are many cases of cross-generational marriage. Marriage is predominantly monogamous, but a few instances of polygyny and one of polyandry were encountered. The avunculate is very important and involves many social and especially ceremonial duties. Cooperation in the household is close and in the village fairly close. In addition, villages are grouped together in ceremonial units, generally consisting of three or four neighboring villages, which celebrate important feasts jointly. This ceremonial unit acts as an insurance group when a village's crop fails or its fish supplies grow scarce. Beyond this, the only intervillage ties

/44 cont./

59 so great, and there are, besides the linear families or nonnamed minimal lineages, some independent families (i.e., rather Ll, often Ss and In, instead of Ee; column 7), which agrees with the fact that, besides the customary matrilocal marriage, "neolocal" residence is found (Mn, instead of Mm; column 8) in the dry season on the one hand, and, on the other hand, as a possible
595 nucleus of a new extended family. Polygyny is neither frequent
583 nor favored, whereas it is true that material considerations are absent on the occasion of marriage (thus Mo or To rather than Lo; column 9).

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[121] ethnography. The Handbook of South American Indians speaks
615 correctly of double descent. I have shown elsewhere that be-
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[62] means a question of exogamy, and still less of moieties. At the most one may speak of nonexogamy or agamy as in the case of the villages, which are themselves matrilineal groupings on account of the matrilocal rule of the domestic group just men-
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[60] In reality, since the relatives are usually "brother" and "sister" with regard to each other, being male and female cousin, as we

/27 cont./

582 4. The marriage of Karaya women to foreigners is permitted only when the latter allow themselves to be adopted into the tribe and take up permanent residence in the village concerned, a case which in Castelnau's time was not at all rare, but could hardly occur today.

593 Although the husband is naturally in charge as head of the
562 family, the position of the wife is a completely honorable one. There is no trace of the degradation of women into beasts of burden, as has been falsely imputed for all Indians by analogy with the North American tribes. Certain tasks, to be sure, are performed exclusively by the women and they are tireless in fulfilling their manifold duties. The man, too, however, has his share to perform. His wife is his complete equal; he does nothing of importance without her advice. Even the chief shares his honors with his wife. Mistreatment of women is unheard of.

595 Monogamy is the usual thing. The husband, however, not uncommonly finds it necessary to take a second wife when the
[582] first one becomes too old. This is conditioned by the peculiar
[171] custom, widespread, it seems, among all South American tribes (2), that the young men court older women and the old

[113] 2. Cf. Im Thurn, op. cit., p. 223.

men younger ones. Perhaps the relatively small number of children can be traced to this.

847 Artificial abortion occurs, but only on the demand of the husband. It is brought about by pressing the uterus together with the hands and is said to cause death not uncommonly.

586 If married people do not get along, the husband is allowed
587 to trade off his wife for that of another. Anyone who repudiates his wife cannot marry again, but is allowed to have a housekeeper.

684 The husband himself punishes an adulterous wife by a beating or burning her with glowing wood. Sometimes (3) the guilty one

[113] 3. Couto Magelhães, Selvagem, p. 116.

is said to be even burned to death.

/325 cont./

584 and the suitor must also work for the father-in-law (?). During the engagement, the bridegroom, along with the young men, builds the house. This subsequently becomes the property of the woman, who, after the wedding, pays off the builders. The bride, however, apparently provides the furnishings, the sleeping mats, pots, etc.

585 I obtained only unclear reports about the wedding ceremony. Thus, the grandfather is said to carry the bridegroom, painted and adorned, into the house of the bride and back again. The suitor, accompanied by the young men, fetches the woman and leads her into the new house. There they cut off each other's leg bands and remove their arm cuffs for the duration of the marriage. According to another statement, however, the bride cuts off the calf bands of the man; the mother of the man, however, those of the bride. The bridal journey takes place without luggage. Only after the couple have arrived in the house does the husband have the property of the bride brought and take charge of them.

595 [620] In general the Karajá have only one wife at a time; only the chief may have simultaneously several wives who live together in his house. As has been said above, there is no chief wife, but many quarrels are said to take place among them. When the wife grows old, the husband may send her away and marry a second, younger woman. This is based on the fact that only the older girls are left over for the young men, and that, when these grow too old, they then turn to the young girls.

593 562 The position of the wife is very good. The house, the furnishings, and the boat belong to her; the husband simply lives with her. She also gives her opinion in all matters. The husband takes on all the hard work: laying out the plantings, carrying the harvest home, hunting and fishing. The wife must do the lighter work in connection with planting and harvesting and take care of the housekeeping. The two are seldom idle. The men do not

589 like to do the heavy work. At any rate, the young men, for fear of it, do not want to marry and postpone marriage as long as possible, misled, chiefly, by a few old bachelors. The carefree bachelor's life is, of course, free of all work; one does only what

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593 The husband does not eat with his family, but instead
[964] with the family of his married sister, and is considered a member of his sister's family. Secondly, his share of the pro-
[768] ceeds of the day's hunting and fishing, does not go to his own hut, but to that of his sister; and, lastly, if his wife should die leaving dependent children, they are taken in charge by her parents and the widower again becomes one of the bachelors.

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582 two. One reason for having two wives seems to be owing to the custom prevailing among nearly all South American tribes that the young men marry the older women, and the old men marry the young women. Therefore, when the first wife becomes old, her young husband takes to himself a youth-
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[601] In reality, since the relatives are usually "brother" and "sister" with regard to each other, being male and female cousin, as we

/28 cont./

also hold for the relationships prevailing among the Karaya. The village communities composed of such family units, each of which has a particular name, seem to be like gau communities (2). The agricultural land belongs to the whole

2. Post, Stud. z. Entw. d. Familienrechts /Essay on the Development of Family Law/, p. 83.

and is tilled in common. Hunting and fishing expeditions are also undertaken in common, and the yield in booty, field produce, etc. divided among the families. The chief supervises all of these communal activities and achievements. He is supported by the community; the property of all tribal members belongs to him (3). On the other hand, it is his duty to adopt

3. Couto Magelhães, Peterm. Mitth., 1876, p. 121.

orphaned children, particularly the sons of those slain in war. The personal qualities to which he owes his office today are less prowess in war /29/ than the skill, experience, and linguistic knowledge required to deal with the Whites. Thus, even prisoners of war adopted into the tribe who distinguish themselves at this can achieve the position.

The chief organizes the war and hunting expeditions; he determines the camp sites and the locations of plantings and, after the burning over of the strip of forest (roça) concerned, divides the agricultural land, which is marked off by posts, among the individual families.

His effectiveness in the administration of justice is important. In case of quarrels between men he acts as referee, while his wife decides those of the women. It is his duty to bring offenders to account, but he does not inflict the punishment, which, according to the Indian law of retaliation, is a matter for the injured party. Murder or bodily injury are therefore avenged by the relatives of the victim without further ado.

Brazil.

621 the Incas, and is met with to-day in Russia and elsewhere.
476 The hunting and fishing is participated in by all the men at the same time, and the proceeds of the day's chase are lumped together, then divided proportionately to all the families of the village; and those who have had "no luck" share equally with those who have been successful. To-day, they all go hunting at the command of their chief; to-morrow, they fish in the same way; and the next day, they all work on the village plantation. But in every case, the combined results of their efforts are divided equally according to the mouths
622 to be filled. All the doings of the village are directed by the chief. He holds in trust all the property of the local horde, and is supported by the community. Consequently, it is his
[597] duty to adopt all the orphans of the village, including the sons of warriors who fall in battle. It is not necessary, however, that he should excel in military skill. There are other qualifications that are considered more essential and of far more practical every-day value to one who would succeed as a chief. He must have sufficient experience, energy and diplomatic skill to enable him to deal harmoniously and successfully with civilized men. Therefore, a man who did not originally belong to the tribe but was adopted into it from some other, may become chief if he should excel in these particulars. He lays out all the work, plans the hunting and fishing expeditions, indicates the camping places and selects the ground to be planted. When the forest covering the land to be tilled has been cut down, allowed to dry and then burned, he stakes out the plot for each family composing the
622 village. He has also a very important duty to perform as a
627 sort of justice of the peace, and in enforcing the tribal laws. If two men quarrel, he adjusts the difference; while his wife adjusts differences between the women. He must also bring all culprits to justice, though he is not allowed to execute the sentence of the law. Custom demands that this shall be done by the wronged person. Murder and personal injury is avenged immediately, and without much ceremony, by the relatives of the victim. When the chief is informed of a rob-

/44 cont./

59 so great, and there are, besides the linear families or nonnamed minimal lineages, some independent families (i.e., rather Ll, often Ss and In, instead of Ee; column 7), which agrees with the fact that, besides the customary matrilocal marriage, "neolocal" residence is found (Mn, instead of Mm; column 8) in the dry season on the one hand, and, on the other hand, as a possible
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[601] In reality, since the relatives are usually "brother" and "sister" with regard to each other, being male and female cousin, as we

/44 cont./
582 shall presently see, the difference does not have much explicative value. In the light of what has been said, it is therefore
[616] necessary to correct the categories set up by Murdock, taking
[615] into account the fact that his category "agamous (nonexogamous)
[114] moieties" should be completed by "agamous phratries" (thus: Pa or Na, La, Da; columns 10-12).

•601 The kinship system of the Carajá must now be set forth for the first time, albeit briefly. Murdock left the pertinent
[114] column completely blank. /45/ With regard to male and female cousins, the terminology is of the "Hawaii" type, that is to say, my own generation contains only brothers and sisters.
128 Before continuing, permit me to remind you that we have been able to speak of principles which govern kinship systems. In order not to fall into the trap of "verbalism" decried by Murdock, I hasten to add that it is not a question of causes, but rather of logical principles likely to operate in view of a given situation, whether these be circumstances pertaining to the environment, demography, or the fundamental type of social communication which is involved in each case. Now we could pair up these principles by forming contrasts in the manner of the linguists, contrasts whose terms exclude each other when it is a question of particular relations, but which can alternatively be combined into a whole system of kinship relations. Perhaps it would be preferable to formulate only opposite contrasts, but for the moment I will be satisfied, except in the first case, with contrasts which are clearly contradictory, and thus easier to handle, for that will suffice to attain our immediate goal of elucidating
601 the kinship system of the Carajá. There is contradiction between the classified unity of the generation and the unity of the line of filiation, there is contradiction between differentiation and nondifferentiation of the sexes, as well as of respective ages, between reciprocity and nonreciprocity of terms, finally between classificatory unity and nonunity of brothers and sisters — classificatory unity which, by the way, is not to be confused with the unity of the group of brothers and sisters classified together, nor with a denominative unity.

/45 cont./

601 With regard to the terminology of cousins, we are concerned here with the principle of the unity of the generation and that of the differentiation of the sexes, which remains true for the generation of the grandparents. Between brothers and sisters, to be more precise (and this is naturally valid for male and female cousins), there is only a partial differentiation of the sexes and of the respective ages, just as there is only a partial classificatory unity of the brothers and sisters (and, consequently, of male and female cousins). The terms used for the "parallel" uncles and aunts, on the other hand, are of mixed type according to the relative ages (relative to the parents), the designations for the eldest ones being derived from the terms "father" and "mother," those for the younger ones being from the same root as the words used for designating the grandparents, which, for that matter, is the case for the "cross" uncle and aunt, who, for their part, are not differentiated according to their respective ages. It is evident that there is a tendency to [587] reunite the generation of the parents and to bring it closer to the generation of the grandparents, with an exception being made for the parents themselves, as well as for the oldest brother of the father and for the oldest sister of the mother, for whom the terms are derived from those for the parents — here the levirate and the sororate certainly play their part, and the nuclear family is taken separately. In Murdock's classification it is thus a matter, so far as the uncles (and the aunts) are concerned, of a linear terminology and "bifurcate merging," respectively, and in both cases, derived (Hn and 1; column 13). It must be added that the classificatory unity of brothers and sisters comes into play.

The most striking example of this classificatory unity is shown in an exceptional type of designation for nephews and nieces. A brother and a sister use, it is true, without distinguishing the sex, two different words which we shall translate "nephew-niece," but what is more essential is that both of them conjointly call the children of their brother "son" and "daughter,"

/45 cont./

601 the children of their sister "nephew-niece" (without distinction as to sex). This only makes sense if one wishes to emphasize, along with the unity of the brothers and sisters, the unity of a patrilineal minimal lineage, the children of a sister then belong-
[613] ing to another small exogamic patrilineal group. Now, at present, there is no patrilineal lineage. This would allow us to
[611] suppose an historic change from a patrilineal preponderance to a matrilineal preponderance, a change which would be expressed today in double descent. The kinship system which most emphasizes the unity of patrilineal lineage /46/ (of the mother) is the "Omaha" system, which, moreover, one could imagine as structured according to the principle of the classificatory unity of brothers and sisters, which is never the case so far as I know, but which would push the logic of this system to the extreme (the same statement would be valid for the "Crow" system, which marks the unity of the matrilineal lineage, this time of the father).

551 Now, brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law (as well as
601 parents-in-law) are classified by "teknonymy," and since in the designation the reference "...of my child" seems to be customarily omitted, this is the same, for the husbands, as the way in which, in the "Omaha" system, the men designate their matrilateral male and female cross-cousins, and for the wives, as the manner of designation used by the women in the "Crow" system, when it is a matter of their patrilateral male and female cousins. I wonder whether there is not a connection between teknonymy in the broad sense and the types produced by linear or consecutive classification.

Teknonymy in the restricted sense, i.e., the terms "lord of so-and-so" and "source of so-and-so" used by a third person, is voluntarily chosen by the parents themselves. "Source of the grandchild" is the daughter-in-law, whereas the son-in-law is called "black-nephew" (the speech of the man being borrowed, this time, by his wife!). This would again be in accord with a historic state of patrilineal preponderance, if one does not

/46 cont./

551 wish to infer at the outset a marriage, formerly prescribed,
601 with the matrilateral female cross-cousin. One must remember,
[183] however, that the present state characterized by a great degree of freedom, in other words, by a degree of "information" or of greater entropy, is also found in the performance of ceremonies, such as in the narration of myths and legends, these expressions of the spiritual life of the Carajá which allow great freedom of variation around a principal theme stubbornly preserved. — Finally teknonymy guides the reciprocal terms of grandparents and grandchildren, so that the grandparents, designated according to their sex, reply by the same word, even if the grandchild is of the opposite sex.

561 Before finishing my article, I must quickly touch on the
554 last two columns of Murdock's attempt. The Carajá distinguish,
615 by speech and by ornaments, age grades. At the same time, an idea of stratification is outlined in the fact that political and religious roles are the heritage of only one of the three patrilineal groups with an endogamous tendency. It is tempting to think
[567] of the classes or castes of the Guaycurú /Guaicuru/, for example, and since there are reports which speak of temporary slaves, Murdock's information in this direction must be corrected (Ai, with a tendency towards Ci, instead of O; column 14). The
628 villages are politically autonomous, but the Carajá themselves
621 unite some villages in amphictyonies for the performance of
622 certain ceremonies. The hereditary succession of the chiefs
621 goes in the patrilineal line, a grandson being chosen as the candidate, or, if one is lacking, a granddaughter. Consequent-
[178] ly, there is a temporary matrilineal succession in the heart of the patrilineal group, for which there is reserved the role of the chief, who, incidentally, is on the way to complete disappearance (thus: Pp and m, for the Carajá themselves, Ap and m for the Javahé and Chambioá /Shambioa/; column 15).

121 You would not wish me to end on this melancholy note.
[178] I repeat: a people small in number and too little known, despite appearances, is in the process of losing at least its traditional aspect, which would have been fascinating for comparative sociology as well as for the history of the South American Indians.

/27/

577 The observation with which Im Thurn introduces his discussion of the social life of the Guiana tribes, "The Indian in his natural state, before he feels the influence of white man is of decidedly admirable morality" /cited in English/, is also true in its full extent for the Karaya. This natural morality, completely independent of religious beliefs, makes the existence of a primitive community such as theirs possible. It expresses itself in the [576] scrupulous observation of the commandments of external propriety (1), which does not escape even the casual visitor, but,

[514]

1. Of culture-historical interest and typical of the feeling of propriety of these savages is the manner of their defecation. It occurs as far as possible from the village. A hole is made in the sand. The individual sits on it with outstretched legs, hiding the upper body behind a small mat. The excrement is always carefully buried.

above all, in the exemplary conduct of family life. The 593 solidarity of the family group, which even Martius, rashly 602 generalizing from his observations among demoralized tribes, denied that the Americans possessed at all, has quite truly given this people the moral support which has prevented its decline up to now, despite a century of contact with civilization and, hopefully, will hold it off for a long time to come.

The Karaya family seems, according to its form to be a "mother family." The following facts speak in favor of this:

1. The married man does not eat with his family, but with that of his married sister. Accordingly, he is considered a member of his sister's family.

2. Likewise in the division of the hunting spoils he receives his share, not in his own house, but in that of his sister.

768 3. The children of a widower are cared for by his parents-589 in-law, while he himself re-enters the ranks of the bachelors.
606

/28 cont./

836 property and are offered to ships' crews, despite their usually
727 most horrible appearance. Unfortunately, one also sees children
used for the same purpose. Here is clearly shown the dualism in
836 the ethics of the savages, whose moral laws apply only to mem-
727 bers of their own tribe. This view, common to all primitive
577 peoples, cannot therefore change our judgment of the morality
[186] of the Karaya in general. When Castelnau doubts this, saying,
[114] "Ce fait (the stern punishment of a transgression against morals) est peu d'accord avec les offres qui étaient fait continuellement a nos gens /this fact is hardly in accord with the offers that were continually made to our men/" (Hist. du voyage, I, p. 446), he overlooks the fact that these "offres" concerned not their own, but foreign women.

855 In spite of the lack of external signs of tenderness, which are absent among all Indians, the treatment of the children is very loving throughout.

854 The smaller ones are continually carried about by the mothers and tended with tireless care, hung with ornaments and
853 painted, etc. They are suckled for an extraordinarily long time.

857 Older children are left entirely to themselves, but in spite of this demonstrate a natural decency and a modesty of behavior that the highly educated offspring of civilized men only all too
858 often lack. It would be unthinkable among the Karaya that children be traded to the settlers, as unfortunately still frequently occurs in other regions of Brazil, especially on the Amazon. Upon the founding of the Collegio Izabel at Leopoldina, whose purpose was to train young Indians and settle them later as colonists, efforts to obtain Karaya children for it were in vain. Since they once allowed themselves to be misled years ago, and some were lured away and abducted by force, all the young people as a rule take flight at the approach of a boat and only with great difficulty are persuaded to return.

764 The fact that the animal decorations put on the grave poles
532 (cf. p. 63) are marks of the family concerned or of a wider kin
602 grouping indicates the existence of totemism, or clan formation. To be sure, nothing more precise is known about this, but the family system discovered among the Arawak by Im Thurn (1) may also hold for the relationship prevailing among the Karaya.

1. Im Thurn, op. cit., p. 175.

/224 cont./

*301 [304] [602] b) Ear ornaments. The hole serving to receive the ornament is made in the ear lobe, close to the inner edge; it is pierced soon after birth by the mother or a relative (uncle) with a monkey bone or tucum splinter.

Ornaments which differ according to age levels are worn in this hole by both sexes; they are not constantly worn, however, but are put on only occasionally, according to mood.

Children of both sexes, above all the smallest ones, wear the ear ornament called kuädjŭ (= capybara tooth). A tulip of [237] colorful parrot feathers is fastened to a short, thin palm-wood stem with wax and a wrapping of cotton thread, and in its calyx-bottom there is a mother-of-pearl disk, generally 2.2 centimeters in diameter. From the center of this there rises a rodent tooth (capybara = kū(w)ă; according to Ehrenreich, agouti), which is usually wound round with a black cotton thread (Ill. 63).

The specimens that I brought back show certain differences. The tulip usually consists of yellow-red parrot feathers; the disk is sometimes also surrounded by an inner wreath of small, clipped red feathers. The mother-of-pearl disk sometimes bears one or more concentric wax rings. One specimen has a wax disk in place of the mother-of-pearl disk, and in the case of five others the disk is lacking entirely; the tooth rises directly out of the calyx and in one specimen is wound on its lower part with raw white cotton. Four specimens of the collection have small pendant feathers which hang down from the stick on thin string (1).

1. Ehrenreich, in addition to similar specimens, brought back another on which the disk bears a cross of black string. Perhaps it comes from the Šambioá; see the next footnote /see p. 118 /.

This ornament was worn mostly by babies and children from two to three years old, and, to be sure, constantly; among bigger children it was encountered only sporadically (Pl. 18, [435] left). It is a very precious ornament. The capybara is difficult to hunt because of its timid nature, hence the rodent teeth are

/226 cont./

*301 In the case of the ankle bands the upper edge, in the case of the calf bands the lower edge, is somewhat wider than the other one. The small circumference of the calf and ankle bands is noteworthy. In the case of a 16-year-old girl the circumference of the calf band is 24 centimeters, that of the ankle band, 17 centimeters; in the case of a young man, that of the calf band, 29 centimeters.

*301 286 Both bands are crocheted by women directly onto the leg of the wearer. The person concerned lies on a mat on the ground, the head put on /227/ a bundle; a rolled-up net covering is pushed under his knees. A woman related to him crochets the [602] bands out of white cotton thread on each leg; only after they are finished are they colored red.

The bands are put on soon after birth. If they become too tight, they are cut and replaced by new ones. In the meantime people often walk around without the bands. To cut them off, they insert a small stick between the band and the leg, so as not to injure themselves with the knife, which, because of the strong, firm netting, must be pressed quite hard to cut through it.

Boys remove their ankle bands at an early age; girls wear them constantly until marriage, when the two sexes cut off each other's calf and ankle bands. Widowed persons put the calf bands on again.

*301 [554] [622] [824] Ornamentation as a sign of rank scarcely exists; at any rate I did not see anything of the sort. Kuriš̌ĭ, however, said that chiefs' wives wear a necklace of chains made of Thevetia fruits (mālǎnĭ). The chains are arranged vertically on two threads, which are tied at the back of the neck, in such a way that the chains increase in length in front and extend down the body to the navel.

C. Other Ornamentation.

All the other ornaments are limited to unmarried persons (children and young people) and are worn only occasionally.

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

rests on top of the ground. Beneath the corpse, which swings 764
eight or ten inches above the bottom of the grave, is placed a clay pan filled with food for the shade of the departed. Next, a number of poles are placed beside the first one supporting the body so that they cover completely the mouth of the grave; and over these, in turn, is placed a palm-leaf mat, upon which is heaped about ten inches of earth. The grave is further marked and decorated by setting up at the head and foot two stakes some three feet high, each terminating in a fork at the upper end, and embellished with a tassel of feathers, besides other adornments. These decorations are for the purpose of frightening away trespassing demons or ghosts. At the center of each post is a ring on which is carved the [602]
insignia or emblem of the family of the deceased, which, for example, may be a lizard. A strong cord is stretched between the stakes resting in the forked tops, over which, with the outer edges touching the ground, are placed two palm-leaf mats to form a miniature hut over the grave. This is intended as the domicile of the deceased. Calabash shell ves- [775]
sels containing food and drink for the soul, are placed upon the grave inside this mortuary hut, for the disconsolate shade is believed to linger near its discarded body for a time. Later, 765
if the surviving relatives demand it, the bones are exhumed and deposited in a large clay urn, which is either sunk into the ground near the grave, or allowed to stand upon the surface of the ground.

The memory of the departed is cherished. Even long after the death of an individual, the surviving relatives give expression to their grief by loud and stormy outbreaks of feeling when any occurrence revives the memory of him. The occasion may be the arrival at the village of some one who was a near relative or an intimate friend of the departed, whose appearance recalls the memory of him; or it may be the revealing of some memento of the deceased. Dr. Ehrenreich says that when he was looking through the baskets in one of the huts for curios, he brought to light some memorials of deceased parents or children. Instantly, the women in the hut—

/327 cont./

844 washed once more and again rubbed. After this it is wrapped
845 in a small net covering. Deformed children (blind ones, too)
[847] are drowned in the river by the mother; this is not regarded as wrong. Only well-formed children are raised, even when they are all girls. Nothing could be learned about the treatment of twins;
163 such a case had "not yet occurred." The families, on the average, have two to four /328/ children; five are already regarded as many. There are said to be even more children in one family,
862 however. The child is nursed for several years, and even children five or six years old still run to their mother in order to appease their hunger.

553 Children are given their names at birth by the grandparents
[603] on the paternal and maternal side. They keep these names all
[551] through life. Many Karajá bore Christian names, which were
[797] given them by the Brazilian boatmen; there are said to be only
551 one or two actually baptized Karajá in São José. I obtained quite a number of given names for persons of both sexes; unfortunately, translations of them could not be obtained. It is only in the following names that familiar syllables may be separated out: mãŭzĭ = addition to pottery clay (see above, p. 209); kūlĭ = tapir; ănănlŏã = cat; ănlŭãzĭ = jaguar-zi (zi = egg; possibly misheard for ti = bone). For the rest of the names, see the word list /untranslated; see the foreign text, pp. 454-455/.

852 Soon after birth the children have their ear lobes pierced for the insertion of the ear tulips (kũãdjŭ), which are later replaced by the ear rods; it is only later that the lip-hole is pierced for the boys. Both procedures take place without any further ceremony.

291 The boys run about naked; girls wear a black string-belt.
561 It is only at the age of 9-12 that the boys tie the penis up and the girls hang the bast apron over the belt. From then on the boys
301 live with the young men. As insignia the children wear arm cuffs, calf and ankle bands, the latter of which are already removed by the boys at the age of six to eight years.

1:Lipkind E-5 (1937) 1948 SP9 Caraja SP9

441 **Weapons.**—The *Carajá* use bows and arrows (pls. 20, *bottom, left;* 21, *left* and *center*), and their mythology indicates aboriginal use of the spear thrower for hunting monkeys. Recently, they have used a spear thrower of the upper Xingú River type for sport.

323 **Pottery.**—Pottery vessels include several forms of plain ware (fig. 20).

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

611 The kinship structure may be described as double descent. Both lines are important, the greater emphasis falling on the mother's line, and both lines serve different functions. Village citizenship, adoption, and the closest affectional ties are reckoned in the mother's line. Moiety membership and the offices of chief, priest, and food-divider are patrilineally inherited.

621 622 The fundamental unit of social organization is the village. Every village has one or more ioló, children of chiefly line, designated by the chief for preferential treatment by the members of the village. The chief names the ioló who is to succeed him or, if he fails to do so, the village makes the choice at his death. Girls of chiefly line are similarly chosen for preferential treatment; each of them is known as the "hidden woman." There is some indication that women functioned as chiefs in former times, but today there is no woman chief. The chief has no coercive powers but directs the village by recognizing the will of the majority in such matters as the selection of camp and garden sites and the announcement of a move at change of season. His principal function is to act as peacemaker, and people readily submit to his adjudication. Because of the importance of religious ceremonials, the priest and the shaman frequently exercise more authority than the chief. When all three offices are vested in a single individual, his authority may be considerable, but it is kept in check by the right of a discontented person to move at any time to another village.

59 Within the village the important unit is the household. Residence being matrilocal, a household consists of sisters, their husbands, children, and the husbands of grown daughters. Marriage is restricted to one's own generation, the preferred mate being a cousin on the mother's side. There is no sanction but ridicule against wrong marriages, and there are many cases of cross-generational marriage. Marriage is predominantly monogamous, but a few instances of polygyny and one of polyandry were encountered. The avunculate is very important and involves many social and especially ceremonial duties. Cooperation in the household is close and in the village fairly close. In addition, villages are grouped together in ceremonial units, generally consisting of three or four neighboring villages, which celebrate important feasts jointly. This ceremonial unit acts as an insurance group when a village's crop fails or its fish supplies grow scarce. Beyond this, the only intervillage ties

/27/

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/8 cont./

131 comprida and Cachoeira grande are in any case the work of their
172 ancestors. Since the first Araguaia travelers already mention these "inscriptions" as documents of great age, the Karaya must have lived in these regions at least since the sixteenth century (see pp. 91 ff.).

439 Within the Šambioa region, where the river is no longer
[167] navigable for ships, there are no Brazilian settlements at present. The savages are therefore completely dependent on the barter trade with the few larger rowboats passing by four to six times annually or the small vessels which maintain communication with São Vincente. They deliver mainly hammocks, field produce,
[648] and chickens to the travelers, but have otherwise kept their full
433 independence. Living under far better conditions of existence than the Karayahi, they stand, as far as agriculture is concerned, on a higher level than even the civilized river-dwellers.

648 They live in most bitter enmity with the Kayapo tribes of the left bank, the Kradahō /Cradaho/, Ušikrin, and others. Many
[727] abducted women and children of the latter are found in their villages. On the whole, however, they are well treated, the children even adopted into the tribe without further ado.

The relationship of the Šambioa to the settlers has not always been peaceful. Nevertheless, Castelnau was already able to substantiate that these Indians did not deserve the bad reputation which they had among the Goyans at the time. The main guilt for the misdeeds which occurred is in any case to be sought on the side of the foreigners.

● 609 Their behavior was decidedly hostile in the seventies when the notorious Chief Roco attacked travelers on several occasions and massacred them.

Today it is only the inhabitants of the second village who receive strangers with hostility. Women and children are taken to
[911] safety, the warriors stand threateningly on the shore, armed with bows, spears, and clubs, and hardly condescend to barter. In the other villages our reception left little to be desired, once the fleeing women were successfully persuaded to return.

/8 cont./

609 Nevertheless, caution must be used in dealing with the Šambioa. To be sure, they will hardly dare to attack well-manned and armed boats, but, in view of the great distance from the landing place to the villages, the traveler who unarmed -- only in this way is he admitted -- visits their huts can get into a very dangerous situation in case of a sudden quarrel.

The reception at the landing places usually makes a most picturesque scene. The naked brown forms stream by in groups, [301] many adventurously painted black and red, the face often daubed [302] with a thick layer of soot, some with a decorative feather diadem on their heads, others with hair hanging down in a long braid and decorated with bunches of arara feathers fluttering in the wind. All [411] are armed with long spears decorated with feathers, clubs, bows, and arrows. The discussion is held in dignified quiet, without wild shouting, the new arrivals first showing the savages their firearms, and expressly any breechloaders /9/ or revolvers, which never fail to make a deep impression. The chief asserts time after time: Karaya amigo tori, ahi mentira não tem! The Karaya is a friend of the White (tori), here there are no lies! And the bartering begins immediately (Pl. IV /see p. 106/, 2).

Once one has won their confidence, the dealings become quite unconstrained, especially with the men and boys. The small children, and especially the young girls, are very shy and usually crawl into a corner of their hut, nervously covering their faces with their hands. A stranger is never troubled by beggars. Thefts, too, are exceedingly rare.

Language.

126 A rather extensive vocabulary, as well as a number of short sentences, was written down, from which, however, little of the grammatical structure of this idiom is evident. The extremely 194 unclear diction of the people, who hardly make any perceptible 126 movement of their lips, their inability to repeat exactly what was said, and finally the swallowing of the final syllables, favored by the abundance of vowels and lingual sounds, make linguistic reception uncommonly difficult.

4: Ehrenreich--106 E-5 (1888) 1891 SP9 Caraja SP9

Plate IV

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342
361

[574
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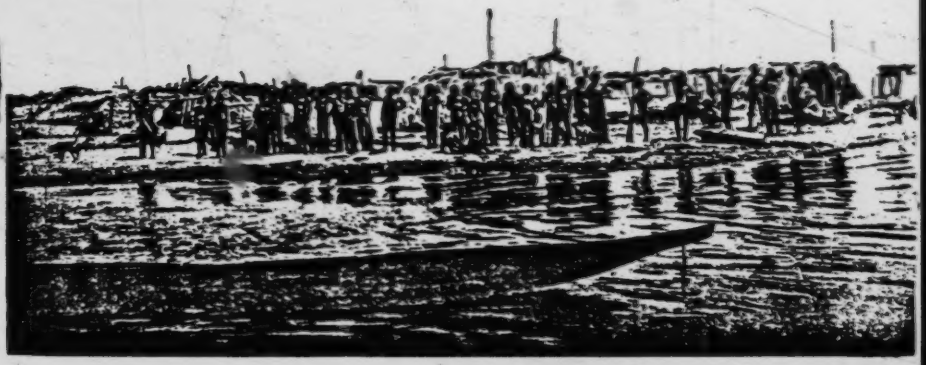
501]



/200 cont./

514 water about 5/4 meters deep with their knees slightly bent and there untie the long penis string and tie it on again.

342 The houses are merely living and sleeping houses; cooking
[252] is done outside.

The chiefs in part have better built, larger houses; thus,
[602] /Plate 41 appears here/ /201/ the one belonging to Chief João III was three to four meters high, five to six meters wide, and equally long (Pl. 39).

[344] There are no meeting houses; in order to bring about a de-
[203] cision or announce regulations, the chief goes to the individual
[602] houses.

Other special houses are:

343 1. Birth houses. These are erected for the woman when birth
844 is imminent; their construction is said to be identical with that of the other houses.

346 2. The mask house in which the dance masks are kept. It always stands apart from the village and in its method of construction is a dry-season house with a round structure on the narrow side turned toward the village. The arches are usually slightly curved and strengthened on top by a ridge beam (Pl. 12, Ill. 3). The mask houses serve as bachelor houses; the young people are said to sleep here. I saw only four mask huts, but cannot confirm
513 these statements from my observations. In any case, the young people do not sleep in the houses, but rather, if there is no mask house,
[609] by a fire which is away from the village. Strangers are given shelter by the chief; they sleep in his house, even though they are unmarried (see the reception which I, with my men, found among the Šavajé /pp. 129 ff. in the first part of the work, which is omitted in the translation/).

342 The house belongs to the woman. The man builds it before
423 the marriage, with the assistance of the young people, who are
562 paid for it by the woman with chains of beads. The construction
768 takes one or two days. After death the house is said to be burned.

821 According to the accounts of the Indians, the houses are protected from bolts of lightning by a fish spine stuck on the roof on a pole about half a meter long. Probably only magic is involved here.

[Text continues on p. 84]

./213 cont./

386
[438]
[415]

Ill. 40.a, b.
Urucú oil-color in trade packaging.

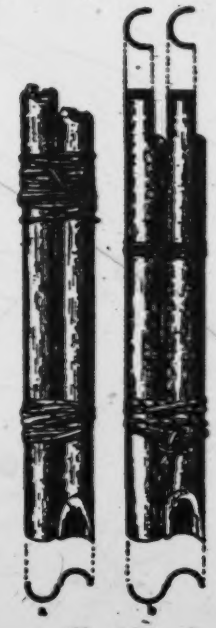
Ill. 41.a, b.
Color bowls.

302 a serpentine line (būltĭ; according to Kurĭsĭ,
413 however, naũĕkĭĕlāzĭ = ostrich crown-tuft). These stamps are usually only one-sided (Ill. 42a); only once did I come across a two-sided stamp, which at one end bore the serpentine line, at the other two semi-circles, one above the other (Ill. 42b). The boy in Ill. 2 on Plate 38 is painted with the serpentine-line stamp.

302 In the painting we distinguish between full painting and patterning.

[291] The full painting "is their suit of clothes" (Kurĭsĭ's statement); "it protects them from mosquitoes just as their suit does for the Christians" (Mauzĭ's statement).

The patterning, on the other hand, is executed only for special occasions. It is a kind of festive ornamentation. For
[609] receiving strangers, for example, the villagers paint themselves with red and black designs; the arriving strangers also paint themselves before they /214/ enter the village, even if they only draw a black eye-band from ear to ear with soot scraped from the charred campo trees.



Ill. 42 a, b.
Genipap stamps.

/243 cont./

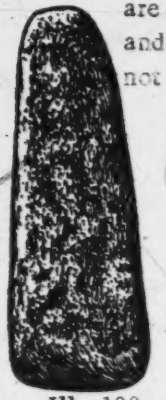
241 With the ripening of the foodstuff, the harvest begins. It is not gathered all at once, but rather every two or three days the foodstuffs required for this period are brought in. There are seldom larger supplies on hand in the village. This custom is a great [609] obstacle for a longer stay in the villages, for the Indians /244/ do not leave the villages during the stay of strangers (1), but use up

1. Fonseca already observed this custom in 1773. The Karajá had but little food, because the Chavante had plundered their plantings and the Karajá therefore did not dare go to their plantings. Nor did they dare go hunting or fishing in Fonseca's presence, nor set out for their plantings with Fonseca's soldiers for fear that he might enter their villages in their absence, which they had refused him up to that time. Rev. trim. 8, p. 385.

their supplies, so that after two days there is nothing more on hand, and the stranger must either donate food or go along to the planting or else depart.

241 285 482 [962] Harvesting is generally done by the women. The harvest is packed into large back-baskets (běhūlě), which are plaited out of two palm fronds in such a way that the ribs form the two longitudinal poles, and the same sides of the fronds, firmly plaited together, form the bottom, while the other sides, plaited by themselves, make the lattice-like edge (Plate 57, Ill. 1; the back-basket is 116 centimeters long, 34 centimeters wide, and 17 centimeters high). Sometimes the lower edge of the back-baskets is likewise firmly plaited (Plate 57, Ill. 2). The back-basket is worn on two shoulder bands and a forehead band of strong bast. It projects very high above the head, and under the heavy burden people walk with the upper part of the body bent far forward and the knees bent, usually leaning on a staff (Plate 15, Ill. 3). The contents are secured with wide bast bands which are laced across the load from edge to edge.

/257 cont./ Much is eaten, but The People do not become fat. While eating, they squat around the pot and spoon 264 out their mush. I could not see that they ate turned away from [261] one another, as Ehrenreich and Königswald state, but the women [609] are usually ashamed to eat in the presence of strangers; and the Indians whom I had with me as companions did not eat my cooking when they came to a strange village 412



Ill. 100.
Flat ax.

Ill. 101.
Short flat-ax.

Ill. 102.
Stone ax with shaft groove.

with me, but went hungry the whole time, if in the village they 264 did not have relatives who gave them something to eat. And they did not work during the stay in the village. They were ashamed, as they expressed it.

E. Beverages.

In drinking, the Indian is, understandably, very moderate; 272 [271] water serves as the ordinary beverage. Yet they also know how to prepare other drinks, which, however, are usually not intoxicating.

Buriti fruits (ãdehõ) are pounded and mixed with water; the [824] liquid is allowed to settle, the clear liquid is ladled into a tall pot, boiled, allowed to cool, and then drunk. The liquid is said to be dark red and very sweet, but not intoxicating. On festive days large quantities of it are said to be consumed.

Pikí fruits are boiled, crushed, and, stirred with water, put [824] into a pot. The liquid is left standing overnight and is drunk cold the next morning. The pits are dried and eaten later. [262]

/322 cont./

622 the honor remains with her; /323/ it does not pass on to her husband. If the chief has no descendants, the village remains without a head; the only thing to be done then is to train a boy from infancy on for this office. Then the men of the village deliberate, choose a child, go to its mother and ask her whether she will permit her child to become chief. If she gives her consent, the boy is trained for his office, apparently by his father. Thus, for example, the chief of Village 7 had died long ago. His son's name was Cadete; he had three daughters and a son. The son died prematurely, the daughters did not wish to accept the rule; hence there was no chief in this village. "One would first have to be trained for this."

609 [627] Strangers are received and given hospitality by the chief. Good form demands that the stranger receive all kinds of gifts (coconuts, honey, batatas, pots, mats, etc.), in the expectation that he will give lavishly in return. In my camp near the villages I was never alone; rather, there was uninterruptedly, day and night, a watch of two or three youths, sometimes even several, present in the camp. At night they slept beside the fire. Apparently this precaution arose out of a mistrust of strangers. Now, however, the placing of the watch by the very Indians who still observe the old forms is regarded as an honor accorded the strangers, and the honor is particularly geat if the chief himself spends the night in the camp of the stranger.

421 Legal affairs. Personal property is already very highly developed. As such they regard: house and boat (both belonging to the woman), weapons, implements, ornaments, and articles of clothing. The food from the plantings is family property; large booty from hunting and fishing is distributed to the entire village. Even small children have their ornaments and toys as property. Only the specific owner decides whether to sell, if it is a child, its parents, usually the mother. Outsiders never interfere in the personal affairs of others.

685 Property violations seldom occur. As far as I was concerned, I observed an attempted theft only once. Thefts seem to extend essentially to produce from the plantings and apparently do not remain concealed for long.

/323 cont./

685 remain concealed for long. The injured person complains to the
627 chief; he sends him to the thief with the instruction to demand compensation from him. If the thief refuses, however, the injured one again complains to the chief and may, if the latter agrees, start a "fight" with the former, in other words, demand his rights by force.

687 Murders seem to occur, though seldom. The custom of
627 blood vengeance prevails: the relatives of the slain one pursue the murderer everywhere, even into other villages, until they have slain him.

689 Social life. Objectionable elements (boasters, gossipers, quarrelsome persons) are on occasion flogged. Thus, my camarada Pedro II in Village 17 is said to get a beating almost weekly on account of his incredible boasting.

/324/ Malicious elements who, with their quarreling, never leave the village in peace are finally, as Kurišť reported, killed by the others at the command of the chief; their relatives then have no right to take blood vengeance.

565 There are no class distinctions. Women and children captured in war serve as slaves of sorts. On the other hand, there are differences in wealth; there are rich and poor people. "The rich man has everything, axes, knives, pots; the poor one has nothing. He goes to the rich one and says: Give me a pot, an ax. The rich man must give it to him." (Kurišť.)

[622] The chiefs in particular are regarded as rich, and they, indeed, must share their surplus of goods with the poor. Ilk in Village 13 and Crisote in Village 22 were regarded as especially
[184] rich. The Indians of the south horde are regarded as poor, and they are in comparison with the north horde, which, in turn, is to be designated as poor in relation to the Šavajé.

• 609 Forms of greeting. If someone comes into a strange village,
576 he remains, with bowed head, in the boat (sta sem vergonha, that is, without shame, as the Indians erroneously said, instead of com v., that is, full of shame) until the others come, greet him, and invite him to come along to the village. Only then do they go on land. This custom was observed in particular among the

/324 cont./

609 576 Indians who were in the service of whites. When I came into a village, my Indians sat motionless in the boat, with bowed heads and disconcerted faces, until the chief of the village had addressed them. During the entire time of my stay in the village they did not lift a hand, nor did they eat any of my cooking, but rather went hungry, if they did not have relatives in the village who provided for them. They were precisely sem vergonha.

576 Upon returning from the journey, they were received with tearful speeches by their female relatives and family (1). During

1. This way of greeting long unseen kin by female relatives is already mentioned by Fonseca in 1773 (Rev. trim. 8, p. 379).

this the two parties seldom look at each other; they often stand one behind the other. The laments are made in a whimpering tone. Suddenly, they stop and converse in an entirely friendly manner with the ones who have returned. Apparently the whole thing is merely ceremony, the exaggeration of which on the part of particular women evoked derisive smiles even among the other Indians.

14. Marriage, Birth, Education, Death.

114 Marriage. I did not witness an engagement or a marriage, so my statements about this are based merely on the accounts of the Indians.

582 The age at which marriage takes place was difficult to determine. Men apparently marry between 17 and 20 years, women sooner, at 14-16. The only obstacle to marriage is the immediate relationship between siblings; cousins, on the other hand, may marry each other. I did not encounter anywhere any suggestion of marriage prohibitions which might perhaps be based on totemism.

584 /325/ The suitor first tries to win over the mother and the other relatives of the girl. The decision rests with the girl herself, however. The mother gives the suitor the answer. According to Pedro, the father-in-law receives presents from the suitor's father,

Brazil.

136 They are as tall as a man, and, standing in line, their uniform black heads, white breasts and long, black legs, gave them a decidedly military appearance. The reflection in the water gave the illusion of a double line. I believe this is the largest bird that flies. It must have a long, clear space or it cannot rise. From standing humped up, like a goose on a cold day, it takes a few hesitating steps, then several determined strides, then breaks into a run, followed by a long series of big jumps and flapping of its huge wings, until, finally, it gets clear of the ground.

114 As we were borne along at night where the river was broad and deep and free of obstructions, all slept, or tried to sleep, excepting one or two watchers. My improvised bed in our large canoe was made of a large, square tin can, the side of a big tin wash-basin and the half of a gourd shell. My companions reclined on similar beds.

609 One obscure night, as we moved silently onward, like a giant phantom, we descried a light some distance ahead and heard Karayá shouting to us from a sand island. Fearing that they might not be friendly, and because of the darkness, our first thought was to pass on and not land where they [226] were. But a moment later, we discovered that they were a friendly fishing party; so we went ashore. As we drew [533] near to land, our Karayá pilot, Pedro Monco, sang one of their familiar tribal songs. It was of a joyful strain, though extremely peculiar, suggesting, somewhat, the running and bleating of a deer. tI is usually sung for the purpose of announcing to those on shore that visitors are arriving, that they are friendly, and that they are happy to meet their friends on land. Our trumpets were also sounded, and I played a hymn on the cornet. Our arrival appeared to give the fishing party much pleasure. The first thing they asked for was manioc meal and fish hooks. They were all in nature's dress, except the captain of the band, who wore a blanket. 262 Soon after we disembarked, which was past midnight, a [252] Karayá appeared with what resembled a skinned cat, and placed it over the fire to broil. "What is this?" I inquired.

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
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262

"Monkey."
"What are you going to do with him?"
"Eat him—me like him much." [224]
"How did you catch him?"
"Me shoot him with an arrow."

Continuing our voyage at dawn, we encountered before 609 noon another cluster of Karayá huts on a sand island. Before [361] we could get to shore, the natives ran out into the water [439] to meet us, and surrounding our canoes, eagerly offered us balls of black beeswax and pottery in trade for what they supposed we had. It was amusing to see a Karayá couple trying to make a trade with our only woman voyager for a man's gauze undershirt. I could not but think of how the poor savage would appear with only that shirt on. He wanted it, [291] he motioned, to shield himself from the cold at night, and from the flies by day.

We passed the next night at another group of huts on [361] the sand. These Karayá who were very cordial, were expecting us for the news of our approach had preceded us; so they gave us a royal welcome. The *mayor of the city*— [622] the chief of the local horde—appeared arrayed in a complete [292] suit of civilian's clothes, consisting of white linen trousers and vest, black coat and hat. These he wore merely as decorations, not as a covering, for these people consider themselves fully and properly dressed without any such apparel. It was a remarkable sight indeed to us to descry in the gloaming, as we approached the land, what appeared to be a well-dressed representative of advanced civilization entirely alone in a remote, howling wilderness, surrounded by nude and painted savages. He had obtained these garments somewhere from a trading boat. We were escorted in state to a large hut [526] where were assembled all the human inhabitants of the island; and after the reception, we witnessed the wrestling game of which the Karayá are very fond, which will be described fully in future pages.

The same night, as I was sleeping soundly in the open 123 air in my hammock, which was swung between two stakes

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
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set in the sand with a ridge pole bound to them to hold them in position, I was rudely awakened with, "Arise, Mr. William! It is raining!" Truly, it was raining. So I draped my tent over the ridge pole above the hammock, but having no pins, I could fasten it open only slightly by piling sand on the edges. Wishing to protect our canoe men from the weather, I remarked to one or two that they might lie down inside, under the hammock. My back was turned for a moment, and when I again looked in under my canvas, I found the place packed with Karayá, Cherentes, Africans and Brazilians. This mass of humanity so contaminated the air that I finally slept with my head partly outside. 123

The Karayá hovered about us in their canoes most of the time as we traveled. When possible, we avoided eating our meals at their encampments as we would have to share our food more or less with them, and our supply of rice and manioc meal was scarcely sufficient for our own requirements. Nevertheless a few of them usually contrived to appear among us while we were preparing our food. Late one afternoon as we disembarked for dinner, a cold, drizzling rain was falling and no Karayá were in sight. But, they soon began to appear in twos and threes, as if they had scented us miles away, until finally, a dozen or more were standing around eyeing our boiling pots with hungry looks. The next object that attracted their curious attention after contemplating our dinner, was the young Karayá that had joined us as a paddler at São José. He took very kindly to the shirt and trousers given him, though he would slip out of them most unceremoniously when he wished to drop into the water to secure an oar, for example, that had fallen overboard. At length, he was given a military overcoat with a hood, which he wore when there was rain. Therefore on the occasion just mentioned, he stood near the fire as the twilight deepened, wearing the coat fully buttoned and having the hood drawn over his head, partly obscuring his face. The arriving Karayá seemed at a loss, at first, to determine just what *it* really was, except that a suspicious pair of brown feet and ankles pro- 609

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
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truded below the coat. They eyed it carefully from head to foot, riveting their gaze for a moment on the feet, then slyly opened the hood a little to peer in; and when they saw the physiognomy of their savage brother with nearly all the paint wore off, grinning at them from away back in the dark, they were highly amused. 609

A Karayá village we visited near the mouth of the Rio das Mortes—River of the Deaths—is so remote and out of touch with civilization that the inhabitants understand scarcely anything of the Brazilian language. Nor are they cordial to strangers, regarding them, instead, with suspicion, for the reason that they are subject to attacks by the Chavante Indians who live up the Rio das Mortes. While we were calling here, one of the women sought to obtain a shirt from me for her young son. To make me understand what she wanted, she used the sign language, imitating one's movements when a mosquito bites one on the shoulder and he crushes it, the drawing on of a shirt, and the feeling of contentment that "mosquito no bite more." 36 [191] 609 [721] 123 [291] [201]

My umbrella aroused the curiosity of the savages wherever we went. Knowing that it opened somehow, one of them took it once and stood it point downward, apparently expecting it to open. As it did not do so, he passed it to me to show him and his companions how it worked. As I opened it suddenly and it spread its wings, like some old, black goblin about to fly on an evil errand, the women uttered a low scream of fear and surprise. They often felt of my linen coat and trousers, and my shirt, then made signs to me that these articles were very good to protect one from the flies and mosquitoes. They evidently thought that this was my only reason for wearing clothes. They also fingered my hat and boots, and pulled my mustache to ascertain if it were real, or false, and gazed at me as I wrote my journals for writing was a mystery to them. To many of them I was a freak well worth going a long way to see.

The Christmas season occurred while we were in the savage world of the Araguaya. What an extraordinary Christ- 600

123 about us, fully armed, maintaining silence and appearing bellicose. At length, the entire band drew off about fifty yards, then began to discharge volleys of blood-curdling yells, such as only wild men or maniacs can utter. Though we had [526] heard these yells before, we did not know if it was "the shout of war," or only a challenge to the wrestling game. Greatly to our relief, it was the latter. We now knew that we were in no immediate danger; though we had felt that as they had not attacked us at first, they would now be loathe to do so openly. After the wrestling game, the savages gradually became friendly to us, and began, at last, to retire to their huts in twos and threes until only a few were near us. The hour was now three A. M., so wrapping my blanket about me, I stretched myself on the sand to sleep a little, though we could not feel sure that we would not be attacked for the sake of our baggage. A party of six Brazilians who were [609] descending the Araguaya some months previous to the time of our trip, were clubbed to death near this place for their baggage.

This was a night of experiences that we shall not soon forget. When we were first surrounded, one of our party, especially, acted very imprudently, though with good intentions: He blew a bugle endeavoring to call to our aid the other canoes which were really far distant from us. This calling for help could accomplish nothing, and but served to excite greater suspicion in the minds of the savages and precipitate an attack. I think I was as much frightened as any one, yet I saw that to retain self-command was far the wisest course to pursue.

513 The sleep of these children of Nature is more like that of 72 the other wild creatures of the woods than of human beings. The night is much the same as the day to them. They are up and down during the night, just as during the day, ever vigilant, and living in constant expectancy of the sudden appearance of an enemy. It is almost impossible to approach their encampment without their knowledge, though one move never so stealthily.

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
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not afflicted. Therefore, they have hidden their villages far away from the slimy trail of the only "civilization" they know, and do not wish to reveal their location. But they, too, well know the great superiority of steel implements over their stone utensils, so desire to obtain them, which they do indirectly through the Karayáhy. They are not unwise in their generation. They do not desire to receive, in its entirety, the "civilization" available to them, for it has been demonstrated to them that its evils outweigh its blessings. Therefore they try to catspaw civilization's good things and leave its evil things. What a pity it is that a civilization, which is the best fruit of the Gospel of Christ, should not have reached the Karayá! 177 186

The Sambiõa live in much larger, cleaner, and more orderly villages than the Karayáhy, and are better fed. They also build better huts than the Karayáhy, and arrange them in regular streets. They have four large villages, located between Pau de Arco and the falls of S. Miguel. They trade hammocks, vegetables, fruits, fowls, and other produce for such articles made by civilized men as they desire. As regards agriculture, they are but little behind the semi-barbarous Brazilians of the far interior. They have many slaves, which are women and children stolen from other tribes with whom they were at war. 511 184 361 439 241 727

Only the inhabitants of the second Samblõa village are hostile to strangers. When such appear at their port, the women and children are sent to a safe place, while the warriors, fully armed, assemble at the water's edge and assume a threatening attitude. It is necessary to be cautious in approaching them, though they dare not attack a large canoe full of men armed with repeating rifles. They greatly fear these weapons, believing that the rifleman can continue to fire indefinitely without reloading. The villages are always situated distant from the landing-place, and though they will allow the traveler to visit them, he must be on his guard. 609 [361]

The reception at the landing is interesting and exciting. The naked, bronze-bodied men are assembled in force. Many

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca.1900) 1909
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609 of them are painted black and red, and have their faces daubed
[302] with a thick layer of black soot; others wear upon their heads
[301] crowns made of beautiful feathers; while others again, have
[237] their hair braided and decorated with the brilliant crimson
[411] and gold feathers of the macaw. All are armed with spears beautifully decorated with feathers, and with bows and arrows and heavy killing clubs. They present quite a military spectacle.

Disembarking, the first thing the visitors do is to show the savages their arms, especially the repeating rifles, which fill them with awe. The chief now hastens to declare that he and his people are friends of the white man, saying: "The Karayá is the friend of the white man; there is no lie with us," repeating this twice. Confidence established, some trading may be done without difficulty. Small children, and particularly, young girls, are very shy of the strangers, and usually creep into their huts and cover their faces with their hands. The visitor is never troubled by beggars, and rarely has anything stolen from him.

131 The Karayáhy division live along the main stream of the
162 Araguaya between São José and Santa Maria in twelve or
[648] fifteen villages or encampments, one of which, near Santa Maria, was completely wiped out in 1881 by the Kayapó
361 tribe. Their villages are not so clean as those of the Sambiõa, nor are the huts so well constructed.

191 Observing the speech of the Karayá, one can scarcely notice any movement of the lips; nor do they seem able to repeat exactly a sentence just uttered. They have many sounds which they produce with the tongue and swallow the
192 last syllable. Apparently, their speech is not related to any Brazilian aboriginal language. The most remarkable thing about it is that they have one dialect for the men and another for the women, though only a few words are entirely different, and with most of them there is but a slight, unimportant change.

142 Physically, the Karayá are one of the finest of the aboriginal races of Brazil. They are of medium size, slender and

611

611 RULE OF DESCENT--unilinear rules (e.g., matrilineal, patrilineal); ambilineal descent (i.e., in each successive generation descent is traced through either parent); bilateral descent (i.e., absence of unilinear emphasis); double descent (i.e., concurrent matrilineal and patrilineal descent); anomalous rules (e.g., sex-linked descent); special exceptions (e.g., ambil-anak or matrilineal descent for one generation in default of direct male heirs); degree of correspondence or divergence between the rule of descent and the recognition of kinship; evidences of former or recent transitions in the rule of descent; etc. See also:

Descent of children in marriages between persons of different castes or social classes . . 56
Rules of succession to authority in the family or household 59
Inheritance rules 428
Allocation of the children of divorced parents. . 586
Rules of residence. 891
Succession to chiefship in the community. . . . 822
Succession to executive positions in the state . . 63,643
Theory of paternity 842
Social placement of infants. 851

1:Lipkind E-5 (1937) 1948 SP9 Caraja SP9

411 **Weapons.**—The *Carajá* use bows and arrows (pls. 20, *bottom, left;* 21, *left* and *center*), and their mythology indicates aboriginal use of the spear thrower for hunting monkeys. Recently, they have used a spear thrower of the upper Xingú River type for sport.

[773] [774]

323 **Pottery.**—Pottery vessels include several forms of plain ware (fig. 20).

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

611 The kinship structure may be described as double descent. Both lines are important, the greater emphasis falling on the mother's line, and both lines serve different functions. Village citizenship, adoption, and the closest affectional ties are reckoned in the mother's line. Moiety membership and the offices of chief, priest, and food-divider are patrilineally inherited.

[428]

621 622 The fundamental unit of social organization is the village. Every village has one or more ioló, children of chiefly line, designated by the chief for preferential treatment by the members of the village. The chief names the ioló who is to succeed him or, if he fails to do so, the village makes the choice at his death. Girls of chiefly line are similarly chosen for preferential treatment; each of them is known as the "hidden woman." There is some indication that women functioned as chiefs in former times, but today there is no woman chief. The chief has no coercive powers but directs the village by recognizing the will of the majority in such matters as the selection of camp and garden sites and the announcement of a move at change of season. His principal function is to act as peacemaker, and people readily submit to his adjudication. Because of the importance of religious ceremonials, the priest and the shaman frequently exercise more authority than the chief. When all three offices are vested in a single individual, his authority may be considerable, but it is kept in check by the right of a discontented person to move at any time to another village.

[562] [177] [756] [793] [822]

59 Within the village the important unit is the household. Residence being matrilocal, a household consists of sisters, their husbands, children, and the husbands of grown daughters. Marriage is restricted to one's own generation, the preferred mate being a cousin on the mother's side. There is no sanction but ridicule against wrong marriages, and there are many cases of cross-generational marriage. Marriage is predominantly monogamous, but a few instances of polygyny and one of polyandry were encountered. The avunculate is very important and involves many social and especially ceremonial duties. Cooperation in the household is close and in the village fairly close. In addition, villages are grouped together in ceremonial units, generally consisting of three or four neighboring villages, which celebrate important feasts jointly. This ceremonial unit acts as an insurance group when a village's crop fails or its fish supplies grow scarce. Beyond this, the only intervillage ties

[591] [592] [582] [626] [595] [604] 78 628 [476]

/44 cont./

59 so great, and there are, besides the linear families or nonnamed minimal lineages, some independent families (i.e., rather Ll, often Ss and In, instead of Ee; column 7), which agrees with the fact that, besides the customary matrilocal marriage, "neolocal" residence is found (Mn, instead of Mm; column 8) in the dry season on the one hand, and, on the other hand, as a possible
595 nucleus of a new extended family. Polygyny is neither frequent
583 nor favored, whereas it is true that material considerations are absent on the occasion of marriage (thus Mo or To rather than Lo; column 9).

611 We shall now take up the most confused aspect of Carajá
[121] ethnography. The Handbook of South American Indians speaks
615 correctly of double descent. I have shown elsewhere that be-
[114] cause of some inattention in the editing of the famous manual, an incorrect idea of the real nature of this coexistence of patrilineal and matrilineal groupings has arisen. It is a matter, not of moieties, but of three large, named, patrilineal groups, which are primarily the men's affair, in their ceremonial and political life, but nevertheless are concerned with women in the sense of an endogamous tendency. Thus it is not a matter of true parallel descent, and, on the other hand, it is by no
[621] means a question of exogamy, and still less of moieties. At the most one may speak of nonexogamy or agamy as in the case of the villages, which are themselves matrilineal groupings on account of the matrilocal rule of the domestic group just men-
613 tioned. In a strict sense only the small extended family,
596 which can be described as a non-named, minimal, matrilineal
582 lineage, seems to be exogamous. Marriage is permitted with any cousin, parallel or cross, and the matrilateral preference reported by Lipkind (incidentally without any indication of whether it is a matter of parallel or cross cousins!) seems to be only the normative expression of matrilocal marriage, whereas the slight patrilateral preference ascertained by myself is equally in agreement with the rule of endogamy of the patrilineal groups.
[601] In reality, since the relatives are usually "brother" and "sister" with regard to each other, being male and female cousin, as we

/45 cont./

601 the children of their sister "nephew-niece" (without distinction as to sex). This only makes sense if one wishes to emphasize, along with the unity of the brothers and sisters, the unity of a patrilineal minimal lineage, the children of a sister then belong-
[613] ing to another small exogamic patrilineal group. Now, at present, there is no patrilineal lineage. This would allow us to
[611] suppose an historic change from a patrilineal preponderance to a matrilineal preponderance, a change which would be expressed today in double descent. The kinship system which most emphasizes the unity of patrilineal lineage /46/ (of the mother) is the "Omaha" system, which, moreover, one could imagine as structured according to the principle of the classificatory unity of brothers and sisters, which is never the case so far as I know, but which would push the logic of this system to the extreme (the same statement would be valid for the "Crow" system, which marks the unity of the matrilineal lineage, this time of the father).

551 Now, brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law (as well as
601 parents-in-law) are classified by "teknonymy," and since in the designation the reference "...of my child" seems to be customarily omitted, this is the same, for the husbands, as the way in which, in the "Omaha" system, the men designate their matrilateral male and female cross-cousins, and for the wives, as the manner of designation used by the women in the "Crow" system, when it is a matter of their patrilateral male and female cousins. I wonder whether there is not a connection between teknonymy in the broad sense and the types produced by linear or consecutive classification.

Teknonymy in the restricted sense, i.e., the terms "lord of so-and-so" and "source of so-and-so" used by a third person, is voluntarily chosen by the parents themselves. "Source of the grandchild" is the daughter-in-law, whereas the son-in-law is called "black-nephew" (the speech of the man being borrowed, this time, by his wife!). This would again be in accord with a historic state of patrilineal preponderance, if one does not

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/44 cont./

59 so great, and there are, besides the linear families or nonnamed minimal lineages, some independent families (i.e., rather Ll, often Ss and In, instead of Ee; column 7), which agrees with the fact that, besides the customary matrilocal marriage, "neolocal" residence is found (Mn, instead of Mm; column 8) in the dry season on the one hand, and, on the other hand, as a possible
595 nucleus of a new extended family. Polygyny is neither frequent
583 nor favored, whereas it is true that material considerations are absent on the occasion of marriage (thus Mo or To rather than Lo; column 9).

611 We shall now take up the most confused aspect of Carajá
[121] ethnography. The Handbook of South American Indians speaks
615 correctly of double descent. I have shown elsewhere that be-
[114] cause of some inattention in the editing of the famous manual, an incorrect idea of the real nature of this coexistence of patrilineal and matrilineal groupings has arisen. It is a matter, not of moieties, but of three large, named, patrilineal groups, which are primarily the men's affair, in their ceremonial and political life, but nevertheless are concerned with women in the sense of an endogamous tendency. Thus it is not a matter of true parallel descent, and, on the other hand, it is by no
[621] means a question of exogamy, and still less of moieties. At the most one may speak of nonexogamy or agamy as in the case of the villages, which are themselves matrilineal groupings on account of the matrilocal rule of the domestic group just men-
613 tioned. In a strict sense only the small extended family,
596 which can be described as a non-named, minimal, matrilineal
582 lineage, seems to be exogamous. Marriage is permitted with any cousin, parallel or cross, and the matrilateral preference reported by Lipkind (incidentally without any indication of whether it is a matter of parallel or cross cousins!) seems to be only the normative expression of matrilocal marriage, whereas the slight patrilateral preference ascertained by myself is equally in agreement with the rule of endogamy of the patrilineal groups.
[601] In reality, since the relatives are usually "brother" and "sister" with regard to each other, being male and female cousin, as we

/44 cont./
582 shall presently see, the difference does not have much explicative value. In the light of what has been said, it is therefore
[616] necessary to correct the categories set up by Murdock, taking
[615] into account the fact that his category "agamous (nonexogamous)
[114] moieties" should be completed by "agamous phratries" (thus: Pa or Na, La, Da; columns 10-12).

601 The kinship system of the Carajá must now be set forth for the first time, albeit briefly. Murdock left the pertinent
[114] column completely blank. /45/ With regard to male and female cousins, the terminology is of the "Hawaii" type, that is to say, my own generation contains only brothers and sisters.
128 Before continuing, permit me to remind you that we have been able to speak of principles which govern kinship systems. In order not to fall into the trap of "verbalism" decried by Murdock, I hasten to add that it is not a question of causes, but rather of logical principles likely to operate in view of a given situation, whether these be circumstances pertaining to the environment, demography, or the fundamental type of social communication which is involved in each case. Now we could pair up these principles by forming contrasts in the manner of the linguists, contrasts whose terms exclude each other when it is a question of particular relations, but which can alternatively be combined into a whole system of kinship relations. Perhaps it would be preferable to formulate only opposite contrasts, but for the moment I will be satisfied, except in the first case, with contrasts which are clearly contradictory, and thus easier to handle, for that will suffice to attain our immediate goal of elucidating
601 the kinship system of the Carajá. There is contradiction between the classified unity of the generation and the unity of the line of filiation, there is contradiction between differentiation and nondifferentiation of the sexes, as well as of respective ages, between reciprocity and nonreciprocity of terms, finally between classificatory unity and nonunity of brothers and sisters — classificatory unity which, by the way, is not to be confused with the unity of the group of brothers and sisters classified together, nor with a denominative unity.

/46 cont./

551 wish to infer at the outset a marriage, formerly prescribed,
601 with the matrilateral female cross-cousin. One must remember,
[183] however, that the present state characterized by a great degree of freedom, in other words, by a degree of "information" or of greater entropy, is also found in the performance of ceremonies, such as in the narration of myths and legends; these expressions of the spiritual life of the Carajá which allow great freedom of variation around a principal theme stubbornly preserved. — Finally teknonymy guides the reciprocal terms of grandparents and grandchildren, so that the grandparents, designated according to their sex, reply by the same word, even if the grandchild is of the opposite sex.

561 Before finishing my article, I must quickly touch on the
554 last two columns of Murdock's attempt. The Carajá distinguish,
●615 by speech and by ornaments, age grades. At the same time, an idea of stratification is outlined in the fact that political and religious roles are the heritage of only one of the three patrilineal groups with an endogamous tendency. It is tempting to think
[567] of the classes or castes of the Guaycurú /Guaicuru/, for example, and since there are reports which speak of temporary slaves, Murdock's information in this direction must be corrected (A_1, with a tendency towards Ci, instead of O; column 14). The
628 villages are politically autonomous, but the Carajá themselves
621 unite some villages in amphictyonies for the performance of
627 certain ceremonies. The hereditary succession of the chiefs
621 goes in the patrilineal line, a grandson being chosen as the candidate, or, if one is lacking, a granddaughter. Consequent-
[178] ly, there is a temporary matrilineal succession in the heart of the patrilineal group, for which there is reserved the role of the chief, who, incidentally, is on the way to complete disappearance (thus: Pp and m, for the Carajá themselves, Ap and m for the Javahé and Chambioá /Shambioa/; column 15).

121 You would not wish me to end on this melancholy note.
[178] I repeat: a people small in number and too little known, despite appearances, is in the process of losing at least its traditional aspect, which would have been fascinating for comparative sociology as well as for the history of the South American Indians.

/44 cont./

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1:Lipkind E-5 (1937) 1948 SP9 Caraja SP9

THE CARAJÁ[1]

By William Lipkind

TRIBAL DIVISIONS AND TERRITORY

The *Carajá* are a river people who since pre-Columbian times have held as the central portion of their territory the inland Island of Bananal, which is formed by the great fork of the Araguaya River (lat. 8°–17° S., long. 48°–52° W., map 1, *No. 1*; see Volume 1, map 7). They must be regarded as an independent linguistic family for the present; their language displays no convincing similarities to any other recorded South American language.

The term *"Carajá"* is used to designate the entire people as well as the largest of the three tribal divisions; the other two are the *Shambioá* and the *Javahé*. The *Carajá* proper have 20 villages on the western or main branch of the Araguaya River, widely spread from Leopoldina south of Bananal clear down to the end of the Island. The *Shambioá*, now nearly extinct, have only two villages left, a little way below Conceicão. The eight villages of the *Javahé* lie on the eastern or minor branch of the Araguaya River and on the small streams within Bananal. The general location and the relative sizes of the three groups have remained the same since the earliest times.

The native names give some notion of intergroup attitudes. All three groups regard themselves as a single people and use a name meaning "we" to distinguish themselves from other tribes. The *Carajá* proper are called the "great people" by the other two groups. The *Shambioá* are the "companion people." The *Javahé* are called by a name which is used generally to mean "Indian" and bears the pejorative connotation "backwoodsman" or "hick." There is a possible analysis which makes it the "old people" but, even if this etymology is correct, the word no longer has that meaning.

Dialectical differences are slight and other differences not very great, with the *Shambioá* occupying a middle position culturally between the other two groups. This account is based on field work with the *Carajá* proper and refers to the other groups only where they exhibit important differences.

[1] The present description of the *Carajá* is based on the author's field work during 1937, done under the auspices of the Department of Anthropology, Columbia University.

/10 cont./

302 The bristly or wavy black hair of both sexes is cut off straight above the eyebrows and hangs down in back over the neck. Dandies [301] wear a part about three centimeters wide up to the crown /Fig. 1 appears here/, let the short crown-hair stick up like a brush, and with cotton strings tie the part hanging down in back into a braid, at the roots of which the men sometimes tie a decoration of blue arara or black mutum /curassow/ feathers (ušiktamaru).

301 In the pierced ear-lobes both sexes wear sticks of cane 15-20 [304] centimeters long for everyday.

The plug in the lower lip (anʔōō) is used only by the men. It [824] consists of the light, flaky wood of the piuva tree and is either cut obliquely with a short point or runs out into a long, thin lamina hanging down on the chest (Fig. 2, b /see p. 18 /).

Boys primarily wear, instead of this, small T-shaped pieces of shell (idžã) (Fig. 2, d /see p. 18 /).

The most precious lip ornament, which is worn only on festive occasions, but otherwise is kept carefully wrapped in cotton, is a long, heavy, stone plug (manuterẽ) of hyaline or rose-colored quartz, the T-shaped end of which is stuck through the lower lip while the conical button hangs down (Fig. 2, a /see p. 18 /). Of the four specimens in the collection the largest is 17.5 centimeters long.

301 /11/ These lip stones, of which only a few have reached 439 European collections, are not made by the Karaya themselves, but are bartered from the Tapirapé, the Tupi people on the like- [135] named left tributary of the Araguaia. The mountain chains of the left riverbank, such as the Serra dos Cayapos, are rich in this material. A Kayapo stone plug acquired in S. Maria is shorter and runs out to a tapered, blunt end (Fig. 2, c /see p. 18 /).

304 Tattooing is limited to the tribal badge which both sexes ●619 wear on their cheeks: a blue ring 10-15 millimeters in diameter (auʔamanurẽ) just under the lower edge of the orbit.

515 On the whole the Karaya are distinguished by scrupulous care of the body. They bathe several times a day. Their hair is 302 always carefully combed. All the hair on the face and body is [412] plucked out. Shears are now commonly used for hair cutting, [231] whereas formerly piranha teeth were used for this.

/187 cont./

101 Their neighbors are therefore the following:

In the south, Kayapó and Bororo, the latter known to the Karajá only by name.

/188/ In the west on the Rio das Mortes, the Chavãte, in Karajá: klĭũzã (kĭlõzã, kũlĭzã); on the Rio Tapirapé, the Tapirapé, ũõhũ; from Santa Anna northward, the Kayapó, klãlãũ.

In the east, on the upper Tocantins, the Cherente, ĭnõlãtũ; on the south end of Bananal, the so-called Canoeiros, tĭãbẽzã; in the middle of Bananal, the Šavajé, šãwãjẽ, (ĭ)šã(n)dĭwãndũ.

In the north, the Šambioá: šãmbĭõã.

Of the tribes with whom they were unacquainted, the dõbãĭ were mentioned on the Rio das Mortes in the east the ĭšãwũndãhõ.

648 The Karajá live on a war footing with all these tribes, except for the related Šavajé and Šambioá; they show great fear [439] of all of them. They formerly carried on trade with the Tapirapé, but for five or six years the two tribes have avoided each other as a result of a feud which flared up between them because of the • 619 kidnapping of women by the Karajá. The Karajá show great respect even before the two tribes related to them. This is prob- [162] ably due to the fact that the Šavajé and Šambioá live in a few large villages, whereas the Karajá are scattered in many small settlements, and that they therefore, unaccustomed to great crowds of people, are afraid of the imposing number of armed men. Apparently, fear of other tribes is customary among the Indians generally.

162 The tribe of the Karajá is at present divided into two hordes:

361 The north horde lives from the northern end of Bananal

622 Island to the Rio das Mortes in the following 14 fixed villages (from north to south) (1): village of the chief Wãlãtã, Crĭõtẽ,

1. By fixed villages I mean those that are again established in their particular district after each rainy season with the move to the river sandbanks again.

/218 cont./

304 [619] The tribal tattooing, which is characteristic of both sexes, consists of two small blue-black circles about 1.2 centimeters in diameter on /Ills. 50-52 appear here/ the cheeks below the eyes (Pl. 14; 16). As the name for this there was given: ŏděmăḷūḷi, ŏděmăḷiḷŭ, ŏdemărĭnĭ. The tattooing is executed in the following manner: With a /219/ stamp (wālĭŏnă = tobacco pipe) made of aruera wood (kūwăŏ) the circular line is pressed into the cheek with a slight turn of the sharp, circular edge of the stamp (Ill. 52a), so that it remains visible for a long time (1).

1. Ehrenreich brought back a stamp made of the stem of a bottle gourd (teśiă, Berlin 3913).

Ill. 53.
Chief's tattooing. a) man. b) woman.

Any splinter of a smashed flint stone, which is newly made each time, serves as a knife. It is not further worked, but rather one simply selects a pointed, sharp splinter (Ill. 52b shows four such stone splinters smashed by the Indians and said to be suitable). With these stone knives (mănādjŭ = stone tooth), the circle is now cut out about two millimeters wide, the wound washed out with a wet cotton cloth, and then genipa juice is rubbed in, which soon takes on a blue-black coloring. Allegedly the wound is supposed to heal in two days without festering, but in the case of Mauzí, on whom the tattooing had been cut only recently, I noticed that the upper edges of the circle were slightly swollen. When the tattooing is still new, it is deep, has sharp edges, and has a very dark color. With age it forms a scar, gradually becomes entirely flat, and the color disappears. In a village of the north horde I also observed a man with red-colored tattooing.

[881] The tattooing is incised with the onset of puberty, namely, between the ages of 12 and 14. I occasionally, however, found

/344 cont./

191 general, they pronounce Brazilian words badly; they seldom succeed in pronouncing f correctly, usually they say p for it (pǎcõ for facão, žīprĕ for chifre, pǎrīnă for farinha, pǎsēr for facer).

126 For the list of words and texts recorded by me, along with the translations, see the appendix I and II /untranslated; see the foreign text, pp. 415-482/.

18. Myths.

193 Myths were told me by two persons: Chief Cadete Chico of
126 Schischá told me the creation myth; I obtained a second version
115 of this, as well as all the rest, from Kurišī. Usually he told them the most vividly and in the greatest detail the first time, and considerably more simply in repetitions. Some features had to be verified by much questioning, if they were overlooked in the first notation. When questioned, Kurišī said that he was telling the myths as his mother had told them to him. According to this, the myth seems to be handed down through the mother among the Karajá. To me it was surprising that he professed not to know any of the myths reported by Ehrenreich /345/ ("Beiträge," pp. 39-44), with the exception of the howling monkey myth. Apparently they were truly unfamiliar to him. This is all the more surprising since he is the grandson of Pedro Manco, Ehrenreich's informant, and thus should have known about the store of myths preserved in this family.

193 The Karajá regard the Furo das Pedras as their original home.
619 There the ancient Karajá lived under water. They regard the
[875] Šavajé and Šambioá as their tribal kinsmen. Animals are regarded as beings like human beings, so that transformations of human beings into animals and the reverse play an important role. They
[871] think of the stars as inhabited by creatures who temporarily came to the earth and there came into contact with human beings.

/353 cont./

166 Schischá, the deceased chief Pedro Manco, and Mother Joana from the migratory camp No. 9, people about 60-70 years old, are regarded as the children of the immigrant Šavajé. Recently, Šavajé again came from Bananal to Schischá; in October 1908 they lived in a separate house. These Šavajé, of course, entered into frequent alliances with the Karajá.

167 [101] A third branch is supposed to have separated from the Šavajé on Bananal, apparently in the previous generation. This horde crossed the Araguaya and moved toward the west; among the Karajá of the Araguaya they are regarded as lost. The separation took place in the region of the mouth of the Rio das Mortes or somewhat more to the south.

• 619 Before I enter into a discussion of the culture of the Šavajé, I should like to report very briefly what the Karajá told me about them: The Šavajé are their kinsmen; they speak the same lan-
628 [438] guage and have the same tribal tattooing. They live in peaceful relations with the Karajá, they intermarry; above all, there is an active trade in which the Karajá trade to the Šavajé stone tools, which the Šavajé lack, as well as iron goods, fabrics, and chains of beads in exchange for urucú, net coverings, araras, and
511 food. In clothing and ornamentation the Šavajé are supposed to be equal to the Karajá, but to have much more beautiful things. Among the Karajá, they are considered rich in ornaments and foodstuffs; hence, in times of hardship, the Karajá often migrate over to them. I found these statements to be generally true.

101 Phonetically the name of the people should be written Šavajé, in accordance with the pronunciation customary among the Karajá. The Karajá also call them: (ĭ)šãndjũ, (ĭ)šã(n)dĭwãndũ.
361 I cannot give their number, because I became acquainted with
[114] only a small village of five huts. In any case, besides three or
[161] four such small villages, there seems to be a very large village, similar to those of the Šambioá, so that the number may perhaps
[162] be given as 800-1000. The Šavajé living among the southern Karajá perhaps reach 50 in number.

Brazil.

Both sexes have a blue ring tattooed under the eye, forming a deep ugly scar, which is the special distinguishing mark of the tribe. 304 619

The Karayá take good care of the body, bathing many times each day—though this is more to cool and refresh themselves, and for sport—keep the hair well combed, and pull out the sparse beard. They formerly used the teeth of the piránha fish as a kind of saw with which to cut the hair, but they now have scissors. 515 302 412 237

As already stated, the men wear no clothing, or covering whatever. The sash, or apron, worn by the women, is made of the inner bark of the jangáda tree. It is prepared for use by first soaking it a day or two in water, then pounding it with flat stones, and finally drying it. When the wearer of this primitive apron sits, she passes it back between the limbs and sits upon it. Besides this costume, both sexes wear various armlets, wristlets and leglets, as ornaments, which are peculiar to each division of the tribe. Soon after birth, the child's wrists and legs below the knees, are adorned with broad bands made by weaving together cotton cordage on the limbs themselves; while a black cotton band girts the body as a bandage. When the infant is a few months old, these articles are removed, and broad cotton wristlets, leglets and anklets are woven on the limbs, a tassel of cotton cords being attached to the leglets. The boys wear the leglets, or garterlets, until the lip is pierced, while the girls wear them until married. The wristlets worn by adults, cover nearly the whole forearm. They are not put aside until after marriage, and many females wear them until the first child is born. When one of the couple dies, the survivor puts the wristlets on again. This custom has come down from the ancients. As the wristlets and leglets are usually woven on the limbs themselves, they cannot be removed without being cut off. For this reason, they are never removed, nor washed until finally thrown aside. But I found the Karayá quite ready to cut these articles off and give them to me in exchange for some articles I had which took their fancy.

291 [287] 301 [184] [283] [286] [437] [439]

1:Lipkind E-5 (1937) 1948 SP9 Caraja SP9

411 **Weapons.**—The *Carajá* use bows and arrows (pls. 20, *bottom, left;* 21, *left* and *center*), and their mythology indicates aboriginal use of the spear thrower for hunting monkeys. Recently, they have used a spear thrower of the upper Xingú River type for sport.

[773] [774]

323 **Pottery.**—Pottery vessels include several forms of plain ware (fig. 20).

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

611 The kinship structure may be described as double descent. Both lines are important, the greater emphasis falling on the mother's line, and both lines serve different functions. Village citizenship, adoption, and the closest affectional ties are reckoned in the mother's line. Moiety membership and the offices of chief, priest, and food-divider are patrilineally inherited.

[428]

621 622 The fundamental unit of social organization is the village. Every village has one or more ioló, children of chiefly line, designated by the chief for preferential treatment by the members of the village. The chief names the ioló who is to succeed him or, if he fails to do so, the village makes the choice at his death. Girls of chiefly line are similarly chosen for preferential treatment; each of them is known as the "hidden woman." There is some indication that women functioned as chiefs in former times, but today there is no woman chief. The chief has no coercive powers but directs the village by recognizing the will of the majority in such matters as the selection of camp and garden sites and the announcement of a move at change of season. His principal function is to act as peacemaker, and people readily submit to his adjudication. Because of the importance of religious ceremonials, the priest and the shaman frequently exercise more authority than the chief. When all three offices are vested in a single individual, his authority may be considerable, but it is kept in check by the right of a discontented person to move at any time to another village.

[562] [177] [756] [793] [682]

59 Within the village the important unit is the household. Residence being matrilocal, a household consists of sisters, their husbands, children, and the husbands of grown daughters. Marriage is restricted to one's own generation, the preferred mate being a cousin on the mother's side. There is no sanction but ridicule against wrong marriages, and there are many cases of cross-generational marriage. Marriage is predominantly monogamous, but a few instances of polygyny and one of polyandry were encountered. The avunculate is very important and involves many social and especially ceremonial duties. Cooperation in the household is close and in the village fairly close. In addition, villages are grouped together in ceremonial units, generally consisting of three or four neighboring villages, which celebrate important feasts jointly. This ceremonial unit acts as an insurance group when a village's crop fails or its fish supplies grow scarce. Beyond this, the only intervillage ties

[591] [592] [582] [626] [595] [604] 78 628 [476]

/43 cont./

241 is not lacking; true domesticated animals are absent. Planting
433 is important as a source of subsistence, but fishing and turtle
462 hunting stand higher in masculine preference as well as being a basis of life. Not only are the men charged with fishing and hunting — less important owing to the scarcity of game — but activity in the gardens is also primarily the business of the men, since the women are satisfied to help as they please, which is undeniably rare among the Amazonian Indians.

433 Up to here we are in perfect agreement with the cate-
462 gories chosen by Murdock (Ro, Im, Oo, Dm; columns 1-4). However, in column 5 we find the /44/ first gap. The division of labor assigns gathering to the female sex, except for the harvesting of wild honey, which is considered more as hunting and belongs among the men's tasks. So the Carajá could, after all, be put in the category of "standard division of labor by sex" (thus Ia; column 5).

114 Real difficulties arise when we take into consideration what is properly called social organization. Categorial decisions
361 are not so easy to make there. It is true that our Indians live
[321] in compact villages, especially during the rainy seasons. During the rest of the year the Carajá proper like to disperse on the beaches, forming smaller local units, which, nevertheless, are always lined up along the river, the houses of the men (if there are any in the encampments) remaining at the rear, as if the periphery of a circle had been opened and rolled back in a straight line, leaving the center — the houses of the men — at
361 the side of the line. Since the large villages of the rainy season,
62 which are all like this and bear a name, are in reality agamous
[114] and without clans, but display a certain tendency toward endogamy, the category assigned by Murdock — compact village observing agamy — (Va; column 6), if it is not definitely wrong, is nevertheless to be taken cum grano salis (tendency toward Sd).

59 As for the family structure, it is normally of the extended type, at least during the rainy season, but the extension is not

/44 cont./

59 so great, and there are, besides the linear families or nonnamed minimal lineages, some independent families (i.e., rather Ll, often Ss and In, instead of Ee; column 7), which agrees with the fact that, besides the customary matrilocal marriage, "neolocal" residence is found (Mn, instead of Mm; column 8) in the dry season on the one hand, and, on the other hand, as a possible
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621 goes in the patrilineal line, a grandson being chosen as the candidate, or, if one is lacking, a granddaughter. Consequent-
[178] ly, there is a temporary matrilineal succession in the heart of the patrilineal group, for which there is reserved the role of the chief, who, incidentally, is on the way to complete disappearance (thus: Pp and m, for the Carajá themselves, Ap and m for the Javahé and Chambioá /Shambioa/; column 15).

121 You would not wish me to end on this melancholy note.
[178] I repeat: a people small in number and too little known, despite appearances, is in the process of losing at least its traditional aspect, which would have been fascinating for comparative sociology as well as for the history of the South American Indians.

/12 cont./

286 They most probably owe their mat to the civilized Brazilians.
177 Insofar as the latter use hammocks at all, they make them out of
cotton. Now Pinto da Fonseca says (op. cit., p. 387) that the
[283] Karaya used cotton only for making fish nets and bow strings, but
were unacquainted with the art of weaving. He himself made
them a weaving apparatus and instructed the women in this skill.

This would agree with the fact that still today the Yavahē of
[184] Bananal Island, among whom Pinto undertook his first civilizing
attempts, are designated as the most skillful weavers. The uncommonly firm, taffeta-like, woven "rede" in the collection is supposed to be Yavahē work. A visit among them would definitively settle this interesting question.

293 Also to be mentioned here as a noteworthy elaborate piece
[285] belonging to the Karaya are the eyeshades (ȯodi) plaited out of
[324] uaguassú palm leaves, with which they protect themselves from the blinding reflected sunlight while walking over the sandbanks (Pl. VIII /see p. 110/, 10). They have not arrived at the construction of protective apparatus of the type of the Eskimo snow-goggles, but they prize European dark glasses.

[297] The adding on to the eyeshade to make a complete top-hat
(taã) is probably to be traced back to European influence. There were two specimens of it in all.

Settlements, Houses, and Domestic Animals.

•621 The Karaya do not live in small troops of two or three families,
361 as the forest Indians of Amazonas and the rude hunting nomads of the coastal region do, but always in larger communities. Only the southernmost Karayahi are forced by the lack of means of subsistence to divide up somewhat more. In the vicinity of S. José during the dry season one continually meets small bands of eight to ten persons. The farther one comes downstream, the more populous their camps become. Some of them may number at least 150-200 inhabitants.

342 The Karayahi huts erected on the sandbanks usually consist of large
[324] buriti-fiber mats stretched over pole frames, standing about without any order, like gypsy tents (Pl. III /see p.105 /, 2).

/12 cont./

342 184 Only rarely does one see among them the characteristic solid house-construction of the Šambioa and then only in smaller 35 364 dimensions, without any particular care in the construction. Since all the scraps are simply strewn on the ground, the refuse gradually [136] becomes unbearable. The vermin multiplying in large numbers, especially the sand fleas, finally force them to abandon the place. 342 In the rainy season the Karayahi move into stronger, buriti-leaf [361] covered, open ranchos on the high bank, which do not in other respects differ in form from those customary among the Brazilian population.

/13/ The "summer huts" of the Šambioa are very much more [184] carefully and neatly built. Here the greater diligence, industriousness, and the comfortable well-being of the free son of the wilderness are manifest, in contrast to his "tame" tribal brother vegetating in oppressive conditions and dependent on civilization. [361] Not in disorder, but in long rows, forming real streets, these houses with their impeccable cleanliness make an uncommonly friendly and comfortable impression (Pl. IV /see p.106/, 1, and Pl. V /see p. 107/).

• 621 In the first Šambioa village we counted 60 huts, in the second 30, in the third 45, and in the fourth 90, each of which is inhabited by one or two families.

The individual villages are distinguished by special names. 342 The basic form of the house is rectangular; the narrow side with the door faces the street. The frame consists of three or four [335] flexible poles on each side carried over forked supports and held together with those on the opposite side by means of cipos, thus /Fig. 3 appears here/ forming a boat-like, arched roof, which is further supported by some vertical poles set in the ground in the long direction (Fig. 3 /see p. 22 /). These, as well as the forked supports, are connected with one another by as many strong horizontal poles as are necessary. Thin laths are placed lengthwise [824] and parallel to one another on the outside over the ribs of the roof and serve as supports for the strong pinnate leaves of the uaguassú palm (Attalea spectabilis), which, in several layers, form a fairly waterproof roof. Their leaf pinnae are also entwined with one another into a very solid plaited work. These plaitings serve

/28 cont./

also hold for the relationships prevailing among the Karaya.

621 The village communities composed of such family units, each of which has a particular name, seem to be like gau 476 communities (2). The agricultural land belongs to the whole [423]

[113] 2. Post, Stud. z. Entw. d. Familienrechts /Essay on the Development of Family Law/, p. 83.

[324] and is tilled in common. Hunting and fishing expeditions are [326] also undertaken in common, and the yield in booty, field 622 produce, etc. divided among the families. The chief supervises all of these communal activities and achievements. He is [921] supported by the community; the property of all tribal members [597] belongs to him (3). On the other hand, it is his duty to adopt

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orphaned children, particularly the sons of those slain in war. [178] The personal qualities to which he owes his office today are less [648] prowess in war /29/ than the skill, experience, and linguistic knowledge required to deal with the Whites. Thus, even prisoners [627] of war adopted into the tribe who distinguish themselves at this can achieve the position.

The chief organizes the war and hunting expeditions; he determines the camp sites and the locations of plantings and, after the burning over of the strip of forest (roça) concerned, divides the agricultural land, which is marked off by posts, among the individual families.

622 His effectiveness in the administration of justice is important. 627 In case of quarrels between men he acts as referee, while his wife decides those of the women. It is his duty to bring offenders to account, but he does not inflict the punishment, which, according to the Indian law of retaliation, is a matter for the injured party. Murder or bodily injury are therefore avenged by the relatives of the victim without further ado.

/188 cont./

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[162] Alfredo, Cyriāki-Cadete (Cyriāki moved to the mouth of the
[622] Tapirapé in September 1908), village on the mouth of the Tapirapé, village of the chief João II, José, Fŏtŭnă, Ilk, village on the Izabel Morro, Cadete João, village of the deceased Cincinati. The villages are divided into three groups and an
[484] outlying settlement: Walata lives four days' journey (the days'
[622] journeys are calculated for the descent in a rowboat) below
[578] Crisote, since he is hostile to all the Karajá and therefore is duly feared by them; in the fall of 1908, however, there seems to have been a reconciliation between them. Crisote also lives somewhat isolated, namely, a full day's journey below Tumanakŭ. From Tumanakŭ to José there is a string of villages; the average distance between them is a three hours' journey. Only the village on the mouth of the Tapirapé is a trip of four or five hours away from either of the two neighboring villages. Between José and Fotuna there is a distance of one and a half days' journey; then the villages again follow at shorter distances.

[622] A branch of the north horde is the Karajá village of Chief Kŏrŭmărē along the river on Bananal, located a day's march to the east from the village of José. /Pl. 38 appears here./

36 /189/ The south horde lives from the Rio Crixá to the Rio
[162] Vermelho in eight fixed settlements: on the Lago Luiz Alves,
[103] below and above the Rio Crixá, on the Lago de Café, in São José (āŭwĭ), just above São José (hōlĕnĕkă), just below the Rio de Peixe (ĭĭsă), on the mouth of the Rio Vermelho above
[484] Leopoldina (ĭĭsămādŏ). These villages, too, are divided into several groups: three villages lie on the Rio Crixá at a distance of about three to four hours' travel apart. The village on the Lago de Café is midway between Rio Crixá and São José and is
[103] about four to six hours of travel in distance from the two. Near
[484] São José there are two villages: ĭĭsă is one and a half days' journey away; ĭĭsămādŏ is two and a half days' journey from
[621] ĭĭsă. ĭĭsămādŏ is an outlying settlement that has existed for

[TEXT Continues on P. 62]

/189 cont./

361 about five years; it is inhabited by civilized Indians who prefer
62 the advantages of civilization (tobacco, salt) to living together in the tribe.

162 Between the two hordes there is an intervening space of
22 a six and a half days' boat-trip (calculated downstream). As the
[361] reason for the unhabited state of this intervening area the Indians
[132] told me that they lived here on the high banks only during the rainy
[136] season, that in the dry season only a few and poor sandbanks were exposed and there were a great many mosquitoes; two facts which I am able to confirm. As a transit area, however, it is busily used; on both the journey upstream and downstream I came across migratory villages here in both directions.

361 Thus we come to 23 fixed villages.

The size of the villages varies greatly. In the north horde there were villages with one to eight houses; altogether I counted about 80 houses, so that on the average there were five to six houses to a village. In the south horde there were villages with one to four houses. Altogether I counted about 20 houses, so that on the average there were two to three houses to a village. The number of houses in both hordes together is therefore only about 100.

162 The number of inhabitants likewise varies. There were:
621

	North Horde	Korumare's Village	South Horde	Total	Immigrant Šavajé	Total
Men:						
Adults	114	–	27	141	3	144
Youths	57	–	15	72	1	73
Boys (1-12 years old)	141	–	28	169	1	~~170~~
Total	312	ca. 20	70	402	5	407
Women:						
Adults	164	–	38	202	7	209
Maidens	22	–	12	34	3	37
Girls (1-12 years old)	129	–	28	157	1	158
Total	315	ca. 20	78	413	11	424
Total for both sexes	627	ca. 40	148	815	16	831

/203 cont./

361 The houses in general are oriented in such a way that one long side faces northwest, north, or northeast, thus providing shade.

[592] [340] Each house is occupied by only one family; to each house there generally belongs a mat wall, a supply stand, and one or two hearth areas.

[346] The mask hut lies away from the village, at a distance of about 200 meters.

62 The villages of the Karajá are small; many consisted of only one or two houses, the largest of eight huts (1). Ehrenreich be-

> 1. Rufino has already reported that the villages of the Karajá have only eight to ten huts on the average. Rev. trim. 10, p. 208.

lieves that this dispersion must be traced back to a lack of means [511] of subsistence. This is scarcely to be assumed, since there is suf- [578] ficient food, especially fish. In my opinion, it is conditioned first [591] by the many disputes that seem to prevail among the families of the Karajá and lead to the departure of some of them, and then by the prevalence of personal attitudes concerning the feeling of sociability; many families live permanently isolated in one place because they happen to like it there.

It is noteworthy that the villages decrease in size from north [166] to south. This may be explained by the direction of migration of the Karajá: the bulk of them still live in the north; toward the south, the first to be sent are advance groups, which, of course, are small in number.

361 484 On journeys the Karajá pitch camps of mat roofs or walls, in the shade and shelter of which they live and sleep. The walls are, of course, oriented in such a way that they provide as much shade as possible and as long as possible; hence they usually stand approximately from west to east, and likewise arranged in rows (Pl. 13, Ill. 1). If a village is moved, the Indians live under mat walls until the houses are erected (Pl. 41, Ill. 2).

221 361 The villages do not remain permanently in one place. During the dry season, the Indians live on the sandbanks of the river, which,

/321 cont./

622 and represents the village before the strangers. He performs these duties personally, without an intermediary. He does not an-
[623] nounce his orders in men's councils (such institutions are lacking), but goes from house to house. He transmits announcements to other villages by messengers, who, however, are not further legitimatized.

622 His power, however, is only a limited one; it rests entirely
621 on the good will of the villagers. If they are dissatisfied with him for any reason, they simply move away and leave him alone. Souza Villa Real already repoted such a case in 1792 (1). On a

1. Rev. trim. 11, 1848, p. 416.

trip by way of the east arm, on a sandbank five days below the northern end of Bananal Island he met Indians who said that they had migrated from their village because of disputes with their chief, whom they regarded as an evil sorcerer.

/322/ In former times there seem to have been quite a number of tribal chiefs. In 1908 only four chiefs were named (1),

1. In 1792 Souza Villa Real also mentions only four chiefs of the Karajahi, but only from hearsay; Rev. trim. 11(1848), p. 432.

whereas quite a number of vilages were without chiefs (see succession /see pp. 266 - 267/) The southernmost chief was Fotuna in Village No. 14, there were Cyriãki in Village 18, Tumanakũ in Village 21, and Crisote in Village 22. It appears that their power is, in the first place, limited to the village
[628] concerned. The young people of other villages, however, also seem to gather around them; at any rate, in the villages with chiefs I regularly came across an unusually large number of young men. My Karajá rower also willingly obeyed the com-
624 mands of these chiefs. The men from the individual villages who
191 were called capitão by the Brazilian boatmen are not Indian chiefs,

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

The older children are left to occupy and amuse themselves entirely as they may feel inclined. Nevertheless, they show a natural good behavior. But in observing them, the idea is somehow suggested to one that they are, to some extent at least, creatures of instinct, like irrational nature about them. In common with the brutes, they seem not inclined to go beyond limits whereby they might suffer injury. Just as the wild creature, left to itself, does not need to be governed or restrained by anything apart from itself for its well-being, neither do these wild children, apparently, need the oversight of their parents. There seems to be no danger that they will harm themselves, or get into trouble. They play naturally in a very quiet and restrained manner as if to avoid all possibility of attracting the attention of enemies. To sell children to traders, as is done in some parts of Brazil, particularly on the Amazon river, is unknown among the Karayá.

While still at a tender age, the children begin to imitate the doings of their elders. The boys amuse themselves with archery, and by fishing and swimming; and the girls aid their mothers in the household duties. Children's toys are clay figures, small tops, miniature canoes, and even little cooking utensils, corresponding to the "tea sets" of civilized children. An amusement of which even adults are fond, is to play with a ball made of corn cobs and feathers, and a ring. Another, is a game known to many of us as "cat's cradle," which is the looping of a cord over the hands held some distance apart, and relooping and crossing it over the fingers from hand to hand so as to make it represent the figures of various animals. This game is common among the Indians of North America.

There appears to be clans among the Karayá. Each village considers itself one large family—a paternal communistic society—possessing a distinct name, and having a certain district for its own peculiar hunting and fishing ground. The cultivated land—the little village plantation—is owned in common, is tilled by all, and the products are divided systematically to each family. A similar arrangement existed among

Brazil.

621 the Incas, and is met with to-day in Russia and elsewhere.
496 The hunting and fishing is participated in by all the men at the same time, and the proceeds of the day's chase are lumped together, then divided proportionately to all the families of the village; and those who have had "no luck" share equally with those who have been successful. To-day, they all go hunting at the command of their chief; to-morrow, they fish in the same way; and the next day, they all work on the village plantation. But in every case, the combined results of their efforts are divided equally according to the mouths
622 to be filled. All the doings of the village are directed by the chief. He holds in trust all the property of the local horde, and is supported by the community. Consequently, it is his
[597] duty to adopt all the orphans of the village, including the sons of warriors who fall in battle. It is not necessary, however, that he should excel in military skill. There are other qualifications that are considered more essential and of far more practical every-day value to one who would succeed as a chief. He must have sufficient experience, energy and diplomatic skill to enable him to deal harmoniously and successfully with civilized men. Therefore, a man who did not originally belong to the tribe but was adopted into it from some other, may become chief if he should excel in these particulars. He lays out all the work, plans the hunting and fishing expeditions, indicates the camping places and selects the ground to be planted. When the forest covering the land to be tilled has been cut down, allowed to dry and then burned, he stakes out the plot for each family composing the
623 village. He has also a very important duty to perform as a
624 sort of justice of the peace, and in enforcing the tribal laws. If two men quarrel, he adjusts the difference; while his wife adjusts differences between the women. He must also bring all culprits to justice, though he is not allowed to execute the sentence of the law. Custom demands that this shall be done by the wronged person. Murder and personal injury is avenged immediately, and without much ceremony, by the relatives of the victim. When the chief is informed of a rob-

1:Lipkind E-5 (1937) 1948 SP9 Caraja SP9

411 **Weapons.**—The *Carajá* use bows and arrows (pls. 20, *bottom, left;* [773] 21, *left* and *center*), and their mythology indicates aboriginal use of the [774] spear thrower for hunting monkeys. Recently, they have used a spear thrower of the upper Xingú River type for sport.

323 **Pottery.**—Pottery vessels include several forms of plain ware (fig. 20).

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

611 The kinship structure may be described as double descent. Both lines are important, the greater emphasis falling on the mother's line, and both lines serve different functions. Village citizenship, adoption, and the closest affectional ties are reckoned in the mother's line. Moiety member- [428] ship and the offices of chief, priest, and food-divider are patrilineally inherited.

621 The fundamental unit of social organization is the village. Every 622 village has one or more ioló, children of chiefly line, designated by the chief for preferential treatment by the members of the village. The chief names the ioló who is to succeed him or, if he fails to do so, the village makes the choice at his death. Girls of chiefly line are similarly chosen [562] for preferential treatment; each of them is known as the "hidden woman." [177] There is some indication that women functioned as chiefs in former times, but today there is no woman chief. The chief has no coercive powers but directs the village by recognizing the will of the majority in such matters as the selection of camp and garden sites and the announcement of a move at change of season. His principal function is to act [756] as peacemaker, and people readily submit to his adjudication. Because [793] of the importance of religious ceremonials, the priest and the shaman [692] frequently exercise more authority than the chief. When all three offices are vested in a single individual, his authority may be considerable, but it is kept in check by the right of a discontented person to move at any time to another village.

59 Within the village the important unit is the household. Residence [571] being matrilocal, a household consists of sisters, their husbands, children, [572] and the husbands of grown daughters. Marriage is restricted to one's own generation, the preferred mate being a cousin on the mother's side. [582] There is no sanction but ridicule against wrong marriages, and there [626] are many cases of cross-generational marriage. Marriage is predominantly monogamous, but a few instances of polygyny and one of poly- [595] andry were encountered. The avunculate is very important and involves [604] many social and especially ceremonial duties. Cooperation in the household is close and in the village fairly close. In addition, villages are 78 grouped together in ceremonial units, generally consisting of three or 628 four neighboring villages, which celebrate important feasts jointly. This [476] ceremonial unit acts as an insurance group when a village's crop fails or its fish supplies grow scarce. Beyond this, the only intervillage ties

/46 cont./

551 wish to infer at the outset a marriage, formerly prescribed.
601 with the matrilateral female cross-cousin. One must remember,
[183] however, that the present state characterized by a great degree of freedom, in other words, by a degree of "information" or of greater entropy, is also found in the performance of ceremonies, such as in the narration of myths and legends, these expressions of the spiritual life of the Carajá which allow great freedom of variation around a principal theme stubbornly preserved. — Finally teknonymy guides the reciprocal terms of grandparents and grandchildren, so that the grandparents, designated according to their sex, reply by the same word, even if the grandchild is of the opposite sex.

561 Before finishing my article, I must quickly touch on the
554 last two columns of Murdock's attempt. The Carajá distinguish,
615 by speech and by ornaments, age grades. At the same time, an idea of stratification is outlined in the fact that political and religious roles are the heritage of only one of the three patrilineal groups with an endogamous tendency. It is tempting to think
[567] of the classes or castes of the Guaycurú /Guaicuru/, for example, and since there are reports which speak of temporary slaves, Murdock's information in this direction must be corrected (A1, with a tendency towards C1, instead of O; column 14). The
628 villages are politically autonomous, but the Carajá themselves
621 unite some villages in amphictyonies for the performance of
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/29 cont./

622 If a theft is reported to the chief, he calls upon the perpe-
627 trator, by loud proclamations in the middle of the village, to
685 return the stolen goods. A response usually follows, and the object is simply put back in its place secretly, whereby the matter is settled.

Otherwise the chief has the right to have the huts searched. An object is taken away from a suspect as security until the corpus delicti is delivered. If the thief is found out, it is left to the victim to have himself indemnified.

622 If the chief does not fulfill his position or if the community cannot tolerate him for other reasons, he is simply deserted and another is chosen.

584 Marriage. The young man states his purpose to the parents of the chosen one; the latter ask their daughter for her consent. According to Couto Magelhães, a formal announcement is made
585 before the assembled community. Then the bridegroom hands over his weapons to the bride to keep and takes her to the house of one of his closest relatives, since, as a bachelor, he does not yet have one of his own. For four nights the two sleep on one mat, but separated by a wide intervening space, with no advances allowed. On the fifth day the bride is brought back to her father's house, where she hands the weapons back to the bridegroom. As a sign that he is capable of taking care of a family, the young man goes hunting for a few days and returns only with slain booty (1).

1. It is doubtful whether the test of strength by dragging a heavy block of palm wood, as is required among certain Gês tribes, also occurs among the Karaya.

A drinking bout, which the parents of the bride arrange, concludes the whole thing. Only then is the more intimate intercourse of the two spouses allowed (2). Then the erection of their own home follows.

833 2. Karayae cum mulieribus more indigenarum Australiae concumbent. Vir pedibus extensis humi sedet et mulierum supinam ante se jacentem

/187 cont./

101 Their neighbors are therefore the following:

In the south, Kayapó and Bororo, the latter known to the Karajá only by name.

/188/ In the west on the Rio das Mortes, the Chavãte, in Karajá: klĭ̃ũ̃ã́ (kĭlõã́, kũ̃ĭ̃ã́); on the Rio Tapirapé, the Tapirapé, ũõhũ; from Santa Anna northward, the Kayapó, kã̃ĩã̃ũ.

In the east, on the upper Tocantins, the Cherente, ĭnõlã̃tũ; on the south end of Bananal, the so-called Canoeiros, tĩã̃bẽã́; in the middle of Bananal, the Šavajé, ã̃wãjẽ, (ĩ)šã̃(n)dĩwãndũ.

In the north, the Šambioá: šã̃mbĩõã.

Of the tribes with whom they were unacquainted, the dõbã̃ were mentioned on the Rio das Mortes in the east the ĩã̃wũndãhõ.

648 The Karajá live on a war footing with all these tribes, ex-
[439] cept for the related Šavajé and Šambioá; they show great fear of all of them. They formerly carried on trade with the Tapirapé, but for five or six years the two tribes have avoided each other as a result of a feud which flared up between them because of the
619 kidnapping of women by the Karajá. The Karajá show great re-
[162] spect even before the two tribes related to them. This is probably due to the fact that the Šavajé and Šambioá live in a few large villages, whereas the Karajá are scattered in many small settlements, and that they therefore, unaccustomed to great crowds of people, are afraid of the imposing number of armed men. Apparently, fear of other tribes is customary among the Indians generally.

162 The tribe of the Karajá is at present divided into two hordes:
361 The north horde lives from the northern end of Bananal
622 Island to the Rio das Mortes in the following 14 fixed villages (from north to south) (1): village of the chief Wãlãtã, Crĩõtẽ,

1. By fixed villages I mean those that are again established in their particular district after each rainy season with the move to the river sandbanks again.

/188 cont./

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[361] /189/ The south horde lives from the Rio Crixá to the Rio
[162] Vermelho in eight fixed settlements: on the Lago Luiz Alves,
[103] below and above the Rio Crixá, on the Lago de Café, in São José (āũwĭ), just above São José (hōlĕnĕkă), just below the Rio de Peixe (ŭĭsă), on the mouth of the Rio Vermelho above Leopoldina (ŭĭsămādŏ). These villages, too, are divided into
[484] several groups: three villages lie on the Rio Crixá at a distance of about three to four hours' travel apart. The village on the Lago de Café is midway between Rio Crixá and São José and is
[103] about four to six hours of travel in distance from the two. Near
[484] São José there are two villages: ŭĭsă is one and a half days' journey away; ŭĭsămādŏ is two and a half days' journey from
[621] ŭĭsă. ŭĭsămādŏ is an outlying settlement that has existed for

[TEXT Continues on P. 62]

/191 cont./

175 The first village on an island opposite Chicas (probably identical
361 with Schischá) with two houses, the /192/ second village on a sandbank opposite São José with four houses, another village on the mouth of the Rio Crixá under the chief Pedro Manco.

The accounts of Coudreau in 1896/97 for the south horde, about whom he reports only information given to him, are even more inexact than for the north horde. He mentions two villages [162] for the rainy season: one near São José with eleven houses and 60 inhabitants, the other near Schischá with 17 houses and 40 [221] inhabitants. The large number of houses and inhabitants shows how the Indians gather together in a few larger villages during the rainy season. This shows, however, that the south horde was already strengthened.

361 In 1908 I myself found the first village near Leopoldina, the [162] second near Schischá, the third above, the fourth in São José (a house occupied by Indians), the fifth on the Lago de Café, the sixth above, the seventh below the mouth of the Rio Crixá, the eighth on the Lago de Luiz Alves: altogether, 19 houses and 148 inhabitants.

173 According to stories of the Indians of the south horde, the
167 first Karajá here, those of São José, were supposed to have come
[622] from the north. The first chief who immigrated here was mǎněkōkŏ. He found the land uninhabited. When he died, the Indians continued to live here under another chief, Xavier. Among his people there was kūlĭ, the chief of village 3. kūlĭ seems to be about 60 years old. I do not know whether he was born here. At any rate, the immigration took place before his time, in other words, in about the first half of the nineteenth century. According to [361] the Indians, sisá consisted of one hut 20-30 years ago; later several Indians from the north moved in. The village near Leopoldina is said to have been founded about five years ago; the people formerly lived in Ñndĭlábĕ (on the Rio das Mortes, or the Barreira de Izabel Velha, or near Izabel do Morro).

/198 cont./

513 head high when sleeping. When they sleep in the open in the sand, they hollow out a pit for their bodies, put a mat over it and themselves on top of that, but in such a way that the head lies on the elevated edge of the pit; they cover themselves with the rest of the mat. It is very agreeable to sleep in this fashion, /199/ as I discovered for myself. In contrast to this, however, I also saw them lying flat on the level floor in the houses, without elevating their heads at all.

293 For fanning cool air and to drive away mosquitoes during the midday rest, plaited, patterned fans (kōlĭ; Pl. 21, Ill. 2) made of palm leaves are used.

352 538 [622] Seats are provided only for chiefs. They are the stool in animal form carved out of one piece of wood: the seat runs out on either side into a head that bears mother-of-pearl eyes with wax pupils; tassels of red-yellow parrot feathers are hung in the ear holes. The mother-of-pearl eyes are cut round on a stone and then glued on with wax. Finally, the entire stool is colored black with genipap coloring, which is applied with the palm of the hand. These stools are called kŏlĭšŭ, the feather tassels kōlĭšŭlăbĕdŏsĭ. The stools are said to represent an arara (Pl. 19, Ill. 1a and b).

516 Ordinarily the Indians sit on the mats with their legs crossed under them, hand on hip, or they squat on the ground (Pl. 12, Ill. 1; Pl. 38, Ill. 1).

353 Usually no arrangement for the storing of ornaments, articles of clothing, implements, and weapons is found in the huts. Small things are stuck into the roof /Ill. 23 appears here/ or hung on [411] the posts. Bows, arrows, and lances usually lie along the side walls [415] on the floor or lean in a corner. For the rest, baskets, gourd vessels, and pots hang, stand, and lie around everywhere in the house, some of them filled with other household equipment. In [359] only two houses, in Village 6 and in Schischá, did I see along the wall stands made out of two forked sticks on which bows and arrows were placed (Ill. 23). They, too, seem to go back to Šavajé influence, for the Šavajé in Schischá used such stands.

/200 cont./

514 water about 5/4 meters deep with their knees slightly bent and there untie the long penis string and tie it on again.

342 The houses are merely living and sleeping houses; cooking [252] is done outside.

[602] The chiefs in part have better built, larger houses; thus, Plate 41 appears here/ /201/ the one belonging to Chief João III was three to four meters high, five to six meters wide, and equally long (Pl. 39).

[344] There are no meeting houses; in order to bring about a de- [203] cision or announce regulations, the chief goes to the individual [207] houses.

Other special houses are:

343 1. Birth houses. These are erected for the woman when birth 844 is imminent; their construction is said to be identical with that of the other houses.

346 2. The mask house in which the dance masks are kept. It always stands apart from the village and in its method of construction is a dry-season house with a round structure on the narrow side turned toward the village. The arches are usually slightly curved and strengthened on top by a ridge beam (Pl. 12, Ill. 3). The mask houses serve as bachelor houses; the young people are said to sleep here. I saw only four mask huts, but cannot confirm 513 these statements from my observations. In any case, the young people do not sleep in the houses, but rather, if there is no mask house, [609] by a fire which is away from the village. Strangers are given shelter by the chief; they sleep in his house, even though they are unmarried (see the reception which I, with my men, found among the Šavajé /pp. 129 ff. in the first part of the work, which is omitted in the translation/).

342 The house belongs to the woman. The man builds it before 473 the marriage, with the assistance of the young people, who are 562 paid for it by the woman with chains of beads. The construction 768 takes one or two days. After death the house is said to be burned.

821 According to the accounts of the Indians, the houses are protected from bolts of lightning by a fish spine stuck on the roof on a pole about half a meter long. Probably only magic is involved here.

[Text continues on p. 84]

/219 cont./

304 the two circles drawn with black color on small children. In
881 the case of boys, the time is determined according to when, after the last cropping, the hair reaches down to the tip of the nose in front and to the shoulders in back.

304 The tattooing is done by special persons who own stamps
463 and stone knives and are called wairădŭ. There was only one such person in the south horde (in Village 6), whereas in the north horde there were several (for example, Ilk in Village 13). They are paid for this operation. No ceremonies of any kind are said to take place, and the children are not always tattooed together, but also singly on occasion, whenever one happens to be able to get hold of the master.

304 The chief's tattooing, which is characteristic of chiefs
[622] and their wives, consists of vertical black strokes between the lower lip and the lower edge of the face, which are arranged side by side in one or sometimes also in two lines, one above the other (Ill. 53 a, b). According to Kurĭŭ, this tattooing is supposed to be peculiar to women. Even girls are said to have such lines of blue dots on the chin, which is supposed to be regarded as very beautiful. I never observed this last phenomenon, however.

515 /220/ e) Body care. The Indians bathe a great deal; usually they take a bath early in the morning, and even during the day they plunge into the water whenever they feel like it, in most cases probably to cool off by means of the subsequent evaporation of the water in drying.

515 Two plant products serve as soap in washing; first, a
824 bark (ŭăbăkă = sabão do matto), from which one scrapes off a
388 little, /Ills. 54-57 appear here/, rubs this in water, and washes himself with the lather thus produced; then there is a tree bast (doŭ) which is also used as soap for cleansing.

302 The rubbing of the body, the arms, and especially the
824 hair with the fragrant resin (ăndĭlă) of the almecegeira (Hedwigia balsamifera), which is ordinarily stored in gourds, is very popular.

/226 cont./

*301 In the case of the ankle bands the upper edge, in the case of the calf bands the lower edge, is somewhat wider than the other one. The small circumference of the calf and ankle bands is noteworthy. In the case of a 16-year-old girl the circumference of the calf band is 24 centimeters, that of the ankle band, 17 centimeters; in the case of a young man, that of the calf band, 29 centimeters.

*301 286 Both bands are crocheted by women directly onto the leg of the wearer. The person concerned lies on a mat on the ground, the head put on /227/ a bundle; a rolled-up net covering is [602] pushed under his knees. A woman related to him crochets the bands out of white cotton thread on each leg; only after they are finished are they colored red.

The bands are put on soon after birth. If they become too tight, they are cut and replaced by new ones. In the meantime people often walk around without the bands. To cut them off, they insert a small stick between the band and the leg, so as not to injure themselves with the knife, which, because of the strong, firm netting, must be pressed quite hard to cut through it.

Boys remove their ankle bands at an early age; girls wear them constantly until marriage, when the two sexes cut off each other's calf and ankle bands. Widowed persons put the calf bands on again.

*301 [554] [622] [824] Ornamentation as a sign of rank scarcely exists; at any rate I did not see anything of the sort. Kurišĭ, however, said that chiefs' wives wear a necklace of chains made of Thevetia fruits (mālǎnĭ). The chains are arranged vertically on two threads, which are tied at the back of the neck, in such a way that the chains increase in length in front and extend down the body to the navel.

C. Other Ornamentation.

All the other ornaments are limited to unmarried persons (children and young people) and are worn only occasionally.

/246 cont./

222 the wax (tăbōlă)[1] is stored in large lumps; it constitutes one of
[237] their most important gluing and packing mediums and as such is
[232] everywhere offered in quantities by the women to passing boats.
The chief gathering period of the honey seems to commence in
October.

224 While the gathering of these foods is bound to specific
[221] seasons and requires journeys often weeks long, in order to collect
large amounts, the daily animal food is obtained in short expedi-
tions from the villages by means of all kinds of traps.

[433] It should be noted that the hunting of birds and land
[226] animals is completely overshadowed by fishing. In general, of
course, the land is poor in animals as compared to the water.
There is only a little big game to be hunted: red deer (bŏlolă),
roe, tapirs [(k)ōlĭ], monkeys (1), wild pigs (ĭsă), and possibly

[237] 1. Howling monkeys are shot only for the bones,
[262] which are used for arrow points, lip plugs, and
arrows, but not for food.

also /247/ jaguars (ănlŏă); smaller animals are more frequent, but
very shy and difficult to hunt (agouti, tsŭsŏ; capybara, hūă, etc.).
223 The choice of birds is likewise not very large. Above all,
gallinaceous birds (jacu, bĕdjŭă; mutum, etc.) and pigeons, as
well as ducks (hăăkŏlĭnĭ, hĕdaŭlĕ, dōăläläă) and divers, come into
262 consideration. I was unable to find out whether they eat ostriches,
or how they feel about lizards, crocodiles, and boa constrictors,
which Königswald reports are eaten. The small choice of game
animals is even more restricted by all kinds of so-called food pro-
hibitions. Thus, this person will not eat this animal, and that
person that one. Some animals are generally not eaten, though
224 they could furnish a great deal of meat. Hunting only plays a
secondary role in the economy of these Indians.

For wild game they set out individually or in company;
wild pigs in particular are always hunted in company. It is
[622] strange that the chief never goes along on the hunt, though he
does engage in fishing. Only large animals are hunted; the young
ones are allowed to run away.

[1] [i.e., bee's wax --Analyst]

/247 cont./

224 411 Hunting weapons are bows and arrows, lances, and possibly also clubs for wild pigs. The lance (dõnõlĩ) is used in hunting for jaguars (see under "Weapons" /see p. 192/, Ill. 126). The bunches of feathers are said to confuse the leaping animal, so that the thrust can be made more confidently. The arrows differ according to the type of game; for big game one uses either arrows with a flat or many-sided wooden point, which sometimes has small barbs cut into it (ũõhũ, about 150 centimeters long), or arrows with flat or rounded bamboo blade points (ũõhũ, ũãzã, 224 diũãdã; Ills. 113, 114). Nets and traps are unknown for game hunting. Fish otters are lured with fire and then beaten to death with a wooden stick. Königswald states that in the dry season grassy meadows are set afire so that the game, fleeing in large numbers before the fire, may be easily killed. I often saw such grass fires; my Indians and even the Brazilians liked to set them. When asked the reason, both explained in agreement that the subsequent greenery sprouting anew would attract the game, so that when they passed by there afterwards they would find the game localized on such burned areas and would therefore have easy and certain hunting.

[622] The booty is brought to the village and, if abundant, is cut up by the warriors and distributed among the inhabitants by the chief.

223 411 They likewise go bird hunting with bow and arrow. They use either deadly arrows (mãlõl), the points of which consist of the sharpened end of a cane shaft (Ill. 163), or arrows which merely stun the bird with their thick end, so that the feathers are protected from blood. The thickening at the end consists either of a lump of wax or of the cut root-end of the cane that forms the shaft. Such arrows are called lãḷũẽlẽ (see "Children's Toys"/see pp. 241-244/, Ill. 164).

223 They also have traps for birds (dõhẽdũ or bũdõḷẽkũ); ground manioc and maize are used as bait. I saw such a trap near Village 18 of the north horde, about 500 meters away from the houses, /248/ set up on the sandbank (Plate 54, Ill. 2). It consisted of bamboo rods which were placed on top of one another quadrilaterally, so that each square was smaller than the one below it,

/320 cont./

648 Of course, it is not only the Karajá who abduct women from the enemy; they are exploited in the same manner by the latter.

727 /321/ Slain enemies are left lying. I was unable to find out anything about anthropophagy. Wounded fellow-tribesmen are brought back to the village and treated by the doctor. Captured women and children are used as work slaves; captured boys who do not wish to work are exposed, if they do not themselves run away. In both cases they probably face destruction.

The owner in question (their captor) benefits by the work of the war captives. In return, he gives them food and clothing.

727 Women war captives are also used as village prostitutes. In ex-
548 change for the payment of an arrow they are put at the disposal of the young men of the village as well as of other villages. A permanent claim is acquired by the payment of a net covering to the owner. At present the Karajá have only Tapirapé women as prostitutes; altogether I met only five such women and maidens among them, as well as two small boys. Šavajé women are also supposed to play this role occasionally; these are not abducted women, however, but women who, on trade expeditions, joined the Karajá or were banished because of offenses with them (?). One instance which I am able to explain to myself only in this manner occurred during my visit among the Šavajé, where an obviously pregnant Šavajé girl was handed over to my Karajá to be taken along to their villages.

622 The Karajá are led by chiefs (ĭdjäõ̆, dēridŏ̆, ĭtrĭ̆). As external insignia they wear the chin tattooing, their wives the large Thevetia neck ornament (see above /see pp. 110 and 122/). Otherwise they have no distinguishing mark of any kind; "one recognizes them by their dignified behavior," Kuriší said.

The duties of the chief are the following: He determines and supervises the work in the plantings, the mask festivals and the preparation for them (making the dance masks); he keeps order in the village, settles disputes, decides cases, and supports the poor, widows, and orphans. He determines the fishing and trade expeditions; he decides on expeditions of war. Moreover, he shelters strangers in his house and provides for them,

/321 cont./

622 and represents the village before the strangers. He performs these duties personally, without an intermediary. He does not an-
[623] nounce his orders in men's councils (such institutions are lacking), but goes from house to house. He transmits announcements to other villages by messengers, who, however, are not further legitimatized.

622 His power, however, is only a limited one; it rests entirely
621 on the good will of the villagers. If they are dissatisfied with him for any reason, they simply move away and leave him alone. Souza Villa Real already reported such a case in 1792 (1). On a

1. Rev. trim. 11, 1848, p. 416.

trip by way of the east arm, on a sandbank five days below the northern end of Bananal Island, he met Indians who said that they had migrated from their village because of disputes with their chief, whom they regarded as an evil sorcerer.

/322/ In former times there seem to have been quite a number of tribal chiefs. In 1908 only four chiefs were named (1),

1. In 1792 Souza Villa Real also mentions only four chiefs of the Karajahi, but only from hearsay; Rev. trim. 11 (1848), p. 432.

whereas quite a number of villages were without chiefs (see succession /see pp. 266 -267/). The southernmost chief was Fotuna in Village No. 14, the rest were Cyriãki in Village 18, Tumanakú in Village 21, and Crisote in Village 22. It appears that their power is, in the first place, limited to the village
[628] concerned. The young people of other villages, however, also seem to gather around them; at any rate, in the villages with chiefs I regularly came across an unusually large number of young men. My Karajá rowers also willingly obeyed the com-
624 mands of these chiefs. The men from the individual villages who
191 were called capitão by the Brazilian boatmen are not Indian chiefs,

/322 cont./

624 191 but mostly men who understand a little Brazilian and, as a result, act as intermediaries in dealings with the boatmen (for example, Ilk).

● 622 571 During my stay at the mouth of the Tapirapé I observed that there may also be rivalry between chiefs. On the downstream journey, in Village No. 18, I met two chiefs, the good-natured old tribal chief Cyriāki and a so-called capitão, the energetic, feared Chico Cadete. Of the two, Cyriaki had the more dignified bearing, though he had no following in the village; Cadete ruled there absolutely, so that Cyriāki was left entirely in the background. On the upstream journey I met the [939] village in the act of undertaking a trading expedition to Santa Maria. When I returned from my navigation of the Tapirapé, I found Cyriāki in the village on the mouth of the Tapirapé. He had moved from Village 18 on account of disputes with Cadete and had settled here in Village 17.

622 The privileges enjoyed by the chiefs for their administration of office are the following: They do not work in the plantings; they do not hunt, and they fish only for tokunaré, pintado, and pirarucu, besides tartaruga and tracajá. They are not subject to any restrictions in diet. They may have several wives, who live together in their houses; there is no chief wife. Their houses are built by the villagers; they are sometimes larger and higher than the other houses.

[562] If the chief is absent, he entrusts the leadership to his wife his son also seems to represent him frequently.

The chief is educated for his position from infancy on. After an ablution with hot water, he lives for four years shut in a special hut; here he learns from his father the dances and dance songs, the administration of justice, and whatever else is necessary for his office. He may already pronounce decisions, which are announced through his father. In return he is given arrows, stones for lip plugs, and similar things as gifts. The apprenticeship ends with a large festival.

[562] The chief's successor is his son. If he only has daughters, one of them becomes chief (hauĕkĕ, dĕrōdĭ). If she marries,

/322 cont./

622 the honor remains with her; /323/ it does not pass on to her husband. If the chief has no descendants, the village remains without a head; the only thing to be done then is to train a boy from infancy on for this office. Then the men of the village deliberate, choose a child, go to its mother and ask her whether she will permit her child to become chief. If she gives her consent, the boy is trained for his office, apparently by his father. Thus, for example, the chief of Village 7 had died long ago. His son's name was Cadete; he had three daughters and a son. The son died prematurely, the daughters did not wish to accept the rule; hence there was no chief in this village. "One would first have to be trained for this."

609 [622] Strangers are received and given hospitality by the chief. Good form demands that the stranger receive all kinds of gifts (coconuts, honey, batatas, pots, mats, etc.), in the expectation that he will give lavishly in return. In my camp near the villages I was never alone; rather, there was uninterruptedly, day and night, a watch of two or three youths, sometimes even several, present in the camp. At night they slept beside the fire. Apparently this precaution arose out of a mistrust of strangers. Now, however, the placing of the watch by the very Indians who still observe the old forms is regarded as an honor accorded the strangers, and the honor is particularly great if the chief himself spends the night in the camp of the stranger.

421 Legal affairs. Personal property is already very highly developed. As such they regard: house and boat (both belonging to the woman), weapons, implements, ornaments, and articles of clothing. The food from the plantings is family property; large booty from hunting and fishing is distributed to the entire village. Even small children have their ornaments and toys as property. Only the specific owner decides whether to sell, if it is a child, its parents, usually the mother. Outsiders never interfere in the personal affairs of others.

685 Property violations seldom occur. As far as I was concerned, I observed an attempted theft only once. Thefts seem to extend essentially to produce from the plantings and apparently do not remain concealed for long.

/323 cont./

685 remain concealed for long. The injured person complains to the
627 chief; he sends him to the thief with the instruction to demand compensation from him. If the thief refuses, however, the injured one again complains to the chief and may, if the latter agrees, start a "fight" with the former, in other words, demand his rights by force.

682 Murders seem to occur, though seldom. The custom of
627 blood vengeance prevails: the relatives of the slain one pursue the murderer everywhere, even into other villages, until they have slain him.

689 Social life. Objectionable elements (boasters, gossipers, quarrelsome persons) are on occasion flogged. Thus, my camarada Pedro II in Village 17 is said to get a beating almost weekly on account of his incredible boasting.

/324/ Malicious elements who, with their quarreling, never leave the village in peace are finally, as Kurišť reported, killed by the others at the command of the chief; their relatives then have no right to take blood vengeance.

565 There are no class distinctions. Women and children captured in war serve as slaves of sorts. On the other hand, there are differences in wealth; there are rich and poor people. "The rich man has everything, axes, knives, pots; the poor one has nothing. He goes to the rich one and says: Give me a pot, an ax. The rich man must give it to him." (Kurišť.)

•[622] The chiefs in particular are regarded as rich, and they, indeed, must share their surplus of goods with the poor. Ilk in Village 13 and Crisote in Village 22 were regarded as especially
[184] rich. The Indians of the south horde are regarded as poor, and they are in comparison with the north horde, which, in turn, is to be designated as poor in relation to the Šavajé.

609 Forms of greeting. If someone comes into a strange village,
576 he remains, with bowed head, in the boat (sta sem vergonha, that is, without shame, as the Indians erroneously said, instead of com v., that is, full of shame) until the others come, greet him, and invite him to come along to the village. Only then do they go on land. This custom was observed in particular among the

/325 cont./

584 and the suitor must also work for the father-in-law (?). During the engagement, the bridegroom, along with the young men, builds the house. This subsequently becomes the property of the woman, who, after the wedding, pays off the builders. The bride, however, apparently provides the furnishings, the sleeping mats, pots, etc.

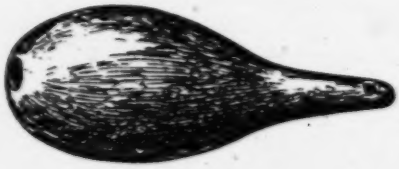
585 I obtained only unclear reports about the wedding ceremony. Thus, the grandfather is said to carry the bridegroom, painted and adorned, into the house of the bride and back again. The suitor, accompanied by the young men, fetches the woman and leads her into the new house. There they cut off each other's leg bands and remove their arm cuffs for the duration of the marriage. According to another statement, however, the bride cuts off the calf bands of the man; the mother of the man, however, those of the bride. The bridal journey takes place without luggage. Only after the couple have arrived in the house does the husband have the property of the bride brought and take charge of them.

595 In general the Karajá have only one wife at a time; only
[622] the chief may have simultaneously several wives who live together in his house. As has been said above, there is no chief wife, but many quarrels are said to take place among them. When the wife grows old, the husband may send her away and marry a second, younger woman. This is based on the fact that only the older girls are left over for the young men, and that, when these grow too old, they then turn to the young girls.

593 The position of the wife is very good. The house, the
562 furnishings, and the boat belong to her; the husband simply lives with her. She also gives her opinion in all matters. The husband takes on all the hard work: laying out the plantings, carrying the harvest home, hunting and fishing. The wife must do the lighter work in connection with planting and harvesting and take care of the housekeeping. The two are seldom idle. The men do not
589 like to do the heavy work. At any rate, the young men, for fear of it, do not want to marry and postpone marriage as long as possible, misled, chiefly, by a few old bachelors. The carefree bachelor's life is, of course, free of all work; one does only what

/365 cont./

534 11. Musical instruments are also very rare among the Šavajé. I did not see flutes with gourd resonance; on the other hand, there were flutes made of gourds themselves. The bottle-shaped gourd has a round opening on the broad end, a rectangular one laterally on the narrow end (Ill. 208). This flute is called ǎdjūlōnǎ. The other flute, also called lōkū, consists of a long gourd open on both sides. On one opening there are traces of wax, as though a special mouthpiece had



Ill. 208.
Gourd flute.

been attached there. Perhaps a taquara flute had been attached there, as is customary among the Kayapó. Whistles made of leaf plaiting with a reed are also present here (dūlĕhĕ). The chief instrument among the Šavajé, too, is the gourd rattle (wǎlū), which was usually undecorated. Only one specimen bears a few feathers on the upper handle end.

[184] In their artistic activity the Šavajé follow in the footsteps of the Karajá. In this connection I refer to my article: "Die Kunst der Karajáindianer /The Art of the Caraja Indians/."

●622 12. Political and Social. The chief seems to play a considerable
123 role among the Šavajé. In the village that I visited there was none; a man who was probably appointed for this instance represented his office. He put me up in his house, along with my men. He remained by my side the whole time. In purchases he acted as intermediary, finally led me through all the houses, told the people my wishes, and helped to determine the purchase price. When we left the village, he accompanied us across the lake and several hundred meters farther into the campo before he took his leave.

574 The reception ceremony was strange. Even before arriving in the village, my Karajá had made themselves a black band across the

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

262

"Monkey."
"What are you going to do with him?"
"Eat him—me like him much." [224]
"How did you catch him?"
"Me shoot him with an arrow."

Continuing our voyage at dawn, we encountered before 609
noon another cluster of Karayá huts on a sand island. Before [361]
we could get to shore, the natives ran out into the water [439]
to meet us, and surrounding our canoes, eagerly offered us balls of black beeswax and pottery in trade for what they supposed we had. It was amusing to see a Karayá couple trying to make a trade with our only woman voyager for a man's gauze undershirt. I could not but think of how the poor savage would appear with only that shirt on. He wanted it, [291] he motioned, to shield himself from the cold at night, and from the flies by day.

We passed the next night at another group of huts on [361] the sand. These Karayá who were very cordial, were expecting us for the news of our approach had preceded us; so they gave us a royal welcome. The *mayor of the city*— [222] the chief of the local horde—appeared arrayed in a complete [292] suit of civilian's clothes, consisting of white linen trousers and vest, black coat and hat. These he wore merely as decorations, not as a covering, for these people consider themselves fully and properly dressed without any such apparel. It was a remarkable sight indeed to us to descry in the gloaming, as we approached the land, what appeared to be a well-dressed representative of advanced civilization entirely alone in a remote, howling wilderness, surrounded by nude and painted savages. He had obtained these garments somewhere from a trading boat. We were escorted in state to a large hut where were assembled all the human inhabitants of the [526] island; and after the reception, we witnessed the wrestling game of which the Karayá are very fond, which will be described fully in future pages.

The same night, as I was sleeping soundly in the open 123
air in my hammock, which was swung between two stakes

Brazil.

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496 The hunting and fishing is participated in by all the men at the same time, and the proceeds of the day's chase are lumped together, then divided proportionately to all the families of the village; and those who have had "no luck" share equally with those who have been successful. To-day, they all go hunting at the command of their chief; to-morrow, they fish in the same way; and the next day, they all work on the village plantation. But in every case, the combined results of their efforts are divided equally according to the mouths
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cannot get along harmoniously with him, they simply ignore him and choose another.

/321 cont./

622 and represents the village before the strangers. He performs these duties personally, without an intermediary. He does not an-
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622 His power, however, is only a limited one; it rests entirely
621 on the good will of the villagers. If they are dissatisfied with him for any reason, they simply move away and leave him alone. Souza Villa Real already reported such a case in 1792 (1). On a

1. Rev. trim. 11, 1848, p. 416.

trip by way of the east arm, on a sandbank five days below the northern end of Bananal Island, he met Indians who said that they had migrated from their village because of disputes with their chief, whom they regarded as an evil sorcerer.

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whereas quite a number of villages were without chiefs (see succession /see pp. 266 -267/). The southernmost chief was Fotuna in Village No. 14, the rest were Cyriãki in Village 18, Tumanakũ in Village 21, and Crisote in Village 22. It appears that their power is, in the first place, limited to the village
[628] concerned. The young people of other villages, however, also seem to gather around them; at any rate, in the villages with chiefs I regularly came across an unusually large number of young men. My Karajá rowers also willingly obeyed the com-
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/322 cont./

624 191 but mostly men who understand a little Brazilian and, as a result, act as intermediaries in dealings with the boatmen (for example, Ilk).

622 571 During my stay at the mouth of the Tapirapé I observed that there may also be rivalry between chiefs. On the downstream journey, in Village No. 18, I met two chiefs, the good-natured old tribal chief Cyriãki and a so-called capitão, the energetic, feared Chico Cadete. Of the two, Cyriaki had the more dignified bearing, though he had no following in the village; Cadete ruled there absolutely, so that Cyriãki was left entirely in the background. On the upstream journey I met the [439] village in the act of undertaking a trading expedition to Santa Maria. When I returned from my navigation of the Tapirapé, I found Cyriãki in the village on the mouth of the Tapirapé. He had moved from Village 18 on account of disputes with Cadete and had settled here in Village 17.

622 The privileges enjoyed by the chiefs for their administration of office are the following: They do not work in the plantings; they do not hunt, and they fish only for tokunaré, pintado, and pirarucu, besides tartaruga and tracajá. They are not subject to any restrictions in diet. They may have several wives, who live together in their houses; there is no chief wife. Their houses are built by the villagers; they are sometimes larger and higher than the other houses.

[562] If the chief is absent, he entrusts the leadership to his wife his son also seems to represent him frequently.

The chief is educated for his position from infancy on. After an ablution with hot water, he lives for four years shut in a special hut; here he learns from his father the dances and dance songs, the administration of justice, and whatever else is necessary for his office. He may already pronounce decisions, which are announced through his father. In return he is given arrows, stones for lip plugs, and similar things as gifts. The apprenticeship ends with a large festival.

[562] The chief's successor is his son. If he only has daughters, one of them becomes chief (hau̯ĕkĕ, dĕrōdĭ). If she marries,

1:Lipkind E-5 (1937) 1948 SP9 Caraja SP9

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SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

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628 feuds are common and are restrained only by the religious community,
626 sanctuary being granted at all religious ceremonials.

ETIQUETTE

576 All dealings with visitors are conducted according to elaborate formal
195 patterns. The language is rich in formal appellations, exclamations, and
562 honorific phrases. The most remarkable feature is that women are permitted to behave with perfect freedom, whereas men, until they become fathers, behave with a shy and deferential modesty resembling but exceed-
[522] ing that of the Victorian maiden. Normal relations between members of the same village are formal and dignified; only in the men's house or on fishing and hunting trips is the behavior of men relaxed enough to permit horseplay and casual joking.

LIFE CYCLE

553 **Childbirth and Childhood.**—The child gets two sets of names, one
551 male and one female, as soon as the mother is known to be pregnant. These
843 are one's own names given by grandparents of both lines. Taboos in
846 regard to diet and behavior are required of both parents before and after birth. There is a well-developed couvade based on the notion of an
853 intimate connection between the infant and its father. Babies are nursed
862 until they turn to other food of their own volition; sometimes ridicule is used as a sanction against particularly recalcitrant children. No inter-
854 course is allowed during the period of lactation. Babies are carried on the hip, and sleep with the mother until weaning, when they are paired
[291] off with other children or with a grandparent. The girl child wears no clothing until weaned and then receives a fringed belt.

881 **Puberty and Initiations.**—At menstruation, a girl's cheeks are scarified and she assumes the girdle.

[304] A boy passes through a first initiation at about the age of 8 or 9,
[302] when his lower lip is pierced and a small bone labret inserted. A couple of years later, he passes through a second initiation, when his hair is cut short to a tonsure, his entire body is stained black with genipa, and he assumes the penis cord. When his hair has grown out to shoulder length, it is put up in a braid, and he attains full status as a young man.

885 The next change of status for both boys and girls occurs at marriage, when, for the first time, they take on the responsibilities of regular work.
551 Teknonymy is a matter of pride and follows the birth of the first child. The name is retained permanently thereafter, even though the child should
888 die. At about 45 both parents discard their ornaments and accept the
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Brazil.

577 of preserving their own health and the perpetuity of their tribe. With them, the abstaining from or checking of vice, is not a question of conscience, or ethics. They do not regard vice, and evil generally, as wrong in a moral sense, but in a physical and utilitarian sense—because they see that it injures them physically and materially. Right and wrong, virtue and vice mean to them simply material well-being or damage—a question of expediency only. Their perception of moral principles is very dim. They possess the innate ideas of right and wrong, as do all human beings, but seemingly in a blind, instinctive, unintelligent sense only, like a child. [626] Though the taboo, or belief that dire calamities will be visited upon them if they should transgress the will of their divinities, exercises a powerful influence on their conduct.

584 Matrimony is consummated by the man in question making known his wishes to the parents of the maiden of his choice. These in turn ask their daughter if she gives her consent. If 585 she is willing, her affianced delivers to her all his weapons. He then conducts her to the domicile of one of his relatives, as he, of course, has no house of his own. Here they both remain four days as guests of the family. The fifth day, the bride is led back to the hut of her parents, following which, she returns to the bridegroom his weapons. As if to prove that he is competent to care for a family, the groom goes on a few days' hunt, returning when he has secured a quantity of game. The marriage ceremony terminates with a bacchanalian feast, given by the bride's parents, which corresponds to the wedding supper of civilized people. The couple may now live together, and a hut is built for them.

855 The Karayá love their children and treat them kindly, though they are stoical and make no display of their affections. This is true of most of the South American tribes. 854 Very young children are carried about constantly by the mother, and cared for untiringly; and are coated with colored grease and decorated with bright feathers with the same pride and solicitude that the most civilized mothers care 000 for and dress their children. The older children are left to

/28 cont./

also hold for the relationships prevailing among the Karaya.

The village communities composed of such family units, each of which has a particular name, seem to be like gau communities (2). The agricultural land belongs to the whole

2. Post, Stud. z. Entw. d. Familienrechts /Essay on the Development of Family Law/, p. 83.

and is tilled in common. Hunting and fishing expeditions are also undertaken in common, and the yield in booty, field produce, etc. divided among the families. The chief supervises all of these communal activities and achievements. He is supported by the community; the property of all tribal members belongs to him (3). On the other hand, it is his duty to adopt

3. Couto Magelhães, Peterm. Mitth., 1876, p. 121.

orphaned children, particularly the sons of those slain in war. The personal qualities to which he owes his office today are less prowess in war /29/ than the skill, experience, and linguistic knowledge required to deal with the Whites. Thus, even prisoners of war adopted into the tribe who distinguish themselves at this can achieve the position.

The chief organizes the war and hunting expeditions; he determines the camp sites and the locations of plantings and, after the burning over of the strip of forest (roça) concerned, divides the agricultural land, which is marked off by posts, among the individual families.

His effectiveness in the administration of justice is important. In case of quarrels between men he acts as referee, while his wife decides those of the women. It is his duty to bring offenders to account, but he does not inflict the punishment, which, according to the Indian law of retaliation, is a matter for the injured party. Murder or bodily injury are therefore avenged by the relatives of the victim without further ado.

/29 cont./

622 If a theft is reported to the chief, he calls upon the perpe-
627 trator, by loud proclamations in the middle of the village, to
685 return the stolen goods. A response usually follows, and the object is simply put back in its place secretly, whereby the matter is settled.

Otherwise the chief has the right to have the huts searched. An object is taken away from a suspect as security until the corpus delicti is delivered. If the thief is found out, it is left to the victim to have himself indemnified.

622 If the chief does not fulfill his position or if the community cannot tolerate him for other reasons, he is simply deserted and another is chosen.

584 Marriage. The young man states his purpose to the parents of the chosen one; the latter ask their daughter for her consent. According to Couto Magelhães, a formal announcement is made
585 before the assembled community. Then the bridegroom hands over his weapons to the bride to keep and takes her to the house of one of his closest relatives, since, as a bachelor, he does not yet have one of his own. For four nights the two sleep on one mat, but separated by a wide intervening space, with no advances allowed. On the fifth day the bride is brought back to her father's house, where she hands the weapons back to the bridegroom. As a sign that he is capable of taking care of a family, the young man goes hunting for a few days and returns only with slain booty (1).

1. It is doubtful whether the test of strength by dragging a heavy block of palm wood, as is required among certain Gẽs tribes, also occurs among the Karaya.

A drinking bout, which the parents of the bride arrange, concludes the whole thing. Only then is the more intimate intercourse of the two spouses allowed (2). Then the erection of their own home follows.

833 2. Karayae cum mulieribus more indigenarum Australiae concumbent. Vir pedibus extensis humi sedet et mulierum supinam ante se jacentem

/323 cont./

685 remain concealed for long. The injured person complains to the
627 chief; he sends him to the thief with the instruction to demand compensation from him. If the thief refuses, however, the injured one again complains to the chief and may, if the latter agrees, start a "fight" with the former, in other words, demand his rights by force.

682 Murders seem to occur, though seldom. The custom of
627 blood vengeance prevails: the relatives of the slain one pursue the murderer everywhere, even into other villages, until they have slain him.

689 Social life. Objectionable elements (boasters, gossipers, quarrelsome persons) are on occasion flogged. Thus, my camarada Pedro II in Village 17 is said to get a beating almost weekly on account of his incredible boasting.

/324/ Malicious elements who, with their quarreling, never leave the village in peace are finally, as Kuriší reported, killed by the others at the command of the chief; their relatives then have no right to take blood vengeance.

565 There are no class distinctions. Women and children captured in war serve as slaves of sorts. On the other hand, there are differences in wealth; there are rich and poor people. "The rich man has everything, axes, knives, pots; the poor one has nothing. He goes to the rich one and says: Give me a pot, an ax. The rich man must give it to him." (Kuriší.)

[622] The chiefs in particular are regarded as rich, and they, indeed, must share their surplus of goods with the poor. Ilk in Village 13 and Crisote in Village 22 were regarded as especially
[184] rich. The Indians of the south horde are regarded as poor, and they are in comparison with the north horde, which, in turn, is to be designated as poor in relation to the Šavajé.

609 Forms of greeting. If someone comes into a strange village,
576 he remains, with bowed head, in the boat (sta sem vergonha, that is, without shame, as the Indians erroneously said, instead of com v., that is, full of shame) until the others come, greet him, and invite him to come along to the village. Only then do they go on land. This custom was observed in particular among the

Brazil.

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8:Gow-Smith T-5 (no date)1925
SP9 Caraja SP9

535 this ritual and never seek to penetrate its mysteries.
562 At any rate they seemed to keep at a distance from
[346] the sacred wigwam where the men ate and drank in tribute to the sacred fish.

535 Should a woman, however, so far forget her posi-
562 tion as to enter this mysterious hut or should avail
627 herself of an opportunity to look at this mystery dress, she may be punished by death. Executi[illegible] clemency is granted by the chief, at the request of the women of the tribe, providing she will promise silence and expiate her crime by some appoi[illegible]d work. If she should refuse, she will be order[illegible]o appear at a designated spot in the woods, at a certain height of the sun, where she will find assembled a group of warriors. Failing to comply with their desires, she may be killed and the body thrown into the river. Should she flee to the
[346] sacred wigwam, however, this being sanctuary, she goes free at the termination of the festivities to resume her place in society.

126 Wishing to preserve the costumes as a memento
535 of my visit among them, I asked the chief if I might take them with me. Reluctantly he consented, and ordered his men under cover of darkness to take them in a canoe down the river and await my coming. It was by this means that the costumes ultimately came in possession of the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation.

1:Lipkind E-5 (1937) 1948 SP9 Caraja SP9

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1:Lipkind E-5 (1937) 1948 SP9 Caraja SP9

Games.—Of numerous games, the most important is a formal wrestling match which is an indispensable part of most religious ceremonies and of all intervillage visits. 526 786 628

Narcotics and stimulants.—Like the other tribes in this region, the *Carajá* have no alcoholic beverages. They smoke tobacco in short cylindrical pipes (fig. 21, *c*). They are heavy smokers, some of the children beginning before they are weaned. 273 276

SUPERNATURALISM

Cults.—*Carajá* religion consists of two distinct cults: a cult of the dead and a mask cult (fig. 24). The cult of the dead, which is under the direction of the priest, has for its object the placation of ghosts by a periodical ceremonial which comes to its climax in several large calendrical feasts. The most important of these feasts is the Big House Feast, which is celebrated shortly after the beginning of the rainy season. All the villages which comprise a ceremonial unit come to the one village where the feast is conducted. There is a great mass of ceremonial addressed to various classes of ghosts, but the central portion of the ceremony is the impersonation of animal ghosts. Another important feast, already mentioned, occurs at the height of the dry season and is directed toward the control of enemy ghosts. Two other feasts held in the dry season are chiefly for the entertainment of the ancestors. 795 769 796 [792 793] [628]

The mask cult is concerned with the worship of another class of supernaturals. It consists of an elaborate routine of feasts, interrupted only by death. In these feasts, conducted by the shaman, the supernaturals are impersonated in the complex dances mentioned above. 795 796 [756]

The two cults are independent of each other and are both strictly men's cults. Any women intruding upon the secrets of the cults is subjected to gang rape and remains a wanton thereafter. [658]

Shamanism.—A shaman is trained by apprenticeship to an older shaman. A certain amount of medical lore is taught but the essence of the training is learning how to communicate with supernaturals in a state of trance. 756

There is a considerable amount of sorcery. The main technique is bottling a supernatural being into a small image and then directing it into the body of the victim. As almost all deaths are interpreted as the result of sorcery, feuding is continual. 754 [761] [658]

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/46 cont./

551 wish to infer at the outset a marriage, formerly prescribed,
601 with the matrilateral female cross-cousin. One must remember,
[183] however, that the present state characterized by a great degree of freedom, in other words, by a degree of "information" or of greater entropy, is also found in the performance of ceremonies, such as in the narration of myths and legends, these expressions of the spiritual life of the Carajá which allow great freedom of variation around a principal theme stubbornly preserved. — Finally teknonymy guides the reciprocal terms of grandparents and grandchildren, so that the grandparents, designated according to their sex, reply by the same word, even if the grandchild is of the opposite sex.

561 Before finishing my article, I must quickly touch on the
554 last two columns of Murdock's attempt. The Carajá distinguish,
615 by speech and by ornaments, age grades. At the same time, an idea of stratification is outlined in the fact that political and religious roles are the heritage of only one of the three patrilineal groups with an endogamous tendency. It is tempting to think
[567] of the classes or castes of the Guaycurú /Guaicuru/, for example, and since there are reports which speak of temporary slaves, Murdock's information in this direction must be corrected (Ai, with a tendency towards Ci, instead of O; column 14). The
628 villages are politically autonomous, but the Carajá themselves
621 unite some villages in amphictyonies for the performance of
622 certain ceremonies. The hereditary succession of the chiefs
621 goes in the patrilineal line, a grandson being chosen as the candidate, or, if one is lacking, a granddaughter. Consequent-
[178] ly, there is a temporary matrilineal succession in the heart of the patrilineal group, for which there is reserved the role of the chief, who, incidentally, is on the way to complete disappearance (thus: Pp and m, for the Carajá themselves, Ap and m for the Javahé and Chambioá /Shambioa/; column 15).

121 You would not wish me to end on this melancholy note.
[178] I repeat: a people small in number and too little known, despite appearances, is in the process of losing at least its traditional aspect, which would have been fascinating for comparative sociology as well as for the history of the South American Indians.

/321 cont./

622 and represents the village before the strangers. He performs these duties personally, without an intermediary. He does not an-
[623] nounce his orders in men's councils (such institutions are lacking), but goes from house to house. He transmits announcements to other villages by messengers, who, however, are not further legitimatized.

622 His power, however, is only a limited one; it rests entirely
621 on the good will of the villagers. If they are dissatisfied with him for any reason, they simply move away and leave him alone. Souza Villa Real already reported such a case in 1792 (1). On a

1. Rev. trim. 11, 1848, p. 416.

trip by way of the east arm, on a sandbank five days below the northern end of Bananal Island, he met Indians who said that they had migrated from their village because of disputes with their chief, whom they regarded as an evil sorcerer.

/322/ In former times there seem to have been quite a number of tribal chiefs. In 1908 only four chiefs were named (1),

1. In 1792 Souza Villa Real also mentions only four chiefs of the Karajahi, but only from hearsay; Rev. trim. 11 (1848), p. 432.

whereas quite a number of villages were without chiefs (see succession /see pp. 266 -267/). The southernmost chief was Fotuna in Village No. 14, the rest were Cyriãki in Village 18, Tumanakú in Village 21, and Crisote in Village 22. Nappears that their power is, in the first place, limited to the village
• [628] concerned. The young people of other villages, however, also seem to gather around them; at any rate, in the villages with chiefs I regularly came across an unusually large number of young men. My Karajá rowers also willingly obeyed the com-
624 mands of these chiefs. The men from the individual villages who
191 were called capitão by the Brazilian boatmen are not Indian chiefs,

/353 cont./

166 Schischã, the deceased chief Pedro Manco, and Mother Joana from the migratory camp No. 9, people about 60-70 years old, are regarded as the children of the immigrant Šavajé. Recently, Šavajé again came from Bananal to Schischã; in October 1908 they lived in a separate house. These Šavajé, of course, entered into frequent alliances with the Karajá.

167 [101] A third branch is supposed to have separated from the Šavajé on Bananal, apparently in the previous generation. This horde crossed the Araguaya and moved toward the west; among the Karajá of the Araguaya they are regarded as lost. The separation took place in the region of the mouth of the Rio das Mortes or somewhat more to the south.

619 Before I enter into a discussion of the culture of the Šavajé, I should like to report very briefly what the Karajá told me about them: The Šavajé are their kinsmen; they speak the same lan-
628 [438] guage and have the same tribal tattooing. They live in peaceful relations with the Karajá, they intermarry; above all, there is an active trade in which the Karajá trade to the Šavajé stone tools, which the Šavajé lack, as well as iron goods, fabrics, and chains of beads in exchange for urucũ, net coverings, araras, and
511 food. In clothing and ornamentation the Šavajé are supposed to be equal to the Karajá, but to have much more beautiful things. Among the Karajá, they are considered rich in ornaments and foodstuffs; hence, in times of hardship, the Karajá often migrate over to them. I found these statements to be generally true.

101 Phonetically the name of the people should be written Šăvăjé, in accordance with the pronunciation customary among the Karajá. The Karajá also call them: (ĭ)šăndjũ, (ĭ)šă(n)dĭwăndũ.
361 [114] I cannot give their number, because I became acquainted with only a small village of five huts. In any case, besides three or
[161] four such small villages, there seems to be a very large village, similar to those of the Šambioá, so that the number may perhaps
[162] be given as 800-1000. The Šavajé living among the southern Karajá perhaps reach 50 in number.

/366 cont./

526 The wrestling was very similar to that of the Karajá. If
574 one bout were not accepted, the challengers made a gesture of rejection with their arms, turned around, and went back to their row. Then one of them walked forward again, assumed the position of rest in the center, with his back to the opponents, and
[516] shouted until one of the latter accepted. The resting position was
[184] identical with that of the Karajá: they stood with the upper part of the body bent over and rested the arms on the knee. The victor performed a dance in front of the loser, shouting loudly; upon walking away, he moved his left hand over the head of the defeated one. Here, too, the chief stood on the side of the guests.

574 Only after the return from the wrestling match was food put before the Karajá; only now were they regarded as accepted and permitted to disperse into the individual houses.

843 Upon my departure from the village a strange ceremony took
628 place, the meaning of which, I believe, is that a girl made
123 pregnant during previous visits of Karajá was sent along with the Karajá to await the birth among them; whether she would then return could not be definitely ascertained; perhaps she went to the Karajá as a village prostitute. Shortly before departure, the chief took me by the hand and led me into the neighboring house. Here an obviously pregnant girl was sitting and /367/ spinning. She had to get up and lay her work aside; the chief's wife took off her neck ornament (I had already bought her leg bands from her in the morning). The girl then had to take a second bast apron and her net covering and go with us to the boat. Apparently this was very little to the girl's liking, for she wept bitterly and only gradually calmed down. The chief then made long speeches to me, the meaning of which, however, I could not understand. On the way, the girl was under the special charge of my Indian guide, who allegedly was her cousin. He was very gallant to her, carried her covering, brought food on a plate, etc. The girl always walked closely in front and behind him.

535 The masked dance that I saw among the Šavajé was a ĩdjãzõ
[184] dance and very similar to that of the Karajá. It took place on the first evening. The two masks stood side by side in front of the hut,

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

CHAPTER X.

KARAYÁ SPORTS.—FUNERALS.—CARNIVALS.—RELIGION.

526 THE young men love to wrestle on the sand on bright, moonlight nights. The chief object of the contest appears to be to cause the opponent to fall by tripping him. It is an exceedingly interesting sport. The Karayá of one village cannot pass another without stopping to indulge in the "struggle," as it is called. In all such cases where a visiting team is pitted against a home team of equal numbers, it seems to be more of a ceremony, or a performance, than a test of championship. The visitors, on arrival, do not go about the village nor mingle with their hosts, until after the struggle. Instead, they crouch in the sand by their canoes, their knees drawn up to their chins, their heads hanging down, and do not speak, except to reply in as few words as possible to the questions put to them. When the ceremony of the struggle is over, refreshments are set before them, and they may go about the encampment at will. On the occasion of my visit, the night was rather dark; and when the time came for the match, the home team, accompanied by every soul in the encampment, moved out to a broad, open space on the sand, there to await the approach of the visiting team. As the latter were coming up, a series of maniacal, blood-chilling war yells were exchanged by the teams as challenges. There was something about the performance that suggested cockfighting. Or is this "struggle" an imitation of a fight between rival tigers, who, having first challenged each other with terrifying roars, finally lock in deadly combat? The

526 628 [B74]

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

teams having lined up—there were four men to a side—they approached each other waltzing, zig-zag fashion, back and forth from one side of the ring to the other in a series of very rapid, stiff-legged, turkey-steps, the second man of each pair being close behind his partner and executing, lock-step, precisely the same movements in perfect unison with him; at the same time, the arms of all were extended in front, legs spread wide apart, bodies inclined forward and slightly squatting, and the entire anatomy of each rigid as if frozen stiff. As they worked gradually toward each other, they emitted fiendish challenges in the form of long-drawn-out yells. Finally, they came together and clinched, and the yelling ceased. The "first round" terminated quickly with four of the combatants sprawling upon the sand. For the second round, they jerked themselves out to one another in single pairs; while for the third round, a single individual, only, came out, first from one side then from the other, prancing like game cocks right up to the opponents' line. 526 628

Dr. Ehrenreich describes a war dance he saw at one of the Sambiõa villages. Eight warriors, fully armed with spears, clubs, and bows and arrows, and decorated with feathers executed the dance, led by a sort of dancing master, before whom they were arranged in the form of a crescent. They moved but little from one spot—merely a few steps forward and backward—hopping rapidly and artistically on one leg and waving their weapons in perfect unison, guided by the measured beats of their leader. Every movement was executed with the nicest precision. It is said that the Karayá learned this dance from the Kaiapó tribe. 535 [177]

When a Karayá dies, all his tools, weapons and ornaments are burned, accompanied by a loud crying, wailing and lamentation by the surviving relatives and friends, among whom, because of having participated in the obsequies, will be distributed whatever articles belonging to the deceased that were not consigned to the flames. There is, therefore, some inducement to be a mourner. The death dance around the corpse is next in order. First, the body is ornamented by 764 [768]

1:Lipkind E-5 (1937) 1948 SP9 Caraja SP9

ARCHEOLOGY

172 Large circular hollows in the ground are found at various points in *Carajá* territory, always in the close vicinity of a stream. By tradition these are ancient cemeteries; of old, they say, people did not mourn at a funeral but held a feast in the hollow. One of these hollows located on the height above the river bank at Fontoura is 18 m. (about 58 ft.) long, 15 m. (about 50 ft.) wide, and 1½ m. (5 ft.) deep at its center. The mound forming the northern side was excavated, disclosing two lines of burials with associated pottery, bone labrets, and beads.

The pottery is very similar to modern *Carajá* pottery and the labrets are exactly like those now in the possession of the *Carajá*. The cemetery cannot, however, definitely be identified as *Carajá*. The present-day [764] *Carajá* cemetery is different in location and ground plan. There is now secondary urn burial, and in the first burial the bodies are laid at right angles to the river rather than parallel as were those disclosed by the excavation. Still, the remains show even less resemblance to the *Ge* and *Tupi* peoples in the neighborhood. The question must be left open for further archeological study.

HISTORY

● 648 175 Since the earliest times, the *Carajá* have been at war with their *Ge* and *Tupi* neighbors. The sole exception is the *Tapirapé*, with whom at one time the *Javahé* maintained close and friendly relations. The *Shambioá* were the first to come in contact with the Neo-Brazilians early in the 17th century. Contact with the *Carajá* proper must have begun shortly after the founding of Santa Anna by Bartholomeu Bueno in 1682. The *Carajá* are [439] on good terms with the Neo-Brazilians, trading skins and fish for clothing, beads, knives, axes, guns, sugar, and salt.

161 **Population.**—According to the census made by the author in 1939, the *Carajá* number 1,510, divided as follows: *Carajá* proper, 795; *Javahé*, 650; *Shambioá*, 65. These figures should be contrasted with Castelnau's (1850–59) count in 1845 of 2,000 *Shambioá* in four villages, and his estimate of a total of 100,000 *Carajá*, and with Krause's (1911) estimate of 10,000 *Carajá* in 1908.

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

241 **Farming.**—Clearings are made in the thick forest along the watercourses. Gardens must be so located as to be accessible by canoe in the dry season and yet not flooded in the rainy season. The scarcity of such land results in some of the plots being several miles distant from the village. Proximity to fishing grounds is generally held to be more important. The work of clearing is begun in May at the beginning of the dry season. Maize

1:Lipkind E-5 (1937) 1948 SP9 Caraja SP9

775 **Death.**—At death, the soul becomes a wild ghost if the person has been violently killed and a regular resident of the village of the dead if he has suffered a quiet death. A shaman's soul is translated to the skies. Mourning puts an end to all religious ceremonies and is celebrated by self-laceration, the destruction of property, and daily keening. There 764 is separate burial in formal cemeteries for those who died quietly and [766] those who died violently. The corpse is wrapped in a mat with his weapons and ornaments, and the mat is hung in a shallow grave covered [765] by poles (fig. 22). Food and drink are provided for a short period. After the next change of season, the bones are exhumed and placed in a family urn.

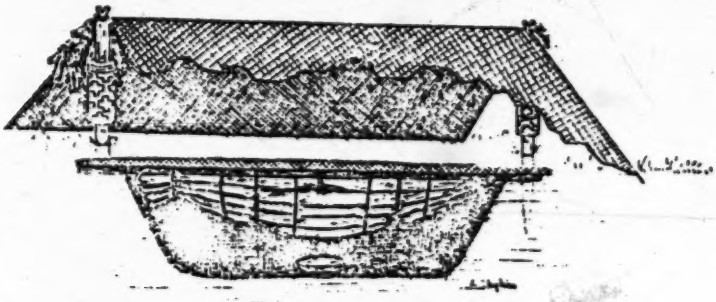

FIGURE 22.—*Carajá* burial. (Redrawn from Ehrenreich, 1891 b, fig. 16)

WARFARE

726 The *Carajá* are good fighters and have maintained themselves since prehistoric times in a territory surrounded on all sides by warlike enemies. Their usual tactics are waiting outside an enemy village at night and attacking at dawn. In defense, they run to the nearest water, where they [411] are unbeatable. They use the bow and arrow and club, and are skilled [526] wrestlers. They cut off a foot bone of a dead enemy and carry it back [727] to their village; this places them in control of the ghost, who now be- [775] comes a caretaker of the village and is impersonated in a special dry-season ceremony. At one such ceremony there were two *Tapirapé* ghosts, ●[648] three *Chavante*, one *Cayapó*, and one Neo-Brazilian. Present-day war- [727] fare is largely with the *Chavante*, the *Cayapó*, and the *Canoeiro*. Now and then a Neo-Brazilian may be killed by stealth to avenge a personal grievance. No captives are taken except women and small children, who are treated as full members of the group.

ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

531 **Art.**—Decorative art is confined to woven designs on baskets and mats, feather ornaments, elaborate masks with superimposed feather designs,

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175 At first he was met with distrust, since everyone was still
177 under the influence of the horrible deeds which Pires Campos had committed there 25 years earlier. Soon, however, by means of his intelligent, kind behavior, Pinto succeeded in getting the savages to put themselves under the protection of the governor of
[648] Goyaz. Their chief, Abeonona, swore an oath of fealty to the king of Portugal, the exact words of which are communicated in the above-mentioned letter.

175 The description of the Karaya which Pinto presents corresponds completely to present-day conditions. Through him we receive
[131] the first information about the large lake in the northern part of Bananal Island, not yet visited by any traveler, on the shores of
[161] which live the Yavahē /Javahe/. Pinto estimates the number of
[361] the Karaya at 9,000 souls in nine large villages, three of which belong to the Yavahē.

A second expedition left in the following year to lay out near the largest of the Indian villages on the island a military post which was given the name of Colonia da nova beira.

Later other such posts were established on the Araguaia, and some in the region of the Šambioa /Shambioa/. Under the prevailing mismanagement, however, these cultural centers very
[167] soon fell to ruin (1). Already in 1782 it was necessary to transport
[164]

[113] 1. Cazal, Corogr. bras. /Chorography of Brazil/, I, p. 340. -- Cunha Mattos, Corogr. de Goyaz." Rev. trim., Vol. 37, I, p. 393.

800 Karaya to S. José de Mossamedes in Goyaz, and in 1786 other bands were settled at Carretão, which, however, after a short time fell victim to an epidemic of measles. The colony of Mossamedes, too, did not prosper. Pohl found the place in the most wretched condition in the twenties of our century. Every trace of the earlier colonizing activities soon disappeared on the Araguaia. The island of Bananal in particular is as unknown today as at the time of its discovery.

/5 cont./

175 Nevertheless, the relationship of the Karaya to the immigrant
177 population remained rather good. On various occasions individuals of this people reached Pará on trading ships. In 1791 the chief, Aribedu, gave the then governor of this province information about the currents of the Araguaia. The trading expedition which traveled along the Tocantins and Araguaia in 1792 also brought many Karaya from the interior.

On the other hand, in the beginning of this century serious
[721] hostilities broke out. The newly established post of Santa Maria
[648] was completely destroyed in 1813 by the Karaya and the Akuã (Chavante) allied with them (2).

[113] 2. Rev. trim., Vol. 25, II, p. 91.

175 Then for a long time the reports are silent; the Karaya are mentioned by Martius, Pohl, and Aug. St. Hilaire only in passing.

We do not get more detailed information again until the great expedition of Castelnau in 1844. Since the French traveler did not travel on the left arm of the river, now navigated exclusively, but rather on the right one, east of Bananal Island, he did not become acquainted with the Karayahi. He also saw no Yavahẽ. He erroneously designates the island as uninhabited. On the other hand, he spent several days in the large Šambioa villages. He
[535] wrote down the first word-list and above all, described the strange dance masks, whose true significance, however, remained hidden from him. Unfortunately his whole collection was lost in the cataracts of the lower Tocantins.

Three years later the Brazilian official, Dr. Rufino Theotonio Segurado, came upstream from Pará. His excellent travel report
[131] contains notes on the Šambioa whom he encountered just above the rapids Carreira comprida. He also visited the Karayahi (3).

[113] 3. Rev. trim, Vol. 5, pp. 178 ff.

Of other Brazilian travelers, General Couto Magelhães, who did so much for Araguaia shipping and who, as president of Goyaz,

/6 cont./

000 648 Xingu expedition. Their relationship to the neighboring tribes and to the Brazilian settlers of the rubber districts is, however, completely hostile here, so that up to now any approach was impossible. The Yuruna suffer most from their attacks. Traces of battles, devastated dwelling places, and the like were found everywhere by the first expedition of v. d. Steinen.

101 Some ethnographic objects from these tribes, acquired among the Yuruna, leave no doubt but that we are dealing with true Karaya here.

The likelihood that there is a still further extension of these Karaya into the upper region of the river was discovered by the

171 second Xingu expedition. Objects acquired among the Kamayura /Camayura/ (below 12° south latitude) allegedly came from a tribe known there under the name of Aruma: a broken club, various arrows, feather headdresses, which are completely identical with those of the Karaya. Also, the tribe neighboring the Kamayura, the Trumai, had much in common with the Karaya, for example, the men's custom of tying the foreskin over the glans with a cotton thread, the bast aprons of the women, which are, however, much narrower and shorter than those of the Karaya women, the feather headdresses, and the form of the arrow-thrower. The languages of the two tribes, however, show no relationship.

101 The Karaya of the Araguaia are no longer connected with those of the Xingu. The two are separated from each other by the great warlike Gẽs nations of the Kayapo and Akuã (Chavante), who pushed in between them a long time ago.

131 Their dwelling sites lie along the middle course of the Aragnaia

133 between the mouth of the Rio Crixas and the first great rapids, S.

361 Miguel, where the river breaks through or flows around the mountain ranges which border the northern slope of the great plateau of interior Brazil.

133 Already below 15° south latitude it enters a broad plain filled with alluvial materials, which in general has the same character

[139] about as far as S. Maria (9° 30'). Flat, densely overgrown islands in the river, the banks bordered by sand dunes, behind which rises on higher ground a luxuriant strip of forest which, however, as

/7 cont./

36 Their northernmost settlement near S. Maria was attacked and
[648] completely destroyed in 1881 by the Kayapo of the left bank.
Since then they have not ventured far beyond the northernmost tip
of Bananal Island with their settlements. Their farthest excursions
go below S. Maria to the rapids of Joncon (i.e., it is at an end).

439 They perform important services for the traffic on the river by
felling wood for the steamers. As payment they receive axes and
knives, which they on their part trade to other tribes, such as the
[177] Yavahē and Tapirapé. Understandably, when steamboat transportation was established, care was taken from the first to stay on good terms with the savages. The merit for introducing this excellent relationship and maintaining it for 20 years belongs to the courageous commander of the steamer, Sebastião de Freitas, who served so well in exploring the Araguaia. It is thanks to his unselfish, kind work that perhaps /8/ nowhere else in Brazil are the relations between the native population and the settlers so good as here.

To be sure, for the Karayahi the contact with "civilization"
[184] has not been without consequences. In comparison with the independent Šambioa, a certain lack of order and cleanliness in their villages and less care and taste in their artifacts are noticeable. On the other hand, a wealth of most interesting ethnological ob-
[126] jects are still present among them. The most important pieces in the collection were acquired from them.

311 Their material position cannot be described as especially favorable. The lower riverbanks of their region are so exposed to floods that they can practice agriculture only to a limited extent. They
[648] venture onto the higher left bank only temporarily, out of fear of their worst enemies, the Akuä and Kayapo.

13 The third large Karaya horde is that of the Šambioa, about
[101] whom Castelnau brought back the first more detailed reports.
[361] They possess four rather large villages between the Pau d'arco rapids
[224] and the great Cachoeira de S. Miguel. Their hunting expeditions, however, extend beyond the Cachoeira grande, in former times up to the region of the Apinagés, near the present São Vincente, from
[172] where increasing settlement has scared them away. The rock sculptures of the so-called Martirios Island between the Carreira

/8 cont./

131 comprida and Cachoeira grande are in any case the work of their
172 ancestors. Since the first Araguaia travelers already mention these "inscriptions" as documents of great age, the Karaya must have lived in these regions at least since the sixteenth century (see pp. 91 ff.).

439 Within the Šambioa region, where the river is no longer
[162] navigable for ships, there are no Brazilian settlements at present. The savages are therefore completely dependent on the barter trade with the few larger rowboats passing by four to six times annually or the small vessels which maintain communication with São Vincente. They deliver mainly hammocks, field produce,
[648] and chickens to the travelers, but have otherwise kept their full
433 independence. Living under far better conditions of existence than the Karayahi, they stand, as far as agriculture is concerned, on a higher level than even the civilized river-dwellers.

● 648 They live in most bitter enmity with the Kayapo tribes of the left bank, the Kradahõ /Cradaho/, Ušikriṅ, and others. Many
[727] abducted women and children of the latter are found in their villages. On the whole, however, they are well treated, the children even adopted into the tribe without further ado.

The relationship of the Šambioa to the settlers has not always been peaceful. Nevertheless, Castelnau was already able to substantiate that these Indians did not deserve the bad reputation which they had among the Goyans at the time. The main guilt for the misdeeds which occurred is in any case to be sought on the side of the foreigners.

609 Their behavior was decidedly hostile in the seventies when the notorious Chief Roco attacked travelers on several occasions and massacred them.

Today it is only the inhabitants of the second village who receive strangers with hostility. Women and children are taken to
[911] safety, the warriors stand threateningly on the shore, armed with bows, spears, and clubs, and hardly condescend to barter. In the other villages our reception left little to be desired, once the fleeing women were successfully persuaded to return.

/28 cont./

also hold for the relationships prevailing among the Karaya.

The village communities composed of such family units, each of which has a particular name, seem to be like gau communities (2). The agricultural land belongs to the whole

2. Post, Stud. z. Entw. d. Familienrechts /Essay on the Development of Family Law/, p. 83.

and is tilled in common. Hunting and fishing expeditions are also undertaken in common, and the yield in booty, field produce, etc. divided among the families. The chief supervises all of these communal activities and achievements. He is supported by the community; the property of all tribal members belongs to him (3). On the other hand, it is his duty to adopt

3. Couto Magelhães, Peterm. Mitth., 1876, p. 121.

orphaned children, particularly the sons of those slain in war. The personal qualities to which he owes his office today are less prowess in war /29/ than the skill, experience, and linguistic knowledge required to deal with the Whites. Thus, even prisoners of war adopted into the tribe who distinguish themselves at this can achieve the position.

The chief organizes the war and hunting expeditions; he determines the camp sites and the locations of plantings and, after the burning over of the strip of forest (roça) concerned, divides the agricultural land, which is marked off by posts, among the individual families.

His effectiveness in the administration of justice is important. In case of quarrels between men he acts as referee, while his wife decides those of the women. It is his duty to bring offenders to account, but he does not inflict the punishment, which, according to the Indian law of retaliation, is a matter for the injured party. Murder or bodily injury are therefore avenged by the relatives of the victim without further ado.

/48 cont./

172 present petroglyphs inasmuch as the rock drawings are completely lacking precisely at the cataracts of the Araguaia; rather, Martirios Island lies in an absolutely clear and quiet stretch. Nevertheless, it is a most important place for the Karaya. It [131] forms the northern boundary of their territory and it is here that [648] the hordes of the Kayapo hostile to them frequently come to the river. Many a battle may have taken place in this region between the two nations.

The interpretation of the rock sculptures as memorials or border markers, to which perhaps family insignia of prominent leaders have been added, seems to be the most acceptable according to the prevailing conditions. /The remainder of p. 48 and pp. 49-77 are not translated./

/78/

Explanation of the Plates [1]

142 291 302 Pl. I. Karaya. Men and Women (of the fourth village of the Šambioa).

[276] [411] [301] 1. Warriors. The man on the left /sic/ with parted hair, the tobacco pipe (Fig. 4 /see p. 28/) in his mouth, holding his weapons in his hand. The one on the right /sic/ shows the hair put in a braid with the feather decoration ušiktamaru (see p. 16) and the national wrapping of the foreskin (see p. 17).

2. Woman and girl with the bast aprons, whose front end is drawn to the rear since both individuals have just got up from [285] the ground (see p. 17). One of the large buriti-fiber mats mentioned on pp. 38 and 39 forms the background for both groups.

Pl. II. Karaya. Men (of the fourth of the village of the Šambioa).

[301] [304] 1 a and b. Portrait of a young Šambioa man with ear sticks and wooden lip-plug, widely parted hair, and clearly recognizable tribal tattooing on the cheeks.

[1] [Plates appear on pp. 103-115--Analyst]

/174/

175 177 In 1772 José Machado undertook a military expedition by land from Trahiras to the Araguaya; he succeeded in establishing amicable relations with the Carajás, but otherwise his expedition was without success (7).

7. Rev. trim. 12, p. 457; 37, p. 362, note 84.

In 1773 José Pinto da Fonseca succeeded, as the first, in remaining in peaceable contact with the Karajá for a longer time. His large military expedition seems to have come to the Araguaya by land. At a place that he called Corôa, he met [131] the Carajás Indians (the Karajá proper). The place seems to have been located on the eastern arm of the Araguaya, approximately in the center of the lengthwise extension of Bananal Island. He succeeded in establishing amicable relations with the Karajá. Later, the Javaês /Javahe/ (first mention of this tribe) from Bananal Island, which he called Ilha de Santa Anna, came on a visit. After an initial military expedition against the [648] hostile Chavantes, a protective alliance was concluded with the Carajás. The report ends with a reference to undertaking a second expedition against the Chavantes. More did not become known. He had heard of the Tapirapés with whom the Carajás live in peace. In this report, Fonseca gives the first cultural [114] description of the Karajá; in the following I have often referred to his good observations, still pertinent today (8).

[113] 8. Copia da carta, que o alferes José Pinto da Fonseca escreveu ao Exm. General de Goyazes, dando-lhe conta do descobrimento de duas nações de indios, dirigida do sitio onde portou. 2. Agosto 1775. /Copy of the letter that the alferes José Pinto da Fonseca wrote to the Exm. General de Goyazes, giving him an account of the discovery of the two parties of Indians, addressed from the place at which he arrived. 2 August 1775./ Rev. trim. 8 (1846, 2nd edition, 1867), pp. 376-390.

/174 cont./

175 648 In the next few years the government endeavored to pacify the Indians, to educate them, in order to make the boat traffic on the Araguaya secure. To this end Antonio José Cabral de Almeida e Vasconcellos and José Pinto da Fonseca again traveled to Santa Anna Island between 1774-78, established a military station here, settled a few colonists, and founded the aldeamento Nova Beira for the Carajás and Javaés. Both establishments were soon given up, however, as a result of sickness and death (9).

9. Rev. trim. 12, pp. 457-458; 37, pp. 262-263, note 84.

175 648 167 [165] After these attempts had failed, another principle was tried. The Indians were transplanted into other areas, in order to safeguard shipping through this depopulation of the river shores. Thus, up to 1782 about 700 Karajá and Šavajé /Javahe/ were brought from the aldeamento Nova Beira to São José de Mossamedes near Goyaz /Goiás/, which had been founded in 1775, where they gradually perished (10). In 1786 Miguel de Arrudo e Sá was

10. Rev. trim. 12, p. 461; p. 393.

ordered to undertake a military expedition against the Chavantes and Javaés and to build a village for those subjugated. In the [165] Aldea de Pedro III (Carretão), 24 leagues north of Goyaz, he settled 3,500 Indians of both tribes, almost all of whom, however, /175/ succumbed to measles (11). The survivors were

11. Rev. trim. 37, p. 245; Rev. trim. 12, p. 462, speaks only of the Chavante.

brought to the Aldea de Salines (Boa Vista) in 1788, five leagues southeast of Piedade; in 1823, 76 Indians were still living there (12).

12. Rev. trim. 37, p. 246.

/175 cont./

175 648 Araguaya to his new residence (14). From 1804-1809 there were

14. Rev. trim. 12, p. 465.

two or three further expeditions to increase shipping on the Araguaya. They were not very successful; Indian tribes not to be subdued by military might and the river rapids made navigation on the river seem too dangerous (15). In order to alleviate

15. Rev. trim. 12, p. 468.

at least one of these dangers, the Presidio de Santa Maria was founded between 1809 and 1812 at the upper beginning of the stretch of rapids. By 1813, however, it was already destroyed by the united Carajás, Carajahís, Chavantes, and Cherentes, not to be built up again until 1862 and farther upstream (16).

16. Rev. trim. 12, p. 470; 25, II, p. 91; 37, p. 362; 38, p. 18.

Another attempt to live in peace with the Indians also failed. The Carajahís came to Salinas in order to surrender peaceably to the Brazilians; however, as a result of disagreements that broke out in this connection, they returned to their villages on the river (17).

17. Rev. trim. 12, p. 471.

From now on all reports about this area cease. The Brazilians hesitated to seek out the hostile Indians, and thus /176/ in time the rumors about the hostile nature of the Karajá and Sambioá took on ever greater dimensions. Only a few good retrospective views of this first period of discovery came out during these years.

/177 cont./

175 At the same time the Presidio de Santa Izabel (now Capoeira de Santa Izabel Velha) existed on Bananal Island: it was later transferred to near the mouth of the Rio das Mortes (Santa Izabel do Morro, now Karajá cemetery), but then given up (22).

22. Moraes Jardim, O Rio Araguaya, foreword.

We owe the first brief, more recent ethnographic description of the Karajá to Dr. Couto de Magalhães, who in 1863 traveled down the Rio Vermelho, founded the town of São José, and visited the subsequently abandoned Aldea da Estiva, one league north of Salinas, in which Chavantés and Carajás lived (23).

[113] 23. Viagem ao Araguaya /Voyage to the Araguaia/. Goyaz, 1863, pp. 124 ff.

[101] [16] [36] [31] In another work (24) he reports that the Chambioás, Carajás,

24. Dr. C. Magalhães, Região e raças selvagens do Brasil /The Country and Savage Races of Brazil/. Rio de Janeiro, 1874. [113]

Carajahís, and Javaés form a nation and live, 7-8000 souls strong, in 70-80 villages along the Rio Araguaya from Furo to Intaipabas.

[648] The same, in 1871, founded the settlement of Dumbasinho with the Collegio Izabel, two leagues below Leopoldina on the west bank (Leopoldina was founded in 1852), for the purpose of training and educating young Indians (Karajá, Kayapó, and Tapirapé) as colonists. The Collegio was given up at the beginning of the nineties.

175 114 The next detailed report about the Carajás was furnished by Dr. Spinola, who in 1879 accompanied Moraes Jardim on his Araguaya journey from Leopoldina to Santa Maria, which was undertaken for the purpose of making a map of the river. His

/187 cont./

101 The Karajá proper (2). They call themselves: kărăjă̆,

2. As explained above, I mean by Karajá the Indians called Carayahĭ by Ehrenreich. In
[104] accordance with the rather sharp J sound, which was often pronounced like dj, I was obliged to change the spelling to Karajá.

kărădjă̆, or krădjă̆. In addition, ĭnă̆ and ĭnau̯ă̆ were given as designations for themselves. They are called Karayá by the Brazilians. Among the Šavajé, according to their own statement, they are called šŭšomădŏ or bĕrĕhŏkŭwăndŭ, among the
131 Cherénte wārăšūtŏrŏ. They inhabit the middle course of the
[439] Araguaya, at present from 15° 15' to 10° 12' south latitude; their boundaries are thus the mouth of the Rio Vermelho in the south, a place between the north end of Bananal Island and Santa Anna in the north; only occasionally do they undertake trade voyages to Santa Maria and Conceição. In general they
● [648] are confined to the banks of the river and its immediate hinterland, and they inhabit both shores equally; today, at any rate, there can no longer be any talk of the habit of avoiding the
484 west bank out of fear of enemies (3). They also extend their
[437]

3. Moraes Jardim, O Rio Araguaya;
[113] Ehrenreich, "Südamerikanische Stromfahrten," p. 38.

fishing and trading expeditions over large stretches on either side. In the east they visit the Šavajé in the interior of Bananal, but avoid going there in small numbers. In the west they navigate
[361] the large tributaries. In the Rio das Mortes, 15 leagues above the mouth, there is supposed to be a small Karajá village; they allegedly do not go farther upstream here. They travel
[225] up the Rio Cristallino for a stretch to fish for turtles. On the
131 Rio Tapirapé they go just below the waterfall; a tree with two bullet-tracks, a fire area, and the remains of utensils mark the boundary here against the Tapirapé Indians.

/187 cont./

101 Their neighbors are therefore the following:

In the south, Kayapó and Bororo, the latter known to the Karajá only by name.

/188/ In the west on the Rio das Mortes, the Chavãte, in Karajá: kḷĭũzã́ (kĭlõzã́, kŭḷĭzã́); on the Rio Tapirapé, the Tapirapé, ũõhṹ; from Santa Anna northward, the Kayapó, kḷã̄ḷãṹ.

In the east, on the upper Tocantins, the Cherente, ĭnŏlã́tŭ; on the south end of Bananal, the so-called Canoeiros, tĭã̄bẽzã́; in the middle of Bananal, the Šavajé, šã́wãjé, (ĭ)šã̄(n)dĭwãndŭ́.

In the north, the Šambioá: šãmbĭõã́.

Of the tribes with whom they were unacquainted, the dõbã̄ĭ were mentioned on the Rio das Mortes in the east the ĭšã́wũndã́hõ.

● 648 The Karajá live on a war footing with all these tribes, except for the related Šavajé and Šambioá; they show great fear [439] of all of them. They formerly carried on trade with the Tapirapé, but for five or six years the two tribes have avoided each other as a result of a feud which flared up between them because of the 619 kidnapping of women by the Karajá. The Karajá show great respect even before the two tribes related to them. This is prob- [162] ably due to the fact that the Šavajé and Šambioá live in a few large villages, whereas the Karajá are scattered in many small settlements, and that they therefore, unaccustomed to great crowds of people, are afraid of the imposing number of armed men. Apparently, fear of other tribes is customary among the Indians generally.

162 The tribe of the Karajá is at present divided into two hordes:

361 The north horde lives from the northern end of Bananal 622 Island to the Rio das Mortes in the following 14 fixed villages (from north to south) (1): village of the chief Wãlãtã́, Crĭsõtẽ,

1. By fixed villages I mean those that are again established in their particular district after each rainy season with the move to the river sandbanks again.

/190 cont./

175 In 1772 José Machado meets Karajá, apparently on Bananal
167 Island. In 1773 Fonseca visits the Karajá north of the southern tip
[162] of Bananal; they occupied nine villages with 9,000 inhabitants, three villages of which belonged to the Šavajé.

175 Transplantings to the south, into aldeamendos, took place
167 from 1782 on. In this year 700 Karajá were transplanted to São
648 José de Mossamedes near Goyaz, where they gradually perished.
[164] In 1786 Carretão was founded for Chavánte and Šavajé; most of
[165] the Indians succumbed to a measles epidemic, and the survivors were taken to Salinas in 1788, where they likewise gradually perished. A removal of the Indians to the south near these "cen-
[131] ters of civilization" did not take place at that time, however, for in 1792 Souza Villa Real, when he traveled downstream from the Rio Vermelho out of the Araguay, did not find any Indians as
[484] far as the south end of Bananal. It was only at the beginning of the nineteenth century that the Karajá seem to have come to Salinas occasionally to visit their fellow tribesmen settled there. Thus, Silva Souza reports that between 1809 and /191/ 1812 they came to Salinas in order to submit peaceably, but that they moved back to their villages on the river as a result of a dispute; unfortunately, it is not said where these villages were. Cunha
[439] Mattos reports in 1824 that the Karajá at times came to Salinas
[721] in order to buy iron implements there (1). These conditions

1. Rev. trim. 37, p. 363.

lasted for many decades, for Castelnau reports in 1844 that the Karajá occasionally came from the Araguaya to Salinas, in part to visit their fellow tribesmen, in part to plunder the plantations
175 of the Brazilians (2). He himself did not come across any villages
13
36

2. Vol. 1, pp. 372, 377, 383.

from the mouth of the Rio Crixá to the southern end of Bananal, but reports that the fixed settlements start only after the division, and, to be sure, on the western arm, and that up to the Rio das

/191 cont./

175 Mortes there are three villages, the first of which lies 38 leagues,
131 the second 30 leagues, and the third directly above the Rio das
361 Mortes (3). Rufino, too, in 1846/47 found Karajá villages (nine)

3. Vol. 1, p. 395; Vol. 2, p. 114.

only along Bananal Island, the most southerly of which lay nine
175 days below the southern end of Bananal. In 1863 Couto de
167 Magalhães made a new attempt to settle Chavánte and Karajá
648 in a village near Salinas, in order to introduce them to civiliza-
361 tion here. It was this settlement, in connection with the further advance of Brazilian civilization toward the west, that seems to have led the Karajá to settle south of Bananal Island. Thus, Moraes Jardim and Spinola in 1880 mention the first village of the Karajá from the south as near São José, then a second village at the mouth of the Rio Crixá. There follow 18 villages on Bananal, beginning on the Lago dos Chavántes and with a village
[162] near Santa Maria at the end. These 21 villages were said to have about 600 inhabitants.

175 Ehrenreich mentions the following villages in 1888: Between
361 Leopoldina and the Rio Crixá a camp with a few tents was found.
[162] Near Schischá there was a village of about 30 persons on a sand-
[221] bank. He found the ranchos near São José, which were inhabited by the Indians during the rainy season, deserted in August. There was another village on the Rio Crixá. North of the southern tip of Bananal he lists the following villages: Above the Rio das Mortes three villages, near Izabel do Morro four villages, from there to the mouth of the Tapirapé six villages, and below the Tapirapé mouth six more villages, the last of which lay isolated
[721] on the north end of Bananal. The formerly northernmost settlement near Santa Maria was, according to his account, attacked by the Kayapó in 1881 (in 1859, according to Coudreau, p. 136), destroyed, and, as a consequence, definitely given up by the
[162] Karajá. The north horde, therefore, according to him, occupied 19 villages, whereas the south horde occupied two to four villages. Cavalcanti in 1895 gives the following villages for the south horde:

/192 cont./

167 In any case this summary shows that the south horde owes its
● 698 origin first of all probably to the establishment of the aldeamendos
[179] at Carretão and Salinas. The Indians settled there and the contact with civilization provided by it (iron tools, liquor, tobacco) soon attracted more, and this influx continued even after the aldeamendos were given up.

166 Even today this southern migration is continuing; this can be
361 definitely proved by my observations. Let us consider first the *shifts within the two hordes during the summer of 1908.*

In the case of the north horde I met 13 occupied villages with 71 houses on my journey downstream, and in addition 14 deserted village sites with about 40 houses and four migratory villages, two of which were traveling north, two south. On the upstream journey the situation was as follows: there were 13 inhabited villages with 63 houses. The difference in comparison with the villages of the downstream trip lay in the fact that two villages had been given up, two were newly founded, and five had been moved. Four villages were migrating, three to the north and one to the south. There were still ten abandoned village sites with about 25 houses.

If we take the Rio Tapirapé as the point of separation, there were: /Plates 39 and 40 appear here/

/193/

	below:	above:
on the downstream trip...	6 villages, 1 migratory village,	7 villages, 3 migratory villages,
on the upstream trip...	4 (1) villages, 3 migratory villages,	9 villages, 1 migratory village.

[113]

1. In March 1909 Kissenberth came across these same four villages, as well as one migratory village, below the Tapirapé. Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, 1909, Vol. 41, p. 967.

[Text continues on p. 90]

/193 cont./

162 Thus, the migration southward seems to continue to this day,
166 and it seems to have affected the Šavajé as well. Apparently the south horde has a bit of Šavajé blood in it, which is noticeable above all in the taller build. Today only about one-fifth of the Karajá live south of Bananal; the majority still live in the north horde, but we have seen that in it, too, a trend toward the south is making itself noticeable (4).

[361] 4. A migration from the south horde to the north horde took place long ago: people emigrated from Schischá and settled on the Corrego; this is the village of José (six men, eight women).

174 Whether this migration to the south is a continuation of an older migration which brought the Karajá to the Araguaya I should like to leave undecided. As is well known, Ehrenreich pointed out many similarities between the Karajá and the Indians of Guiana.
171 Without wishing to pursue these cultural connections further at present, I should like to state, from a comparison of Karajá and Kayapó culture, that the Karajá show very many cultural traits related to the Kayapó, but also harbor a large percentage of foreign /194/ elements that seem to point to the north or northwest. It will remain for later investigations to pursue these cul-
194 tural problems further. The present-day distribution of the Karajá,
131 their confinement to the river valley in a narrow band beyond 8 1/2
648 degrees of latitude in the midst of hostile tribes, especially those
[101] of the Ges /Ge/ family, seems to point to the fact that the Karajá migrated up the Araguaya from the north, breaking up the tribes
648 living here. So far the Karajá have not yet come to an amicable relationship with the neighboring tribes. Efforts to bring this about
[997] were undertaken at Conceição by the mission, but they failed after initial success (1).

[115] 1. The reports, for which I am indebted to a Brazilian near Santa Maria, that the Kayapó and Šambioá meet annually at a particular place on

/194 cont./

1. (cont.)

the river in order to make exchanges, and that there is now a Karajá boy among the Kayapó and a Kayapó boy among the Karajá for the purpose of learning the other language and later using it at home, probably refer to these efforts.

The feuds, therefore, continue to this day, and even today women and children are abducted by both sides. Thus, the Šambioá are in constant strife with the Kayapó, the Karajá with the Tapirapé, and the Šavajé with the Canoeiros. Among the Šambioá Ehrenreich found many Kayapó women who are used as prostitutes by the tribe. The same is true of the Tapirapé women among the Karajá. In 1908 their number was small: in the south horde there was one girl, in the north horde three women, a girl, and two boys. These Tapirapé seem not to have exerted any cultural, linguistic, or physical influence, whereas the cultural influence of the Tapirapé on the Karajá in former times must have been very strong, especially at the mouth of the Tapirapé, there was a great number of objects which were not seen in any other Karajá village and which appeared to be foreign.

3. House and Village.

The house (hãtõ) is built in different ways, depending on the season of the year (dry season, rainy season).

The framework of the dry-season house consists of three arches, one behind the other, each made out of two sticks tied together at the top with bast. Palm fronds serve as covering: the pinnae are bent over to one side; two such fronds are then placed one on top of the other and tied together at the ribs. These fronds are then fastened to the arches from below in such a way that the upper ones cover the lower ones somewhat. The ridge is not finished off; it is not specially covered. About 15 centimeters below the ridge, on either side, a pole is tied parallel to it on the leaf covering (see Pl. 39). These simple huts are about three meters long, two meters wide, and one and a half meters high.

/222 cont./

*301 painted and covered with rolls of wax, which apparently is supposed to represent such a painted lip-plug (Pl. 45, Ill. 7).

*301 184 This sequence was precisely observed everywhere. Only in the first village near Leopoldina were deviations found. Here the boy, as /223/ has just been mentioned, wore a wooden lamella, and later a wooden button, like his older brother and the [177] father. This family was civilized; they hesitated to walk around with long plugs in front of the Brazilians. On the whole, long [152] plugs are regarded as a sign of vanity, which is why older people, for example, can never wear them without making themselves ridiculous. The young people in the first village felt too superior to their savage fellow-tribesmen to wear such ridiculous things; hence they contented themselves with the dignified button of the old people.

*301 [324] The stone lip-plugs (mǎnǎ'dělě; mǎnǎ = stone, mǎnādĕrĕzo = rock crystal) are a special kind. They are cut to shape out of quartz, rock crystal, or /Ills. 61-63 appear here/ alabaster and then smoothed so that they look as though they were polished. The mouthpiece is greatly widened; the lower end runs out into a thickening (Ill. 62). Such lip plugs are worn only by unmarried men and only at special festivities. When they marry, they give it to a young relative. Since the stone lip-plugs are very thick, the lip hole must first be enlarged. This is done by the insertion of ever thicker wooden plugs. I saw only one specimen of such a lip plug, and, to be sure, in the south horde, but could not acquire it. I learned about a second specimen /224/ in the south [439] horde only long after we had left the village. They are not made by Karajá, but by the Tapirapé, with whom the Karajá of the [438] north horde barter for them. Those of the south horde again buy [435] them from those of the north horde, the price then allegedly amounting to a canoe, an ax, a pot, and a bush knife. In other words, they are very expensive and are therefore, and because they are very fragile, cautiously handled and kept carefully wrapped in cloth. At the present time, when the Karajá have a [648] feud with the Tapirapé and are therefore no longer able to buy stone lip-plugs, their value has naturally increased many times over.

/320 cont./

13. Political Conditions.

C 721 Wars seem to have taken place only because of the abduction of women, for it was always reported that the men of the foe were killed, but women and children were brought back to the C 698 village. The position of the Karajá with respect to their neighbors in this respect is the following: with Bororo and southern Kayapó they do not seem to come into contact. With Chavánte battles occurred in which the Karajá always had the greater losses. With the Šavajé of Bananal Island they are on friendly terms, whereas the Canoeiros, likewise on Bananal, are at present their most feared enemies. With the Tapirapé the C 648 Karajá formerly had friendly trade relations; the Karajá furnished [439] iron goods and in return obtained net coverings, bows, stone lip-plugs, food, araras, etc. The Karajá took advantage of the occasion of this trading on a sandbank in the Tapirapé River, far from the village, to lead off in the meantime women and children who were busy in the plantings. The Tapirapé did not know for a long time who was abducting their women. About six or seven years ago the Karajá had again abducted five or six women; on the way home, the latter fled, but the Karajá pursued them and killed all but one who came back to the Tapirapé and reported that the Karajá were the abducters of the women. When, in the following year, the Karajá again undertook their trade journey to the Tapirapé, the latter apparently agreed to the transaction, but then fell upon the Karajá and killed several men. Since then all communication between the two tribes has ceased; the Karajá no longer journey to the trading place and the Tapirapé, too, have moved farther upstream.

C 648 With the northern Kayapó the Karajá likewise seem to live on a hostile footing. I did not hear any reports about former combats. But the antagonistic, rejecting attitude that my Karajá displayed toward the mission Kayapó in Conceição was striking.

/320 cont./

648 Of course, it is not only the Karajá who abduct women from the enemy; they are exploited in the same manner by the latter.

727 /321/ Slain enemies are left lying. I was unable to find out anything about anthropophagy. Wounded fellow-tribesmen are brought back to the village and treated by the doctor. Captured women and children are used as work slaves; captured boys who do not wish to work are exposed, if they do not themselves run away. In both cases they probably face destruction.

The owner in question (their captor) benefits by the work of the war captives. In return, he gives them food and clothing.

727 Women war captives are also used as village prostitutes. In ex-
548 change for the payment of an arrow they are put at the disposal of the young men of the village as well as of other villages. A permanent claim is acquired by the payment of a net covering to the owner. At present the Karajá have only Tapirapé women as prostitutes; altogether I met only five such women and maidens among them, as well as two small boys. Šavajé women are also supposed to play this role occasionally; these are not abducted women, however, but women who, on trade expeditions, joined the Karajá or were banished because of offenses with them (?). One instance which I am able to explain to myself only in this manner occurred during my visit among the Šavajé, where an obviously pregnant Šavajé girl was handed over to my Karajá to be taken along to their villages.

622 The Karajá are led by chiefs (ĭdjāõ̆, dērĭdõ̆, ĭtrĭ). As external insignia they wear the chin tattooing, their wives the large Thevetia neck ornament (see above /see pp. 110 and 122/). Otherwise they have no distinguishing mark of any kind; "one recognizes them by their dignified behavior," Kurišĭ said.

The duties of the chief are the following: He determines and supervises the work in the plantings, the mask festivals and the preparation for them (making the dance masks); he keeps order in the village, settles disputes, decides cases, and supports the poor, widows, and orphans. He determines the fishing and trade expeditions; he decides on expeditions of war. Moreover, he shelters strangers in his house and provides for them,

/341 cont./

C 829 648 S 105

What the Karaja say about the neighboring Indian tribes (1).

1. For their statements about Šavajé, Tapirapé, and Kayapó, see under these peoples /see pp. 310 and 336 with regard to the first two; the material dealing with the last-named people has not been translated/.

C S [101]

The Chavánte (kliūzǎ, kuliza) live on the west bank, on the Rio das Mortes, on campo territory; between São José and Leopoldina they also come as far as the Araguaya. They are tall, have fat paunches and a light skin color. Old men wear beards; the hair is cut short in front, as among the Karajá, is worn hanging down very long in back and tied together with red string. The men tie up the penis in front with a black string; in the lower lip they wear small buttons of wood. A genipap painting on the chest is popular: a line from each armpit to the lower end of the breastbone. The Chavánte fish with poison cipo, and the Karajá maintained that they first learned this method of fishing from them. The Chavánte are a true campo people; they do not like to travel in the forest; they even burn off the campo, in order to be able to travel better. They transport their supplies in carrying baskets which are carried by the men. As for weapons, they carry lances, clubs, bows and arrows. The arrows are like those of the Karajá, but are regarded as ugly. One kind has points of tucum wood; these remain stuck in a wound and are broken off (whereas the bamboo blade points of the Karajá arrows may be pulled out, but they tear large holes, so that the wounded person bleeds to death). The feathers of the feathering are given their shape by burning. There are no poisoned arrows. The Chavánte are the enemies of the Karajá. They have already killed many Karajá, whereas the latter have killed only one Chavánte (2).

C [177]

S 648 [113]

2. This hostile relationship dates from ancient times. As Fonseca reports (Rev. trim. 8, pp. 382-388), the Chavánte, who lived between

/341 cont./

S 648

2. (cont.)
Araguay and Tocantins, were in the habit of swimming across the Furo during the dry season and plundering the plantings of the Karajá. They needed only to blow the trumpets, and already the Karajá fled. As a result, the latter did not dare visit their plantings and hence suffered from lack of food. Fonseca, when the Chavánte had again broken into the plantings, undertook an expedition against them and surprised them; they fled, leaving behind their weapons and their plunder. The Karajá had held back in cowardly fashion, but now boasted about being the victors. This was the first time that the Chavánte had fled before them; until then, the opposite had always occurred. -- And it seems to be so still today.

C 829 648 S 105

About the Cherente (ĭnŏlōtŭ) I was able to obtain only the not very credible information that they eat the excrement of human beings, even their own, putting it into their mouths with a brush-like stick that has been beaten flat. Perhaps this is merely a story that has arisen from the hostility and conceit of the Karajá.

C 829 648 T 105 101 T [174]

/342/ The Canoeiros (tĭăbĕzăˇ) (1) live on the east shore,

1. According to Cunha Mattos, the Canoeiros are the descendants of the Carijos, who were brought along from São Paulo as auxiliary troops and workmen by the discoverer of Goyaz, Bartholomão Bueno; they deserted in 1725, displaced the Chavánte, and settled in the high mountains between Maranhão, Santa Thereza, and Amaro Leite on the left bank of the Tocantins above Porto Real. They were supposed to be only 300 warriors strong, but were feared because of their brutality (Rev.

T [113]

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1. (cont.)
trim., Vol. 37, pp. 370-379; Vol. 38, pp. 19 and 83). Castelnau mentions them often and localizes their territory more exactly (Vol. 2, p. 116). Dr. Couto de Magalhães (Viagem ao Araguaya) repeats the statements of Cunha Mattos and also gives a brief description and a vocabulary of their language.

T
[101] but also roam on Bananal Island from the mouth of the Rio das Mortes to the southern tip. All the columns of smoke sighted in this region on Bananal are attributed to them. According to an isolated statement, they are also supposed to occupy a village inland from Furo das Pedras, which is at constant war with the neighboring Šavajé. They are supposed to have a darker skin-color than the Karajá. Their hair is worn in the bowl-cut. The men wear beards and large wooden disks; according to another statement, wide lip-plugs of shell in the lower lip; the ears are pierced and hang far down. They are a true campo people who have no boats. Nor do they know how to fish. In the autumn they come to the Araguaya to hunt for turtle eggs on the sand-banks. In connection with this they probably meet Karajá, by whom they are greatly feared on account of their dangerous arrows. They are regarded as the strongest (most warlike) people on the Araguaya and now play the same role there that the Chavánte did at the end of the eighteenth century.

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The peoples of the Xingu region were completely unknown to the Karajá. When I showed them Steinen's pictures, they debated for a long time about the strange style of dress (unclothed men with the penis hanging far down, uluri of the women), as well as about all kinds of implements. Obviously they were seeing such things for the first time. Language samples, too, which I read to them, were foreign to them; only in the case of the Suyá words did they listen attentively and seem to find related sounds. Only one chief, Chico Cadete in Village 18, directly below the Tapirapé mouth, pretended to know the Suyá with their large

/342 cont./

819 lip-disks. He said one could get to them by way of the Tapirapé.
648 When I asked for more details, he wrapped himself in silence. Perhaps through the Tapirapé he had obtained some knowledge of the tribes living to the west.

17. The Language.

126 To make records of the language among the Karajá is very
[194] difficult, because these Indians speak their language, which is rich in nasal forms, most indistinctly. The women speak considerably more clearly than the men.

The words asked for were willingly said; the Indians were indefatigable in pronouncing them for me until I could repeat them correctly. For transcribing them I used the Meinhof transcription in Neumayer's /343/ Anleitung zu wissenschaftlichen Beobachtungen auf Reisen /Introduction to Scientific Observations on Journeys/, 3rd ed., page 484. Determining the strange diphthongs which are peculiar to the language was often difficult and is to be regarded as merely approximated.

I tried to obtain the same words in as many localities as possible. Thus, for the words of the south horde (S) I have 21 informants, for those of the north horde (N) 29. I did not obtain
192 all the words in both groups. Comparison shows that most words
184 are the same in both groups, but that a number of deviations also occur. In my opinion, however, these do not justify our assuming separate dialects, since they do not show any laws, and since it is not certain how many are due to misunderstanding. Some of
[194] them are to be explained only by the omission of vowels in rapid speech, lighter or darker vowel formation, stronger emphasis of one or another character in the diphthongs (l or r in the case of ỉ, etc.). It is noteworthy that the words obtained in the village of José, who had migrated from the south horde to the north horde, still clearly show the greater relationship with the south horde, whereas those of Chief Korumaré, who had migrated into the interior of Bananal, are more closely linked with those of the

T /404 cont./
105 center stripe. Their women also make pottery. Their language
C differs from that of the Karajá; the two peoples do not understand
[197] each other. The relationship between the Karajá and the Tapirapé
C seems to have been peaceful in former times. With iron goods the
648 Karajá bartered for net coverings, bows, araras, stone lip-plugs,
[939] food, etc. The meeting place was a sandbank in the Rio Tapirapé,
opposite a high steep bank, slightly below the place to which the
C Karajá ordinarily extend their annual fishing expeditions. The
[721] Karajá had taken advantage of this opportunity to abduct in secret
the women and children in the places stripped of men. As has
been mentioned above (p. 263), because of this there was finally
a hostile clash between the two tribes about six or seven years ago;
C since then the Karajá avoid this spot, they no longer go so far
[727] upstream. The abducted women are used by the Karajá as slave
women for work, as well as village prostitutes; the children are
taken into the tribe. /Pl. 69 appears here./ /405/ /Ills. 262 and
263 appear here./

C 3. Observations in Karajá villages. In the villages of the
162 Karajá I saw a total of two women, three maidens, and two boys
T from the Tapirapé. They were smaller and more delicate than
[142] /Ills. 264 and 265 appear here/ the Karajá. The women wore black
T incised tattooing on the chins and on the cheeks (see Ill. 262 a, b
304 /see p. 339/). One girl was painted red on the face (Ill. 263).
302

C In the way of objects that were supposed to come from the
439 Tapirapé, I acquired the following in the Karajá villages near
126 the Tapirapé mouth: the comb (kŭwäă; Pl. 69, Ill. 1); its method
T of construction is identical with that of the Karajá, but the very
303 regular plaiting pattern is different from that of the Karajá. The
T spindle (Ill. 264) with the double-conical wax whorl does not differ
283 in any way from those of the Karajá.

T The club (īwŭrä, Ill. 265) is identical in form with the round
411 clubs of the Karajá. One side of the front half of the club is grooved
and flanked on either side by a raised strip which bears groups of
cross-lines. The cylinder on the handle has three grooves; the
handle is grooved and likewise has two strips with cross-lines and
depressions.

[Text Continues on P. 339]

6:CooK M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
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derelects, drifting for ages on the ocean of time. Physically, 000
they have developed splendidly, and approach closely the completeness that the Creator has ordained for man; they are fine animals. Mentally, they have scarcely advanced one step, and they fall immeasurably below the standard of intellectual completeness that the Supreme Mind has beneficiently ordained that all mankind should strive to attain and to enjoy. Morally, or spiritually, they have not developed at all, but instead, have shrivelled fearfully, and every day they fail more and more of the glorious standard of perfect manhood and soul development that God, the Supreme Soul, has established, and ardently desires that all men should attain to, until they are almost infinitely removed from God. What a fearful *mis*-fortune it is that men should so utterly miss the prize of the high-calling of God.

For many of the facts herein presented regarding the 127
Karayá tribe, of the Araguaya, I am indebted to that valuable work on South American Ethnology, *Beitrage zur Völkerkunde Brasiliens*, by Dr. Paul Ehrenreich.

The Brazilian government once maintained a school at 148
Leopoldina to "civilize" the Karayá who live in several vil- [131]
lages, or clusters of huts, scattered along the Araguaya a thousand miles. Much money was expended in this venture, but like many similar government enterprises, it ended without any desirable results having been achieved. Though a sincere effort may have been made to teach a few of the arts of civilization to these children of the wilds, yet the heart, or conscience, remained untouched by any elevating influences. Moreover, the moral influences that did exist, were positively bad, for the "civilization" that operated on these primitive people was immoral, degenerate. Therefore the savage pupils readily absorbed the vices of their teachers and examples, which were positive, but were not so apt to acquire their virtues, which were at best merely neutral. So they graduated from the school of "civilization" in a worse plight, morally and socially, than when they "matriculated."

To establish a school to "civilize" the children of the

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
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●648 forest, the course usually adopted, whether the work is done by "secular" agents, or by friars paid by the government, is to select a site within fifty or one hundred miles of the villages of the tribe, and erect the desired buildings. Then, when all is ready, the agents repair to the villages and try to secure a number of boys, either by making presents of knives and beads to the parents, or by kidnapping the children. This latter method was pursued with the Karayá, [593] for the parents refused to part with their children for any consideration. The friars are opposed to having the entire families of the Indians live near their schools. But, on the other hand, they do desire the mixed Portuguese speaking multitude—the ignorant, superstitious, immoral, rum-drinking people—called "the civilized ones," to "live at their feet." These people are more profitable to the friar than the Indians, for they give him much money to perform various priestly functions. But the primitive people have no money; nor have they learned to value these priestly services. Therefore, when the "school" is organized, the young savage, besides hearing the doctrine taught, has ample opportunity to see it exemplified.

122 I stayed with a private family at Leopoldina while waiting
000 to descend the river. In the meantime, I occupied myself going among the people, reading God's message to them and talking with them. I had many interesting and enjoyable experiences. I heard, long afterward, that the village blacksmith, with whom I had talked and left a Bible, was reading, or having it read to him daily, and was literally devouring it. It was the joy of his life. He would often exclaim with emotion as he listened to the reading. "Great is Jehovah!" Perhaps few who read these lines can understand the great worth of this Book to this sincere man in his declining years, dwelling at this remote, forsaken and forgotten spot, rarely reached by the fewest printed lines of any kind.

Another man, a visitor from up the river, was ill, and wished me to suggest a remedy for him. I thought that if he would forsake his vices, he would probably regain his

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca.1900) 1909
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609 of them are painted black and red, and have their faces daubed Many
[302] with a thick layer of black soot; others wear upon their heads
[301] crowns made of beautiful feathers; while others again, have
[237] their hair braided and decorated with the brilliant crimson
[411] and gold feathers of the macaw. All are armed with spears beautifully decorated with feathers, and with bows and arrows and heavy killing clubs. They present quite a military spectacle.

Disembarking, the first thing the visitors do is to show the savages their arms, especially the repeating rifles, which fill them with awe. The chief now hastens to declare that he and his people are friends of the white man, saying: "The Karayá is the friend of the white man; there is no lie with us," repeating this twice. Confidence established, some trading may be done without difficulty. Small children, and particularly, young girls, are very shy of the strangers, and usually creep into their huts and cover their faces with their hands. The visitor is never troubled by beggars, and rarely has anything stolen from him.

131 The Karayáhy division live along the main stream of the
162 Araguaya between São José and Santa Maria in twelve or
[648] fifteen villages or encampments, one of which, near Santa Maria, was completely wiped out in 1881 by the Kayapó
361 tribe. Their villages are not so clean as those of the Sambiõa, nor are the huts so well constructed.

191 Observing the speech of the Karayá, one can scarcely notice any movement of the lips; nor do they seem able to repeat exactly a sentence just uttered. They have many sounds which they produce with the tongue and swallow the
192 last syllable. Apparently, their speech is not related to any Brazilian aboriginal language. The most remarkable thing about it is that they have one dialect for the men and another for the women; though only a few words are entirely different, and with most of them there is but a slight, unimportant change.

142 Physically, the Karayá are one of the finest of the aboriginal races of Brazil. They are of medium size, slender and

Brazil.

593 The husband does not eat with his family, but instead
[364] with the family of his married sister, and is considered a member of his sister's family. Secondly, his share of the pro-
[768] ceeds of the day's hunting and fishing, does not go to his own hut, but to that of his sister; and, lastly, if his wife should die leaving dependent children, they are taken in charge by her parents and the widower again becomes one of the bachelors.

582 A Karayá woman is not permitted to marry an alien, unless
648 he will become adopted, or naturalized, into the tribe, and will consent to reside permanently at the wife's native village.
593 The Karayá wife appears to be considered the equal of her husband in many respects, for he never takes any important step in life without first consulting her. Even the village chief divides his honors with his wife. Furthermore, the wife as
[462] well as the husband, has an important part to perform, not only in the family, but in the social economy of the village; though her part is to do the heavy, laborious work, while her man does the light and fancy-work; his only heavy work being to hunt and fish.

595 The men usually have but one wife, though a few have
582 two. One reason for having two wives seems to be owing to the custom prevailing among nearly all South American tribes that the young men marry the older women, and the old men marry the young women. Therefore, when the first wife becomes old, her young husband takes to himself a youth-
163 ful wife. Perhaps this custom of the young men marrying the
[582] older women will account in part for the small number of
[862] children born to these primitive races; though another reason may be that children are allowed to nurse until they are six
171 or seven years of age. The custom of aged men marrying girls fourteen or fifteen years of age is common among the
847 civilized people of Brazil. Abortion among the Karayá is practiced only when the husband demands it. Whenever a
586 couple cannot live together harmoniously, the husband is al-
587 lowed to trade his wife for another woman. If he should drive her away, he will not be permitted to marry another
000 woman, though he may take a concubine. The adulterous

/323 cont./

685 remain concealed for long. The injured person complains to the
627 chief; he sends him to the thief with the instruction to demand compensation from him. If the thief refuses, however, the injured one again complains to the chief and may, if the latter agrees, start a "fight" with the former, in other words, demand his rights by force.

682 Murders seem to occur, though seldom. The custom of
627 blood vengeance prevails: the relatives of the slain one pursue the murderer everywhere, even into other villages, until they have slain him.

689 Social life. Objectionable elements (boasters, gossipers, quarrelsome persons) are on occasion flogged. Thus, my camarada Pedro II in Village 17 is said to get a beating almost weekly on account of his incredible boasting.

/324/ Malicious elements who, with their quarreling, never leave the village in peace are finally, as Kuriší reported, killed by the others at the command of the chief; their relatives then have no right to take blood vengeance.

565 There are no class distinctions. Women and children captured in war serve as slaves of sorts. On the other hand, there are differences in wealth; there are rich and poor people. "The rich man has everything, axes, knives, pots; the poor one has nothing. He goes to the rich one and says: Give me a pot, an ax. The rich man must give it to him." (Kuriší.)

[622] The chiefs in particular are regarded as rich, and they, indeed, must share their surplus of goods with the poor. Ilk in Village 13 and Crisote in Village 22 were regarded as especially
[184] rich. The Indians of the south horde are regarded as poor, and they are in comparison with the north horde, which, in turn, is to be designated as poor in relation to the Šavajé.

609 Forms of greeting. If someone comes into a strange village,
576 he remains, with bowed head, in the boat (sta sem vergonha, that is, without shame, as the Indians erroneously said, instead of com v., that is, full of shame) until the others come, greet him, and invite him to come along to the village. Only then do they go on land. This custom was observed in particular among the

/27 cont./

582 4. The marriage of Karaya women to foreigners is permitted only when the latter allow themselves to be adopted into the tribe and take up permanent residence in the village concerned, a case which in Castelnau's time was not at all rare, but could hardly occur today.

593 Although the husband is naturally in charge as head of the
562 family, the position of the wife is a completely honorable one. There is no trace of the degradation of women into beasts of burden, as has been falsely imputed for all Indians by analogy with the North American tribes. Certain tasks, to be sure, are performed exclusively by the women and they are tireless in fulfilling their manifold duties. The man, too, however, has his share to perform. His wife is his complete equal; he does nothing of importance without her advice. Even the chief shares his honors with his wife. Mistreatment of women is unheard of.

595 Monogamy is the usual thing. The husband, however, not uncommonly finds it necessary to take a second wife when the
[582] first one becomes too old. This is conditioned by the peculiar
[171] custom, widespread, it seems, among all South American tribes (2), that the young men court older women and the old

[113] 2. Cf. Im Thurn, op. cit., p. 223.

men younger ones. Perhaps the relatively small number of children can be traced to this.

847 Artificial abortion occurs, but only on the demand of the husband. It is brought about by pressing the uterus together with the hands and is said to cause death not uncommonly.

586 If married people do not get along, the husband is allowed
587 to trade off his wife for that of another. Anyone who repudiates his wife cannot marry again, but is allowed to have a housekeeper.

● 684 The husband himself punishes an adulterous wife by a beating or burning her with glowing wood. Sometimes (3) the guilty one

[113] 3. Couto Magelhães, Selvagem, p. 116.

is said to be even burned to death.

/27 cont./

684 Adultery on the part of the husband is avenged by the closest relatives of the wife.

Everywhere in the social order of the Karaya the endeavor to preserve the peace of family life from any disturbance is prominent. The young people are for that reason kept under strict discipline. Virginity is highly prized and protected (4);

836 839 [113]

4. Couto Magelhães, Peterm. Mitth., 1876, p. 222.

extramarital intercourse between the sexes is punished with strict penalties and under certain conditions with death. Children originating from such relationships are not, as among other primitive peoples, likewise killed, however, but rather are turned over to the chief's care, like other orphans.

848

589 [291] [736] [591] /28/ Single persons, distinguished externally from the married ones by the above-mentioned cotton bands, are not obliged to support themselves, but rather are supported by the community. Bachelors and widowers live together in a special hut and take part in hunting expeditions only when they please. Likewise, unmarried and widowed women are excused from supporting themselves. They live in the house of one of their nearest relatives.

589 736 [834] According to a communication from Couto Magelhães, the latter seem to have some freedom in intercourse with unmarried men: "There are in the Karaya villages men destined to be viri viduarum /men deprived of a wife/. These people have no other occupation, they are supported by the tribe and do not, like the others, undergo the hardships of long travels and raids. To my remark that it did not seem right to me that the community take on the support of these people, Chief Koinama replied that the peace which the families enjoyed because of this far outweighed the effort spent on their support." (Selvagem, p. 116.)

836 [589] For the rest, the unmarried men who wish to turn to the female sex are dependent on intercourse with the captured Kayapo women kept in half-slavery, of which among the Sambioa every village shelters at least a few. They are considered common

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
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woman is punished by her husband either by flogging, or by torturing with fire brands. It is said that she is sometimes even burned to death. The adulterous man is punished by the nearest relatives of his wife. But among these people as, unfortunately, among the higher races, far greater license is allowed the man than the woman.

The Karayá seem to cherish an earnest desire to preserve the integrity of the family, and to guard it against disturbing influences of every kind. Children are reared with strictness and maidenhood is respected; and any transgression of the tribal laws regarding the relations of the sexes is severely punished—even with death, in some cases. But children born out of wedlock are not put to death, as is usually done among savage peoples, but instead, are, like other orphans, reared by the chief of the village as his own children.

The unmarried individuals, who are distinguished from the married by the previously described wristlets and armlets, are not required to support themselves, but are provided for by the community as a whole. The bachelors and widowers live together in a sort of "bachelors' hall"—a separate hut—and participate in the hunting and fishing and other occupations of the tribe only as they feel inclined. But the unmarried women, while, like the single men, not required to work, are not segregated, for they dwell in the huts of their nearest relatives. These females are allowed certain liberties with the unmarried men in order that they may not perturb the married men and their families. They are the village prostitutes. By this arrangement the single men, on the other hand, are kept from endangering family life. Women taken captive from the enemy in intertribal wars, are retained as prostitutes and semi-slaves. These unhappy females are the common property of all the men, the married as well as the single. Captive female children share the same sad fate; and probably also the children born of captive parents.

We see in these customs, the dualism of the "ethics" of the savage. They are moral, if we may use this term, only when their own well-being is at stake—when it is a question

/29 cont./

622 If a theft is reported to the chief, he calls upon the perpe-
627 trator, by loud proclamations in the middle of the village, to
685 return the stolen goods. A response usually follows, and the object is simply put back in its place secretly, whereby the matter is settled.

Otherwise the chief has the right to have the huts searched. An object is taken away from a suspect as security until the corpus delicti is delivered. If the thief is found out, it is left to the victim to have himself indemnified.

622 If the chief does not fulfill his position or if the community cannot tolerate him for other reasons, he is simply deserted and another is chosen.

584 Marriage. The young man states his purpose to the parents of the chosen one; the latter ask their daughter for her consent. According to Couto Magelhães, a formal announcement is made
585 before the assembled community. Then the bridegroom hands over his weapons to the bride to keep and takes her to the house of one of his closest relatives, since, as a bachelor, he does not yet have one of his own. For four nights the two sleep on one mat, but separated by a wide intervening space, with no advances allowed. On the fifth day the bride is brought back to her father's house, where she hands the weapons back to the bridegroom. As a sign that he is capable of taking care of a family, the young man goes hunting for a few days and returns only with slain booty (1).

1. It is doubtful whether the test of strength by dragging a heavy block of palm wood, as is required among certain Gês tribes, also occurs among the Karaya.

A drinking bout, which the parents of the bride arrange, concludes the whole thing. Only then is the more intimate intercourse of the two spouses allowed (2). Then the erection of their own home follows.

833 2. Karayae cum mulieribus more indigenarum Australiae concumbent. Vir pedibus extensis humi sedet et mulierum supinam ante se jacentem

/322 cont./

622 the honor remains with her; /323/ it does not pass on to her husband. If the chief has no descendants, the village remains without a head; the only thing to be done then is to train a boy from infancy on for this office. Then the men of the village deliberate, choose a child, go to its mother and ask her whether she will permit her child to become chief. If she gives her consent, the boy is trained for his office, apparently by his father. Thus, for example, the chief of Village 7 had died long ago. His son's name was Cadete; he had three daughters and a son. The son died prematurely, the daughters did not wish to accept the rule; hence there was no chief in this village. "One would first have to be trained for this."

609 [624] Strangers are received and given hospitality by the chief. Good form demands that the stranger receive all kinds of gifts (coconuts, honey, batatas, pots, mats, etc.), in the expectation that he will give lavishly in return. In my camp near the villages I was never alone; rather, there was uninterruptedly, day and night, a watch of two or three youths, sometimes even several, present in the camp. At night they slept beside the fire. Apparently this precaution arose out of a mistrust of strangers. Now, however, the placing of the watch by the very Indians who still observe the old forms is regarded as an honor accorded the strangers, and the honor is particularly great if the chief himself spends the night in the camp of the stranger.

421 Legal affairs. Personal property is already very highly developed. As such they regard: house and boat (both belonging to the woman), weapons, implements, ornaments, and articles of clothing. The food from the plantings is family property; large booty from hunting and fishing is distributed to the entire village. Even small children have their ornaments and toys as property. Only the specific owner decides whether to sell, if it is a child, its parents, usually the mother. Outsiders never interfere in the personal affairs of others.

● 685 Property violations seldom occur. As far as I was concerned, I observed an attempted theft only once. Thefts seem to extend essentially to produce from the plantings and apparently do not remain concealed for long.

/323 cont./

685 remain concealed for long. The injured person complains to the
627 chief; he sends him to the thief with the instruction to demand compensation from him. If the thief refuses, however, the injured one again complains to the chief and may, if the latter agrees, start a "fight" with the former, in other words, demand his rights by force.

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6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
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Brazil.

When the chief is informed of a rob-
bery, he at once steps just outside of his domicile, and in a 622
stentorian voice that can be clearly heard by every person in 627
the encampment, demands of the thief, whoever he may be, 685
that the stolen articles be returned immediately. Usually, this has the desired effect; the stolen objects are secretly deposited in the place from which they were taken, and the affair is closed. If the articles are not returned, the chief is empowered to institute a search. If suspicion should fall upon a certain individual, the plaintiff may take from him any object he desires, to be held as security until the return of the stolen goods. If the culprit is discovered, his victim is expected to see to it that he is abundantly reimbursed for any loss suf-
fered. If a chief should prove incompetent, or the people 622
cannot get along harmoniously with him, they simply ignore him and choose another.

1:Lipkind E-5 (1937) 1948 SP9 Caraja SP9

Games.—Of numerous games, the most important is a formal wrestling match which is an indispensable part of most religious ceremonies and of all intervillage visits. 526 786 628

Narcotics and stimulants.—Like the other tribes in this region, the *Carajá* have no alcoholic beverages. They smoke tobacco in short cylindrical pipes (fig. 21, *c*). They are heavy smokers, some of the children beginning before they are weaned. 273 276

SUPERNATURALISM

Cults.—*Carajá* religion consists of two distinct cults: a cult of the dead and a mask cult (fig. 24). The cult of the dead, which is under the direction of the priest, has for its object the placation of ghosts by a periodical ceremonial which comes to its climax in several large calendrical feasts. The most important of these feasts is the Big House Feast, which is celebrated shortly after the beginning of the rainy season. All the villages which comprise a ceremonial unit come to the one village where the feast is conducted. There is a great mass of ceremonial addressed to various classes of ghosts, but the central portion of the ceremony is the impersonation of animal ghosts. Another important feast, already mentioned, occurs at the height of the dry season and is directed toward the control of enemy ghosts. Two other feasts held in the dry season are chiefly for the entertainment of the ancestors. 795 769 796 [782 793] [628]

The mask cult is concerned with the worship of another class of supernaturals. It consists of an elaborate routine of feasts, interrupted only by death. In these feasts, conducted by the shaman, the supernaturals are impersonated in the complex dances mentioned above. 795 796 [766]

The two cults are independent of each other and are both strictly men's cults. Any women intruding upon the secrets of the cults is subjected to gang rape and remains a wanton thereafter. [688]

Shamanism.—A shaman is trained by apprenticeship to an older shaman. A certain amount of medical lore is taught but the essence of the training is learning how to communicate with supernaturals in a state of trance. 756

There is a considerable amount of sorcery. The main technique is bottling a supernatural being into a small image and then directing it into the body of the victim. As almost all deaths are interpreted as the result of sorcery, feuding is continual. 754 [761] [628]

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/37 cont./

527 The festival begins with a procession of the masks through
535 the village. The participants dress in the nearby forest and approach with a loud han̓ hm han̓. Then everybody cries: nakunerare! There they come!

During the procession the masked men throw sticks of wood in all directions. After they have withdrawn, everything is readied for the feast and drinking bout, until after a few hours the dancers approach again and the dance begins. Like that of the duck-duck, it consists of an odd hopping. The dancer is not permitted to let himself be recognized in any way; he
[688] may neither speak nor cough or sneeze, and particularly not fall. Otherwise, as in the case of the duck-duck and the Northwest American hametz, he is killed immediately.

If he finds it necessary to cough, which in view of the stifling heat in his masquerade is not uncommon, of course, he jumps into the circle of men standing about, who cover up his voice by likewise coughing.

The dances take place in a certain sequence; it is the chief who decides which one is to be at the beginning.

532 If a woman enters the secret hut out of curiosity or other-
535 wise takes advantage of an opportunity to see the mask costumes,
562 she is punished by death.
688 Usually the other women then bring a petition to the chief. The latter lets mercy prevail if the guilty one promises silence and is willing to undertake a task of atonement, which usually consists of weaving a riio or making a large buriti mat. If she refuses or if the work is not satisfactory, a place in the forest is pointed out to her, and she must appear there at a certain
[839] time. She is forced to yield to the men assembled there. If she does not appear, the latter have the right to kill her wherever
[766] they find her. The corpse of the guilty one is sunk in the river.
[778] No one may enter the hut of the victim, however, since this is considered a sanctuary.

In the same way a man who betrays the secret to a woman is declared an outlaw.

/37 cont./

535 That such barbaric customs prevailed, at least formerly,
532 is all the less to be doubted, since analogies can be shown in
562 other regions of the world. Today, however, the matter does
688 not seem to be handled as strictly. It is said that among the
178 neighboring Tapirapé all the women once saw the masks by chance, so there was nothing else to do but to pardon them all and give up the secret.

According to a statement of Pedro Manco, the custom has fallen into disuse among the Šambioa, too. Nevertheless, they did not permit us simply to take the masks found in the forest along with us, because women /38/ were presumed to be in the area. Rather our men had to put on special clothing for the purpose of bringing them to our camp.

Whether these customs have now become milder or not, in any case the respect the women have for the masks and their mysterious storage place is quite great.

535 After the end of the festival the masks are thrown away or
532 burned. In any case the feathers used for them are saved.

It is unlikely that we shall ever fully understand the real meaning of these dances. It is even doubtful whether the Indians themselves are fully aware of it. On the basis of analogies among better known peoples, a few conjectures about it can at least be made.

535 It is certain that the mask represents the spirit of the ani-
532 mal portrayed. The animals themselves are either game animals
776 or those that play a certain role in the national legend, such as
825 the stork, the alligator, and the Gymnotus. In North America
[171] there are bear dances, buffalo dances, etc., in order to persuade the bear and buffalo spirit to make these animals appear in larger numbers, whereas other dances refer to animals which are regarded as original ancestors or have other mythological significance. Similar notions may also be the basis for the masked dances of the Karaya. This would already be a step beyond the lowest form of animism, since the acceptance of a spirit representing all animals of a certain class presumes a certain amount

·6:Cook M-3,4 (ca.1900) 1909
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527 through the encampment, who, having previously stolen away
535 to the jungle and secretly donned their uncouth regalia, suddenly appear; and with a loud cry—"Han hm! Han hm!" rush toward the village, while all the villagers ejaculate loudly, in reply, "Nakum rare! Nakum rare!"—Here they come! Here they come! The procession is almost riotous, for the men throw billets of wood about in every direction. The parade over, all these imitation birds, bugs and beasts, or the materialization of their ghosts, retire again to the thicket, remove their gear, and becoming real men once more, quietly, reënter the village, and the savage banquet is brought on.

After some hours of "eating and drinking and making merry," the masqueraders again rush forth from the woods to begin the dancing. It consists of a peculiar hopping, turkey-step, and rocking the body from side to side. The dancer must not, under any circumstances, permit his real identity to be-
[688] come known to the spectators. He must not speak, nor cough, nor sneeze; and above all, he must not allow himself to stumble and fall, for if he does, he will be immediately put to death. If he should be compelled to cough or sneeze, as frequently happens because of the dust and the suffocating heat under his mask, he springs into the group of men standing near, all of whom begin instantly to cough, and thus contrive to drown his voice.

The various dances follow each other according to a programme arranged beforehand by the chief of the encampment, who presides over the ceremonies and festivities.

535 If a woman of the tribe should enter one of the secret
567 mystery huts, or should avail herself of an opportunity to look
688 upon a masquerade outfit when not in use, she will be punished with death. It is usual, in such cases, for the other women to intercede with the chief for her life, and he will exercise mercy in her behalf if she will promise silence and will undertake some work of expiation, such as to weave a *hammock*, or braid a large, palm-leaf mat. If she should refuse to do this, or her work should prove unsatisfactory, she will

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
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be ordered to appear at a designated spot in the woods when the sun reaches a certain position in the heavens, and here she will be compelled to submit herself to the assembled men. If she should fail to appear as ordered, the men may slay her wherever they find her and sink her body in the river. But if she should flee to the mystery hut, no one will enter to take her for this is an asylum of refuge. If a man should betray the secret of the masquerade to a woman of the tribe, he may, nevertheless, be allowed to go unmolested. But these barbarous customs do not appear to be so strictly observed to-day as in former times. It is related that owing to an accident, all the women of a certain village, caught sight at the same moment of the masquerade outfit when not in use. In this case, of course, nothing could be done but to pardon them all and make known to them the whole secret. It is said that among the Sambiõa, these masquerades are falling somewhat into disuse. Nevertheless, they would not allow Dr. Ehrenreich and his party to bring away the masquerade outfits that they had stumbled upon at a spot in the woods where they had been thrown at the termination of a festival, as they feared that some of their women might be in the vicinity and see them. To get permission to take them, the men of the party had to dress in them. Though these customs may be less strictly observed to-day than formerly, nevertheless, the women cherish a profound respect for these supposed creatures of the forest and their mysterious hiding-places.

535 562 688 [178] 535 [178] [126]

The masquerade outfits seem to be thrown away, or burned, at the conclusion of a festival, the feather decorations having first been removed.

Of the real significance of these masquerades, little or nothing is known, or perhaps ever will be known. It is doubtful if even the savages themselves are fully conscious of their significance. But we may get some light upon the subject from our knowledge of the customs and beliefs of other primitive peoples.

It is certain that the "make up"—the creature, animated [825]

8:Gow-Smith T-5 (no date)1925
SP9 Caraja SP9

535 562 [346] this ritual and never seek to penetrate its mysteries. At any rate they seemed to keep at a distance from the sacred wigwam where the men ate and drank in tribute to the sacred fish.

535 562 627 Should a woman, however, so far forget her position as to enter this mysterious hut or should avail herself of an opportunity to look at this mystery dress, she may be punished by death. Executive clemency is granted by the chief, at the request of the women of the tribe, providing she will promise silence and expiate her crime by some appointed work. If she should refuse, she will be ordered to appear at a designated spot in the woods, at a certain height of the sun, where she will find assembled a group of warriors. Failing to comply with their desires, she may be killed and the body thrown into the river. Should she flee to the [346] sacred wigwam, however, this being sanctuary, she goes free at the termination of the festivities to resume her place in society.

126 535 Wishing to preserve the costumes as a memento of my visit among them, I asked the chief if I might take them with me. Reluctantly he consented, and ordered his men under cover of darkness to take them in a canoe down the river and await my coming. It was by this means that the costumes ultimately came in possession of the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation.

9:Gow-Smith T-5 (no date) 1925
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to bleed freely in order that it will weaken before it can travel far. Barbed arrows are used for killing monkeys and shooting fish. The tail of the sting-ray is also used for tipping arrows.

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Formidable objects are the clubs that the Caraja tribesmen use to kill captives, as well as members of their own tribe who have broken taboo or who are too old to make the periodic migrations. These clubs vaguely resemble a baseball bat, except that they are heavier and a trifle thicker at the end. They are made of hard-wood, the long handle decorated with a beautiful covering of black and white woven canework in designs similar to those of the spears, and the heavy end is stained a sinister red with the juice of the urucú-berry and the blood of its victim.

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Fig. 99.—Cayapó rattle

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The Cayapó clubs are of the same heavy wood,

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685 remain concealed for long. The injured person complains to the
627 chief; he sends him to the thief with the instruction to demand compensation from him. If the thief refuses, however, the injured one again complains to the chief and may, if the latter agrees, start a "fight" with the former, in other words, demand his rights by force.

682 Murders seem to occur, though seldom. The custom of
627 blood vengeance prevails: the relatives of the slain one pursue the murderer everywhere, even into other villages, until they have slain him.

689 Social life. Objectionable elements (boasters, gossipers, quarrelsome persons) are on occasion flogged. Thus, my camarada Pedro II in Village 17 is said to get a beating almost weekly on account of his incredible boasting.

/324/ Malicious elements who, with their quarreling, never leave the village in peace are finally, as Kuriší reported, killed by the others at the command of the chief; their relatives then have no right to take blood vengeance.

565 There are no class distinctions. Women and children captured in war serve as slaves of sorts. On the other hand, there are differences in wealth; there are rich and poor people. "The rich man has everything, axes, knives, pots; the poor one has nothing. He goes to the rich one and says: Give me a pot, an ax. The rich man must give it to him." (Kuriší.)

[622] The chiefs in particular are regarded as rich, and they, indeed, must share their surplus of goods with the poor. Ilk in Village 13 and Crisote in Village 22 were regarded as especially
[184] rich. The Indians of the south horde are regarded as poor, and they are in comparison with the north horde, which, in turn, is to be designated as poor in relation to the Šavajé.

609 Forms of greeting. If someone comes into a strange village,
576 he remains, with bowed head, in the boat (sta sem vergonha, that is, without shame, as the Indians erroneously said, instead of com v., that is, full of shame) until the others come, greet him, and invite him to come along to the village. Only then do they go on land. This custom was observed in particular among the

1:Lipkind E-5 (1937) 1948 SP9 Caraja SP9

441 [773] [774] **Weapons.**—The *Carajá* use bows and arrows (pls. 20, *bottom, left;* 21, *left* and *center*), and their mythology indicates aboriginal use of the spear thrower for hunting monkeys. Recently, they have used a spear thrower of the upper Xingú River type for sport.

323 **Pottery.**—Pottery vessels include several forms of plain ware (fig. 20).

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

611 The kinship structure may be described as double descent. Both lines are important, the greater emphasis falling on the mother's line, and both lines serve different functions. Village citizenship, adoption, and the closest affectional ties are reckoned in the mother's line. Moiety membership [428] and the offices of chief, priest, and food-divider are patrilineally inherited.

621 622 The fundamental unit of social organization is the village. Every village has one or more ioló, children of chiefly line, designated by the chief for preferential treatment by the members of the village. The chief names the ioló who is to succeed him or, if he fails to do so, the village makes the choice at his death. Girls of chiefly line are similarly chosen for preferential treatment; each of them is known as the "hidden woman." [562] [177] There is some indication that women functioned as chiefs in former times, but today there is no woman chief. The chief has no coercive powers but directs the village by recognizing the will of the majority in such matters as the selection of camp and garden sites and the announcement of a move at change of season. His principal function is to act as peacemaker, and people readily submit to his adjudication. [756] [793] Because of the importance of religious ceremonials, the priest and the shaman frequently exercise more authority than the chief. [692] When all three offices are vested in a single individual, his authority may be considerable, but it is kept in check by the right of a discontented person to move at any time to another village.

59 Within the village the important unit is the household. Residence being matrilocal, a household consists of sisters, their husbands, children, [591] [592] and the husbands of grown daughters. Marriage is restricted to one's own generation, the preferred mate being a cousin on the mother's side. [582] [626] There is no sanction but ridicule against wrong marriages, and there are many cases of cross-generational marriage. Marriage is predominantly monogamous, but a few instances of polygyny and one of polyandry were encountered. [595] [604] The avunculate is very important and involves many social and especially ceremonial duties. Cooperation in the household is close and in the village fairly close. In addition, villages are 78 628 grouped together in ceremonial units, generally consisting of three or four neighboring villages, which celebrate important feasts jointly. [476] This ceremonial unit acts as an insurance group when a village's crop fails or its fish supplies grow scarce. Beyond this, the only intervillage ties

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411 [177] of a native word for the instrument at least leads to the conclusion that the implement, too, is not native.

Note. By way of supplement, I must here discuss two implements about which the Indians gave me information that could not be checked at all. It was my principle to inquire [125] systematically about everything that might possibly occur; and where the description was not adequate, I made models. Thus, I demonstrated a stone sling to the Indians. They then told me, in agreement in various villages, that this instrument (nĕrŭdĭ) was familiar to them, but that they did not use it because of a scarcity of stones. Allegedly they had taken it over from the [177] Brazilians. It /275/ was impossible for me to induce the Indians to make such an instrument.

Even more dubious are the statements about the boomerang. My informant Kurĭĭ, whom, on the basis of my other experiences, I must regard as trustworthy, told me: his mother told him in his childhood that the Karajá of the north horde had a stick (ĭãdĕzĕ) that came back when it was thrown. He had not seen such an implement; it must therefore have fallen into disuse long ago. I was unable to gain confirmation of these two statements; I am therefore repeating them here with all reservations.

411 714 The Indians do not have defensive weapons. Against blows they protect themselves merely with the hand and the arm. They ward off flying arrows with the club; they do not know how to divert them with the spear, with bow or arrow. They have no real protection against the recoil of the bowstring; the recoil is even said to be very painful. It is somewhat mitigated by the arm cuff (desĭ); a person who does not wear cuffs, like the married men, wraps bast around his lower arm; this apparently occurs only in war, however, for I did not notice anything of the kind for fishing.

714 Amulets are lacking; they use only a charm against arrow 715 shooting; a disk ten centimeters in diameter and made out of scraped pieces of the bowstring is glued on both sides of the chest with resin. They believe that no arrow can then hit the chest.

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175 Nevertheless, the relationship of the Karaya to the immigrant
177 population remained rather good. On various occasions individuals of this people reached Pará on trading ships. In 1791 the chief, Aribedu, gave the then governor of this province information about the currents of the Araguaia. The trading expedition which traveled along the Tocantins and Araguaia in 1792 also brought many Karaya from the interior.

On the other hand, in the beginning of this century serious
[721] hostilities broke out. The newly established post of Santa Maria
[648] was completely destroyed in 1813 by the Karaya and the Akuã (Chavante) allied with them (2).

[113] 2. Rev. trim., Vol. 25, II, p. 91.

175 Then for a long time the reports are silent; the Karaya are mentioned by Martius, Pohl, and Aug. St. Hilaire only in passing.

We do not get more detailed information again until the great expedition of Castelnau in 1844. Since the French traveler did not travel on the left arm of the river, now navigated exclusively, but rather on the right one, east of Bananal Island, he did not become acquainted with the Karayahi. He also saw no Yavahẽ. He erroneously designates the island as uninhabited. On the other hand, he spent several days in the large Šambioa villages. He
[635] wrote down the first word-list and above all, described the strange dance masks, whose true significance, however, remained hidden from him. Unfortunately his whole collection was lost in the cataracts of the lower Tocantins.

Three years later the Brazilian official, Dr. Rufino Theotonio Segurado, came upstream from Pará. His excellent travel report
[131] contains notes on the Šambioa whom he encountered just above the rapids Carreira comprida. He also visited the Karayahi (3).

[113] 3. Rev. trim, Vol. 5, pp. 178 ff.

Of other Brazilian travelers, General Couto Magelhães, who did so much for Araguaia shipping and who, as president of Goyaz,

/190 cont./

175 In 1772 José Machado meets Karajá, apparently on Bananal
167 Island. In 1773 Fonseca visits the Karajá north of the southern tip
[162] of Bananal, they occupied nine villages with 9,000 inhabitants, three villages of which belonged to the Šavajé.

175 Transplantings to the south, into aldeamendos, took place
167 from 1782 on. In this year 700 Karajá were transplanted to São
648 José de Mossamedes near Goyaz, where they gradually perished.
[164] In 1786 Carretão was founded for Chavánte and Šavajé; most of
[165] the Indians succumbed to a measles epidemic, and the survivors were taken to Salinas in 1788, where they likewise gradually
[131] perished. A removal of the Indians to the south near these "centers of civilization" did not take place at that time, however, for in 1792 Souza Villa Real, when he traveled downstream from the Rio Vermelho out of the Araguay, did not find any Indians as
[484] far as the south end of Bananal. It was only at the beginning of the nineteenth century that the Karajá seem to have come to Salinas occasionally to visit their fellow tribesmen settled there. Thus, Silva Souza reports that between 1809 and /191/ 1812 they came to Salinas in order to submit peaceably, but that they moved back to their villages on the river as a result of a dispute; unfortunately, it is not said where these villages were. Cunha
[439] Mattos reports in 1824 that the Karajá at times came to Salinas
[172] in order to buy iron implements there (1). These conditions

1. Rev. trim. 37, p. 363.

lasted for many decades, for Castelnau reports in 1844 that the Karajá occasionally came from the Araguaya to Salinas, in part to visit their fellow tribesmen, in part to plunder the plantations
175 of the Brazilians (2). He himself did not come across any villages
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2. Vol. 1, pp. 372, 377, 383.

from the mouth of the Rio Crixá to the southern end of Bananal, but reports that the fixed settlements start only after the division, and, to be sure, on the western arm, and that up to the Rio das

/194 cont./

648 [115] 1. (cont.)
the river in order to make exchanges, and that there is now a Karajá boy among the Kayapó and a Kayapó boy among the Karajá for the purpose of learning the other language and later using it at home, probably refer to these efforts.

[721] The feuds, therefore, continue to this day, and even today women and children are abducted by both sides. Thus, the Šambioá are in constant strife with the Kayapó, the Karajá with [729] the Tapirapé, and the Šavajé with the Canoeiros. Among the [548] Šambioá Ehrenreich found many Kayapó women who are used as prostitutes by the tribe. The same is true of the Tapirapé women among the Karajá. In 1908 their number was small: in the south horde there was one girl, in the north horde three women, a girl, 177 and two boys. These Tapirapé seem not to have exerted any cultural, linguistic, or physical influence, whereas the cultural influence of the Tapirapé on the Karajá in former times must have been very strong, especially at the mouth of the Tapirapé, there was a great number of objects which were not seen in any other Karajá village and which appeared to be foreign.

3. House and Village.

342 The house (hãtõ) is built in different ways, depending on the season of the year (dry season, rainy season).

[335] The framework of the dry-season house consists of three arches, one behind the other, each made out of two sticks tied together at the top with bast. Palm fronds serve as covering: the pinnae are bent over to one side; two such fronds are then placed one on top of the other and tied together at the ribs. These fronds are then fastened to the arches from below in such a way that the upper ones cover the lower ones somewhat. The ridge is not finished off; it is not specially covered. About 15 centimeters below the ridge, on either side, a pole is tied parallel to it on the leaf covering (see Pl. 39). These simple huts are about three meters long, two meters wide, and one and a half meters high.

/320 cont./

13. Political Conditions.

C 721 Wars seem to have taken place only because of the abduction of women, for it was always reported that the men of the foe were killed, but women and children were brought back to the C 648 village. The position of the Karajá with respect to their neighbors in this respect is the following: with Bororo and southern Kayapó they do not seem to come into contact. With Chavánte battles occurred in which the Karajá always had the greater losses. With the Šavajé of Bananal Island they are on friendly terms, whereas the Canoeiros, likewise on Bananal, are at present their most feared enemies. With the Tapirapé the C 648 Karajá formerly had friendly trade relations; the Karajá furnished [439] iron goods and in return obtained net coverings, bows, stone lip-plugs, food, araras, etc. The Karajá took advantage of the occasion of this trading on a sandbank in the Tapirapé River, far from the village, to lead off in the meantime women and children who were busy in the plantings. The Tapirapé did not know for a long time who was abducting their women. About six or seven years ago the Karajá had again abducted five or six women; on the way home, the latter fled, but the Karajá pursued them and killed all but one who came back to the Tapirapé and reported that the Karajá were the abducters of the women. When, in the following year, the Karajá again undertook their trade journey to the Tapirapé, the latter apparently agreed to the transaction, but then fell upon the Karajá and killed several men. Since then all communication between the two tribes has ceased; the Karajá no longer journey to the trading place and the Tapirapé, too, have moved farther upstream.

C 648 With the northern Kayapó the Karajá likewise seem to live on a hostile footing. I did not hear any reports about former combats. But the antagonistic, rejecting attitude that my Karajá displayed toward the mission Kayapó in Conceição was striking.

T /404 cont./
105 center stripe. Their women also make pottery. Their language
C differs from that of the Karajá; the two peoples do not understand
[197] each other. The relationship between the Karajá and the Tapirapé
C seems to have been peaceful in former times. With iron goods the
648 Karajá bartered for net coverings, bows, araras, stone lip-plugs,
[939] food, etc. The meeting place was a sandbank in the Rio Tapirapé,
opposite a high steep bank, slightly below the place to which the
C Karajá ordinarily extend their annual fishing expeditions. The
[721] Karajá had taken advantage of this opportunity to abduct in secret
the women and children in the places stripped of men. As has
been mentioned above (p. 263), because of this there was finally
a hostile clash between the two tribes about six or seven years ago;
C since then the Karajá avoid this spot, they no longer go so far
[727] upstream. The abducted women are used by the Karajá as slave
women for work, as well as village prostitutes; the children are
taken into the tribe. /Pl. 69 appears here./ /405/ /Ills. 262 and
263 appear here./

C 3. Observations in Karajá villages. In the villages of the
162 Karajá I saw a total of two women, three maidens, and two boys
T from the Tapirapé. They were smaller and more delicate than
[142] /Ills. 264 and 265 appear here/ the Karajá. The women wore black
T incised tattooing on the chins and on the cheeks (see Ill. 262 a, b
304 /see p. 339/). One girl was painted red on the face (Ill. 263).
302

C In the way of objects that were supposed to come from the
T Tapirapé, I acquired the following in the Karajá villages near
439 the Tapirapé mouth: the comb (kŭwäă; Pl. 69, Ill. 1); its method
126 of construction is identical with that of the Karajá, but the very
T regular plaiting pattern is different from that of the Karajá. The
303 spindle (Ill. 264) with the double-conical wax whorl does not differ
T in any way from those of the Karajá.
283

T The club (ĩwŭrä, Ill. 265) is identical in form with the round
411 clubs of the Karajá. One side of the front half of the club is grooved
and flanked on either side by a raised strip which bears groups of
cross-lines. The cylinder on the handle has three grooves; the
handle is grooved and likewise has two strips with cross-lines and
depressions.

[Text continues on p. 339]

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
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truded below the coat. They eyed it carefully from head 609
to foot, riveting their gaze for a moment on the feet, then slyly opened the hood a little to peer in; and when they saw the physiognomy of their savage brother with nearly all the paint wore off, grinning at them from away back in the dark, they were highly amused.

A Karayá village we visited near the mouth of the Rio das 36
Mortes—River of the Deaths—is so remote and out of touch [191]
with civilization that the inhabitants understand scarcely anything of the Brazilian language. Nor are they cordial to 609
strangers, regarding them, instead, with suspicion, for the [72]
reason that they are subject to attacks by the Chavante Indians who live up the Rio das Mortes. While we were 123
calling here, one of the women sought to obtain a shirt from [291]
me for her young son. To make me understand what she [201]
wanted, she used the sign language, imitating one's movements when a mosquito bites one on the shoulder and he crushes it, the drawing on of a shirt, and the feeling of contentment that "mosquito no bite more."

My umbrella aroused the curiosity of the savages wherever we went. Knowing that it opened somehow, one of them took it once and stood it point downward, apparently expecting it to open. As it did not do so, he passed it to me to show him and his companions how it worked. As I opened it suddenly and it spread its wings, like some old, black goblin about to fly on an evil errand, the women uttered a low scream of fear and surprise. They often felt of my linen coat and trousers, and my shirt, then made signs to me that these articles were very good to protect one from the flies and mosquitoes. They evidently thought that this was my only reason for wearing clothes. They also fingered my hat and boots, and pulled my mustache to ascertain if it were real, or false, and gazed at me as I wrote my journals for writing was a mystery to them. To many of them I was a freak well worth going a long way to see.

The Christmas season occurred while we were in the sav- 600
age world of the Araguaya. What an extraordinary Christ-

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
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Brazil.

Returning to our canoes, we saw a wild fruit tree growing close to the water—its habitat—the fruit of which the Brazilians call *arása*. It resembles a reddish plum, but has a double stone and is very acid. But it is a very wholesome fruit and would make, I imagine, an excellent sauce. The tree appears to be partly a climber, for the limbs, which are one or two inches thick, maintain a uniform size throughout their length, and coil around one another, serpent like. 137
The river was now a mile or more broad and the navigation very open; so, wishing to take advantage of the current as much as possible, we reembarked after a five o'clock dinner one day and floated along quietly hour after hour in the obscurity until past midnight. Then, desiring to find a sandbar on which to sleep until morning, we at last descried a gray outline and pulled for it. Happening to enter shallow water, we grounded before getting close to shore, and lost a pike overboard. But just as we were getting afloat again, we suddenly heard a shuffling sound coming from the shore close by; and looking that way, our hearts stood still as we beheld the dusky forms of thirty or forty naked and painted savages rushing down upon us fully armed with long war lances and heavy killing clubs, ready to scatter our brains on the beach. We now discovered that we were innocently attempting to land just above a portable Karayá village, the existence of which, at this place, was not known even to our pilot, Pedro Monco. Our creeping up here at the dead of night without giving any signals announcing who we were, and if we were friends or foes, had convinced the villagers that we were enemies. 114 123 721 [411] [361] [576]

The situation in which we found ourselves was extremely critical for a few minutes. But the natives, seeing who we were, paused briefly, which gave us an opportunity to communicate with them and explain matters, and also to make them some presents to pacify them. Our large canoe only was involved in this midnight adventure, the other having pulled up elsewhere for the night; so our party was small. Our canoe was drawn up on the sand, and the savage band stood 123

Brazil.

123 about us, fully armed, maintaining silence and appearing bellicose. At length, the entire band drew off about fifty yards, then began to discharge volleys of blood-curdling yells, such as only wild men or maniacs can utter. Though we had [526] heard these yells before, we did not know if it was "the shout of war," or only a challenge to the wrestling game. Greatly to our relief, it was the latter. We now knew that we were in no immediate danger; though we had felt that as they had not attacked us at first, they would now be loathe to do so openly. After the wrestling game, the savages gradually became friendly to us, and began, at last, to retire to their huts in twos and threes until only a few were near us. The hour was now three A. M., so wrapping my blanket about me, I stretched myself on the sand to sleep a little, though we could not feel sure that we would not be attacked for the sake of our baggage. A party of six Brazilians who were [609] descending the Araguaya some months previous to the time of our trip, were clubbed to death near this place for their baggage.

This was a night of experiences that we shall not soon forget. When we were first surrounded, one of our party, especially, acted very imprudently, though with good intentions: He blew a bugle endeavoring to call to our aid the other canoes which were really far distant from us. This calling for help could accomplish nothing, and but served to excite greater suspicion in the minds of the savages and precipitate an attack. I think I was as much frightened as any one, yet I saw that to retain self-command was far the wisest course to pursue.

513 The sleep of these children of Nature is more like that of 72 the other wild creatures of the woods than of human beings. The night is much the same as the day to them. They are up and down during the night, just as during the day, ever vigilant, and living in constant expectancy of the sudden appearance of an enemy. It is almost impossible to approach their encampment without their knowledge, though one move never so stealthily.

1:Lipkind E-5 (1937) 1948 SP9 Caraja SP9

775 **Death.**—At death, the soul becomes a wild ghost if the person has been violently killed and a regular resident of the village of the dead if he has suffered a quiet death. A shaman's soul is translated to the skies. Mourning puts an end to all religious ceremonies and is celebrated by self-laceration, the destruction of property, and daily keening. There 764 is separate burial in formal cemeteries for those who died quietly and [766] those who died violently. The corpse is wrapped in a mat with his weapons and ornaments, and the mat is hung in a shallow grave covered [765] by poles (fig. 22). Food and drink are provided for a short period. After the next change of season, the bones are exhumed and placed in a family urn.

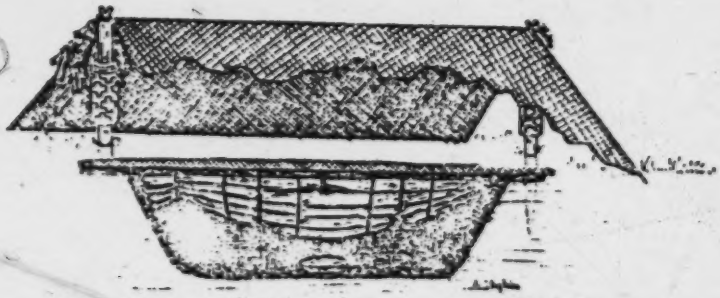

FIGURE 22.—*Carajá* burial. (Redrawn from Ehrenreich, 1891 b, fig. 16)

WARFARE

● 726 The *Carajá* are good fighters and have maintained themselves since prehistoric times in a territory surrounded on all sides by warlike enemies. Their usual tactics are waiting outside an enemy village at night and attacking at dawn. In defense, they run to the nearest water, where they [411] are unbeatable. They use the bow and arrow and club, and are skilled [526] wrestlers. They cut off a foot bone of a dead enemy and carry it back [727] to their village; this places them in control of the ghost, who now be- [775] comes a caretaker of the village and is impersonated in a special dry-season ceremony. At one such ceremony there were two *Tapirapé* ghosts, [648] three *Chavante*, one *Cayapó*, and one Neo-Brazilian. Present-day war- [727] fare is largely with the *Chavante*, the *Cayapó*, and the *Canoeiro*. Now and then a Neo-Brazilian may be killed by stealth to avenge a personal grievance. No captives are taken except women and small children, who are treated as full members of the group.

ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

531 **Art.**—Decorative art is confined to woven designs on baskets and mats, feather ornaments, elaborate masks with superimposed feather designs,

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
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as a reserve, are kept wound around the bow. The Karayá take great pride in their bows, ornamenting them beautifully with tassels of brilliant feathers. 411 [531]

They use several different styles of arrows. Some are harpoon-like for fishing purposes; others are made with broad blades for hunting; while still others are for use in war. They are all made with the utmost care, as much as one or two days being consumed in the making of but one. Two or three different kinds of wood are always used in constructing a single arrow, one kind being for the spear, or lance part, another kind—heavy palm wood—for the middle staff, and light bamboo wood for the base, and all are spliced and bound together with the greatest nicety by means of long, narrow strips of bark taken from certain climbers, and finally, the weapon is burnished. It is about four feet in length. [461] [824] [284]

The weapons used for fighting at close quarters, which is the method of warfare liked best, are heavy clubs and lances. The clubs are of two kinds—first, shovel-like clubs and round clubs, resembling base-ball bats, varying in length from three to four and a half feet. The lances are nine or ten feet in length, the shaft being of palm wood, and the point, the shin-bone of the spotted *onca*—jaguar—or of a deer. A beautiful, basket-like work of black and white wooden strips is woven, or braided, tightly over the shaft of the spear, and to this is attached tassels of brilliant plumage. The Karayá have spear-throwing sticks, but I understand they are no longer used in war, but for sport only. The contrivance is a long strip of wood so formed that it can be used, sling-like to hurl a spear. In common with all the savage tribes of South America, the weapons, implements, ornaments and ceremonial instruments are all made by the men of the Karayá, while the women make only the household utensils. [726] [824] [237] [531] 462 171

The Karayá housewife, therefore, makes several styles of pots and pans; but pottery has not yet reached a very high degree of perfection with this tribe for the forms are simple and crude. They do not make pots in the form of natural objects as do the tribes of the Xingú river. Utility, and this 323

1:Lipkind E-5 (1937) 1948 SP9 Caraja SP9

775 **Death.**—At death, the soul becomes a wild ghost if the person has been violently killed and a regular resident of the village of the dead if he has suffered a quiet death. A shaman's soul is translated to the skies. Mourning puts an end to all religious ceremonies and is celebrated by self-laceration, the destruction of property, and daily keening. There 764 is separate burial in formal cemeteries for those who died quietly and [766] those who died violently. The corpse is wrapped in a mat with his weapons and ornaments, and the mat is hung in a shallow grave covered [765] by poles (fig. 22). Food and drink are provided for a short period. After the next change of season, the bones are exhumed and placed in a family urn.

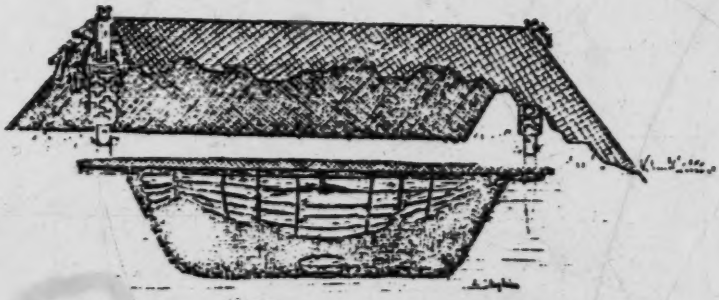

FIGURE 22.—*Carajá* burial. (Redrawn from Ehrenreich, 1891 b, fig. 16)

WARFARE

726 The *Carajá* are good fighters and have maintained themselves since prehistoric times in a territory surrounded on all sides by warlike enemies. Their usual tactics are waiting outside an enemy village at night and attacking at dawn. In defense, they run to the nearest water, where they [411] are unbeatable. They use the bow and arrow and club, and are skilled [526] wrestlers. They cut off a foot bone of a dead enemy and carry it back [727] to their village; this places them in control of the ghost, who now be- [775] comes a caretaker of the village and is impersonated in a special dry-season ceremony. At one such ceremony there were two *Tapirapé* ghosts, [648] three *Chavante*, one *Cayapó*, and one Neo-Brazilian. Present-day war- [727] fare is largely with the *Chavante*, the *Cayapó*, and the *Canoeiro*. Now and then a Neo-Brazilian may be killed by stealth to avenge a personal grievance. No captives are taken except women and small children, who are treated as full members of the group.

ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

531 **Art.**—Decorative art is confined to woven designs on baskets and mats, feather ornaments, elaborate masks with superimposed feather designs,

/8 cont./

131 comprida and Cachoeira grande are in any case the work of their
172 ancestors. Since the first Araguaia travelers already mention these "inscriptions" as documents of great age, the Karaya must have lived in these regions at least since the sixteenth century (see pp. 91 ff.).

439 Within the Šambioa region, where the river is no longer
[162] navigable for ships, there are no Brazilian settlements at present. The savages are therefore completely dependent on the barter trade with the few larger rowboats passing by four to six times annually or the small vessels which maintain communication with São Vincente. They deliver mainly hammocks, field produce,
[648] and chickens to the travelers, but have otherwise kept their full
433 independence. Living under far better conditions of existence than the Karayahi, they stand, as far as agriculture is concerned, on a higher level than even the civilized river-dwellers.

648 They live in most bitter enmity with the Kayapo tribes of the left bank, the Kradahõ /Cradaho/, Ušikriṅ, and others. Many
[729] abducted women and children of the latter are found in their villages. On the whole, however, they are well treated, the children even adopted into the tribe without further ado.

The relationship of the Šambioa to the settlers has not always been peaceful. Nevertheless, Castelnau was already able to substantiate that these Indians did not deserve the bad reputation which they had among the Goyans at the time. The main guilt for the misdeeds which occurred is in any case to be sought on the side of the foreigners.

609 Their behavior was decidedly hostile in the seventies when the notorious Chief Roco attacked travelers on several occasions and massacred them.

Today it is only the inhabitants of the second village who receive strangers with hostility. Women and children are taken to
[411] safety, the warriors stand threateningly on the shore, armed with bows, spears, and clubs, and hardly condescend to barter. In the other villages our reception left little to be desired, once the fleeing women were successfully persuaded to return.

/27 cont./

684 Adultery on the part of the husband is avenged by the closest relatives of the wife.

Everywhere in the social order of the Karaya the endeavor to preserve the peace of family life from any disturbance is prominent. The young people are for that reason kept under strict
836 discipline. Virginity is highly prized and protected (4);
837
[113]

4. Couto Magelhães, Peterm. Mitth., 1876, p. 222.

extramarital intercourse between the sexes is punished with strict
848 penalties and under certain conditions with death. Children originating from such relationships are not, as among other primitive peoples, likewise killed, however, but rather are turned over to the chief's care, like other orphans.

589 /28/ Single persons, distinguished externally from the married
[291 ones by the above-mentioned cotton bands, are not obliged to
736] support themselves, but rather are supported by the community.
[591] Bachelors and widowers live together in a special hut and take part in hunting expeditions only when they please. Likewise, unmarried and widowed women are excused from supporting themselves. They live in the house of one of their nearest relatives.

589 According to a communication from Couto Magelhães, the
736 latter seem to have some freedom in intercourse with unmarried
[836] men: "There are in the Karaya villages men destined to be viri viduarum /men deprived of a wife/. These people have no other occupation; they are supported by the tribe and do not, like the others, undergo the hardships of long travels and raids. To my remark that it did not seem right to me that the community take on the support of these people, Chief Koinama replied that the peace which the families enjoyed because of this far outweighed the effort spent on their support." (Selvagem, p. 116.)

836 For the rest, the unmarried men who wish to turn to the
727 female sex are dependent on intercourse with the captured Kayapo
[589] women kept in half-slavery, of which among the Šambioa every village shelters at least a few. They are considered common

/28 cont./

836 property and are offered to ships' crews, despite their usually
●727 most horrible appearance. Unfortunately, one also sees children
used for the same purpose. Here is clearly shown the dualism in
836 the ethics of the savages, whose moral laws apply only to mem-
727 bers of their own tribe. This view, common to all primitive
577 peoples, cannot therefore change our judgment of the morality
[186] of the Karaya in general. When Castelnau doubts this, saying,
[114] "Ce fait (the stern punishment of a transgression against morals) est peu d'accord avec les offres qui étaient fait continuellement a nos gens /this fact is hardly in accord with the offers that were continually made to our men/" (Hist. du voyage, 1, p. 446), he overlooks the fact that these "offres" concerned not their own, but foreign women.

855 In spite of the lack of external signs of tenderness, which are absent among all Indians, the treatment of the children is very loving throughout.

854 The smaller ones are continually carried about by the mothers and tended with tireless care, hung with ornaments and
853 painted, etc. They are suckled for an extraordinarily long time.

857 Older children are left entirely to themselves, but in spite of this demonstrate a natural decency and a modesty of behavior that the highly educated offspring of civilized men only all too
858 often lack. It would be unthinkable among the Karaya that children be traded to the settlers, as unfortunately still frequently occurs in other regions of Brazil, especially on the Amazon. Upon the founding of the Collegio Izabel at Leopoldina, whose purpose was to train young Indians and settle them later as colonists, efforts to obtain Karaya children for it were in vain. Since they once allowed themselves to be misled years ago, and some were lured away and abducted by force, all the young people as a rule take flight at the approach of a boat and only with great difficulty are persuaded to return.

764 The fact that the animal decorations put on the grave poles
532 (cf. p. 63) are marks of the family concerned or of a wider kin
602 grouping indicates the existence of totemism, or clan formation. To be sure, nothing more precise is known about this, but the family system discovered among the Arawak by Im Thurn (1) may also hold for the relationship prevailing among the Karaya.

1. Im Thurn, op. cit., p. 175.

/28 cont./

also hold for the relationships prevailing among the Karaya.

621 The village communities composed of such family units, each of which has a particular name, seem to be like gau

476 communities (2). The agricultural land belongs to the whole

[423]

[113] 2. Post, Stud. z. Entw. d. Familienrechts /Essay on the Development of Family Law/, p. 83.

[224] and is tilled in common. Hunting and fishing expeditions are

[226] also undertaken in common, and the yield in booty, field

622 produce, etc. divided among the families. The chief supervises all of these communal activities and achievements. He is

[421] supported by the community; the property of all tribal members

[597] belongs to him (3). On the other hand, it is his duty to adop

[113] 3. Couto Magelhães, Peterm. Mitth., 1876, p. 121.

orphaned children, particularly the sons of those slain in war

[178] The personal qualities to which he owes his office today are ess

[648] prowess in war /29/ than the skill, experience, and linguisti knowledge required to deal with the Whites. Thus, even prioners

[727] of war adopted into the tribe who distinguish themselves at this can achieve the position.

The chief organizes the war and hunting expeditions; he determines the camp sites and the locations of plantings and, after the burning over of the strip of forest (roça) concerned, divides the agricultural land, which is marked off by posts, among the individual families.

622 His effectiveness in the administration of justice is important.

627 In case of quarrels between men he acts as referee, while his wife decides those of the women. It is his duty to bring offenders to account, but he does not inflict the punishment, which, according to the Indian law of retaliation, is a matter for the injured party. Murder or bodily injury are therefore avenged by the relatives of the victim without further ado.

/194 cont./

648 [115] 1. (cont.)
the river in order to make exchanges, and that there is now a Karajá boy among the Kayapó and a Kayapó boy among the Karajá for the purpose of learning the other language and later using it at home, probably refer to these efforts.

[721] The feuds, therefore, continue to this day, and even today women and children are abducted by both sides. Thus, the Šambioá are in constant strife with the Kayapó, the Karajá with the Tapirapé, and the Šavajé with the Canoeiros. Among the [720] [548] Šambioá Ehrenreich found many Kayapó women who are used as prostitutes by the tribe. The same is true of the Tapirapé women among the Karajá. In 1908 their number was small: in the south horde there was one girl, in the north horde three women, a girl, 179 and two boys. These Tapirapé seem not to have exerted any cultural, linguistic, or physical influence, whereas the cultural influence of the Tapirapé on the Karajá in former times must have been very strong, especially at the mouth of the Tapirapé, there was a great number of objects which were not seen in any other Karajá village and which appeared to be foreign.

3. House and Village.

342 The house (hãtõ) is built in different ways, depending on the season of the year (dry season, rainy season).

[335] The framework of the dry-season house consists of three arches, one behind the other, each made out of two sticks tied together at the top with bast. Palm fronds serve as covering: the pinnae are bent over to one side; two such fronds are then placed one on top of the other and tied together at the ribs. These fronds are then fastened to the arches from below in such a way that the upper ones cover the lower ones somewhat. The ridge is not finished off; it is not specially covered. About 15 centimeters below the ridge, on either side, a pole is tied parallel to it on the leaf covering (see Pl. 39). These simple huts are about three meters long, two meters wide, and one and a half meters high.

/320 cont./

648 Of course, it is not only the Karajá who abduct women from the enemy; they are exploited in the same manner by the latter.

727 /321/ Slain enemies are left lying. I was unable to find out anything about anthropophagy. Wounded fellow-tribesmen are brought back to the village and treated by the doctor. Captured women and children are used as work slaves; captured boys who do not wish to work are exposed, if they do not themselves run away. In both cases they probably face destruction.

The owner in question (their captor) benefits by the work of the war captives. In return, he gives them food and clothing.

727 Women war captives are also used as village prostitutes. In ex-
548 change for the payment of an arrow they are put at the disposal of the young men of the village as well as of other villages. A permanent claim is acquired by the payment of a net covering to the owner. At present the Karajá have only Tapirapé women as prostitutes; altogether I met only five such women and maidens among them, as well as two small boys. Šavajé women are also supposed to play this role occasionally; these are not abducted women, however, but women who, on trade expeditions, joined the Karajá or were banished because of offenses with them (?). One instance which I am able to explain to myself only in this manner occurred during my visit among the Šavajé, where an obviously pregnant Šavajé girl was handed over to my Karajá to be taken along to their villages.

622 The Karajá are led by chiefs (ĭdjāõ, dēridõ, ĭtrĭ). As external insignia they wear the chin tattooing, their wives the large Thevetia neck ornament (see above /see pp. 110 and 122/). Otherwise they have no distinguishing mark of any kind; "one recognizes them by their dignified behavior," Kurišĭ said.

The duties of the chief are the following: He determines and supervises the work in the plantings, the mask festivals and the preparation for them (making the dance masks); he keeps order in the village, settles disputes, decides cases, and supports the poor, widows, and orphans. He determines the fishing and trade expeditions; he decides on expeditions of war. Moreover, he shelters strangers in his house and provides for them,

/343 cont./

194 modifications (2). That the omission of k is regarded as the

562

[191]

2. Ibid., p. 24.

chief characteristic /344/ of the men's language may be illustrated by a joke of Pedro I. Pedro said one day that my companion Adam was a woman because he says sakuba (= jacuba, the Brazilian name for a drink made of farina, rapadura /Port., a form of sugar/, and water); if he were a man, he would have to say šaũbă. Probably the women's dialect with a fuller sound represents an older form of the language. For there can be no question here of a different language which could have originated through the taking in of women captured from alien tribes during battle. First of all, the taking of alien women (Tapirapé, Kayapó, Šavajé) is too limited for their language to be a possible influence; on the other hand, the deviations from the men's language are too slight to permit viewing the women's language as of foreign origin.

[727]

194 In speaking, many syllables are swallowed, especially at the end of words; the mouth is only slightly opened, so that a soft, indistinct speech is produced. Yet they are able to make themselves understood in a whisper far over the water. The intonation is slightly singsong, the manner of speaking uneven. Sometimes the syllables are uttered in rapid succession, then again a syllable is drawn out at length, just as though the speaker were considering how to express himself further. And this goes on in confused alternation, a way of speaking which the Brazilians greatly like to imitate. Perhaps the custom of pronouncing short-ending words long in compounds (mānā -- mānāūlā, mānādjū, etc.) goes back to this.

195 In conversations among themselves the listener accompanies the speech of the other with many nde, nde (= yes), hm̃, hm̃, or he repeats the last word of every sentence. In communicating with Brazilians they like to start the sentences with ăhĩ (= there) and to ask after every explanation: sābĕ (= understand?). In

T /404 cont./
105 center stripe. Their women also make pottery. Their language
C differs from that of the Karajá; the two peoples do not understand
[197] each other. The relationship between the Karajá and the Tapirapé
C seems to have been peaceful in former times. With iron goods the
648 Karajá bartered for net coverings, bows, araras, stone lip-plugs,
[939] food, etc. The meeting place was a sandbank in the Rio Tapirapé,
opposite a high steep bank, slightly below the place to which the
C Karajá ordinarily extend their annual fishing expeditions. The
[721] Karajá had taken advantage of this opportunity to abduct in secret
the women and children in the places stripped of men. As has
been mentioned above (p. 263), because of this there was finally
a hostile clash between the two tribes about six or seven years ago;
C since then the Karajá avoid this spot, they no longer go so far
[727] upstream. The abducted women are used by the Karajá as slave
women for work, as well as village prostitutes; the children are
taken into the tribe. /Pl. 69 appears here./ /405/ /Ills. 262 and
263 appear here./

C 3. Observations in Karajá villages. In the villages of the
162 Karajá I saw a total of two women, three maidens, and two boys
T from the Tapirapé. They were smaller and more delicate than
[142] /Ills. 264 and 265 appear here/ the Karajá. The women wore black
T incised tattooing on the chins and on the cheeks (see Ill. 262 a, b
304 /see p. 339/). One girl was painted red on the face (Ill. 263).
302

C In the way of objects that were supposed to come from the
439 Tapirapé, I acquired the following in the Karajá villages near
126 the Tapirapé mouth: the comb (kŭwaã; Pl. 69, Ill. 1); its method
T of construction is identical with that of the Karajá, but the very
303 regular plaiting pattern is different from that of the Karajá. The
T spindle (Ill. 264) with the double-conical wax whorl does not differ
283 in any way from those of the Karajá.

T The club (ĩwŭrã, Ill. 265) is identical in form with the round
411 clubs of the Karajá. One side of the front half of the club is grooved
and flanked on either side by a raised strip which bears groups of
cross-lines. The cylinder on the handle has three grooves; the
handle is grooved and likewise has two strips with cross-lines and
depressions.

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 339]

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
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not afflicted. Therefore, they have hidden their villages far 177
away from the slimy trail of the only "civilization" they 186
know, and do not wish to reveal their location. But they, too, well know the great superiority of steel implements over their stone utensils, so desire to obtain them, which they do indirectly through the Karayáhy. They are not unwise in their generation. They do not desire to receive, in its entirety, the "civilization" available to them, for it has been demonstrated to them that its evils outweigh its blessings. Therefore they try to catspaw civilization's good things and leave its evil things. What a pity it is that a civilization, which is the best fruit of the Gospel of Christ, should not have reached the Karayá!

The Sambiõa live in much larger, cleaner, and more or- 511
derly villages than the Karayáhy, and are better fed. They 184
also build better huts than the Karayáhy, and arrange them in regular streets. They have four large villages, located be- 361
tween Pau de Arco and the falls of S. Miguel. They trade 439
hammocks, vegetables, fruits, fowls, and other produce for such articles made by civilized men as they desire. As re- 241
gards agriculture, they are but little behind the semi-barbarous Brazilians of the far interior. They have many slaves, 727
which are women and children stolen from other tribes with whom they were at war.

Only the inhabitants of the second Samblõa village are 609
hostile to strangers. When such appear at their port, the women and children are sent to a safe place, while the warriors, fully armed, assemble at the water's edge and assume a threatening attitude. It is necessary to be cautious in approaching them, though they dare not attack a large canoe full of men armed with repeating rifles. They greatly fear these weapons, believing that the rifleman can continue to fire indefinitely without reloading. The villages are always [361]
situated distant from the landing-place; and though they will allow the traveler to visit them, he must be on his guard.

The reception at the landing is interesting and exciting. The naked, bronze-bodied men are assembled in force. Many

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
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The adulterous
woman is punished by her husband either by flogging, or by 684
torturing with fire brands. It is said that she is sometimes even burned to death. The adulterous man is punished by the nearest relatives of his wife. But among these people as, unfortunately, among the higher races, far greater license is allowed the man than the woman.

The Karayá seem to cherish an earnest desire to preserve 593
the integrity of the family, and to guard it against disturbing influences of every kind. Children are reared with strictness 834
and maidenhood is respected; and any transgression of the tribal laws regarding the relations of the sexes is severely punished—even with death, in some cases. But children born 848
out of wedlock are not put to death, as is usually done among savage peoples, but instead, are, like other orphans, reared by the chief of the village as his own children.

The unmarried individuals, who are distinguished from the 589
married by the previously described wristlets and armlets, are not required to support themselves, but are provided for by the community as a whole. The bachelors and widowers live together in a sort of "bachelors' hall"—a separate hut—and participate in the hunting and fishing and other occupations of the tribe only as they feel inclined. But the unmarried women, while, like the single men, not required to work, are not segregated, for they dwell in the huts of their nearest relatives. These females are allowed certain liberties 836
with the unmarried men in order that they may not perturb 548
the married men and their families. They are the village prostitutes. By this arrangement the single men, on the other hand, are kept from endangering family life. Women [727]
taken captive from the enemy in intertribal wars, are retained as prostitutes and semi-slaves. These unhappy females are the common property of all the men, the married as well as the single. Captive female children share the same sad fate; and probably also the children born of captive parents.

We see in these customs, the dualism of the "ethics" of 577
the savage. They are moral, if we may use this term, only when their own well-being is at stake—when it is a question

9:Gow-Smith T-5 (no date) 1925
SP9 Caraja SP9
Cayapo SP11

C Co 411 224 [226] [237]

to bleed freely in order that it will weaken before it can travel far. Barbed arrows are used for killing monkeys and shooting fish. The tail of the sting-ray is also used for tipping arrows.

C 411 [227] [688] [708]

Formidable objects are the clubs that the Caraja tribesmen use to kill captives, as well as members of their own tribe who have broken taboo or who are too old to make the periodic migrations. These clubs vaguely resemble a baseball bat, except that they are heavier and a trifle thicker at the end. They are made of hard-wood, the long handle decorated with a beautiful covering of black and white woven canework in designs similar to those of the spears, and the heavy end is stained a sinister red with the juice of the urucú-berry and the blood of its victim.

Co [534] [531]

C [531]

Fig. 99.—Cayapó rattle

C [386]

Co 411

The Cayapó clubs are of the same heavy wood,

/27 cont./

684 Adultery on the part of the husband is avenged by the closest relatives of the wife.

Everywhere in the social order of the Karaya the endeavor to preserve the peace of family life from any disturbance is prominent. The young people are for that reason kept under strict
836 discipline. Virginity is highly prized and protected (4);
837
[113]

4. Couto Magelhães, Peterm. Mitth., 1876, p. 222.

extramarital intercourse between the sexes is punished with strict
848 penalties and under certain conditions with death. Children originating from such relationships are not, as among other primitive peoples, likewise killed, however, but rather are turned over to the chief's care, like other orphans.

589 /28/ Single persons, distinguished externally from the married
[291] ones by the above-mentioned cotton bands, are not obliged to
[736] support themselves, but rather are supported by the community.
[591] Bachelors and widowers live together in a special hut and take part in hunting expeditions only when they please. Likewise, unmarried and widowed women are excused from supporting themselves. They live in the house of one of their nearest relatives.

589 According to a communication from Couto Magelhães, the
736 latter seem to have some freedom in intercourse with unmarried
[834] men: "There are in the Karaya villages men destined to be viri viduarum /men deprived of a wife/. These people have no other occupation; they are supported by the tribe and do not, like the others, undergo the hardships of long travels and raids. To my remark that it did not seem right to me that the community take on the support of these people, Chief Koinama replied that the peace which the families enjoyed because of this far outweighed the effort spent on their support." (Selvagem, p. 116.)

836 For the rest, the unmarried men who wish to turn to the
737 female sex are dependent on intercourse with the captured Kayapo
[539] women kept in half-slavery, of which among the Šambioa every village shelters at least a few. They are considered common

/243 cont./

24 out the earth and heap up the beds, the point to loosen the earth, make holes, and lift out the roots. How the rest of the plants are planted is unknown to me; in the plantings ripe for harvest which I wandered through, they seemed to stand jumbled together. They grew so close together that it was hardly possible to pass through on the narrow path. In view of the height of the growths (three to four meters) a survey was not to be had, in contrast to the plantings of the Kayapó, which was laid out very clearly and in which the individual vegetables were planted in groups.

[462] The division of labor in the planting is such that the men lay out the planting and plant manioc and cara, while the planting of cotton, maize, batatas, and urucú is said to be the duty of the women.

The plantings are apparently so laid out that the families or the villages plant in one clearing; a separation within the planting according to families was not discernible, but nevertheless seems to exist.

Everyone works his plot himself; brothers usually work together. If one of them becomes [465] ill, a relative steps in for him. In this case, or if other assistance is required, the yield from the harvest is either divided into two parts or the helper is paid in arrows, pots, lances, net coverings, axes, spun cotton, etc. If widows [736] have grown sons, they plant for them; otherwise she asks the chief to have someone plant for her. He then appoints one of the villagers to take over this duty and pays him for it.

Ill. 83.
Planting implement of the Karajá.

The plantings are not protected against damage. They lie in the midst of the forest, without any kind of enclosure, so that animals, especially pigs and birds, do a great deal of damage. These harmful animals are pursued; the birds above all are chased away by cries.

/326 cont./

586 longer wants the other. In any case the children remain with the father. The divorced wife keeps her property. Ehrenreich re-
[587] ports ("Beiträge," p. 27) that a man who rejects his wife may not marry again, but merely takes a housekeeper. According to my observations, the case from Village No. 5 reported above is quite typical. Contempt is by no means the lot of such a man, as Königswald reports (1).

[113] 1. Globus, Vol. 94, p. 237.

589 Widows and orphans. Widowed persons again don their leg
768 and arm bands. The widower lives like a bachelor; he may marry again, but generally does so only if he has children who need a mother. Otherwise he is afraid of the work incumbent on a husband. Widows continue to live in the house, which, of
589 course, is their property. They may marry again. They get their
736 maintenance from the chief, in case there are no grown sons who are able to care for them. Otherwise the chief appoints someone who is to plant and fish for her, and pays him for it. Orphans are reared and provided for by the brother of the mother.

836 Extramarital sex life. The girls do their utmost to preserve their purity; thus, they do not go into the forest alone, for fear of the young men. If a girl nevertheless has misfortune, she is not punished, at any rate not in the south horde. Even in
[114] this case she is married by another party. I was unable to learn anything about the severe punishment for premarital intercourse and adultery, as reported by Ehrenreich and Königswald. /327/
[548] Before marriage, the men enjoy complete freedom. In many
[485] villages there are Tapirpaé and Šavajé women who serve as prostitutes and are also put at the disposal of strangers. The Karajá nevertheless also seem to become involved occasionally in adventures even with tribal members. Pedro flirted in many villages with young girls whom he called his primas (cousins); in Camp No. 23 proposals for nocturnal trysts were made to him by two women, but he refused them. I did not discover anything about the arrangement of viri viduarum, about which Ehrenreich reports from Magalhães ("Beiträge," p. 28).

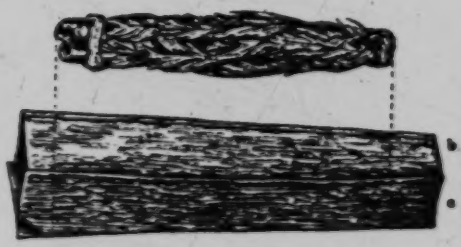
/335 cont. /

754 eel with the right hand against the index finger of the left and thus aims at the passerby. He must die if he does not immediately
755 have himself treated by the doctor. The doctor sucks the leg of the bewitched one, beats him on the back, chest, arms, and legs with a switch, and in this way draws the magic out of the body. He himself then rolls around on the ground, spits, etc., in order, for his part, to get rid of the magic. The electric eel is stored in two palm-leaf husks (Ill. 186 b, c).

The use of charcoal as the carrier of the magical remedy is striking.

754

Ill. 185 a, b.
Monkey penis. b) Back side of the glans in a).



Ill. 186 a-c.
Electric eel with protective sheath.

75 Medicine. All illnesses are regarded as originating from the evil magic of others. As a result, witch doctors, whose task is to
757 apply countermagic, play an important role. In addition, however, a great many medicinal plants are used, some of which are supposed to be infallible. I succeeded in obtaining a number of such plants, together with information about their use.

755 The doctors (kōlū, kâudŭwādu; according to Ehrenreich,
757 kahŏtĕbādó) carry on their practice by means of magical performances, singing, swinging rattles, sucking out the morbific agent, massaging, beating with switches which have electric-eel bones attached at the

/274 cont./

411 of a native word for the instrument at least leads to the conclu-
[177] sion that the implement, too, is not native.

Note. By way of supplement, I must here discuss two implements about which the Indians gave me information that could not be checked at all. It was my principle to inquire
[125] systematically about everything that might possibly occur; and where the description was not adequate, I made models. Thus, I demonstrated a stone sling to the Indians. They then told me, in agreement in various villages, that this instrument (nĕrŭdĭ) was familiar to them, but that they did not use it because of a scarcity of stones. Allegedly they had taken it over from the
[177] Brazilians. It /275/ was impossible for me to induce the Indians to make such an instrument.

Even more dubious are the statements about the boomerang. My informant Kuriší, whom, on the basis of my other experiences, I must regard as trustworthy, told me: his mother told him in his childhood that the Karajá of the north horde had a stick (ĭãdĕzĕ) that came back when it was thrown. He had not seen such an implement; it must therefore have fallen into disuse long ago. I was unable to gain confirmation of these two statements; I am therefore repeating them here with all reservations.

411 The Indians do not have defensive weapons. Against blows
714 they protect themselves merely with the hand and the arm. They ward off flying arrows with the club; they do not know how to divert them with the spear, with bow or arrow. They have no real protection against the recoil of the bowstring; the recoil is even said to be very painful. It is somewhat mitigated by the arm cuff (dĕsĭ); a person who does not wear cuffs, like the married men, wraps bast around his lower arm; this apparently occurs only in war, however, for I did not notice anything of the kind for fishing.

714 Amulets are lacking; they use only a charm against arrow
715 shooting; a disk ten centimeters in diameter and made out of scraped pieces of the bowstring is glued on both sides of the chest with resin. They believe that no arrow can then hit the chest.

/333 cont./

789 In order to be able to see at night, one paints on the eyelids with the brush (Ill. 183b) /334/ some of the substance obtained from the jequitiba fruit (Ill. 183a).

751 As a protection against arrow shots one glues, by means of wax, a scraped bowstring as disks approximately ten centimeters in diameter onto both breasts.

754 In order to induce fever in others, one rubs together in one's hands some of the substance in the little bag (Ill. 184a) and rubs it into the hair of the opponent during a dispute. One protects oneself by washing it off the hands. The constituent parts out of which the substance is made are shown in Ill. 184 b,c; they are, first, a bundle of brown fibers and then a yellowish dried shell, both of which are ground and mixed with charcoal. They did not want to tell me the name for this magic remedy, just as they were generally afraid to let me have these things, since I could, of course, have used them against the seller himself. I had to pack them away immediately before their eyes; otherwise they could not be obtained.

There are various means for killing another person. /Ills. 185 and 186 appear here./ A monkey penis is plaited out of bast (nõõ krãõbẽ, Ill. 185 a,b) and secretly planted on the enemy, who must then die.

The magic arrow (bõlõhẽ) consists of a wooden rod 21 centimeters long and surrounded with a layer of wax, which is completely covered with little red feathers. The point is formed by a bone splinter. Actually, the arrow should consist of gibate cane and the point of a ray spine. Apparently the Indians altered the instrument so that I could not do any mischief with it. With a small bow the arrow is shot at passersby; the person in whose direction the arrow comes to rest must die (Ill. 16 a,b). There is no antidote against this magic.

The electric eel (kũõlũnĩ, nẽtjĩwã) consists of a mixture of pounded bones of the electric eel, charcoal, and wax, which is put in fish form and little red feathers are glued over it. Two mother-of-pearl disks serve as the eyes; a white cotton ring adorns the neck (Ill. 186a). One holds the /335/ rear end of the electric

/29 cont./

833 2. (cont.)
sursum attrahit, manus natibus ejus supponens. /The Karaya have intercourse with women in the fashion of the native Australians. The man sits on the ground, feet extended, and takes the woman, lying arched backwards above him, his hands supporting her buttocks. / (Cf. Miclucho Maclay, Verhandl. d. berl. Ges. f. Anthr., 1880, p. 87.)

844 Birth. For this the woman kneels on her heels, clasping a post with her hands, while the husband grasps her from behind with strong pressure around her body. Once the child is born, the afterbirth is awaited patiently; then the navel cord is compressed and cut off about three inches from the body with a sharp taquara splint. The blood contained in it is carefully pressed [750] out, "in order to prevent tetanus /Starrkrampf/," and hot ashes and powder from pulverized piranha teeth are sprinkled on the surface of the wound as a styptic. Since no ligature is applied, it is not rare that the child bleeds to death. The newborn is daubed with urucú red, wrapped tightly in a broad strip of jangada 846 bast, and laid in a "rede" tied by strings (see p. 19). For three days both spouses stay on a strict diet. In order to make the uterus contract, the wife lies down on her back and has her abdomen pressed together for a couple of hours by her husband, who sits next to her, or other persons who relieve him. Some 854 months after birth the child receives the above-mentioned cotton bands.

852 At the age of six to seven years the girls' ear-lobes are 304 pierced; for boys, the lower lip as well. The whole community gathers for this. The child sits on a stool decorated with arara feathers in the middle of a large circle. One of the relatives pierces his ears with spines from the tucuma palm, the lower lip with a sharpened monkey-bone. During this the men stand around [533] and sing a song with the closing verse: idžohã hã haṅ, hã haṅ idžiohã, i.e., "now it has happened!"

/30/

852 The wound holes are kept open with cotton threads passed
304 through them and changed often. The patient must fast for one day and is permitted to take only liquid nourishment for some time. The whole post-operative treatment is handled by an older woman experienced at it.

852 From now on the boys wear the T-shaped lip ornaments
301 of mother-of-pearl, not until later the piuva wood plugs. On
291 this occasion the bast apron of the women is put on the girls.

With the onset of puberty the young people of both sexes
881 receive the tribal tattooing amid similar ceremonies. The out-
304 line of a circle is marked on both cheeks with a stamp made
[824] out of a piece of gourd (tešiã). Then the place is cut out with
[952] a small sharp stone, and cotton lint is put in the wound. After stopping the bleeding, genipa juice rubbed in causes the blue color of the scar.

881 The first appearance of the period is not celebrated with special ceremonies. The menstruating woman is considered unclean and must live apart from the others during this time. She is not permitted to bathe, but is washed by other women from a gourd bowl especially intended for this purpose.

857 Games and dancing. At an early age the children imitate the activities of adults. The boys practice archery and fishing; the girls give their mothers a hand in the household as soon as
524 possible. The clay figures have already been mentioned as children's toys. There are also small tops (kotauã, Fig. 15 /see p. 61/), canoes and oars, cooking dishes, etc. represented in the collection.

Games popular with the adults as well are the feather ball made of corncobs with ring-shaped inset, and furthermore the "game of cats cradle" /cited in English/ common in North America, as is well known, and recently described by Boas for the Eskimo. Strings drawn from hand to hand through the fingers represent certain animal figures by changing their arrangement. /Fig. 15 appears here./

/32 cont./

754 Since every sickness is considered the work of hostile sorcerers
755 or demons, they rely more on the counter magic of their own "medicine man" who removes the poison by sucking on the ailing part of the body or scares off the evil spirits by means of the magic rattle.

757 One of the most popular medicines of the Karaya is the resin of the almecega (Hedwigia balsamifera), which, stirred in with coconut oil, is used as a smelling essence for headaches and externally for abdominal pain (andžiura).

752 The savages have more knowledge of surgery. They know how to let blood out of the forehead vein, to stop bleeding by applying a tourniquet to the wounded limb, quite rationally sprinkle powdered charcoal on wounds, put splints on broken limbs, and develop great skill in removing thorns with sharp fish-teeth.

757 The custom of emptying the stomach in the morning by artificially induced vomiting, known in North America and Ecuador, is also found here. It is done with charred pieces of taquara (idžiua), which are introduced into the throat until the effect is achieved.

304 The most important medical instrument is the scarification
824 apparatus (i-šaura). It consists of a little triangular or rectangular
237 piece of gourd, one surface of which is weighted with a layer of wax or resin one centimeter thick, while the other bears a row of small sharp fish-teeth (Fig. 17).
757

Fig. 17. Scarification instrument (1/2).

304 These scarifiers are stored in pairs, the convex scratching
757 surface of the one resting on the concave one of the other. The small teeth are protected by stuffing cotton between them.

/335 cont./

755 ends, as well as by the utilization of medicines to be used in-
757 ternally and externally. Altogether I learned of seven doctors,
756 but their number may be larger. One of these, in Village 16, was regarded as an evil witch doctor. The sick chief of this village was not being treated by him, but rather downstream in Village 19 by a famous doctor to whom the Karajá came from
758 afar to be cured. He had opened a sort of hospital: several
756 mat walls had been stretched, in the shade of which the sick lay on mats, tended and supported by their relatives. There were three or four sick persons of both sexes lying here.

114 I did not see any curing ceremonies. In Village 14 I heard
755 singing and rattling coming from the west end of the village, but I was not permitted to go there when I announced my intention of observing Chief Ilk from Village 13 during his activity as doctor.

756 The doctors are paid for their services in boats, pots, food, etc. If the patient dies, they allegedly receive no payment.

● 752 The Karajá have considerable knowledge of surgery.

[278] Minor wounds are brushed with the decoction of a red tree bark (ōdŭdĕwŏ) which is kept in large quantities in pots with a little water. Or ashes are sprinkled on bleeding wounds (for example, cutting the umbilical cord), or a little urucú oil color is brushed on minor injuries, so that flies do not get on them. Applying tourniquets to injured limbs also seems to be known already. Festering leg wounds (as a result of injury: kñdjŭ) are washed with warm water; in this way they heal by themselves.

Deep wounds, such as those from arrow shots and the like, are /336/ also cauterized. For this, a human lower-leg bone is used (Ill. 187; dēĩ or wŏlĭsõti), which is wound with bast. Its lower end is browned from the fire. In the case of arrow shots, another remedy is said to be used, one that brings about complete healing in a very short time, allegedly in one day (?).

Broken limbs, according to Ehrenreich ("Beiträge," p. 32), are healed with splints. The chief of Village 16, whom I met in the hospital, /Ill. 187 appears here/ allegedly had a broken leg, but there was no splint bandage. According to Kurĭĭ's statement, they do not know how to heal broken arms and legs.

/336 cont./

164 I saw an umbilical hernia only once, in the case of a boy.

757 I did not learn anything about bloodletting, which Ehrenreich reports.

304 Scarification is very common; almost all Indians bear the scratch scars from it on upper arms and thighs. I was unable to observe anything about the procedure, which Ehrenreich ("Beiträge," p. 33) describes. Concerning the apparatus used for this, see above, page 109, Ill. 51.

[752] ←

164 Of illnesses for which the cure is not known to me, I saw a blind girl, a man blind in one eye, and a boy with dropsy, as well as a man whose legs were atrophied up to his knees and who was able to move forward only by crawling on hands and knees.

757 Ehrenreich reports ("Beiträge," page 32) that in the morning they induce vomiting by inserting a charred taquara rod

Ill. 187.
Bone for cauterizing wounds.

into their throats, in order to empty the stomach in this way. He even brought back such sticks (Berlin 3964). I never observed [846] this custom, but, as related above, simply heard that husbands induce vomiting artificially during the couvade (see page 273).

128 In the following I shall discuss the other illnesses, insofar as I obtained information about them; I shall stress in particular observed cases of illness.

752 In case of snake bite the affected limb is tied up and some pounded dõãhĩ root is put on it.

757 There are very many remedies for indigestion and intestinal 824 disorders. For indigestion three different roots are used. Either one pounds the mõnã root (in Brazilian allegedly muriẓĩ), mix

/336 cont./

757 it with water, and drink the liquid, or one takes, in the same
824 way, mixed with cold water, the pounded root of a cipo plant [b(ŭ)dōĩlũlẽ]. Finally, the root of a shrub which is cultivated for this purpose in the plantings is gnawed with the teeth in case of stomach pains. For intestinal disorders, two roots (dĩlũãkŏẑẽ and bẽdĩ) are /337/ crushed, each cooked separately, and the two decoctions mixed and drunk.

There are also several laxatives. The root ãĵãhĩnõ (in Brazilian allegedly tĩũ) is pounded, cooked in water, and drunk as a purgative, or one uses the root of a vine (hãmbũlãdõẽ), which is pounded and extracted with cold water.

Jaundice and anemia in young people are cured by pounding the leaves of a red-blossomed creeper (dõwĩlĩẑã) growing on
261 the goyaba and rubbing the body with it. Jaundice is caused chiefly by the eating of clay, which is put into ball form. This eating of clay is probably to be traced to the lack of salt. Instead of clay, ashes and sand are also eaten, which are said to have a constipating effect. I often observed how the Indians ate the sand from the sandbanks by the handful.

In order to grow fat, they eat a certain small fruit.

757 In spite of the good teeth which the Indians enjoy, tooth-
[164] ache seems to occur more often than one is inclined to assume. Though I did not observe any cases, they have a whole number of remedies for it. For example, they use the sheath of pieces of root and twigs called kũsĩ (in Brazilian the so-called para tudo),
•[752] as well as a small fruit called sĩbũrẽ. Teeth are not extracted; if they ache, this remedy is used. Otherwise they are left to drop out by themselves.

[164] I observed only one head cold (wãdõwẽ), in the case of an older man. As a remedy he had wound a palm-leaf binding around his head. Apparently his head was very dizzy, for he held it in front and back with both hands.

164 I often observed coughs (wãdõ); many Indians had a slight
757 cough, probably as a result of the cool nights. The children in Village 17 apparently had whooping cough; when coughing, they had choking spells, until they succeeded in coughing up the

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
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country. Their skin is always hot to the touch, and they 000
perspire but little." (This may be owing, in some degree, to the clogging of the pores of the body with the gummy, red grease with which they keep themselves constantly besmeared.) * * * "They bathe many times each day, but do not plunge into the water, taking merely a sitz bath, as dogs may be seen doing in hot climates, to cool the lower parts of the body. The women and children who have remained at home while the men are away fishing and hunting, generally find some excuse for trooping off to the shade of the forest during the hot hours of the afternoon. They appear restless and discontented in fine, dry weather, but cheerful in cool days, when the rain is pouring down on their naked backs. When suffering from fever, nothing but strict watching can prevent them from going to bathe in the river, or eating immoderate quantities of juicy fruits, although these indulgences are frequently the cause of death. They are much subject to disorders of the liver, dysentery, and other ills of hot climates; and when any epidemic is about, they take it quicker, and suffer more than negroes, or even whites. How different all this is with the negro, the true child of tropical climes! The impression gradually forced itself upon my mind that the Indian lives as a stranger or immigrant in these hot regions, and that his constitution was not originally adapted, and has not since become perfectly adapted to the climate."

The Karayá possess some knowledge of surgery. They 752
know how to open arteries on the temple; how to bleed a patient; how to stop the flow of blood from a wound by binding the artery; understand the efficiency of sprinkling powdered charcoal upon wounds; have knowledge to bind on splints in setting broken bones, and know how to extract thorns from the flesh, which is done by means of sharp fish teeth. To empty the stomach by vomiting, they tickle the 757
throat with the burnt end of a reed.

They make use of a scarification, or bleeding instrument, [413]
which is a block or pad set full, and bristling, with the long, [237]
lance-like teeth of the piranha fish. It resembles a curry-

/33/

304 While the patient convulsively clasps a pole, the points are
757 pressed deep into the skin of the ailing part of his body, and it is scratched open in various directions with quick movements. The blood is scraped off with strips of palm leaves, the wounds rubbed with sand in the bath. It is said to be not uncommon that pulverized pepper is applied to increase drainage.

Even when there is no special suffering, such blood-lettings are done from time to time on legs and arms, "in order to strengthen muscle power."

● 753 The belief common to all primitive peoples that sickness,
171 as well as death, is something highly unnatural and comes about only through the influence of hostile powers, which the witch doctor alone knows how to ban, prevails among the tribes of South America in such a completely similar manner that everything known about it from one people also holds without additions
[114] for the others. One need only refer to the lucid, exhaustive presentation by Im Thurn (1), to which there is hardly anything to add.

1. Im Thurn, op. cit., p. 328 ff.

756 Among the Karaya the rank of witch doctor (kahotebädõ, according to Spinola hori), of which every village possesses several, does not belong to a closed caste any more than it does among the Xingu tribes.

Anyone who is willing to undergo the required mortifications can become a sorcerer. Nervous individuals, epileptics, etc. are, of course, especially suited for it. Even women can attain this office.

789 We had no opportunity to observe the medicine man treating
791 the sick, but did observe him in his no less important activity
[276] as rain conjurer. He stepped ceremoniously in front of the hut, holding a tobacco pipe in one hand, in the other a long switch with thornback spines stuck on the tip. His face turned toward the heavens, he uttered inarticulate sounds in a loud voice, again and again blew smoke towards the clouds, then mumbled, swinging his staff around his head, incomprehensible words

/338 cont./

757 Venereal diseases are rare. The Karajá systematically
[164] avoid them in that infected Karajá, as long as they are not cured,
[834] are prohibited from intercourse with the women and possibly banished from the tribe altogether. Pedro I, who became infected in Conceição, said that if he went home that way he would be unable to remain there: he would then no longer be a Karajá. They seem to have a remedy for syphilis, but it is said to be effective only in the hands of a good doctor.

Persons with infectious diseases are left alone; even the doctor does not pay any attention to them. The people simply move away, but leave food behind for them. If they die, the
[153] others come and bury them. With death the disease, even an infectious one, is regarded as obliterated.

158 Mental illnesses seem to be very rare. I observed only one epileptic youth. Every month at the first quarter of the moon he is said to thrash about and walk around with his eyes closed. He had a strange look and his movements were heavy. For no reason
[828] that I could see, he was suddenly seized by the others, overpowered, and thrown down; after a time he was permitted to get up again and walk about freely, but he was always kept under control.

828 According to their view, mental illness (ĭdjõdẽ) is located in the small of the back.

Raving madness (ãhãhã́) is incurable. During attacks the patient, by order of the chief, is bound at ankles and hands and laid on a mat in the shade.

158 In Schischá, on my return journey, I observed a strange custom, which probably goes back to a sadistic tendency. At night, the old bachelor, Mãudĭhĭ, and Mãŭzĭ were sitting with me in the tent. Suddenly the bachelor leaped at Mãuzi's throat and squeezed it, saying, I want to kill you, and then finally let go. Thereupon all /339/ three of them tried this on themselves. They threw their heads back, placed their hands around their throats from behind, and, holding the breath, squeezed the larynx together from both sides with their thumbs. After a while, they let go, swallowed a few times, and took a deep breath. Extreme satisfaction was reflected on their faces.

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca.1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

765 it is always the women—broke out into loud lamentations and wailings, which did not cease until the objects were again hidden from view. He says that he witnessed at a Sambiõa village a very pathetic mourning scene when the news came that a certain resident of the village had died in Pará, whither he had gone as a paddler in one of the trading boats descending the river. The mother and the wife of the deceased paced up and down the bank of the river near the village during two entire days, uttering continually loud and solemn cries of mourning. In their hands, they carried his ornaments and waved them constantly in the direction of the place where he had died. With the assistance of other women, the wailing was continued throughout the night. But whatever may be the real sentiments of the relatives, lamentations and wailing must not be omitted.

164 The Karayá have not suffered as much from smallpox and goitre as other primitive peoples. But tuberculosis is increasing among them, and they know that it is infectious. "Is there any catarrh where you hail from?" is the first question they ask a stranger before he is allowed to enter their huts. Intermittent fevers exist among them only in certain 753 low regions. They use but little medicine, for all sickness and disease is looked upon as demon possession, or the result 755 of witch-craft. Therefore, they trust to their conjurers, or tribal priests, to relieve illness. These men seek to remove the fancied poison or disturbing element by sucking the part of the body where the pain is located, or to expel the evil spirits by performing enchantments, or practicing black arts. 757 One of the most noted medicaments of the Karayá, is the resin of the almecegêira tree, which is mixed with cocoa-nut oil and taken in the form of snuff for headache, and also rubbed on the abdomen to cure stomach-ache.

000 Bates, in his valuable work, "The Naturalist on the Amazon," says: "No one could live long among the Indians of the Upper Amazon without being struck with their constitutional dislike for heat. Europeans certainly withstand the high temperature better than the original inhabitants of the

1:Lipkind E-5 (1937) 1948 SP9 Caraja SP9

Games.—Of numerous games, the most important is a formal wrestling match which is an indispensable part of most religious ceremonies and of all intervillage visits. 526 796 628

Narcotics and stimulants.—Like the other tribes in this region, the *Carajá* have no alcoholic beverages. They smoke tobacco in short cylindrical pipes (fig. 21, *c*). They are heavy smokers, some of the children beginning before they are weaned. 273 276

SUPERNATURALISM

Cults.—*Carajá* religion consists of two distinct cults: a cult of the dead and a mask cult (fig. 24). The cult of the dead, which is under the direction of the priest, has for its object the placation of ghosts by a periodical ceremonial which comes to its climax in several large calendrical feasts. The most important of these feasts is the Big House Feast, which is celebrated shortly after the beginning of the rainy season. All the villages which comprise a ceremonial unit come to the one village where the feast is conducted. There is a great mass of ceremonial addressed to various classes of ghosts, but the central portion of the ceremony is the impersonation of animal ghosts. Another important feast, already mentioned, occurs at the height of the dry season and is directed toward the control of enemy ghosts. Two other feasts held in the dry season are chiefly for the entertainment of the ancestors. 795 769 796 [782 793] [628]

The mask cult is concerned with the worship of another class of supernaturals. It consists of an elaborate routine of feasts, interrupted only by death. In these feasts, conducted by the shaman, the supernaturals are impersonated in the complex dances mentioned above. 795 796 [766]

The two cults are independent of each other and are both strictly men's cults. Any women intruding upon the secrets of the cults is subjected to gang rape and remains a wanton thereafter. [688]

Shamanism.—A shaman is trained by apprenticeship to an older shaman. A certain amount of medical lore is taught but the essence of the training is learning how to communicate with supernaturals in a state of trance. 756

There is a considerable amount of sorcery. The main technique is bottling a supernatural being into a small image and then directing it into the body of the victim. As almost all deaths are interpreted as the result of sorcery, feuding is continual. 754 [761] [658]

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Castlenau, 1850–59; Ehrenreich, 1891 b; Krause, 1911. 113

/32 cont./

754 Since every sickness is considered the work of hostile sorcerers
755 or demons, they rely more on the counter magic of their own "medicine man" who removes the poison by sucking on the ailing part of the body or scares off the evil spirits by means of the magic rattle.

757 One of the most popular medicines of the Karaya is the resin of the almecega (Hedwigia balsamifera), which, stirred in with coconut oil, is used as a smelling essence for headaches and externally for abdominal pain (andžiura).

752 The savages have more knowledge of surgery. They know how to let blood out of the forehead vein, to stop bleeding by applying a tourniquet to the wounded limb, quite rationally sprinkle powdered charcoal on wounds, put splints on broken limbs, and develop great skill in removing thorns with sharp fish-teeth.

757 The custom of emptying the stomach in the morning by artificially induced vomiting, known in North America and Ecuador, is also found here. It is done with charred pieces of taquara (idžiua), which are introduced into the throat until the effect is achieved.

304 824 237 757 The most important medical instrument is the scarification apparatus (i-šaura). It consists of a little triangular or rectangular piece of gourd, one surface of which is weighted with a layer of wax or resin one centimeter thick, while the other bears a row of small sharp fish-teeth (Fig. 17).

Fig. 17. Scarification instrument (1/2).

304 757 These scarifiers are stored in pairs, the convex scratching surface of the one resting on the concave one of the other. The small teeth are protected by stuffing cotton between them.

/33 cont./

789 with incredible volubility, and finally made thrusts with grim
791 gestures in the four directions, shouting: bobuto! disperse! It is therefore exactly the same procedure that Boas observed among the Central Eskimos (2). If the rain comes down in spite of this,

2. Petermann's Mitth., 1887, p. 309.

the conjurer chews up a root and spits the pieces into the air, naturally only when the storm is nearing its end.

•754 If the sorcerer wishes to harm an absent person, he uses a small bow (šibate) to shoot an arrow with two snake teeth at the tip in the direction where he suspects that his victim is. The latter is then overcome by an incurable sickness.

Animism. Masked Dances.

791 Although so few details about the religious beliefs of the Karaya are known, it can already be determined that the animistic world-view, as the lowest form of religious life, manifests itself among them in exactly the same way as among other better studied South American tribes.

For them, too, the phenomena of half-life in sleep, the extinguishing of all vital activity in death, and dreams and visions are proof of the presence of a spirit world separate from the material substratum, in which every individual, human as well as animal, who, according to Indian belief, differ from each other only in their physical form, has its immaterial phantom.

754 They know from experience that in dreams the spirit leaves
828 the body of the sleeper to wander about and to meet other persons or
[779] spirits; they know further, even if it is only through suggestive influencing, that the witch doctors, gifted with higher powers, can at will put themselves in a sleeping state, in which their souls fathom secret matters, enter into animals in order to frighten and to injure enemies as "werewolves," and, in short, do all those things by means of which shamanism everywhere knows how to secure its influence in uniformly recurring fashion.

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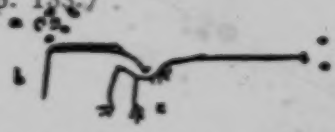
[821]

/Ills. 13 and 14 appear on p. 153./

Ill. 13. Sketchbook drawing: moon with mountains (toad).



Ill. 14. Sketchbook drawing: a) Pleiades (parakeets); b) the jaguar leaps c), on the ostrich (χ and β Centauri).

Ill. 15. Clay doll: caricature of the old grandmother. Karajá. /Ill. 15 appears on p. 155./

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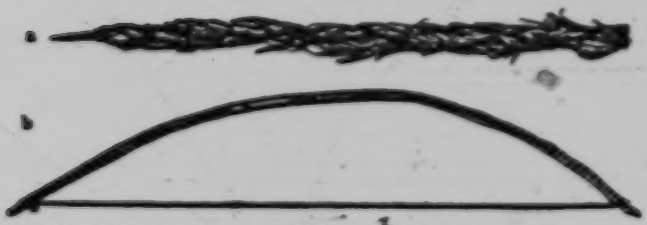

Ill. 16. Magic arrow with bow.* Karajá.
/Ill. 16 appears on p. 156./

*[See description of use on p. 283--Analysis]

/333 cont./

789 hĕtjiwǎ. Two small cane rods are tied together; on the front end, feathers are glued onto a layer of wax. The rods are cut off; their actual length is approximately one meter (Ill. 182a). People shake such instruments toward the clouds in order to drive away rain.

A second apparatus consists of two switches about 50 centimeters long, which are tied together (Ill. 182b). The thick, black switch is called kŏ̃ŏlũnĩ; the thin, light one,

Ill. 182 a, b.
Rain magic.
a) 2 cane rods (cut off),
b) 2 switches.

Ill. 183 a, b.
Eye magic (a) with brush (b).

•[954] →

Ill. 184 a-c.
Fever magic (a) with constituent parts (b, c).

nŏhõdãmŭdǎ. With the two, one beats upward against the clouds.

hŭlãlãhĕdŏ (kŏwõlŭ) consists of a simple switch. Its use is said to be familiar to only a few initiates. Kurišĭ demonstrated the apparatus to me when rain threatened sitting in the boat, he silently beat with it horizontally downstream, as though he wanted to drive the rain clouds there.

/333 cont./

789 In order to be able to see at night, one paints on the eyelids with the brush (Ill. 183b) /334/ some of the substance obtained from the jequitiba fruit (Ill. 183a).

751 As a protection against arrow shots one glues, by means of wax, a scraped bowstring as disks approximately ten centimeters in diameter onto both breasts.

754 In order to induce fever in others, one rubs together in one's hands some of the substance in the little bag (Ill. 184a) and rubs it into the hair of the opponent during a dispute. One protects oneself by washing it off the hands. The constituent parts out of which the substance is made are shown in Ill. 184 b,c; they are, first, a bundle of brown fibers and then a yellowish dried shell, both of which are ground and mixed with charcoal. They did not want to tell me the name for this magic remedy, just as they were generally afraid to let me have these things, since I could, of course, have used them against the seller himself. I had to pack them away immediately before their eyes; otherwise they could not be obtained.

There are various means for killing another person. /Ills. 185 and 186 appear here./ A monkey penis is plaited out of bast (nõõ krãõbẽ, Ill. 185 a,b) and secretly planted on the enemy, who must then die.

The magic arrow (bõlõhẽ) consists of a wooden rod 21 centimeters long and surrounded with a layer of wax, which is completely covered with little red feathers. The point is formed by a bone splinter. Actually, the arrow should consist of gibate cane and the point of a ray spine. Apparently the Indians altered the instrument so that I could not do any mischief with it. With a small bow the arrow is shot at passersby; the person in whose direction the arrow comes to rest must die (Ill. 16 a,b). There is no antidote against this magic.

The electric eel (kũõlũnĩ, hẽtjĩwã) consists of a mixture of pounded bones of the electric eel, charcoal, and wax, which is put in fish form and little red feathers are glued over it. Two mother-of-pearl disks serve as the eyes; a white cotton ring adorns the neck (Ill. 186a). One holds the /335/ rear end of the electric

/335 cont./

754 eel with the right hand against the index finger of the left and thus aims at the passerby. He must die if he does not immediately
755 have himself treated by the doctor. The doctor sucks the leg of the bewitched one, beats him on the back, chest, arms, and legs with a switch, and in this way draws the magic out of the body. He himself then rolls around on the ground, spits, etc., in order, for his part, to get rid of the magic. The electric eel is stored in two palm-leaf husks (Ill. 186 b,c).

The use of charcoal as the carrier of the magical remedy is striking.

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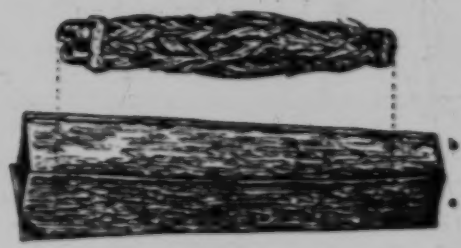

Ill. 185 a, b.
Monkey penis. b) Back side of the glans in a).

Ill. 186 a-c.
Electric eel with protective sheath.

75 Medicine. All illnesses are regarded as originating from the evil magic of others. As a result, witch doctors, whose task is to
757 apply countermagic, play an important role. In addition, however, a great many medicinal plants are used, some of which are supposed to be infallible. I succeeded in obtaining a number of such plants, together with information about their use.

755 The doctors (kölü, kaûdŭwādu; according to Ehrenreich,
757 kahŏtĕbādo) carry on their practice by means of magical performances, singing, swinging rattles, sucking out the morbific agent, massaging, beating with switches which have electric-eel bones attached at the

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca.1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

[751] [413] [237] comb with very long, sharp teeth. With this barbarous tool, the primitive surgeon rakes and tears the back of the patient, who holds himself immovable by firmly grasping a post or tree. The blood is caught and removed on palm-leaves. When sufficient blood has been drawn, sand, and finally pepper, is rubbed into the wounds. Even when a Karayá is not sick, he submits to this very painful operation, believing that it will be beneficial to his health. The bleeding of persons on the back is practiced by low-class civilized Brazilians.

[771] Not much is known concerning the religious belief of the Karayá. But it is fully established that they entertain an animistic conception of the world, which is the lowest form of religious belief and practice; and it expresses itself with them in the same way that it does with the better known South [811] American tribes. Their observation hourly suggests to them the idea that every effect has an intelligent cause; for, whenever they are able to trace an effect to its cause, as, for instance, in the doings of men and animals, that cause appears to be psychical rather than material; an intangible, incomprehensible something that we call Mind. Therefore, they firmly believe that Minds, intelligence, or invisible, immaterial Personalities, dwell, as an Ego, or as Genii, in every material object, animate or inanimate, such as animals, trees and mountains, and direct all the operations of Nature; and that brutes are differentiated from men only by their bodily form, every creature being like a duality—having a psychical as well as a physical Self. Moreover, the phenomena of the half-[773] life in sleep, together with dreams and visions, and the cessation of all vital activities at death, furnish to their minds clear and positive proofs of the existence of a spirit world that pervades, or lies beyond the world comprehended by the senses. They believe that in sleep and dreams, the Ego, or [774] Shade, or second Self, steals away from the body of the sleeper to roam about and to associate with other shadowy personalities or spirits. They are convinced, furthermore, that their [754] priests, or conjurers, are endowed with some supernatural, or mysterious powers which enable them to put themselves

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

at will into a trance or semi-death, in which state their souls, or doubles, explore the occult, or what is hidden from men in a normal state. They also believe that these conjurers can transform themselves at pleasure into animals—into the form of a witch-wolf, for example, in order to terrify, injure and domineer over men; and, in brief, can do all things whereby shamanism—primitive priestcraft—secures and maintains its influence over the tribe. They have no images or idols, nor even fetiches, for the reason that they have not yet advanced to this more complex belief, if advancement it may be called.

The ghosts or spirits of the dead, which, as previously stated, are believed to tarry for a time in the vicinity of the graves where hang the bodies they were forced to abandon because they had fallen so into disrepair, take delight, in after time, in returning to haunt the places of their habitation during the days of their flesh; moreover, it is believed that they appear to their relatives, especially on wild and stormy nights: When the darkness is inky black, illumined only by the ceaseless play of the terrifying lightnings, and the thunders crash and boom as if the unseen Powers were engaged in mighty conflict, while the winds moan and shriek in the forest, then the old folk think of their dear departed; and by loud lamentations and wailings, put themselves into a state of ecstacy whereby their inflamed imagination creates every wished-for phantasm.

This animistic religion is without any ethical foundation. It has not in this stage attained to a conception of a higher or ruling Spirit upon whom man feels himself dependent for rewards and punishments for his deeds; and as just stated, lacks everything which connects man externally with divinity, such as images, the paraphernalia of worship, ritual, and the like. But we find among the Karayá those ceremonials from which apparently everywhere throughout the world the higher and more elaborate forms of worship have come, that is, the mystery rites.

Mask dances occupy an important place in Karayá life. The prominent rôle which these masquerades play among

7:Lipkind E-5 (1938-1939) 1940
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among the last. He got stuck in the hole. His belly was too big. He decided 772
to go back. It was a dead leaf that he spied. He spoke to his wife, 'Let's go 773
back. There is death there.' They went back again. Those that had come out were very happy. They were all happy. Then one of them climbed a tree. It was a child that climbed. He fell and died. They all mourned. Suddenly they got cheerful again. For this reason they were angry, his mother and father. His brother and sister, married to each other, were angry. For this reason there was keening. They say that there in the depths of the water there was no death."

In addition to being the original home of the Carajá, the underworld is 772
also the home of the dead. Those who die a quiet death and are properly 775
buried live there much in the same fashion as they lived on earth. But they are always a bit crazed and dangerous to the living. They must be placated [772] by offerings and ceremonial observances. Otherwise they assume the form [845] of poisonous snakes and bite those who neglect them. Those who die a 766
violent death, who are clubbed or torn by beasts, become violent unappeasable ghosts. They are buried in the woods without arms or fire, in a posi- 772
tion contrary to the traditional position in order to disorient them. A 775
woman's girdle is tied about their eyes to blind them. Their desire is to kill, and especially to kill their closest kin. Their afterlife is extremely unpleasant. They wander about in a perpetual rage and feed on little birds which they eat raw.

The other dimension of the Carajá universe is the sky. Only the south- 772
eastern quadrant of the sky interests the Carajá. The rest is uninhabited 756
forest. Starting at the Southern Cross virtually every star and constella- 776
tion visible in the east is a named supernatural. The Milky Way is the 821
shaman's road. When the shaman falls into his trance he goes up the shaman's road into one of the villages of the sky supernaturals. There he receives his power and knowledge and, if he has not eaten or drunk, thereafter is a curer. If he has, he becomes a sorcerer and killer. The good [054] shaman after his death goes to live in the sky. He squats up there in the [775] heat of the sun with his inexhaustible pot of food and gourd of water in front of him and his shamanistic rattle in his hand, held up to shade his eyes from the glare of the sun. At night he dances with the supernaturals. This is considered the happiest afterlife.

The earth and underworld are also inhabited by supernaturals. Every 772
pool, every deep spot in the river, every bit of forest or savannah, has its 776
supernatural owners. These are of two kinds. Many are amiable and beau- 823
tiful beings who have friendly relations with humans. They are invited [532] to feasts and impersonated in the masked dances. The others are ugly and dangerous monsters who cannot be placated. Their woods are avoided and nobody fishes in their pools.

The sorcerer has a wide variety of techniques at his disposal. He may 754

7:Lipkind E-5 (1938-1939) 1940
SP9 Caraja SP9

754 request a ghost to do his killing. In this case the ghost takes the form of a wild beast, usually a leopard. He may request a supernatural either to enter the body of his victim, or to turn loose on the victim his subject animals, 756 particularly the alligator and piranha. The curing shaman sucks out the intrusive supernatural or persuades the ghosts or supernaturals to withhold their attack.

776 The dichotomy of ghosts and supernaturals is quite clear in Carajá religion. Ghosts are placated by calendrical feasts, run by a hereditary priest. Supernaturals are invited to the masked dances by a shaman who takes [754] complete charge of this cult. There is little relationship between the two cults. There is a momentary appearance of masks during the Big-house Feast of the ghost cult, and an occasional offering to ancestors during the mask cult ceremonies.

775 What is of special interest is that there are many maleficent supernaturals 776 who cannot be approached at all. There is no technique for handling them except keeping out of their way. The violent ghosts really fall in the same category as far as their relation to humans is concerned. And yet they are chiefly the best men of the Carajá who have fallen in battle against their [754] enemies. In this curious bit of fantasy there seems to be a projection of the fear and aggression which are overtly present in the social life.

771 In recent years a few Carajá have been able to visit Rio and Belém. They 772 have brought back a somewhat different picture of the extent of the world, a picture with which many Carajá are now familiar. It never intrudes into 597 Carajá life. It is reserved solely for discourse with outsiders. No contradiction is felt because the two conceptions are never brought into the same universe of discourse. I was not able to detect any signs of skepticism. The Carajá is perfectly sure that he has a clear view of the true character of the world. The peculiar beliefs of outsiders are in keeping with their quaint behavior and lack of good breeding. A Carajá will not dispute about such things. He listens to the opinions of others with courtesy and curiosity but cannot be induced to take them seriously. It is much easier to pretend to [747] agree. If you are a missionary, you will give him presents. Later he may have the additional pleasure of expounding your fantastic ideas to his fellows.

182 Two factors seem to me to contribute largely to the maintainance of this 772 attitude. In the first place, the old way of life is still intact. When a man is 773 able to find full occupation and joy in his activities, it is difficult to get him to doubt the premises on which they are founded. Secondly, every important feature of life is validated by mythical tales which are the Carajá history. The emergence myth, given above in its simplest and shortest variant, is one of many. I can do no more than mention some of the most important here. The full form of the emergence myth gives the names of all the ancestors who emerged and the precise social divisions which they

/32 cont./

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755 or demons, they rely more on the counter magic of their own "medicine man" who removes the poison by sucking on the ailing part of the body or scares off the evil spirits by means of the magic rattle.

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/335 cont./

754 eel with the right hand against the index finger of the left and thus aims at the passerby. He must die if he does not immediately
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The use of charcoal as the carrier of the magical remedy is striking.

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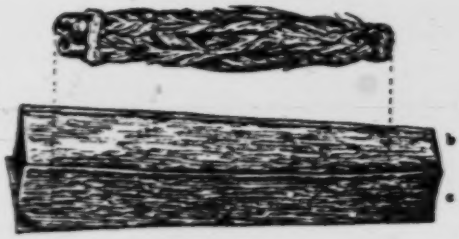
Ill. 185 a, b.
Monkey penis. b) Back side of the glans in a).



Ill. 186 a-c.
Electric eel with protective sheath.

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757 kahŏtĕbādo) carry on their practice by means of magical performances, singing, swinging rattles, sucking out the morbific agent, massaging, beating with switches which have electric-eel bones attached at the

/335 cont./

755 ends, as well as by the utilization of medicines to be used in-
757 ternally and externally. Altogether I learned of seven doctors,
756 but their number may be larger. One of these, in Village 16, was regarded as an evil witch doctor. The sick chief of this village was not being treated by him, but rather downstream in Village 19 by a famous doctor to whom the Karajá came from
758 afar to be cured. He had opened a sort of hospital: several
756 mat walls had been stretched, in the shade of which the sick lay on mats, tended and supported by their relatives. There were three or four sick persons of both sexes lying here.

114 I did not see any curing ceremonies. In Village 14 I heard
755 singing and rattling coming from the west end of the village, but I was not permitted to go there when I announced my intention of observing Chief Ilk from Village 13 during his activity as doctor.

756 The doctors are paid for their services in boats, pots, food, etc. If the patient dies, they allegedly receive no payment.

752 The Karajá have considerable knowledge of surgery.

[278] Minor wounds are brushed with the decoction of a red tree bark (ōdŭdĕwŏ) which is kept in large quantities in pots with a little water. Or ashes are sprinkled on bleeding wounds (for example, cutting the umbilical cord), or a little urucú oil color is brushed on minor injuries, so that flies do not get on them. Applying tourniquets to injured limbs also seems to be known already. Festering leg wounds (as a result of injury: kūdjŭ) are washed with warm water; in this way they heal by themselves.

Deep wounds, such as those from arrow shots and the like, are /336/ also cauterized. For this, a human lower-leg bone is used (Ill. 187; dĕĭ or wŏlĭsõtĭ), which is wound with bast. Its lower end is browned from the fire. In the case of arrow shots, another remedy is said to be used, one that brings about complete healing in a very short time, allegedly in one day (?).

Broken limbs, according to Ehrenreich ("Beiträge," p. 32), are healed with splints. The chief of Village 16, whom I met in the hospital, /Ill. 187 appears here/ allegedly had a broken leg, but there was no splint bandage. According to Kuriší's statement, they do not know how to heal broken arms and legs.

765 it is always the women—broke out into loud lamentations and wailings, which did not cease until the objects were again hidden from view. He says that he witnessed at a Sambiõa village a very pathetic mourning scene when the news came that a certain resident of the village had died in Pará, whither he had gone as a paddler in one of the trading boats descending the river. The mother and the wife of the deceased paced up and down the bank of the river near the village during two entire days, uttering continually loud and solemn cries of mourning. In their hands, they carried his ornaments and waved them constantly in the direction of the place where he had died. With the assistance of other women, the wailing was continued throughout the night. But whatever may be the real sentiments of the relatives, lamentations and wailing must not be omitted.

164 The Karayá have not suffered as much from smallpox and goitre as other primitive peoples. But tuberculosis is increasing among them, and they know that it is infectious. "Is there any catarrh where you hail from?" is the first question they ask a stranger before he is allowed to enter their huts. Intermittent fevers exist among them only in certain 753 low regions. They use but little medicine, for all sickness and disease is looked upon as demon possession, or the result •755 of witch-craft. Therefore, they trust to their conjurers, or tribal priests, to relieve illness. These men seek to remove the fancied poison or disturbing element by sucking the part of the body where the pain is located, or to expel the evil spirits by performing enchantments, or practicing black arts. 757 One of the most noted medicaments of the Karayá, is the resin of the almecegêira tree, which is mixed with cocoa-nut oil and taken in the form of snuff for headache, and also rubbed on the abdomen to cure stomach-ache.

000 Bates, in his valuable work, "The Naturalist on the Amazon," says: "No one could live long among the Indians of the Upper Amazon without being struck with their constitutional dislike for heat. Europeans certainly withstand the high temperature better than the original inhabitants of the

1:Lipkind E-5 (1937) 1948 SP9 Caraja SP9

411 **Weapons.**—The *Carajá* use bows and arrows (pls. 20, *bottom, left;* 21, *left* and *center*), and their mythology indicates aboriginal use of the spear thrower for hunting monkeys. Recently, they have used a spear thrower of the upper Xingú River type for sport.

[773] [774]

323 **Pottery.**—Pottery vessels include several forms of plain ware (fig. 20).

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

611 The kinship structure may be described as double descent. Both lines are important, the greater emphasis falling on the mother's line, and both lines serve different functions. Village citizenship, adoption, and the closest affectional ties are reckoned in the mother's line. Moiety membership and the offices of chief, priest, and food-divider are patrilineally inherited.

[428]

621 622 The fundamental unit of social organization is the village. Every village has one or more ioló, children of chiefly line, designated by the chief for preferential treatment by the members of the village. The chief names the ioló who is to succeed him or, if he fails to do so, the village makes the choice at his death. Girls of chiefly line are similarly chosen for preferential treatment; each of them is known as the "hidden woman." There is some indication that women functioned as chiefs in former times, but today there is no woman chief. The chief has no coercive powers but directs the village by recognizing the will of the majority in such matters as the selection of camp and garden sites and the announcement of a move at change of season. His principal function is to act as peacemaker, and people readily submit to his adjudication. Because of the importance of religious ceremonials, the priest and the shaman frequently exercise more authority than the chief. When all three offices are vested in a single individual, his authority may be considerable, but it is kept in check by the right of a discontented person to move at any time to another village.

[562] [177] [756] [793] [692]

59 Within the village the important unit is the household. Residence being matrilocal, a household consists of sisters, their husbands, children, and the husbands of grown daughters. Marriage is restricted to one's own generation, the preferred mate being a cousin on the mother's side. There is no sanction but ridicule against wrong marriages, and there are many cases of cross-generational marriage. Marriage is predominantly monogamous, but a few instances of polygyny and one of polyandry were encountered. The avunculate is very important and involves many social and especially ceremonial duties. Cooperation in the household is close and in the village fairly close. In addition, villages are grouped together in ceremonial units, generally consisting of three or four neighboring villages, which celebrate important feasts jointly. This ceremonial unit acts as an insurance group when a village's crop fails or its fish supplies grow scarce. Beyond this, the only intervillage ties

[591] [592] [582] [626] [595] [604] 78 628 [476]

1:Lipkind E-5 (1937) 1948 SP9 Caraja SP9

Games.—Of numerous games, the most important is a formal wrestling match which is an indispensable part of most religious ceremonies and of all intervillage visits. 526 796 628

Narcotics and stimulants.—Like the other tribes in this region, the *Carajá* have no alcoholic beverages. They smoke tobacco in short cylindrical pipes (fig. 21, *c*). They are heavy smokers, some of the children beginning before they are weaned. 273 276

SUPERNATURALISM

Cults.—*Carajá* religion consists of two distinct cults: a cult of the dead and a mask cult (fig. 24). The cult of the dead, which is under the direction of the priest, has for its object the placation of ghosts by a periodical ceremonial which comes to its climax in several large calendrical feasts. The most important of these feasts is the Big House Feast, which is celebrated shortly after the beginning of the rainy season. All the villages which comprise a ceremonial unit come to the one village where the feast is conducted. There is a great mass of ceremonial addressed to various classes of ghosts, but the central portion of the ceremony is the impersonation of animal ghosts. Another important feast, already mentioned, occurs at the height of the dry season and is directed toward the control of enemy ghosts. Two other feasts held in the dry season are chiefly for the entertainment of the ancestors. 795 769 796 [782 793] [628]

The mask cult is concerned with the worship of another class of supernaturals. It consists of an elaborate routine of feasts, interrupted only by death. In these feasts, conducted by the shaman, the supernaturals are impersonated in the complex dances mentioned above. 795 796 [756]

The two cults are independent of each other and are both strictly men's cults. Any women intruding upon the secrets of the cults is subjected to gang rape and remains a wanton thereafter. [688]

Shamanism.—A shaman is trained by apprenticeship to an older shaman. A certain amount of medical lore is taught but the essence of the training is learning how to communicate with supernaturals in a state of trance. 756

There is a considerable amount of sorcery. The main technique is bottling a supernatural being into a small image and then directing it into the body of the victim. As almost all deaths are interpreted as the result of sorcery, feuding is continual. 754 [761] [628]

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304 757 While the patient convulsively clasps a pole, the points are pressed deep into the skin of the ailing part of his body, and it is scratched open in various directions with quick movements. The blood is scraped off with strips of palm leaves, the wounds rubbed with sand in the bath. It is said to be not uncommon that pulverized pepper is applied to increase drainage.

Even when there is no special suffering, such blood-lettings are done from time to time on legs and arms, "in order to strengthen muscle power."

753 171 The belief common to all primitive peoples that sickness, as well as death, is something highly unnatural and comes about only through the influence of hostile powers, which the witch doctor alone knows how to ban, prevails among the tribes of South America in such a completely similar manner that everything known about it from one people also holds without additions [114] for the others. One need only refer to the lucid, exhaustive presentation by Im Thurn (1), to which there is hardly anything to add.

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Anyone who is willing to undergo the required mortifications can become a sorcerer. Nervous individuals, epileptics, etc. are, of course, especially suited for it. Even women can attain this office.

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7:Lipkind E-5 (1938-1939) 1940
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among the last. He got stuck in the hole. His belly was too big. He decided to go back. It was a dead leaf that he spied. He spoke to his wife, 'Let's go back. There is death there.' They went back again. Those that had come out were very happy. They were all happy. Then one of them climbed a tree. It was a child that climbed. He fell and died. They all mourned. Suddenly they got cheerful again. For this reason they were angry, his mother and father. His brother and sister, married to each other, were angry. For this reason there was keening. They say that there in the depths of the water there was no death."

In addition to being the original home of the Carajá, the underworld is also the home of the dead. Those who die a quiet death and are properly buried live there much in the same fashion as they lived on earth. But they are always a bit crazed and dangerous to the living. They must be placated by offerings and ceremonial observances. Otherwise they assume the form of poisonous snakes and bite those who neglect them. Those who die a violent death, who are clubbed or torn by beasts, become violent unappeasable ghosts. They are buried in the woods without arms or fire, in a position contrary to the traditional position in order to disorient them. A woman's girdle is tied about their eyes to blind them. Their desire is to kill, and especially to kill their closest kin. Their afterlife is extremely unpleasant. They wander about in a perpetual rage and feed on little birds which they eat raw.

The other dimension of the Carajá universe is the sky. Only the southeastern quadrant of the sky interests the Carajá. The rest is uninhabited forest. Starting at the Southern Cross virtually every star and constellation visible in the east is a named supernatural. The Milky Way is the shaman's road. When the shaman falls into his trance he goes up the shaman's road into one of the villages of the sky supernaturals. There he receives his power and knowledge and, if he has not eaten or drunk, thereafter is a curer. If he has, he becomes a sorcerer and killer. The good shaman after his death goes to live in the sky. He squats up there in the heat of the sun with his inexhaustible pot of food and gourd of water in front of him and his shamanistic rattle in his hand, held up to shade his eyes from the glare of the sun. At night he dances with the supernaturals. This is considered the happiest afterlife.

The earth and underworld are also inhabited by supernaturals. Every pool, every deep spot in the river, every bit of forest or savannah, has its supernatural owners. These are of two kinds. Many are amiable and beautiful beings who have friendly relations with humans. They are invited to feasts and impersonated in the masked dances. The others are ugly and dangerous monsters who cannot be placated. Their woods are avoided and nobody fishes in their pools.

The sorcerer has a wide variety of techniques at his disposal. He may

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request a ghost to do his killing. In this case the ghost takes the form of a wild beast, usually a leopard. He may request a supernatural either to enter the body of his victim, or to turn loose on the victim his subject animals, particularly the alligator and piranha. The curing shaman sucks out the intrusive supernatural or persuades the ghosts or supernaturals to withhold their attack.

The dichotomy of ghosts and supernaturals is quite clear in Carajá religion. Ghosts are placated by calendrical feasts, run by a hereditary priest. Supernaturals are invited to the masked dances by a shaman who takes complete charge of this cult. There is little relationship between the two cults. There is a momentary appearance of masks during the Big-house Feast of the ghost cult, and an occasional offering to ancestors during the mask cult ceremonies.

What is of special interest is that there are many maleficent supernaturals who cannot be approached at all. There is no technique for handling them except keeping out of their way. The violent ghosts really fall in the same category as far as their relation to humans is concerned. And yet they are chiefly the best men of the Carajá who have fallen in battle against their enemies. In this curious bit of fantasy there seems to be a projection of the fear and aggression which are overtly present in the social life.

In recent years a few Carajá have been able to visit Rio and Belém. They have brought back a somewhat different picture of the extent of the world, a picture with which many Carajá are now familiar. It never intrudes into Carajá life. It is reserved solely for discourse with outsiders. No contradiction is felt because the two conceptions are never brought into the same universe of discourse. I was not able to detect any signs of skepticism. The Carajá is perfectly sure that he has a clear view of the true character of the world. The peculiar beliefs of outsiders are in keeping with their quaint behavior and lack of good breeding. A Carajá will not dispute about such things. He listens to the opinions of others with courtesy and curiosity but cannot be induced to take them seriously. It is much easier to pretend to agree. If you are a missionary, you will give him presents. Later he may have the additional pleasure of expounding your fantastic ideas to his fellows.

Two factors seem to me to contribute largely to the maintainance of this attitude. In the first place, the old way of life is still intact. When a man is able to find full occupation and joy in his activities, it is difficult to get him to doubt the premises on which they are founded. Secondly, every important feature of life is validated by mythical tales which are the Carajá history. The emergence myth, given above in its simplest and shortest variant, is one of many. I can do no more than mention some of the most important here. The full form of the emergence myth gives the names of all the ancestors who emerged and the precise social divisions which they

/32 cont./

765 If the survivors so desire, the bones are later dug up again and deposited in separate shallow clay containers near the grave.

Memories of the dead do not fade quickly. Long after the death of a family member, the devotion of his relatives is expressed in violent outbreaks of pain when a reminder of the deceased is evoked by some event. If, while examining storage baskets in the houses, we came across objects from the estate of departed spouses or children, the women broke out in loud lamentation, which stopped only when the object concerned was hidden again.

765 In the last Šambioa village I witnessed a scene of mourning
[464] as unique as it was touching, when the news arrived that a Karaya had died in Pará, where he had gone on a boat as a hired rower. His mother and wife paced up and down on the bank for two days, while solemnly mourning loudly in song, holding ornamental objects of the lamented in their hands and continually waving them downstream where he had disappeared.

[533] The mourning songs were continued, accompanied by other women, far into the night.

Sicknesses and Witch Doctors

164 On the whole the Karaya have been spared from the worst scourges of primitive peoples, smallpox and syphilis, just as little are they subject to the leprosy and goiter so widespread in the population of Goyaz. On the other hand tuberculosis, the infectiousness of which is well known to the Indians, is steadily increasing among the Karayahi. Ahi catarrho naõ tem? Is there no catarrh, too? is always the first question which they ask the foreign visitor before they allow him to enter their huts. Malaria fevers occur in their more intensive form also only in the Karayahi region, particularly in the lowlands between São José and the mouth of the Rio das Mortes.

●757 Medicines are apparently used by the savage tribes of South America to a much lesser degree than one generally assumes.

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754 Since every sickness is considered the work of hostile sorcerers
755 or demons, they rely more on the counter magic of their own "medicine man" who removes the poison by sucking on the ailing part of the body or scares off the evil spirits by means of the magic rattle.

757 One of the most popular medicines of the Karaya is the resin of the almecega (Hedwigia balsamifera), which, stirred in with coconut oil, is used as a smelling essence for headaches and externally for abdominal pain (andžiura).

752 The savages have more knowledge of surgery. They know how to let blood out of the forehead vein, to stop bleeding by applying a tourniquet to the wounded limb, quite rationally sprinkle powdered charcoal on wounds, put splints on broken limbs, and develop great skill in removing thorns with sharp fish-teeth.

757 The custom of emptying the stomach in the morning by artificially induced vomiting, known in North America and Ecuador, is also found here. It is done with charred pieces of taquara (idžiua), which are introduced into the throat until the effect is achieved.

304 The most important medical instrument is the scarification
824 apparatus (i-šaura). It consists of a little triangular or rectangular
237 piece of gourd, one surface of which is weighted with a layer of wax or resin one centimeter thick, while the other bears a row of small sharp fish-teeth (Fig. 17).
757

Fig. 17. Scarification instrument (1/2).

304 These scarifiers are stored in pairs, the convex scratching
757 surface of the one resting on the concave one of the other. The small teeth are protected by stuffing cotton between them.

/33/

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757 pressed deep into the skin of the ailing part of his body, and it is scratched open in various directions with quick movements. The blood is scraped off with strips of palm leaves, the wounds rubbed with sand in the bath. It is said to be not uncommon that pulverized pepper is applied to increase drainage.

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/327 cont./

843 Birth. During pregnancy the women wear small plaited mats around their hips, which they hold together in front with
847 their hands. Pregnancy is prematurely interrupted when the woman eats a powder made of pounded white stone (mănăŭlá) or drinks blood. Artificial abortion is not regarded as prohibited.

844 Birth takes place in the house (according to one isolated statement, also in a house built especially for this); the woman, squatting, according to Ehrenreich, is supported by her mother. The husband does not participate (according to Ehrenreich, on the other hand, he helps his wife). There are said to be all kinds of medicines to ease the birth. The umbilical cord is cut with a taquara splinter and ashes are placed on the wound. The after-birth is buried in the forest.

846 Confinement is very brief. The mother lies in the hut for only one day; on the second day she is already up. After four days have elapsed, during which she eats only honey and some manioc mush, she washes herself in the shade with hot water which she has in a pot standing beside her. After that she resumes her work and may again eat everything. In former times the husband was likewise obliged to adhere to a certain diet, whereas allegedly he no longer does this today. In ancient times, "when the Karajá were still living under water," he adhered to
●[757] a diet for five months. Later, the husband merely remained in the house for six days; he ate neither fish nor manioc -- they were supposed to be too hard -- and daily emptied his stomach by vomiting, which he induced by eating honey with pepper or pineapple with pepper.

How long after the birth the husband stays away from his wife was not to be determined; in any case, however, the wife is treated with consideration for some time.

844 The skull of the newborn baby is pushed into proper shape by the father of the mother, or, according to another report, by the grandmother. It is then washed with warm water, then smeared with urucú and almesqua resin, whereby the red mucus comes off and the child becomes light. Then it is apparently

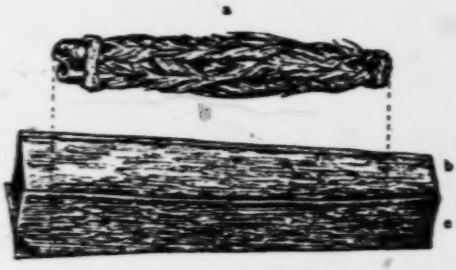
/335 cont./

754 eel with the right hand against the index finger of the left and thus aims at the passerby. He must die if he does not immediately
755 have himself treated by the doctor. The doctor sucks the leg of the bewitched one, beats him on the back, chest, arms, and legs with a switch, and in this way draws the magic out of the body. He himself then rolls around on the ground, spits, etc., in order, for his part, to get rid of the magic. The electric eel is stored in two palm-leaf husks (Ill. 186 b, c).

The use of charcoal as the carrier of the magical remedy is striking.

754

Ill. 185 a, b.
Mo[illegible] penis. b) Back [illegible] of the glans in a).



Ill. 186 a-c.
Electric eel with protective sheath.

75 Medicine. All illnesses are regarded as originating from the evil magic of others. As a result, witch doctors, whose task is to
757 apply countermagic, play an important role. In addition, however, a great many medicinal plants are used, some of which are supposed to be infallible. I succeeded in obtaining a number of such plants, together with information about their use.

755 The doctors (kōlŭ, kaûdŭwā̆dŭ; according to Ehrenreich,
757 kahŏtĕbādŏ) carry on their practice by means of magical performances, singing, swinging rattles, sucking out the morbific agent, massaging, beating with switches which have electric-eel bones attached at the

/335 cont./

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/336 cont./

164 I saw an umbilical hernia only once, in the case of a boy.

757 I did not learn anything about bloodletting, which Ehrenreich reports.

304 Scarification is very common; almost all Indians bear the scratch scars from it on upper arms and thighs. I was unable to observe anything about the procedure, which Ehrenreich ("Beiträge," p. 33) describes. Concerning the apparatus used for this, see above, page 109, Ill. 51.

[752] ← 164 Of illnesses for which the cure is not known to me, I saw a blind girl, a man blind in one eye, and a boy with dropsy, as well as a man whose legs were atrophied up to his knees and who was able to move forward only by crawling on hands and knees.

757 Ehrenreich reports ("Beiträge," page 32) that in the morning they induce vomiting by inserting a charred taquara rod

Ill. 187.
Bone for cauterizing wounds.

into their throats, in order to empty the stomach in this way. He even brought back such sticks (Berlin 3964). I never observed [846] this custom, but, as related above, simply heard that husbands induce vomiting artificially during the couvade (see page 273).

128 In the following I shall discuss the other illnesses, insofar as I obtained information about them; I shall stress in particular observed cases of illness.

752 In case of snake bite the affected limb is tied up and some pounded dõãhĩ root is put on it.

757 824 There are very many remedies for indigestion and intestinal disorders. For indigestion three different roots are used. Either one pounds the mõnã root (in Brazilian allegedly murizĩ), mix

/336 cont./

757 it with water, and drink the liquid, or one takes, in the same
824 way, mixed with cold water, the pounded root of a cipo plant [b(ŭ)dōilūlĕ]. Finally, the root of a shrub which is cultivated for this purpose in the plantings is gnawed with the teeth in case of stomach pains. For intestinal disorders, two roots (dĭlùakŏzĕ and bēdĭ) are /337/ crushed, each cooked separately, and the two decoctions mixed and drunk.

There are also several laxatives. The root ăĭăhĭnŏ (in Brazilian allegedly tiŭ) is pounded, cooked in water, and drunk as a purgative, or one uses the root of a vine (hămbūlādòè), which is pounded and extracted with cold water.

Jaundice and anemia in young people are cured by pounding the leaves of a red-blossomed creeper (dŏwĭlĭzā) growing on the goyaba and rubbing the body with it. Jaundice is caused
261 chiefly by the eating of clay, which is put into ball form. This eating of clay is probably to be traced to the lack of salt. Instead of clay, ashes and sand are also eaten, which are said to have a constipating effect. I often observed how the Indians ate the sand from the sandbanks by the handful.

In order to grow fat, they eat a certain small fruit.

757 In spite of the good teeth which the Indians enjoy, tooth-
[164] ache seems to occur more often than one is inclined to assume. Though I did not observe any cases, they have a whole number of remedies for it. For example, they use the sheath of pieces of root and twigs called kŭsĭ (in Brazilian the so-called para tudo),
[757] as well as a small fruit called sĭbūrĕ. Teeth are not extracted; if they ache, this remedy is used. Otherwise they are left to drop out by themselves.

[164] I observed only one head cold (wādŏwĕ), in the case of an older man. As a remedy he had wound a palm-leaf binding around his head. Apparently his head was very dizzy, for he held it in front and back with both hands.

164 I often observed coughs (wādŏ); many Indians had a slight
757 cough, probably as a result of the cool nights. The children in Village 17 apparently had whooping cough; when coughing, they had choking spells, until they succeeded in coughing up the

/337 cont./

164 mucus. The mothers would pound them on the back; no other
757 remedy was known. The coughing was explained as a consequence of the cold nights and the lack of blankets. They do not know any remedy for coughs.

164 I did not observe any tuberculosis. Ehrenreich reports ("Beiträge," p. 32) that the Karajá suffered from it, that they were aware of its danger and greeted every stranger with the question: "ahi catarrho não tem?" Now this custom has disappeared, probably with the decline of the disease.

[757] For chest pains they use ipipokama emetic powder (hãdãõ).

Fevers apparently are rare from May to October. At any rate, I did not see any attacks of fever in the villages. Only one of my Indian rowers was afflicted with a severe fever for three days in August. Fevers are said to be frequent, however, at the end of the rainy period, especially in the swamp region between São José and the Rio das Mortes; this stretch is therefore not
757 permanently occupied by the Indians. As a remedy they use the
[824] /338/ plant kŏdũlãzĭ; it is pounded and mixed with hot water, and with this infusion the body, especially arms, shoulders, and chest, is washed. When this has been done four times in one day, the fever is said to be gone.

[164] Smallpox is unfailingly cured (as I was several times assured in answer to my question), and, indeed, the cure takes place on the eleventh day of the illness. It occurs as follows:
[824] The four roots, nãũĕkĭedĭzũ, sĭndăkãlăndõ, klãklã, lõlũõ, are pounded, mixed with water, and drunk. The drink is followed by profuse sweating. For eleven days this is taken three times a day, noon, afternoon, and evening, and during this time only very small, boiled fish are eaten. On the eleventh day the sickness is gone.

[164] Measles cannot be cured. In 1906/07 a severe measles epidemic must have afflicted the Karajá. Many people are supposed to have died because they bathed in the river during the fever. For this reason bathing is not permitted during any
[262] illness now. Grilled piranhas and manioc mush serve as food for the sick; even the parents of the sick eat only these foods during the illness of their children.

/338 cont./

●757 Venereal diseases are rare. The Karajá systematically
[164] avoid them in that infected Karajá, as long as they are not cured,
[834] are prohibited from intercourse with the women and possibly banished from the tribe altogether. Pedro I, who became infected in Conceição, said that if he went home that way he would be unable to remain there: he would then no longer be a Karajá. They seem to have a remedy for syphilis, but it is said to be effective only in the hands of a good doctor.

Persons with infectious diseases are left alone; even the doctor does not pay any attention to them. The people simply move away, but leave food behind for them. If they die, the
[153] others come and bury them. With death the disease, even an infectious one, is regarded as obliterated.

158 Mental illnesses seem to be very rare. I observed only one epileptic youth. Every month at the first quarter of the moon he is said to thrash about and walk around with his eyes closed. He had a strange look and his movements were heavy. For no reason
[828] that I could see, he was suddenly seized by the others, overpowered, and thrown down; after a time he was permitted to get up again and walk about freely, but he was always kept under control.

828 According to their view, mental illness (ĭdjŏdĕ) is located in the small of the back.

Raving madness (ãhãhã) is incurable. During attacks the patient, by order of the chief, is bound at ankles and hands and laid on a mat in the shade.

158 In Schischá, on my return journey, I observed a strange custom, which probably goes back to a sadistic tendency. At night, the old bachelor, Maudihi, and Mãŭzi were sitting with me in the tent. Suddenly the bachelor leaped at Mauzi's throat and squeezed it, saying, I want to kill you, and then finally let go. Thereupon all /339/ three of them tried this on themselves. They threw their heads back, placed their hands around their throats from behind, and, holding the breath, squeezed the larynx together from both sides with their thumbs. After a while, they let go, swallowed a few times, and took a deep breath. Extreme satisfaction was reflected on their faces.

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

765 it is always the women—broke out into loud lamentations and wailings, which did not cease until the objects were again hidden from view. He says that he witnessed at a Sambiõa village a very pathetic mourning scene when the news came that a certain resident of the village had died in Pará, whither he had gone as a paddler in one of the trading boats descending the river. The mother and the wife of the deceased paced up and down the bank of the river near the village during two entire days, uttering continually loud and solemn cries of mourning. In their hands, they carried his ornaments and waved them constantly in the direction of the place where he had died. With the assistance of other women, the wailing was continued throughout the night. But whatever may be the real sentiments of the relatives, lamentations and wailing must not be omitted.

164 The Karayá have not suffered as much from smallpox and goitre as other primitive peoples. But tuberculosis is increasing among them, and they know that it is infectious. "Is there any catarrh where you hail from?" is the first question they ask a stranger before he is allowed to enter their huts. Intermittent fevers exist among them only in certain
753 low regions. They use but little medicine, for all sickness and disease is looked upon as demon possession, or the result
755 of witch-craft. Therefore, they trust to their conjurers, or tribal priests, to relieve illness. These men seek to remove the fancied poison or disturbing element by sucking the part of the body where the pain is located, or to expel the evil spirits by performing enchantments, or practicing black arts.
757 One of the most noted medicaments of the Karayá, is the resin of the almecegêira tree, which is mixed with cocoa-nut oil and taken in the form of snuff for headache, and also rubbed on the abdomen to cure stomach-ache.

000 Bates, in his valuable work, "The Naturalist on the Amazon," says: "No one could live long among the Indians of the Upper Amazon without being struck with their constitutional dislike for heat. Europeans certainly withstand the high temperature better than the original inhabitants of the

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

country. Their skin is always hot to the touch, and they 000
perspire but little." (This may be owing, in some degree, to the clogging of the pores of the body with the gummy, red grease with which they keep themselves constantly besmeared.) * * * "They bathe many times each day, but do not plunge into the water, taking merely a sitz bath, as dogs may be seen doing in hot climates, to cool the lower parts of the body. The women and children who have remained at home while the men are away fishing and hunting, generally find some excuse for trooping off to the shade of the forest during the hot hours of the afternoon. They appear restless and discontented in fine, dry weather, but cheerful in cool days, when the rain is pouring down on their naked backs. When suffering from fever, nothing but strict watching can prevent them from going to bathe in the river, or eating immoderate quantities of juicy fruits, although these indulgences are frequently the cause of death. They are much subject to disorders of the liver, dysentery, and other ills of hot climates; and when any epidemic is about, they take it quicker, and suffer more than negroes, or even whites. How different all this is with the negro, the true child of tropical climes! The impression gradually forced itself upon my mind that the Indian lives as a stranger or immigrant in these hot regions, and that his constitution was not originally adapted, and has not since become perfectly adapted to the climate."

The Karayá possess some knowledge of surgery. They 752
know how to open arteries on the temple; how to bleed a patient; how to stop the flow of blood from a wound by binding the artery; understand the efficiency of sprinkling powdered charcoal upon wounds; have knowledge to bind on splints in setting broken bones, and know how to extract thorns from the flesh, which is done by means of sharp fish teeth. To empty the stomach by vomiting, they tickle the 757
throat with the burnt end of a reed.

They make use of a scarification, or bleeding instrument, [413]
which is a block or pad set full, and bristling, with the long, [237]
lance-like teeth of the piranha fish. It resembles a curry-

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

[757] [413] [237] comb with very long, sharp teeth. With this barbarous tool, the primitive surgeon rakes and tears the back of the patient, who holds himself immovable by firmly grasping a post or tree. The blood is caught and removed on palm-leaves. When sufficient blood has been drawn, sand, and finally pepper, is rubbed into the wounds. Even when a Karayá is not sick, he submits to this very painful operation, believing that it will be beneficial to his health. The bleeding of persons on the back is practiced by low-class civilized Brazilians.

[771] Not much is known concerning the religious belief of the Karayá. But it is fully established that they entertain an animistic conception of the world, which is the lowest form of religious belief and practice; and it expresses itself with them in the same way that it does with the better known South American tribes. Their observation hourly suggests to them [811] the idea that every effect has an intelligent cause; for, whenever they are able to trace an effect to its cause, as, for instance, in the doings of men and animals, that cause appears to be psychical rather than material; an intangible, incomprehensible something that we call Mind. Therefore, they firmly believe that Minds, intelligence, or invisible, immaterial Personalities, dwell, as an Ego, or as Genii, in every material object, animate or inanimate, such as animals, trees and mountains, and direct all the operations of Nature; and that brutes are differentiated from men only by their bodily form, every creature being alike a duality—having a psychical as well as a physical Self. Moreover, the phenomena of the half-[772] life in sleep, together with dreams and visions, and the cessation of all vital activities at death, furnish to their minds clear and positive proofs of the existence of a spirit world that pervades, or lies beyond the world comprehended by the senses. They believe that in sleep and dreams, the Ego, or [774] Shade, or second Self, steals away from the body of the sleeper to roam about and to associate with other shadowy personalities or spirits. They are convinced, furthermore, that their [754] priests, or conjurers, are endowed with some supernatural, or mysterious powers which enable them to put themselves

/335 cont./

755 ends, as well as by the utilization of medicines to be used in-
757 ternally and externally. Altogether I learned of seven doctors,
756 but their number may be larger. One of these, in Village 16, was regarded as an evil witch doctor. The sick chief of this village was not being treated by him, but rather downstream in Village 19 by a famous doctor to whom the Karajá came from
●758 afar to be cured. He had opened a sort of hospital: several
756 mat walls had been stretched, in the shade of which the sick lay on mats, tended and supported by their relatives. There were three or four sick persons of both sexes lying here.

114 I did not see any curing ceremonies. In Village 14 I heard
755 singing and rattling coming from the west end of the village, but I was not permitted to go there when I announced my intention of observing Chief Ilk from Village 13 during his activity as doctor.

756 The doctors are paid for their services in boats, pots, food, etc. If the patient dies, they allegedly receive no payment.

752 The Karajá have considerable knowledge of surgery.

[278] Minor wounds are brushed with the decoction of a red tree bark (ōdŭdĕwŏ) which is kept in large quantities in pots with a little water. Or ashes are sprinkled on bleeding wounds (for example, cutting the umbilical cord), or a little urucú oil color is brushed on minor injuries, so that flies do not get on them. Applying tourniquets to injured limbs also seems to be known already. Festering leg wounds (as a result of injury: kūdjŭ) are washed with warm water; in this way they heal by themselves.

Deep wounds, such as those from arrow shots and the like, are /336/ also cauterized. For this, a human lower-leg bone is used (Ill. 187; dēĭ or wōlĭsõtĭ), which is wound with bast. Its lower end is browned from the fire. In the case of arrow shots, another remedy is said to be used, one that brings about complete healing in a very short time, allegedly in one day (?).

Broken limbs, according to Ehrenreich ("Beiträge," p. 32), are healed with splints. The chief of Village 16, whom I met in the hospital, /Ill. 187 appears here/ allegedly had a broken leg, but there was no splint bandage. According to Kurišĭ's statement, they do not know how to heal broken arms and legs.

1:Lipkind E-5 (1937) 1948 SP9 Caraja SP9

Games.—Of numerous games, the most important is a formal wrestling match which is an indispensable part of most religious ceremonies and of all intervillage visits. 526 786 628

Narcotics and stimulants.—Like the other tribes in this region, the *Carajá* have no alcoholic beverages. They smoke tobacco in short cylindrical pipes (fig. 21, *c*). They are heavy smokers, some of the children beginning before they are weaned. 273 276

SUPERNATURALISM

Cults.—*Carajá* religion consists of two distinct cults: a cult of the dead and a mask cult (fig. 24). The cult of the dead, which is under the direction of the priest, has for its object the placation of ghosts by a periodical ceremonial which comes to its climax in several large calendrical feasts. The most important of these feasts is the Big House Feast, which is celebrated shortly after the beginning of the rainy season. All the villages which comprise a ceremonial unit come to the one village where the feast is conducted. There is a great mass of ceremonial addressed to various classes of ghosts, but the central portion of the ceremony is the impersonation of animal ghosts. Another important feast, already mentioned, occurs at the height of the dry season and is directed toward the control of enemy ghosts. Two other feasts held in the dry season are chiefly for the entertainment of the ancestors. 795 769 796 [782 793] [628]

The mask cult is concerned with the worship of another class of supernaturals. It consists of an elaborate routine of feasts, interrupted only by death. In these feasts, conducted by the shaman, the supernaturals are impersonated in the complex dances mentioned above. 795 796 [756]

The two cults are independent of each other and are both strictly men's cults. Any women intruding upon the secrets of the cults is subjected to gang rape and remains a wanton thereafter. [688]

Shamanism.—A shaman is trained by apprenticeship to an older shaman. A certain amount of medical lore is taught but the essence of the training is learning how to communicate with supernaturals in a state of trance. 756

There is a considerable amount of sorcery. The main technique is bottling a supernatural being into a small image and then directing it into the body of the victim. As almost all deaths are interpreted as the result of sorcery, feuding is continual. 754 [761] [628]

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Castlenau, 1850–59; Ehrenreich, 1891 b; Krause, 1911. 113

/339 cont./

82 moon, ĭkŏnă. Of these, āhăndŭ-lăḷāḷĭ means a phase between half and full moon: "they are actually two moons." Probably they mean the bright moon and the dark moon. This was confirmed for me also by other Indians, but it was impossible to find out anything in greater detail about it. Since the sequence of the phases was not clear to the people themselves, they gave various sequences and often corrected themselves. Beaming with pleasure, they called my attention to the first appearance of the crescent moon. The mountains of the moon are designated as toad (krāōtĕ).

Eclipses of the sun (wūŏhŭlĭwă, tjūŭ-hŏlŏ-ḷăḷārĭ) and eclipses of the moon (āhăn-/340/dŭlūḷŭ, āhăndŭ-lădŏḷă) are explained as caused by an evil sorcerer (ŏhŏdĭwātŭ) who shoots arrows at the celestial body concerned. Countereffects on the part of the Indians are unknown.

They called a huge ring around the moon, with a radius of about eight to twelve moon-widths, djūŭḷă and kūăḷŏ, without being able to say more specifically what this phenomenon means.

The rainbow (kŭădĭ) is the shadow of a huge electric eel (the latter, according to Ehrenreich, called koadzĭ). It is re-
• 761 garded as evil; if one goes up to it and touches it, one dies; the animal gives a "bum" sound and disappears.

I was able to learn several constellations from them; they drew a few for me in the sketchbook. The Milky Way does not consist of stars, but of ashes (bŭlĭbĭ). The Southern Cross is the black ray (bōḷŏhūä). The two stars above it (α and β Centauri) represent the ostrich (nāŭĕkĭĕ), which is being leaped upon by a jaguar (ănlŏă; = our Scorpio). The Pleiades are parakeets (bōḷŏbĕdŏ). In addition, Ehrenreich mentions the burning roça /a clearing to be planted/ for Orion.

Meteors are called dăkĭnălăză; the noise when they burst apart comes from the star.

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526 On beautiful moonlit nights the young people practice wrestling on the praias. The hold is the same as the one customary among us. It is principally a matter of bringing down the opponent by tripping him, at which even apparently weak individuals develop an astounding agility.

535 Some of the dances have already been described by Castelnau.
[114] I myself had the opportunity in the third Šambioa village to attend a war dance. Eight feather-adorned men armed with spears, clubs, and bows took part under the leadership of a head-dancer, whom they surrounded in a semicircle. The dancers moved only a little from their places, at most a few steps forward and back. Rapid hopping on one leg and artistically correct, rhythmic swinging of the weapons provided the main action. Everything was carried out with the greatest precision.
[177] This dance is said to have been borrowed from the Kayapo.

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[524] Fig. 15. Top (1/4).

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Obsequies and burial. At the death of a Karaya all the objects that he used daily, weapons, ornaments, etc., are burned amidst loud lamentations of the relatives; the rest is divided among those who bury him. The mourners wound themselves with cuts and shear their hair.

Next follows the dance of the dead around the corpse (1), which is colored

[763] 1. Not infrequently the ceremonies begin before death has actually occurred.

with urucú and, wrapped in mats, is hung up on a horizontal pole.

Under the direction of two leading singers, who are relieved from time to time, the row goes around in a circle, whereby the participants hold their fingers pushed over one another. The
[533] song is a kind of dialogue. The chorus asks the deceased where he is and how he is; one of the leading singers answers for him.

/329 cont./

763 Death and burial (2). The occurrence of death is recog-

[114] 2. I myself did not observe a death; my statements about this are based on the unanimous accounts of various Indians.

nized when /330/ the deceased is called to and shaken; if he gives no answer, he is regarded as surely dead.

764 The corpse is then smeared with resin (dŏmăłĕ) upon which are glued white down feathers. The face is painted with urucú (perhaps also only a section from the ear across the chin to the other ear), the lip plug is removed, arara feathers are stuck into the ears; the rest of the ornaments are also put on (for example, the bead chains are hung around women). Then the body is wrapped in a sleeping mat and tied to a pole which is taken to a stake standing upright in the sand away from the village. I could not find out whether it is tied to this or what else happens to it. Here the laments of the women and relatives take place. The young men hold the death watch here; in return they are provided with food by the brother of the deceased. If the dead person died in the evening, he is buried the next morning; if he died during the day, he is removed as quickly as possible. Burial [162] is the task of the men; the women content themselves with weeping and lamenting. All the dead are treated and buried in the same way.

The dead are buried in the cemetery. There are several large collective cemeteries (urn cemeteries); in addition there seem to be smaller village cemeteries for burials. All of them lie on high banks above the high-water mark, some of them days' journeys in distance from the village. Cemeteries to be newly laid out are marked out by the oldest Karajá. The Karajá seek by all means to be buried in their tribal cemeteries. Thus, Kabiŝá from Leopoldina brought his dead grandchild to the cemetery at Schischá (three days' journey downstream from Leopoldina) because there was "unconsecrated ground" there.

1:Lipkind E-5 (1937) 1948 SP9 Caraja SP9

ARCHEOLOGY

172 Large circular hollows in the ground are found at various points in *Carajá* territory, always in the close vicinity of a stream. By tradition these are ancient cemeteries; of old, they say, people did not mourn at a funeral but held a feast in the hollow. One of these hollows located on the height above the river bank at Fontoura is 18 m. (about 58 ft.) long, 15 m. (about 50 ft.) wide, and 1½ m. (5 ft.) deep at its center. The mound forming the northern side was excavated, disclosing two lines of burials with associated pottery, bone labrets, and beads.

The pottery is very similar to modern *Carajá* pottery and the labrets are exactly like those now in the possession of the *Carajá*. The cemetery cannot, however, definitely be identified as *Carajá*. The present-day [764] *Carajá* cemetery is different in location and ground plan. There is now secondary urn burial, and in the first burial the bodies are laid at right angles to the river rather than parallel as were those disclosed by the excavation. Still, the remains show even less resemblance to the *Ge* and *Tupí* peoples in the neighborhood. The question must be left open for further archeological study.

HISTORY

648 175 Since the earliest times, the *Carajá* have been at war with their *Ge* and *Tupí* neighbors. The sole exception is the *Tapirapé*, with whom at one time the *Javahé* maintained close and friendly relations. The *Shambioá* were the first to come in contact with the Neo-Brazilians early in the 17th century. Contact with the *Carajá* proper must have begun shortly after the founding of Santa Anna by Bartholomeu Bueno in 1682. The *Carajá* are [439] on good terms with the Neo-Brazilians, trading skins and fish for clothing, beads, knives, axes, guns, sugar, and salt.

161 **Population.**—According to the census made by the author in 1939, the *Carajá* number 1,510, divided as follows: *Carajá* proper, 795; *Javahé*, 650; *Shambioá*, 65. These figures should be contrasted with Castelnau's (1850–59) count in 1845 of 2,000 *Shambioá* in four villages, and his estimate of a total of 100,000 *Carajá*, and with Krause's (1911) estimate of 10,000 *Carajá* in 1908.

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

241 **Farming.**—Clearings are made in the thick forest along the watercourses. Gardens must be so located as to be accessible by canoe in the dry season and yet not flooded in the rainy season. The scarcity of such land results in some of the plots being several miles distant from the village. Proximity to fishing grounds is generally held to be more important. The work of clearing is begun in May at the beginning of the dry season. Maize

1:Lipkind E-5 (1937) 1948 SP9 Caraja SP9

775 **Death.**—At death, the soul becomes a wild ghost if the person has been violently killed and a regular resident of the village of the dead if he has suffered a quiet death. A shaman's soul is translated to the skies. Mourning puts an end to all religious ceremonies and is celebrated by self-laceration, the destruction of property, and daily keening. There
764 is separate burial in formal cemeteries for those who died quietly and
[766] those who died violently. The corpse is wrapped in a mat with his weapons and ornaments, and the mat is hung in a shallow grave covered
[765] by poles (fig. 22). Food and drink are provided for a short period. After the next change of season, the bones are exhumed and placed in a family urn.

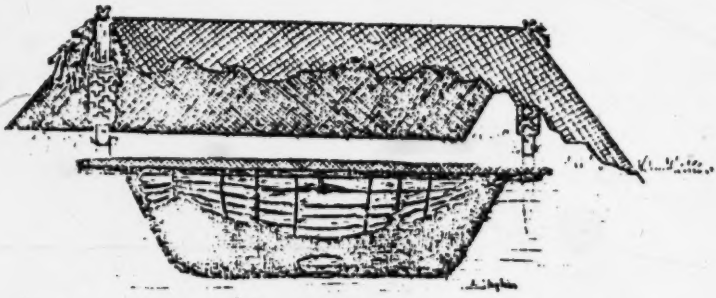

FIGURE 22.—*Carajá* burial. (Redrawn from Ehrenreich, 1891 b, fig. 16)

WARFARE

726 The *Carajá* are good fighters and have maintained themselves since prehistoric times in a territory surrounded on all sides by warlike enemies. Their usual tactics are waiting outside an enemy village at night and attacking at dawn. In defense, they run to the nearest water, where they
[411] are unbeatable. They use the bow and arrow and club, and are skilled
[526] wrestlers. They cut off a foot bone of a dead enemy and carry it back
[727] to their village; this places them in control of the ghost, who now be-
[775] comes a caretaker of the village and is impersonated in a special dry-season ceremony. At one such ceremony there were two *Tapirapé* ghosts,
[648] three *Chavante*, one *Cayapó*, and one Neo-Brazilian. Present-day war-
[727] fare is largely with the *Chavante*, the *Cayapó*, and the *Canoeiro*. Now and then a Neo-Brazilian may be killed by stealth to avenge a personal grievance. No captives are taken except women and small children, who are treated as full members of the group.

ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

531 **Art.**—Decorative art is confined to woven designs on baskets and mats, feather ornaments, elaborate masks with superimposed feather designs,

/28 cont./

836 property and are offered to ships' crews, despite their usually
727 most horrible appearance. Unfortunately, one also sees children
used for the same purpose. Here is clearly shown the dualism in
836 the ethics of the savages, whose moral laws apply only to mem-
727 bers of their own tribe. This view, common to all primitive
577 peoples, cannot therefore change our judgment of the morality
[186] of the Karaya in general. When Castelnau doubts this, saying,
[114] "Ce fait (the stern punishment of a transgression against morals)
est peu d'accord avec les offres qui étaient fait continuellement
a nos gens /this fact is hardly in accord with the offers that
were continually made to our men/" (Hist. du voyage, I, p. 446),
he overlooks the fact that these "offres" concerned not their own,
but foreign women.

855 In spite of the lack of external signs of tenderness, which
are absent among all Indians, the treatment of the children is
very loving throughout.

854 The smaller ones are continually carried about by the
mothers and tended with tireless care, hung with ornaments and
853 painted, etc. They are suckled for an extraordinarily long time.

857 Older children are left entirely to themselves, but in spite of
this demonstrate a natural decency and a modesty of behavior
that the highly educated offspring of civilized men only all too
858 often lack. It would be unthinkable among the Karaya that chil-
dren be traded to the settlers, as unfortunately still frequently
occurs in other regions of Brazil, especially on the Amazon.
Upon the founding of the Collegio Izabel at Leopoldina, whose
purpose was to train young Indians and settle them later as
colonists, efforts to obtain Karaya children for it were in vain.
Since they once allowed themselves to be misled years ago, and
some were lured away and abducted by force, all the young
people as a rule take flight at the approach of a boat and only with
great difficulty are persuaded to return.

764 The fact that the animal decorations put on the grave poles
532 (cf. p. 63) are marks of the family concerned or of a wider kin
602 grouping indicates the existence of totemism, or clan formation.
To be sure, nothing more precise is known about this, but the
family system discovered among the Arawak by Im Thurn (1) may
also hold for the relationship prevailing among the Karaya.

1. Im Thurn, op. cit., p. 175.

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526 On beautiful moonlit nights the young people practice wrestling on the praias. The hold is the same as the one customary among us. It is principally a matter of bringing down the opponent by tripping him, at which even apparently weak individuals develop an astounding agility.

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[533] song is a kind of dialogue. The chorus asks the deceased where he is and how he is; one of the leading singers answers for him.

/30 cont./

764 One such verse might be reproduced in translation, at least
535 the sense of it.
539 Chorus: džoiri koniko -- hidžohoho (repeated 4-5 times) otohoniko -- kudžä beboniko, i.e.: He lives no more, it is over for him, do not think of him any more, he hangs on the pole (kudžä).

The deceased: roniro nira -- koti uaidžä uaniro bioko nero -- aidžodžä biowa, i.e.: I am in a beautiful country, bring me tobacco (koti), have you put the lip plug on me? Further: I lack nothing, but bring water to the grave, etc.

Between times the chorus repeats over and over the muted: haidžä hä hä hän -- hä hän -- hä hän, i.e.: It is all over.

764 /31/ The burial takes place the next day, or, when death has occurred in the morning, in the evening of the same day.
[765] The ceremonies, songs, and dances are then continued for three or four more days, during which time no one works.

The burial places are always close to the river on higher
[126] ground. Two of them, one near S. José, the other somewhat above the mouth of the Rio das Mortes on the right bank, were more closely investigated by me and some skeletons exhumed.

The grave (Fig. 16 a-d /see p. 63/) is a rectangular pit two meters long, one meter wide, and 50-70 centimeters deep, over which some poles are placed in the long direction. The corpse, wrapped in buriti mats, hangs in a horizontal position, swinging free, on the centermost pole (1) (a). A container filled with food

[114]

1. Castelnau's statement, op. cit., I, p. 446, that the deceased stands vertically in the grave (la tête fait une saillie au dessus du sol /the head projects above the ground/) is probably based on confusion with the method of burial in a squatting position customary among the Kayapo.

/Fig. 16 appears here/ stands under it on the ground. The pit is covered with a mat, over which lies a foot-high layer of earth (b).

/31 cont./

●764 The external equipment of the grave is evidently sup-
[776] posed to represent a house. Two poles (itäõ) 1 1/3 meters high and decorated on the short, forked tip with bundles of feathers hanging down, are planted at the head and foot ends of the grave in order to keep away the "animals," that is, in any case the demons (the kenaima of Guiana). The drum-like thickness in the middle part of the pole bears the family mark of the deceased, engraved or indicated by feather

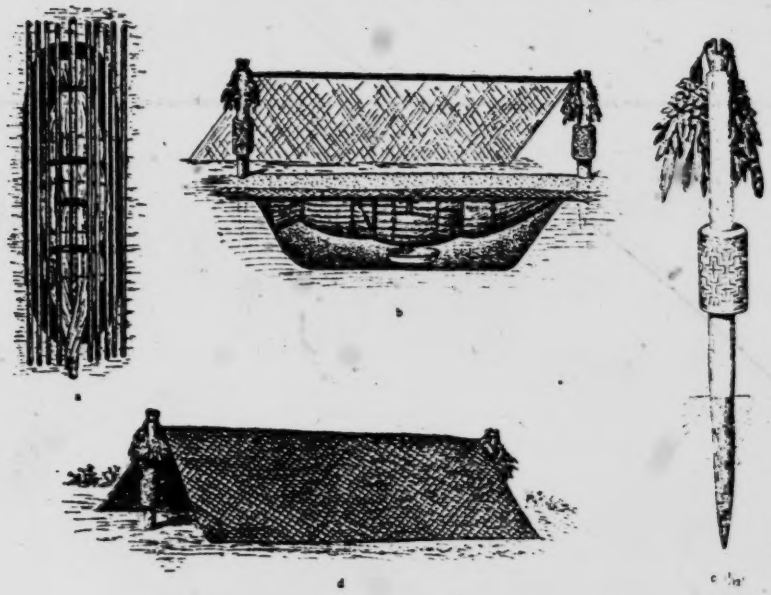

Fig. 16. Grave equipment.

[532] mosaic. One of the specimens available (c) shows the cross-decoration of the lizard (hädauã). The feather pattern of both the others is unfortunately unrecognizable.

Both poles are connected with a cord, over which two
[775] buriti mats are spread like a roof (d). /32/ Under this tent is put a gourd with food and drink for the soul, which after the burial stays for a while in the vicinity of the grave.

Plate 13

133
342
361

1. Mat camp of migrant Karayá Indians.

764

. Funerary urn in the Karajá cemetery, S. Izabel do Morro.

/Pl. 13 faces p. 60. /

/239 cont./

*301 *237 In the case of small children the body, as well as the arms and legs, is sometimes covered with white down feathers which are fastened on with light resin. One child wore such down on the upper arm and calves; the little feathers had already become dirty and look like skin scabs. The dead are treated similarly (see there /see p. 277 /).

[164]

Hip ornamentation consists only of dance belts of the male youth. Along with feather belts, there are patterned plaited cotton belts with appendages of all sorts.

[286]

The feather belts consist of long ostrich feathers which are fastened to two fine strings (Ill. 82). I saw such belts in only two specimens and only in the Karajá village in the interior of Bananal, where they were worn by youths for the greeting.

[286]

The patterned, plaited belts made of black and white cotton with appendages of the most varied kinds (wädäkäna) are worn by the male youth, usually at wrestling, and otherwise only occasionally. The pendants are of a very diverse nature (Pl. 53, Ills. 1-5). Very popular are /240/ small feather rods or rosettes with long end feathers, which, on long strings, are attached in a long row to the lower edge of the belt; usually Thevetia fruits or mussel shells hang between them, individually or in bunches. In the case of the other belts, the feathers are not fastened to separate threads, but directly to the lower edge.

[825]

Ill. 81 a, b. Finger rings made of the tail rings from a) chameleon, b) teju lizard.

Especially handsome is the arrangement on the belt of Ill. 4, whose small feather rods alternately bear little white end feathers or red string bundles, as well as on the belt of Ill. 5, between each of the small rods of which three to four Thevetia fruits with red-yellow rosettes and like-colored end feathers hang garland-fashion on a separate string, and the two center rods of which each have two long red arara feathers. The ornamentation on the belt

Plate 58

1. Addition to pottery clay.

2. Pot bottom with rod-sieve texture.

3 a-c. Feather gourd-vessels.

4. a Bunch of imbauva fibers. b Bunch of buriti fibers.

5. Sample of basket plaiting.

6. Spindle with picked-cotton band.

7. Ball of cotton.

8 a and b. Manner of storing feathers.

11. Funerary urn.

10. Monkey-skull rattles.

9. Bamboo trumpet.

323 415 285 283 764 415 534 [237]

/329 cont./

763 Death and burial (2). The occurrence of death is recog-

[114] 2. I myself did not observe a death; my statements about this are based on the unanimous accounts of various Indians.

nized when /330/ the deceased is called to and shaken; if he gives no answer, he is regarded as surely dead.

764 The corpse is then smeared with resin (dõmãlẽ) upon which are glued white down feathers. The face is painted with urucú (perhaps also only a section from the ear across the chin to the other ear), the lip plug is removed, arara feathers are stuck into the ears; the rest of the ornaments are also put on (for example, the bead chains are hung around women). Then the body is wrapped in a sleeping mat and tied to a pole which is taken to a stake standing upright in the sand away from the village. I could not find out whether it is tied to this or what else happens to it. Here the laments of the women and relatives take place. The young men hold the death watch here; in return they are provided with food by the brother of the deceased. If the dead person died in the evening, he is buried the next morning; if he died during the day, he is removed as quickly as possible. Burial [162] is the task of the men; the women content themselves with weeping and lamenting. All the dead are treated and buried in the same way.

The dead are buried in the cemetery. There are several large collective cemeteries (urn cemeteries); in addition there seem to be smaller village cemeteries for burials. All of them lie on high banks above the high-water mark, some of them days' journeys in distance from the village. Cemeteries to be newly laid out are marked out by the oldest Karajá. The Karajá seek by all means to be buried in their tribal cemeteries. Thus, Kabiŝá from Leopoldina brought his dead grandchild to the cemetery at Schischá (three days' journey downstream from Leopoldina) because there was "unconsecrated ground" there.

/330 cont./

764 Large cemeteries are found near São José, S. Izabel do Morro (1).

1. Apparently this is the cemetery that Rufino visited on December 6, 1846; Rev. trim. X, p. 206.

In the smaller cemeteries the grave is dug and the corpse is hung in it horizontally on the pole. Then poles are placed over the opening and the whole is covered with earth. Concerning the equipment of these graves in more detail, none of which I saw, unfortunately, see in Ehrenreich ("Beiträge," p. 31). A dish
765 of food is placed on the grave for six days. When the body is decayed, the grave is dug up again (according to Pedro, after one month; according to Kurišĭ, after a year). The bones are cleaned and gathered together in a large funeral urn. This cleaning from the bones the bits of flesh still clinging to them is said to be done by means of a bone like the one customarily used for cauterizing wounds; one end of the bone is held in the fire and the flesh is then scraped off with this heated end. Special ceremonies no longer seem to take place in connection with this. The urns are placed under trees in the large cemeteries, where they gradually become filled with sand (see Pl. 13 /see p. 7/, Ill. 2). Their shape corresponds to that of the cooking pots, except /331/ that they are provided with a lid (Pl. 58, Ill. 11). The largest such urn that I saw had a diameter of 80 centimeters.
[766] Corpses of small children are said to be immediately deposited in such urns.

[768] The hut of the deceased is abandoned and then burned. If
[302] the husband died, the hair of the wife and of the mother of the man is cut short, except for a wreath of hair running all around (nǎkŭlǎ́ŭ); the hair of the children, however, is not cut. Upon the death of the wife, the husband, mother, and children do not cut their hair. As a further sign of mourning, both sexes wear bast or cotton bands around their heads. One woman wore, in addition, a narrow bast-belt around her waist; one boy had tied bast strips on the calf bands. Otherwise all ornaments are taken off. Laments for the dead are shouted out by both sexes with a

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

123 less strange to them than they did to me. Charles Darwin describes the deep feelings he experienced when he found himself face to face for the first time with primitive man. I, too, can never forget the hour when I first gazed upon man in his primitive state. The memory of it will ever remain vivid, and as one of the most interesting experiences of my life. One could easily imagine, at first, that he belonged to a lower order of creatures than the *homo sapien*. If so, better acquaintance soon revealed him to be truly a man in every respect—a true human soul, though far from God in the jungles of ignorance and superstition—one of the lost ones whom Christ came to seek and to save.

291 [302] The men were entirely nude, and painted from head to foot a dull, yellowish red with a mixture of fish oil and the fruit of the burity-palm. The women were painted like the men, but wore an item of covering made of a strip of inner bark eight feet long and ten inches broad. It is passed around the body and between the legs, and hangs down in front like an apron. At a distance, it resembles a strip of brown canvas. It is beaten and worked, when taken from the tree, until it has some degree of flexibility. Nevertheless, it must be uncomfortable to wear.

764 A Karayá died while we were detained at São José. We were made aware of the event by the incessant howling, wailing and loud lamentations of the female relatives of the deceased. Visiting the hut of mourning at dawn, we found the family busy decorating the corpse for burial by gumming rings of white feathers around the limbs, wailing and chanting as they worked. Afterward, the body was rolled in the palm-leaf mat which had been the bed of the deceased during life, placed in a canoe, and taken down the river to the tribal cemetery. Karayá funerals will be more fully described in future pages.

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

000 mas it was to me! How almost infinitely removed it was from the situations and environments of former Christmas days! I seemed to be a wanderer in a world wholly different from that which I had formerly known. The afternoon of Christ-
133 mas day, we passed the principal mouth of the Rio das Mor-
[103] tes—a river with an uncanny name because of a sombre history. It takes its name, I believe, from the fact that a party of explorers, while navigating the Araguaya in canoes long ago, were slain here by the savages. It is a great river, though almost unknown to the world, and drains a vast region that is almost wholly unexplored. While passing the outlet
114 of this mysterious river, a storm burst upon us, and our
[132] large canoe, becoming unmanageable, was finally driven ashore. Darkness closing in rapidly we prepared and ate our Christmas dinner in the wind and rain at the edge of the
000 forest. We had no expectation that Santa Claus would penetrate the unknown, mysterious wildernesses that enveloped us to fill our stockings; though a few of our party did fear that the tiger might come to us for *his* Christmas dinner. So we all slept under a large tree close around the fire.

764 The next day, we visited a Karayá cemetery on top of a hill. As we entered the cemetery, I saw one of our Karayá canoe men, who had preceded us, standing over a nice water-
[262] melon that had grown there. I wondered why he did not eat it at once as they are fond of this fruit. But he would not touch it, nor would any of the Karayá, because it was a product of the cemetery, and intended, perhaps, as food for those who had gone to the shadow land. Two of our party did eat it, however, one of whom was myself. But I must acknowledge that it tasted unpleasantly like a Karayá smells. Our woman voyager declared that we had eaten the flesh of a defunct Karayá. Broken pottery was lying about in the cemetery together with skulls and other human bones; while sunk into the ground or standing on the surface were large clay urns containing the osseous remains of dead Karayá. Pumpkins also were growing in the cemetery as well as melons.

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

teams having lined up—there were four men to a side—they 526
approached each other waltzing, zig-zag fashion, back and 628
forth from one side of the ring to the other in a series of very rapid, stiff-legged, turkey-steps, the second man of each pair being close behind his partner and executing, lock-step, precisely the same movements in perfect unison with him; at the same time, the arms of all were extended in front, legs spread wide apart, bodies inclined forward and slightly squatting, and the entire anatomy of each rigid as if frozen stiff. As they worked gradually toward each other, they emitted fiendish challenges in the form of long-drawn-out yells. Finally, they came together and clinched, and the yelling ceased. The "first round" terminated quickly with four of the combatants sprawling upon the sand. For the second round, they jerked themselves out to one another in single pairs; while for the third round, a single individual, only, came out, first from one side then from the other, prancing like game cocks right up to the opponents' line.

Dr. Ehrenreich describes a war dance he saw at one of 535
the Sambiõa villages. Eight warriors, fully armed with spears, clubs, and bows and arrows, and decorated with feathers executed the dance, led by a sort of dancing master, before whom they were arranged in the form of a crescent. They moved but little from one spot—merely a few steps forward and backward—hopping rapidly and artistically on one leg and waving their weapons in perfect unison, guided by the measured beats of their leader. Every movement was executed with the nicest precision. It is said that the Karayá [177]
learned this dance from the Kaiapó tribe.

When a Karayá dies, all his tools, weapons and ornaments 764
are burned, accompanied by a loud crying, wailing and lamen- [768]
tation by the surviving relatives and friends, among whom, because of having participated in the obsequies, will be distributed whatever articles belonging to the deceased that were not consigned to the flames. There is, therefore, some inducement to be a mourner. The death dance around the corpse is next in order. First, the body is ornamented by

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

●764 gumming feathers onto it, then a pole nine feet long is laid upon it, lengthwise, as it lies upon its back, and the whole is enwrapped in the palm-leaf mat which had served as the bed of the deceased during life, and wound with long strips of bark. The purpose of this pole is that the remains may hang suspended from it in the grave. The group that dances and wails as it moves around the corpse, is led by a kind of precentor, who is relieved from time to time as he grows weary. As the performers dance, they hold their arms extended in front with the fingers of one hand placed upon the backs of the fingers of the other hand, thus forming a bow. The singing is alternate and responsive. The chorus asks the deceased where he has gone and how he fares, and the leader of the chorus responds for the corpse. The chorus wails, "He lives no more! It is all over with him! Think no more of him! He is hanging from the bar!" Then the leader, speaking for the departed, responds hopefully, "I am in a beautiful land! Give me some tobacco! Did you put the plug"—the tobacco pipe—"between my lips? I am in need of nothing! But, be sure to place water at the grave!" The chorus now repeats but one question, and answers in a doleful voice: "It is all over with him! It is all over!" Very frequently these ceremonies begin before the subject is even dead.

764 535 533

764 Interment occurs the next day after death except where death has taken place very early in the morning, in which event it is the same day, at evening. The singing, wailing, lamentations, dancing and other lugubrious festivities continue three or four days, during which time all work is abandoned. The Karayá cemeteries are always located on top of a high hill near the river. The civilized Brazilians, imitating, perhaps, their savage ancestors, also place their cemeteries on the highest ground near the town, where it often endangers the health of the living.

[765]

A Karayá grave is a hole in the ground nearly seven feet in length, three feet wide and thirty inches deep. The body is hung horizontally into this excavation so that it swings freely from the already mentioned pole, each end of which

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

rests on top of the ground. Beneath the corpse, which swings 764 ●
eight or ten inches above the bottom of the grave, is placed a clay pan filled with food for the shade of the departed. Next, a number of poles are placed beside the first one supporting the body so that they cover completely the mouth of the grave; and over these, in turn, is placed a palm-leaf mat, upon which is heaped about ten inches of earth. The grave is further marked and decorated by setting up at the head and foot two stakes some three feet high, each terminating in a fork at the upper end, and embellished with a tassel of feathers, besides other adornments. These decorations are for the purpose of frightening away trespassing demons or ghosts. At the center of each post is a ring on which is carved the [602]
insignia or emblem of the family of the deceased, which, for example, may be a lizard. A strong cord is stretched between the stakes resting in the forked tops, over which, with the outer edges touching the ground, are placed two palm-leaf mats to form a miniature hut over the grave. This is intended as the domicile of the deceased. Calabash shell ves- [775]
sels containing food and drink for the soul, are placed upon the grave inside this mortuary hut, for the disconsolate shade is believed to linger near its discarded body for a time. Later, 765
if the surviving relatives demand it, the bones are exhumed and deposited in a large clay urn, which is either sunk into the ground near the grave, or allowed to stand upon the surface of the ground.

The memory of the departed is cherished. Even long after the death of an individual, the surviving relatives give expression to their grief by loud and stormy outbreaks of feeling when any occurrence revives the memory of him. The occasion may be the arrival at the village of some one who was a near relative or an intimate friend of the departed, whose appearance recalls the memory of him; or it may be the revealing of some memento of the deceased. Dr. Ehrenreich says that when he was looking through the baskets in one of the huts for curios, he brought to light some memorials of deceased parents or children. Instantly, the women in the hut—

9:Gow-Smith T-5 (no date) 1925
SP9 Caraja SP9
Cayapo SP11

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skilfully feathered at the end. The arrowheads are fastened to eighteen-inch foreshafts of hard-wood tipped with bone, fitted in three- to four-foot bamboo shafts and bound in place with the strong cord that the native women spin from wild cotton. The binding is firmly cemented with a kind of resin. Long needle-like arrows tipped with hard-wood are for shooting birds; the sharp bamboo tips curved hollowly are for deer and jaguars, for they permit the wounded animal

C
[264]
[531]
[411]
[501]

C
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[314]

C
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411
224
[223]

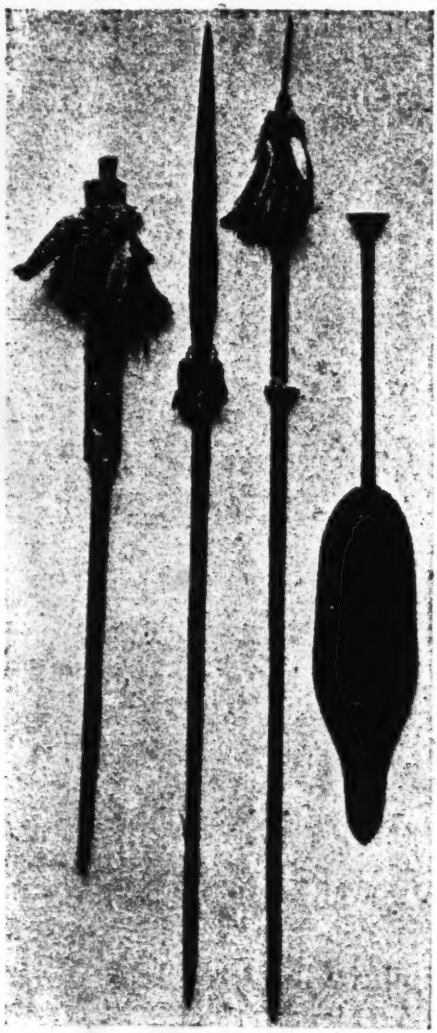


FIG. 98.—Caraja objects (grave-post, two spears, and a paddle)

1:Lipkind E-5 (1937) 1948 SP9 Caraja SP9

775 **Death.**—At death, the soul becomes a wild ghost if the person has been violently killed and a regular resident of the village of the dead if he has suffered a quiet death. A shaman's soul is translated to the skies. Mourning puts an end to all religious ceremonies and is celebrated by self-laceration, the destruction of property, and daily keening. There 764 is separate burial in formal cemeteries for those who died quietly and [766] those who died violently. The corpse is wrapped in a mat with his weapons and ornaments, and the mat is hung in a shallow grave covered [765] by poles (fig. 22). Food and drink are provided for a short period. After the next change of season, the bones are exhumed and placed in a family urn.

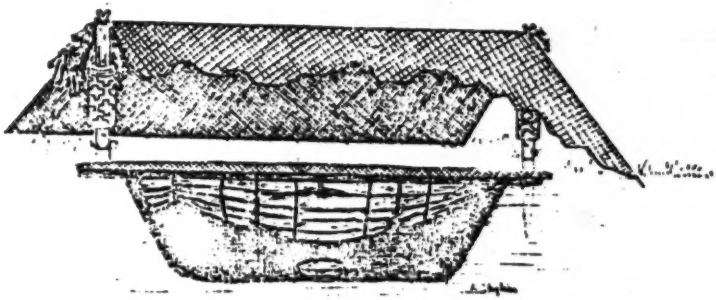


FIGURE 22.—*Carajá* burial. (Redrawn from Ehrenreich, 1891 b, fig. 16)

WARFARE

726 The *Carajá* are good fighters and have maintained themselves since prehistoric times in a territory surrounded on all sides by warlike enemies. Their usual tactics are waiting outside an enemy village at night and attacking at dawn. In defense, they run to the nearest water, where they [411] are unbeatable. They use the bow and arrow and club, and are skilled [526] wrestlers. They cut off a foot bone of a dead enemy and carry it back [727] to their village; this places them in control of the ghost, who now be- [775] comes a caretaker of the village and is impersonated in a special dry-season ceremony. At one such ceremony there were two *Tapirapé* ghosts, [648] three *Chavante*, one *Cayapó*, and one Neo-Brazilian. Present-day war- [727] fare is largely with the *Chavante*, the *Cayapó*, and the *Canoeiro*. Now and then a Neo-Brazilian may be killed by stealth to avenge a personal grievance. No captives are taken except women and small children, who are treated as full members of the group.

ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

531 **Art.**—Decorative art is confined to woven designs on baskets and mats, feather ornaments, elaborate masks with superimposed feather designs,

/30 cont./

764 One such verse might be reproduced in translation, at least
535 the sense of it.

539 Chorus: džoiri koniko -- hidžohoho (repeated 4-5 times) otohoniko -- kudžä beboniko, i.e.: He lives no more, it is over for him, do not think of him any more, he hangs on the pole (kudžä).

The deceased: roniro nira -- koti uaidžä uaniro bioko nero -- aidžodžä biowa, i.e.: I am in a beautiful country, bring me tobacco (koti), have you put the lip plug on me? Further: I lack nothing, but bring water to the grave, etc.

Between times the chorus repeats over and over the muted: haidžä hä hä hāṅ -- hä hāṅ -- hä hāṅ, i.e.: It is all over.

764 /31/ The burial takes place the next day, or, when death has occurred in the morning, in the evening of the same day.
[765] The ceremonies, songs, and dances are then continued for three or four more days, during which time no one works.

The burial places are always close to the river on higher
[126] ground. Two of them, one near S. José, the other somewhat above the mouth of the Rio das Mortes on the right bank, were more closely investigated by me and some skeletons exhumed.

The grave (Fig. 16 a-d /see p. 63/) is a rectangular pit two meters long, one meter wide, and 50-70 centimeters deep, over which some poles are placed in the long direction. The corpse, wrapped in buriti mats, hangs in a horizontal position, swinging free, on the centermost pole (1) (a). A container filled with food

[114]

1. Castelnau's statement, op. cit., I, p. 446, that the deceased stands vertically in the grave (la tête fait une saillie au dessus du sol /the head projects above the ground/) is probably based on confusion with the method of burial in a squatting position customary among the Kayapo.

/Fig. 16 appears here/ stands under it on the ground. The pit is covered with a mat, over which lies a foot-high layer of earth (b).

/32 cont./

765 If the survivors so desire, the bones are later dug up again and deposited in separate shallow clay containers near the grave.

Memories of the dead do not fade quickly. Long after the death of a family member, the devotion of his relatives is expressed in violent outbreaks of pain when a reminder of the deceased is evoked by some event. If, while examining storage baskets in the houses, we came across objects from the estate of departed spouses or children, the women broke out in loud lamentation, which stopped only when the object concerned was hidden again.

765 [464] In the last Šambioa village I witnessed a scene of mourning as unique as it was touching, when the news arrived that a Karaya had died in Pará, where he had gone on a boat as a hired rower. His mother and wife paced up and down on the bank for two days, while solemnly mourning loudly in song, holding ornamental objects of the lamented in their hands and continually waving them downstream where he had disappeared.

[533] The mourning songs were continued, accompanied by other women, far into the night.

Sicknesses and Witch Doctors

164 On the whole the Karaya have been spared from the worst scourges of primitive peoples, smallpox and syphilis, just as little are they subject to the leprosy and goiter so widespread in the population of Goyaz. On the other hand tuberculosis, the infectiousness of which is well known to the Indians, is steadily increasing among the Karayahi. Ahi catarrho não tem? Is there no catarrh, too? is always the first question which they ask the foreign visitor before they allow him to enter their huts. Malaria fevers occur in their more intensive form also only in the Karayahi region, particularly in the lowlands between São José and the mouth of the Rio das Mortes.

757 Medicines are apparently used by the savage tribes of South America to a much lesser degree than one generally assumes.

/210 cont./

302 Men sometimes wear the bowl cut, but usually they have the same hair style as the youths, except that they do not tie their hair, but let it hang freely. Among them, too, the wreath of hair can still be seen under the long hair. In later years no value is any longer attached to the parting and the crown tuft (Pl. 17; Pl. 36, Ill. 1; Pl. 43, Ill. 3).

Ill. 38.
Youth with tuft feather-cluster and hair wreath.

The parting (lāwōlŭ), which both sexes wear from puberty on, is achieved through the plucking out of the individual hairs. In the [184] south horde it is narrow, so that at first I did not even notice it; in the north horde, on the other hand, it is about two fingers wide. Young people almost always paint it with red color, whereas older ones do not wear this ornamentation. The crown tuft always goes with it.

The hair wreath is restricted to the male sex from boyhood on; women do not have it.

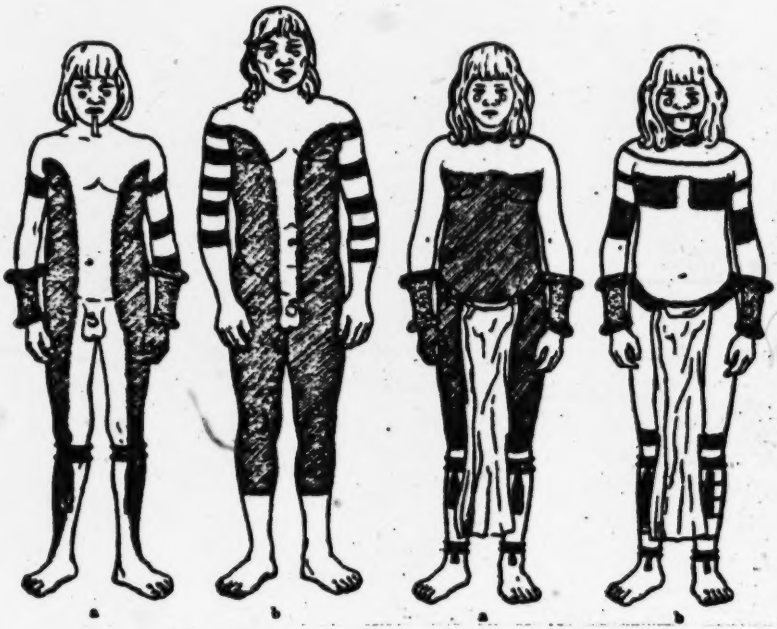
[412] [237] The cutting of the hair is now done with shears. According to Ehrenreich, they formerly cut it with piranha teeth. To my questions as to how they cut their hair before they had shears, they always told me that in those days they did not cut it, because they did not have any shears. Thus, the former custom has completely vanished from their memory. The hair that was cut off was thrown away, as I myself observed. The purpose of the long hair, they say, is for protection against mosquitoes.

•[765] /211/ For mourning they are said to cut off the hair, and the women, too, are said to cut themselves a hair wreath called nākulāŭ (?). I did not observe this custom, however, in Kabisá's family, which was in deep mourning.

The hair is very carefully tended. In the morning and evening it is combed out and oiled. Before they start on a journey, when they return to the village from hunting, fishing, or from the plantings, their hair is combed out for them by the mother, wife, or another female relative. When they arrive in a strange village on a visit, the chief's wife combs and oils their hair.

/214 cont./

302 from ear to ear with soot scraped from the charred campo trees.
[535] For dance festivities the men and youths are painted by the women. In general, this patterning is their ornamentation,
[826] their festive clothing. Mothers often painted their sons when the latter were to set out with us on a fishing expedition.



Ill. 43.
Boy (a) and man (b) with full patterning.

Ill. 44.
Two girls with full patterning.

[765] For mourning, the entire body, even the face, is said to be provided with genipap painting. I did not see this custom, however, in the case of Kabisá's family.

There are no differences in the painting between the two sexes, except that perhaps the men, who have more to do out in the open than the women, who essentially remain in the village and in the houses, wear the full painting more than the women. The patterns themselves are the same for both sexes, except that the men like a somewhat more extensive patterning.

/330 cont./

764 Large cemeteries are found near São José, S. Izabel do Morro (1).

1. Apparently this is the cemetery that Rufino visited on December 6, 1846; Rev. trim. X, p. 206.

In the smaller cemeteries the grave is dug and the corpse is hung in it horizontally on the pole. Then poles are placed over the opening and the whole is covered with earth. Concerning the equipment of these graves in more detail, none of which I saw, unfortunately, see in Ehrenreich ("Beiträge," p. 31). A dish
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/331 cont./

765 loud, high voice in a monotonous intonation; at the same time rattle gourds are swung. It seems that laments take place as soon as anything reminds them of the deceased. In any case definite times of the day for these could not be determined. The people, however, are sincerely grieved; one can see their sorrow in their faces, at least at first. The father allegedly mourns a child only one day, the mother four days. This statement is certainly not true, for in Schischá I heard lamentations for a child who was said to have died three weeks before. The husband mourns his wife only a short time; on the other hand, the wife her husband for a year. After this time has elapsed, the widow is painted with urucú and hung with ornaments at the command of the chief. After this she mourns one more day, and with this the period of mourning is at an end.

15. Religion, Masks, Magic, Medicine.

114 Concerning the religious views of the Karajá I was able to
771 discover but little. The researcher does not come across anything that could suggest any belief in spirits or a cult, with the exception of the masked dances.

114 Unfortunately, I saw very few such dances, since I traveled
535 in the Karajá region from June to October, whereas the time of
796 the dancing seems to be precisely from November to April. Thus, I am unable to report anything about the meaning of these dances; all my efforts to find out anything about this from the people by questions failed because of the meager possibility of mutual
[532] understanding or the deliberate withholding of information. I assume, however, that these dances, which coincide with the time of ripening of certain field produce and at which masks representing animals are used, are in part harvest festival dances, but in part originate from ideas out of which the so-called magic by analogy developed later on. More cannot be said about this; all
532 else would be useless speculation. Some of the masks are not

764 gumming feathers onto it, then a pole nine feet long is laid upon it, lengthwise, as it lies upon its back, and the whole is enwrapped in the palm-leaf mat which had served as the bed of the deceased during life, and wound with long strips of bark. The purpose of this pole is that the remains may hang sus-
764 pended from it in the grave. The group that dances and wails
535 as it moves around the corpse, is led by a kind of precentor,
533 who is relieved from time to time as he grows weary. As the performers dance, they hold their arms extended in front with the fingers of one hand placed upon the backs of the fingers of the other hand, thus forming a bow. The singing is alternate and responsive. The chorus asks the deceased where he has gone and how he fares, and the leader of the chorus responds for the corpse. The chorus wails, "He lives no more! It is all over with him! Think no more of him! He is hanging from the bar!" Then the leader, speaking for the departed, responds hopefully, "I am in a beautiful land! Give me some tobacco! Did you put the plug"—the tobacco pipe—"between my lips? I am in need of nothing! But, be sure to place water at the grave!" The chorus now repeats but one question, and answers in a doleful voice: "It is all over with him! It is all over!" Very frequently these ceremonies begin before the subject is even dead.

764 Interment occurs the next day after death except where death has taken place very early in the morning, in which event it is the same day, at evening. The singing, wailing,
[765] lamentations, dancing and other lugubrious festivities continue three or four days, during which time all work is abandoned. The Karayá cemeteries are always located on top of a high hill near the river. The civilized Brazilians, imitating, perhaps, their savage ancestors, also place their cemeteries on the highest ground near the town, where it often endangers the health of the living.

A Karayá grave is a hole in the ground nearly seven feet in length, three feet wide and thirty inches deep. The body is hung horizontally into this excavation so that it swings freely from the already mentioned pole, each end of which

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

rests on top of the ground. Beneath the corpse, which swings eight or ten inches above the bottom of the grave, is placed a clay pan filled with food for the shade of the departed. Next, a number of poles are placed beside the first one supporting the body so that they cover completely the mouth of the grave; and over these, in turn, is placed a palm-leaf mat, upon which is heaped about ten inches of earth. The grave is further marked and decorated by setting up at the head and foot two stakes some three feet high, each terminating in a fork at the upper end, and embellished with a tassel of feathers, besides other adornments. These decorations are for the purpose of frightening away trespassing demons or ghosts. At the center of each post is a ring on which is carved the insignia or emblem of the family of the deceased, which, for example, may be a lizard. A strong cord is stretched between the stakes resting in the forked tops, over which, with the outer edges touching the ground, are placed two palm-leaf mats to form a miniature hut over the grave. This is intended as the domicile of the deceased. Calabash shell vessels containing food and drink for the soul, are placed upon the grave inside this mortuary hut, for the disconsolate shade is believed to linger near its discarded body for a time. Later, if the surviving relatives demand it, the bones are exhumed and deposited in a large clay urn, which is either sunk into the ground near the grave, or allowed to stand upon the surface of the ground.

The memory of the departed is cherished. Even long after the death of an individual, the surviving relatives give expression to their grief by loud and stormy outbreaks of feeling when any occurrence revives the memory of him. The occasion may be the arrival at the village of some one who was a near relative or an intimate friend of the departed, whose appearance recalls the memory of him; or it may be the revealing of some memento of the deceased. Dr. Ehrenreich says that when he was looking through the baskets in one of the huts for curios, he brought to light some memorials of deceased parents or children. Instantly, the women in the hut—

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca.1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

765 it is always the women—broke out into loud lamentations and wailings, which did not cease until the objects were again hidden from view. He says that he witnessed at a Sambiõa village a very pathetic mourning scene when the news came that a certain resident of the village had died in Pará, whither he had gone as a paddler in one of the trading boats descending the river. The mother and the wife of the deceased paced up and down the bank of the river near the village during two entire days, uttering continually loud and solemn cries of mourning. In their hands, they carried his ornaments and waved them constantly in the direction of the place where he had died. With the assistance of other women, the wailing was continued throughout the night. But whatever may be the real sentiments of the relatives, lamentations and wailing must not be omitted.

164 The Karayá have not suffered as much from smallpox and goitre as other primitive peoples. But tuberculosis is increasing among them, and they know that it is infectious. "Is there any catarrh where you hail from?" is the first question they ask a stranger before he is allowed to enter their huts. Intermittent fevers exist among them only in certain 753 low regions. They use but little medicine, for all sickness and disease is looked upon as demon possession, or the result 755 of witch-craft. Therefore, they trust to their conjurers, or tribal priests, to relieve illness. These men seek to remove the fancied poison or disturbing element by sucking the part of the body where the pain is located, or to expel the evil spirits by performing enchantments, or practicing black arts. 757 One of the most noted medicaments of the Karayá, is the resin of the almecegêira tree, which is mixed with cocoa-nut oil and taken in the form of snuff for headache, and also rubbed on the abdomen to cure stomach-ache.

000 Bates, in his valuable work, "The Naturalist on the Amazon," says: "No one could live long among the Indians of the Upper Amazon without being struck with their constitutional dislike for heat. Europeans certainly withstand the high temperature better than the original inhabitants of the

1:Lipkind E-5 (1937) 1948 SP9 Caraja SP9

775 **Death.**—At death, the soul becomes a wild ghost if the person has been violently killed and a regular resident of the village of the dead if he has suffered a quiet death. A shaman's soul is translated to the skies. Mourning puts an end to all religious ceremonies and is celebrated by self-laceration, the destruction of property, and daily keening. There 764 is separate burial in formal cemeteries for those who died quietly and [766] those who died violently. The corpse is wrapped in a mat with his weapons and ornaments, and the mat is hung in a shallow grave covered [765] by poles (fig. 22). Food and drink are provided for a short period. After the next change of season, the bones are exhumed and placed in a family urn.

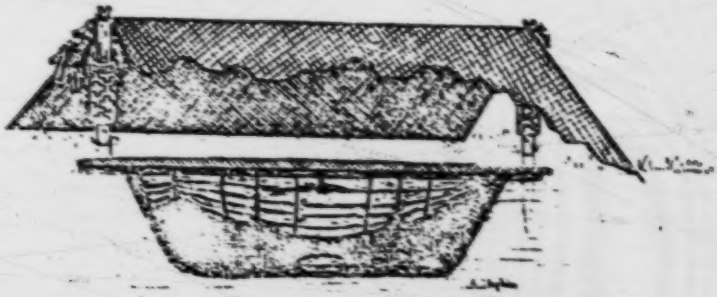

FIGURE 22.—*Carajá* burial. (Redrawn from Ehrenreich, 1891 b, fig. 16)

WARFARE

726 The *Carajá* are good fighters and have maintained themselves since prehistoric times in a territory surrounded on all sides by warlike enemies. Their usual tactics are waiting outside an enemy village at night and attacking at dawn. In defense, they run to the nearest water, where they [411] are unbeatable. They use the bow and arrow and club, and are skilled [526] wrestlers. They cut off a foot bone of a dead enemy and carry it back [727] to their village; this places them in control of the ghost, who now be- [775] comes a caretaker of the village and is impersonated in a special dry-season ceremony. At one such ceremony there were two *Tapirapé* ghosts, [648] three *Chavante*, one *Cayapó*, and one Neo-Brazilian. Present-day war- [727] fare is largely with the *Chavante*, the *Cayapó*, and the *Canoeiro*. Now and then a Neo-Brazilian may be killed by stealth to avenge a personal grievance. No captives are taken except women and small children, who are treated as full members of the group.

ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

531 **Art.**—Decorative art is confined to woven designs on baskets and mats, feather ornaments, elaborate masks with superimposed feather designs,

/37 cont./

[537] The festival begins with a procession of the masks through
[535] the village. The participants dress in the nearby forest and approach with a loud han̂ hm han̂. Then everybody cries: nakunerare! There they come!

During the procession the masked men throw sticks of wood in all directions. After they have withdrawn, everything is readied for the feast and drinking bout, until after a few hours the dancers approach again and the dance begins. Like that of the duck-duck, it consists of an odd hopping. The dancer is not permitted to let himself be recognized in any way; he
[688] may neither speak nor cough or sneeze, and particularly not fall. Otherwise, as in the case of the duck-duck and the Northwest American hametz, he is killed immediately.

If he finds it necessary to cough, which in view of the stifling heat in his masquerade is not uncommon, of course, he jumps into the circle of men standing about, who cover up his voice by likewise coughing.

The dances take place in a certain sequence; it is the chief who decides which one is to be at the beginning.

[532] If a woman enters the secret hut out of curiosity or other-
[535] wise takes advantage of an opportunity to see the mask costumes,
[562] she is punished by death.
[688] Usually the other women then bring a petition to the chief. The latter lets mercy prevail if the guilty one promises silence and is willing to undertake a task of atonement, which usually consists of weaving a riio or making a large buriti mat. If she refuses or if the work is not satisfactory, a place in the forest is pointed out to her, and she must appear there at a certain
[839] time. She is forced to yield to the men assembled there. If she does not appear, the latter have the right to kill her wherever
[766] they find her. The corpse of the guilty one is sunk in the river.
[778] No one may enter the hut of the victim, however, since this is considered a sanctuary.

In the same way a man who betrays the secret to a woman is declared an outlaw.

/330 cont./

764 Large cemeteries are found near São José, S. Izabel do Morro (1).

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In the smaller cemeteries the grave is dug and the corpse is hung in it horizontally on the pole. Then poles are placed over the opening and the whole is covered with earth. Concerning the equipment of these graves in more detail, none of which I saw, unfortunately, see in Ehrenreich ("Beiträge," p. 31). A dish
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7:Lipkind E-5 (1938-1939) 1940
SP9 Caraja SP9

among the last. He got stuck in the hole. His belly was too big. He decided 772
to go back. It was a dead leaf that he spied. He spoke to his wife, 'Let's go 773
back. There is death there.' They went back again. Those that had come out were very happy. They were all happy. Then one of them climbed a tree. It was a child that climbed. He fell and died. They all mourned. Suddenly they got cheerful again. For this reason they were angry, his mother and father. His brother and sister, married to each other, were angry. For this reason there was keening. They say that there in the depths of the water there was no death."

In addition to being the original home of the Carajá, the underworld is 772
also the home of the dead. Those who die a quiet death and are properly 775
buried live there much in the same fashion as they lived on earth. But they are always a bit crazed and dangerous to the living. They must be placated [772] [825]
by offerings and ceremonial observances. Otherwise they assume the form of poisonous snakes and bite those who neglect them. Those who die a 766
violent death, who are clubbed or torn by beasts, become violent unappeasable ghosts. They are buried in the woods without arms or fire, in a position contrary to the traditional position in order to disorient them. A woman's girdle is tied about their eyes to blind them. Their desire is to kill, and especially to kill their closest kin. Their afterlife is extremely unpleasant. They wander about in a perpetual rage and feed on little birds which they eat raw.

The other dimension of the Carajá universe is the sky. Only the south- 772
eastern quadrant of the sky interests the Carajá. The rest is uninhabited 756
forest. Starting at the Southern Cross virtually every star and constella- 776
tion visible in the east is a named supernatural. The Milky Way is the 821
shaman's road. When the shaman falls into his trance he goes up the shaman's road into one of the villages of the sky supernaturals. There he receives his power and knowledge and, if he has not eaten or drunk, there- [754]
after is a curer. If he has, he becomes a sorcerer and killer. The good shaman after his death goes to live in the sky. He squats up there in the [775]
heat of the sun with his inexhaustible pot of food and gourd of water in front of him and his shamanistic rattle in his hand, held up to shade his eyes from the glare of the sun. At night he dances with the supernaturals. This is considered the happiest afterlife.

The earth and underworld are also inhabited by supernaturals. Every 772
pool, every deep spot in the river, every bit of forest or savannah, has its 776
supernatural owners. These are of two kinds. Many are amiable and beau- 823
tiful beings who have friendly relations with humans. They are invited [535]
to feasts and impersonated in the masked dances. The others are ugly and dangerous monsters who cannot be placated. Their woods are avoided and nobody fishes in their pools.

The sorcerer has a wide variety of techniques at his disposal. He may 754

/27/

577 The observation with which Im Thurn introduces his discussion of the social life of the Guiana tribes, "The Indian in his natural state, before he feels the influence of white man is of decidedly admirable morality" /cited in English/, is also true in its full extent for the Karaya. This natural morality, completely independent of religious beliefs, makes the existence of a primitive community such as theirs possible. It expresses itself in the [576] scrupulous observation of the commandments of external propriety (1), which does not escape even the casual visitor, but,

[514]

1. Of culture-historical interest and typical of the feeling of propriety of these savages is the manner of their defecation. It occurs as far as possible from the village. A hole is made in the sand. The individual sits on it with outstretched legs, hiding the upper body behind a small mat. The excrement is always carefully buried.

above all, in the exemplary conduct of family life. The 593 solidarity of the family group, which even Martius, rashly 602 generalizing from his observations among demoralized tribes, denied that the Americans possessed at all, has quite truly given this people the moral support which has prevented its decline up to now, despite a century of contact with civilization and, hopefully, will hold it off for a long time to come.

The Karaya family seems, according to its form to be a "mother family." The following facts speak in favor of this:

1. The married man does not eat with his family, but with that of his married sister. Accordingly, he is considered a member of his sister's family.

2. Likewise in the division of the hunting spoils he receives his share, not in his own house, but in that of his sister.

768 3. The children of a widower are cared for by his parents- 589 in-law, while he himself re-enters the ranks of the bachelors. 606

/30 cont./

526 On beautiful moonlit nights the young people practice wrestling on the praias. The hold is the same as the one customary among us. It is principally a matter of bringing down the opponent by tripping him, at which even apparently weak individuals develop an astounding agility.

535 Some of the dances have already been described by Castelnau.
[114] I myself had the opportunity in the third Šambioa village to attend a war dance. Eight feather-adorned men armed with spears, clubs, and bows took part under the leadership of a head-dancer, whom they surrounded in a semicircle. The dancers moved only a little from their places, at most a few steps forward and back. Rapid hopping on one leg and artistically correct, rhythmic swinging of the weapons provided the main action. Everything was carried out with the greatest precision.
[177] This dance is said to have been borrowed from the Kayapo.

764
[768]

[524] Fig. 15. Top (1/4).

Obsequies and burial. At the death of a Karaya all the objects that he used daily, weapons, ornaments, etc., are burned amidst loud lamentations of the relatives; the rest is divided among those who bury him. The mourners wound themselves with cuts and shear their hair.

764
535

Next follows the dance of the dead around the corpse (1), which is colored

[763] 1. Not infrequently the ceremonies begin before death has actually occurred.

with urucú and, wrapped in mats, is hung up on a horizontal pole.

Under the direction of two leading singers, who are relieved from time to time, the row goes around in a circle, whereby the participants hold their fingers pushed over one another. The
[533] song is a kind of dialogue. The chorus asks the deceased where he is and how he is; one of the leading singers answers for him.

/200 cont./

514 water about 5/4 meters deep with their knees slightly bent and there untie the long penis string and tie it on again.

342 The houses are merely living and sleeping houses; cooking
[252] is done outside.

[602] The chiefs in part have better built, larger houses; thus, Plate 41 appears here/ /201/ the one belonging to Chief João III was three to four meters high, five to six meters wide, and equally long (Pl. 39).

[344] There are no meeting houses; in order to bring about a de-
[203] cision or announce regulations, the chief goes to the individual
[204] houses.

Other special houses are:

343 1. Birth houses. These are erected for the woman when birth
844 is imminent; their construction is said to be identical with that of the other houses.

346 2. The mask house in which the dance masks are kept. It always stands apart from the village and in its method of construction is a dry-season house with a round structure on the narrow side turned toward the village. The arches are usually slightly curved and strengthened on top by a ridge beam (Pl. 12, Ill. 3). The mask houses serve as bachelor houses; the young people are said to sleep here. I saw only four mask huts, but cannot confirm
513 these statements from my observations. In any case, the young people do not sleep in the houses, but rather, if there is no mask house,
[609] by a fire which is away from the village. Strangers are given shelter by the chief; they sleep in his house, even though they are unmarried (see the reception which I, with my men, found among the Šavajé /pp. 129 ff. in the first part of the work, which is omitted in the translation/).

342 The house belongs to the woman. The man builds it before
423 the marriage, with the assistance of the young people, who are
562 paid for it by the woman with chains of beads. The construction
● 768 takes one or two days. After death the house is said to be burned.

821 According to the accounts of the Indians, the houses are protected from bolts of lightning by a fish spine stuck on the roof on a pole about half a meter long. Probably only magic is involved here.

[Text continues on P. 84]

/326 cont./

586 longer wants the other. In any case the children remain with the father. The divorced wife keeps her property. Ehrenreich re-
[587] ports ("Beiträge," p. 27) that a man who rejects his wife may not marry again, but merely takes a housekeeper. According to my observations, the case from Village No. 5 reported above is quite typical. Contempt is by no means the lot of such a man, as Königswald reports (1).

[113] 1. Globus, Vol. 94, p. 237.

589 Widows and orphans. Widowed persons again don their leg
768 and arm bands. The widower lives like a bachelor; he may marry again, but generally does so only if he has children who need a mother. Otherwise he is afraid of the work incumbent on a husband. Widows continue to live in the house, which, of
589 course, is their property. They may marry again. They get their
736 maintenance from the chief, in case there are no grown sons who are able to care for them. Otherwise the chief appoints someone who is to plant and fish for her, and pays him for it. Orphans are reared and provided for by the brother of the mother.

836 Extramarital sex life. The girls do their utmost to preserve their purity; thus, they do not go into the forest alone, for fear of the young men. If a girl nevertheless has misfortune, she is not punished, at any rate not in the south horde. Even in
[114] this case she is married by another party. I was unable to learn anything about the severe punishment for premarital intercourse and adultery, as reported by Ehrenreich and Königswald. /327/
[548] Before marriage, the men enjoy complete freedom. In many
[485] villages there are Tapirpaé and Šavajé women who serve as prostitutes and are also put at the disposal of strangers. The Karajá nevertheless also seem to become involved occasionally in adventures even with tribal members. Pedro flirted in many villages with young girls whom he called his primas (cousins); in Camp No. 23 proposals for nocturnal trysts were made to him by two women, but he refused them. I did not discover anything about the arrangement of viri viduarum, about which Ehrenreich reports from Magalhães ("Beiträge," p. 28).

/330 cont./

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Brazil.

593 The husband does not eat with his family, but instead
[264] with the family of his married sister, and is considered a member of his sister's family. Secondly, his share of the pro-
[768] ceeds of the day's hunting and fishing, does not go to his own hut, but to that of his sister; and, lastly, if his wife should die leaving dependent children, they are taken in charge by her parents and the widower again becomes one of the bachelors.

582 A Karayá woman is not permitted to marry an alien, unless
648 he will become adopted, or naturalized, into the tribe, and will consent to reside permanently at the wife's native village.
593 The Karayá wife appears to be considered the equal of her husband in many respects, for he never takes any important step in life without first consulting her. Even the village chief divides his honors with his wife. Furthermore, the wife as
[462] well as the husband, has an important part to perform, not only in the family, but in the social economy of the village; though her part is to do the heavy, laborious work, while her man does the light and fancy-work; his only heavy work being to hunt and fish.

595 The men usually have but one wife, though a few have
582 two. One reason for having two wives seems to be owing to the custom prevailing among nearly all South American tribes that the young men marry the older women, and the old men marry the young women. Therefore, when the first wife becomes old, her young husband takes to himself a youth-
163 ful wife. Perhaps this custom of the young men marrying the
[582] older women will account in part for the small number of
[862] children born to these primitive races; though another reason may be that children are allowed to nurse until they are six
171 or seven years of age. The custom of aged men marrying girls fourteen or fifteen years of age is common among the
847 civilized people of Brazil. Abortion among the Karayá is practiced only when the husband demands it. Whenever a
586 couple cannot live together harmoniously, the husband is al-
587 lowed to trade his wife for another woman. If he should drive her away, he will not be permitted to marry another
000 woman, though he may take a concubine. The adulterous

teams having lined up—there were four men to a side—they 526
approached each other waltzing, zig-zag fashion, back and 628
forth from one side of the ring to the other in a series of very rapid, stiff-legged, turkey-steps, the second man of each pair being close behind his partner and executing, lock-step, precisely the same movements in perfect unison with him; at the same time, the arms of all were extended in front, legs spread wide apart, bodies inclined forward and slightly squatting, and the entire anatomy of each rigid as if frozen stiff. As they worked gradually toward each other, they emitted fiendish challenges in the form of long-drawn-out yells. Finally, they came together and clinched, and the yelling ceased. The "first round" terminated quickly with four of the combatants sprawling upon the sand. For the second round, they jerked themselves out to one another in single pairs; while for the third round, a single individual, only, came out, first from one side then from the other, prancing like game cocks right up to the opponents' line.

Dr. Ehrenreich describes a war dance he saw at one of 535
the Sambiõa villages. Eight warriors, fully armed with spears, clubs, and bows and arrows, and decorated with feathers executed the dance, led by a sort of dancing master, before whom they were arranged in the form of a crescent. They moved but little from one spot—merely a few steps forward and backward—hopping rapidly and artistically on one leg and waving their weapons in perfect unison, guided by the measured beats of their leader. Every movement was executed with the nicest precision. It is said that the Karayá [177]
learned this dance from the Kaiapó tribe.

When a Karayá dies, all his tools, weapons and ornaments 764
are burned, accompanied by a loud crying, wailing and lamen- [768]
tation by the surviving relatives and friends, among whom, because of having participated in the obsequies, will be distributed whatever articles belonging to the deceased that were not consigned to the flames. There is, therefore, some inducement to be a mourner. The death dance around the corpse is next in order. First, the body is ornamented by

1:Lipkind E-5 (1937) 1948 SP9 Caraja SP9

Games.—Of numerous games, the most important is a formal wrestling match which is an indispensable part of most religious ceremonies and of all intervillage visits. 526 786 628

Narcotics and stimulants.—Like the other tribes in this region, the *Carajá* have no alcoholic beverages. They smoke tobacco in short cylindrical pipes (fig. 21, *c*). They are heavy smokers, some of the children beginning before they are weaned. 273 276

SUPERNATURALISM

Cults.—*Carajá* religion consists of two distinct cults: a cult of the dead and a mask cult (fig. 24). The cult of the dead, which is under the direction of the priest, has for its object the placation of ghosts by a periodical ceremonial which comes to its climax in several large calendrical feasts. The most important of these feasts is the Big House Feast, which is celebrated shortly after the beginning of the rainy season. All the villages which comprise a ceremonial unit come to the one village where the feast is conducted. There is a great mass of ceremonial addressed to various classes of ghosts, but the central portion of the ceremony is the impersonation of animal ghosts. Another important feast, already mentioned, occurs at the height of the dry season and is directed toward the control of enemy ghosts. Two other feasts held in the dry season are chiefly for the entertainment of the ancestors. 795 769 796 [782 793] [628]

The mask cult is concerned with the worship of another class of supernaturals. It consists of an elaborate routine of feasts, interrupted only by death. In these feasts, conducted by the shaman, the supernaturals are impersonated in the complex dances mentioned above. 795 796 [766]

The two cults are independent of each other and are both strictly men's cults. Any women intruding upon the secrets of the cults is subjected to gang rape and remains a wanton thereafter. [688]

Shamanism.—A shaman is trained by apprenticeship to an older shaman. A certain amount of medical lore is taught but the essence of the training is learning how to communicate with supernaturals in a state of trance. 756

There is a considerable amount of sorcery. The main technique is bottling a supernatural being into a small image and then directing it into the body of the victim. As almost all deaths are interpreted as the result of sorcery, feuding is continual. 754 [761] [628]

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7:Lipkind E-5 (1938-1939) 1940
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754 request a ghost to do his killing. In this case the ghost takes the form of a wild beast, usually a leopard. He may request a supernatural either to enter the body of his victim, or to turn loose on the victim his subject animals,
756 particularly the alligator and piranha. The curing shaman sucks out the intrusive supernatural or persuades the ghosts or supernaturals to withhold their attack.

776 The dichotomy of ghosts and supernaturals is quite clear in Carajá re-
769 ligion. Ghosts are placated by calendrical feasts, run by a hereditary priest.
746 Supernaturals are invited to the masked dances by a shaman who takes
[754] complete charge of this cult. There is little relationship between the two cults. There is a momentary appearance of masks during the Big-house Feast of the ghost cult, and an occasional offering to ancestors during the mask cult ceremonies.

775 What is of special interest is that there are many maleficent supernaturals
776 who cannot be approached at all. There is no technique for handling them except keeping out of their way. The violent ghosts really fall in the same category as far as their relation to humans is concerned. And yet they are chiefly the best men of the Carajá who have fallen in battle against their
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777 In recent years a few Carajá have been able to visit Rio and Belém. They
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577 a picture with which many Carajá are now familiar. It never intrudes into Carajá life. It is reserved solely for discourse with outsiders. No contradiction is felt because the two conceptions are never brought into the same universe of discourse. I was not able to detect any signs of skepticism. The Carajá is perfectly sure that he has a clear view of the true character of the world. The peculiar beliefs of outsiders are in keeping with their quaint behavior and lack of good breeding. A Carajá will not dispute about such things. He listens to the opinions of others with courtesy and curiosity but cannot be induced to take them seriously. It is much easier to pretend to
[747] agree. If you are a missionary, you will give him presents. Later he may have the additional pleasure of expounding your fantastic ideas to his fellows.

182 Two factors seem to me to contribute largely to the maintainance of this
772 attitude. In the first place, the old way of life is still intact. When a man is
773 able to find full occupation and joy in his activities, it is difficult to get him to doubt the premises on which they are founded. Secondly, every important feature of life is validated by mythical tales which are the Carajá history. The emergence myth, given above in its simplest and shortest variant, is one of many. I can do no more than mention some of the most important here. The full form of the emergence myth gives the names of all the ancestors who emerged and the precise social divisions which they

/33 cont./

789 with incredible volubility, and finally made thrusts with grim
791 gestures in the four directions, shouting: bobuto! disperse! It is therefore exactly the same procedure that Boas observed among the Central Eskimos (2). If the rain comes down in spite of this,

2. Petermann's Mitth., 1887, p. 309.

the conjurer chews up a root and spits the pieces into the air, naturally only when the storm is nearing its end.

754 If the sorcerer wishes to harm an absent person, he uses a small bow (šibate) to shoot an arrow with two snake teeth at the tip in the direction where he suspects that his victim is. The latter is then overcome by an incurable sickness.

Animism. Masked Dances.

• 771 Although so few details about the religious beliefs of the Karaya are known, it can already be determined that the animistic world-view, as the lowest form of religious life, manifests itself among them in exactly the same way as among other better studied South American tribes.

For them, too, the phenomena of half-life in sleep, the extinguishing of all vital activity in death, and dreams and visions are proof of the presence of a spirit world separate from the material substratum, in which every individual, human as well as animal, who, according to Indian belief, differ from each other only in their physical form, has its immaterial phantom.

754 They know from experience that in dreams the spirit leaves
828 the body of the sleeper to wander about and to meet other persons or
[774] spirits; they know further, even if it is only through suggestive influencing, that the witch doctors, gifted with higher powers, can at will put themselves in a sleeping state, in which their souls fathom secret matters, enter into animals in order to frighten and to injure enemies as "werewolves," and, in short, do all those things by means of which shamanism everywhere knows how to secure its influence in uniformly recurring fashion.

/34/

775 The souls of the dead, which, as mentioned above, are thought of as remaining for a while in the vicinity of the grave, later like to return to their former home. They appear to their relatives especially on stormy nights. When the rain streams [787] down and lightning brightens the darkness, the old people remember their dead relatives and attempt by loud lamentations and singing to put themselves in a state of artificial ecstasy, which finally conjures up in their aroused imaginations any desired phantom.

● 771 The animistic "religion," if one wishes to call it this, still lacks any ethical basis. It has not elevated itself to the acceptance of a higher, omnipotent spirit upon which man feels dependent in the expectation of punishment and reward for his actions. Thus there is also lacking anything which would indicate the external relationships of man to the godhead, idols, cult performances, prayers, etc. There are among them, however, those ceremonies from which apparently the higher cult forms have come everywhere in the world, the mysterious

535 121 Masked dances. The important role which such masked dances play among the North American tribes is known everywhere. Until now remarkably little was known about the analogous customs on the southern continent. Only the dances of the Tekuna, Juri, and Uaupē tribes are mentioned in passing in the literature. The "temples" and "idols" which the oldest missionary reports mention are obviously nothing other than the "medicine huts" or "flute houses" with the fantastic mask costumes stored in them.

Only recently has the wealth of mask material brought back by the two Xingu expeditions again directed attention to these festive dances which are so important for an understanding of Indian life. Observations made later among the Karaya supplied a desirable supplement to this.

Their masked dances are of quite special interest ethnologically on account of the remarkable analogies which they exhibit in the form of the masks, as well as in other festive customs, with those of Melanesia. This correspondence goes into such

/331 cont./

765 loud, high voice in a monotonous intonation; at the same time rattle gourds are swung. It seems that laments take place as soon as anything reminds them of the deceased. In any case definite times of the day for these could not be determined. The people, however, are sincerely grieved; one can see their sorrow in their faces, at least at first. The father allegedly mourns a child only one day, the mother four days. This statement is certainly not true, for in Schischá I heard lamentations for a child who was said to have died three weeks before. The husband mourns his wife only a short time; on the other hand, the wife her husband for a year. After this time has elapsed, the widow is painted with urucú and hung with ornaments at the command of the chief. After this she mourns one more day, and with this the period of mourning is at an end.

15. Religion, Masks, Magic, Medicine.

114 Concerning the religious views of the Karajá I was able to
771 discover but little. The researcher does not come across anything that could suggest any belief in spirits or a cult, with the exception of the masked dances.

114 Unfortunately, I saw very few such dances, since I traveled
535 in the Karajá region from June to October, whereas the time of
796 the dancing seems to be precisely from November to April. Thus, I am unable to report anything about the meaning of these dances; all my efforts to find out anything about this from the people by questions failed because of the meager possibility of mutual
[532] understanding or the deliberate withholding of information. I assume, however, that these dances, which coincide with the time of ripening of certain field produce and at which masks representing animals are used, are in part harvest festival dances, but in part originate from ideas out of which the so-called magic by analogy developed later on. More cannot be said about this; all
532 else would be useless speculation. Some of the masks are not

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca.1900) 1909
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[757] comb with very long, sharp teeth. With this barbarous tool, [413] the primitive surgeon rakes and tears the back of the patient, [237] who holds himself immovable by firmly grasping a post or tree. The blood is caught and removed on palm-leaves. When sufficient blood has been drawn, sand, and finally pepper, is rubbed into the wounds. Even when a Karayá is not sick, he submits to this very painful operation, believing that it will be beneficial to his health. The bleeding of persons on the back is practiced by low-class civilized Brazilians.

[771] Not much is known concerning the religious belief of the Karayá. But it is fully established that they entertain an animistic conception of the world, which is the lowest form of religious belief and practice; and it expresses itself with them in the same way that it does with the better known South [811] American tribes. Their observation hourly suggests to them the idea that every effect has an intelligent cause; for, whenever they are able to trace an effect to its cause, as, for instance, in the doings of men and animals, that cause appears to be psychical rather than material; an intangible, incomprehensible something that we call Mind. Therefore, they firmly believe that Minds, intelligence, or invisible, immaterial Personalities, dwell, as an Ego, or as Genii, in every material object, animate or inanimate, such as animals, trees and mountains, and direct all the operations of Nature; and that brutes are differentiated from men only by their bodily form, every creature being alike a duality—having a psychical as well as a physical Self. Moreover, the phenomena of the half- [772] life in sleep, together with dreams and visions, and the cessation of all vital activities at death, furnish to their minds clear and positive proofs of the existence of a spirit world that pervades, or lies beyond the world comprehended by the senses. They believe that in sleep and dreams, the Ego, or [774] Shade, or second Self, steals away from the body of the sleeper to roam about and to associate with other shadowy person- alities or spirits. They are convinced, furthermore, that their [754] priests, or conjurers, are endowed with some supernatural, or mysterious powers which enable them to put themselves

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
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at will into a trance or semi-death, in which state their souls, 771
or doubles, explore the occult, or what is hidden from men 754
in a normal state. They also believe that these conjurers can transform themselves at pleasure into animals—into the form of a witch-wolf, for example, in order to terrify, injure and domineer over men; and, in brief, can do all things whereby shamanism—primitive priestcraft—secures and maintains its influence over the tribe. They have no images or idols, nor 771
even fetiches, for the reason that they have not yet advanced to this more complex belief, if advancement it may be called.

The ghosts or spirits of the dead, which, as previously stated, 775
are believed to tarry for a time in the vicinity of the graves where hang the bodies they were forced to abandon because they had fallen so into disrepair, take delight, in after time, in returning to haunt the places of their habitation during the days of their flesh; moreover, it is believed that they appear to their relatives, especially on wild and stormy nights: When the darkness is inky black, illumined only by the ceaseless play of the terrifying lightnings, and the thunders crash and boom as if the unseen Powers were engaged in mighty conflict, while the winds moan and shriek in the forest, then the old folk think of their dear departed; and by loud lamentations and wailings, put themselves into a state of ecstacy whereby their inflamed imagination creates every wished-for phantasm.

This animistic religion is without any ethical foundation. 771
It has not in this stage attained to a conception of a higher or ruling Spirit upon whom man feels himself dependent for rewards and punishments for his deeds; and as just stated, lacks everything which connects man externally with divinity, such as images, the paraphernalia of worship, ritual, and the like. But we find among the Karayá those ceremonials from 796
which apparently everywhere throughout the world the higher and more elaborate forms of worship have come, that is, the mystery rites.

Mask dances occupy an important place in Karayá life. 535
The prominent rôle which these masquerades play among [771]

/38 cont./

773 easily suggested to the Indians by missionaries, that of the great flood, shows no connection to the Christian story in the version given here.

[171] Analogies, moreover, are found with myths from Guiana, North America, and especially Polynesia.

Legends I-VI seem to be fragments of an old tribal saga.

Not all are complete. In the case of some the conclusion is missing, or perhaps, for our understanding at least, the point.

[172] /39/ Everywhere the genuinely Indian idea of the equality of the human and the animal worlds stands out clearly. The animal here seems to differ from man only in external appearance; for this reason both change their form continually. As a rule the narrator in the course of his presentation, whenever a new animal was introduced in the action, expressly added the remark that it was actually also a Karaya.

I.

Kabõi.

539 Kabõi, the ancestor of the Karaya, lived with his people in the underworld. The sun shone there when it was night on earth and vice versa. The cry of the camp bird seriema (Dicholophus cristatus) once penetrated that far, and Kabõi decided to follow the sound, accompanied by several people. Thus he reached a hole which led to the surface of the earth. But only his people could get through, whereas he himself, on account of his overly large size, remained stuck in it and could only look out of the opening with his head. The Karaya roamed through the area and found many fruits, bacury /Platonia insignis/, piqui, fruta do veado, and furthermore bees and wild honey, but also saw many a dead tree and dry wood. All this they brought to the place where Kabõi waited for them and showed what they had found. To be sure, the land is beautiful and fruitful, said the latter, but this rotten wood proves that whatever lives here must soon die. Therefore it is better that we remain where we are.

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
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[757] [413] [235] comb with very long, sharp teeth. With this barbarous tool, the primitive surgeon rakes and tears the back of the patient, who holds himself immovable by firmly grasping a post or tree. The blood is caught and removed on palm-leaves. When sufficient blood has been drawn, sand, and finally pepper, is rubbed into the wounds. Even when a Karayá is not sick, he submits to this very painful operation, believing that it will be beneficial to his health. The bleeding of persons on the back is practiced by low-class civilized Brazilians.

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CARAJÁ COSMOGRAPHY

By William Lipkind

The Carajá are an isolated people inhabiting a large territory slightly north of the geographical center of Brazil. During 1938 and 1939 I lived with the Carajá and collected a large body of textual material which forms the basis of the generalized presentation of Carajá world-view which follows.[1]

The Carajá universe is very small. Their own territory (Bananal), an island formed by a large fork of the Araguaya river is its center. To the west the great Chavante plateau stretches out to the huge river in which the sun goes down. All night the sun moves through the underworld and in the morning he comes up out of another river which is the eastern boundary of the world. If you paddle many days downriver, you will come to a village of the transformer Kanashiwe, the world's northern limit. An equal journey upstream will take you to its southern limit, another village of Kanashiwe.

The Carajá are perfectly acquainted with the middle portion of this parallelogram. Every beach, high bank, wood and lake along the Araguaya, every body of water and distinctive patch of ground within Bananal, is known and has a name. The tributaries are known in less detail and only up to a few days' journey from their mouths. Inland from the rivers their knowledge peters out after a short distance and you are soon in mythical country.

To the Carajá this world seems very large. The journey to its northern and southern limits is the initiation journey of the dead. No man since legendary times has gone very far toward the eastern and western boundaries, and, besides, there are two other dimensions, the underworld and the sky.

In the underworld, the original home of the Carajá, there was neither sickness nor death. As the emergence myth states, "More people kept being born. Nobody died. There wasn't room enough. When a man got old, he sat there in one place without moving. Kaboi couldn't add any more houses to the village. It was full. A new father was lying on the mat. It was time to eat honey. He went off hunting honey. While he was hunting he heard a *seriema* (Portuguese name of a bird) sing. He scooped a hole toward it and came out. He found fruit at once and decided to return. When he got back he gave his folk the fruit to taste. They found it very good and wanted to come out. They invited the others to come with them. Wobedu sent his folk out first and he went first among them. Kaboi came

[1] The work was financed by Columbia University.

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among the last. He got stuck in the hole. His belly was too big. He decided to go back. It was a dead leaf that he spied. He spoke to his wife, 'Let's go back. There is death there.' They went back again. Those that had come out were very happy. They were all happy. Then one of them climbed a tree. It was a child that climbed. He fell and died. They all mourned. Suddenly they got cheerful again. For this reason they were angry, his mother and father. His brother and sister, married to each other, were angry. For this reason there was keening. They say that there in the depths of the water there was no death."

In addition to being the original home of the Carajá, the underworld is also the home of the dead. Those who die a quiet death and are properly buried live there much in the same fashion as they lived on earth. But they are always a bit crazed and dangerous to the living. They must be placated by offerings and ceremonial observances. Otherwise they assume the form of poisonous snakes and bite those who neglect them. Those who die a violent death, who are clubbed or torn by beasts, become violent unappeasable ghosts. They are buried in the woods without arms or fire, in a position contrary to the traditional position in order to disorient them. A woman's girdle is tied about their eyes to blind them. Their desire is to kill, and especially to kill their closest kin. Their afterlife is extremely unpleasant. They wander about in a perpetual rage and feed on little birds which they eat raw.

The other dimension of the Carajá universe is the sky. Only the southeastern quadrant of the sky interests the Carajá. The rest is uninhabited forest. Starting at the Southern Cross virtually every star and constellation visible in the east is a named supernatural. The Milky Way is the shaman's road. When the shaman falls into his trance he goes up the shaman's road into one of the villages of the sky supernaturals. There he receives his power and knowledge and, if he has not eaten or drunk, thereafter is a curer. If he has, he becomes a sorcerer and killer. The good shaman after his death goes to live in the sky. He squats up there in the heat of the sun with his inexhaustible pot of food and gourd of water in front of him and his shamanistic rattle in his hand, held up to shade his eyes from the glare of the sun. At night he dances with the supernaturals. This is considered the happiest afterlife.

The earth and underworld are also inhabited by supernaturals. Every pool, every deep spot in the river, every bit of forest or savannah, has its supernatural owners. These are of two kinds. Many are amiable and beautiful beings who have friendly relations with humans. They are invited to feasts and impersonated in the masked dances. The others are ugly and dangerous monsters who cannot be placated. Their woods are avoided and nobody fishes in their pools.

The sorcerer has a wide variety of techniques at his disposal. He may

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754 request a ghost to do his killing. In this case the ghost takes the form of a wild beast, usually a leopard. He may request a supernatural either to enter the body of his victim, or to turn loose on the victim his subject animals, 756 particularly the alligator and piranha. The curing shaman sucks out the intrusive supernatural or persuades the ghosts or supernaturals to withhold their attack.

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began. There are numerous tales of the transformer, recounting how every beast got his present form. There are accounts explaining the origin of other peoples. There is a myth validating the men's cult. Others explain the origin of the staples of life, manioc and corn. There is a myth accounting for the behavior of the sun and the moon. This body of history lends depth to the Carajá picture of the world. He feels that he knows more clearly how things are disposed because he knows where they came from or, at least, how they were arranged at an earlier time.

In conclusion, I should like to mention another curious point. The Carajá, who, after hundreds of years of contact with white culture and nearly a century of close contact, cling so resolutely to their beliefs, are not a bit fussy about details. The stories are told differently by almost every teller. The amount of variation in important details is enormous. A single example must suffice here. I heard two versions of the emergence myth quite different from the brief one given above. In one a woman detected the presence of death in the upper world and in her resentment at not being listened to shut the hole to the underworld, thus locking the others out when they tried to return. In the other Kaboi did not let them back again because he feared they might bring death in with them. A Carajá who travelled with me from village to village heard all sorts of variants of this kind and accepted them all with almost equal confidence. It was not that he did not see the discrepancies. They did not matter to him. A similar laxity is found in all Carajá religious observances. The pattern of a ceremony is more or less definite but every performance varies greatly. Such flexibility would seem to invite the penetration of foreign matter and yet I can detect the presence of little that may be considered borrowing from white culture. It will be of interest to compare the beliefs of the Carajá with those of other Brazilian tribes with whom they may be supposed to have had fairly recent contacts.

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441 **Weapons.**—The *Carajá* use bows and arrows (pls. 20, *bottom, left;* 21, *left* and *center*), and their mythology indicates aboriginal use of the spear thrower for hunting monkeys. Recently, they have used a spear thrower of the upper Xingú River type for sport.

323 **Pottery.**—Pottery vessels include several forms of plain ware (fig. 20).

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

611 The kinship structure may be described as double descent. Both lines are important, the greater emphasis falling on the mother's line, and both lines serve different functions. Village citizenship, adoption, and the closest affectional ties are reckoned in the mother's line. Moiety membership and the offices of chief, priest, and food-divider are patrilineally inherited.

621 622 The fundamental unit of social organization is the village. Every village has one or more ioló, children of chiefly line, designated by the chief for preferential treatment by the members of the village. The chief names the ioló who is to succeed him or, if he fails to do so, the village makes the choice at his death. Girls of chiefly line are similarly chosen for preferential treatment; each of them is known as the "hidden woman." There is some indication that women functioned as chiefs in former times, but today there is no woman chief. The chief has no coercive powers but directs the village by recognizing the will of the majority in such matters as the selection of camp and garden sites and the announcement of a move at change of season. His principal function is to act as peacemaker, and people readily submit to his adjudication. Because of the importance of religious ceremonials, the priest and the shaman frequently exercise more authority than the chief. When all three offices are vested in a single individual, his authority may be considerable, but it is kept in check by the right of a discontented person to move at any time to another village.

59 Within the village the important unit is the household. Residence being matrilocal, a household consists of sisters, their husbands, children, and the husbands of grown daughters. Marriage is restricted to one's own generation, the preferred mate being a cousin on the mother's side. There is no sanction but ridicule against wrong marriages, and there are many cases of cross-generational marriage. Marriage is predominantly monogamous, but a few instances of polygyny and one of polyandry were encountered. The avunculate is very important and involves many social and especially ceremonial duties. Cooperation in the household is close and in the village fairly close. In addition, villages are grouped together in ceremonial units, generally consisting of three or four neighboring villages, which celebrate important feasts jointly. This ceremonial unit acts as an insurance group when a village's crop fails or its fish supplies grow scarce. Beyond this, the only intervillage ties

/38 cont./

535 of abstraction (1). Insofar as these animal spirits are supposed to
532
776
825

1. Im Thurn, op. cit., p. 370.

be influenced in a way favorable to human beings, the first trace of a cult appears in these dances.

535 If one asks the Indians themselves why they keep the secret
532 from the women, they answer without exception that the women
562 are not permitted to see everything, they talk too much.

The need to maintain the authority of the men over the women appears wherever such mysterious festivals are current. The same thing is known from Greek and Oriental antiquity. It is possible that in this effort, which may often appear to the civilized man as a brutal tyranny over the weaker sex, one of the most ancient "folk ideas" belonging to all mankind finds its expression.

The whizzing stick does not seem to be in use among the Karaya; at least nothing could be learned about it.

Legends and Folklore

126 In the last days of our stay in S. Maria old Pedro Manco
[115] dictated a number of legends, which, given the paucity of
[773] such materials from South America and despite their simplicity and poverty of ideas, as well as the in part garbled form, nevertheless command some interest. Unfortunately because of the lack of time, they could not be written down in the original language, and in particular working out an interlinear translation met insuperable difficulties.

773 Whether these traditions have remained completely free of
177 foreign influence can be decided with certainty only when someone is successful in drawing on other informants as a check. The chances, to be sure, are very slight. For the present nothing opposes the presumption that we are actually dealing here with genuine products of the Indian folk-spirit.

773 These myths differ neither in form nor in content from those otherwise from America. The very saga which is most

/38 cont./

[173] easily suggested to the Indians by missionaries, that of the great flood, shows no connection to the Christian story in the version given here.

[171] Analogies, moreover, are found with myths from Guiana, North America, and especially Polynesia.

Legends I-VI seem to be fragments of an old tribal saga.

Not all are complete. In the case of some the conclusion is missing, or perhaps, for our understanding at least, the point.

[172] /39/ Everywhere the genuinely Indian idea of the equality of the human and the animal worlds stands out clearly. The animal here seems to differ from man only in external appearance; for this reason both change their form continually. As a rule the narrator in the course of his presentation, whenever a new animal was introduced in the action, expressly added the remark that it was actually also a Karaya.

I.

Kabõi.

539 Kabõi, the ancestor of the Karaya, lived with his people in the underworld. The sun shone there when it was night on earth and vice versa. The cry of the camp bird seriema (Dicholophus cristatus) once penetrated that far, and Kabõi decided to follow the sound, accompanied by several people. Thus he reached a hole which led to the surface of the earth. But only his people could get through, whereas he himself, on account of his overly large size, remained stuck in it and could only look out of the opening with his head. The Karaya roamed through the area and found many fruits, bacury /Platonia insignis/, piqui, fruta do veado, and furthermore bees and wild honey, but also saw many a dead tree and dry wood. All this they brought to the place where Kabõi waited for them and showed what they had found. To be sure, the land is beautiful and fruitful, said the latter, but this rotten wood proves that whatever lives here must soon die. Therefore it is better that we remain where we are.

/344 cont./

191 general, they pronounce Brazilian words badly; they seldom succeed in pronouncing f correctly, usually they say p for it (pǎcõ for facão, žīprě for chifre, pǎrīnǎ for farinha, pǎsēr for facer).

126 For the list of words and texts recorded by me, along with the translations, see the appendix I and II /untranslated; see the foreign text, pp. 415-482/.

18. Myths.

773 126 115 Myths were told me by two persons: Chief Cadete Chico of Schischá told me the creation myth; I obtained a second version of this, as well as all the rest, from Kurišī. Usually he told them the most vividly and in the greatest detail the first time, and considerably more simply in repetitions. Some features had to be verified by much questioning, if they were overlooked in the first notation. When questioned, Kurišī said that he was telling the myths as his mother had told them to him. According to this, the myth seems to be handed down through the mother among the Karajá. To me it was surprising that he professed not to know any of the myths reported by Ehrenreich /345/ ("Beiträge," pp. 39-44), with the exception of the howling monkey myth. Apparently they were truly unfamiliar to him. This is all the more surprising since he is the grandson of Pedro Manco, Ehrenreich's informant, and thus should have known about the store of myths preserved in this family.

773 [619] [825] [821] The Karajá regard the Furo das Pedras as their original home. There the ancient Karajá lived under water. They regard the Šavajé and Šambioá as their tribal kinsmen. Animals are regarded as beings like human beings, so that transformations of human beings into animals and the reverse play an important role. They think of the stars as inhabited by creatures who temporarily came to the earth and there came into contact with human beings.

7:Lipkind E-5 (1938-1939) 1940
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CARAJÁ COSMOGRAPHY

By William Lipkind

The Carajá are an isolated people inhabiting a large territory slightly north of the geographical center of Brazil. During 1938 and 1939 I lived with the Carajá and collected a large body of textual material which forms the basis of the generalized presentation of Carajá world-view which follows.[1]

The Carajá universe is very small. Their own territory (Bananal), an island formed by a large fork of the Araguaya river is its center. To the west the great Chavante plateau stretches out to the huge river in which the sun goes down. All night the sun moves through the underworld and in the morning he comes up out of another river which is the eastern boundary of the world. If you paddle many days downriver, you will come to a village of the transformer Kanashiwe, the world's northern limit. An equal journey upstream will take you to its southern limit, another village of Kanashiwe.

The Carajá are perfectly acquainted with the middle portion of this parallelogram. Every beach, high bank, wood and lake along the Araguaya, every body of water and distinctive patch of ground within Bananal, is known and has a name. The tributaries are known in less detail and only up to a few days' journey from their mouths. Inland from the rivers their knowledge peters out after a short distance and you are soon in mythical country.

To the Carajá this world seems very large. The journey to its northern and southern limits is the initiation journey of the dead. No man since legendary times has gone very far toward the eastern and western boundaries, and, besides, there are two other dimensions, the underworld and the sky.

In the underworld, the original home of the Carajá, there was neither sickness nor death. As the emergence myth states, "More people kept being born. Nobody died. There wasn't room enough. When a man got old, he sat there in one place without moving. Kaboi couldn't add any more houses to the village. It was full. A new father was lying on the mat. It was time to eat honey. He went off hunting honey. While he was hunting he heard a *seriema* (Portuguese name of a bird) sing. He scooped a hole toward it and came out. He found fruit at once and decided to return. When he got back he gave his folk the fruit to taste. They found it very good and wanted to come out. They invited the others to come with them. Wobedu sent his folk out first and he went first among them. Kaboi came

[1] The work was financed by Columbia University.

7:Lipkind E-5 (1938-1939) 1940
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among the last. He got stuck in the hole. His belly was too big. He decided 772
to go back. It was a dead leaf that he spied. He spoke to his wife, 'Let's go 773
back. There is death there.' They went back again. Those that had come out were very happy. They were all happy. Then one of them climbed a tree. It was a child that climbed. He fell and died. They all mourned. Suddenly they got cheerful again. For this reason they were angry, his mother and father. His brother and sister, married to each other, were angry. For this reason there was keening. They say that there in the depths of the water there was no death."

In addition to being the original home of the Carajá, the underworld is 772
also the home of the dead. Those who die a quiet death and are properly 775
buried live there much in the same fashion as they lived on earth. But they are always a bit crazed and dangerous to the living. They must be placated [772] by offerings and ceremonial observances. Otherwise they assume the form [825] of poisonous snakes and bite those who neglect them. Those who die a 766
violent death, who are clubbed or torn by beasts, become violent unappeasable ghosts. They are buried in the woods without arms or fire, in a posi- 772
tion contrary to the traditional position in order to disorient them. A 775
woman's girdle is tied about their eyes to blind them. Their desire is to kill, and especially to kill their closest kin. Their afterlife is extremely unpleasant. They wander about in a perpetual rage and feed on little birds which they eat raw.

The other dimension of the Carajá universe is the sky. Only the south- 772
eastern quadrant of the sky interests the Carajá. The rest is uninhabited 756
forest. Starting at the Southern Cross virtually every star and constella- 776
tion visible in the east is a named supernatural. The Milky Way is the 821
shaman's road. When the shaman falls into his trance he goes up the shaman's road into one of the villages of the sky supernaturals. There he receives his power and knowledge and, if he has not eaten or drunk, there- [754] after is a curer. If he has, he becomes a sorcerer and killer. The good shaman after his death goes to live in the sky. He squats up there in the [775] heat of the sun with his inexhaustible pot of food and gourd of water in front of him and his shamanistic rattle in his hand, held up to shade his eyes from the glare of the sun. At night he dances with the supernaturals. This is considered the happiest afterlife.

The earth and underworld are also inhabited by supernaturals. Every 772
pool, every deep spot in the river, every bit of forest or savannah, has its 776
supernatural owners. These are of two kinds. Many are amiable and beau- 823
tiful beings who have friendly relations with humans. They are invited [535] to feasts and impersonated in the masked dances. The others are ugly and dangerous monsters who cannot be placated. Their woods are avoided and nobody fishes in their pools.

The sorcerer has a wide variety of techniques at his disposal. He may 754

7:Lipkind E-5 (1938-1939) 1940
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request a ghost to do his killing. In this case the ghost takes the form of a wild beast, usually a leopard. He may request a supernatural either to enter the body of his victim, or to turn loose on the victim his subject animals, particularly the alligator and piranha. The curing shaman sucks out the intrusive supernatural or persuades the ghosts or supernaturals to withhold their attack.

The dichotomy of ghosts and supernaturals is quite clear in Carajá religion. Ghosts are placated by calendrical feasts, run by a hereditary priest. Supernaturals are invited to the masked dances by a shaman who takes complete charge of this cult. There is little relationship between the two cults. There is a momentary appearance of masks during the Big-house Feast of the ghost cult, and an occasional offering to ancestors during the mask cult ceremonies.

What is of special interest is that there are many maleficent supernaturals who cannot be approached at all. There is no technique for handling them except keeping out of their way. The violent ghosts really fall in the same category as far as their relation to humans is concerned. And yet they are chiefly the best men of the Carajá who have fallen in battle against their enemies. In this curious bit of fantasy there seems to be a projection of the fear and aggression which are overtly present in the social life.

In recent years a few Carajá have been able to visit Rio and Belém. They have brought back a somewhat different picture of the extent of the world, a picture with which many Carajá are now familiar. It never intrudes into Carajá life. It is reserved solely for discourse with outsiders. No contradiction is felt because the two conceptions are never brought into the same universe of discourse. I was not able to detect any signs of skepticism. The Carajá is perfectly sure that he has a clear view of the true character of the world. The peculiar beliefs of outsiders are in keeping with their quaint behavior and lack of good breeding. A Carajá will not dispute about such things. He listens to the opinions of others with courtesy and curiosity but cannot be induced to take them seriously. It is much easier to pretend to agree. If you are a missionary, you will give him presents. Later he may have the additional pleasure of expounding your fantastic ideas to his fellows.

Two factors seem to me to contribute largely to the maintainance of this attitude. In the first place, the old way of life is still intact. When a man is able to find full occupation and joy in his activities, it is difficult to get him to doubt the premises on which they are founded. Secondly, every important feature of life is validated by mythical tales which are the Carajá history. The emergence myth, given above in its simplest and shortest variant, is one of many. I can do no more than mention some of the most important here. The full form of the emergence myth gives the names of all the ancestors who emerged and the precise social divisions which they

7:Lipkind E-5 (1938-1939) 1940
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began. There are numerous tales of the transformer, recounting how every beast got his present form. There are accounts explaining the origin of other peoples. There is a myth validating the men's cult. Others explain the origin of the staples of life, manioc and corn. There is a myth accounting for the behavior of the sun and the moon. This body of history lends depth to the Carajá picture of the world. He feels that he knows more clearly how things are disposed because he knows where they came from or, at least, how they were arranged at an earlier time.

In conclusion, I should like to mention another curious point. The Carajá, who, after hundreds of years of contact with white culture and nearly a century of close contact, cling so resolutely to their beliefs, are not a bit fussy about details. The stories are told differently by almost every teller. The amount of variation in important details is enormous. A single example must suffice here. I heard two versions of the emergence myth quite different from the brief one given above. In one a woman detected the presence of death in the upper world and in her resentment at not being listened to shut the hole to the underworld, thus locking the others out when they tried to return. In the other Kaboi did not let them back again because he feared they might bring death in with them. A Carajá who travelled with me from village to village heard all sorts of variants of this kind and accepted them all with almost equal confidence. It was not that he did not see the discrepancies. They did not matter to him. A similar laxity is found in all Carajá religious observances. The pattern of a ceremony is more or less definite but every performance varies greatly. Such flexibility would seem to invite the penetration of foreign matter and yet I can detect the presence of little that may be considered borrowing from white culture. It will be of interest to compare the beliefs of the Carajá with those of other Brazilian tribes with whom they may be supposed to have had fairly recent contacts.

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/33 cont./

789 with incredible volubility, and finally made thrusts with grim
791 gestures in the four directions, shouting: bobuto! disperse! It is therefore exactly the same procedure that Boas observed among the Central Eskimos (2). If the rain comes down in spite of this,

2. Petermann's Mitth., 1887, p. 309.

the conjurer chews up a root and spits the pieces into the air, naturally only when the storm is nearing its end.

754 If the sorcerer wishes to harm an absent person, he uses a small bow (šibate) to shoot an arrow with two snake teeth at the tip in the direction where he suspects that his victim is. The latter is then overcome by an incurable sickness.

Animism. Masked Dances.

791 Although so few details about the religious beliefs of the Karaya are known, it can already be determined that the animistic world-view, as the lowest form of religious life, manifests itself among them in exactly the same way as among other better studied South American tribes.

For them, too, the phenomena of half-life in sleep, the extinguishing of all vital activity in death, and dreams and visions are proof of the presence of a spirit world separate from the material substratum, in which every individual, human as well as animal, who, according to Indian belief, differ from each other only in their physical form, has its immaterial phantom.

754 They know from experience that in dreams the spirit leaves
828 the body of the sleeper to wander about and to meet other persons or
[794] spirits; they know further, even if it is only through suggestive influencing, that the witch doctors, gifted with higher powers, can at will put themselves in a sleeping state, in which their souls fathom secret matters, enter into animals in order to frighten and to injure enemies as "werewolves," and, in short, do all those things by means of which shamanism everywhere knows how to secure its influence in uniformly recurring fashion.

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
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[757] [413] [237] comb with very long, sharp teeth. With this barbarous tool, the primitive surgeon rakes and tears the back of the patient, who holds himself immovable by firmly grasping a post or tree. The blood is caught and removed on palm-leaves. When sufficient blood has been drawn, sand, and finally pepper, is rubbed into the wounds. Even when a Karayá is not sick, he submits to this very painful operation, believing that it will be beneficial to his health. The bleeding of persons on the back is practiced by low-class civilized Brazilians.

[771] Not much is known concerning the religious belief of the Karayá. But it is fully established that they entertain an animistic conception of the world, which is the lowest form of religious belief and practice; and it expresses itself with them in the same way that it does with the better known South [811] American tribes. Their observation hourly suggests to them the idea that every effect has an intelligent cause; for, whenever they are able to trace an effect to its cause, as, for instance, in the doings of men and animals, that cause appears to be psychical rather than material; an intangible, incomprehensible something that we call Mind. Therefore, they firmly believe that Minds, intelligence, or invisible, immaterial Personalities, dwell, as an Ego, or as Genii, in every material object, animate or inanimate, such as animals, trees and mountains, and direct all the operations of Nature; and that brutes are differentiated from men only by their bodily form, every creature being alike a duality—having a psychical as well as a physical Self. Moreover, the phenomena of the half- [772] life in sleep, together with dreams and visions, and the cessation of all vital activities at death, furnish to their minds clear and positive proofs of the existence of a spirit world that pervades, or lies beyond the world comprehended by the senses. They believe that in sleep and dreams, the Ego, or [774] Shade, or second Self, steals away from the body of the sleeper to roam about and to associate with other shadowy person- [754] alities or spirits. They are convinced, furthermore, that their priests, or conjurers, are endowed with some supernatural, or mysterious powers which enable them to put themselves

1:Lipkind E-5 (1937) 1948 SP9 Caraja SP9

775 **Death.**—At death, the soul becomes a wild ghost if the person has been violently killed and a regular resident of the village of the dead if he has suffered a quiet death. A shaman's soul is translated to the skies. Mourning puts an end to all religious ceremonies and is celebrated by self-laceration, the destruction of property, and daily keening. There 764 is separate burial in formal cemeteries for those who died quietly and [766] those who died violently. The corpse is wrapped in a mat with his weapons and ornaments, and the mat is hung in a shallow grave covered [765] by poles (fig. 22). Food and drink are provided for a short period. After the next change of season, the bones are exhumed and placed in a family urn.

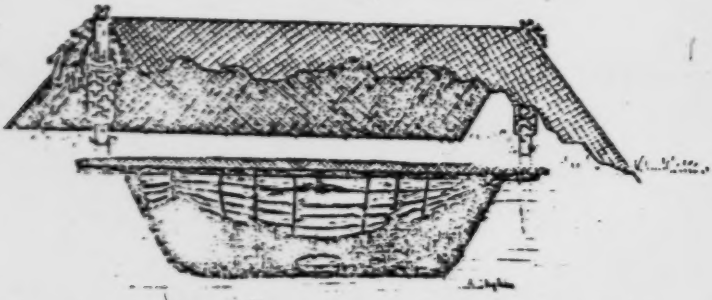

FIGURE 22.—*Carajá* burial. (Redrawn from Ehrenreich, 1891 b, fig. 16)

WARFARE

726 The *Carajá* are good fighters and have maintained themselves since prehistoric times in a territory surrounded on all sides by warlike enemies. Their usual tactics are waiting outside an enemy village at night and attacking at dawn. In defense, they run to the nearest water, where they [411] are unbeatable. They use the bow and arrow and club, and are skilled [526] wrestlers. They cut off a foot bone of a dead enemy and carry it back [727] to their village; this places them in control of the ghost, who now be- [775] comes a caretaker of the village and is impersonated in a special dry-season ceremony. At one such ceremony there were two *Tapirapé* ghosts, [648] three *Chavante*, one *Cayapó*, and one Neo-Brazilian. Present-day war- [727] fare is largely with the *Chavante*, the *Cayapó*, and the *Canoeiro*. Now and then a Neo-Brazilian may be killed by stealth to avenge a personal grievance. No captives are taken except women and small children, who are treated as full members of the group.

ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

531 **Art.**—Decorative art is confined to woven designs on baskets and mats, feather ornaments, elaborate masks with superimposed feather designs,

/31 cont./

764 The external equipment of the grave is evidently supposed to represent a house. Two poles (itãõ) 1 1/3 meters [776] high and decorated on the short, forked tip with bundles of feathers hanging down, are planted at the head and foot ends of the grave in order to keep away the "animals," that is, in any case the demons (the kenaima of Guiana). The drum-like thickness in the middle part of the pole bears the family mark of the deceased, engraved or indicated by feather

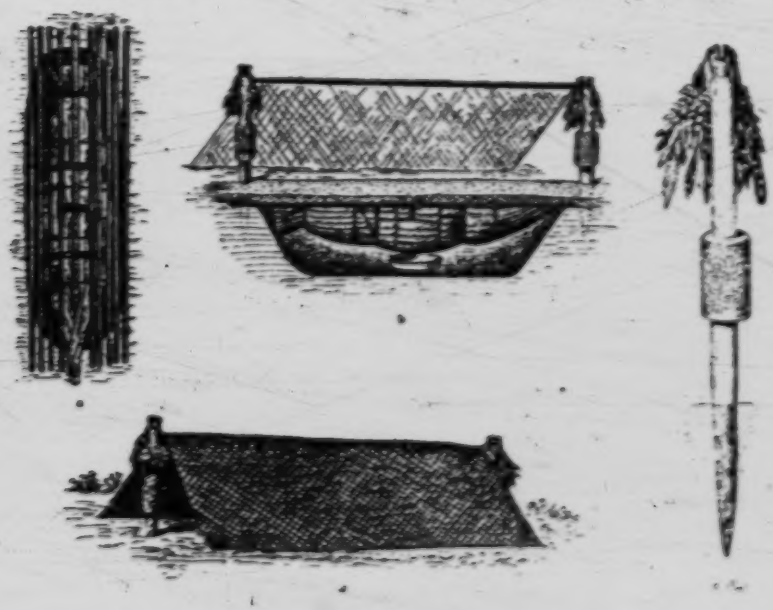

Fig. 16. Grave equipment.

[532] mosaic. One of the specimens available (c) shows the cross-decoration of the lizard (hãdauã). The feather pattern of both the others is unfortunately unrecognizable.

Both poles are connected with a cord, over which two [775] buriti mats are spread like a roof (d). /32/ Under this tent is put a gourd with food and drink for the soul, which after the burial stays for a while in the vicinity of the grave.

/34/

●775 The souls of the dead, which, as mentioned above, are thought of as remaining for a while in the vicinity of the grave, later like to return to their former home. They appear to their relatives especially on stormy nights. When the rain streams [787] down and lightning brightens the darkness, the old people remember their dead relatives and attempt by loud lamentations and singing to put themselves in a state of artificial ecstasy, which finally conjures up in their aroused imaginations any desired phantom.

771 The animistic "religion," if one wishes to call it this, still lacks any ethical basis. It has not elevated itself to the acceptance of a higher, omnipotent spirit upon which man feels dependent in the expectation of punishment and reward for his actions. Thus there is also lacking anything which would indicate the external relationships of man to the godhead, idols, cult performances, prayers, etc. There are among them, however, those ceremonies from which apparently the higher cult forms have come everywhere in the world, the mysterious

535 121 Masked dances. The important role which such masked dances play among the North American tribes is known everywhere. Until now remarkably little was known about the analogous customs on the southern continent. Only the dances of the Tekuna, Juri, and Uaupé tribes are mentioned in passing in the literature. The "temples" and "idols" which the oldest missionary reports mention are obviously nothing other than the "medicine huts" or "flute houses" with the fantastic mask costumes stored in them.

Only recently has the wealth of mask material brought back by the two Xingu expeditions again directed attention to these festive dances which are so important for an understanding of Indian life. Observations made later among the Karaya supplied a desirable supplement to this.

Their masked dances are of quite special interest ethnologically on account of the remarkable analogies which they exhibit in the form of the masks, as well as in other festive customs, with those of Melanesia. This correspondence goes into such

/332 cont./
535 Araguaia (Central Brazil)/" (2).
796
[113]

2. Jahrbuch des städtischen Museums für Völkerkunde zu Leipzig, Vol. 3, Leipzig, 1910, pp. 97-122.

346 I should like only to make a few remarks here about the
532 mask huts. Castelnau mentions and illustrates (Vue et scènes, Paris, 1853, Plate 8 and text page 7) in the first Sambioá village an almost semicircular, vertical palm-leaf wall, the convex side of which is turned toward the village. In the open space stand about ten dance masks. Beside this there is a framework of poles which consists of several oblique poles stuck in a circle, from the center of which projects a long pole bearing a bunch of leaves at the end. These two structures are shown somewhat larger on page 9. In front of the palm-leaf wall are two dancers who have placed the masks on their heads. The way they are portrayed (the absence of the leaf-aprons and the way they are leaping about) proves that Castelnau was not present at the dances. Ehrenreich also reports on such semicircular compartments for masks, and, to be sure, also among the Karajá ("Beiträge," p. 34). I never saw such compartments, but only the house-like mask huts described by me.

775 About the world beyond, the Karajá were unable to give me any information. Allegedly the deceased go to the heavens.

787 Dreams, which are said to be very frequent, are regarded as reality. For example: "If someone dreams that a relative of his has died, he gets into his boat and rides there, in order to see whether it is true." (Kurisĭ.)

789 Magic (lŏbūnĭ) of all kinds is very widespread; even enlightened Karajá still firmly believe in its effect. It is believed that through /333/ manipulations natural events (rain) can be influenced or that other people can be harmed through magic.

Rain magic is very common; everyone can use it, everyone has the apparatus necessary for it. I obtained several of these:

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
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rests on top of the ground. Beneath the corpse, which swings eight or ten inches above the bottom of the grave, is placed a clay pan filled with food for the shade of the departed. Next, a number of poles are placed beside the first one supporting the body so that they cover completely the mouth of the grave; and over these, in turn, is placed a palm-leaf mat, upon which is heaped about ten inches of earth. The grave is further marked and decorated by setting up at the head and foot two stakes some three feet high, each terminating in a fork at the upper end, and embellished with a tassel of feathers, besides other adornments. These decorations are for the purpose of frightening away trespassing demons or ghosts. At the center of each post is a ring on which is carved the insignia or emblem of the family of the deceased, which, for example, may be a lizard. A strong cord is stretched between the stakes resting in the forked tops, over which, with the outer edges touching the ground, are placed two palm-leaf mats to form a miniature hut over the grave. This is intended as the domicile of the deceased. Calabash shell vessels containing food and drink for the soul, are placed upon the grave inside this mortuary hut, for the disconsolate shade is believed to linger near its discarded body for a time. Later, if the surviving relatives demand it, the bones are exhumed and deposited in a large clay urn, which is either sunk into the ground near the grave, or allowed to stand upon the surface of the ground.

The memory of the departed is cherished. Even long after the death of an individual, the surviving relatives give expression to their grief by loud and stormy outbreaks of feeling when any occurrence revives the memory of him. The occasion may be the arrival at the village of some one who was a near relative or an intimate friend of the departed, whose appearance recalls the memory of him; or it may be the revealing of some memento of the deceased. Dr. Ehrenreich says that when he was looking through the baskets in one of the huts for curios, he brought to light some memorials of deceased parents or children. Instantly, the women in the hut—

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

at will into a trance or semi-death, in which state their souls, 771
or doubles, explore the occult, or what is hidden from men 754
in a normal state. They also believe that these conjurers can transform themselves at pleasure into animals—into the form of a witch-wolf, for example, in order to terrify, injure and domineer over men; and, in brief, can do all things whereby shamanism—primitive priestcraft—secures and maintains its influence over the tribe. They have no images or idols, nor 771
even fetiches, for the reason that they have not yet advanced to this more complex belief, if advancement it may be called.

The ghosts or spirits of the dead, which, as previously stated, 775
are believed to tarry for a time in the vicinity of the graves where hang the bodies they were forced to abandon because they had fallen so into disrepair, take delight, in after time, in returning to haunt the places of their habitation during the days of their flesh; moreover, it is believed that they appear to their relatives, especially on wild and stormy nights: When the darkness is inky black, illumined only by the ceaseless play of the terrifying lightnings, and the thunders crash and boom as if the unseen Powers were engaged in mighty conflict, while the winds moan and shriek in the forest, then the old folk think of their dear departed; and by loud lamentations and wailings, put themselves into a state of ecstacy whereby their inflamed imagination creates every wished-for phantasm.

This animistic religion is without any ethical foundation. 771
It has not in this stage attained to a conception of a higher or ruling Spirit upon whom man feels himself dependent for rewards and punishments for his deeds; and as just stated, lacks everything which connects man externally with divinity, such as images, the paraphernalia of worship, ritual, and the like. But we find among the Karayá those ceremonials from 796
which apparently everywhere throughout the world the higher and more elaborate forms of worship have come, that is, the mystery rites.

Mask dances occupy an important place in Karayá life. 535
The prominent rôle which these masquerades play among [571]

7:Lipkind E-5 (1938-1939) 1940
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among the last. He got stuck in the hole. His belly was too big. He decided to go back. It was a dead leaf that he spied. He spoke to his wife, 'Let's go back. There is death there.' They went back again. Those that had come out were very happy. They were all happy. Then one of them climbed a tree. It was a child that climbed. He fell and died. They all mourned. Suddenly they got cheerful again. For this reason they were angry, his mother and father. His brother and sister, married to each other, were angry. For this reason there was keening. They say that there in the depths of the water there was no death."

In addition to being the original home of the Carajá, the underworld is also the home of the dead. Those who die a quiet death and are properly buried live there much in the same fashion as they lived on earth. But they are always a bit crazed and dangerous to the living. They must be placated by offerings and ceremonial observances. Otherwise they assume the form of poisonous snakes and bite those who neglect them. Those who die a violent death, who are clubbed or torn by beasts, become violent unappeasable ghosts. They are buried in the woods without arms or fire, in a position contrary to the traditional position in order to disorient them. A woman's girdle is tied about their eyes to blind them. Their desire is to kill, and especially to kill their closest kin. Their afterlife is extremely unpleasant. They wander about in a perpetual rage and feed on little birds which they eat raw.

The other dimension of the Carajá universe is the sky. Only the southeastern quadrant of the sky interests the Carajá. The rest is uninhabited forest. Starting at the Southern Cross virtually every star and constellation visible in the east is a named supernatural. The Milky Way is the shaman's road. When the shaman falls into his trance he goes up the shaman's road into one of the villages of the sky supernaturals. There he receives his power and knowledge and, if he has not eaten or drunk, thereafter is a curer. If he has, he becomes a sorcerer and killer. The good shaman after his death goes to live in the sky. He squats up there in the heat of the sun with his inexhaustible pot of food and gourd of water in front of him and his shamanistic rattle in his hand, held up to shade his eyes from the glare of the sun. At night he dances with the supernaturals. This is considered the happiest afterlife.

The earth and underworld are also inhabited by supernaturals. Every pool, every deep spot in the river, every bit of forest or savannah, has its supernatural owners. These are of two kinds. Many are amiable and beautiful beings who have friendly relations with humans. They are invited to feasts and impersonated in the masked dances. The others are ugly and dangerous monsters who cannot be placated. Their woods are avoided and nobody fishes in their pools.

The sorcerer has a wide variety of techniques at his disposal. He may

7:Lipkind E-5 (1938-1939) 1940
SP9 Caraja SP9

754 request a ghost to do his killing. In this case the ghost takes the form of a wild beast, usually a leopard. He may request a supernatural either to enter the body of his victim, or to turn loose on the victim his subject animals, 756 particularly the alligator and piranha. The curing shaman sucks out the intrusive supernatural or persuades the ghosts or supernaturals to withhold their attack.

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772 attitude. In the first place, the old way of life is still intact. When a man is
773 able to find full occupation and joy in his activities, it is difficult to get him to doubt the premises on which they are founded. Secondly, every important feature of life is validated by mythical tales which are the Carajá history. The emergence myth, given above in its simplest and shortest variant, is one of many. I can do no more than mention some of the most important here. The full form of the emergence myth gives the names of all the ancestors who emerged and the precise social divisions which they

7:Lipkind E-5 (1938-1939) 1940
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CARAJÁ COSMOGRAPHY

By William Lipkind

The Carajá are an isolated people inhabiting a large territory slightly north of the geographical center of Brazil. During 1938 and 1939 I lived with the Carajá and collected a large body of textual material which forms the basis of the generalized presentation of Carajá world-view which follows.[1]

The Carajá universe is very small. Their own territory (Bananal), an island formed by a large fork of the Araguaya river is its center. To the west the great Chavante plateau stretches out to the huge river in which the sun goes down. All night the sun moves through the underworld and in the morning he comes up out of another river which is the eastern boundary of the world. If you paddle many days downriver, you will come to a village of the transformer Kanashiwe, the world's northern limit. An equal journey upstream will take you to its southern limit, another village of Kanashiwe.

The Carajá are perfectly acquainted with the middle portion of this parallelogram. Every beach, high bank, wood and lake along the Araguaya, every body of water and distinctive patch of ground within Bananal, is known and has a name. The tributaries are known in less detail and only up to a few days' journey from their mouths. Inland from the rivers their knowledge peters out after a short distance and you are soon in mythical country.

To the Carajá this world seems very large. The journey to its northern and southern limits is the initiation journey of the dead. No man since legendary times has gone very far toward the eastern and western boundaries, and, besides, there are two other dimensions, the underworld and the sky.

In the underworld, the original home of the Carajá, there was neither sickness nor death. As the emergence myth states, "More people kept being born. Nobody died. There wasn't room enough. When a man got old, he sat there in one place without moving. Kaboi couldn't add any more houses to the village. It was full. A new father was lying on the mat. It was time to eat honey. He went off hunting honey. While he was hunting he heard a *seriema* (Portuguese name of a bird) sing. He scooped a hole toward it and came out. He found fruit at once and decided to return. When he got back he gave his folk the fruit to taste. They found it very good and wanted to come out. They invited the others to come with them. Wobedu sent his folk out first and he went first among them. Kaboi came

[1] The work was financed by Columbia University.

/31 cont./

764 The external equipment of the grave is evidently supposed to represent a house. Two poles (itäð) 1 1/3 meters
[776] high and decorated on the short, forked tip with bundles of feathers hanging down, are planted at the head and foot ends of the grave in order to keep away the "animals," that is, in any case the demons (the kenaima of Guiana). The drum-like thickness in the middle part of the pole bears the family mark of the deceased, engraved or indicated by feather

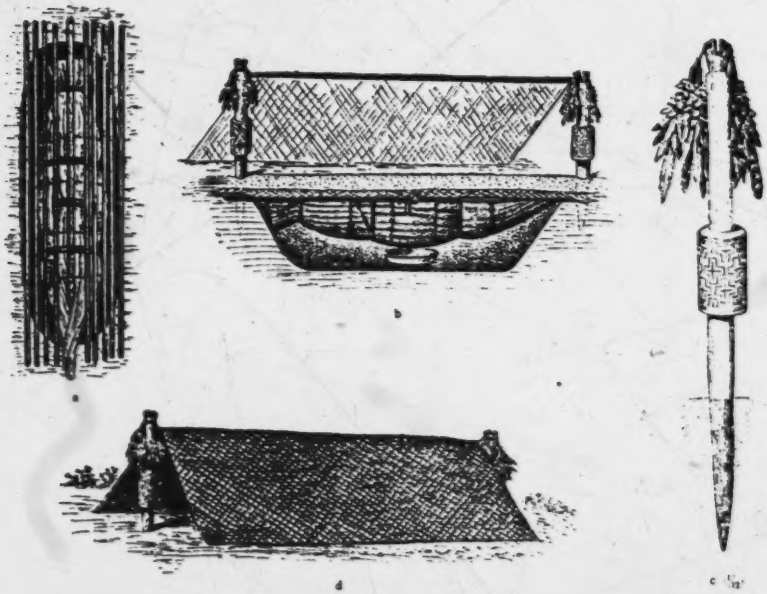

Fig. 16. Grave equipment.

[532] mosaic. One of the specimens available (c) shows the cross-decoration of the lizard (hädauä). The feather pattern of both the others is unfortunately unrecognizable.

Both poles are connected with a cord, over which two
[775] buriti mats are spread like a roof (d). /32/ Under this tent is put a gourd with food and drink for the soul, which after the burial stays for a while in the vicinity of the grave.

/36 cont./

535 On both, the back side is decorated with a double row of
532 short green and blue parrot feathers placed in the long direction.
825 3. The mask of a black bird (tirehäñ) has no animal emblem. It is a human face made of a large gourd, the lower third painted black, the rest red. The mouth is equipped with wax lips and wooden teeth. The nose of black wax is located between the narrow eye slits at an unnatural height. A hanging of black and /37/ brown feathers falls from the back, while at the front and on the sides long strips of buriti bast cover the body of the wearer (Pl. X /see p. 112/, 3).

The number of masks is in no way exhausted with these.
[184] Each village has its special ones and many a "medicine hut" was actually crammed full of the different types.

Besides those mentioned the following were noted as particularly common among the Karayahi:

The fish: pintado (Pimelodus sorubim), trem-trem (Gymnotus electricus), chicote, piau, and pirarucú (Sudis gigas); the birds: tuyuyu (Mycteria jabiru), japuíra (Cacicus sp.) mutum (Crax), jacu (Penelope); finally deer and crabs.

520 Masked festivals. If there is much food on hand after pro-
535 ductive hunting and fishing expeditions, the chief decides to hold a dance festival, which continues as long as the provisions last. The preparations begin several days before the date set. The women attend to the food and drink, the men set to work at making the dance costumes, unless they are still occupied with hunting.
[533] Each dance is known only to certain persons. The songs sung in
[198] connection with them, which are handed down from father to son, are allegedly performed in an ancient language incomprehensible to the masses.

[825] Each animal represented has its characteristic sound, which
[533] is repeated again and again in the songs. Thus, the pacu cries: heiyoñ he, heiyoñ he, the alligator hu — hu — hu.

[562] The women and children watch the dance, to be sure, but
[532] may not look at the masks by themselves, without their wearers,
[196] since they are made to believe that the "animal spirits" concerned are really present before them. Only the oldest women are sometimes told the secret.

/37 cont./

535 That such barbaric customs prevailed, at least formerly,
532 is all the less to be doubted, since analogies can be shown in
562 other regions of the world. Today, however, the matter does
688 not seem to be handled as strictly. It is said that among the
178 neighboring Tapirapé all the women once saw the masks by chance, so there was nothing else to do but to pardon them all and give up the secret.

According to a statement of Pedro Manco, the custom has fallen into disuse among the Šambioa, too. Nevertheless, they did not permit us simply to take the masks found in the forest along with us, because women /38/ were presumed to be in the area. Rather our men had to put on special clothing for the purpose of bringing them to our camp.

Whether these customs have now become milder or not, in any case the respect the women have for the masks and their mysterious storage place is quite great.

535 After the end of the festival the masks are thrown away or
532 burned. In any case the feathers used for them are saved.

It is unlikely that we shall ever fully understand the real meaning of these dances. It is even doubtful whether the Indians themselves are fully aware of it. On the basis of analogies among better known peoples, a few conjectures about it can at least be made.

535 It is certain that the mask represents the spirit of the ani-
532 mal portrayed. The animals themselves are either game animals
● 776 or those that play a certain role in the national legend, such as
825 the stork, the alligator, and the Gymnotus. In North America
[191] there are bear dances, buffalo dances, etc., in order to persuade the bear and buffalo spirit to make these animals appear in larger numbers, whereas other dances refer to animals which are regarded as original ancestors or have other mythological significance. Similar notions may also be the basis for the masked dances of the Karaya. This would already be a step beyond the lowest form of animism, since the acceptance of a spirit representing all animals of a certain class presumes a certain amount

/38 cont./

535 of abstraction (1). Insofar as these animal spirits are supposed to
532
776
825

1. Im Thurn, op. cit., p. 370.

be influenced in a way favorable to human beings, the first trace of a cult appears in these dances.

535 If one asks the Indians themselves why they keep the secret
532 from the women, they answer without exception that the women
562 are not permitted to see everything, they talk too much.

The need to maintain the authority of the men over the women appears wherever such mysterious festivals are current. The same thing is known from Greek and Oriental antiquity. It is possible that in this effort, which may often appear to the civilized man as a brutal tyranny over the weaker sex, one of the most ancient "folk ideas" belonging to all mankind finds its expression.

The whizzing stick does not seem to be in use among the Karaya; at least nothing could be learned about it.

Legends and Folklore

126 In the last days of our stay in S. Maria old Pedro Manco
[115] dictated a number of legends, which, given the paucity of
[773] such materials from South America and despite their simplicity and poverty of ideas, as well as the in part garbled form, nevertheless command some interest. Unfortunately because of the lack of time, they could not be written down in the original language, and in particular working out an interlinear translation met insuperable difficulties.

773 Whether these traditions have remained completely free of
199 foreign influence can be decided with certainty only when someone is successful in drawing on other informants as a check. The chances, to be sure, are very slight. For the present nothing opposes the presumption that we are actually dealing here with genuine products of the Indian folk-spirit.

773 These myths differ neither in form nor in content from those otherwise from America. The very saga which is most

7:Lipkind E-5 (1938-1939) 1940
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In addition to being the original home of the Carajá, the underworld is also the home of the dead. Those who die a quiet death and are properly buried live there much in the same fashion as they lived on earth. But they are always a bit crazed and dangerous to the living. They must be placated by offerings and ceremonial observances. Otherwise they assume the form of poisonous snakes and bite those who neglect them. Those who die a violent death, who are clubbed or torn by beasts, become violent unappeasable ghosts. They are buried in the woods without arms or fire, in a position contrary to the traditional position in order to disorient them. A woman's girdle is tied about their eyes to blind them. Their desire is to kill, and especially to kill their closest kin. Their afterlife is extremely unpleasant. They wander about in a perpetual rage and feed on little birds which they eat raw. 772 775 [772 825] 766 772 775

The other dimension of the Carajá universe is the sky. Only the southeastern quadrant of the sky interests the Carajá. The rest is uninhabited forest. Starting at the Southern Cross virtually every star and constellation visible in the east is a named supernatural. The Milky Way is the shaman's road. When the shaman falls into his trance he goes up the shaman's road into one of the villages of the sky supernaturals. There he receives his power and knowledge and, if he has not eaten or drunk, thereafter is a curer. If he has, he becomes a sorcerer and killer. The good shaman after his death goes to live in the sky. He squats up there in the heat of the sun with his inexhaustible pot of food and gourd of water in front of him and his shamanistic rattle in his hand, held up to shade his eyes from the glare of the sun. At night he dances with the supernaturals. This is considered the happiest afterlife. 772 756 776 821 [754] [775]

The earth and underworld are also inhabited by supernaturals. Every pool, every deep spot in the river, every bit of forest or savannah, has its supernatural owners. These are of two kinds. Many are amiable and beautiful beings who have friendly relations with humans. They are invited to feasts and impersonated in the masked dances. The others are ugly and dangerous monsters who cannot be placated. Their woods are avoided and nobody fishes in their pools. 772 776 823 [535]

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8:Gow-Smith T-5 (no date)1925
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THE ARAWANA, OR FISH DANCE, OF THE CARAJA INDIANS OF MATTO GROSSO, BRAZIL

535 825 Of all the dances of the Caraja, the *Arawana* is the most important. It takes its name from a fish found in the tributaries of the Amazon, particularly the River Araguaya. This fish, the *arawana* [276] or *iraco*, is thought by the natives to be semi-human and is much venerated.

535 [533] The dance, a cross between a turkey-step and a foxtrot, accompanied by weird songs, is performed by two Indian men representing the male and the female fish. Both are dressed alike, except that there is hidden in the headgear of the male representative a cluster of threaded nuts from the palm tree, which rattle as the dancers move.

The dress consists of long slender palm-leaves hanging from the waist to the knees like a skirt. A similar kilt arrangement of leaves covers the body from neck to waist. The head-dress is made from palm-leaves closely braided together in the form of a hood, with coarse grass hanging loose at the bottom, obscuring the face. The upper part tapers almost to a point about two feet above the head and is overlaid with beautiful feather mosaics patterned to suggest the *arawana*. Two "horns" made of grass top the headdress. (Fig. 43.)

[Information concerning the huts where masked dance costumes are made and stored, and which are prohibited to women, will be found in category 346.]

/34 cont./

535 121 detail that Kleinschmidt's description of the duck-duck festival of New Britain would also fit mutatis mutandis the animal dances of the Karaya.

535 114 Castelnau, who first mentions them, obtained one of these masks with great difficulty (1), but it was later lost, along with

1. Castelnau, op. cit., p. 441.

all the other collections, in the cataracts of the Tocantins. The depiction of a dance given by him on Plate IX of his Vues et scenes /Views and Scenes/ (Paris, 1852) is incorrect inasmuch as the lower trunk and legs of the dancers are not uncovered, as the illustration shows, but are hidden under long buriti hangings. Also the height of the headdresses seems exaggerated.

Later Spinola (2) published something about them and also

2. Op. cit., p. 45.

obtained some mask costumes for the anthropological exhibition in Rio (1882), which, however, never reached their destination, but were lost in Goyaz.

126 535 532 [123] [178] That I was successful in luckily bringing home some of the most interesting masks I owe to the intervention of the chief Pedro Manco, without whose intercession the superstitious mistrust of his fellow tribesmen could hardly have been overcome. These sacred objects had already been unwisely profaned several times by travelers, in particular by Spinola himself. Contrary to expecta-

532 535 184 tion, the most beautiful specimens were found among the Karayahi, whose villages alone exhibit the above-described "medicine huts." Smaller camps had, instead of them, simple semicircular compartments, open at the top and back, as Castelnau depicts them, whereas the huts are completely absent among the Šambioa. Probably in this case they had already been torn down again after the conclusion of the festivities. The palm-straw costumes collected there lay thrown in a heap in the nearby forest and are for that reason somewhat defective.

/37 cont./

[531] The festival begins with a procession of the masks through
[535] the village. The participants dress in the nearby forest and approach with a loud han̓ hm han̓. Then everybody cries: nakunerare! There they come!

During the procession the masked men throw sticks of wood in all directions. After they have withdrawn, everything is readied for the feast and drinking bout, until after a few hours the dancers approach again and the dance begins. Like that of the duck-duck, it consists of an odd hopping. The dancer is not permitted to let himself be recognized in any way; he
[688] may neither speak nor cough or sneeze, and particularly not fall. Otherwise, as in the case of the duck-duck and the Northwest American hametz, he is killed immediately.

If he finds it necessary to cough, which in view of the stifling heat in his masquerade is not uncommon, of course, he jumps into the circle of men standing about, who cover up his voice by likewise coughing.

The dances take place in a certain sequence; it is the chief who decides which one is to be at the beginning.

[532] If a woman enters the secret hut out of curiosity or other-
[535] wise takes advantage of an opportunity to see the mask costumes,
[562] she is punished by death.
[688] Usually the other women then bring a petition to the chief. The latter lets mercy prevail if the guilty one promises silence and is willing to undertake a task of atonement, which usually consists of weaving a riio or making a large buriti mat. If she refuses or if the work is not satisfactory, a place in the forest is pointed out to her, and she must appear there at a certain
[839] time. She is forced to yield to the men assembled there. If she does not appear, the latter have the right to kill her wherever
[766] they find her. The corpse of the guilty one is sunk in the river.
[778] No one may enter the hut of the victim, however, since this is considered a sanctuary.

In the same way a man who betrays the secret to a woman is declared an outlaw.

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

be ordered to appear at a designated spot in the woods when 535
the sun reaches a certain position in the heavens, and here 562
she will be compelled to submit herself to the assembled men. 688
If she should fail to appear as ordered, the men may slay her
wherever they find her and sink her body in the river. But if [178]
she should flee to the mystery hut, no one will enter to
take her for this is an asylum of refuge. If a man should
betray the secret of the masquerade to a woman of the tribe,
he may, nevertheless, be allowed to go unmolested. But
these barbarous customs do not appear to be so strictly observed to-day as in former times. It is related that owing
to an accident, all the women of a certain village, caught sight
at the same moment of the masquerade outfit when not in
use. In this case, of course, nothing could be done but to
pardon them all and make known to them the whole secret.
It is said that among the Sambiōa, these masquerades are 535
falling somewhat into disuse. Nevertheless, they would not [178]
allow Dr. Ehrenreich and his party to bring away the mas- [126]
querade outfits that they had stumbled upon at a spot in the
woods where they had been thrown at the termination of a
festival, as they feared that some of their women might be in
the vicinity and see them. To get permission to take them,
the men of the party had to dress in them. Though these
customs may be less strictly observed to-day than formerly,
nevertheless, the women cherish a profound respect for these
supposed creatures of the forest and their mysterious hiding-
places.

The masquerade outfits seem to be thrown away, or burned, at the conclusion of a festival, the feather decorations having first been removed.

Of the real significance of these masquerades, little or nothing is known, or perhaps ever will be known. It is doubtful if even the savages themselves are fully conscious of their significance. But we may get some light upon the subject from our knowledge of the customs and beliefs of other primitive peoples.

It is certain that the "make up"—the creature, animated [825]

1:Lipkind E-5 (1937) 1948 SP9 Caraja SP9

441 **Weapons.**—The *Carajá* use bows and arrows (pls. 20, *bottom, left;* 21, *left* and *center*), and their mythology indicates aboriginal use of the spear thrower for hunting monkeys. Recently, they have used a spear thrower of the upper Xingú River type for sport.

323 **Pottery.**—Pottery vessels include several forms of plain ware (fig. 20).

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

611 The kinship structure may be described as double descent. Both lines are important, the greater emphasis falling on the mother's line, and both lines serve different functions. Village citizenship, adoption, and the closest affectional ties are reckoned in the mother's line. Moiety membership and the offices of chief, priest, and food-divider are patrilineally inherited.

621 622 The fundamental unit of social organization is the village. Every village has one or more ioló, children of chiefly line, designated by the chief for preferential treatment by the members of the village. The chief names the ioló who is to succeed him or, if he fails to do so, the village makes the choice at his death. Girls of chiefly line are similarly chosen for preferential treatment; each of them is known as the "hidden woman." There is some indication that women functioned as chiefs in former times, but today there is no woman chief. The chief has no coercive powers but directs the village by recognizing the will of the majority in such matters as the selection of camp and garden sites and the announcement of a move at change of season. His principal function is to act as peacemaker, and people readily submit to his adjudication. Because of the importance of religious ceremonials, the priest and the shaman frequently exercise more authority than the chief. When all three offices are vested in a single individual, his authority may be considerable, but it is kept in check by the right of a discontented person to move at any time to another village.

59 Within the village the important unit is the household. Residence being matrilocal, a household consists of sisters, their husbands, children, and the husbands of grown daughters. Marriage is restricted to one's own generation, the preferred mate being a cousin on the mother's side. There is no sanction but ridicule against wrong marriages, and there are many cases of cross-generational marriage. Marriage is predominantly monogamous, but a few instances of polygyny and one of polyandry were encountered. The avunculate is very important and involves many social and especially ceremonial duties. Cooperation in the household is close and in the village fairly close. In addition, villages are grouped together in ceremonial units, generally consisting of three or four neighboring villages, which celebrate important feasts jointly. This ceremonial unit acts as an insurance group when a village's crop fails or its fish supplies grow scarce. Beyond this, the only intervillage ties

78 are the product of intermarriage and formal friendship. Intervillage
628 feuds are common and are restrained only by the religious community,
626 sanctuary being granted at all religious ceremonials.

ETIQUETTE

576 All dealings with visitors are conducted according to elaborate formal
195 patterns. The language is rich in formal appellations, exclamations, and
562 honorific phrases. The most remarkable feature is that women are permitted to behave with perfect freedom, whereas men, until they become fathers, behave with a shy and deferential modesty resembling but exceed-
[522] ing that of the Victorian maiden. Normal relations between members of the same village are formal and dignified; only in the men's house or on fishing and hunting trips is the behavior of men relaxed enough to permit horseplay and casual joking.

LIFE CYCLE

553 **Childbirth and Childhood.**—The child gets two sets of names, one
551 male and one female, as soon as the mother is known to be pregnant. These
843 are one's own names given by grandparents of both lines. Taboos in
846 regard to diet and behavior are required of both parents before and after birth. There is a well-developed couvade based on the notion of an
853 intimate connection between the infant and its father. Babies are nursed
862 until they turn to other food of their own volition; sometimes ridicule is used as a sanction against particularly recalcitrant children. No inter-
854 course is allowed during the period of lactation. Babies are carried on the hip, and sleep with the mother until weaning, when they are paired
[291] off with other children or with a grandparent. The girl child wears no clothing until weaned and then receives a fringed belt.

881 **Puberty and Initiations.**—At menstruation, a girl's cheeks are scarified and she assumes the girdle.

[304] A boy passes through a first initiation at about the age of 8 or 9,
[302] when his lower lip is pierced and a small bone labret inserted. A couple of years later, he passes through a second initiation, when his hair is cut short to a tonsure, his entire body is stained black with genipa, and he assumes the penis cord. When his hair has grown out to shoulder length, it is put up in a braid, and he attains full status as a young man.
885 The next change of status for both boys and girls occurs at marriage, when, for the first time, they take on the responsibilities of regular work.
551 Teknonymy is a matter of pride and follows the birth of the first child. The name is retained permanently thereafter, even though the child should
888 die. At about 45 both parents discard their ornaments and accept the
561 status of old age. All the above age grades are named and involve differential behavior and dietary observances.

1:Lipkind E-5 (1937) 1948 SP9 Caraja SP9

Games.—Of numerous games, the most important is a formal wrestling match which is an indispensable part of most religious ceremonies and of all intervillage visits. 526 786 628

Narcotics and stimulants.—Like the other tribes in this region, the *Carajá* have no alcoholic beverages. They smoke tobacco in short cylindrical pipes (fig. 21, *c*). They are heavy smokers, some of the children beginning before they are weaned. 273 276

SUPERNATURALISM

Cults.—*Carajá* religion consists of two distinct cults: a cult of the dead and a mask cult (fig. 24). The cult of the dead, which is under the direction of the priest, has for its object the placation of ghosts by a periodical ceremonial which comes to its climax in several large calendrical feasts. The most important of these feasts is the Big House Feast, which is celebrated shortly after the beginning of the rainy season. All the villages which comprise a ceremonial unit come to the one village where the feast is conducted. There is a great mass of ceremonial addressed to various classes of ghosts, but the central portion of the ceremony is the impersonation of animal ghosts. Another important feast, already mentioned, occurs at the height of the dry season and is directed toward the control of enemy ghosts. Two other feasts held in the dry season are chiefly for the entertainment of the ancestors. 775 769 796 [782 793] [628]

The mask cult is concerned with the worship of another class of supernaturals. It consists of an elaborate routine of feasts, interrupted only by death. In these feasts, conducted by the shaman, the supernaturals are impersonated in the complex dances mentioned above. 795 796 [756]

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Shamanism.—A shaman is trained by apprenticeship to an older shaman. A certain amount of medical lore is taught but the essence of the training is learning how to communicate with supernaturals in a state of trance. 756

There is a considerable amount of sorcery. The main technique is bottling a supernatural being into a small image and then directing it into the body of the victim. As almost all deaths are interpreted as the result of sorcery, feuding is continual. 754 [761] [628]

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/13 cont./

342 principally to close off the narrow sides. To the right and left of the door are planted two high poles which give the palm-leaf layers of the front side more solid support.

352 The interior furnishing of the houses is rather simple. Part of the floor is covered with buriti mats which also serve as an [513] underlayer for sleeping. A smooth wooden cylinder pushed underneath represents the pillow. The various storage baskets, the 353 [415] containers for ornamental feathers, the finished feather orna- [237] ments, bottle gourds, and other things hang from the horizontal beams. Bows and arrows are stuck in the rafters. [342] Lances and clubs stand in the corner, always at hand. Some sledge-like 352 stools, as well as pots and 415 gourd /cuia/ bowls of varying sizes complete the household equipment.

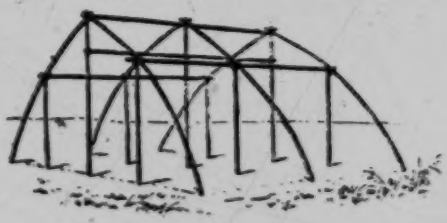

Fig. 3. Hut construction.

346 At some distance from the village is found the somewhat dif- [532] ferently constructed "medicine hut," where the mysterious dance masks are stored. It has the form of an ordinary rancho, with a steeply sloping roof, and is tightly closed on three sides, whereas [784] the side facing the village is wide open. Female creatures may not venture near it.

[114] Castelnau already makes mention of it. Couto Magelhães in his first report speaks of a hut which serves as an arsenal for storing weapons. Nothing of this sort is known to me. Evidently he means by it this mysterious sacred place whose true purpose no one wanted to reveal to him. We shall return to it in the following.

825 It is also noteworthy that in front of two Sambioa villages dead king-vultures (Sarcoramphus papa) with outspread wings were fastened on a high frame of poles. They are probably supposed to scare away demons in the manner of the bird figures carved out of wood in front of Malay villages.

/34/

775 The souls of the dead, which, as mentioned above, are thought of as remaining for a while in the vicinity of the grave, later like to return to their former home. They appear to their relatives especially on stormy nights. When the rain streams [787] down and lightning brightens the darkness, the old people remember their dead relatives and attempt by loud lamentations and singing to put themselves in a state of artificial ecstasy, which finally conjures up in their aroused imaginations any desired phantom.

771 The animistic "religion," if one wishes to call it this, still lacks any ethical basis. It has not elevated itself to the acceptance of a higher, omnipotent spirit upon which man feels dependent in the expectation of punishment and reward for his actions. Thus there is also lacking anything which would indicate the external relationships of man to the godhead, idols, cult performances, prayers, etc. There are among them, however, those ceremonies from which apparently the higher cult forms have come everywhere in the world, the mysterious

535 121 Masked dances. The important role which such masked dances play among the North American tribes is known everywhere. Until now remarkably little was known about the analogous customs on the southern continent. Only the dances of the Tekuna, Juri, and Uaupē tribes are mentioned in passing in the literature. The "temples" and "idols" which the oldest missionary reports mention are obviously nothing other than the "medicine huts" or "flute houses" with the fantastic mask costumes stored in them.

Only recently has the wealth of mask material brought back by the two Xingu expeditions again directed attention to these festive dances which are so important for an understanding of Indian life. Observations made later among the Karaya supplied a desirable supplement to this.

Their masked dances are of quite special interest ethnologically on account of the remarkable analogies which they exhibit in the form of the masks, as well as in other festive customs, with those of Melanesia. This correspondence goes into such

/332 cont./
535 Araguaia (Central Brazil)/" (2).
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[113]

2. Jahrbuch des städtischen Museums für Völkerkunde zu Leipzig, Vol. 3, Leipzig, 1910, pp. 97-122.

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775 About the world beyond, the Karajá were unable to give me any information. Allegedly the deceased go to the heavens.

● 787 Dreams, which are said to be very frequent, are regarded as reality. For example: "If someone dreams that a relative of his has died, he gets into his boat and rides there, in order to see whether it is true." (Kurisí.)

789 Magic (lŏbūnĭ) of all kinds is very widespread; even enlightened Karajá still firmly believe in its effect. It is believed that through /333/ manipulations natural events (rain) can be influenced or that other people can be harmed through magic.

Rain magic is very common; everyone can use it, everyone has the apparatus necessary for it. I obtained several of these:

1:Lipkind E-5 (1937) 1948 SP9 Caraja SP9

pushing aside a door of plaited palm. Every married woman in the family cooks at her own fireplace, which consists of two lumps of hardened clay. Mats used for sleeping and sitting are spread over the entire floor. Wooden stools (fig. 19) may also be found. Bows, arrows, and rattles

FIGURE 19.—*Carajá* wooden stool. (Redrawn from Ehrenreich, 1891 b, fig. 13.)

are shoved into the wall thatch. Baskets, used for storing such things as tobacco, urucú, and feathers, are hung by a string from the ridge poles. Large baskets containing vegetables lie on the ground next to the thatch.

The dry-season house is identical in form but smaller and of flimsier construction. Thatching is looser and the walls are thatched only about halfway to the ground, the north and west sides often being left completely open. The dry-season village is generally constructed on a long beach and, as the site grows dirty, is moved along the beach. The ground plan of the dry-season village is identical with the rainy-season village.

DRESS AND ORNAMENTS

The most prominent facial decoration is a blue-black circular scarification about an inch in diameter over each cheekbone. The ears of infants are pierced and an ornament consisting of a small polished capybara tooth with a feather attached is inserted. A common ear ornament for children is a mother-of-pearl disk with a cut feather fringe set on a blackened thin rod. In a perforation of their lower lips, men wear wood or bone labrets of a variety of shapes (pl. 21; fig. 21, *a*), each assigned to a different age grade; old men use simple wooden plugs.

Men wear their hair long, winding it round a plaited cotton rope reddened with urucú. Women wear their hair about shoulder length.

Armlets crocheted of cotton are worn at the wrists and just above the elbow; similar ornaments are worn just below the knee and at the ankle. These are worn particularly by children and are supposed to aid growth.

/33/

304 While the patient convulsively clasps a pole, the points are
757 pressed deep into the skin of the ailing part of his body, and it is scratched open in various directions with quick movements. The blood is scraped off with strips of palm leaves, the wounds rubbed with sand in the bath. It is said to be not uncommon that pulverized pepper is applied to increase drainage.

Even when there is no special suffering, such blood-lettings are done from time to time on legs and arms, "in order to strengthen muscle power."

753 The belief common to all primitive peoples that sickness,
171 as well as death, is something highly unnatural and comes about only through the influence of hostile powers, which the witch doctor alone knows how to ban, prevails among the tribes of South America in such a completely similar manner that everything known about it from one people also holds without additions
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791 the sick, but did observe him in his no less important activity
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791 gestures in the four directions, shouting: bobuto! disperse! It is therefore exactly the same procedure that Boas observed among the Central Eskimos (2). If the rain comes down in spite of this,

2. Petermann's Mitth., 1887, p. 309.

the conjurer chews up a root and spits the pieces into the air, naturally only when the storm is nearing its end.

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Animism. Masked Dances.

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For them, too, the phenomena of half-life in sleep, the extinguishing of all vital activity in death, and dreams and visions are proof of the presence of a spirit world separate from the material substratum, in which every individual, human as well as animal, who, according to Indian belief, differ from each other only in their physical form, has its immaterial phantom.

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•789 hĕtjiwă. Two small cane rods are tied together; on the front end, feathers are glued onto a layer of wax. The rods are cut off; their actual length is approximately one meter (Ill. 182a). People shake such instruments toward the clouds in order to drive away rain.

A second apparatus consists of two switches about 50 centimeters long, which are tied together (Ill. 182b). The thick, black switch is called kŭŏlūnĭ; the thin, light one,

Ill. 182 a, b.
Rain magic.
a) 2 cane rods (cut off),
b) 2 switches.

Ill. 183 a, b.
Eye magic (a) with brush (b).

[954] →

Ill. 184 a-c.
Fever magic (a) with constituent parts (b, c).

nŏhōdāmŭdă. With the two, one beats upward against the clouds.

hŭlālăhĕdŏ (kŏwōlŭ) consists of a simple switch. Its use is said to be familiar to only a few initiates. Kuriŝĭ demonstrated the apparatus to me when rain threatened sitting in the boat, he silently beat with it horizontally downstream, as though he wanted to drive the rain clouds there.

/333 cont./

789 In order to be able to see at night, one paints on the eyelids with the brush (Ill. 183b) /334/ some of the substance obtained from the jequitiba fruit (Ill. 183a).

751 As a protection against arrow shots one glues, by means of wax, a scraped bowstring as disks approximately ten centimeters in diameter onto both breasts.

754 In order to induce fever in others, one rubs together in one's hands some of the substance in the little bag (Ill. 184a) and rubs it into the hair of the opponent during a dispute. One protects oneself by washing it off the hands. The constituent parts out of which the substance is made are shown in Ill. 184 b,c; they are, first, a bundle of brown fibers and then a yellowish dried shell, both of which are ground and mixed with charcoal. They did not want to tell me the name for this magic remedy, just as they were generally afraid to let me have these things, since I could, of course, have used them against the seller himself. I had to pack them away immediately before their eyes; otherwise they could not be obtained.

There are various means for killing another person. /Ills. 185 and 186 appear here./ A monkey penis is plaited out of bast (nõõ krãõbẽ, Ill. 185 a,b) and secretly planted on the enemy, who must then die.

The magic arrow (bõlõhẽ) consists of a wooden rod 21 centimeters long and surrounded with a layer of wax, which is completely covered with little red feathers. The point is formed by a bone splinter. Actually, the arrow should consist of gibate cane and the point of a ray spine. Apparently the Indians altered the instrument so that I could not do any mischief with it. With a small bow the arrow is shot at passersby; the person in whose direction the arrow comes to rest must die (Ill. 16 a,b). There is no antidote against this magic.

The electric eel (kũõlũnĩ, hẽtjĩwã) consists of a mixture of pounded bones of the electric eel, charcoal, and wax, which is put in fish form and little red feathers are glued over it. Two mother-of-pearl disks serve as the eyes; a white cotton ring adorns the neck (Ill. 186a). One holds the /335/ rear end of the electric

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1:Lipkind E-5 (1937) 1948 SP9 Caraja SP9

441 **Weapons.**—The *Carajá* use bows and arrows (pls. 20, *bottom, left;* 21, *left* and *center*), and their mythology indicates aboriginal use of the spear thrower for hunting monkeys. Recently, they have used a spear thrower of the upper Xingú River type for sport.
[773] [774]

323 **Pottery.**—Pottery vessels include several forms of plain ware (fig. 20).

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

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There is a considerable amount of sorcery. The main technique is bottling a supernatural being into a small image and then directing it into the body of the victim. As almost all deaths are interpreted as the result of sorcery, feuding is continual. 754 [761] [658]

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Castlenau, 1850–59; Ehrenreich, 1891 b; Krause, 1911. 113

/331 cont./

532 dance masks, but masks of beggars who travel around on certain occasions and beg for food; others seem to be connected with the /332/ cult of the dead. In any case, these are still quite primi-
561 tive forms; a strict organization of the young people seems to be entirely lacking; only the age group of the unmarried men and the men's house (mask house) have developed (1). As a

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1 Lipkind E-5 (1937) 1948 SP9 Caraja SP9

small clay dolls (fig. 23), delicately carved clubs, body paint designs, and a little painting and incising of pottery. 531

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FIGURE 24.—*Carajá* masks. (Redrawn from Ehrenreich, 1891 b, figs. 18, 22.)

Music and dances.—The major art of the *Carajá* is music. A large number of elaborate dances with complex songs, each dance having a separate song style, make up the chief body of the music. These are all religious. In addition, there are some secular dances, and songs are interspersed in the tales. Musical instruments are very few, there being only a rattle accompanying the singers and a small flute which is used as a toy. 535 533 534

1:Lipkind E-5 (1937) 1948 SP9 Caraja SP9

Games.—Of numerous games, the most important is a formal wrestling match which is an indispensable part of most religious ceremonies and of all intervillage visits. 526 786 628

Narcotics and stimulants.—Like the other tribes in this region, the *Carajá* have no alcoholic beverages. They smoke tobacco in short cylindrical pipes (fig. 21, *c*). They are heavy smokers, some of the children beginning before they are weaned. 273 276

SUPERNATURALISM

Cults.—*Carajá* religion consists of two distinct cults: a cult of the dead and a mask cult (fig. 24). The cult of the dead, which is under the direction of the priest, has for its object the placation of ghosts by a periodical ceremonial which comes to its climax in several large calendrical feasts. The most important of these feasts is the Big House Feast, which is celebrated shortly after the beginning of the rainy season. All the villages which comprise a ceremonial unit come to the one village where the feast is conducted. There is a great mass of ceremonial addressed to various classes of ghosts, but the central portion of the ceremony is the impersonation of animal ghosts. Another important feast, already mentioned, occurs at the height of the dry season and is directed toward the control of enemy ghosts. Two other feasts held in the dry season are chiefly for the entertainment of the ancestors. 775 769 786 [782 793] [628]

The mask cult is concerned with the worship of another class of supernaturals. It consists of an elaborate routine of feasts, interrupted only by death. In these feasts, conducted by the shaman, the supernaturals are impersonated in the complex dances mentioned above. 775 786 [786]

The two cults are independent of each other and are both strictly men's cults. Any women intruding upon the secrets of the cults is subjected to gang rape and remains a wanton thereafter. [688]

Shamanism.—A shaman is trained by apprenticeship to an older shaman. A certain amount of medical lore is taught but the essence of the training is learning how to communicate with supernaturals in a state of trance. 756

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● 796 Caraja SP9

[For information concerning the masked dance ceremonies see category 535.]

1:Lipkind E-5 (1937) 1948 SP9 Caraja SP9

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5: Krause

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[For the description and use of feathered ornaments such as caps, helmets, belts, hoops, etc. on festive and ceremonial occasions, see category 301.]

/331 cont./

765 loud, high voice in a monotonous intonation; at the same time rattle gourds are swung. It seems that laments take place as soon as anything reminds them of the deceased. In any case definite times of the day for these could not be determined. The people, however, are sincerely grieved; one can see their sorrow in their faces, at least at first. The father allegedly mourns a child only one day, the mother four days. This statement is certainly not true, for in Schischá I heard lamentations for a child who was said to have died three weeks before. The husband mourns his wife only a short time; on the other hand, the wife her husband for a year. After this time has elapsed, the widow is painted with urucú and hung with ornaments at the command of the chief. After this she mourns one more day, and with this the period of mourning is at an end.

15. Religion, Masks, Magic, Medicine.

114 Concerning the religious views of the Karajá I was able to
771 discover but little. The researcher does not come across anything that could suggest any belief in spirits or a cult, with the exception of the masked dances.

114 Unfortunately, I saw very few such dances, since I traveled
535 in the Karajá region from June to October, whereas the time of
796 the dancing seems to be precisely from November to April. Thus, I am unable to report anything about the meaning of these dances; all my efforts to find out anything about this from the people by questions failed because of the meager possibility of mutual
[532] understanding or the deliberate withholding of information. I assume, however, that these dances, which coincide with the time of ripening of certain field produce and at which masks representing animals are used, are in part harvest festival dances, but in part originate from ideas out of which the so-called magic by analogy developed later on. More cannot be said about this; all
532 else would be useless speculation. Some of the masks are not

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532 dance masks, but masks of beggars who travel around on certain occasions and beg for food; others seem to be connected with the /332/ cult of the dead. In any case, these are still quite primi-
561 tive forms; a strict organization of the young people seems to be entirely lacking; only the age group of the unmarried men and the men's house (mask house) have developed (1). As a

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/332 cont./
535 Araguaia (Central Brazil)/" (2).
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2. Jahrbuch des städtischen Museums für Völkerkunde zu Leipzig, Vol. 3, Leipzig, 1910, pp. 97-122.

346 I should like only to make a few remarks here about the
532 mask huts. Castelnau mentions and illustrates (Vue et scènes, Paris, 1853, Plate 8 and text page 7) in the first Sambioá village an almost semicircular, vertical palm-leaf wall, the convex side of which is turned toward the village. In the open space stand about ten dance masks. Beside this there is a framework of poles which consists of several oblique poles stuck in a circle, from the center of which projects a long pole bearing a bunch of leaves at the end. These two structures are shown somewhat larger on Page 9. In front of the palm-leaf wall are two dancers who have placed the masks on their heads. The way they are portrayed (the absence of the leaf-aprons and the way they are leaping about) proves that Castelnau was not present at the dances. Ehrenreich also reports on such semicircular compartments for masks, and, to be sure, also among the Karajá ("Beiträge," p. 34). I never saw such compartments, but only the house-like mask huts described by me.

775 About the world beyond, the Karajá were unable to give me any information. Allegedly the deceased go to the heavens.

787 Dreams, which are said to be very frequent, are regarded as reality. For example: "If someone dreams that a relative of his has died, he gets into his boat and rides there, in order to see whether it is true." (Kurisĩ.)

789 Magic (lŏbūnĩ) of all kinds is very widespread; even enlightened Karajá still firmly believe in its effect. It is believed that through /333/ manipulations natural events (rain) can be influenced or that other people can be harmed through magic.

Rain magic is very common; everyone can use it, everyone has the apparatus necessary for it. I obtained several of these.

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

at will into a trance or semi-death, in which state their souls, or doubles, explore the occult, or what is hidden from men in a normal state. They also believe that these conjurers can transform themselves at pleasure into animals—into the form of a witch-wolf, for example, in order to terrify, injure and domineer over men; and, in brief, can do all things whereby shamanism—primitive priestcraft—secures and maintains its influence over the tribe. They have no images or idols, nor even fetiches, for the reason that they have not yet advanced to this more complex belief, if advancement it may be called.

The ghosts or spirits of the dead, which, as previously stated, are believed to tarry for a time in the vicinity of the graves where hang the bodies they were forced to abandon because they had fallen so into disrepair, take delight, in after time, in returning to haunt the places of their habitation during the days of their flesh; moreover, it is believed that they appear to their relatives, especially on wild and stormy nights: When the darkness is inky black, illumined only by the ceaseless play of the terrifying lightnings, and the thunders crash and boom as if the unseen Powers were engaged in mighty conflict, while the winds moan and shriek in the forest, then the old folk think of their dear departed; and by loud lamentations and wailings, put themselves into a state of ecstacy whereby their inflamed imagination creates every wished-for phantasm.

This animistic religion is without any ethical foundation. It has not in this stage attained to a conception of a higher or ruling Spirit upon whom man feels himself dependent for rewards and punishments for his deeds; and as just stated, lacks everything which connects man externally with divinity, such as images, the paraphernalia of worship, ritual, and the like. But we find among the Karayá those ceremonials from which apparently everywhere throughout the world the higher and more elaborate forms of worship have come, that is, the mystery rites.

Mask dances occupy an important place in Karayá life. The prominent rôle which these masquerades play among

7:Lipkind E-5 (1938-1939) 1940
SP9 Caraja SP9

754 request a ghost to do his killing. In this case the ghost takes the form of a wild beast, usually a leopard. He may request a supernatural either to enter the body of his victim, or to turn loose on the victim his subject animals,
756 particularly the alligator and piranha. The curing shaman sucks out the intrusive supernatural or persuades the ghosts or supernaturals to withhold their attack.

776 The dichotomy of ghosts and supernaturals is quite clear in Carajá re-
769 ligion. Ghosts are placated by calendrical feasts, run by a hereditary priest.
[756] Supernaturals are invited to the masked dances by a shaman who takes complete charge of this cult. There is little relationship between the two cults. There is a momentary appearance of masks during the Big-house Feast of the ghost cult, and an occasional offering to ancestors during the mask cult ceremonies.

775 What is of special interest is that there are many maleficent supernaturals
776 who cannot be approached at all. There is no technique for handling them except keeping out of their way. The violent ghosts really fall in the same category as far as their relation to humans is concerned. And yet they are chiefly the best men of the Carajá who have fallen in battle against their
[154] enemies. In this curious bit of fantasy there seems to be a projection of the fear and aggression which are overtly present in the social life.

771 In recent years a few Carajá have been able to visit Rio and Belém. They
772 have brought back a somewhat different picture of the extent of the world, a picture with which many Carajá are now familiar. It never intrudes into
597 Carajá life. It is reserved solely for discourse with outsiders. No contradiction is felt because the two conceptions are never brought into the same universe of discourse. I was not able to detect any signs of skepticism. The Carajá is perfectly sure that he has a clear view of the true character of the world. The peculiar beliefs of outsiders are in keeping with their quaint behavior and lack of good breeding. A Carajá will not dispute about such things. He listens to the opinions of others with courtesy and curiosity but cannot be induced to take them seriously. It is much easier to pretend to
[147] agree. If you are a missionary, you will give him presents. Later he may have the additional pleasure of expounding your fantastic ideas to his fellows.

182 Two factors seem to me to contribute largely to the maintainance of this
772 attitude. In the first place, the old way of life is still intact. When a man is
773 able to find full occupation and joy in his activities, it is difficult to get him to doubt the premises on which they are founded. Secondly, every important feature of life is validated by mythical tales which are the Carajá history. The emergence myth, given above in its simplest and shortest variant, is one of many. I can do no more than mention some of the most important here. The full form of the emergence myth gives the names of all the ancestors who emerged and the precise social divisions which they

/193 cont./

162 Thus, the migration southward seems to continue to this day,
166 and it seems to have affected the Šavajé as well. Apparently the south horde has a bit of Šavajé blood in it, which is noticeable above all in the taller build. Today only about one-fifth of the Karajá live south of Bananal; the majority still live in the north horde, but we have seen that in it, too, a trend toward the south is making itself noticeable (4).

[361] 4. A migration from the south horde to the north horde took place long ago: people emigrated from Schischá and settled on the Corrego; this is the village of José (six men, eight women).

174 Whether this migration to the south is a continuation of an older migration which brought the Karajá to the Araguaya I should like to leave undecided. As is well known, Ehrenreich pointed out many similarities between the Karajá and the Indians of Guiana.
171 Without wishing to pursue these cultural connections further at present, I should like to state, from a comparison of Karajá and Kayapó culture, that the Karajá show very many cultural traits related to the Kayapó, but also harbor a large percentage of foreign /194/ elements that seem to point to the north or northwest. It will remain for later investigations to pursue these cul-
174 tural problems further. The present-day distribution of the Karajá,
13 their confinement to the river valley in a narrow band beyond 8 1/2
648 degrees of latitude in the midst of hostile tribes, especially those
[101] of the Ges /Ge/ family, seems to point to the fact that the Karajá migrated up the Araguaya from the north, breaking up the tribes
648 living here. So far the Karajá have not yet come to an amicable relationship with the neighboring tribes. Efforts to bring this about
[997] were undertaken at Conceição by the mission, but they failed after initial success (1).

[115] 1. The reports, for which I am indebted to a Brazilian near Santa Maria, that the Kayapó and Šambioá meet annually at a particular place on

/327 cont./

844 washed once more and again rubbed. After this it is wrapped
845 in a small net covering. Deformed children (blind ones, too)
[847] are drowned in the river by the mother; this is not regarded as wrong. Only well-formed children are raised, even when they are all girls. Nothing could be learned about the treatment of twins;
163 such a case had "not yet occurred." The families, on the average, have two to four /328/ children; five are already regarded as many. There are said to be even more children in one family,
862 however. The child is nursed for several years, and even children five or six years old still run to their mother in order to appease their hunger.

553 Children are given their names at birth by the grandparents
[603] on the paternal and maternal side. They keep these names all
[551] through life. Many Karajá bore Christian names, which were
[797] given them by the Brazilian boatmen; there are said to be only
551 one or two actually baptized Karajá in São José. I obtained quite a number of given names for persons of both sexes; unfortunately, translations of them could not be obtained. It is only in the following names that familiar syllables may be separated out: mãŭzĭ = addition to pottery clay (see above, p. 209); kūlĭ = tapir; ănănlŏă = cat; ănlŭāzĭ = jaguar-zi (zi = egg; possibly misheard for ti = bone). For the rest of the names, see the word list /untranslated; see the foreign text, pp. 454-455/.

852 Soon after birth the children have their ear lobes pierced for the insertion of the ear tulips (kūădjŭ), which are later replaced by the ear rods; it is only later that the lip-hole is pierced for the boys. Both procedures take place without any further ceremony.

291 The boys run about naked; girls wear a black string-belt.
561 It is only at the age of 9-12 that the boys tie the penis up and the girls hang the bast apron over the belt. From then on the boys
301 live with the young men. As insignia the children wear arm cuffs, calf and ankle bands, the latter of which are already removed by the boys at the age of six to eight years.

7:Lipkind E-5 (1938-1939) 1940
SP9 Caraja SP9

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16. Knowledge of Arithmetic, Astronomy, and Geography.

802 Arithmetic. Counting is done on the hands and feet, and, indeed, one starts with the thumb of the right hand, then goes to the left hand, and treats the feet in the same manner. Sometimes they also use small stones for counting. They count traveling days by means of notches in a small piece of wood or in the edge of the boat.

The system of counting is that of the 5 (see the word list, IX: "Number Words" /untranslated; see the foreign text, p. 452, "X. Zahlworte"/. The striking thing is: the double designation for 5; an additional, peculiar second word, lĕŭl(j)õ, for 6, with which 7 is then formed as hand-lĕŭl(j)õ; the additional peculiar syllables: lăhŭ in the case of 10, lĕdŏ in the case of 11, 15, 16, 17, (18?).

Most of them counted unhesitatingly to 6; from there on they were almost all uncertain. Only a few were able to count to 10 and hardly at all to 20; I was also given different designations for these large numbers. There was no number to be obtained beyond 20.

In expressions with number words, the following was appended: one gun-barrel, djĭŏ-g̣ŏhŏdĭ; two gun-barrels, djĭõ-ĭnătjĭ; two hats, šăpā(ŏ)ĭnătĭ.

805 Astronomical. They know that the year has 13 full moons. They calculate the year from one fall of the water to the other. In this connection they distinguish two seasons: the dry season (wōūlă), when they live on the sandbanks, and the rainy season (bĭŭ), when they live on the high banks.

They divide up the day according to the position of the sun. Time designations are made by pointing with the hand to the height of the sun at that particular time.

821 They apparently distinguish between five phases of the moon; for these I was given the following names by one Indian: first quarter, āhăndŭ lŏĭtă; not quite full moon, āhăndŭ-lăläli; full moon, djūlŭm läälälĭ; last quarter, āhăndŭ-ăĭŭlănă; new

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437 Trading proceeded very quietly. The Indians brought their articles and stated their demands; after carefully examining the object, I made my offer, or possibly the object was refused. They regularly asked to see the article concerned, whether it was a bead chain, mirror, knife, shears, etc. Then it was given to an expert for approval; they have such persons for beads, iron implements, cloth, etc. Only after this one had expressed approval was the sale completed. Otherwise I was obliged to show other things. The exchanged object then went from hand to hand, was tested or tried on by everyone, and did not reach the hands of the owner until afterwards. Iron implements were subjected to the nail test, beads to the tooth test. Dull /280/ iron implements, beads that broke, or used objects were not accepted. For the rest, everyone let the others bargain for themselves, did not interfere, and gave his opinion only if asked, a very pleasant custom.

435 804 There are no special measures. They want knives and shears as large as possible; quality is less important. Otherwise I only saw how boats were measured. Ordinary boats reach from the foot to the knee, higher boats up to one handbreadth above the knee; for such boats the Indian pays two capybara teeth. In the barter with us the cupped hand or small gourds and mussel shells served as dry measures.

10. Techniques.

463 438 Apparently everyone makes his own implements and tools. Only occasionally did I observe that individual persons made certain things in larger quantities; for example, in Schischá pots and sieves were made, probably for Brazilian use; in José's village, hats, in Alfredo's village, mats were made in quantities. This and the statements about the purchase value of certain objects seem to point to a trade among themselves and accordingly probably also to manufacturing by certain persons beyond their personal needs.

/340 cont./

821 Shooting stars are called lẽsiwĩũlãn. They were explained to me by a half-civilized Karajá as change of place by the stars, whereas, according to Ehrenreich ("Beiträge," p. 45), they represent the tossed-out fishing gear with the bait. The Indians knew that in November many shooting stars appear.

823 [804] Geographical. The Karajá are very familiar with the course of the Araguaya. They calculate distances on the river according to steep banks and according to how often one must cross the river going upstream; greater distances according to overnight camps. They have special proper names for tributaries, lakes, steep banks, and mountains (see the word list /untranslated; see the foreign text, p. 456/).

On either side of the Araguaya their knowledge of the country extends somewhat beyond the boundaries of their territory. Thus, they are familiar with the waterfall of the Rio Tapirapé, which lies several hours above the present boundary. About the Furo /Port. furo, natural connection between two bodies of water/ (east arm of Bananal Island) they know that it dries up during the dry season, so that not even Indian boats can navigate it. A small furo is said to run across Bananal Island from the east branch to the west branch of the Araguaya.

[147] They have endurance on land marches; they walk very rapidly. In order to find water on the barren campo, they hold their faces in the direction of the wind: if the wind is cool, it comes from a place where there is water; if it is hot, there is not likely to be any water in this direction. Before digging for water at a place, they pound a stick deep into the ground; if it is moist, 823 151 they start digging. On the way, they pay attention to all tracks, and they are masters at drawing conclusions from them. When traveling down the Tapirapé, I reached the sandbank where we had had our first camp on the Tapirapé, my Karajá immediately recognized from the footprints precisely which of their relatives had been here, approximately how long /341/ they had stayed, where they had their boats lying, and about how long ago they had departed, all conjectures which later proved to come very close to the truth.

/339 cont./

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The system of counting is that of the 5 (see the word list, IX: "Number Words" /untranslated; see the foreign text, p. 452, "X. Zahlworte"/. The striking thing is: the double designation for 5; an additional, peculiar second word, lĕŭl(j)ŏ, for 6, with which 7 is then formed as hand-lĕŭl(j)ŏ; the additional peculiar syllables: lăhŭ in the case of 10, lĕdŏ in the case of 11, 15, 16, 17, (18?).

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● 805 Astronomical. They know that the year has 13 full moons. They calculate the year from one fall of the water to the other. In this connection they distinguish two seasons: the dry season (wōŭlă), when they live on the sandbanks, and the rainy season (bĭŭ), when they live on the high banks.

They divide up the day according to the position of the sun. Time designations are made by pointing with the hand to the height of the sun at that particular time.

821 They apparently distinguish between five phases of the moon; for these I was given the following names by one Indian: first quarter, āhăndŭ lōĭtă; not quite full moon, āhăndŭ-lăläli; full moon, djūlŭm läälälĭ; last quarter, āhăndŭ-ăljŭlănă; new

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
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[757] comb with very long, sharp teeth. With this barbarous tool, [413] the primitive surgeon rakes and tears the back of the patient, [237] who holds himself immovable by firmly grasping a post or tree. The blood is caught and removed on palm-leaves. When sufficient blood has been drawn, sand, and finally pepper, is rubbed into the wounds. Even when a Karayá is not sick, he submits to this very painful operation, believing that it will be beneficial to his health. The bleeding of persons on the back is practiced by low-class civilized Brazilians.

[771] Not much is known concerning the religious belief of the Karayá. But it is fully established that they entertain an animistic conception of the world, which is the lowest form of religious belief and practice; and it expresses itself with them in the same way that it does with the better known South [811] American tribes. Their observation hourly suggests to them the idea that every effect has an intelligent cause; for, whenever they are able to trace an effect to its cause, as, for instance, in the doings of men and animals, that cause appears to be psychical rather than material; an intangible, incomprehensible something that we call Mind. Therefore, they firmly believe that Minds, intelligence, or invisible, immaterial Personalities, dwell, as an Ego, or as Genii, in every material object, animate or inanimate, such as animals, trees and mountains, and direct all the operations of Nature; and that brutes are differentiated from men only by their bodily form, every creature being alike a duality—having a psychical as well as a physical Self. Moreover, the phenomena of the half-[772] life in sleep, together with dreams and visions, and the cessation of all vital activities at death, furnish to their minds clear and positive proofs of the existence of a spirit world that pervades, or lies beyond the world comprehended by the senses. They believe that in sleep and dreams, the Ego, or [774] Shade, or second Self, steals away from the body of the sleeper to roam about and to associate with other shadowy person-alities or spirits. They are convinced, furthermore, that their [754] priests, or conjurers, are endowed with some supernatural, or mysterious powers which enable them to put themselves

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
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where that influence has been genuinely and positively Christian. It is humiliating to admit this; but the most overwhelming evidences of it are found everywhere. How very many sad examples there are that the representatives of even Christian civilizations have imposed a curse instead of conferring a blessing upon their poor, ignorant, primitive brethren! All too frequently, the "civilized" world which first comes into contact with savagery, is of the world, worldly. Its vices are prominent and positive, while its virtues are negative and obscure. Naturally, the uncultured savage acquires the vices without effort, but knows nothing of the virtues, if there be any; and his own virtues, or wholesome customs, become more or less overshadowed and broken down; for the savage man, in common with other men of every race and social grade, is a more apt scholar in the school of vice than in the school of virtue. The influence of the Christ life, on the other hand, is positively and powerfully virtuous. It purifies and transforms the inner man, and exalts and beautifies the whole outward expression of his life, at the same time, preserving and ennobling all that he had formerly that was good.

Many people think that savages, living in a state of nature, intermingle as promiscuously as swine, and without any restraints to their passions. This is very far from the truth, for they have customs, usages and traditions that are rigidly observed; and within certain limits, the inviolability of womanhood is guaranteed; while vicious propensities are so restrained or regulated that the tribe is safeguarded against physical impairment. Unfortunately, this can scarcely be said of many of the civilized people of South America.

For a savage people, human life among the Karayá is valued and protected; and family ties are strong—between husband and wife as well as between parents and children. The mother, instead of the father, appears to be the head of the family, for the following reasons:

The husband does not eat with his family, but instead,

/19 cont./

*532 534 of the string, hurls the disk around himself so that the string twists together, pulls on the string, and lets it go loose again, then the disk will start rotating and produce a whirring noise. It is drawn by the Indians as a circle through which the string runs as a horizontal line.

*532 There follow representations of stars and constellations.

521 Fig. 135 /see p. 35/ portrays the moon with the lunar mountains conceived as a toad. The small circles in Fig. 136a /see p. 35/ signify the Pleiades, which are interpreted as parakeets. I should like to add, although it does not strictly belong here, the further representation of two constellations: the jaguar leaping at the ostrich from the rear (Fig. 136 b and c /see p. 35/). The principal stars are shown by dots, the two frontmost stars of the ostrich correspond to α and β Centauri.

*532 Finally there is still the representation of an event to be added here, a sketch which, along with the representation of the stag hunt on the gourd (Fig. 104 /see p. 26/), stands quite alone among the Karajá drawings. From the lagoon the track of the tortoise leads over the sand to the spot where the eggs are laid. One egg is drawn in the nest (Fig. 137 /see p. 35/).

γ) Filled-in figures

represent by far the majority of all the drawings present. As already noted above, they are executed only in colored crayon, from which it is to be concluded that the broad stroke and surface covering thus made possible, together with the possibility of color effects, has brought about the transition from line and outline drawing to the surface figure. As we shall see later with regard [151] to the ornamentation, surface perception and just such representation is in general peculiar to the Karajá Indians. The drawings were executed in such a way that first of all a center line was drawn, with reference to this the outlines, and only then was the whole surface drawn in. The filling-in is simple and takes no account of characteristic coloring and drawing of the bodies to be represented.

/44 cont./

539 This rather disconnected legend, which lacks an ending, is evidently aimed at giving the imagination of the narrator some latitude so that he can add further adventures and encounters of the woman as he pleases. For comparative mythology the passage about the woman being swallowed by the heron is of special importance (cf. Im Thurn's remarks, op. cit., p. 386). The episode of the ounce is found in quite similar form and with almost the same words in the North American legend of the Kootenay /Kutenai/ on the Columbia River published by F. Boas (Verh. d. Berl. Ges. f. Anth., 1891, p. 171), except that there a giant who wishes to be painted white meets the woman.

● 821 Finally, as a contribution to the folklore of the Karaya some of their names for constellations and other celestial phenomena might be mentioned, from which their concept of nature can be recognized to some extent. In general they are more appropriate than our own. I shall offer no opinion as to whether the constellations are really viewed as what their names signify. According to our experiences with other tribes this is highly probable, however.

821 192 The Milky Way is the "ash road" (bribi), a very common conception among the South Americans.

The brightly shining stars α and β Centauri are the feet of the "ostrich" (naukiä, Rhea americana), whose body is represented by the neighboring large coalsack.

/45/ In the Southern Cross they see the lozenge-shaped form of the "river ray" (barahoä).

The Pleiades (ϑerabotŏ) are a flock of small "dwarf parrots" analogous to the "doves" of the Hellenes and the "chicks" of Germanic peoples.

Orion (hatedäotä) is the burning roça (among the Slavs and Lithuanians, too, as is well known, this constellation is associated with agriculture and harvests).

The tail of Scorpio is the "ounce" (anϑauä).

The moon spots are "toads" (krāu).

/45 cont. /

87 192 Shooting stars are very aptly compared to a hook cast out and the bait on it.

The rainbow is the "electric eel" (koadžī, the trem-trem of the Brazilians).

During eclipses of the moon it is said: ahandō roro, the moon wishes to die. Pedro Manco denied that noise is made to avert this disaster.

The Petroglyphs of Martirios Island

133 [131] About midway between the two great river rapids, the Carreira comprida and the Cachoeira grande, a narrow rock island about one kilometer long lies close to the right river bank, the Ilha dos Martirios (6° 22' south latitude), which rises gradually from south to north. Flooded to a large extent during high water, it is connected to the neighboring bank at low water. Its western edge then falls in steep walls from 8-10 meters high down to the surface of the river. Heavily eroded, they are riddled by countless potholes and broken up into groups of columns, pyramids, and arches. The predominant stone is a coarse-grained, horizontally-layered quartz schist which splits into huge blocks. The opposite bank has the same formation. The river runs here as though in a natural channel 150 meters wide with a very slight drop.

On the north end of the island, in part at its highest elevation (about 15 meters above low water), in part somewhat lower in the region of the high water line, there are visible on the stone blocks on the ground a large number of rock sculptures which are among the most remarkable on the continent and have become the center of a whole series of tales.

Only a few travelers have seen them; no one has investigated them in detail or copied them. Quite early they attracted the attention and stirred the imagination of the first Paulista bands of Pires Campos and the notorious Anhanguera (Bartholomeo Bueno the Elder), who visited the island at the end of the seventeenth century on their expedition to the Araes and their rich goldmines,

532
[821]

/Ills. 13 and 14 appear on p. 153./

Ill. 13. Sketchbook drawing: moon with mountains (toad).

Ill. 14. Sketchbook drawing: a) Pleiades (parakeets); b) the jaguar leaps c), on the ostrich (α and β Centauri).

Ill. 15. Clay doll: caricature of the old grandmother. Karajá. /Ill. 15 appears on p. 155./

411
854

Ill. 16. Magic arrow with bow.* Karajá.
/Ill. 16 appears on p. 156./

*[See description of use on p. 283--Analyst]

/200 cont./

514 water about 5/4 meters deep with their knees slightly bent and there untie the long penis string and tie it on again.

342 The houses are merely living and sleeping houses; cooking
[252] is done outside.

The chiefs in part have better built, larger houses; thus,
[602] Plate 41 appears here/ /201/ the one belonging to Chief João III was three to four meters high, five to six meters wide, and equally long (Pl. 39).

[344] There are no meeting houses; in order to bring about a de-
[205] cision or announce regulations, the chief goes to the individual
[209] houses.

Other special houses are:

343 1. Birth houses. These are erected for the woman when birth
344 is imminent; their construction is said to be identical with that of the other houses.

346 2. The mask house in which the dance masks are kept. It always stands apart from the village and in its method of construction is a dry-season house with a round structure on the narrow side turned toward the village. The arches are usually slightly curved and strengthened on top by a ridge beam (Pl. 12, Ill. 3). The mask houses serve as bachelor houses; the young people are said to sleep here. I saw only four mask huts, but cannot confirm
513 these statements from my observations. In any case, the young people do not sleep in the houses, but rather, if there is no mask house,
[609] by a fire which is away from the village. Strangers are given shelter by the chief; they sleep in his house, even though they are unmarried (see the reception which I, with my men, found among the Savajé /pp. 129 ff. in the first part of the work, which is omitted in the translation/).

342 The house belongs to the woman. The man builds it before
423 the marriage, with the assistance of the young people, who are
562 paid for it by the woman with chains of beads. The construction
768 takes one or two days. After death the house is said to be burned.

● 821 According to the accounts of the Indians, the houses are protected from bolts of lightning by a fish spine stuck on the roof on a pole about half a meter long. Probably only magic is involved here.

[Text continues on p. 84]

/242 cont./

24 [821] The time for laying out the planting is approximately September to October; it is called bõlǎhũã (1). It is regulated by

1. = Southern Cross?

the Pleiades (bõlõbědõ = parakeets): if it is low, manioc is planted; if it is somewhat higher, maize is planted. Cotton, batatas, and urucú are not planted until much rain falls, in other words, about November and December. These statements of the Indians coincide with the fact that I often found them absent from the village in October; they were sometimes days distant, in order to lay out the planting. Tall columns of smoke indicated in which direction they were doing this. The planting is usually laid out at a great distance from the village, on flood-safe high banks. As far as possible, the Indians ride there in a boat, but then they often still have long land marches to overcome before they reach the planting. Recently they have begun laying out [311] their plantings in the interior of Bananal Island, because the [361] harvests are supposed to be very good there. One chief, Korumaré, has already moved permanently to the inland river of Bananal. On the ninth of October I did not meet Chief Fotuna in his village; he had traveled two days inland to Bananal in order to prepare a new planting there. Apparently other villages were also considering the plan to betake themselves into the interior of Bananal later on.

The plantings are laid out by the married men, but the male youth seems to help. The underbrush is cut down; the tall forest [413] trees are stripped of their branches and then felled, which was formerly done with stone axes, but is now done with iron axes. [313] Larger timber is brought to the village as firewood, /243/ and the rest is burned as soon as it is dry. Then, between the fallen trees, small, low round beds are laid out, in which are planted three manioc stalks, set in a triangle with their twigs interlaced at the top (Ill. 12). For digging, heaping up the beds, and cutting in the holes for the plants a spade-like implement (mãũlẽ or ĩdjõlõ) is used. It consists of a thick stick that is pointed at one end and at the other runs out into a shovel (Ill. 83). The shovel serves to lift

/339 cont./

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/339 cont./

82 moon, ĭkõnă. Of these, āhăndù-lăḷāli means a phase between half and full moon: "they are actually two moons." Probably they mean the bright moon and the dark moon. This was confirmed for me also by other Indians, but it was impossible to find out anything in greater detail about it. Since the sequence of the phases was not clear to the people themselves, they gave various sequences and often corrected themselves. Beaming with pleasure, they called my attention to the first appearance of the crescent moon. The mountains of the moon are designated as toad (krāotĕ).

Eclipses of the sun (wūŏhŭlīwă, tjūŭ-hŏlŏ-ḷăḷārĭ) and eclipses of the moon (āhăn-/340/dŭlūḷŭ, āhăndŭ-lădŏla) are explained as caused by an evil sorcerer (ŏhŏdĭwātŭ) who shoots arrows at the celestial body concerned. Countereffects on the part of the Indians are unknown.

They called a huge ring around the moon, with a radius of about eight to twelve moon-widths, djūŭḷă and kūăḷŏ, without being able to say more specifically what this phenomenon means.

The rainbow (kŭădĭ) is the shadow of a huge electric eel (the latter, according to Ehrenreich, called koadzĭ). It is re-
[61] garded as evil; if one goes up to it and touches it, one dies; the animal gives a "bum" sound and disappears.

I was able to learn several constellations from them; they drew a few for me in the sketchbook. The Milky Way does not consist of stars, but of ashes (bŭlĭbĭ). The Southern Cross is the black ray (bōḷŏhūă). The two stars above it (α and β Centauri) represent the ostrich (nâŭĕkĭĕ), which is being leaped upon by a jaguar (ănlŏă; = our Scorpio). The Pleiades are parakeets (bōḷŏbĕdŏ). In addition, Ehrenreich mentions the burning roca /a clearing to be planted/ for Orion.

Meteors are called dăkĭnăḷăză; the noise when they burst apart comes from the star.

/340 cont./

821 Shooting stars are called lēšiwīŭlăn. They were explained to me by a half-civilized Karajá as change of place by the stars, whereas, according to Ehrenreich ("Beiträge," p. 45), they represent the tossed-out fishing gear with the bait. The Indians knew that in November many shooting stars appear.

823 [804] Geographical. The Karajá are very familiar with the course of the Araguaya. They calculate distances on the river according to steep banks and according to how often one must cross the river going upstream; greater distances according to overnight camps. They have special proper names for tributaries, lakes, steep banks, and mountains (see the word list /untranslated; see the foreign text, p. 456/).

On either side of the Araguaya their knowledge of the country extends somewhat beyond the boundaries of their territory. Thus, they are familiar with the waterfall of the Rio Tapirapé, which lies several hours above the present boundary. About the Furo /Port. furo, natural connection between two bodies of water/ (east arm of Bananal Island) they know that it dries up during the dry season, so that not even Indian boats can navigate it. A small furo is said to run across Bananal Island from the east branch to the west branch of the Araguaya.

[147] They have endurance on land marches; they walk very rapidly. In order to find water on the barren campo, they hold their faces in the direction of the wind: if the wind is cool, it comes from a place where there is water; if it is hot, there is not likely to be any water in this direction. Before digging for water at a place, they pound a stick deep into the ground; if it is moist, 823 151 they start digging. On the way, they pay attention to all tracks, and they are masters at drawing conclusions from them. When traveling down the Tapirapé, I reached the sandbank where we had had our first camp on the Tapirapé, my Karajá immediately recognized from the footprints precisely which of their relatives had been here, approximately how long /341/ they had stayed, where they had their boats lying, and about how long ago they had departed, all conjectures which later proved to come very close to the truth.

/344 cont./

191 general, they pronounce Brazilian words badly; they seldom succeed in pronouncing f correctly, usually they say p for it (pǎcõ for facão, žīpre for chifre, pǎrīnǎ for farinha, pǎsēr for facer).

126 For the list of words and texts recorded by me, along with the translations, see the appendix I and II /untranslated; see the foreign text, pp. 415-482/.

18. Myths.

773 Myths were told me by two persons: Chief Cadete Chico of
126 Schischá told me the creation myth; I obtained a second version
115 of this, as well as all the rest, from Kurišť. Usually he told them the most vividly and in the greatest detail the first time, and considerably more simply in repetitions. Some features had to be verified by much questioning, if they were overlooked in the first notation. When questioned, Kurišť said that he was telling the myths as his mother had told them to him. According to this, the myth seems to be handed down through the mother among the Karajá. To me it was surprising that he professed not to know any of the myths reported by Ehrenreich /345/ ("Beiträge," pp. 39-44), with the exception of the howling monkey myth. Apparently they were truly unfamiliar to him. This is all the more surprising since he is the grandson of Pedro Manco, Ehrenreich's informant, and thus should have known about the store of myths preserved in this family.

773 The Karajá regard the Furo das Pedras as their original home.
[619] There the ancient Karajá lived under water. They regard the
[875] Šavajé and Šambioá as their tribal kinsmen. Animals are regarded as beings like human beings, so that transformations of human beings into animals and the reverse play an important role. They
[821] think of the stars as inhabited by creatures who temporarily came to the earth and there came into contact with human beings.

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CARAJÁ COSMOGRAPHY

By William Lipkind

101 The Carajá are an isolated people inhabiting a large territory slightly
114 north of the geographical center of Brazil. During 1938 and 1939 I lived
131 with the Carajá and collected a large body of textual material which forms the basis of the generalized presentation of Carajá world-view which follows.[1]

772 The Carajá universe is very small. Their own territory (Bananal), an island formed by a large fork of the Araguaya river is its center. To the west the great Chavante plateau stretches out to the huge river in which [8 21] the sun goes down. All night the sun moves through the underworld and in the morning he comes up out of another river which is the eastern boundary of the world. If you paddle many days downriver, you will come to a village of the transformer Kanashiwe, the world's northern limit. An equal journey upstream will take you to its southern limit, another village of Kanashiwe.

[8 23] The Carajá are perfectly acquainted with the middle portion of this parallelogram. Every beach, high bank, wood and lake along the Araguaya, every body of water and distinctive patch of ground within Bananal, is known and has a name. The tributaries are known in less detail and only up to a few days' journey from their mouths. Inland from the rivers their knowledge peters out after a short distance and you are soon in mythical country.

[775] To the Carajá this world seems very large. The journey to its northern and southern limits is the initiation journey of the dead. No man since legendary times has gone very far toward the eastern and western boundaries, and, besides, there are two other dimensions, the underworld and the sky.

772 In the underworld, the original home of the Carajá, there was neither
773 sickness nor death. As the emergence myth states, "More people kept being born. Nobody died. There wasn't room enough. When a man got old, he sat there in one place without moving. Kaboi couldn't add any more houses to the village. It was full. A new father was lying on the mat. It was time to eat honey. He went off hunting honey. While he was hunting he heard a *seriema* (Portuguese name of a bird) sing. He scooped a hole toward it and came out. He found fruit at once and decided to return. When he got back he gave his folk the fruit to taste. They found it very good and wanted to come out. They invited the others to come with them. Wobedu sent his folk out first and he went first among them. Kaboi came

[122] [1] The work was financed by Columbia University.

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among the last. He got stuck in the hole. His belly was too big. He decided to go back. It was a dead leaf that he spied. He spoke to his wife, 'Let's go back. There is death there.' They went back again. Those that had come out were very happy. They were all happy. Then one of them climbed a tree. It was a child that climbed. He fell and died. They all mourned. Suddenly they got cheerful again. For this reason they were angry, his mother and father. His brother and sister, married to each other, were angry. For this reason there was keening. They say that there in the depths of the water there was no death." 772 773

In addition to being the original home of the Carajá, the underworld is also the home of the dead. Those who die a quiet death and are properly buried live there much in the same fashion as they lived on earth. But they are always a bit crazed and dangerous to the living. They must be placated by offerings and ceremonial observances. Otherwise they assume the form of poisonous snakes and bite those who neglect them. Those who die a violent death, who are clubbed or torn by beasts, become violent unappeasable ghosts. They are buried in the woods without arms or fire, in a position contrary to the traditional position in order to disorient them. A woman's girdle is tied about their eyes to blind them. Their desire is to kill, and especially to kill their closest kin. Their afterlife is extremely unpleasant. They wander about in a perpetual rage and feed on little birds which they eat raw. 772 775 [772] [825] 766 772 775

The other dimension of the Carajá universe is the sky. Only the southeastern quadrant of the sky interests the Carajá. The rest is uninhabited forest. Starting at the Southern Cross virtually every star and constellation visible in the east is a named supernatural. The Milky Way is the shaman's road. When the shaman falls into his trance he goes up the shaman's road into one of the villages of the sky supernaturals. There he receives his power and knowledge and, if he has not eaten or drunk, thereafter is a curer. If he has, he becomes a sorcerer and killer. The good shaman after his death goes to live in the sky. He squats up there in the heat of the sun with his inexhaustible pot of food and gourd of water in front of him and his shamanistic rattle in his hand, held up to shade his eyes from the glare of the sun. At night he dances with the supernaturals. This is considered the happiest afterlife. 772 756 776 821 [754] [775]

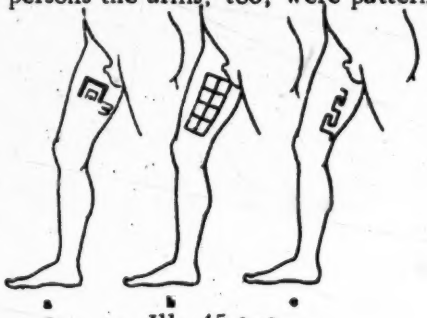
The earth and underworld are also inhabited by supernaturals. Every pool, every deep spot in the river, every bit of forest or savannah, has its supernatural owners. These are of two kinds. Many are amiable and beautiful beings who have friendly relations with humans. They are invited to feasts and impersonated in the masked dances. The others are ugly and dangerous monsters who cannot be placated. Their woods are avoided and nobody fishes in their pools. 772 776 823 [535]

The sorcerer has a wide variety of techniques at his disposal. He may 754

/214 cont./

307 [822] The painting of the body is done with red or black color, and, to be sure, the red color is for the most part restricted to men and youths, the black to boys and girls, for black is generally the color of youth (see "Cotton Ornaments" /see p. 123/). Only once was there seen a woman painted entirely red.

/215/ Patterns that extend over the entire body are relatively rare. In Ill. 43 a, b the boy and the man have almost the same patterning: both sides of the body from the armpits to halfway down the calves are painted black, while only a long middle strip in the front and back is left free. The boy in Ill. 2 on Plate 38 is patterned all over with the genipap stamp. Another boy was decorated over his whole body by means of lines intersecting at right angles, which had been drawn with a four-tined fork. In the case of all these persons the arms, too, were patterned. Fully patterned persons of the female sex were rare; the maiden on Plate 16 displayed the most beautiful decoration. One girl was painted black from the breast down to the knee, and her right hand was colored as well; in the case of another, only the bosom, arms, and legs were painted (Ill. 44 a, b).



Ill. 45 a-c.
Thigh patterning.

Individual parts of the body are seldom decorated and then mostly in connection with the full patterning. The decoration on the arms and thighs generally consists of black or red rings which run around the extremities (Ill. 43, 44). Only on the thighs, and, to be sure, mostly on the inner side, more rarely on the outer side, are there separate designs, the meaning of which unfortunately could not be ascertained (Ill. 45). I did not see decorated hands, of which Ehrenreich reproduces a fine example; only one boy and one girl each had a hand painted black.

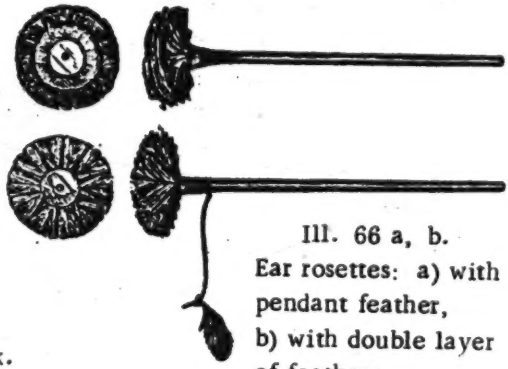
More important than the body patterning is the painting of the face; if a person has himself painted, the face comes first and only then the remaining parts of the body. Characteristic

/225 cont./

* 301 [237] The rosette consists either of small fine red feathers or of two layers of yellow and red clipped parrot feathers, of which the outer layer is yellow and the inner layer red, or the opposite. These ear rosettes also occasionally have a small pendant feather.

Young people, as well as adults of both sexes, wear essentially simpler ornaments, namely, simple rods (dŏhŏ), which are often covered on the front part with incised decorations (Ill. 67). Here,

Ill. 65.
Decorated gourd disk.



Ill. 66 a, b.
Ear rosettes: a) with pendant feather, b) with double layer of feathers.

Ill. 67.
Carved ear-rod.

[824] too, we find differences according to age. There are three kinds of such rods: yellow, mostly carved taquara rods, reddish or brown cane rods from a variety of gibate, /226/ and black, undecorated rods of gibate (dŏhòdèbè = black rods). The unmarried youth generally [822] wears rods of yellow taquara cane and sometimes such of red or brown cane, while married persons, besides rarely occurring yellow rods, generally wear only black rods. Maidens and older bachelors, however, also wear such black rods. Moreover, young people prefer long rods, while old people wear only short ones (Pl. 42, Ill. 1; 43, Ill. 1; 44, Ill. 2).

/227 cont./

*301 a) Cotton ornaments for the neck, hips, arms, and legs. They represent a large part of the Karajá ornaments, but are worn only occasionally, probably because of their weight. With [822] reference to color, the black ornaments for children are distinguished from the red ornaments for young people.

A narrow head-band of black cotton plaiting set with small shell disks was brought back by Ehrenreich from the Karajá [114] (Berlin 3676). I doubt that this object is really a head band. For one thing, I never saw such an ornament, and then the band seems much too long for a head band. Similar bands, on the other hand, are found as belts for girls' string aprons and as bands for the cylindrical dance-masks.

*301 283 On their necks the youths wear long red tassels (nŏhŏ̰ã̰ã̰ŏ̰) on a braided string which is hung on the necklace by an eyelet in back. Two such tassels are always worn. The ornament (Ill. 68a) is very rare. In place of it children wear black strings, on each end of which there is a thick, short black tassel (nŏhŏ̰ã̰). Two such strings are placed one on top of the other, so that the tassels coincide, and are then folded in half so that all four tassels hang down at the bottom. The upper loops are knotted [237] and then drawn through the necklace. In the case of the neck tassels of girls, /228/ snail shells (Castalia dolabella) are often drawn over the tassels from above (Ill. 68b; Pl. 18, right).

Around the hips the girls sometimes wear an apron [(g)ũŏhi] that falls far down and is made of black cotton strings which are plaited into a belt at the top, and this is sometimes trimmed with mother-of-pearl disks. The apron, closed, is drawn up from below over the hips. The strings fall down to the feet; in walking the thighs are visible between them. This ornament was also very rare (Ill. 69; Pl. 18). /Ills. 68 and 69 appear here./

Arms and legs correspond with regard to the type of cotton ornaments. We distinguish between three different kinds:

The first kind consists of long black strings, each with two tassels at one end. These strings are wound around the upper arm in the following way: first one holds the tassels against the shoulder, then wraps the upper arm beginning at the top, and leads the wrapping from the elbow upwards again, until the entire string is used up. The end is knotted, and the tassels are then allowed

/238 cont./

*301 The modern ornaments consist of glass beads, which are threaded on chains. For these, too, the name išiŭlă is used. All
●[822] colors were taken, but green ones generally found little favor.
[184] The fashions were entirely different in the individual villages: in one village people preferred large beads, in another small embroidery beads; in one white opaque beads, in another blue, black, or red ones. All the beads were first tested for their fragility and those that did not withstand a bite were rejected
[436] forthwith. The unit of exchange was chains of beads with approximately 100 small embroidery beads. Children and women wore these just as they received them; boys and youths, on the other hand, reworked them according to their taste. The beads were strung on several horizontal strings arranged parallel to one another and knotted at several places with vertical threads. The entire necklace was tied in back. It usually fitted the neck closely; the various colors were arranged in varying groups, but in such a way that white constituted the basic color (Pl. 36, Ill. 2). Sometimes appendages of various kinds also hung down from it.

[283] Other neck ornaments consisted of cotton strings. These are either wound around the neck several times by the men (black),
[237] or they consist of simple strings with pendants. For example, neck bones (?, bŭhānāūnĭ) of the dolphin are used as such ornamental appendages. It looked quite dangerous to see children, especially boys, who on the neck band wore shards of colored porcelain plates, which often reached the size of half a plate, with the broken edge toward the neck (1).

1. These appendages are already mentioned by Rufino in 1846/47 for the Šambioá. Rev. trim. 10 (1848), p. 196.

*301 There are three kinds of arm ornaments. First, there are
*237 arm bands which have bunches of feathers in one place; then there are those with a plaited band to which are attached several layers of feathers; finally, fine strings from which pendants of all kinds are suspended. They are worn on the upper arm (dērōzĭ) and on the

/355 cont./

301 184 Ornaments as marks of distinction. The lip plugs assume tremendous proportions among the young men. The longest wooden lip-plug (ōdŭŏ) was 31.5 centimeters long and 2.2 centimeters wide. The shell lip-plugs (ĭdjĕ) of boys almost all terminate in a turned-up point. I did not see stone lip-plugs.

As for ear ornaments, there are yellow rods (dŏhŏ), rods with red feather rosettes and a dot of wax in the middle of the mother-of-pearl disk (dōlĭĕ, dòhōdŭĕ), and tulip-like rosettes with a rodent tooth in the center (gūēdjŭ). /356/ The latter are almost universal among children; the two former kinds appeared only rarely, especially the simple ear rods, in contrast to the Karajá, almost all of whom wear them. Also, the ear [531] rods are only quite simply decorated with a few rings cut in at the front end (Ill. 190).

The arm cuffs (dēsĭ), calf bands (dēōbĭdă) and ankle bands (wālālĭ) are similar to those of the Karajá. Young men often wore a bast band bound over the arm cuffs and calf bands.

As for other ornaments, very many cotton ornaments were worn. Black neck-tassels of the girls (wādjīklīdjă) sometimes bore snail shells pushed on, as among the Karajá. The long string skirts (gūŏhĭ) are also worn by the Šavajé girls. The arm and leg ornaments with hangings were very elaborate. Of the three kinds among the Karajá, I observed the first kind, strings with tassels, as upper-arm and lower-arm ornaments, the second kind, flat-plaited or tasseled bands with long hangings, only as calf ornaments, and the third kind, two thick pads with long hangings, only as arm ornaments. Whereas among the Karajá each of the strings of the first kind (dōlŭ) have two tassels at the end, those of the Šavajé always have three (Pl. 59, Ill. 1). These tassels, along with the strings, are always dyed black. In the case of one specimen, intended for the upper arm of a child, the wrapping strings are 325 centimeters long; on the other hand, in the case of another, which allegedly was intended for the lower arm of a man, 925 centimeters! The second kind was encountered [822] only as a calf ornament, and, to be sure, dyed black for children (dēăhūlă), dyed red for youths (lūdjaûwŭ). The fringe hangings,

/25 cont./

531 Unfortunately it is not always possible to ascertain with certainty
534 the pertinent natural object. The following patterns, whose meaning was determined, suffice, however, for an explanation.

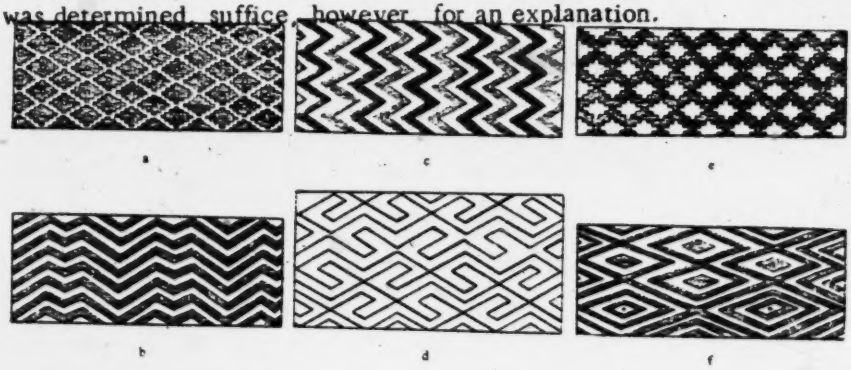


Fig. 11. Comb patterns

The oar patterns (Pl. VIII /see p. 110/, 1-3) all represent fish; likewise the feather mosaic designs of some of the dance helmets (cf. p. 72).

[823] The frequently appearing cross (cf. Fig. 16c /see p.63 / and Pl. VIII, 6), which has given rise to airy hypotheses so often in America, is nothing here but a species of lizard (uatä·ϑä).

Anyone who has seen the large wasp nests of the camp-forests with the blunt knobs will immediately recognize this mark in the comb ornamentation (Fig. 11a).

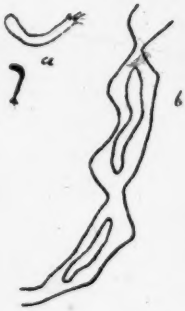


Fig. 12.

As especially characteristic there are still to be mentioned the bat (tureherekŏ, Fig. 11b), recognizable by the outstretched wings, as well as the snake patterns, which occur the most frequently. Thus Fig. 11c is the rattlesnake (Crotalus horridus); Fig. 11e the caninanha (Spilotes).

Other snakes are represented by Figures 11d and f.

532 Real drawings of human beings and animals, like the ones known to us in such excellent execution by the Bushmen and Eskimo, do not seem to occur among the Karaya. Nowhere did we see strikingly reproduced representations painted in the sand or carved in trees with a few strokes, like the ones which so often aroused our attention among the Bakairi and Mehinaku /Mehinacu/ of the upper Xingu.

/25 cont./

532 The Karaya also proved themselves rather helpless in drawing with a pencil. In the foot depicted in Fig. 12a /see p. 49/ everyone will see instead an arm with outstretched hand.

[823] The topographical sketch of the Araguaia with its bends and islands shows greater talent and true understanding (Fig. 12b /see p. 49/).

532 352 Unfortunately the collection possesses only a few specimens of wood carvings. The handsomest of the sledge-like stools (koriša) in stylized animal shape could not be obtained. The specimen from the Šambioa, however, is of excellent workmanship (Fig. 13 /see p. 51/).

The two heads into which the elegantly curved seat runs were originally supplied with mother-of-pearl eyes.

532 [412] The wooden spoons (katarǎ), too, otherwise appearing only very sporadically in South America, are noteworthy. The handle end of the larger specimen ends in an easily recognizable toucan head (Fig. 14 /see p. 51/).

/26/ The most outstanding artistic achievement of the Karaya is the plastic reproduction of human forms in wax and unfired clay. Small figures (likokǒ, children's dolls?) are offered to travelers in large quantities. Their execution shows, despite the somewhat stereotyped manner of production, a high degree of ingenuous sense of form and excellent observation of nature. /Fig. 13 appears here./

The most successful pieces, in their proper depiction of body forms, are equal to the best works of the peoples of the ancient American civilizations and surpass anything which other savage tribes, with the exception of the Northwest Americans and the Eskimo, have achieved in this respect. Although there is an inclination to give the lower extremities an unnatural thickness, there is nothing really grotesque.

The collection numbers 52 specimens which in their different types demonstrate extremely well the gradual perfecting of this primitive artistic activity.

The simplest figures make rather large demands on the imagination. The Indian imitates in them only what seems most

/340 cont./

821 Shooting stars are called lẽšiwĩŭlãn. They were explained to me by a half-civilized Karajá as change of place by the stars, whereas, according to Ehrenreich ("Beiträge," p. 45), they represent the tossed-out fishing gear with the bait. The Indians knew that in November many shooting stars appear.

823 [804] Geographical. The Karajá are very familiar with the course of the Araguaya. They calculate distances on the river according to steep banks and according to how often one must cross the river going upstream; greater distances according to overnight camps. They have special proper names for tributaries, lakes, steep banks, and mountains (see the word list /untranslated; see the foreign text, p. 456/).

On either side of the Araguaya their knowledge of the country extends somewhat beyond the boundaries of their territory. Thus, they are familiar with the waterfall of the Rio Tapirapé, which lies several hours above the present boundary. About the Furo /Port. furo, natural connection between two bodies of water/ (east arm of Bananal Island) they know that it dries up during the dry season, so that not even Indian boats can navigate it. A small furo is said to run across Bananal Island from the east branch to the west branch of the Araguaya.

[147] They have endurance on land marches; they walk very rapidly. In order to find water on the barren campo, they hold their faces in the direction of the wind: if the wind is cool, it comes from a place where there is water; if it is hot, there is not likely to be any water in this direction. Before digging for water at a place, they pound a stick deep into the ground; if it is moist, 823 [5] they start digging. On the way, they pay attention to all tracks, and they are masters at drawing conclusions from them. When traveling down the Tapirapé, I reached the sandbank where we had had our first camp on the Tapirapé, my Karajá immediately recognized from the footprints precisely which of their relatives had been here, approximately how long /341/ they had stayed, where they had their boats lying, and about how long ago they had departed, all conjectures which later proved to come very close to the truth.

7:Lipkind E-5 (1938-1939) 1940
SP9 Caraja SP9

CARAJÁ COSMOGRAPHY

By William Lipkind

101 The Carajá are an isolated people inhabiting a large territory slightly
114 north of the geographical center of Brazil. During 1938 and 1939 I lived
131 with the Carajá and collected a large body of textual material which forms the basis of the generalized presentation of Carajá world-view which follows.[1]

772 The Carajá universe is very small. Their own territory (Bananal), an island formed by a large fork of the Araguaya river is its center. To the west the great Chavante plateau stretches out to the huge river in which
[824] the sun goes down. All night the sun moves through the underworld and in the morning he comes up out of another river which is the eastern boundary of the world. If you paddle many days downriver, you will come to a village of the transformer Kanashiwe, the world's northern limit. An equal journey upstream will take you to its southern limit, another village of Kanashiwe.

[823] The Carajá are perfectly acquainted with the middle portion of this parallelogram. Every beach, high bank, wood and lake along the Araguaya, every body of water and distinctive patch of ground within Bananal, is known and has a name. The tributaries are known in less detail and only up to a few days' journey from their mouths. Inland from the rivers their knowledge peters out after a short distance and you are soon in mythical country.

[775] To the Carajá this world seems very large. The journey to its northern and southern limits is the initiation journey of the dead. No man since legendary times has gone very far toward the eastern and western boundaries, and, besides, there are two other dimensions, the underworld and the sky.

772 In the underworld, the original home of the Carajá, there was neither
773 sickness nor death. As the emergence myth states, "More people kept being born. Nobody died. There wasn't room enough. When a man got old, he sat there in one place without moving. Kaboi couldn't add any more houses to the village. It was full. A new father was lying on the mat. It was time to eat honey. He went off hunting honey. While he was hunting he heard a *seriema* (Portuguese name of a bird) sing. He scooped a hole toward it and came out. He found fruit at once and decided to return. When he got back he gave his folk the fruit to taste. They found it very good and wanted to come out. They invited the others to come with them. Wobedu sent his folk out first and he went first among them. Kaboi came

[122] [1] The work was financed by Columbia University.

7:Lipkind E-5 (1938-1939) 1940
SP9 Caraja SP9

among the last. He got stuck in the hole. His belly was too big. He decided to go back. It was a dead leaf that he spied. He spoke to his wife, 'Let's go back. There is death there.' They went back again. Those that had come out were very happy. They were all happy. Then one of them climbed a tree. It was a child that climbed. He fell and died. They all mourned. Suddenly they got cheerful again. For this reason they were angry, his mother and father. His brother and sister, married to each other, were angry. For this reason there was keening. They say that there in the depths of the water there was no death."

In addition to being the original home of the Carajá, the underworld is also the home of the dead. Those who die a quiet death and are properly buried live there much in the same fashion as they lived on earth. But they are always a bit crazed and dangerous to the living. They must be placated by offerings and ceremonial observances. Otherwise they assume the form of poisonous snakes and bite those who neglect them. Those who die a violent death, who are clubbed or torn by beasts, become violent unappeasable ghosts. They are buried in the woods without arms or fire, in a position contrary to the traditional position in order to disorient them. A woman's girdle is tied about their eyes to blind them. Their desire is to kill, and especially to kill their closest kin. Their afterlife is extremely unpleasant. They wander about in a perpetual rage and feed on little birds which they eat raw.

The other dimension of the Carajá universe is the sky. Only the southeastern quadrant of the sky interests the Carajá. The rest is uninhabited forest. Starting at the Southern Cross virtually every star and constellation visible in the east is a named supernatural. The Milky Way is the shaman's road. When the shaman falls into his trance he goes up the shaman's road into one of the villages of the sky supernaturals. There he receives his power and knowledge and, if he has not eaten or drunk, thereafter is a curer. If he has, he becomes a sorcerer and killer. The good shaman after his death goes to live in the sky. He squats up there in the heat of the sun with his inexhaustible pot of food and gourd of water in front of him and his shamanistic rattle in his hand, held up to shade his eyes from the glare of the sun. At night he dances with the supernaturals. This is considered the happiest afterlife.

The earth and underworld are also inhabited by supernaturals. Every pool, every deep spot in the river, every bit of forest or savannah, has its supernatural owners. These are of two kinds. Many are amiable and beautiful beings who have friendly relations with humans. They are invited to feasts and impersonated in the masked dances. The others are ugly and dangerous monsters who cannot be placated. Their woods are avoided and nobody fishes in their pools.

The sorcerer has a wide variety of techniques at his disposal. He may

/11 cont./

*532 on the nose slightly in relief. The tattooing is cut in as a small circle. The apron is reproduced in bast. The necklaces on two are made of bast, on the third of cotton. All three wear cuffs of cotton thread, which is wound around the arm between two raised rolls of wax. Likewise, all three wear ear rods. The shapes are thus reproduced fairly proportionately. The fashioning of the chin, the arms and legs, hands and feet is particularly good. Gentle reminders of the schematic representation of the clay figures are found in the formation of the fat buttocks and the stomach plate.

Other human figures are a rider and a gourd figure.

The rider (Fig. 67 /see p. 51 /) is represented very true to life. On the horse the head and tail /12/ are depicted, the legs supplied by long sticks. The rider has long cylindrical arms and legs; hands and feet are lacking; the head is offset. The lower body and legs are wrapped with raw cotton as trousers. At his belt he carries a sword and revolver, in both arms the gun ready to fire, all fashioned in wax.

The gourd figure (Fig. 68 /see p. 51 /), which represents a youth, is formed in most peculiar fashion. The torso consists [P24] of a small round gourd, on the top of which a well-fashioned wax head is placed. On the head are attached a topknot, a braid wound with red thread, ear rosettes, and necklaces of cotton thread. /Figs. 69 and 70 appear here./ 1

*532 I would like to add here the reproduction of masked dancers.
535 Masked dances resting on an animistic foundation take place
[1.22] among the Karajá particularly in the rainy season (from October to April). Dance masks are used for this, and for the most part they represent animals. These masks are either plaited out of
[2.15] palm leaves and conceal the whole form of the dancer, or they
[P24] consist of a cane cylinder with a brightly colored mosaic of
[R37] feathers stuck on, which is put on the head. The face is concealed by a covering attached to the lower edge of the cylinder; a leaf covering is tied around the shoulders and hips, so that of the dancer only the feet and the hands with the dance rattle are

1 [see p.21-- Analyst]

/9 cont./

142 The bridge is narrow, markedly convex with a somewhat pendulous tip. The alae are usually somewhat drawn up, so that the round nostrils seem to be directed toward the front.

In size the women stand significantly behind the men, but are just as well proportioned. Their figures tend to be somewhat full in their youth. Almost all the younger individuals have uncommonly delicate hands and feet and a perfect form of the bust, but, like [853] all Indian women, they lose their charms very early; in particu- lar the long breast-feeding causes excessive lengthening of the [481] breasts. In the case of older women, the weak development of the lower extremities and the waddling gait of the inwardly turned feet make an unpleasant impression.

The real skin-color of the Karaya is difficult to determine at first glance. Staying on the sun-scorched praias changes the bright yellow-brown of their complexions, which one can still confirm only under their large cotton cuffs and knee-bands, into a dark copper- 302 brown. Even this is not easy to see in the case of many individuals because of the /10/ body painting used to the broadest extent (Fig. 1 /see p. 17 /). People painted black or red from head to foot are not rare. Others combine the black or red color into patterns which almost give the impression of European clothing. Black line-drawings on the face and extremities are the most popular.

302 Used for body painting are:

386 1. Urucú (uareriõ). Paste made from the red berries of Bixa [824] orellana.

[824] 2. The blue-black dye (beõẽna) obtained from the seeds of the genipa (Genipa brasiliensis).

3. Soot. This is either simply scraped from the cooking pots and rubbed into the face or, mixed with genipa, it serves for diffuse painting of the whole body.

302 The line-decoration is put on with the fingers or little wooden 413 sticks, the diffuse coloring with a rag.

/10 cont./

302 The bristly or wavy black hair of both sexes is cut off straight above the eyebrows and hangs down in back over the neck. Dandies
[301] wear a part about three centimeters wide up to the crown /Fig. 1 appears here/, let the short crown-hair stick up like a brush, and with cotton strings tie the part hanging down in back into a braid, at the roots of which the men sometimes tie a decoration of blue arara or black mutum /curassow/ feathers (ušiktamaru).

301 In the pierced ear-lobes both sexes wear sticks of cane 15-20
[304] centimeters long for everyday.

The plug in the lower lip (anϑōŏ) is used only by the men. It
[824] consists of the light, flaky wood of the piuva tree and is either cut obliquely with a short point or runs out into a long, thin lamina hanging down on the chest (Fig. 2, b /see p. 18 /).

Boys primarily wear, instead of this, small T-shaped pieces of shell (idžä) (Fig. 2, d /see p. 18 /).

The most precious lip ornament, which is worn only on festive occasions, but otherwise is kept carefully wrapped in cotton, is a long, heavy, stone plug (manuterĕ) of hyaline or rose-colored quartz, the T-shaped end of which is stuck through the lower lip while the conical button hangs down (Fig. 2, a /see p. 18 /). Of the four specimens in the collection the largest is 17.5 centimeters long.

301 /11/ These lip stones, of which only a few have reached
439 European collections, are not made by the Karaya themselves, but are bartered from the Tapirapé, the Tupi people on the like-
[135] named left tributary of the Araguaia. The mountain chains of the left riverbank, such as the Serra dos Cayapos, are rich in this material. A Kayapo stone plug acquired in S. Maria is shorter and runs out to a tapered, blunt end (Fig. 2, c /see p. 18 /).

304 Tattooing is limited to the tribal badge which both sexes
619 wear on their cheeks: a blue ring 10-15 millimeters in diameter (auϑamanurĕ) just under the lower edge of the orbit.

515 On the whole the Karaya are distinguished by scrupulous care of the body. They bathe several times a day. Their hair is
302 always carefully combed. All the hair on the face and body is
[412] plucked out. Shears are now commonly used for hair cutting,
[231] whereas formerly piranha teeth were used for this.

/11 cont./

291 Clothing. The men go about completely naked, but tie the foreskin over the penis glans with a black cotton thread, like the end of a sausage (Pl. I /see p. 103/, 1). The women wear the nantŏ, a kind of sash made of the bast of the jangada tree (Apeiba jangada). /Fig. 2 appears here./ Softened in water and beaten and dried with flat stones, it acquires a high degree of pliability and a gleaming white, almost cloth-like appearance, very similar to the Polynesian tapa cloth made in the same way. A piece one span wide and 1 1/2 meters long is placed around the hips, both ends drawn be-

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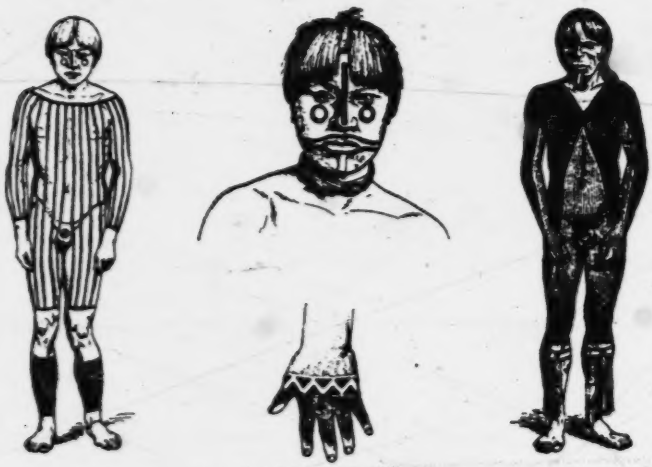

Fig. 1. Body painting.

291 tween the legs from back to front and knotted below the navel, so that the ends hang down to the feet. When sitting down, the ends are thrown back under the seat (Pl. I /see p. 103 /, 2).

This primitive costume is supplemented by various arm and leg bands which represent a special tribal peculiarity.

854 Soon after birth the lower arm and lower leg of the child are
291 wrapped with heavy black cotton cords (aʒonrubĕ), while a band five centimeters wide and likewise black is put around the body (uaitakaui) (Pl. VII /see p. 109/, 3 and 4).

/12 cont./

286 They most probably owe their mat to the civilized Brazilians.
177 Insofar as the latter use hammocks at all, they make them out of
cotton. Now Pinto da Fonseca says (op. cit., p. 387) that the
[283] Karaya used cotton only for making fish nets and bow strings, but
were unacquainted with the art of weaving. He himself made
them a weaving apparatus and instructed the women in this skill.

This would agree with the fact that still today the Yavahē of
[184] Bananal Island, among whom Pinto undertook his first civilizing
attempts, are designated as the most skillful weavers. The uncommonly firm, taffeta-like, woven "rede" in the collection is supposed to be Yavahē work. A visit among them would definitively settle this interesting question.

293 Also to be mentioned here as a noteworthy elaborate piece
[285] belonging to the Karaya are the eyeshades (ȧodi) plaited out of
[824] guassú palm leaves, with which they protect themselves from the blinding reflected sunlight while walking over the sandbanks (Pl. VIII /see p. 110/, 10). They have not arrived at the construction of protective apparatus of the type of the Eskimo snow-goggles, but they prize European dark glasses.

The adding on to the eyeshade to make a complete top-hat
[197] (taă) is probably to be traced back to European influence. There
were two specimens of it in all.

Settlements, Houses, and Domestic Animals.

621
361 The Karaya do not live in small troops of two or three families, as the forest Indians of Amazonas and the rude hunting nomads of the coastal region do, but always in larger communities. Only the southernmost Karayahi are forced by the lack of means of subsistence to divide up somewhat more. In the vicinity of S. José during the dry season one continually meets small bands of eight to ten persons. The farther one comes downstream, the more populous their camps become. Some of them may number at least 150-200 inhabitants.
342 The Karayahi huts erected on the sandbanks usually consist of large
[824] buriti-fiber mats stretched over pole frames, standing about without any order, like gypsy tents (Pl. III /see p.105 /, 2).

/12 cont./

342 184 Only rarely does one see among them the characteristic solid house-construction of the Šambioa and then only in smaller 351 364 dimensions, without any particular care in the construction. Since all the scraps are simply strewn on the ground, the refuse gradually [136] becomes unbearable. The vermin multiplying in large numbers, especially the sand fleas, finally force them to abandon the place. 342 In the rainy season the Karayahi move into stronger, buriti-leaf [361] covered, open ranchos on the high bank, which do not in other respects differ in form from those customary among the Brazilian population.

/13/ The "summer huts" of the Šambioa are very much more [184] carefully and neatly built. Here the greater diligence, industriousness, and the comfortable well-being of the free son of the wilderness are manifest, in contrast to his "tame" tribal brother vegetating in oppressive conditions and dependent on civilization. [361] Not in disorder, but in long rows, forming real streets, these houses with their impeccable cleanliness make an uncommonly friendly and comfortable impression (Pl. IV /see p.106/, 1, and Pl. V /see p. 107/).

621 In the first Šambioa village we counted 60 huts, in the second 30, in the third 45, and in the fourth 90, each of which is inhabited by one or two families.

The individual villages are distinguished by special names. 342 The basic form of the house is rectangular; the narrow side with the door faces the street. The frame consists of three or four [335] flexible poles on each side carried over forked supports and held together with those on the opposite side by means of cipos, thus /Fig. 3 appears here/ forming a boat-like, arched roof, which is further supported by some vertical poles set in the ground in the long direction (Fig. 3 /see p. 22 /). These, as well as the forked supports, are connected with one another by as many strong horizontal poles as are necessary. Thin laths are placed lengthwise [824] and parallel to one another on the outside over the ribs of the roof and serve as supports for the strong pinnate leaves of the uaguassú palm (Attalea spectabilis), which, in several layers, form a fairly waterproof roof. Their leaf pinnae are also entwined with one another into a very solid plaited work. These plaitings serve

/15 cont./

241 Cara tubers /Dioscorea/ are grown in large quantity, excellent quality, and in various species. Most commonly one sees the huge egg-shaped pé d'anta (Cara brasiliensis) with a white cut-surface, as well as a smaller one with an almost violet cut-surface.

222 [262] The wild food plants and fruits which the river forests and camp-woods supply constitute a desirable change. These are primarily palm fruits, such as the nuts of the uaguassú, the pineapple-like fruits of the buriti (Mauritia vinifera), and various small species of coconut; furthermore, the wild acaju tree, the jaboticaba, the pitanga /Surinam cherry/ the oily piquia (Caryocar brasiliense), various Bromeliaceae, and, finally, the finest fruit of the campos, the mangaba (Hancornia speciosa). One sees the latter, however, much more rarely than in the Xingu villages. The tree does not seem to be planted as it is there.

[262] It is noteworthy that the orange, which flourishes extremely well here, is not cultivated, although the Indians esteem it most [439] highly. Only rarely do they undertake week-long journeys to the Brazilian settlements to trade for these fruits. A principal goal of such excursions is the site of the old, now abandoned mission and military post Chambioas, just above the rapids of S. Miguel, where rather large stands of this noble tree have maintained themselves. Cacao, too, was formerly obtained from there.

Still to be mentioned is the honey of the countless species of wild bees, the collecting of which presents no difficulties since the animals are entirely stingless. The black wax, which [237] is stored in large, round, inch-thick disks, is used in Indian industry as a glue.

249 The only luxury item of the Karaya is tobacco (koti). It is a Nicotiniana, but not N. tabacum, of a mild quality. The dried leaves are stored (see p. 40) in large rectangular packages plaited out of palm-leaf strips and are pulverized between the 276 hands for use. /16/ The fruit capsule of the jequitiba tree 824 (Hymenaea sp.), filed smooth on the outside, serves as a pipe

/16 cont./

296 824 (arikoko). One specimen in the collection is carved out of wood in its natural form (Fig. 4 and Pl. I /see p. 103 /, 1).

252 Preparation of food. Directly in front of the house door is found the cooking place, surrounded by low pole frames on which the squeezed manioc is dried. Large earthen pots stand on stones [364] or clay supports over the fire. The ground around is littered with scraps. These heaps are the breeding places of annoying gray flies [136] (the so-called mosca da aldeia), which sting badly and, when they get out of hand, necessitate abandoning the place.

[462] Untiringly the women are busy throughout the day with dragging in the field produce and firewood, the preparation of manioc, pounding maize, opening palm nuts, and the careful supervision of all the culinary processes, in which the Indian housewife, despite the simplicity of the materials, knows how to achieve a relatively great diversity.

[876]

Fig. 4. Tobacco pipe (1/4).

372 824 Fire is still made wholly in the original way by means of the drill (hädä). It consists of two sticks. The thicker one, wood of the urucú plant, is fixed on the ground after a shallow cavity provided with a deep cut at the side is made near one end. Then the point of the second, thinner stick of taquara /Chusquea sp./ is set in this and is twirled between the palms with strong pressure until a hollow is formed at this point, out of which the glowing dust flows through the notch at the side and can be collected. Thus the procedure is precisely the one illustrated and described by Im Thurn (op. cit., p. 258). As in the method used by the Warrau /Warao/, no special tinder is needed. The pulverized wood itself supplies it. To kindle a livelier flame, dry strips of palm leaf are mixed with the easily flammable red resin (tamararu), which is like sealing wax, and then lighted.

/17 cont./

412 Today the primitive tools are limited to those which Nature
237 provides for specific purposes, such as scraping knives of mussel shells, chisel-shaped implements made of rodent teeth, flat stones for pounding bast cloth, the coarse bony tongue of the pirarucú as a rasp, etc.

178 Despite widespread use of foreign tools, the industry of this people has completely retained its national character. Fortunately, among the Karaya, there is still no question of any decline in it such as almost always sets in as a consequence of the introduction of European products, as is well known. Fitness, beauty of form, and care in execution are still characteristic of their work.

501 Canoe construction is on a rather high level, although the method of production is relatively simple. The boats (auñõ) are long narrow dugouts with the front and back parts extending equally far and somewhat sloping at the tips. Given the many shallows of the river this form is the most efficient, since it facilitates the landing and launching of the vessel (Pl. IV /see p. 106 /, 2).

396 The material is the straightest possible trunk of the ipiuba
1824 (Tecoma sp.) or jatoba (Hymenaea sp.). Since the forward part is from the lower, the back part from the upper section of the trunk, the canoes are usually somewhat broader in the front than in the back. The hollowing is done with an ax and aided by fire. Since the cavity of the boat is not artificially widened by special manipulations such as Im Thurn describes (op. cit., p. 293), but rather the original diameter of the trunk also determines that of the boat, the canoes are usually disproportionately narrow in proportion to their length and tip over easily. They
501 are smoothed over inside and outside with great care. Arrangements for sitting are not present. There are set in on the other hand, rows of short crossbars, which, fixed a few inches above the bottom, protect any cargo from getting wet.

The oars (nahere, Pl. VIII /see p. 110/, 1-3) are of excellent workmanship. They are 1 1/3 to 1 1/2 meters long, half of which is taken up by the handle provided with a cross-grip. The blade is straight, leaf-shaped, 15-20 centimeters wide, and runs out at the bottom into a lancet-shaped, offset tip. Elegant

/17 cont./ Elegant

501 oars are painted black. The middle third of the blade is covered
[531] by a decoration made up of black zigzag lines and dots on a white background (see p. 49).

411 The weapons of the Karaya are still the original ones throughout.

The bows (ŠuahĕtĕŠ) are of various sizes according to the age and strength of the owner. The longest of the collection measures 220 centimeters, the shortest child's bow 70 centimeters. They
[824] consist in part of the wood of the brejauba palm (Astrocaryum sp.) or the so-called pau d'arco (Tecoma sp.). The front side is usually somewhat smoothed down, the ends tapered with thornlike, offset tips (Pl. VI /see p. 108 /, 1).

/18/ The string (mahūga) and the way it is fastened show
411 certain peculiarities similar to those found among the Guiana
284 tribes. The material is embira bast (Malvaceae sp.), the leaf
[824] fiber of a Bromelia (caraguatá) or that of the pati palm (Syagrus botryophora). The length of the string twisted from it exceeds that of the bow by six to eight times. Of a appropriate thickness at one end, it tapers more and more toward the other, finally ending in a thin thread. The strong end is wound around the upper tip of the bow. From there the string goes directly to the lower end and along the front side of the bow upward to about the middle. Then it runs back again and is wound fast around the lower part of the bow with its thinner end. The last, thread-like part hangs down, decorated with a feather tassel.

In order that the wound end does not slip up, it is wound at the place of the curve with a layer of maize leaves which are tied fast with black cotton cords. Sometimes the ends of the bow are also wrapped with thin white threads below the tip. A similar, but looser cotton binding ties the part of the string running on the outside of the bow to the bow wood. This prevents too great a strain on the string. If the upper end of the string breaks, a replacement can easily be brought up by unwinding from below. A break at the lower end is not easily possible because of the counter pressure present there.

/18 cont./

411 The form of the arrows (uehĕ) is very manifold.

The shaft of the arrow consists of two pieces, a lower one of cane and the one inserted in it of wood. The latter bears either a special tip or, sharpened and correspondingly shaped, serves in some way as one itself.

In general the length of the cane shaft amounts to two-thirds of the length of the whole arrow, and that of the wooden shaft one-third.

411 The feathers of the lower cane-end are always placed so
230 that their uppermost tip, wound around itself, lies at the level of the notch. The quill describes a 1/8 to 1/4 turn around the shaft. The heavy arrows, especially those provided with a broad cane tip, usually have a heavier winding of feathers.

Through the twisting of the feather tip, the outer feathers of the quill are sharply bent outward. The inner feathers are cut off short in order to lie closer to the shaft.

In the case of many arrows the lowest piece, which bears the notches and feathering, is separately inserted into the cane shaft. Probably the original arrow end was split here during the cutting or bending the bow and was supplemented by an insert.

411 The feathers are tied with black cotton strings, between
230 which are usually placed small red and yellow decorative feathers.
284 The attached pieces are held together by waimbē (Philodendron
[531] sp.) bast bands. The feathered part of the cane end often has
[824] crossbands touched up with red lacquer (tamararu).

The following arrow types are represented in the collection:

411 1. War arrows, with point made from the tail-spine of a
[126] thornback, 150-180 centimeters long, two-thirds of which makes up the cane shaft. The spine, six to eight centimeters long and supplied on both sides with countless small barbs, is tied to the wooden shaft with thread and wax in such a way that the lower part projects as a long barb. The wooden shaft itself is painted with red lines, wavy lines, and dots (Pl.VI/see p.108 /, 8).

2. War arrows with cane tip cut in the shape of a knife, related to the Bororo arrows in their form. Total length 140-160 centimeters, of which the cane shaft takes up only one-third. On the upper end of the 3/4 centimeter thick wooden shaft made

/19 cont./

411 Of the three specimens the largest has a total length of 72.5 centimeters, of which 14.5 make up the handle (Pl. VI /see p. 108/, 6). Moreover, there is a children's throwing board 38.5 centimeters long.

[824] The arrows thrown (kåura) are 150-180 centimeters long, unfeathered cane pieces made of uba (Gynerium saccharoides) with inserted, 12-20 centimeter long end-knobs of palm wood, which are covered with a thick layer of wax. Thus they should be considered only as sporting equipment. That tradition still knows them as weapons, however, is shown by the legend given on p. 85 (Pl. VI /see p. 108/, 7).

323 Ceramics. The art of making pots, practiced exclusively by the women, is not especially developed. Although the technique leaves little to be desired, the forms are rather simple. [517] An artistic desire to reproduce natural objects, animal shapes, etc., as among the Xingu tribes, is not expressed in them. Everything is reckoned more in terms of the practical.

As almost everywhere in South America, the vessels are made without a wheel by putting rolls of clay over one other circularly or spirally. By patting with the dampened hand and continuous smoothing with pieces of bone and mussel shell, the pot finally reaches the desired shape and strength.

[113] According to Couto Magelhães (Archiv. do museu nac. Rio, p. 77) the ash of certain vines is mixed with the clay; their silica content makes it more resistant.

According to further information from the above observer, the firing of the pots is done, after superficial drying, in a peculiar manner. A hole is made in the side of an earth termite nest, and it is heated. The vessel is put in, and under it there is made a second opening communicating with the first one, with a fire maintained in it. A third opening at the top serves as a chimney.

415 106 The collection shows the most important, but not the largest types of vessels that occur (Fig. 5 /see p. 38/).

/19 cont./

415 1. The most common form can be described as two truncated cones with their bases touching. A tall model with a narrow opening and a shorter one with a wide opening are in use.

2. Wide open, deep bowls of similar basic form serve as cooking pots.

3. Flat, round plates, perhaps imitated from European forms.

4. Low elliptical double bowls with a partition running lengthwise.

5. Cylindrical pots with bent or projecting rim.

[171] 6. Small bowls (uatiui) with three feet, used especially by children; an analogous form is found in Ecuador.

7. Clay spoons.

The vessels do not have handles; instead bast cords are wound around the neck of the pot or drawn through the edge.

●[824] The gourd bowls (üša) (fruit of Crescentia cuyete) also belong among the vessels. They are not found here in the size and diversity of form as among the Xingu /20/ tribes by far. On the other hand, they are much more carefully prepared and dried, and possess incomparably greater durability. They are usually [531] blackened inside and out and provided with engraved decorations (Fig. 6 /see p. 38/ and Fig. 10 /see p. 47 /). Painted gourds, like those of the Xingu tribes, do not occur.

415 In their natural shape, i.e., not cut through and provided
534 with a round opening only at one pole, and also with hanging cords (Pl. VIII /see p. 110 /, 7), they serve as bottles or containers for smaller /Fig. 5 appears here/ objects, such as seeds, decorative feathers, and such things; with a wooden handle and the seeds left inside, or pebbles, they serve as a dance rattle (uärŏ). [531] As such, they are often decorated with bands of feathers hanging down (Pl. X /see p. 112/, 1 and 2). /Fig. 6 appears here./

285 Plaited work, in view of the inexhaustible wealth of plant material which the bounteous nature of South America puts at the disposal of the savage primitive inhabitants, occupies the most prominent place in Indian home industry. Actually it forms the yardstick of the culture of these tribes. The Karaya are second to no other nation in this art, but their works are distinguished

/20 cont./

285 less by decorativeness than by practicality, care in execution, and diversity of form.

[824] The leaves of the uaguassú and buriti palms serve them for making mats. The diagonally plaited leaf pinnae of the former provide, as was mentioned above, an important material for

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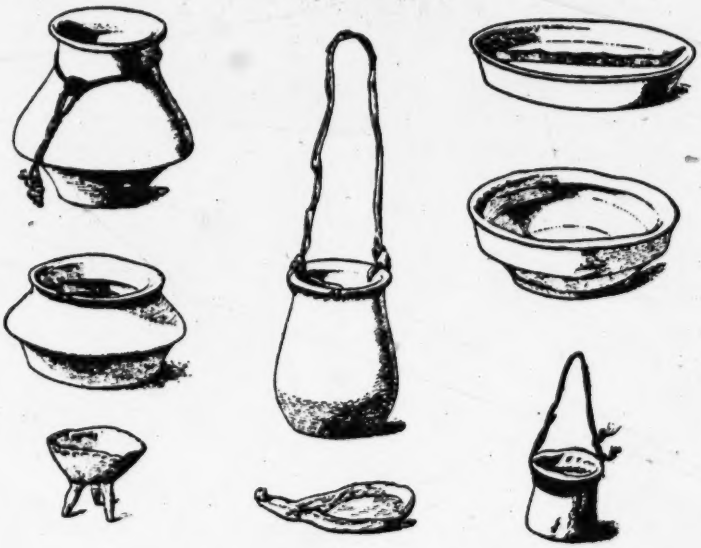

Fig. 5. Types of clay vessels (1/6).

[531]

Fig. 6. Gourd bowl with decorations.

285 house construction. These simple mats are also used for floor covering; because they are so easy to make, they are usually put together at the moment of need.

The true mats (esteiras), which are used as an underlayer while sleeping and as tent roofs, are made from the finely divided fan-leaves of the buriti palm. The tender fibers, split lengthwise, are always stored for use in braidlike plaited skeins.

/21/

285 Long parallel bundles of them are held together by twisted threads running through them in pairs. A single, continuous weft string is drawn through the whole. Where the string bends at the edge of the mat for the next woof, there are alternating loops, by which the plaiting is hung up. The woofs are placed at intervals of about three centimeters. The dimensions of these uncommonly durable, soft, and flexible mats are often very considerable. The two specimens in the collection are fan-shaped, almost twice as wide on one end as on the other. The length of the plaited part of the larger one amounts to 196 centimeters, and an unplaited width of 58 centimeters is left over. The width measures 135 centimeters on top, 234 centimeters on the bottom.

If a Karaya must remain standing for some time on the scorching hot sand of the praias, he protects the soles of his feet with a small mat of similar execution placed under them. The corresponding piece in the collection is plaited with black embira bast in a complementary pattern (Pl. VIII /see p.110 /, 13).

[824] For basket plaiting, besides the palms named, the smaller Mauritia species, carandasinha, split taquara cane, flexible cipos, as well as the so-called arimbamba, various species of vines, split maranta stalks, etc. are also used.

[482] 1. For transporting larger loads huge carrying-baskets (behåra) are made by simply plaiting two uaguassú leaves together. They are laid parallel to each other so that there is an interval of 30-40 centimeters between the ribs. The leaf pinnae, turned toward one another make up the back wall of the basket in diagonal crossing; those lying toward the outside, knotted one under the other on each side, make up the side parts. The bottom is formed by tying together their lower ends. The length of such a basket, supplied with strong carrying cords, can amount to three meters (1).

1. Concerning a quite similar utensil on the Congo, cf. Smithson. Reports, 1877, p. 287, with illustration.

[482] 2. The same palm provides the material for the round carrying-baskets (rorå). The edge consists of the middle rib split

/21 cont./

285 vertical striping. By turning the diagonal splints toward the outside, there arises on each side a diagonal cross-pattern in dark color. All the splints come together at right angles at the bottom.

10. Round shallow baskets (uäriri) made of pliable vines, [415] whose vertical splints join at the bottom in four groups intersecting at right angles (Pl. VIII /see p. 110 /, 14), serve as sieves.

11. A spherical basket for storing raw cotton has a quite similar plaiting. The vertical strips are of less pliable material (Pl. VIII /see p. 110/, 16).

283 The textile industry of the Karaya is essentially still plaited [824] work. Primarily natural vegetable materials, the fiber of the buriti and certain Bromeliaceae, as well as the varieties of bast of the Malvaceae (embira and jangada) known for extraordinary cohesion, provide material for threads. Finer threads are made by rubbing the fibers between moistened hands or between hand and thigh. Stronger ones are then twisted out of these in the manner described by Im Thurn, op. cit., p. 284, a method which, moreover, is also practiced by every Brazilian sertanejo /inlander/. The thread and strands thus obtained are, however, used almost [286] exclusively for twine, cords, and bow strings. To be sure, mesh goods is knitted out of them with long wooden needles, for example, fishing and carrying nets, as well as peculiar, collapsible caps of cotton thread, which are decorated in various ways with feathers (see p.44).

The true weaving material is cotton. The hand spindle (ä-ϑondää) in the usual form, a round disk of bone or fired clay, serves for making thread. It bears in its pierced center a palmwood stick about a foot long, provided on the lower end with a sharply /22/ offset knob. The stick is set in motion by stroking [532] it on the hip in a turning motion. One of the clay whorls here is spherically decorated with four human faces carved around it (Fig. 7 /see p. 42/).

286 The loom, or rather plaiting apparatus, on which the sleeping nets are made, is as simple as possible. Two strong wooden poles are rammed into the ground at a distance of 2-2 1/2 meters. The central roof-supports of the hut can serve as such. The warp

/30/

852 The wound holes are kept open with cotton threads passed
304 through them and changed often. The patient must fast for one day and is permitted to take only liquid nourishment for some time. The whole post-operative treatment is handled by an older woman experienced at it.

852 From now on the boys wear the T-shaped lip ornaments
301 of mother-of-pearl, not until later the piuva wood plugs. On
291 this occasion the bast apron of the women is put on the girls.

With the onset of puberty the young people of both sexes
881 receive the tribal tattooing amid similar ceremonies. The out-
304 line of a circle is marked on both cheeks with a stamp made
[824] out of a piece of gourd (tešiä). Then the place is cut out with
[752] a small sharp stone, and cotton lint is put in the wound. After stopping the bleeding, genipa juice rubbed in causes the blue color of the scar.

881 The first appearance of the period is not celebrated with special ceremonies. The menstruating woman is considered unclean and must live apart from the others during this time. She is not permitted to bathe, but is washed by other women from a gourd bowl especially intended for this purpose.

857 Games and dancing. At an early age the children imitate the activities of adults. The boys practice archery and fishing; the girls give their mothers a hand in the household as soon as
524 possible. The clay figures have already been mentioned as children's toys. There are also small tops (kotauä, Fig. 15 /see p. 61/), canoes and oars, cooking dishes, etc. represented in the collection.

Games popular with the adults as well are the feather ball made of corncobs with ring-shaped inset, and furthermore the "game of cats cradle" /cited in English/ common in North America, as is well known, and recently described by Boas for the Eskimo. Strings drawn from hand to hand through the fingers represent certain animal figures by changing their arrangement. /Fig. 15 appears here./

/32 cont./

754 Since every sickness is considered the work of hostile sorcerers
755 or demons, they rely more on the counter magic of their own "medicine man" who removes the poison by sucking on the ailing part of the body or scares off the evil spirits by means of the magic rattle.

757 One of the most popular medicines of the Karaya is the resin of the almecega (Hedwigia balsamifera), which, stirred in with coconut oil, is used as a smelling essence for headaches and externally for abdominal pain (andžiura).

752 The savages have more knowledge of surgery. They know how to let blood out of the forehead vein, to stop bleeding by applying a tourniquet to the wounded limb, quite rationally sprinkle powdered charcoal on wounds, put splints on broken limbs, and develop great skill in removing thorns with sharp fish-teeth.

757 The custom of emptying the stomach in the morning by artificially induced vomiting, known in North America and Ecuador, is also found here. It is done with charred pieces of taquara (idžiua), which are introduced into the throat until the effect is achieved.

304 824 237 751 The most important medical instrument is the scarification apparatus (i-šaura). It consists of a little triangular or rectangular piece of gourd, one surface of which is weighted with a layer of wax or resin one centimeter thick, while the other bears a row of small sharp fish-teeth (Fig. 17).

Fig. 17. Scarification instrument (1/2).

304 757 These scarifiers are stored in pairs, the convex scratching surface of the one resting on the concave one of the other. The small teeth are protected by stuffing cotton between them.

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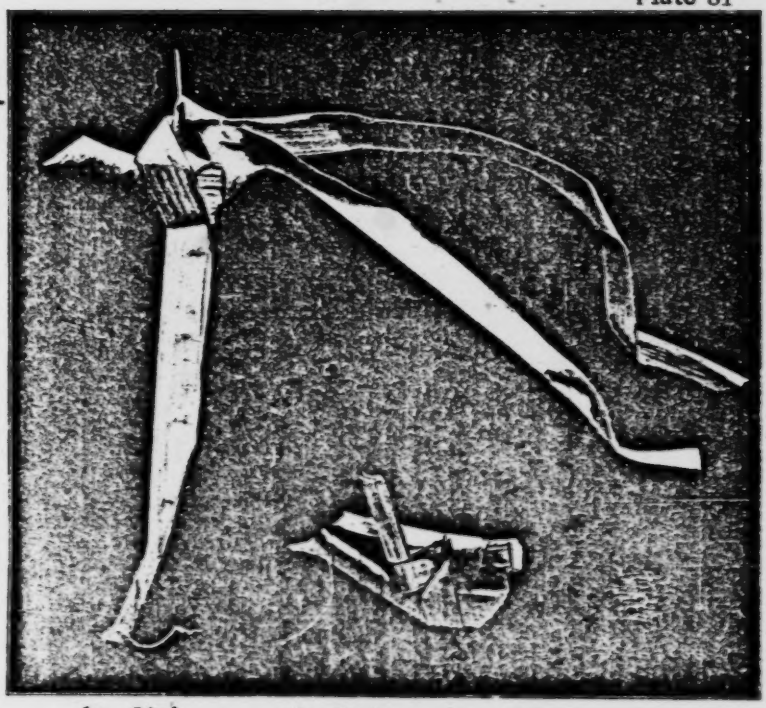
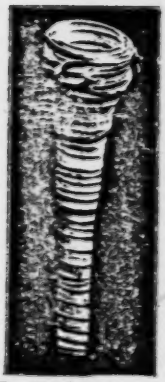
532



1a. Bird. 1b. Bird.



2. Tobacco pipe.

3

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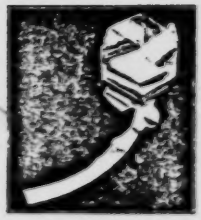
3. Honeycomb.
4. Puzzle figure.



5. Honeycomb.

6. Lip plug.

Leaf plaiting.

/Pl. 31 faces p. 140./

/199 cont./

417 Outside the houses, on the other hand, there are special storage racks (ŏdēdŭ). They consist of four forked sticks about one and a quarter meters high, which are set up in the form of a square and joined together by two crossbeams and many longitudi-
[251] nal beams. On these racks lie supplies of all kinds, manioc roots, unused implements and weapons kept on hand, as well as raw materials of all kinds; hung on them are gourds and baskets full
[287] of maize and feathers; the bast aprons of the women are also often hung here to dry (Ill. 24).

[225] For drying the lines used to fish for turtles, special racks made of two long vertical poles joined at the top by a cross-pole are used. The line, hanging far down, is hung on this to dry (Ill. 25).

Ill. 23.
Arrow-stand in the house.

[824] /200/ Fresh gourds are stuck on sticks to dry; near each house one sees groups of such staked gourds. Later, they are preferably stored by tying a whole number together on a stake (Ill. 26a and b).

354 Other household equipment is lacking. The hearth is outside
184 the house, in contrast to the Šavajé, among whom it is located in the round structures (see "Food" /see pp. 165 ff./); it was only in the modified houses in Schischá at the end of October that cooking was also done in the house. /Ills. 24 and 25 appear here./

364 House and environs are not very clean; food remains such as fish bones, nut shells, and bones, as well as wood, tools, etc., lie about everywhere. While it is dangerous just to come near the
[136] villages and houses with bare feet, the vast number of flies and other insects that gather in masses on the refuse is an obstacle to remaining outside the houses.

/200 cont./

000 to remaining outside the houses. In addition, there are the sand flies,
136 /Ill. 26 appears here/ which, according to Ehrenreich, become so
361 rampant that the Indians are forced to change their place of residence often (see below under "Village" /see p. 85 /).

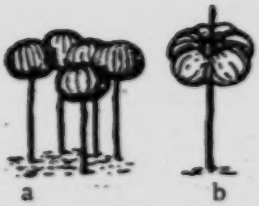
417

[225]

Ill. 24.
Storage rack. Drawn from a photograph.

Ill. 25.
Rack for drying the turtle fishlines.

[824]



Ill. 26.
a) Drying gourds.
b) Storing gourds.

514 There are no privies. To attend to their needs, the Indians go to a depression in the sandbank, behind the nearest bush, or into the woods. To clean themselves they use three small sticks which they break from
[136] a bush and then place parallel over the excrement. The urubus, which live in great numbers near the settlements, quickly take care of cleaning the place. In order to piss the men go to the river. Here they go into

/201 cont./

342 The chief's house is a communal structure. It is built by all
496 the married men, while the activity of the young people is limited
437 to cutting out and tying together the leaves for the roofing. The chief pays for this with arrows, lances, and clubs.

342 Besides these houses there are lighter protective walls (1),

1. Fonseca already mentioned these protective walls in 1773: The tents consist of two mats, one of which serves as a rug, the other as protection from the sun. Rev. trim. 8, p. 378.

a type of wind screen, in the shade of which the family usually remains during the day, and where the cooking is done. On journeys they serve as the sole dwelling, and in the village as drying racks for the aprons of the women.

There are various kinds of such protective walls.

[829] 1. Walls: Walls of palm leaves are fastened to several vertical poles in the same way as for the house covering (nõbŏ), or mats are tied to them, forming a vertical wall (bŭlĕ). Such walls are encountered in almost all the houses, and they are usually fastened to three poles; also, however, walls of this kind which are twice as
[252] long occur. In their /202/ shade is usually found the hearth for cooking, and in front of them lie mats on which the family remains during the day (Pl. 12, Ill. 1; Pl. 41, Ill. 1).

2. Roofs (wãdŏ): They are horizontally fastened to several poles put at the edge, usually to four, sometimes to three or six poles. Only mats are used here, and they are tied on with ropes. The mats usually fall down to the ground on the sunny side. Sometimes a protective roof of this kind is also built at one end of a mat wall (Pl. 41, Ill. 1; Pl. 10, Ill. 1). /Ills. 27 and 28 appear here./

361 The village (ĩzŏ).

Ehrenreich says that the houses of the Carayahi usually consist of mat walls and stand in wild confusion, without any order. Only the Šambioá were said to have a street-like arrangement of the houses. This arrangement in rows that run parallel to the shore is also present

/203 cont./

22 361 in their dryness and cleanliness, are ideal dwelling sites. In the course of the dry season and within a certain area, they migrate from sandbank to sandbank as each of them becomes exposed by the river, so that in this way they always have fresh, unspoiled, clean dwelling-sites. With the beginning of the rainy season the villages are moved back again to the higher initial sandbanks and finally to the high banks of the river (2).

2. This explains the many abandoned villages that one comes across everywhere.

/204/ These rainy-season villages, lying up on the campo, are often far from the river; in the case of the north horde, they lie in part in mountains and are therefore difficult to find. This and the practice that several dry-season villages live together in a campo village probably explain the small number of Karajá villages mentioned by Coudreau.

361 356 If the villages are permanently abandoned, the houses, the poles of the mat walls and storage racks, the roasting grates, hearths, etc. are left standing; they very quickly disintegrate. Villages abandoned for a short time (for example, during trading expeditions) are made secure by closing the entrances of the houses with leaf walls. All the household equipment, such as pots, baskets, etc., is piled up at the sides and covered with large mats. In front of the houses, manioc stalks, tied in bundles of five or six pieces, are usually planted in the sand. Palm fronds are stuck into the ground all around for protection, and the whole is then tied together. For the rest, wild disorder prevails in such abandoned villages. Large pots lie about upside down, often protecting smaller ones underneath. Mortars, gourd vessels, and scraps of baskets lie about [824] here and there, and everywhere there are large heaps of manioc remains, nut shells, turtle shells, and finally urucú fruits, without which no journey can be undertaken (see greeting painting /see pp.100 -104/).

/205 cont./

291 Clothing of the women. In contrast to the male sex, the
283 female one is clothed from youth onward, and, to be sure, in childhood with belts of black cotton (wăda kána). The older the girl becomes, the tighter and stronger the belt that is worn. The smallest children wear only a couple of black strings wrapped around horizontally, which are joined by a cross-thread, and the ends of which are knotted in front so that /206/ the fringes hang down in a small bundle (Ill. 29). Smaller girls from two to five years old wear loosely interlaced belts likewise tied in front.
[284] The horizontal threads of the plaiting are knotted looplike at the ends, and into this loop are tied other cotton threads which serve to tie the belt together and at the same time form the bundle of fringe /Ills. 33-36 appear here/ /207/ (Ill. 30; Pl. 11, Ill. 4). Older girls from about five to ten years old already wear more tightly plaited belts, on which separate tie strands are likewise knotted in the loops; but from these strands separate bunches of fringe hang down (Ill. 31). From then until puberty the girls wear tightly and strongly plaited cotton belts. The tie strands are drawn through the two loops, but bear no fringe. In-
[287] stead, a gray tree-bast apron is drawn through the belt, which hangs down in front, is pulled between the legs, and is again fastened to the belt in the back (Pl. 18; Pl. 51, Ill. 2).

291 With the onset of maturity, the female sex dons bands made
287 of the bast of the gameleira. There are three kinds of such bands:
[824]
1. of red bast from a long-leafed tree (ămbūŏdă),
2. of reddish bast (ăndāhūlē or ĭnaùdŭ),
3. of white bast, from a round-leaved tree (hĭdēūlĕ), the Apeiba jangada, according to Ehrenreich.

These bands are made in the following way: with an edged stone the men cut the outer bark from pieces of trees hewed to the desired length. Later the bast is slit open lengthwise, peeled off, and soaked. Then it is folded together by the women, laid on an inverted mortar, and pounded with a flat rubble stone or an old stone ax.

[TEXT Continues on P. 92]

/207 cont./

291 The bands are worn in the following manner: one end is held against the small of the back, then the band is wound around the body and the long end is twisted with the short end: in this way the belt is secured. The long end is drawn between the legs and twisted into a roll and is then drawn in its full width from below through the belt in front and falls down over it in front. This end is now worn either hanging down to the knee or to the ground, or else it is again drawn between the legs, this time, however, in its full width, and is pulled up in back, a procedure which is used particularly when the women wish to sit down (Pl. 12, Ill. 4; Pl. 16; 17; 42).

292 Besides this clothing worn constantly, there are a few articles of clothing worn only temporarily for special purposes. These are the following:

293 The eye-shade (ō(ō)dĭ, ōdjĭ). It is worn only by the male sex.
[287] The original form of this protection is probably to be seen in the bast band (Ill. 32) which the Indians sometimes wrapped around their hair (in cases of death, in sickness). The true eye-shade
[824] consists of an oaguassu /babassu/ palm leaf, the pinnae of which are plaited together. In the simplest form, the ends of these
292 pinnae jut out free at the top (Ills. 33 and 34). This eye-shade
293 has passed through a development up to the complete hat: the
285 upper pinnae ends are likewise plaited, and to be sure, into a cylinder open at the top (Ill. 35). Among the Šambioá, Ehrenreich observed such a cylindrical hat (taă), which was already /208/ closed at the top by plaiting (Berlin 3904). This final form was not represented among the Karajá; on the other hand, they had two other forms: first, a ring-shaped, wide-brimmed eye-shade plaited out of bast, with a stiff brim and a chin cord (Ill. 36), and then regular hats of plaited bast strips which are sewed together spirally (Pl. 43, Ill. 3). The method of plaiting these
[107] strips is purely Indian, but the shape of the hats probably goes back to Brazilian influence, as the name (šăpēo, Braz. chapeo)
292 shows. These eye-shades and hats are worn as a protection from
293 the sun and only by married men; I only rarely saw any, however.

/211 cont./

visit, the chief's wife combs and oils their hair.

412 303 The combs (zīhŏ) consist of flat, sharpened splinters of palm wood, more rarely of taquara, which, with the flat sides laid on one another, are held together by two pairs of little sticks, one of which is fastened at the upper edge and the other at one-third of the height from the points. These splinters are interlaced with cotton threads in patterns. On either side two or three splinters project a bit above the upper edge. These extensions often bear bunches of feathers or red-colored cotton tassels and are usually connected with one another by a suspension thread. On the outer

415 531

Ill. 39 a, b.
Gourd vessels for hair oil.

412 303 side of these lateral splinters, between the two cross-sticks, several intersecting threads are often stretched. The combs are always one-sided; only in the village on the Tapirapé mouth did I acquire a double-sided comb (Pl. 21, Ill. 1e). The shapes of the combs may be traced back to three basic types: a simple rectangular comb, wide combs with small curved lateral rods and converging teeth, and finally trapeze-shaped combs (Pl. 21, Ill. 1 a-d).

303 The hair oil (tālì) is made from the seeds of palm fruits. 824 The fruits of the coceiro (āhăděĕtĕ), as well as of the tucum palm (hālù), were mentioned. The oil is stored in special whole 415 gourd-vessels (tālĭlŭkŭ), which are usually decorated with large 531 designs made by peeling off the upper layer of the gourd rind (Ill. 39 a, b). Tufts of raw cotton are tossed into these oil-filled gourd vessels and now become saturated with oil. They

/212 cont./

386 824 The red color is obtained from the seeds of the fruit of the urucú bush. There are many different varieties, which produce a more or less intense red color, in part also inclining to yellow. Treasured above all is the kind with round seeds (wōlĕlŏnĭ), whereas the kind with long seeds is not esteemed very highly (wōlĕnò). The kind with round seeds grows particularly in the [438] region north of the Tapirapé mouth; it is obtained here in large quantities by the Indians and further traded to the Indians south of the Tapirapé mouth, especially to those of the south horde. The 386 dyestuff is produced from the seeds in the following manner. The many small seeds contained in the beechnut-like fruits are removed, some palm oil is put in the hands, and then the seeds are rubbed between the oiled hands until all the dyestuff on the shells of the seeds has come off. In this way an oil color is produced, which is scraped off the hand with a knife or stick and is put in a gourd vessel. The rubbed seeds are thrown away. In this fresh state the oil color is immediately ready for use. For [438] trading, it is boiled in oil (thickened), then put into solid forms, and dried in the sun (Ill. 40 a, b).

[824] For the black color either soot, which is scraped from the charred trees of the plantings or from the cooking pots, or the blue-black juice of the genipap fruit [b(ă)dēnà] is used. This juice is mixed in small spoon-like gourd vessels or in larger, carved half-gourds /Pls. 43 and 44 appear here/ /213/ (Ill. 41 a, b); at first it is light, but soon after it is applied to the skin, under the influence of the air, it becomes a handsome black-blue color.

A white earth (mănāŭlà) is used as a white color. I never 302 observed white body /Ills. 40 and 41 appear here/ painting, to be sure. The small clay dolls, however, bear white patterning, and the Indians told me that with this color they paint rings around their arms, as well as transverse stripes on their chests.

302 413 The fingers serve as paint brushes, the flat hand for full body painting. /Ill. 42 appears here./ I never observed sticks or rags for applying the colors. On the other hand, for the genipap patterning a stamp (ūlĭnŏ) consisting of two sticks of cane lashed together, the cut surfaces of which are cut to form two semicircles, is popularly used. These semicircles are now placed together to form

[Text Continues on P. 103]

/219 cont./

304 the two circles drawn with black color on small children. In
881 the case of boys, the time is determined according to when, after the last cropping, the hair reaches down to the tip of the nose in front and to the shoulders in back.

304 The tattooing is done by special persons who own stamps
463 and stone knives and are called wairădŭ. There was only one such person in the south horde (in Village 6), whereas in the north horde there were several (for example, Ilk in Village 13). They are paid for this operation. No ceremonies of any kind are said to take place, and the children are not always tattooed together, but also singly on occasion, whenever one happens to be able to get hold of the master.

304 The chief's tattooing, which is characteristic of chiefs
[622] and their wives, consists of vertical black strokes between the lower lip and the lower edge of the face, which are arranged side by side in one or sometimes also in two lines, one above the other (Ill. 53 a, b). According to Kurišr, this tattooing is supposed to be peculiar to women. Even girls are said to have such lines of blue dots on the chin, which is supposed to be regarded as very beautiful. I never observed this last phenomenon, however.

515 /220/ e) Body care. The Indians bathe a great deal; usually they take a bath early in the morning, and even during the day they plunge into the water whenever they feel like it, in most cases probably to cool off by means of the subsequent evaporation of the water in drying.

515 Two plant products serve as soap in washing; first, a
824 bark (ŭăbăkă = sabão do matto), from which one scrapes off a
388 little, /Ills. 54-57 appear here/, rubs this in water, and washes himself with the lather thus produced; then there is a tree bast (doŭ) which is also used as soap for cleansing.

302 The rubbing of the body, the arms, and especially the
824 hair with the fragrant resin (ăndilă) of the almecegeira (Hedwigia balsamifera), which is ordinarily stored in gourds, is very popular.

/221 cont./

*301 taper to a point at the bottom, and at the top have a wider end which rests against the inner side of the lower lip as a support [237] (Ill. 54 a, b). Bigger boys use plugs made of mussel shell (ĭdjĕ). The mussel used for this is the thin, two-pointed mussel (Pl. 45, Ill. 1c), which was called ĭdjĕ /Ill. 59 appears here/ or k(ă)dālă. Also, according to Pedro, lip plugs called djälāpŭ are made from the thick, triangular mussel (bŭlŭ, Pl. 45, Ill. 1a). He maintained that I had such plugs in my collection; /222/ the name was never given to me otherwise, however. Apparently a number of shell plugs are actually made out of this mussel. The plugs made out of the two-pointed shell have a mother-of-pearl sheen, are flat and narrow, rod or wedge-shaped, and usually have a wide

Ill. 60 a-d.
Wooden lip-plugs of the men.

support (Ill. 55 a-e). Plugs made out of the triangular shell on the other hand, have a white sheen and are thick, and usually taper down to a curved point or exhibit curved forms (Ill. 56 a-c; see also Pl. 12, Ill. 2).

Boys at an age just before puberty sometimes wear spirally rolled plugs made out of narrow strips of wood (ŏdŭhŏ, Ill. 57).

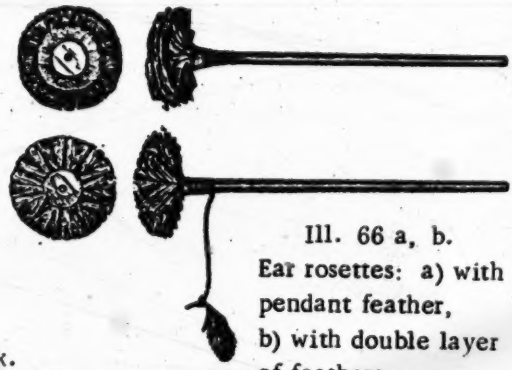
[881] With the incising of the tribal tattooing the youths change [824] over to lip plugs of wood (ŏdŭhŏ) (according to Ehrenreich, made out of the light wood of the piuva tree). At first they like to wear huge wooden lamellae. The largest specimen of my collection is 25 centimeters long by two centimeters wide (Ill. 58a); such lip plugs reach down to the chest (Pl. 43, Ill. 1). At the lower transverse edge these lamellae usually run out to a small point. The older people become, the shorter the plugs they wear; the

/225 cont./

*301 [237] The rosette consists either of small fine red feathers or of two layers of yellow and red clipped parrot feathers, of which the outer layer is yellow and the inner layer red, or the opposite. These ear rosettes also occasionally have a small pendant feather.

Young people, as well as adults of both sexes, wear essentially simpler ornaments, namely, simple rods (dõhõ), which are often covered on the front part with incised decorations (Ill. 67). Here,

Ill. 65.
Decorated gourd disk.



Ill. 66 a, b.
Ear rosettes: a) with pendant feather, b) with double layer of feathers.

Ill. 67.
Carved ear-rod.

[824] too, we find differences according to age. There are three kinds of such rods: yellow, mostly carved taquara rods, reddish or brown cane rods from a variety of gibate, /226/ and black, undecorated rods of gibate (dõhòdèbè = black rods). The unmarried youth generally [822] wears rods of yellow taquara cane and sometimes such of red or brown cane, while married persons, besides rarely occurring yellow rods, generally wear only black rods. Maidens and older bachelors, however, also wear such black rods. Moreover, young people prefer long rods, while old people wear only short ones (Pl. 42, Ill. 1; 43, Ill. 1; 44, Ill. 2).

/226 cont./

*301 In the case of the ankle bands the upper edge, in the case of the calf bands the lower edge, is somewhat wider than the other one. The small circumference of the calf and ankle bands is noteworthy. In the case of a 16-year-old girl the circumference of the calf band is 24 centimeters, that of the ankle band, 17 centimeters; in the case of a young man, that of the calf band, 29 centimeters.

*301 286 Both bands are crocheted by women directly onto the leg of the wearer. The person concerned lies on a mat on the ground, the head put on /227/ a bundle; a rolled-up net covering is [602] pushed under his knees. A woman related to him crochets the bands out of white cotton thread on each leg; only after they are finished are they colored red.

The bands are put on soon after birth. If they become too tight, they are cut and replaced by new ones. In the meantime people often walk around without the bands. To cut them off, they insert a small stick between the band and the leg, so as not to injure themselves with the knife, which, because of the strong, firm netting, must be pressed quite hard to cut through it.

Boys remove their ankle bands at an early age; girls wear them constantly until marriage, when the two sexes cut off each other's calf and ankle bands. Widowed persons put the calf bands on again.

*301 [554] [622] [824] Ornamentation as a sign of rank scarcely exists; at any rate I did not see anything of the sort. Kurišĭ, however, said that chiefs' wives wear a necklace of chains made of Thevetia fruits (mālăni). The chains are arranged vertically on two threads, which are tied at the back of the neck, in such a way that the chains increase in length in front and extend down the body to the navel.

C. Other Ornamentation.

All the other ornaments are limited to unmarried persons (children and young people) and are worn only occasionally.

Plate 48

*301
*237

1. Feather hoop.

2. Feather hoop with simple tuft.

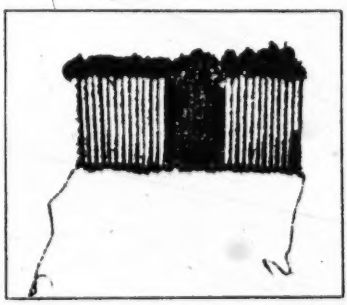
3. Feather hoop with composite tuft.

4. Head band of fine little feathers.

5. Feather diadem.

6. Head hoop with long vertical arara feathers.

[824]



7. Stiff cane diadem.

/237 cont./

*301 This helmet belonged to a chief's son; it was worn with the ear pendants and necklaces shown on the same plate. The ear pendant consists of a tulip of colorful parrot feathers (kūãdjŭ), from the stem of which two chains of whitish-red beads hang down, each of which bears at the end a Thevetia fruit, out of which shorter and longer little red feathers project. The necklace consists of four neck tassels (nõhõzã) of black cotton with snail shells strung on them. The two strings are not knotted, but run parallel to each other, and, in front on the part placed around the neck, they bear seven long pendulous chains of these same beads, at the ends of which similar fruits with little feathers are attached.

*301 *237 The feather crest of one girl is unique, and it likewise comes from the village on the Tapirapé mouth (Pl. 51, Ill. 1). The name given for it was dãdŭlã, a word that was perhaps misunderstood and should be tãbõlã (wax), for the core of the whole is a lump of wax in the form of a huge bean with a flattened base. This lump is completely covered with little red feathers glued over it, and from its upper edge rise five long, red arara feathers. Around the center, concealed, run several black cotton strings which hang far down on both sides and are to be tied under the chin. The ornament is worn on the head with the longitudinal axis from front to back, similar to the Bavarian crest-helmet (Pl. 51, Ill. 2).

I did not notice any other head ornaments. Kuriší, to be sure, told me that they tie the red leaves of a plant around their heads as an ornament, but I myself did not observe this.

*301 824 Neck ornaments. As neck ornaments, chains of beads are now used for the most part. /238/ The older neck ornaments consisted of chains made with fruits of the Thevetia (mãlãnĭ; Pl. 51, Ill. 3a) and of such made with grayish-blue fruits (Pl. 51, Ill. 3b). These fruits are called ĭsĭŭlãnĭ. The shrub on which they grow is supposedly planted in the plantings. Sometimes other, black fruits are also strung on the chains made of these fruits. Such fruit chains are worn mostly by women and children, especially by girls.

/238 cont./

*301 lower arm (didēsi) in back of the cuff, and, to be sure, by the youth
*237 of both sexes on special occasions.

Arm bands with bunches of feathers for the upper arm are reproduced in Ill. 1 a-c on Plate 52. The feather ornamentation consists either of rosettes with long little end feathers in them or of bunches of individual feathers, some of which look like claws.

In the case of the lower-arm bands with feather layers shown in Ill. 2 a-c on Plate 52, /239/ for 2a two layers of colored feathers are fastened one above the other to separate strings on the one flat side of the cotton strap placed edgewise, while for 2b on either side of the thick, twisted string feather layers are attached one on top of the other, of which the lower, longer layer consists of yellow, the upper shorter one of red clipped feathers. For 2c colorful parrot feathers in a wide layer are knotted to the twisted string by means of cotton knotting, and four Thevetia fruits hang down over this.

As pendants on simple string arm-bands either Thevetia fruits or small blackish fruits or snail shells or claws are used, to which feathers, feather rods, or bunches of cotton thread are usually attached. It is noteworthy that the pendants of snail shells and claws commonly appear in threes (Pl. 52, Ill. 3 a-f).

[824] I did not see strings joined together by little cross-sticks, with Thevetia fruits at the ends, as well as pendants of large red fruits, such as Ehrenreich brought back (Berlin 3729), and likewise none of the arm bands of ounce and wildcat skin with parrot or arara feather pendants (deoϑanã) brought back by Ehrenreich, and no more than Ehrenreich the bands of bird bones arranged in parallel fashion that are contained in older Brazilian collections.

As finger rings (dãbõ = hand, finger) narrow strips made out of the tail rings of lizards are worn, and, /Ill. 81 appears here/ to
[825] be sure, by both sexes at all ages. They differentiate between two kinds: rings made out of the tail of the so-called chameleon (kūlã) with oblique scale edges, and rings from the teju lizard (wãdãlẽ) with vertical scale edges (Ill. 81). Both kinds occur almost equally often.

*301

[84]

Plate 51

[301]

1. Feather crest.

[301]*

2. Manner of wearing the feather crest.

3. Neck chains: a) Thevetia fruits, b) išiulanĩ fruits.

/241 cont./

222 gathered at the beginning of October. Of other fruits Ehrenreich
262 mentions: caju /acajou/, jabuticaba, pitangu, and Bromeliaceae, and Königswald also the mangaba. I never saw these fruits in the villages, however. As vegetable plants there are eaten: mormão (dãdẽdãlĩ), which is gathered the end of October; on the other hand, the mandioca do matto (ãzõ) is supposedly not eaten, because it is too poisonous.

241 The following food plants are cultivated: the poisonous
262 (ãndjĭŭlã) and the sweet (ĩ(ĭ)lũ) manioc; four varieties of maize, mãĩ, dõlĩmẽ with large, round kernels, ĭzẽlãlã with round kernels, mãidũzõ with red kernels; batatas (kõdẽrũtĩ), and cara (kãrã). Of fruits, bananas are probably cultivated. The green banana is called jãdãũãbõ, the ripe one jãdàzõ. I obtained bananas in Indian villages only twice, and, indeed, at the beginning of July; I never saw any in the plantings. Perhaps bananas occur only here and there, for example, according /242/ to the statements of Brazilians, among the Šavajé on Bananal Island, which is supposed to have been named after them. I did not see oranges (nãlãdjã) anywhere. Of other fruits Königswald also lists: gourds, water-
[824] melon, pineapple, and sugar cane (mã(ĩ)ĭtĩ). The gourd is not eaten, but used only for the making of vessels; the watermelon is generally gathered in the wild state, probably only rarely cultivated; only once in a village of the south horde, did I meet a family who stored seeds of these plants in small bast packets. Pineapple is surely not cultivated, and I did not see sugar cane either. If they had had any, they would probably not have begged
[114] me for sugar to the extent that they did. The statement of Ehrenreich that during the dry season sugar-cane shoots are planted on the sandbanks should be corrected to read manioc and maize stalks.

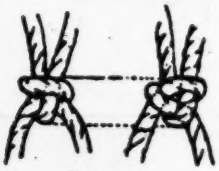
241 Of spice plants, peppers (kãšĭwẽrã), of plants for enjoyment, tobacco (kõtĩ), are cultivated.

Moreover, one finds in the plantings: as industrial plants, cotton and gourds; as plants used in ornamentation; ĭšĭŭlã shrubs (for necklaces) and the urucú shrub; and a quantity of medicinal plants.

/250 cont./

[857] The way such anchored nets are set up is shown by the imitations with which children play (hãdĕkĕ). They are fastened to two long end rods; the net is stretched by means of several spaced sticks (Ill. 86). These stakes are driven down in front of the lake inlets, and by stretching the net on them the entrance to the lakes is blocked. From the boat the Indians beat the water and drive the thus frightened fish of the lake toward the entrance into the net, where they are then caught. (Such a device for catching piraruc̃ũ is called dãĕ̃lãlĩ; see piraruc̃ũ net above.) Other nets (hĕ̃ndĩ̃ĩ̃ũ[ĕ̃i]) are allegedly set up along the sandbanks; the carĩ fish, which

[524]



Ill. 85.
Knot formation of the fish nets.

[284]

Ill. 86. Barrier fish-net. Child's toy.

swims against the sandbanks at night, is caught in them and taken out in the morning. I never saw nets of this type set up; probably the narrow nets are used for this.

The largest mass catches are made by poisoning the water of the lakes; but this is at the same time the worst plundering exploitation. The lakes are blocked off by fences (lĩklõ̃), which consist of driven piles to which palm leaves [824] are fastened. The stems of the poisonous cipo (timbo: ãnzĩ) are placed on a forked stick and beaten soft with another stick, whereupon they are shaken out over the lake and a fine dust falls out. Then they are beaten a second time and shaken out. From the boat a second man stirs the water, which takes on a black coloring. The fish are stupefied by it

/251 cont./

252 The hearth lies outside the houses, usually in the shade of mat walls or near them. In the rainy season it is moved to the round structures of the houses. It is constructed in two ways: either three truncated cones, the tops of termite hills [ă(ũ)dŏ, kĕdŏ], are placed in a triangle in the sand, between which the fire is kindled (Plate 12, Ill. 1), or three broken pot bottoms (wădjĭwĭŭlẵ), which are set upended, are used instead. The large cooking pots are set on these supports. For roasting, low roasting hearths (kŏbĭŭdŏ) of twigs are used: Four forked sticks are stuck into the ground in a square, two longitudinal sticks are laid between them and over these cross-sticks are laid. The fire, which is lighted underneath, gradually chars the sticks (Plate 61, Ill. 1, Šavajé; see also below, p.168). Roasting on a spit is also customary: a switch is cut from the bushes, tapered to a point, and, with several piranhas strung on it, is stuck obliquely into the sand so that the upper end with the fish is suspended over the fire. The fish are /252/ first roasted on one side, and later, by turning, also on the other side.

313 Dry wood is used for firewood (hã̄ă), as it is found in abundance everywhere on the sandbanks in trees washed ashore, as well as in the forest.

312 [824] Fire (hearth fire: hã̄ŏtĕ) is produced by twirling. Base and twirler may be of the same wood; usually ã̄ŭtĕ (Brazilian sarão, the root of a goyaba /guava/ species) is used, but ăndōlŏkŏ (Brazilian mŭrĭzĭ) is also supposed to be usable (1). According to

1. The Brazilian names are given in the Indian pronunciation.

Ehrenreich (Berlin 3937), the drilling stick consists of taquara, the base of Bixa orellana. In the case of the /Ills. 87-89 appear here/ fire twirler reproduced in Ill. 87, the base shows three drilling holes; each hole is opened laterally by a notch so that air can enter. The twirler consists of a wooden rod, to the bottom of which is tied another stick of wood three centimeters long as the actual drilling piece. Tinder is not used; dry palm leaves serve for kindling the flame.

/257 cont./ Much is eaten, but The People do not become fat. While eating, they squat around the pot and spoon out their mush. I could not see that they ate turned away from one another, as Ehrenreich and Königswald state, but the women are usually ashamed to eat in the presence of strangers; and the Indians whom I had with me as companions did not eat my cooking when they came to a strange village 264 [261] [609]

412

Ill. 100.
Flat ax.

Ill. 101.
Short flat-ax.

Ill. 102.
Stone ax with shaft groove.

with me, but went hungry the whole time, if in the village they did not have relatives who gave them something to eat. And they did not work during the stay in the village. They were ashamed, as they expressed it. 264

E. Beverages.

In drinking, the Indian is, understandably, very moderate; water serves as the ordinary beverage. Yet they also know how to prepare other drinks, which, however, are usually not intoxicating. 272 [271]

Buriti fruits (ãdehõ) are pounded and mixed with water; the liquid is allowed to settle, the clear liquid is ladled into a tall pot, boiled, allowed to cool, and then drunk. The liquid is said to be dark red and very sweet, but not intoxicating. On festive days large quantities of it are said to be consumed. [824]

Pikĩ fruits are boiled, crushed, and, stirred with water, put into a pot. The liquid is left standing overnight and is drunk cold the next morning. The pits are dried and eaten later. [824] [262]

/259 cont./

249 438 [437] [482] Karajá who had bartered arrows there for tobacco seedlings; his back-basket was fully loaded with the packets in which the plants were packed. The seedlings were well wrapped in leaves and bast into a large cylindrically shaped bundle that was reinforced all around with vertical bamboo rods and firmly laced.

276 They were most particularly mad for the heavy Goyaner /Goyana/ tobacco.

Smoking is done by old and young, men and women. Even babies are sometimes permitted to partake of this pleasure. Pipes are smoked throughout; maize-leaf cigarettes are not customary.

[824]

Ill. 103.
Fruit of the jequitiba tree, out of which tobacco pipes are made.

Ill. 104 a-c.
Tobacco pipes made out of jequitiba fruit. a) Crude form. b) Carefully worked, without groove. c) Carefully worked, with groove.

[824] /260/ The pipe (in men's language, wăliona, wălikŏkŏ; in women's language, wălikŏkŏ) is made out of the fruit (ărikŏkŏ) of of the jequitiba tree (Hymenea sp.) (Ill. 103). The fruit, approximately seven centimeters long, is closed with a stopper. When it is ripe, the stopper falls out and the fruit kernels fall to the ground.

/267 cont./

411 The shaft (b'dõlĕ) consists of taquara cane. This cane
[824] seems to occur south of the Rio Tapirapé only in the region of the south horde. At the southern end of Bananal Island I came across a village that was on the move southward in order to obtain taquara for their arrows near Leopoldina. The shaft is 0.8-1.0 centimeters thick on the average; its length fluctuates, depending on the type of point (see above). I never saw shaft decorations.

411 The feathering, on the average, is 17-22 centimeters long.
237 Of all my arrows there are only two exceptions, one of which is 15 centimeters long, the other 31. The feathering is attached directly to the lower end of the shaft. Ehrenreich reports that the feathered end is often set into the shaft separately. His assump-
[114] tion that in this case the arrows had been repaired /268/ is confirmed by a specimen in my collection which was thus restored (Ill. 119a).

Great care is used in the construction of the feathering. It
[284] consists of two feathers standing opposite each other, the upper tips of which are held fast by the notch-lashing, and the inner
[314] vanes of which are clipped short. At the place where the quills are supposed to be fastened, the shaft is rubbed with resin; the halved quill ends are pressed on it, whereupon the vanes are set vertically to the shaft and /Ills. 118 and 119 appear here/ are given a turn (an eighth to a quarter of the circumference of the
[284] shaft) (Ill. 119b). Then the quill ends are tightly wound with
[283] black cotton thread (ãsõdĕbĕ), whereupon the outer vanes are cut to shape (Ill. 119c). In former times, the feathers were given the desired shape by singeing, but since the introduction of iron shears they are cut. Not until the feathering is finished is the point inserted.

A different kind of feathering (spiral winding through the two halved /269/ /Ill. 120 appears here/ /270/ feathers) is found in the case of a few children's arrows of the north horde (see "Children's Toys" /see p. 241/). It is not yet certain whether this is an old feathering that has now become lost to adults.

/271 cont./

411 approximately 70 centimeters long, the second approximately 50
285 centimeters long.

Ehrenreich speaks of a second type of club: flat, shovel-like clubs that have a four-sided, prismatic blade with sharp edges and a lancet-shaped point. The handle is plaited all around, and at both ends of the plaiting cotton tassels hang down ("Beiträge," Pl. VI, Ill. 11). He obtained two such clubs from the Šambioá (Berlin 3980), whereas he saw a cruder form among the Karajá. The question is whether this club form belonged to the Karajá
[171] originally. For I came across such forms neither among the Karajá nor among the Šavajé, but certainly among the Kayapó, /272/ among whom broad cutting-clubs seem to be indigenous. It may be that the Šambioá took over this form from the Kayapó. Only a small child's club of the Karajá (Ill. 125) shows a similar type (1),

1. Cf. also, however, the club stick above (Pl. 56, Ill. 3c).

but it comes from the village on the Tapirapé mouth, so that here, too, it is not certain whether an old, now extinct club form has been preserved in this child's toy or whether it is not more likely that there is influence from the Tapirapé or the Kayapó.

411 The lances (dõnõlĩ; Ill. 126) play a minor role. They are a weapon peculiar to the Karajá. Today they are probably used
[224] only as a display weapon for festivities, visits, etc. In former
[825] times they were put to use in hunting for jaguars: the bunches of feathers on the tip were supposed to make the animal fearful and uncertain, so that the Indian, at the most auspicious moment, /Ills. 123-126 appear here/ was able to deliver the death blow (according to the statements of the Indians). I never heard that they were ever used in war.

• [824] The shaft consists of heavy palm wood (aruera); it is almost always 240-260 centimeters long and about three centimeters thick; only two specimens of my collection are a little over 200 centimeters long.

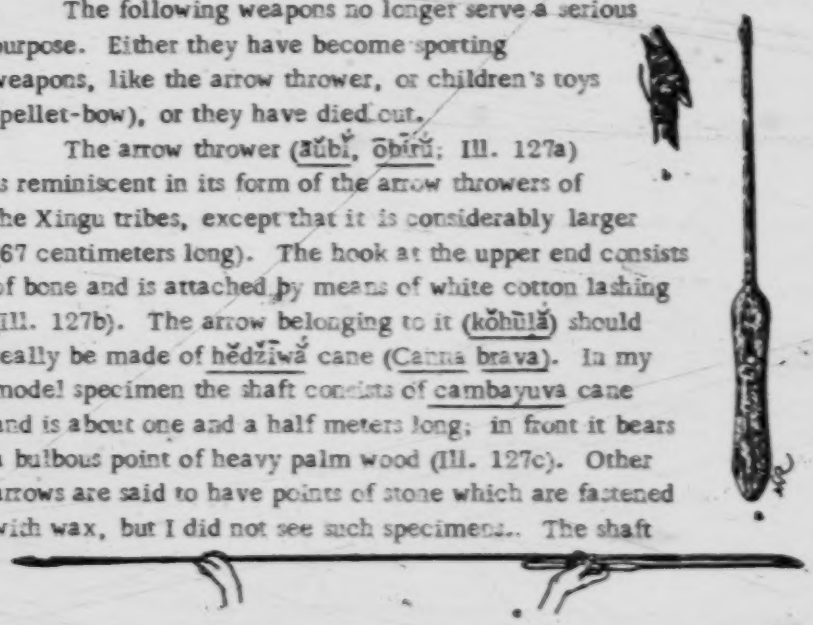
/273 cont./

411 [531] [285] Ehrenreich also says that this plaiting is decorated above and below with small feather wreaths; this is not the case among my specimens.

According to statements by the Indians, in olden times their spears did not have bone points, but rather ran out in front into the pointed shafts; otherwise they were equipped like the spears of today.

[178] The following weapons no longer serve a serious purpose. Either they have become sporting weapons, like the arrow thrower, or children's toys (pellet-bow), or they have died out.

The arrow thrower (ãũbĩ, õbĩrũ; Ill. 127a) is reminiscent in its form of the arrow throwers of the Xingu tribes, except that it is considerably larger (67 centimeters long). The hook at the upper end consists of bone and is attached by means of white cotton lashing (Ill. 127b). The arrow belonging to it (kõhũlã) should [824] really be made of hẽdzĩwã cane (Canna brava). In my model specimen the shaft consists of cambayuva cane and is about one and a half meters long; in front it bears a bulbous point of heavy palm wood (Ill. 127c). Other arrows are said to have points of stone which are fastened with wax, but I did not see such specimens. The shaft



Ill. 127 a-c.
a) Arrow thrower, b) detail of the hook, c) handling the arrow-thrower.

is unfeathered; it has no notch. Ehrenreich's arrows of ubã cane, on the other hand, have at the end a cut-out section that contains the notch hole. The specimen of throwing stick and arrow reproduced here was made by the Indians at my request.

The manner of handling it is shown in Ill. 127c. The thrower is held in the right hand; the arrow, with the rear, hollow end hooked into the peg, is laid on the board and grasped here with the right hand as follows: the thumb lies on the right edge of the /274/ throwing board, the second finger is stuck into the hole of the handle, the third finger reaches from the left edge over the arrow, the fourth extends from the left edge under the arrow, in other

/276 cont./

501 The oars are about 130 centimeters long and have a blade 18-19 centimeters wide and about 70 centimeters long, which [531] terminates in an offset, elongated point. The blade is sometimes painted black; a center cross-band is left blank and painted red. The handle end has a short, curved /Pl. 57 appears here/ /277/ crutch. Below this on the handle there are three raised rings, which are produced by two notched grooves; they are characteristic of the Karajá (1) (Ill. 128 a, b).

1. See club handles above /see PP. 191-192/.

The rudder is identical with the oar; it is likewise freely manipulated.

[824] Poles (hōdjū, wĕlŏtō, made of meijū wood) are about four to five meters long; they are cut out of slender, thin trees, under the white bark of which lies a red bast, which, freshly peeled, smells like cress. When the pole is not in use, it is stuck into a short loop which is drawn through the boat wall in front and floats alongside. The poling is done from the front end of the boat, whether the Indian moves the boat alone or has a helmsman with him. He sets the pole in, now on this side, now on that, depending on the direction of travel, then turns around, presses the end against his chest, and, going five or six paces to the middle of the boat, pushes again toward the middle. Then he goes back to the front and starts anew (Pl. 1).

Ill. 128 a, b. Karajá oar.

This walking causes a violent rocking of the boat; the Indians are very skillful, however, so that no water pours in. If several Indians push with poles, they stand turned alternately to the right and left and move the poles from that position. When they pull forward, they set the poles so far from the boat that no water can enter.

Whereas rowing is practiced equally by men and women, I never saw women traveling with the poles.

[Text Continues on P. 202]

/281 cont./

824 Most of all, the Indian exploits the vegetable kingdom, and here he has also gone over to the cultivation of plants useful to him. He already has at his disposal, of course, many useful wild plants in the way of trees (leaf trees, palms), shrubs, varieties of cane, etc.

Almost all parts of the plants are utilized, in each case, of course, only certain ones: wood, bark, leaves, stem, bast, [241] blossom. Of plants whose fruits are used technically, the following are planted: /282/ gourds, cotton, urucú. The gluing ma- [314] terials, with the exception of wax, are taken exclusively from plant resins.

324 412 In the following, the processing and utilization of the individual raw materials will be described.

D. Stones are used above all as stone axes. The material for them is chiefly granular diabase or diorite. Nothing is known about how they are made. At the present time they serve only as striking stones for the preparation of bark cloth and for cracking nuts. Apparently they all come from the Rio Tapirapé, as well as from the mountains north of it, and are perhaps not even made by the Karajá themselves, but acquired from the Tapirapé through trade. In shape, there are flat axes and axes with a shaft groove (Ills. 100-102). As a nutcracker I found a stone apparatus consisting of stone base and small hammer, which, in shape, is quite peculiarly suited for this. Through long use a smooth, round hollow was produced in the slightly convex striking surface of the hammer (Ill. 99). Such stones are said to come from the cachoeira /cataract/ near St. Maria. The small stone knives which are used for tattooing are made anew each time out of the flint rubble of the sandbanks by splitting the flint with a stone or iron ax and using the sharpest splinters without any further treatment (Ill. 52b). Nothing is known about the making of the long stone lip plugs (Ill. 62). Allegedly they are struck into shape with [439] stones. The Karajá do not make them themselves, but barter for them with the Tapirapé.

/282 cont./

323 317 [462] E. Earths, besides being used as colors (see under "Coloring Substances" /see p. 240 /), are used only for making pottery, which is practiced by the women. The material used is the grayish-white clay (zõũ) that occurs in strata on the steep banks and, in conical shape, is stored in piles in the villages. For use it is first pulverized very fine and then mixed with a number of additions. The most important addition is mãũzĩ (Pl. 58, Ill. 1), a creation designated by the Brazilian-speaking Indians as the nest of the cupim d'agua, which is found in huge quantities as a covering of the roots and lower branches of the trees along the banks. One finds it piled up in great heaps near the villages. It is burned in the fire, then pounded, and, mixed with water, added to the pottery clay.

323 [829] Another addition is obtained from the purple blossom (ãdẽnã) of a tree; the blossoms are burned and their ashes mixed in with the clay. This statement by Pedro seems to correspond to the custom of making the clay more resistant by means of the flinty content of the ashes of certain creepers, as reported by Ehrenreich from C. de Magalhães ("Beiträge," p. 19).

The shaping of the vessels is done in the following manner: The bottom is shaped out of a flat cake, on which a low edge is simultaneously worked out. A potter's wheel is absent; an old pot-bottom or most often a rod-sieve, the structure of which is imprinted in the soft clay, serves as a base (Pl. 58, Ill. 2). Smaller vessels are shaped on the hand. /283/ The potter then mixes the gray clay with water, twirls it between the palms of her hands into a roll, places this on her left lower-arm, and, with the right index finger, presses a longitudinal groove into it (Ill. 129). The roll is now placed with the groove on the edge of the bottom piece and is then pressed flat toward the top (Ill. 130). It is so arranged that the roll corresponds exactly to the circumference of the vessel. Roll is placed upon roll in this manner and then smeared together with the hand or even with a smoothing stone, until the vessel is finished.

/285 cont./

237 two holes in the center are sewed on the belt of the long string-
321 skirts of the girls (Ill. 69), as well as on the cylinder-bands of the dance masks. As spoons and scrapers they use mother-of-pearl mussel shells, which are only slightly worked, but are usually used in the crude state.

287 Concerning the feather technique, see below in connection with the tying, knotting, and plaiting technique /see pp. 233 ff./.

824 The utilization of the vegetable kingdom is very extensive. The cane species are used remarkably little; apparently the region is poor in them.

G. The wood of trees is made into boats, poles, oars, mortars and pestles, stools, lances, bows, throwing boards, arrow points, manioc grating boards, lip plugs, comb teeth, etc. Soft or hard woods are used, depending on the purpose. I was not always able to learn which kinds of wood were used for the individual implements. Spears consist of so-called aruera wood, bows of hard palm wood, boat poles of long, slender trees with very light wood. Soft wood is used for stools, lip plugs, and manioc grating boards; all the other implements consist of hard wood. Of the cane species, taquara is used as arrow shafts, gibade and similar types as ear rods.

396 I am most fully informed about boatbuilding. The boats
[462] are built by the men. All of them understand this art, though
[437] many confine themselves to buying boats from others in exchange
[463] for an iron axe. /286/ Apparently certain persons make boats in larger numbers for the village and then sell them. Thus, a few hours downstream from Schischá I met two families from this village who had erected temporary huts for themselves here in the wilderness, in order to build boats in the vicinity. The making of a small boat is said to take four days, a larger one eight days. These time estimates, however, seem to me to be
[824] very low. The trunk of the lantim tree (Calophyllum: dälio) is used as material for the boats; Ehrenreich mentions pau d'arco and jatoba, Königswald also jatahy and others. The trees are felled in the forest and crudely worked; first the outer shape is hewed out with an ax and then the interior is likewise hollowed

/286 cont./

396 out with the ax. In this crude shape the boat is brought into the village and placed on two forked posts about half a meter high (Pl. 56, Ill. 5). With oaguassu palm fronds, which are laid in the hollow, the interior space is completely burned out and blackened, while at the same time burning through the walls is prevented by quickly snatching out the fire. Then, while the wood is still warm, about 20 cross-sticks, each approximately three centimeters thick, are stretched from wall to wall; palm fronds are propped against the boat all around and are lighted at four or five places on either side by one man each. After about five minutes the outside charring and blackening of the boat is completed. The struts remain in the boat until the next day; they are very bent. Afterwards the boat is put through an inspection, during which possible irregularities, especially of the bottom, which could cause disturbances in the balance, are removed with the ax. At the front, narrowly tapering end a hole is cut into the right wall, directly under the edge, for the loop into which the boat pole is stuck during the rowing or lying quietly on the bank. This hole is supposedly cut in with a sharp knife under the application of a wooden mallet.

415 I did not see wooden vessels. Ehrenreich brought back a
412 few: a round vessel hollowed out from a tree root, with a carry-
114 ing string (Berlin 3875) and two spoons, the handle of one of which terminates in a tucano head (3934, 3935). In the case of fire
[372] sticks, according to him, the drilling stick consists of taquara, the base of Bixa orellana.

415 Of larger fruits only gourds are used. They are carefully
[824] dried by being stuck on sticks that stand in the glaring sun and in the sand of the sandbanks. Later, tied together, they are hung on a vertical stick (Ill. 26 a, b). Hollowed out, they serve as oil containers, as hanging containers for white down feathers, with a bast stopper (Pl. 58, Ill. 3a) or wax seal (the hanging band is fastened with wooden wedges; Pl. 58, Ill. 3 b,c), halved paint bowls and eating dishes, smaller ones as spoons. The whole-
[531] gourd vessel and larger half-gourd vessels are usually decorated with incised ornamentation, the smaller half-gourds with Pyrography.

/286 cont. /

000 824 276 [301] pyrography. Of the other fruits, jequitiba is used for tobacco pipes, hollowed out and crudely carved on the outside (Ills. 103 and 104); Thevetia is used for necklaces or pendants on belts, etc. The latter usually bear a small /287/ bunch of feathers in the hollow. Other small, whitish fruits are bored and strung as [415] chains. In Ehrenreich's collection there is a small bowl, made out of a timbo fruit, for storing the urucú color (Berlin 3876).

287 [824] The bark of trees is made into women's aprons. Above all the bark of the gameleira is used, which furnishes the reddish aprons (ăndăhūlĕ). Other species (also gameleira?) furnish red materials (ămbūŏdă) or white shiny materials (hidĕūlĕ). Ehrenreich, in addition, also mentions Apeiba jangada (Berlin 3696). The preparation is as follows: Thick branches of the trees concerned are hewed off in the required length (one and a half to two meters) and brought into the house. Here the men, with [462] an angular stone, strike off the solid pieces of bark, slit the bark lengthwise, and peel it off. The further treatment is the task of the women: [283] the pieces of bark are soaked, laid folded together on the manioc mortar turned upside down, and are now beaten with a flat stone, usually an old stone ax, until they are completely soft.

Ill. 134 a, b.
Embira: a) wound on a rod,
b) rolled up.

283 H. Bast is used in wide layers as an ornamental binding material and in fine strands as material for strings and for knotting mats.

[824] As ornamental binding material, the bast of Malvaceae (embira: dõdĕ, etc.) is used above all. There are light red, red, and black varieties. It is kept in all widths: the finest (0.3 centimeters wide) is wound on rods (Ill. 134a), the wider (2.5-4 centimeters wide) is rolled up into stout rolls in such a way that the [531] colored, shiny side is on the inside (Ill. 134b). They are used

/287 cont./

283 [531] for the ornamental winding on arrow shafts, spear shafts, implement handles, etc. A kind of black bast four centimeters wide (cūnă, āãwŭ) is used exclusively to decorate the edge of the pointed-oval baskets (Pl. 57, Ill. 7); it is colored with black loam.

[824] Finely split bast fibers of imbauva and buriti serve as material for ropemaking and mat-knotting. I do not know how the imbauva fiber is made. The buriti bast fibers (cedo de burity: lādĕhõwŭ) are obtained as follows: The not yet unfolded leaves of the buriti palm (so-called olhos de burity), which lie stacked up in heaps in the houses of the plaiters, are beaten against the floor several times with one end, until the stalk has split open sufficiently into many narrow longitudinal pieces. Of these longitudinal pieces the fine, soft inner bast (iŭ) is then separated from the coarser outer leaf-strips (lādĕhõdĕhĕ). The latter are used as leaf strips in the manufacture of hats; the former are further prepared for twisting and knotting. The imbauva fibers (Pl. 58, Ill. 4a), as well as the buriti fibers (Pl. 58, Ill. 4b; /288/ Ill. 135), are stored in larger bundles that are made up of thin bunches (according to Ehrenreich, in plaited braids, Berlin 3996).

Cords are made out of these by twisting them between the thigh and the palm of the hand. Stouter cords are made out of two or more /Ills. 135 and 136 appear here/ such fine cords with the spindle. They are used as binding string of all kinds, such as bowstrings, as ropes for strong fish-nets, fishlines, etc.

286 Fine twisted bast strings are used to knot the feather-cap nets. The large fish nets are made in the same way as these nets; it is pure netting work. Implements are not used for this; I did not see any in use, and the Indians denied to me that they existed. In Ehrenreich's collection, however, there is the beginning of a net of fine bast threads (Berlin 3938) bearing two small wooden rods at the upper edge, which Ehrenreich is inclined to regard as knitting needles. The cap-nets are made as follows: Out of a string twisted on the thigh a loop is knotted and hung over the great toe of the sitting worker. A second thread is knotted to it, and with this the first /Ills. 137 and 138 appear here/ row of meshes

[Text continues on p. 218]

28 /289 cont./
462 nets is a task for the men, that of the mats a task for the women.
285 Usually several women work together on a mat; it is not difficult work, but the hard pulling and constant twisting of the weft threads (they are twisted only when they are plaited through) affects the fingers so much that deep, calloused ridges run across
[963] the finger tips of the plaiters. Apparently there are women in the villages who provide the entire village with mats; at least large supplies of them were found in certain houses, and to buy them I was sent into specific huts where mats were made.

[824] For the plaiting which is done by the men, strips of buriti
[962] bast and the leaf pinnae of the oaguassu palm are used. The
294 strips of buriti bast are used only in the making of hats. Appar-
[177] ently the method of making hats is copied from the neighboring Brazilians. At least the shape is the same; but whether all the types of plaited strips which are sewed together spirally into a hat correspond to Brazilian designs, or whether there are innovations here, I do not know. The most common design, consisting of four-part strips with a notched edge, seems to be Brazilian, the other two, the eleven-part strip with a smooth edge and the nine-part strip with a smooth, double edge, may be original forms in view of the plaiting skill of the Indians (Ill. 139 a-c). These strips are sewed together with fine bast threads and a bone needle four centimeters long (Ill. 140).

285 For all other plaiting the leaf pinnae of the oaguassu palm are used. The material for this is stored in the houses in large /290/ quantities, mostly lying on the floor under mats; in Schischá it also lay on special forked racks on the long sides and in the roundings of the houses.

In the same way as for the house covering, two oaguassu fronds are laid with the ribs one on top of the other in the making of walls, fans, and eye shades, except that in this case the individual pinnae /Ills. 139 and 140 appear here/ are then plaited together. See the beginning of a piece of plaiting in Ill. 5 on Plate 58 /see p. 219/.

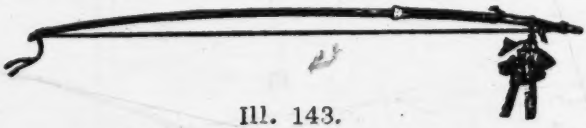
/292 cont./

285 of the lid-half, is pulled through the outer oval of this half from below upward, forms a large carrying /293/ band over the lid, and on the other side leads down to the bottom rods in the same manner. If one wishes to open the basket, the lid-half slides up on the thread (Pl. 57, Ill. 16). At the same time, however, the thread also serves for closure during transport: on either side one makes a loop which is put over the ends of the rod of the lid-half and pulled tight (Ill. 142g).

Sieves and sieve-baskets are made entirely differently

[824] (wälilisi; Pl. 55, Ills. 2 and 3). They are made out of shavings of flexible creepers (according to Ehrenreich, arimbamba). The shavings run radially and are interwoven concentrically with similar switches (two each). On the bottom they cross in four groups. In Ehrenreich's specimens the plaiting is in part so tight

[283] (Berlin 3898) that the utensil is useless as a sieve. Such tight



Ill. 143.
Bow for picking apart the cotton.

baskets serve as containers for raw cotton in spinning.

Rod-sieves consist of fine rods placed parallel, which are bound together at considerable intervals with two strings (Pl. 55, Ill. 1).

I did not see among the Karajá the other kinds of baskets and bags mentioned by Ehrenreich: small palm-leaf baskets with rectangular bottom, square baskets, small bags with flap lids made of carandasinha palm fiber, bottle-shaped flexible baskets (moti), hanging baskets (Berlin 3879), and lid-baskets (Berlin 3900) made of flexible cipo plaiting.

283 I. Just as varied and skillful are the treatment and the

[462] utilization of cotton, which are incumbent on the women. Cotton

[248] is grown in the plantings; tending it is the duty of the woman. The harvested cotton is stored in baskets. Before it is spun, it is

/304 cont./

386 M. Coloring substances and adhesives. By way of coloring
824 substances, besides urucú red (Bixa orellana) and genipap black (Genipa brasilensis), which are used essentially as body colors, only black and white occur as technical colors. The white earth (mǎnāŭlǎ = white stone) serves as white; it is pounded and used above all for painting the bow-wood winding. It is also used for making spinning whorls. Black loam (zŏŭblūlŭ) is used for black coloring. Embira is colored with it by heaping wet black loam over the bast and letting it lie this way for a night. Cotton is dipped in boiling water and then drawn through the loam standing nearby in a pot. This is repeated several times until the threads are sufficiently blackened. Cotton is colored red with urucú oil color only after the completion of the object concerned. Concerning the storing and the trade form of urucú red, see p. 100 and Ill. 40 /see p. 103/.

337 The universal adhesive substance is beeswax (tǎbōlǎ) that is stored in spherical form and is offered to passing travelers in bulk
381 as material for boat calking. Jatobá resin (kūwǎŏ), a light,
314 transparent, hard resin, is also used a great deal. From it the red, lacquer-like resin (daûmālĕ), such as is used to decorate the feathered end of the arrows, is made in the following manner: the resin is softened in a pot over the hearth fire, urucú color is poured in, the two are mixed, and the whole is allowed to stiffen. The black, lacquer-like resin (dŏwŏdālǎ), which serves the same purpose, seems to be made in a similar manner by adding black coloring. Both kinds are stored in large lumps which seldom have a definite shape. For fastening the mother-of-pearl eyes on the stools, the little down feathers on the bodies of children etc., a soft, yellow resin is used (kōōdĭ), which is stored in a piece of palm leaf folded together.

/309 cont./

cooking pots (Ill. 169e), shallow dishes with straight or curved sides (Ill. 169 f-h), three-legged pot (Ill. 169i). The divergent forms consist of oval bowls (Ill. 170a), small pots with a minimal opening (Ill. 170 b, c), the bottom of which sometimes comes to a point (Ill. 170d), vase-like pots (Ill. 170e), stemmed pots (Ill. 170f), goblets (Ill. 170g), bowls like flower baskets, with a three-part handle (Ill. 170h), and lamp-like bowls with two points at the upper edge (Ill. 170i). 524 415

These smallest vessels already bring us to the actual playthings.

Small boats (hãwŏlĭŏlĕ) with oars are floated by children especially the boys, in the pools on the edge of the sandbanks. 524

Ill. 171 a-d.
Child's toy boats.
a) Ordinary type, b) isolated form, c) halved gourd, d) palm-leaf sheath.

Their form differs from that of the large boats insofar as the rear part is cut off crosswise and does not taper to a long point. The boat in Ill. 171a represents the ordinary type, to which belong two painted oars and a clay doll (girl with long string apron and feather tuft). The boat in Ill. 171b shows a divergent type; it was carved by Kuriśĭ, who had already been to Rio and São Paulo and spontaneously remarked that this form was the product of his own imagination. As a substitute for these imitations, halved gourd shells (ĩsã̆, Ill. 171c) or palm-leaf sheaths (ēlŭdãẓĭ, Ill. 171d) are used and are pulled along by ropes in the sand; they were observed only in the village on the Tapirapé mouth. The small oars which belong [824] [184]

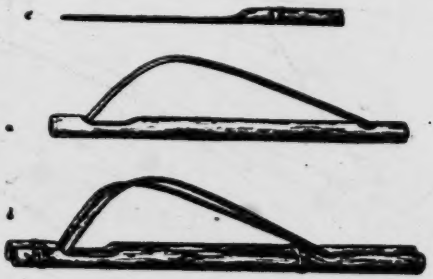
/311 cont./

524 small red and yellow feathers and small pieces of red wood, which make circular figures when spinning. The top is twirled between the palms of the hands in the air and then allowed to fall. It has achieved the desired speed of rotation only when it buzzes.

[824] Humming tops (ĭnâuĭnă) are also common. The body consists of a gourd that bears two lateral holes of different sizes opposite each other. The stem goes through from top to bottom and projects 14 1/2 centimeters at the bottom. It is fastened in the gourd with wax (Ill. 175). A string which bears a small

[501]

Ill. 172 a-d.
Child's toy oars (c and d painted).



Ill. 173 a-c.
Gun reproductions. Karajá.
a) Simple, b) double-barreled gun, c) instrument for cleaning the tube.

wooden handle at the end is used to wind it up. Apparently there is no ring or the like to make it possible to wind it up without injury /Ills. 174-176 appear here/ to the left hand. Koch-

[171] Grünberg in his book, Zwei Jahre unter den Indianern /Two Years Among the Indians/ (Berlin, 1910), Vol. 1, page 121, illustrates a humming top from the Rio Aiarý, which is quite similar and on which a plaited ring protects the hand. Perhaps the Karajá also

/312 cont./

524 a second person takes part by lifting them off, etc. Each of the figures has a special name; I was shown wind, stars, deer. In general, the string game is regarded as a very difficult game.

[824] [177] I did not see balls, but was told that they make themselves balls out of maize leaves (dōki). They maintain that they learned to make them from the Brazilians. I also did not see anywhere the feather balls made out of corncobs with a ring-shaped insert, which Ehrenreich mentions.

Finally, still to be mentioned is a puzzle game which is popularly practiced by youths and men. The problem is to make two interlocking cane sections out of one piece. What matters here is only the clever way of making it. A piece of cane /313/ approximately 15 centimeters long and half a centimeter wide is split lengthwise, the two sections cut out in the upper layer by means of parallel cuts, the inner substance is scraped out except for two knobs at the ends, and the plaything is finished (Ill. 177 a, b).

Sport and Physical Abilities.

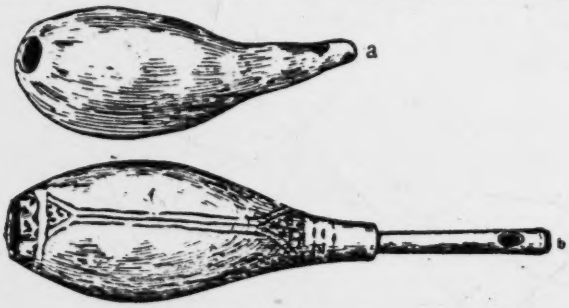
541 [177] As for animal fights, there are said to be cockfights, which, like the hens, they have taken over from the Brazilians. I did not see any; they were described to me as follows: children hide a hen under a mat; then they bring two roosters, one after the other, in order to provoke them.

526 Climbing is practiced a great deal. They are very adept at climbing tall trees; it is said that they sometimes tie a rope around both feet as a climbing loop.

Foot racing is very popular among the male youth; women and children, too, are said to participate in it. Apparently there are times when larger foot-race games are organized (rainy season). At other times the young people run for practice on the sandbank; the one in the lead often holds both arms stretched out sideways, in order not to let the other pass. Their resting position is peculiar: standing, they draw one leg up and place the sole of it against the inner side of the knee of the other (Pl. 30, Ill. 4).

/316 cont./

534 [824] The most common are taquara flutes with a gourd for resonance [(h)ă(n)djūlōnă]. The flutes consist of a taquara tube 44-46 centimeters long and about three and a half centimeters thick, one end of which is closed, the other open. Near the closed end is the lateral blow-hole. For resonance there is a gourd 33-38 centimeters long and 16-24 centimeters thick, which is open on both ends and into the large opening of which the flute is



[531]

Ill. 178 a, b.
Gourd trumpets.

[531] obliquely inserted. These resonating gourds are usually decorated with pyrography (Ill. 178b).

533 Hollow sounds which carry very far are drawn from these trumpets. Through alternating long and short tones, blown-in [574] and drawn-out tones, there are produced various tonal sequences, [202] which, on boat trips, are blown near the villages to announce arrival. An actual signal language, however, does not seem to 534 have been developed as yet. At present, ox-horn trumpets, such as the Brazilian deck-hands carry, are already finding entry.

I did not see other kinds of flutes, especially not the Pan-pipes of taquara mentioned by Ehrenreich.

[533] In Village 8 I saw a small horn made of a gourd shell, which [824] apparently is blown at the masked dances. It may not be blown in the presence of women, so I was unable to find out its use and the nature of its sound. Also I was unable to acquire the implement; I did not see it again anywhere else.

/316 cont./

534 There are various kinds of whistles.

[824] The gourd whistle (wŏlăwŭk, ădjūlōnă, lăkŭ) consists of a small, twin-bellied bottle-gourd 8.2 centimeters long, whose smaller belly is cut off crosswise (Ill. 179a). At this cross-cut surface the gourd is blown on from one side and then produces a shrill, high tone.

[824] Buriti-leaf whistles (ădjūlōnă) consist of a narrow buriti leaf strip which is rolled up spirally and then pressed flat. By means of a narrow bast-band wrapped around it the whistle re-rains its shape. Such whistles are about three centimeters wide and one to two and a half centimeters high and sometimes have a middle reed, while in other specimens this is lacking (Ill. 179b). They are blown by sticking one end of the whistle flat into the mouth.

[237] /317/ The scraper from the shell of the kōdŭ turtle (hūli-hūlĭ) is made from the shell, eight centimeters long and three centimeters wide, in such a way that the tail end of the hollow is completely glued over with wax, while the neck peg of the ventral shell is surrounded by a thick layer of wax (Ill. 180a). One takes the shell in the right hand, places it with the wax peg inclined somewhat /Ills. 179-181 appear here/ obliquely against the tightly stretched palm of the left hand, and strokes the peg vigorously downward over the sweaty palm (Ill. 180b), by means [533] of which a squeaky, muffled sound is produced. According to statements by the Indians, the instrument is said to be used when boys come out of the forest. I did not succeed in finding out whether this is a reference to boys' training, initiation, etc. in the forest.

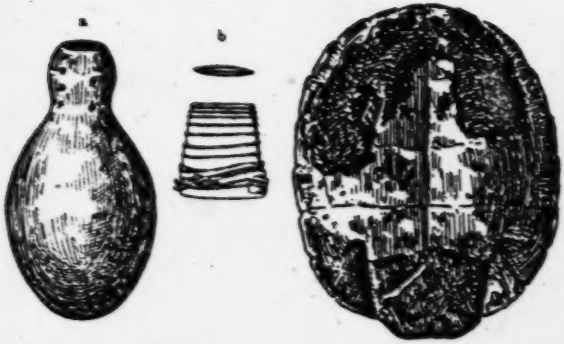
[533] Rattles serve as the sole instrument accompanying their songs. On all the rattles, the stem is led through the entire body of the rattle and /318/ is fastened at both ends with wax. It is kept plain and only rarely has plaiting around a bit of it. Its length below the body of the rattle varies between nine and 16 [237] centimeters. Monkey-skull rattles, for which monkey skulls seven centimeters long and four to five and a half centimeters wide are

[Text Continues on P. 260]

534

[824]

[237]



Ill. 179 a, b.
Whistles:
a) gourd, b) leaf.

Ill. 180 a, b.
Turtle-scraper and its manipulation.

[531]

Ill. 181a, b.
Gourd rattles.

/318 cont./

534 used, are very rare. I came across only two of these specimens
[237] (Pl. 58, Ill. 10 a, b). Otherwise gourds (ŭãlŭ) are commonly used
[824] as the bodies of rattles, which are usually 12-15.5 centimeters long and 5.5-13 centimeters thick (a small rattle is 6.5 centimeters
[531] long and 6 centimeters thick). Most of these gourd rattles are carved with the customary designs (1); many bear feather ornaments

[113] 1. See my article on "Die Kunst der Karajá-indianer," Bässler Archiv, Vol. II, No. 1.

on the stem end projecting out of the gourd at the top (Ill. 181 a, b). These rattles are swung rhythmically in the hand by the masked dancers.

533 Singing plays a considerably larger role. Only the men sing; it is only during the period of mourning that the women, like the men, intone monotonous songs of lament in a high pitch. The singing is one-part singing; mass singing seldom occurs. Only once did I hear a cappella singing. During dances two men simultaneously sing the same thing; otherwise they sing individually, especially when fishing. Apparently the Karajá are very musical;
[196] they sing gladly and well. Most of their songs are masked-dance songs, but it seems as though certain people invented and handed down specific songs. It was often said to me: this is the song of this boy or of that youth. Certain dances and songs seem to be transmitted through tradition only in certain families; others are quite familiar with them, but do not sing them. In 1908 Chief Ilk in Village 13 just below Izabel do Morro knew most of the songs. He was almost inexhaustible. The wŏřĭzŏ dance and song were handed down in his family. He knew not only Karajá songs, but also sang songs of the Šavajé and Tapirapé. He was known as a singer in all the villages, and everywhere people requested me to
126 play back the phonograms recorded with him. In all I recorded
533 phonographically 44 cylinders of songs. The Indians liked to sing
152 into the apparatus, as soon as the initial shyness had been overcome. To do this I used European music, which amazed them very much. They laughed aloud in astonishment, and many held

/336 cont./

164 I saw an umbilical hernia only once, in the case of a boy.

757 I did not learn anything about bloodletting, which Ehrenreich reports.

304 Scarification is very common; almost all Indians bear the scratch scars from it on upper arms and thighs. I was unable to observe anything about the procedure, which Ehrenreich ("Beiträge," p. 33) describes. Concerning the apparatus used for this, see above, page 109, Ill. 51.

[752] ← 164 Of illnesses for which the cure is not known to me, I saw a blind girl, a man blind in one eye, and a boy with dropsy, as well as a man whose legs were atrophied up to his knees and who was able to move forward only by crawling on hands and knees.

757 Ehrenreich reports ("Beiträge," page 32) that in the morning they induce vomiting by inserting a charred taquara rod

Ill. 187.
Bone for cauterizing wounds.

into their throats, in order to empty the stomach in this way. He even brought back such sticks (Berlin 3964). I never observed [846] this custom, but, as related above, simply heard that husbands induce vomiting artificially during the couvade (see page 273).

128 In the following I shall discuss the other illnesses, insofar as I obtained information about them; I shall stress in particular observed cases of illness.

752 In case of snake bite the affected limb is tied up and some pounded dõãhĩ root is put on it.

757 There are very many remedies for indigestion and intestinal ●824 disorders. For indigestion three different roots are used. Either one pounds the mõnã root (in Brazilian allegedly murizĩ), mix

/336 cont./

757 it with water, and drink the liquid, or one takes, in the same
824 way, mixed with cold water, the pounded root of a cipo plant [b(ŭ)dōilūlē]. Finally, the root of a shrub which is cultivated for this purpose in the plantings is gnawed with the teeth in case of stomach pains. For intestinal disorders, two roots (dĭlŭàkŏzē and bēdī) are /337/ crushed, each cooked separately, and the two decoctions mixed and drunk.

There are also several laxatives. The root ăĭăhĭnŏ (in Brazilian allegedly tiŭ) is pounded, cooked in water, and drunk as a purgative, or one uses the root of a vine (hămbūlādòè), which is pounded and extracted with cold water.

Jaundice and anemia in young people are cured by pounding the leaves of a red-blossomed creeper (dōwĭlĭzā) growing on
261 the goyaba and rubbing the body with it. Jaundice is caused chiefly by the eating of clay, which is put into ball form. This eating of clay is probably to be traced to the lack of salt. Instead of clay, ashes and sand are also eaten, which are said to have a constipating effect. I often observed how the Indians ate the sand from the sandbanks by the handful.

In order to grow fat, they eat a certain small fruit.

757 In spite of the good teeth which the Indians enjoy, tooth-
[164] ache seems to occur more often than one is inclined to assume. Though I did not observe any cases, they have a whole number of remedies for it. For example, they use the sheath of pieces of root and twigs called kŭsī (in Brazilian the so-called para tudo),
[752] as well as a small fruit called sĭbūrē. Teeth are not extracted; if they ache, this remedy is used. Otherwise they are left to drop out by themselves.

[164] I observed only one head cold (wādŏwē), in the case of an older man. As a remedy he had wound a palm-leaf binding around his head. Apparently his head was very dizzy, for he held it in front and back with both hands.

164 I often observed coughs (wādŏ); many Indians had a slight
757 cough, probably as a result of the cool nights. The children in Village 17 apparently had whooping cough; when coughing, they had choking spells, until they succeeded in coughing up the

/337 cont./

164 mucus. The mothers would pound them on the back; no other
757 remedy was known. The coughing was explained as a consequence of the cold nights and the lack of blankets. They do not know any remedy for coughs.

164 I did not observe any tuberculosis. Ehrenreich reports ("Beiträge," p. 32) that the Karajá suffered from it, that they were aware of its danger and greeted every stranger with the question: "ahi catarrho não tem?" Now this custom has disappeared, probably with the decline of the disease.

[757] For chest pains they use ipipokama emetic powder (hãdãõ).

Fevers apparently are rare from May to October. At any rate, I did not see any attacks of fever in the villages. Only one of my Indian rowers was afflicted with a severe fever for three days in August. Fevers are said to be frequent, however, at the end of the rainy period, especially in the swamp region between São José and the Rio das Mortes; this stretch is therefore not
757 permanently occupied by the Indians. As a remedy they use the
[824] /338/ plant kŏdūlāzĭ; it is pounded and mixed with hot water, and with this infusion the body, especially arms, shoulders, and chest, is washed. When this has been done four times in one day, the fever is said to be gone.

[164] Smallpox is unfailingly cured (as I was several times assured in answer to my question), and, indeed, the cure takes place on the eleventh day of the illness. It occurs as follows:
[824] The four roots, nãũĕkĭedĭzŭ, sĭndăkălăndŏ, klāklă, lōlŭŏ, are pounded, mixed with water, and drunk. The drink is followed by profuse sweating. For eleven days this is taken three times a day, noon, afternoon, and evening, and during this time only very small, boiled fish are eaten. On the eleventh day the sickness is gone.

[164] Measles cannot be cured. In 1906/07 a severe measles epidemic must have afflicted the Karajá. Many people are supposed to have died because they bathed in the river during the fever. For this reason bathing is not permitted during any
[262] illness now. Grilled piranhas and manioc mush serve as food for the sick; even the parents of the sick eat only these foods during the illness of their children.

/357 cont./

301 of blue-green feathers. The main course of feathers shows the
237 following feathers in like sequences: pink heron and owl feathers, which alternate with each other, blue arara feathers (Pl. 60, Ill. 2), white jabiru /358/ feathers which, in the specimen from Schischá, are interrupted three times by two blue arara feathers. The little end feathers are yellow throughout.

I acquired two specimens of forehead feathers, which could perhaps belong to such feather wheels, but perhaps might also be worn standing up vertically, with the hoop placed around the face. In the case of one (wâidŏhĕ) the hoop is wound with a black cotton string; its ends are joined by a thin string. In front there are two feather tufts, each consisting of a rod with red feathers, which bears a yellow feather wreath on top, out of which project long dark green feathers. At the base, both rods are wound with white raw cotton (Pl. 59, Ill. 7). In the case of the other one (kōdŭ̈ŭlŭkŭ̈ŭdŭ̈ŭiŏ) the hoop is set with white down feathers; the tuft consists of several red arara feathers up to 35 centimeters long, which below are surrounded with bushy small red and yellow feathers and below that are wound with raw cotton (Pl. 59, Ill. 6).

Fine little red feathers (wālālā), little wing coverts of the roseate spoonbill, are fastened on a fine string and wound spindle-fashion on a rod. The string is many meters long. Ehrenreich brought back the same ornamental feathers from the Karajá. Allegedly they are used for head ornaments.

Of other ornaments there are:

•[824] Necklaces of small, reddish-white fruits (ŭ̈ŭlâiiŭdĭ), which were very common, then feather arm-bands, some of which correspond to those of the Karajá. They bear either bunches of feathers at one place (Pl. 59, Ill. 8), or colorful layers of feathers on either side of a string (Pl. 59, Ill. 9).

Finger rings (dābŏ) are likewise made from the tail rings of lizards and chameleons.

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

eyes from the strong reflection of the sun on the sand-bars. 293
When trading with travelers, they are eager to get blue or [439]
smoked glasses, or goggles.

The Karayá live in a more advanced state than do some 162
of the other tribes of the Amazon basin, especially the rough, 361
nomadic peoples, who exist in small groups of a few families. They prefer to live in large groups containing hundreds of individuals, and in permanent habitations, constituting fixed villages or encampments. True, the Karayá living near San [721]
José, rove about somewhat in small parties during the dry season; but farther down the Araguaya, the encampments are more permanent and populous, numbering one hundred fifty to two hundred souls. During the rainless season when 361
the river is low, they live on the sandy river bottoms, called *praias*. Here they set up their easily portable huts, in order to be convenient to their canoes and to the fishing grounds, and also to be more free from troublesome insects.

The *villages* of the Karayáhy division, in common with those of all other primitive peoples, are merely clusters or groups of huts, huddled together in complete disorder. Each 342
hut is constructed by planting in the sand, fifteen or twenty feet apart, two parallel rows of saplings, then bending over each pair of opposites and tying them together. To these ribs are bound bamboo rods in a horizontal position, *sipo*—creepers [283]
—being used as cordage; and upright poles are planted at the gables. Over this frame-work is bound the skin, or covering, [824]
which consists of giant, feather-like palm-branches. Sometimes plates, resting on forked posts, are used to further strengthen the frame. This dwelling, when completed, is shaped like the bottom of an inverted barge, and looks like a very squatty, ancient haystack, with a hole—the door—eaten in one end by cattle.

Garbage, such as watermelon rinds, pumpkin skins, green 364
corn cobs, and other fruit and vegetable refuse, is dumped just outside the hut. Here, the mass festers and stinks in the fierce rays of a tropical sun, and attracts swarms of [361]
insects, especially sand flies, that torment the nude savages

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca.1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

227 the genipapa or wine fruit, a very soggy, tough fruit as
228 large as a pear. It looks and tastes something like a fig soaked in vinegar, but is much prized by the natives. But, as elsewhere mentioned, the palm is the never-failing friend of the children of Nature. One or another of its multitudinous varieties will have a little food of some kind for them every day in the year, such as nuts, fruits and vegetables;
[824] and besides, will furnish them the material for their huts, and for bows, arrows and cordage. Though all else should fail, these trees will remain as a tree of life to them. It seems strange that they have no oranges. This fruit will flourish in this region, even doing well without any care, once it has been given a good start. The absence of this tree is the more remarkable because the Karayá are very fond of oranges, and undertake journeys lasting weeks to obtain them. Wild honey is also a much prized article of food, as it is among
[237] most South American savages. They make the wax into black balls, or discs about one inch thick, to be used as a glue.

276 The Karayá have also a kind of tobacco, which contains but a slight percentage of nicotine. The dried leaves are kept in large, square packages covered with palm-leaves. To prepare it for use, it is pulverized between the hands, then smoked in a pipe that looks like a funnel-shaped plug. The pipe most used is one fashioned by Nature herself. It is a *certain kind of fruit-shell, or pod,* which is funnel-shaped and hollow. Failing this, a pipe is made of a kind of hard wood. The bowl and stem are one straight piece; therefore, when in use, the cavity is in a horizontal position, and not held upright, like the civilized (?) man's flue. The part that enters the mouth is so large that the lips are greatly distended in closing around it, hereby increasing the already ugly appearance of the mouth caused by the repulsive ornament in the lower lip. I have seen the front teeth hollowed somewhat to fit around this huge plug.

252 No less interesting than the kind of food used by these people, is the means whereby it is prepared for eating. In

501 suited to their purpose owing to the many shallow places in the river, and because it facilitates landing and pushing off. 396 The tree selected to be transformed into a canoe is an ipiúba [824] or a jatóba, which must be very straight. Strange to say, the butt of the tree becomes the bow of the canoe; therefore, the finished canoe is broader at the bow than at the stern. As these children of Nature are preeminently imitators of Nature, it seems quite probable that in constructing their canoes, they have in mind the form of the fish, which always goes big end first.

The log is first hewn into the form of a canoe, then hollowed out with axes and with fire. It is not broadened amidships, therefore, when finished, it is no wider than was the 501 original tree. As it is thus very narrow and tapers gradually and uniformly high above the water at both bow and stern, it tips over very easily. Great care is taken to make it perfectly smooth outside and in. No seats are provided, but sticks are placed across the bottom to keep both the occupants and the freight out of any water that may leak in. As every family has a canoe, quite a fleet of them may be seen in front of every village. These canoes are propelled by paddles five feet in length, half of which is blade, the point [531] terminating like a lance. They are made with great care and labor, and are often nicely ornamented. When canoeing, the 503 pilot is always seen perched in a squatting position on the extreme point of the stern with his knees drawn up to his chin.

411 The weapons of the Karayá are as of old—there has [178] been no change whatever. In common with other Brazilian tribes, the length and stiffness of their bow is according to the height and strength of its owner. Some bows are seven feet in length, while a boy's bow is two and a half or three [824] feet long. They are made of the wood of a certain palm-tree [171] which the Brazilians call *pau de arco*—bow wood—which is the wood used by all the tribes of central and North Brazil for their bows. The bow is made flat inside, and the extremities taper to a point. Several lengths of string, carried

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

as a reserve, are kept wound around the bow. The Karayá 411
take great pride in their bows, ornamenting them beautifully [531]
with tassels of brilliant feathers.

They use several different styles of arrows. Some are harpoon-like for fishing purposes; others are made with broad blades for hunting; while still others are for use in war. They are all made with the utmost care, as much as one or [461]
two days being consumed in the making of but one. Two [824]
or three different kinds of wood are always used in con- [284]
structing a single arrow, one kind being for the spear, or lance part, another kind—heavy palm wood—for the middle staff, and light bamboo wood for the base, and all are spliced and bound together with the greatest nicety by means of long, narrow strips of bark taken from certain climbers, and finally, the weapon is burnished. It is about four feet in length.

The weapons used for fighting at close quarters, which [726]
is the method of warfare liked best, are heavy clubs and lances. The clubs are of two kinds—first, shovel-like clubs and round clubs, resembling base-ball bats, varying in length from three to four and a half feet. The lances are nine or ten [824]
feet in length, the shaft being of palm wood, and the point, [837]
the shin-bone of the spotted *onca*—jaguar—or of a deer. A [531]
beautiful, basket-like work of black and white wooden strips is woven, or braided, tightly over the shaft of the spear, and to this is attached tassels of brilliant plumage. The Karayá have spear-throwing sticks, but I understand they are no longer used in war, but for sport only. The contrivance is a long strip of wood so formed that it can be used, sling-like to hurl a spear. In common with all the savage tribes of 462
South America, the weapons, implements, ornaments and 171
ceremonial instruments are all made by the men of the Karayá, while the women make only the household utensils.

The Karayá housewife, therefore, makes several styles of 323
pots and pans; but pottery has not yet reached a very high degree of perfection with this tribe for the forms are simple and crude. They do not make pots in the form of natural objects as do the tribes of the Xingú river. Utility, and this

Brazil.

323 only, is sought. The Karayá once more like all the South American tribes, form the pots without the use of the potter's wheel, the work being done by building up rings of clay, stroking and shaping, first with the hands, then with bones and shells until the vessel reaches the desired form and strength. The ashes of certain plants are mixed with the clay to give it greater firmness.

To secure an oven in which to bake the pots, these children of Nature again look to their common Mother. In the large, dome-shaped ant-hills which abound in their world, they find a nearly complete natural oven. They further prepare this oven for use by carving a hole in one side and starting a fire in it. This done, they put the pot, previously sun-baked into the kiln; then open a second hole on another side of the ant-hill to communicate with the first, by which to feed the fire. A draft is secured by opening a vent in the top of the natural oven. The women make clay spoons as well as pots. Though a few of these clay vessels are provided with legs, none of them have handles, except as cords are secured around them to serve as handles.

415 Besides these manufactured vessels, Nature again comes
824 to the aid of these primitive people and furnishes them jugs, bottles, basins and pans of a great variety of shapes and sizes from calabash or gourd-shells. These vegetable vessels are not only as hard as wood, but very durable, though they
534 cannot, of course, be placed over the fire. Large rattles for
824 ceremonial purposes are also made from the gourd by replacing the seeds with pebbles, and attaching handles of wood.

285 Nature has supplied the Karayá with such a rich and varied material that braid-work is the principal household industry, a product notable for its utility and variety of form. The long,
[824] slender leaves of the oaguasse, or burity-palm, are braided together diagonally into mats to serve as flooring for the huts, and even for roofing. The flooring mats, being so easily produced, are made only as wanted. The finest grades of matting are made to sleep upon and to roof the hut. For this work,

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

For this work, large, fan-like palm leaves are slit into narrow strips, skeins or bundles of which are kept always on hand ready for use. A very small mat is made especially for the fisherman to stand upon to protect his feet when he has to remain a long time at one spot on the hot sand. 285 [824]

A great variety of beautiful baskets are also made of braid-work. These are made of sipós—climbing vines—reeds, split stems and the like. Large baskets, resembling sacks, are made of very coarse palm-leaves for use in carrying heavy loads of food material gathered from the forest. The smaller baskets are made not only of fine materials of various colors, but are braided into nice patterns. They are of many sizes and shapes and used for numerous purposes. Some are hand or shoulder bags in which to carry small articles; many others of various sizes may be seen hanging from the roof of the hut which serve as receptacles for numerous small household articles or personal effects; others are double, or covered baskets, like telescope traveling bags, in which much-prized feather ornaments are carefully guarded; while still others are canoe-shaped hanging baskets, beautifully designed. Nearly all these baskets are flexible, and some are even elastic, bottle-shaped baskets. To carry the tobacco when on a journey, a square basket is used, to which is attached a bark shoulder strap. A large, basket-work disc, finely and closely braided, is used as a sieve, or colander. As the civilized Brazilians everywhere have the same kind of utensil, it may be inferred that it has come down to them from their aboriginal South American ancestors. [824] [171]

The "textile industry" of the Karayá is nothing more than braid-work. Natural resources once again furnish them an unlimited supply of material nearly ready for use. The burity-palm once more manifests its unfailing utility, yielding a splendid fibre which can be readily stripped from its long leaves. Another kind of fibre, which possesses great adhesive qualities, is obtained from the inner bark of the mallow tree. The finest threads are *spun* by rolling a number of single fibres together between the moistened hands, or 283 [824]

9:Gow-Smith T-5 (no date) 1925
SP9 Caraja SP9
Cayapo SP11

C 411 237 C 411 531

a cluster of feathers hanging below the point guides the spear unerringly when flung at its victim. The spear-shafts are beautifully decorated with a covering of black and white cane-work woven in intricate designs. No two of these woven handles are of the same pattern, but they all represent the various markings of snakes.

Co [292] 237 C Co 411 C Co [824] 283

Fig. 97.—Cayapó head-dress

The bow and arrow are a favorite weapon with both the Cayapó and the Caraja. The bows, six feet long, are stoutly made of palm-wood, and are strung with the strong hand-spun cord of wild cotton, with the ends cunningly wrapped to the bow so that the string can be lengthened or mended according to the hunter's needs. Arrows are of wide variety and are used for many purposes, but all of them have long bamboo shafts

C Co [824]

*532 /12 cont./

825 The Indian likes most of all to reproduce animals, not only in plastic form, but also in drawings and as decorations. After all, he lives among the animals as one of their kind, and, accustomed /13/ to paying attention to every sound, to every movement of the animals, he has impressed their characteristic calls, shapes, and movements on his mind to such an extent that he can easily reproduce them well from memory. This is particularly true of the animals for which he hunts or fishes or which otherwise arouse his interest (such as dolphins and crocodiles).

*532 Mammals. The jaguar is found in two representations (Figs. 73ab [b, head from the front], 74 /see p.51 /).

Fig. 73 has a head wide at the front, with a wide mouth from which project four pointed teeth cut out of palm leaf. The ears are small, the tail short, the legs made from slender rods. The body is covered with round disks of leaves with a wax button in the center, the face with a square piece of leaf with several spots of wax on it; a leaf band runs around the neck. Fig. 74 has a pointed head, only one ear, and a long tail. The legs are made of wax and furnished with claws. The animal stands on the front legs and lies on the rear ones. The proportions are accurate. /Fig. 71 occurs here. /2/1 Face and body are trimmed with polygonal leaf-disks; a leaf band also runs around the neck here.

The stag appears in only one representation (Fig. 75 /see p. 51 /). The short, thick, stumpy tail pointed upward, the mouth, the long ears standing toward the back, and the antlers are well reproduced. The four wax legs turned out too short. The dog (Fig. 76 /see p.51 /) needs no further comment. /Fig. 72 appears here. /2/1

Pigs are represented in Figs. 77 and 78 /see p. 51 /. Fig. 77 was less successful. The short tail is poorly fashioned; the legs, made of little sticks, are much too long. The small erect ears are good. Fig. 78 is much better. The thick body has no tail, the oblong ears stick out, the short, thick legs are placed forward in a running position. The long head with the broad snout is pointed forward.

2/1, 2/1 [see p.22 --Analyst]

/13 cont./

342 principally to close off the narrow sides. To the right and left of the door are planted two high poles which give the palm-leaf layers of the front side more solid support.

352 The interior furnishing of the houses is rather simple. Part of the floor is covered with buriti mats which also serve as an [513] underlayer for sleeping. A smooth wooden cylinder pushed underneath represents the pillow. The various storage baskets, the 353 [415] containers for ornamental feathers, the finished feather orna- [237] ments, bottle gourds, and other things hang from the horizontal beams. Bows and arrows are stuck in the rafters. [342] Lances and clubs stand in the corner, always at hand. Some sledge-like 351 415 stools, as well as pots and gourd /cuia/ bowls of varying sizes complete the household equipment.

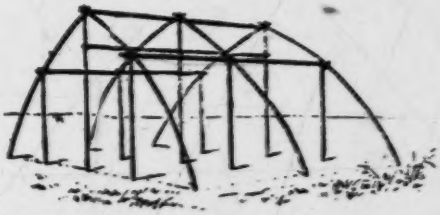


Fig. 3. Hut construction.

346 At some distance from the village is found the somewhat dif- [532] ferently constructed "medicine hut," where the mysterious dance masks are stored. It has the form of an ordinary rancho, with a steeply sloping roof, and is tightly closed on three sides, whereas [784] the side facing the village is wide open. Female creatures may not venture near it.

[114] Castelnau already makes mention of it. Couto Magelhães in his first report speaks of a hut which serves as an arsenal for storing weapons. Nothing of this sort is known to me. Evidently he means by it this mysterious sacred place whose true purpose no one wanted to reveal to him. We shall return to it in the following.

825 It is also noteworthy that in front of two Šambioa villages dead king-vultures (Sarcoramphus papa) with outspread wings were fastened on a high frame of poles. They are probably supposed to scare away demons in the manner of the bird figures carved out of wood in front of Malay villages.

/13 cont./

231 Domestic animals. In a description of the Indian house
825 its animal fellow-lodgers must not be passed over. A genuine Indian still-life is inconceivable without them. The naïve joy of primitive man in animals and their behavior is expressed in his care for them. He considers the animal as
[181] his equal. The feeling of solidarity, indeed, of relation-
[538] ship with the animal world, which expresses itself in tribal tales and a rich treasury of animal fables, is a principal characteristic trait of the Indian national-spirit. This at the same time explains the often stressed contradiction that the savage Indian, in spite of his astonishing ability to tame the wild, timid animals of his country, has never brought this to the actual breeding of domestic animals in our sense. The animals are captured young and reared, but only to please themselves, for entertainment, out of joy in associating with them, not in order to make them useful. Therefore they
235 are not mated. Even the domestic chicken, which the
171 Araguaia tribes have had for a long time in a domesticated
[262] state and which multiplies in great numbers, is not, as a member of the household, /14/ used for food, nor are its
[939] eggs (1). In recent times, however, it serves as a trade item

[013] 1. Im Thurn, Among the Indians of Guyana /Guiana/, p. 265, reports the same thing.

in the trade with the commercial travelers, who sell the poultry in the first settlements of the province of Para at a great profit.

231 Of the imported domestic animals, dogs and cats are already widespread. On the other hand, the pig is absent, but, in contrast, it is raised and traded by preference by the Kayapo tribes.

235 A large Šambioa village is always at the same time a kind
825 of menagerie. The bird kingdom is most noticeable. The largest and most colorful birds are made use of, at least insofar as they must give up their feathers for feather ornaments.

/14 cont./

235 The proud araras perch on the roofs everywhere as constantly
825 alert watchmen, greeting the stranger from afar with their deafening shrieks. The large, dark hyacinth-blue Macrocercus hyacinthinus is characteristic of the ornis of the Araguaia and always represented, furthermore the blue-yellow M. macao, as well as, although rarer, the scarlet M. militaris. Of course, the smaller green species of parrots at all possible age levels are also present.

Ornamental feathers are also provided for them by the herons and storks, as well as by the gleaming white Ardea egretta, the majestic, black-headed giant stork Mycteria jabiru, and the roseate spoonbill (A. cochlearis).

In addition one sees in the most colorful confusion the various species of ducks, grebes, boatbills, ostriches, curassows, etc.

Many of these birds are artificially adorned. Those with white feathers parade about in red paint; small feather tassels are tied to the wings of others (2).

[232]

2. The Karaya also know how to change the color of the birds artificially, in particular making the feathers become yellow-colored. No details concerning the method used for this, however, could be learned.

231 The mammals captured young become extremely tame. They are either suckled by dogs, or the women themselves take them to their breasts. The commonest types of monkeys are Ateles, Cebus, and Hapale species, of rodents capybaras and agoutis. The peccary takes the place of the domestic swine. In the fourth Šambioa village we even saw a full-grown tapir wandering about.

Finally, of the reptiles there are tortoises, lizards, and young alligators. The latter, tied with a cord around the body, lie in the warm pools of the praias.

/34 cont./

535 All of the dance masks represent animals. The imitation of
532 the animal form, however, does not go so far as among the masks
825 of the North Americans and the Tekuna, since the creature concerned /35/ is merely indicated by some of its most striking

Fig. 18. Mask of the dolphin (1/20).

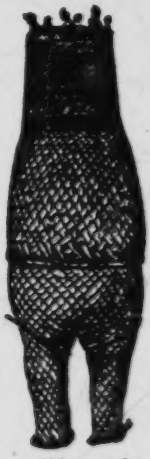


Fig. 19. Mask of the fish doori (probably the pirarara) (1/20).

Fig. 20. Mask of the scarabacus (dung beetle) (1/20).

Fig. 21. Large anteater (headdress) (1/24).

characteristics or even only by the decorations placed on it.

The masks, which are either used individually or belong in pairs, fall into three classes according to their shape.

/35 cont./

535 1. Costumes and headdresses of simple palm-straw plaiting
532 (inaudä). Of these there were collected:
● 825 a) The dolphin. Male figure with genitals made extremely large; plaited out of uaguassú leaves. A sleeved jacket reaching to the belt covers the upper body of the dancer; the lower trunk and the legs down to the knee are in a type of trousers, while the head is covered with a cap completely hiding the face and on top running out into two wound braids (Fig. 18 /see p. 70/).

b) A similar figure without genitals, representing the doori fish (pirarara?). The covering of the thorax is sleeveless. The hood has six short braids provided with end knots (Fig. 19 /see p. 70/).

c) The scarabaeus (korehaǧǧ, dung beetle, one of the most common insects of the campos), is a mask plaited out of buriti leaves for the upper body. Hiding the head is a rhomboidal cap of fine plaiting, through the upper part of which runs a cross-stick provided with palm-straw tassels at the ends, reproducing quite typically the antennae of the beetle. The lower part, made out of coarser plaiting, consists only of a layer covering the chest and stomach. On both sides there are slit-shaped armholes. The legs of the dancer are probably covered with buriti hangings (Fig. 20 /see p. 70/).

/36/ d) The large anteater (uariri), for which there is likewise only a headpiece for the head and upper trunk, is plaited in a funnel shape out of a single buriti leaf whose stem, projecting upward and split several times, is lengthened artificially by a wooden stick set into it. The extreme tip bears a huge tassel of leaves. The whole is three meters and eighty-two centimeters high (Fig. 21 /see p. 70/).

The preceding masks are those obtained among the Šambioa. In addition, the sketch of a fifth costume of the same type was drawn in a Karayahi village. This is

e) the caracara hawk (iira), likewise funnel-shaped, but not as tall as the "anteater" and provided with armholes (Fig. 22 c /see p. 72 /).

/36 cont./

535 2. Masks of the duck-duck type (ya-ôô). These are cylin-
532 drical dance hats, covered with ornamental feather mosaic, the
825 pattern of which reproduces the animal concerned.

a) The piabussu fish (abuseura) consists of a strong buriti plaiting 82 centimeters high and 45 centimeters in circumference in the middle, running out at the top, into a braidlike continuation wound with black bast, which bears a tuft of feathers at the end. The lower end of the cylinder broadens like a funnel in order to receive the head of the wearer. This lower part is about 25 centimeters high and so densely covered with buriti strips that the face of the dancer remains completely hidden (Pl. XII /see p. 114 /, 1 a and b).

Fig. 22. Masks and masked dancer.

The cylindrical middle-piece is covered lengthwise with thin sticks of cane, on which the feather mosaic is applied with wax. Running vertically on the front side there is a yellow strip ten centimeters wide and bordered by black and white cotton threads twisted together, which is accompanied on either side by a red one half as wide with the same border. From each of the latter a broad red continuation branches off at right angles toward the back, which divides each side of the cylinder into two rectangular fields. These are filled with blue rectangles on a yellow background, which are divided off by black cords.

/36 cont./

535 At both ends the cylinder is wound with strips of blue army
532 cloth. In any case the original binding was a tightly woven
825 black or black-white cotton band, as on the masks illustrated in Fig. 22 a and b /see p. 72/.

A small green feather border surrounds the upper edge, which is also adorned with a row of upright red arara feathers.

On the back side, with white down pasted on it, two rows of blue arara feathers hand down over each other.

A cross-stick decorated at the ends with long feather tassels is stuck through the upper third of the cylinder.

b) The pacu fish (ariua) is of similar form. The cylindrical part is shorter, but of larger diameter (height 50 centimeters, circumference 55 centimeters). In this case, too, a braid runs out from the upper surface (60 centimeters) (Pl. XII /see p. 114/, 2 a and b).

A broad red stripe with a black and white border likewise runs down the front. The side parts show a complementary pattern of oblique, blunt zigzag stripes running somewhat irregularly, red on a yellow background within a black border. Two rows of feathers likewise hang down in back.

Long buriti hangings to be placed around the shoulders and hips belong to both masks. The neck is wound with an ornament of black bast strips. The dancer carries gourd rattles in his hands and wears bands with rattling Thevetia pods around his ankles (Fig. 22 a /see p. 72/).

Two other such masks could be sketched.

c) One allegedly represents the kabroro (alligator). The cylindrical part is red with horizontally placed double-crosses in yellow (Fig. 22 a /see p. 72/) and bears two short diverging braids.

d) The meaning of the other, the animal yarenĕ, is uncertain. The basic color of the cylinder is blue. A chain of yellow rectangles on a red background runs down each side. According to the ornamentation, it may represent a snake (Fig. 22 b /see p. 72/).

/36 cont./

535 On both, the back side is decorated with a double row of
532 short green and blue parrot feathers placed in the long direction.
825 3. The mask of a black bird (tirehãñ) has no animal emblem. It is a human face made of a large gourd, the lower third painted black, the rest red. The mouth is equipped with wax lips and wooden teeth. The nose of black wax is located between the narrow eye slits at an unnatural height. A hanging of black and /37/ brown feathers falls from the back, while at the front and on the sides long strips of buriti bast cover the body of the wearer (Pl. X /see p. 112/, 3).

The number of masks is in no way exhausted with these.
[184] Each village has its special ones and many a "medicine hut" was actually crammed full of the different types.

Besides those mentioned the following were noted as particularly common among the Karayahi:

The fish: pintado (Pimelodus sorubim), trem-trem (Gymnotus electricus), chicote, piau, and pirarucú (Sudis gigas); the birds: tuyuyu (Mycteria jabiru), japuira (Cacicus sp.) mutum (Crax), jacu (Penelope); finally deer and crabs.

527 Masked festivals. If there is much food on hand after pro-
535 ductive hunting and fishing expeditions, the chief decides to hold a dance festival, which continues as long as the provisions last. The preparations begin several days before the date set. The women attend to the food and drink, the men set to work at making the dance costumes, unless they are still occupied with hunting.
[533] Each dance is known only to certain persons. The songs sung in
[198] connection with them, which are handed down from father to son, are allegedly performed in an ancient language incomprehensible to the masses.

[825] Each animal represented has its characteristic sound, which
[533] is repeated again and again in the songs. Thus, the pacu cries: heiyoñ he, heiyoñ he, the alligator hu — hu — hu.

[562] The women and children watch the dance, to be sure, but
[532] may not look at the masks by themselves, without their wearers,
[196] since they are made to believe that the "animal spirits" concerned are really present before them. Only the oldest women are sometimes told the secret.

/37 cont./

535 That such barbaric customs prevailed, at least formerly,
532 is all the less to be doubted, since analogies can be shown in
562 other regions of the world. Today, however, the matter does
688 not seem to be handled as strictly. It is said that among the
178 neighboring Tapirapé all the women once saw the masks by chance, so there was nothing else to do but to pardon them all and give up the secret.

According to a statement of Pedro Manco, the custom has fallen into disuse among the Šambioa, too. Nevertheless, they did not permit us simply to take the masks found in the forest along with us, because women /38/ were presumed to be in the area. Rather our men had to put on special clothing for the purpose of bringing them to our camp.

Whether these customs have now become milder or not, in any case the respect the women have for the masks and their mysterious storage place is quite great.

535 After the end of the festival the masks are thrown away or
532 burned. In any case the feathers used for them are saved.

It is unlikely that we shall ever fully understand the real meaning of these dances. It is even doubtful whether the Indians themselves are fully aware of it. On the basis of analogies among better known peoples, a few conjectures about it can at least be made.

535 It is certain that the mask represents the spirit of the ani-
532 mal portrayed. The animals themselves are either game animals
796 or those that play a certain role in the national legend, such as
835 the stork, the alligator, and the Gymnotus. In North America
[191] there are bear dances, buffalo dances, etc., in order to persuade the bear and buffalo spirit to make these animals appear in larger numbers, whereas other dances refer to animals which are regarded as original ancestors or have other mythological significance. Similar notions may also be the basis for the masked dances of the Karaya. This would already be a step beyond the lowest form of animism, since the acceptance of a spirit representing all animals of a certain class presumes a certain amount

/38 cont./

535 of abstraction (1). Insofar as these animal spirits are supposed to

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1. Im Thum, op. cit., p. 370.

be influenced in a way favorable to human beings, the first trace of a cult appears in these dances.

535 If one asks the Indians themselves why they keep the secret
532 from the women, they answer without exception that the women
562 are not permitted to see everything, they talk too much.

The need to maintain the authority of the men over the women appears wherever such mysterious festivals are current. The same thing is known from Greek and Oriental antiquity. It is possible that in this effort, which may often appear to the civilized man as a brutal tyranny over the weaker sex, one of the most ancient "folk ideas" belonging to all mankind finds its expression.

The whizzing stick does not seem to be in use among the Karaya; at least nothing could be learned about it.

Legends and Folklore

126 In the last days of our stay in S. Maria old Pedro Manco
[115] dictated a number of legends, which, given the paucity of
[773] such materials from South America and despite their simplicity and poverty of ideas, as well as the in part garbled form, nevertheless command some interest. Unfortunately because of the lack of time, they could not be written down in the original language, and in particular working out an interlinear translation met insuperable difficulties.

773 Whether these traditions have remained completely free of
199 foreign influence can be decided with certainty only when someone is successful in drawing on other informants as a check. The chances, to be sure, are very slight. For the present nothing opposes the presumption that we are actually dealing here with genuine products of the Indian folk-spirit.

773 These myths differ neither in form nor in content from those otherwise from America. The very saga which is most

[Plate XI. Karaya. (Cont'd)]

/80/ 532 7. Completely fashioned female figure clothed in an apron (1/2).

8. Completely fashioned female figure with carrying basket, without apron and painting (1/2).

9. Female figure made of black wax, with ear sticks. Best specimen of the collection (1/2).

10. Large male figure with wax hair, ear and neck ornaments. Cuffs indicated (1/2).

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Plate XII. Karaya. Fish-dance Masks (Headdresses).

1a. Piabussu fish, front view.
1b. Piabussu fish, side view (left)
} of the same specimen (1/8).

2a. Pacu fish, front view
2b. Pacu fish, side view (left)
} of specimens of different sizes (1/8).

Pl. XII a (Supplement). Color Sketch of Pl. XII.

The broad crossbands of blue European military cloth, which the originals have, are reproduced here in black crosshatching, since the original bands probably consisted of black cotton weaving, as in Fig. 22b /see p. 72/.

/The explanations for Plates XIII-XV, which refer to the untranslated portion of the source and are therefore not reproduced here, are omitted. The errata listed at the bottom of p. 80 have been corrected in the text./

4: Ehrenreich--114 E-5 (1888) 1891 SP9 Caraja 6P9

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Plate XII

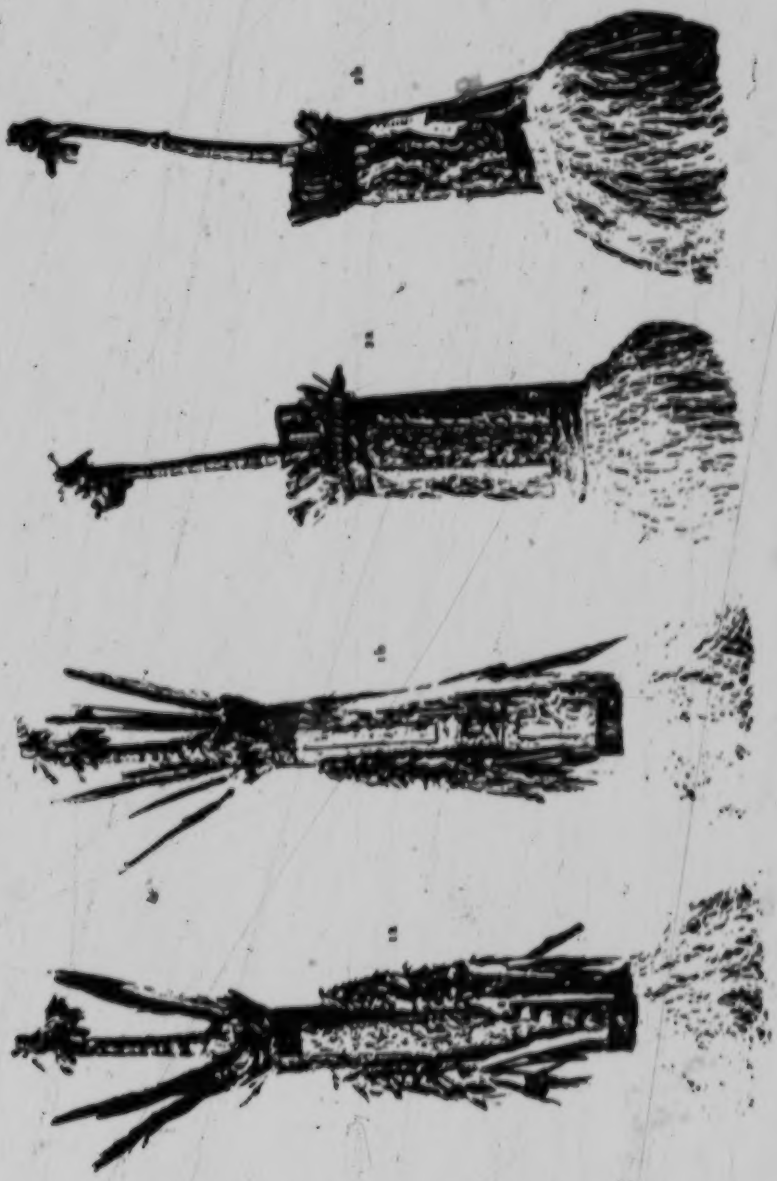

Plate XII (Supplement)

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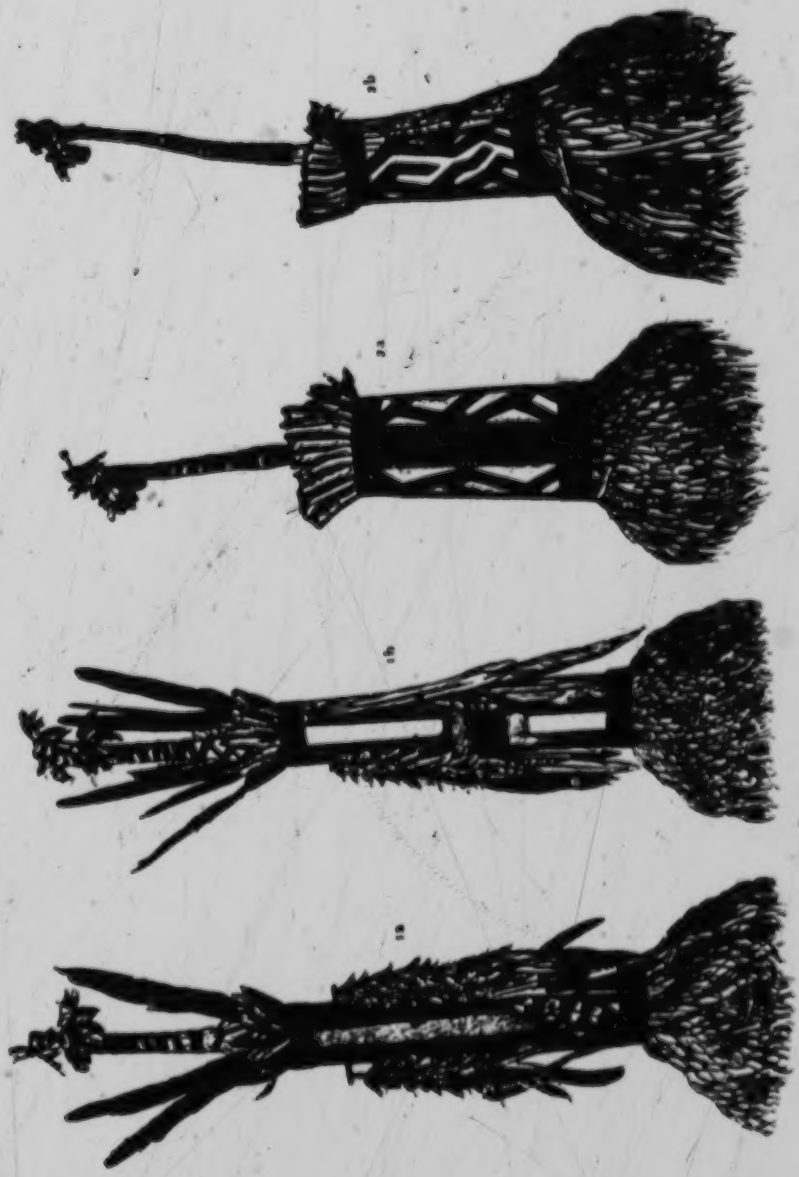

/238 cont./

*301 lower arm (dĭdẽ̆si) in back of the cuff, and, to be sure, by the youth
*237 of both sexes on special occasions.

Arm bands with bunches of feathers for the upper arm are reproduced in Ill. 1 a-c on Plate 52. The feather ornamentation consists either of rosettes with long little end feathers in them or of bunches of individual feathers, some of which look like claws.

In the case of the lower-arm bands with feather layers shown in Ill. 2 a-c on Plate 52, /239/ for 2a two layers of colored feathers are fastened one above the other to separate strings on the one flat side of the cotton strap placed edgewise, while for 2b on either side of the thick, twisted string feather layers are attached one on top of the other, of which the lower, longer layer consists of yellow, the upper shorter one of red clipped feathers. For 2c colorful parrot feathers in a wide layer are knotted to the twisted string by means of cotton knotting, and four Thevetia fruits hang down over this.

As pendants on simple string arm-bands either Thevetia fruits or small blackish fruits or snail shells or claws are used, to which feathers, feather rods, or bunches of cotton thread are usually attached. It is noteworthy that the pendants of snail shells and claws commonly appear in threes (Pl. 52, Ill. 3 a-f).

[824] I did not see strings joined together by little cross-sticks, with Thevetia fruits at the ends, as well as pendants of large red fruits, such as Ehrenreich brought back (Berlin 3729), and likewise none of the arm bands of ounce and wildcat skin with parrot or arara feather pendants (deoϑanã̆) brought back by Ehrenreich, and no more than Ehrenreich the bands of bird bones arranged in parallel fashion that are contained in older Brazilian collections.

As finger rings (dãbõ̆ = hand, finger) narrow strips made out of the tail rings of lizards are worn, and, /Ill. 81 appears here/ to
• [825] be sure, by both sexes at all ages. They differentiate between two kinds: rings made out of the tail of the so-called chameleon (kūlã̆) with oblique scale edges, and rings from the teju lizard (wã̆dãlẽ̆) with vertical scale edges (Ill. 81). Both kinds occur almost equally often.

/239 cont./

*301 *237 In the case of small children the body, as well as the arms and legs, is sometimes covered with white down feathers which are fastened on with light resin. One child wore such down on the upper arm and calves; the little feathers had already become dirty and look like skin scabs. The dead are treated similarly (see there /see p. 277 /).

[164]

Hip ornamentation consists only of dance belts of the male youth. Along with feather belts, there are patterned plaited cotton belts with appendages of all sorts.

[286]

The feather belts consist of long ostrich feathers which are fastened to two fine strings (Ill. 82). I saw such belts in only two specimens and only in the Karajá village in the interior of Bananal, where they were worn by youths for the greeting.

[286]

The patterned, plaited belts made of black and white cotton with appendages of the most varied kinds (wãdãkãnã) are worn by the male youth, usually at wrestling, and otherwise only occasionally. The pendants are of a very diverse nature (Pl. 53, Ills. 1-5). Very popular are /240/ small feather rods or rosettes with long end feathers, which, on long strings, are attached in a long row to the lower edge of the belt; usually Thevetia fruits or mussel shells hang between them, individually or in bunches. In the case of the other belts, the feathers are not fastened to separate threads, but directly to the lower edge.

[825]

Ill. 81 a, b. Finger rings made of the tail rings from a) chameleon, b) teju lizard.

Especially handsome is the arrangement on the belt of Ill. 4, whose small feather rods alternately bear little white end feathers or red string bundles, as well as on the belt of Ill. 5, between each of the small rods of which three to four Thevetia fruits with red-yellow rosettes and like-colored end feathers hang garland-fashion on a separate string, and the two center rods of which each have two long red arara feathers. The ornamentation on the belt

/244 cont./

527 Regular harvest festivals probably do not take place; the time of the ripening of the food plants, that is to say, the time when they have a great deal to eat, is their chief festival time, however.

B. The Acquisition of Animal Food.

433 The acquisition of animal food is as yet limited to the appropriative form; the Indians have not arrived at animal breeding.

231 To be sure, they keep a great many animals in their
825 houses, but do not use them for food, nor do they mate them,
[262] but rather, after loss, they catch young specimens again to tame these anew. This pleasure in animals arises from the belief that animals are related to man, are the same in essence; they believe that animals speak and act like human beings, only in a different form. And so they surround themselves with them, in
[235] order to divert themselves by their behavior. Only birds are kept for practical purposes, namely, as suppliers of feathers; they are repreatedly robbed of their feathers, which are then made into ornaments. Tamed quadrupeds, as well as chickens, usually run around free; birds have their wings clipped or they are tied to a pole on the roof, in the house, or under a special protective
[438] roof (Plate 54, Ill. 1). Apparently there is a trade in birds, for several times I observed wandering Indians who carried little birds with them in small gourds, in order to sell them in other places.
/Plate 53 appears here./

231 /245/ Of such domestic animals, I observed the following:
[136] Of foreign, imported animals there were: chickens [(h)ănĭ(k)ĕ], pigs [(ĭ)šā(nĕ)], dogs (kjŏlŏzā), cats [(găh)ănlōĕnĕ]. These
[262] animals are not eaten; the Indians are not even acquainted with the eating of chicken eggs (hănĭkĕsĭ). Pigs are very rare; I saw only one large domestic pig, which was quite obviously kept only out of curiosity.

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 155]

/248 cont./

223 until the uppermost one, finally, closed the opening of the little pyramid. Strings ran down along the edges, were fastened to the lowest rods, and crossed at the top on the surface; they barely held the whole construction together. The type of release is clearly shown in the sketch, Ill. 84.

[198] To lure birds and game the Indians use specific calls which differ according to the particular species of animal, as they know how to imitate animal sounds masterfully.

Birds must be plucked on the spot; they may not be brought to the village unplucked ("otherwise the chief will be angry"). While plucking, the fingertips are dipped in wood ashes.

223 224 [538] It is said that there are no magic devices for making the hunt productive; on the other hand, the Indians are fond of telling one another hunting stories, and, in doing so, they like to exaggerate and tell improbable things.

Ill. 84.
Construction of the bird trap.

226 262 Fishing supplies by far the largest portion of the meat food; the subsistence of the Indians is to a large extent based on it.

136 The Araguaya is extremely rich in fish (kǎdõlǎ); still richer, however, are the tributaries, especially the Rio Tapirapé and the many lakes that accompany these rivers on either side.

In the deep water of the lakes and on the high, steep banks, especially where fallen trees lie in the water, live the pirarucú (b'dõlěkě; Sudis gigas), three to four meters long, and the pirarara (dõlě; Phractocephalus discolor), which is equipped with strong bone armor and is up to two meters long. Upon being [533] [825] pulled out of the water, it emits air with strange sounds; the humorous Indian likes to imitate these sounds in his songs. Furthermore, the dogfish (lãdǎ), with its powerful teeth, lives here, and above all the worst predatory fish, the piranha. Various

/271 cont./

411 approximately 70 centimeters long, the second approximately 50
285 centimeters long.

Ehrenreich speaks of a second type of club: flat, shovel-like clubs that have a four-sided, prismatic blade with sharp edges and a lancet-shaped point. The handle is plaited all around, and at both ends of the plaiting cotton tassels hang down ("Beiträge," Pl: VI, Ill. 11). He obtained two such clubs from the Šambioá (Berlin 3980), whereas he saw a cruder form among the Karajá. The question is whether this club form belonged to the Karajá
[171] originally. For I came across such forms neither among the Karajá nor among the Šavajé, but certainly among the Kayapó, /272/ among whom broad cutting-clubs seem to be indigenous. It may be that the Šambioá took over this form from the Kayapó. Only a small child's club of the Karajá (Ill. 125) shows a similar type (1),

1. Cf. also, however, the club stick above (Pl. 56, Ill. 3c).

but it comes from the village on the Tapirapé mouth, so that here, too, it is not certain whether an old, now extinct club form has been preserved in this child's toy or whether it is not more likely that there is influence from the Tapirapé or the Kayapó.

411 The lances (dõnõli: Ill. 126) play a minor role. They are a weapon peculiar to the Karajá. Today they are probably used
[224] only as a display weapon for festivities, visits, etc. In former
[825] times they were put to use in hunting for jaguars: the bunches of feathers on the tip were supposed to make the animal fearful and uncertain, so that the Indian, at the most auspicious moment, /Ills. 123-126 appear here/ was able to deliver the death blow (according to the statements of the Indians). I never heard that they were ever used in war.

[824] The shaft consists of heavy palm wood (aruera); it is almost always 240-260 centimeters long and about three centimeters thick; only two specimens of my collection are a little over 200 centimeters long.

/344 cont./

191 general, they pronounce Brazilian words badly; In they seldom succeed in pronouncing f correctly, usually they say p for it (pǎcõ̆ for facão, žīprĕ for chifre, pǎrīnă for farinha, pǎsēr for facer).

126 For the list of words and texts recorded by me, along with the translations, see the appendix I and II /untranslated; see the foreign text, pp. 415-482/.

18. Myths.

773 Myths were told me by two persons: Chief Cadete Chico of
126 Schischá told me the creation myth; I obtained a second version
115 of this, as well as all the rest, from Kurišī. Usually he told them the most vividly and in the greatest detail the first time, and considerably more simply in repetitions. Some features had to be verified by much questioning, if they were overlooked in the first notation. When questioned, Kurišī said that he was telling the myths as his mother had told them to him. According to this, the myth seems to be handed down through the mother among the Karajá. To me it was surprising that he professed not to know any of the myths reported by Ehrenreich /345/ ("Beiträge," pp. 39-44), with the exception of the howling monkey myth. Apparently they were truly unfamiliar to him. This is all the more surprising since he is the grandson of Pedro Manco, Ehrenreich's informant, and thus should have known about the store of myths preserved in this family.

773 The Karajá regard the Furo das Pedras as their original home.
[619] There the ancient Karajá lived under water. They regard the
[875] Šavajé and Šambioá as their tribal kinsmen. Animals are regarded as beings like human beings, so that transformations of human beings into animals and the reverse play an important role. They
[621] think of the stars as inhabited by creatures who temporarily came to the earth and there came into contact with human beings.

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

within fifty or one hundred yards of our canoe diving for fish and rising to the surface every moment to blow, whale-like. They can be captured only with a harpoon, but are rarely killed voluntarily by either the civilized or savage natives, though their fat is known to yield an excellent oil for lamps, for there is no animal in the Amazon region that is the subject of so many fables as this creature. The superstitious people believe that blindness would result from the use of this oil in lamps. One fable represents the *bouto* as a kind of mermaid, or siren; and is to the effect that it once had the habit of assuming the form of a beautiful woman with hair hanging loose to her heels, and coming ashore at night and walking through the streets of a village to entice the young men down to the water. If any one was so much smitten as to follow her to the water's edge, she grasped him around the waist and plunged beneath the waves with a triumphant cry. A man told me that if a human being were drowning in the river and a *bouto* should be near, it would succor him and bear him to land.

Fresh-water turtles exist in vast numbers in the Amazon region. They reach a great size in the upper Amazon, a full-grown specimen measuring nearly three feet in length by two in breadth. Its flesh is prized by both the "civilized" and the savage peoples living by the river. The eggs also are valued, scores of millions of which are gathered each season. Oil is extracted from these eggs, tens of thousands of gallons of which have been exported annually. Each turtle produces about one hundred twenty eggs every year. They issue from the river at the dead of night, when all is still, and making excavations two or three feet deep in the sand, turtle after turtle deposits its eggs in the same pit until it is full. The eggs are slightly larger than a hen's egg, are perfectly round, and have a flexible, leathery shell. To prepare them for eating, Brazilians boil them thirty minutes, then mix them with corn meal.

Alligators also infest in vast numbers the Amazon system of rivers. Indeed, they exist in myriads in some streams so

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

clubs and lances, various kinds of clay pots and pans and 353
gourd-shell vessels occupy the corners of the hut.

A short distance from the encampment is the "Casa do 346
Bicho," or medicine hut; or better yet, the Demon Hut. It is roofed and closed in on three sides only. The side facing away from the village is always left entirely open. The [562]
women of the tribe are not allowed to go near this hut, or to look into it. In front of two Sambiõa villages, two dead 825
kingfishers were secured to the top of a high pole, for the purpose, probably, of keeping away the demons.

The Karayá have a few domestic, or domesticated crea- 231
tures. These are considered members of the family, and live 825
in and out of the family hut, and on equal terms generally with the people. These children of Nature are evidently lovers of Nature, and their mode of life can scarcely be conceived of without these creatures. The way they treat them indicates the idea they entertain regarding them and their doings—that they look upon them as their companions and equals. The feeling of companionship—even of relationship— [538]
with the animal world, is characteristic of the Karayá, and is evidenced by the way the animals are spoken of in their tribal legends, and by the fact that they have quite a treasury of animal fables. Although these people are successful 231
in taming wild creatures, they have never made any economic use of them as have the civilized people. They are captured while still young, and reared, but for no purpose, in most cases, other than to be kept as pets and esteemed members of the families of their captors, where their presence seems to give much pleasure. They are seldom thought of as regards any material benefits they may confer. The only economic [237]
use that is made of any of these creatures, is of those that have bright-colored plumage, which is used in the making of the many feathered adornments that are so much admired by these primitive people. Nor are these animals permitted to multiply themselves, if this can be avoided. Some poultry 235
is kept, which was obtained originally from the "civilized" [197]
Brazilians, and these, of course, multiply rapidly. But even

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

535 object, or apparition, that rushes forth from the forest to
885 parade and dance—is supposed to be the materialization of the spirit, or double, of the creature indicated. The animals represented are always either game animals, or those that play a certain rôle in the tribal legends, such as the stork, the alligator and the electric eel. In accordance with a similar idea,
[171] the aborigines of North America were accustomed to hold buffalo and bear dances for the purpose of inducing the spirits of these particular animals to send their own kind to earth in abundance.

The Karayá have other dances, which are held in honor of animals regarded as ancestors, or to which some mythological significance is attributed. There may be similar reasons for the masquerades. The Karayá may believe, moreover, that by these festivities, they are cultivating the favor of the game animals.

535 When the men are asked why they keep from their women
562 the secret of the real character of the masqueraders, they always, without exception, reply that the women are not allowed to see and know everything because they talk too much. The belief that the authority and superiority of the men over the women must be maintained and fortified, is quite evident wherever the mystery festivals are held.

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

be ordered to appear at a designated spot in the woods when the sun reaches a certain position in the heavens, and here she will be compelled to submit herself to the assembled men. If she should fail to appear as ordered, the men may slay her wherever they find her and sink her body in the river. But if she should flee to the mystery hut, no one will enter to take her for this is an asylum of refuge. If a man should betray the secret of the masquerade to a woman of the tribe, he may, nevertheless, be allowed to go unmolested. But these barbarous customs do not appear to be so strictly observed to-day as in former times. It is related that owing to an accident, all the women of a certain village, caught sight at the same moment of the masquerade outfit when not in use. In this case, of course, nothing could be done but to pardon them all and make known to them the whole secret. It is said that among the Sambiōa, these masquerades are falling somewhat into disuse. Nevertheless, they would not allow Dr. Ehrenreich and his party to bring away the masquerade outfits that they had stumbled upon at a spot in the woods where they had been thrown at the termination of a festival, as they feared that some of their women might be in the vicinity and see them. To get permission to take them, the men of the party had to dress in them. Though these customs may be less strictly observed to-day than formerly, nevertheless, the women cherish a profound respect for these supposed creatures of the forest and their mysterious hiding-places.

535 562 688 [178] 535 [178] [126]

The masquerade outfits seem to be thrown away, or burned, at the conclusion of a festival, the feather decorations having first been removed.

Of the real significance of these masquerades, little or nothing is known, or perhaps ever will be known. It is doubtful if even the savages themselves are fully conscious of their significance. But we may get some light upon the subject from our knowledge of the customs and beliefs of other primitive peoples.

It is certain that the "make up"—the creature, animated [825]

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca.1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

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7:Lipkind E-5 (1938-1939) 1940
SP9 Caraja SP9

among the last. He got stuck in the hole. His belly was too big. He decided to go back. It was a dead leaf that he spied. He spoke to his wife, 'Let's go back. There is death there.' They went back again. Those that had come out were very happy. They were all happy. Then one of them climbed a tree. It was a child that climbed. He fell and died. They all mourned. Suddenly they got cheerful again. For this reason they were angry, his mother and father. His brother and sister, married to each other, were angry. For this reason there was keening. They say that there in the depths of the water there was no death."

In addition to being the original home of the Carajá, the underworld is also the home of the dead. Those who die a quiet death and are properly buried live there much in the same fashion as they lived on earth. But they are always a bit crazed and dangerous to the living. They must be placated by offerings and ceremonial observances. Otherwise they assume the form of poisonous snakes and bite those who neglect them. Those who die a violent death, who are clubbed or torn by beasts, become violent unappeasable ghosts. They are buried in the woods without arms or fire, in a position contrary to the traditional position in order to disorient them. A woman's girdle is tied about their eyes to blind them. Their desire is to kill, and especially to kill their closest kin. Their afterlife is extremely unpleasant. They wander about in a perpetual rage and feed on little birds which they eat raw.

The other dimension of the Carajá universe is the sky. Only the southeastern quadrant of the sky interests the Carajá. The rest is uninhabited forest. Starting at the Southern Cross virtually every star and constellation visible in the east is a named supernatural. The Milky Way is the shaman's road. When the shaman falls into his trance he goes up the shaman's road into one of the villages of the sky supernaturals. There he receives his power and knowledge and, if he has not eaten or drunk, thereafter is a curer. If he has, he becomes a sorcerer and killer. The good shaman after his death goes to live in the sky. He squats up there in the heat of the sun with his inexhaustible pot of food and gourd of water in front of him and his shamanistic rattle in his hand, held up to shade his eyes from the glare of the sun. At night he dances with the supernaturals. This is considered the happiest afterlife.

The earth and underworld are also inhabited by supernaturals. Every pool, every deep spot in the river, every bit of forest or savannah, has its supernatural owners. These are of two kinds. Many are amiable and beautiful beings who have friendly relations with humans. They are invited to feasts and impersonated in the masked dances. The others are ugly and dangerous monsters who cannot be placated. Their woods are avoided and nobody fishes in their pools.

The sorcerer has a wide variety of techniques at his disposal. He may

8:Gow-Smith T-5 (no date)1925
SP9 Caraja SP9

THE ARAWANA, OR FISH DANCE, OF THE CARAJA INDIANS OF MATTO GROSSO, BRAZIL

535 825 OF ALL the dances of the Caraja, the *Arawana* is the most important. It takes its name from a fish found in the tributaries of the Amazon, particularly the River Araguaya. This fish, the *arawana* [274] or *iraco*, is thought by the natives to be semi-human and is much venerated.

535 The dance, a cross between a turkey-step and a [533] foxtrot, accompanied by weird songs, is performed by two Indian men representing the male and the female fish. Both are dressed alike, except that there is hidden in the headgear of the male representative a cluster of threaded nuts from the palm tree, which rattle as the dancers move.

The dress consists of long slender palm-leaves hanging from the waist to the knees like a skirt. A similar kilt arrangement of leaves covers the body from neck to waist. The head-dress is made from palm-leaves closely braided together in the form of a hood, with coarse grass hanging loose at the bottom, obscuring the face. The upper part tapers almost to a point about two feet above the head and is overlaid with beautiful feather mosaics patterned to suggest the *arawana*. Two "horns" made of grass top the headdress. (Fig. 43.)

/6 cont./

*532 the rolls there is put on, with a strong lacing, a second spherical roll, which runs out into a point at the bottom (Figs. 18, 21, 22, 23 /see p.48 /, Fig. 45 /see p.49 /) or in an attached foot (Fig. 24 /see p.48 /, Figs. 28 and 34 /see p.49 /). The feet come in all forms from the short stump to the fully fashioned foot (Fig. 28 /see p. 49 /). Worthy of note is the great exaggeration of the calves, thighs, and hips in the case of the second and third forms, /7/ and parallel with it goes the formation of /Fig. 29 appears here/[1] buttocks often assuming enormous dimensions (Figs. 23, 24b /see p.48 /, Figs. 28b, 30, 34b /see p.49 /), two phenomena which are lacking in the first form. They are explicable by a comparison with the body shapes of the Indians (Fig. 29 a and b [142] [301] /see p. 12/). They possess extremely strong musculature on the thighs, the calves stand out prominently because of the tightly tied calf-bands of the young people, and even the cushion of fat on the seat is exceedingly strongly developed. The ideal of the •[826] Indians is the strongest possible development of these phenomena and this ideal is apparently represented in the figures.

Only one figure falls outside of these three types (Fig. 30); it probably arose out of an extension of the second form. Stretching downward from the upper projections there are two long cylinders which remain uniformly thick to the bottom and are cut off horizontally.

The torso shows nothing remarkable in the case of the male figures. It has the deeply bored navel which is surrounded by indented painting. On the other hand, the torso of the female figures is singularly formed in that it juts out into a plate, sometimes projecting out quite far, on which the navel is found. The apron is [142] [291] attached below this plate. This phenomenon probably goes back to the protrusion of the belly caused by the tightly drawn bast apron, as was sometimes to be seen (Fig. 31 /see p. 12/).

An equally difficult subject is the representation of the arms and breasts; I must deal with them together, since it is not immediately obvious which of the two is represented.

[1] [see p. 12--Analyst]

/182 cont./

142 [862] Very distended abdomens, probably a result of the predominantly vegetable diet, are not a rarity, especially among the male sex; almost throughout the children of both sexes have a drumlike distended abdomen (Pl. 11, Ill. 4; Pl. 12, Ill. 2; Pl. 43, Ill. 2; Pl. 51, Ill. 2). The musculature of the abdomen among the men is usually so well developed that its individual parts are visible under the skin (Pl. 36; 38, Ill. 1). The pelvis is narrow; girls and maidens in particular have pelves that are no broader than those of the male sex, and even those of the women are not essentially broader than those of the men. The strikingly broad pelvis of one woman observed by me is an exception, contrary to Ehrenreich, who describes them as figures tending toward broadness (1). Hand in hand with this slight development in the breadth of the pelvis goes the almost total absence of a waist (Pl. 16; 17; 42, Ill. 1), which is occasionally clearly present only among women /183/ (Pl. 42, Ill. 3). Peculiar to the male sex is the often strongly prominent inguinal line (Pl. 36; 44, Ill. 1).

1. Page 119. On page 101, however, he describes the hips of the women as relatively narrow.

The paddings of fat over the glutei are generally normal. Where they are more strongly developed (Pl. 16), the accumulation of fat appears more in the lower parts. A well-developed [826 832] padding of fat is part of the Indians' ideal of beauty.

The Arms. As far as the length of the upper and lower arms is concerned, the upper arm seems to be proportioned like ours; the lower arm, on the other hand, seems long in relation to the upper arm (Pl. 43, Ill. 1), and the female sex has proportionately longer lower arms than the male (Pl. 17). The musculature of the upper arm is extraordinarily well developed among the men (Pl. 15, Ill. 1; 36; 43, Ill. 3); among young men and boys, as well as among the female sex, on the other hand, it is only slightly developed, so that one is obliged to call

/183 cont./
140 them thin-armed (Pl. 11, Ill. 4; 17; 38, Ill. 2; 47, Ill. 2).
[147] Quite obviously, the powerful development among the married men is the result of rowing and of tree-cutting for the planting. On the lower arm among the adult men, the stronger development of the inner muscle (toward the elbow) is striking (Pl. 36, Ill. 1; 49, Ill. 1); among the women, on the other hand, the outer muscle is more strongly developed (Pl. 17). Hands and fingers are small in comparison with ours.

The legs. The women, in comparison with the men, have shorter legs, whereas the proportion between thigh and calf does not differ essentially for the two sexes. The legs in general, especially in youth, are gracile. The individual bulges of the muscles on the thigh, however, are relatively prominent under the skin (Pl. 44, Ill. 1). A further phenomenon is restricted to the children and young people; in later years it gradually recedes and is only rarely visible. This is a marked prominence
[301] of stretches of skin on the inner side of the thigh, just above the knee joint, common among our children as well, which is probably caused by the strong pressure of the cotton bands worn around the calves as a sign of the unmarried state, which are crocheted directly on the body and are cut off and renewed only when they have become too tight and cut deeply into the leg (Pl. 11, Ill. 4; 12, Ill. 2; 38; 42, Ill. 1; 43, Ill. 1; 44, Ill. 1). This
[826] marked bulging of the parts above the knee is shown particularly
[832] among the clay dolls and is apparently regarded as beautiful (Pl. 8). The legs always grew straight; I never saw knock-knees; only two men showed bowlegs, namely, bowed lower legs (Pl. 15, Ill. 4b, and Pedro). The fetlocks are narrow (1); the foot

1. See under "Distinguishing Ornamentation": calf and ankle bands /see pp. 120 -123/.

is generally compact and well formed. The position of the foot, as among us, is outward, which is shown in the illustrations, and only rarely inward /184/ (Pl. 16; 42, Ill. 3; see Ehrenreich, p. 101). In walking they are likewise placed outward. I never

142 /184 cont. /In walking they are likewise placed outward. I never
[481] observed the frequently reported manner of walking, namely, that on the narrow paths one foot is placed in front of the other, although I conducted studies on this for days, walking behind different Indians on narrow Indian paths. Only if a tuft of grass interfered with the toes were these turned inward. Ehrenreich states that the second toe is the longest (p. 101) and that the fifth conspicuously recedes (p. 104). About the latter I did not observe anything, but in various cases I found that the great toe was considerably shorter than the second toe, as Steinen also observed on the Xingu. The great toe may shoot off far to one side. Apparently great individual differences must occur in foot
[826] formation, for the Indians recognize with certainty in the shape of the footprint in the sand (which probably also depends on the different way of stepping) the owner of the foot.

146 The bodies of the Indians generally give a well-nourished impression. It has already been noted above (p. 50) that a drum-like distended stomach is the rule among children, though the rest of the body does not by any means give an impression of weakness. Very well nourished persons (Pl. 44, Ill. 1) are regarded as the ideal of the Indians. Poorly nourished, positively emaciated persons are rare (Pl. 37, Ill. 1, the tallest). Thin women predominate by far, and such emaciation usually occurs in old age. In Villages 5 and 27 I saw a few very old people who were emaciated almost to skeletons (see also Ehrenreich, page 104).

147 Good nourishment gives the Indians good strength, which is hardened by rowing, work in the plantings, and practice in wrestling matches, so that even young people with slightly developed arm musculature have great endurance in rowing and often do surprisingly well in wrestling.

834 The sexual parts are visible only among the men. The foreskin of the penis in front of the glans is wound roll-like with a cotton thread; in this way the penis lies ball-shaped inside the skin, shortened, so that the entire male sexual organ, together with the testicles visible through the scrotum, gives the appearance of three balls (Pl. 36; 38, Ill. 2; 43, Ills. 1 and 3; 49, Ill. 1).

/184 cont./

142 The skin is thin and delicate and feels very soft, a regular tropical skin, such as the Whites in the tropics also have. A certain part of this may also be due to the oiling of the skin. The [302] color of the skin is difficult to determine, since the Indians mostly go about painted or even with an over-all coating of oil color. The hot sun, which shines with particular intensity on the sand-banks, burns the parts exposed to it the most, such as upper arms, chest, shoulders, belly, and thighs, so that here the skin is considerably darker (Nos. 26-28 on the Martin Chart, with a touch of violet) than on the protected parts of the body, such as the inner side of the upper arm, etc. (No. 25). The cheeks are strikingly light; mostly /Pl. 37 appears here/ /185/ only No. 21, and among many definitely sallow, yellowish (Nos. 18-19). Whether this is the result of pathological conditions I am unable to say, the phenomenon was frequent, especially among young people and girls. The actual skin-color can be seen only under the cotton bands, especially under the calf bands; here it is No. 17. The palms of the hands (Nos. 13-15) and soles of the feet (Nos. 10-16) are very light, almost as among us. The women [292] often seemed lighter than the men, undoubtedly a result of the fact that they live more in the shadows of the houses and, when they go out, generally put on their net coverings. My Indian rowers, too, in the course of months took on a lighter coloring 826 under the clothing. I did not see albinos. The ideal of the Karajá Indians is a skin as light as possible; they particularly appreciated my white skin color, and they themselves wanted to be entirely white (see the role of the Whites in the legends).

147 A particular body odor is probably characteristic of the Indians; it is rather strong and unpleasant to us. It cannot be [302] said, however, how much of it is due to the rancid oil on the skin and in the hair.

142 The hair. The head hair is generally straight; hair hanging down long, however, if it is not combed out for a long time, becomes wavy in the case of men and women (Pl. 17; 36; 42, [302] Ills. 1 and 3). If it is freshly combed and oiled, it hangs down smooth naturally. The formation of curls is relatively frequent; among men I observed it ten times; among women, on the

[Text continues on p. 55]

/33 cont./

789 with incredible volubility, and finally made thrusts with grim
791 gestures in the four directions, shouting: bobuto! disperse! It is therefore exactly the same procedure that Boas observed among the Central Eskimos (2). If the rain comes down in spite of this,

2. Petermann's Mitth., 1887, p. 309.

the conjurer chews up a root and spits the pieces into the air, naturally only when the storm is nearing its end.

754 If the sorcerer wishes to harm an absent person, he uses a small bow (ǐibate) to shoot an arrow with two snake teeth at the tip in the direction where he suspects that his victim is. The latter is then overcome by an incurable sickness.

Animism. Masked Dances.

771 Although so few details about the religious beliefs of the Karaya are known, it can already be determined that the animistic world-view, as the lowest form of religious life, manifests itself among them in exactly the same way as among other better studied South American tribes.

For them, too, the phenomena of half-life in sleep, the extinguishing of all vital activity in death, and dreams and visions are proof of the presence of a spirit world separate from the material substratum, in which every individual, human as well as animal, who, according to Indian belief, differ from each other only in their physical form, has its immaterial phantom.

754 They know from experience that in dreams the spirit leaves
828 the body of the sleeper to wander about and to meet other persons or
[774] spirits; they know further, even if it is only through suggestive influencing, that the witch doctors, gifted with higher powers, can at will put themselves in a sleeping state, in which their souls fathom secret matters, enter into animals in order to frighten and to injure enemies as "werewolves," and, in short, do all those things by means of which shamanism everywhere knows how to secure its influence in uniformly recurring fashion.

/338 cont./

757 Venereal diseases are rare. The Karajá systematically
164 avoid them in that infected Karajá, as long as they are not cured,
834 are prohibited from intercourse with the women and possibly banished from the tribe altogether. Pedro I, who became infected in Conceição, said that if he went home that way he would be unable to remain there: he would then no longer be a Karajá. They seem to have a remedy for syphilis, but it is said to be effective only in the hands of a good doctor.

Persons with infectious diseases are left alone; even the doctor does not pay any attention to them. The people simply move away, but leave food behind for them. If they die, the
753 others come and bury them. With death the disease, even an infectious one, is regarded as obliterated.

158 Mental illnesses seem to be very rare. I observed only one epileptic youth. Every month at the first quarter of the moon he is said to thrash about and walk around with his eyes closed. He had a strange look and his movements were heavy. For no reason
● 828 that I could see, he was suddenly seized by the others, overpowered, and thrown down; after a time he was permitted to get up again and walk about freely, but he was always kept under control.

828 According to their view, mental illness (ĭdjŏdĕ) is located in the small of the back.

Raving madness (ãhãhã) is incurable. During attacks the patient, by order of the chief, is bound at ankles and hands and laid on a mat in the shade.

158 In Schischá, on my return journey, I observed a strange custom, which probably goes back to a sadistic tendency. At night, the old bachelor, Maudĭhi, and Mãŭzĭ were sitting with me in the tent. Suddenly the bachelor leaped at Mauzi's throat and squeezed it, saying, I want to kill you, and then finally let go. Thereupon all /339/ three of them tried this on themselves. They threw their heads back, placed their hands around their throats from behind, and, holding the breath, squeezed the larynx together from both sides with their thumbs. After a while, they let go, swallowed a few times, and took a deep breath. Extreme satisfaction was reflected on their faces.

/9 cont./

*532 The individual types cannot be recognized as running parallel in any way. The different kinds of representation of the arms, breasts, and hair are associated with all three kinds of leg representation, so that nothing regular can be found. If that which is truest to nature be taken as a yardstick, then the most perfect male representations are Fig. 18 /see p.48 / and Fig. 28 /see p. 49/, the most perfect female ones Fig. 24 /see p. 48 / and Fig. 34 /see p. 49/.

Apart from these dolls there are still other clay dolls, which differ principally from the form discussed in the formation of the head. It seems that alien Indian tribes are represented by these forms, whereas the first form reproduces the Karajá themselves.

1. The dolls have no face; a wax cap constitutes the upper end of the pointed torso (Figs. 43-46 /see p.49 /).

[100] 2. Klälätü, i.e., Kayapó. Instead of the head, a clay plate projecting forward, which has colored grooving on the upper surface, forms the end of the trunk; under it are two clay buttons which represent the breasts. Only female figures are represented (Fig. 47 /see p. 49 /). They have legs of type 1, the stomach plate, concave navel, and apron.

[101] 3. Dōbäi, i.e., a tribe on the Rio das Mortes. The body ends at the top in a round cylinder which on its flat upper surface bears colored lines arranged radially (Figs. 48, 49 /see p. 50 /). /10/ The last figure has arm appendages on both sides; its upper end is somewhat thickened and hollowed out from above.

4. Dōbäi, in a different representation (Fig. 50 /see p. 50 /). Here the cylinder ends flat and narrow at the top. Under the upper edge is a hole which is surrounded by a circle of several colored holes.

5. Dōbäi (Figs. 51 and 52 /see p.50 /). At the top the cylinder bears a narrow plate with colored horizontal stripes, over which is a hair roll. Fig. 52 represents the male figure for Fig. 51; it has the upper hole under the plate, which is lacking in Fig. 51.

Perhaps Fig. 53 /see p. 50 / also represents a doll of this kind. The plate is undecorated, and the upper hole is lacking;

/341 cont./

C 829 648 S 105

What the Karaja say about the neighboring Indian tribes (1).

1. For their statements about Šavajé, Tapirapé, and Kayapó, see under these peoples /see pp. 310 and 336 with regard to the first two; the material dealing with the last-named people has not been translated/.

C S [101]

The Chavánte (kliũzã, kũlizã) live on the west bank, on the Rio das Mortes, on campo territory; between São José and Leopoldina they also come as far as the Araguaya. They are tall, have fat paunches and a light skin color. Old men wear beards; the hair is cut short in front, as among the Karajá, is worn hanging down very long in back and tied together with red string. The men tie up the penis in front with a black string; in the lower lip they wear small buttons of wood. A genipap painting on the chest is popular: a line from each armpit to the lower end of the breastbone. The Chavánte fish with poison cipo, and the Karajá maintained that they first learned this method of fishing from them. The Chavánte are a true campo people; they do not like to travel in the forest; they even burn off the campo, in order to be able to travel better. They transport their supplies in carrying baskets which are carried by the men. As for weapons, they carry lances, clubs, bows and arrows. The arrows are like those of the Karajá, but are regarded as ugly. One kind has points of tucum wood; these remain stuck in a wound and are broken off (whereas the bamboo blade points of the Karajá arrows may be pulled out, but they tear large holes, so that the wounded person bleeds to death). The feathers of the feathering are given their shape by burning. There are no poisoned arrows. The Chavánte are the enemies of the Karajá. They have already killed many Karajá, whereas the latter have killed only one Chavánte (2).

C [199]

S 648 [113]

2. This hostile relationship dates from ancient times. As Fonseca reports (Rev. trim. 8, pp. 382-388), the Chavánte, who lived between

/341 cont./

S 648

2. (cont.)
Araguay and Tocantins, were in the habit of swimming across the Furo during the dry season and plundering the plantings of the Karajá. They needed only to blow the trumpets, and already the Karajá fled. As a result, the latter did not dare visit their plantings and hence suffered from lack of food. Fonseca, when the Chavánte had again broken into the plantings, undertook an expedition against them and surprised them; they fled, leaving behind their weapons and their plunder. The Karajá had held back in cowardly fashion, but now boasted about being the victors. This was the first time that the Chavánte had fled before them; until then, the opposite had always occurred. -- And it seems to be so still today.

C 819 648 S 105

About the Cherénte (ĭnŏlōtŭ) I was able to obtain only the not very credible information that they eat the excrement of human beings, even their own, putting it into their mouths with a brush-like stick that has been beaten flat. Perhaps this is merely a story that has arisen from the hostility and conceit of the Karajá.

C 819 648 T 105 101 T [174]

/342/ The Canoeiros (tĭãbĕgã) (1) live on the east shore,

1. According to Cunha Mattos, the Canoeiros are the descendants of the Carijos, who were brought along from São Paulo as auxiliary troops and workmen by the discoverer of Goyaz, Bartholomão Bueno; they deserted in 1725, displaced the Chavánte, and settled in the high mountains between Maranhão, Santa Thereza, and Amaro Leite on the left bank of the Tocantins above Porto Real. They were supposed to be only 300 warriors strong, but were feared because of their brutality (Rev.

T [113]

C /342 cont./
829
G48
T
105
[113]
T
[114]

1. (cont.)
trim., Vol. 37, pp. 370-379; Vol. 38, pp. 19 and 83). Castelnau mentions them often and localizes their territory more exactly (Vol. 2, p. 116). Dr. Couto de Magalhães (Viagem ao Araguaya) repeats the statements of Cunha Mattos and also gives a brief description and a vocabulary of their language.

T
[101] but also roam on Bananal Island from the mouth of the Rio das Mortes to the southern tip. All the columns of smoke sighted in this region on Bananal are attributed to them. According to an isolated statement, they are also supposed to occupy a village inland from Furo das Pedras, which is at constant war with the neighboring Šavajé. They are supposed to have a darker skin-color than the Karajá. Their hair is worn in the bowl-cut. The men wear beards and large wooden disks; according to another statement, wide lip-plugs of shell in the lower lip; the ears are pierced and hang far down. They are a true campo people who have no boats. Nor do they know how to fish. In the autumn they come to the Araguaya to hunt for turtle eggs on the sand-banks. In connection with this they probably meet Karajá, by whom they are greatly feared on account of their dangerous arrows. They are regarded as the strongest (most warlike) people on the Araguaya and now play the same role there that the Chavánte did at the end of the eighteenth century.

C
829
G48
The peoples of the Xingu region were completely unknown to the Karajá. When I showed them Steinen's pictures, they debated for a long time about the strange style of dress (unclothed men with the penis hanging far down, uluri of the women), as well as about all kinds of implements. Obviously they were seeing such things for the first time. Language samples, too, which I read to them, were foreign to them; only in the case of the Suyá words did they listen attentively and seem to find related sounds. Only one chief, Chico Cadete in Village 18, directly below the Tapirapé mouth, pretended to know the Suyá with their large

/342 cont./

819 lip-disks. He said one could get to them by way of the Tapirapé.
648 When I asked for more details, he wrapped himself in silence. Perhaps through the Tapirapé he had obtained some knowledge of the tribes living to the west.

17. The Language.

126 To make records of the language among the Karajá is very
[194] difficult, because these Indians speak their language, which is rich in nasal forms, most indistinctly. The women speak considerably more clearly than the men

The words asked for were willingly said; the Indians were indefatigable in pronouncing them for me until I could repeat them correctly. For transcribing them I used the Meinhof transcription in Neumayer's /343/ Anleitung zu wissenschaftlichen Beobachtungen auf Reisen /Introduction to Scientific Observations on Journeys/, 3rd ed., page 484. Determining the strange diphthongs which are peculiar to the language was often difficult and is to be regarded as merely approximated.

I tried to obtain the same words in as many localities as possible. Thus, for the words of the south horde (S) I have 21 informants, for those of the north horde (N) 29. I did not obtain
192 all the words in both groups. Comparison shows that most words
184 are the same in both groups, but that a number of deviations also occur. In my opinion, however, these do not justify our assuming separate dialects, since they do not show any laws, and since it is not certain how many are due to misunderstanding. Some of
[194] them are to be explained only by the omission of vowels in rapid speech, lighter or darker vowel formation, stronger emphasis of one or another character in the diphthongs (l or r in the case of l, etc.). It is noteworthy that the words obtained in the village of José, who had migrated from the south horde to the north horde, still clearly show the greater relationship with the south horde, whereas those of Chief Korumaré, who had migrated into the interior of Bananal, are more closely linked with those of the

T /403 cont./
175 are Karajá who are so named because they live on the lower course
114 of the Tapirapé. On page 174 he mentions a village of the /404/
Tapirapé on the Fecho de Tapirapé and a village of the Karajá
five days upward in the Tapirapé River; the one village consists
of one house with ten occupants, the other, one house with 20 (p.
186). Here, therefore, the Tapirapé are regarded as a horde of
the Karajá who live at the mouth of the river itself, and in the
river, five days above the mouth, there is another village of
Karajá! Coudreau was here the end of April; he encountered
only a few places of the Karajá. His other reports are likewise
very confused and uncertain, so that one may trace these, too,
C back to misunderstood information given by the Karajá.
115 2. Information obtained /Erkundetes/. The information that
T I obtained from the Karajá was the following:
The Tapirapé (in Karajá: ũõhũ) live six to nine days' journey
131 in a boat above the emptying of the river into the Araguaya. From
[101] the landing place one is obliged to walk another half day, accord-
T ing to others two days, over the campo in order to reach their vil-
105 lages. They occupy three villages, and, to be sure, one large one
and two smaller ones (according to one isolated statement, four
villages). The men wear penis cuffs plaited out of palm leaves.
Both sexes wear the hair hanging down to the small of the back.
The men wear long lip-plugs of (reddish?) stone. Ear plugs are also
customary. Their ornaments are similar to those of the Karajá.
Tattooing occurs among the married women: they cut vertical
lines into their chins and one line on either side of the corners of
their mouths, obliquely downward; these lines are colored black.
They obtain their food primarily by cultivating manioc; since they
C are very industrious, they cultivate large quantities. They are
[879] therefore considered rich by the Karajá. Of animals they keep dogs
and, above all, araras, which the Karajá buy from them. Their
weapons are bows and arrows, clubs, spears, and spear throwers.
C T They know how to work with cotton. They wind the spun threads
[439] into big balls, like those of the Karajá. The Karajá like to buy
their large, firmly plaited, cotton net coverings with a wide, black
center stripe.

/4 cont./

*532 295 P31 Procreation and the genital organs play a large role in the thought world of the Indians. Thus it is not surprising to find representations of the sexual parts also. They are conscientiously affixed everywhere, on dolls, wax figures, tree and sand drawings. The male youth, above all, delight in such representations, in all harmlessness, and especially enjoy reproducing the penis in plaited work. Fig. 6 /see p.47 / represents such a penis. It was characteristic of the harmlessness of the people that, when I asked what this was supposed to be, a woman who happened to be present held out a wax cylinder of a small doll, about 30 centimeters in length, as a penis.

*532 295 The meaning of the following figures of the Savajé is unknown: Fig. 7 (djēdjā) /see p.47 /, Fig. 8 (dālā, kōdlĕ, probably representing the black vulture (urubu)) /see p. 47 /, Fig. 9 (ĭdjōlālĕ, a very elegant piece of work; the method of production of this puzzling figure is unknown to me /see p. 47/), Fig. 10 /see p. 47 /, and Fig. 11 a and b (kōdōdĕ or ĭnaūinĭ; a, position of rest; b, tensed) /see p. 47 /. This last figure is plaited like the preceding one, but in such a way that the leaf ribs form one edge. If one pulls on the part of the leaf stalk which projects out free at the bottom of the plaiting, then the upper tip makes nodding movements.

*532

b) Wood carvings.

(Plate II) 1/A

[462] only rarely encountered and likewise made by men, are somewhat less dependent on the material. The form can therefore already be better reproduced.

I obtained only one wooden doll (Fig. 12 /see p. 48 /), which represents a maiden. It is made out of a /Fig. 14 a and b and Fig. 15 appear here/ 2/A forked piece of wood in such a way that the forked twigs form the two legs, and the trunk forms the body. Arms are thus absent and are not painted on either. The head is set off, nose and forehead are carved in relief, eyes and mouth

1/A [see p. 48--Analyst]
2/A [Figs. 14a & b & 15 appear on p. 7--Analyst]

/4 cont./

*532 are cut in as horizontal lines. The ears are missing; the breasts are lightly indicated. The torso above the apron is deeply notched, a type of representation of the female body which is repeated in all the clay figures. The sexual organs are reproduced in naturalistic fashion under the bast apron. On the legs the thighs and calves are worked out plastically. The feet are represented by offset wooden blocks; calf and ankle bands are reproduced by a wrapping of red cotton thread. /5/ The figure is painted; on one side of the head small red feathers are affixed with wax as an ear rosette.

*532 352 Also belonging here are the wooden stools (Fig. 13 a and b /see p.48 /), which, with sledge-like runners, are carved out of one piece of wood. The sitting surface runs out to a point on both sides and on each into a triangular head which bears a beak in relief. The whole seat is supposed to depict an arara (see the front view, Fig. 13b). The eyes are reproduced by pasting on shell disks with a wax button in the center; tufts of feathers are attached [384] to the edges of the head as ear tassels. The whole is painted black with the dye of the genipa fruit.

*532 276 Finally, relief-type representations are still to be mentioned here, first the tobacco pipe (Fig. 14) which bears carving in relief

[231] →

Fig. 14 a and b.
Decorated tobacco pipe.

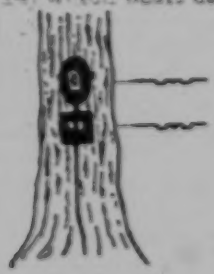

Fig. 15. Relief-type tree-drawing.

on one side, the significance of which I was unfortunately unable to discover. Apart from this, it is decorated on the upper edge with a neat carved pattern recurring only twice elsewhere (half-gourd, Pl. XI, Figs. 201a2 and 202a /see p. 57 /). Then later,

/5 cont./ Then later

532 on a tree in the forest near the Šavajé settlement, I saw the adjacent
P31 relief of the female sexual organs (Fig. 15 /see p. 7/) driven in with an ax. It had been hewed there previously by a Karajá accompanying me.

c) Clay Figures (likŏkŏ)

(Plates II-IV)

532 [524] [462] Clay is much more pliable; in it forms can be reproduced true to nature. The clay figures, which are made by the women and serve as toys for the girls, include only representations of human figures of both sexes and of all ages; they represent the following tribes: Karajá, Šavajé, Kayapó, and finally the Dōbāi on the Rio das Mortes. Such clay figures were present in large numbers in all villages and were offered to me everywhere. Wherever the stock [126] was exhausted, some were quickly made for me, which, however, I seldom bought because they showed exactly the same typical forms as the figures on hand, that is to say, they showed no personal influence of any kind. Only once did I receive a portrait, the representation of the grandmother bent with age (Plate III, Fig. 42 /see p.49 /). Now it is very striking to observe that these representations are completely stylized. To be sure, several levels can be distinguished here, but only in the case of a few examples is a reasonably accurate reproduction of the shape of the human body achieved.

532 Before I discuss the forms themselves, I wish to report briefly
323 on the method used to produce these figures. Bodies, legs, and head are made from a lump of clay. The fat buttocks and the penis are put on separately; the navel is bored in with a wooden stick. Then the lines for the later painting are pressed in with a slender bamboo rod by drawing the rod lightlly over the soft clay and at the same time exerting light pressure at regular intervals. In this way lines with small holes strung along in a row like beads are produced. When the figure is prepared to this extent, it is put in
000 the sun to dry; the figures are only very rarely fired. Then the next stage

/18 cont./

*532 Of other animals there are represented: the crudely depicted dolphin (Fig. 114 /see p. 34/), the snake (Fig. 115 /see p. 34/) well portrayed by a zigzag line, and the two small mosquitoes (Fig. 116a ĩhẽ, Fig. 116b ĩĩkõ /see p. 34/), the latter with its fat body full of sucked blood. /Fig. 123 appears here./

Of plants there are found: the banana tree (Fig. 117 /see p. 34/) with leaves and fruit umbel, maize (Fig. 118 /see p. 34/), and manioc (Fig. 119 /see p. 34/), the latter with roots.

Of other representations we have the clay doll (Fig. 120 /see p. 34/); it is drawn from the front and reminds one of the representation of human beings. The pebbles in the sand (Fig. 121 /see p. 34/) are reproduced by small lines. The track of a bird (Fig. 122 /see p. 34/) is very characteristic. The Indians [153] very much enjoyed imitating handwriting; Fig. 123 /see p. 34/ gives examples of these attempt.

β) Outline Drawings

Human figures are lacking. Only representations of individual parts of the body are found, for example, the female [β31] sexual organs, which are reproduced in Fig. 124 /see p. 34/ individually and in detail with the anus, and in Fig. 125 /see p. 34/ fill the whole page of the sketchbook in schematic representation and manifold repetition. /Figs. 125-128 appear here./ [304] The tribal tattooing, which consists of a circle colored blue and cut into each cheek with the help of a stamp, is reproduced in Fig. 126 /see p. 34/. Here the Indians were faced with the problem of drawing a circle freehand; the illustration shows the success with which they did this. See also Fig. 133 below under "objects" /see p. 35 /.

Animals are likewise seldom represented by this method of portrayal. There are no quadrupeds at all. Fig. 127 /see p. 34/ represents a bird, probably a parrot. The animal is drawn from the side. Of unknown significance is the animal ũẽmã in Fig.

[Text continues on p. 35]

/18 cont./

*532

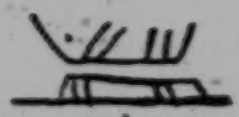

Fig. 112 a and b.

Fig. 113.

Fig. 114.

Fig. 116.

Fig. 118.

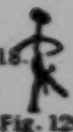

Fig. 120.

Fig. 121.

Fig. 115.

Fig. 117.

Fig. 119.

Fig. 122.

Fig. 112, large anteater; Fig. 113, mutum; Fig. 114, dolphin; Fig. 115, snake; Fig. 116, mosquitoes: a) abé, b) lakó; Fig. 117, banana tree; Fig. 118, maize; Fig. 119, manioc; Fig. 120, doll; Fig. 121, pebbles in the sand; Fig. 122, track of a bird.

[653]

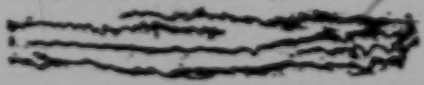

Fig. 123.
Imitation of handwriting.

[304]

[631]

Fig. 125.
Schematic representation of the genitals. (A part of the sketch-book page.)

Fig. 126. Tribal tattooing.

Fig. 124.
Female genitals with anus.

Fig. 127. Bird.

Fig. 128.
nema.

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831

Ill. 8. Tree figure. Represents the female sex organs. Karajá.

/Ill. 8 appears on p. 135. /

/182 cont./

142 [062] Very distended abdomens, probably a result of the predominantly vegetable diet, are not a rarity, especially among the male sex; almost throughout the children of both sexes have a drumlike distended abdomen (Pl. 11, Ill. 4; Pl. 12, Ill. 2; Pl. 43, Ill. 2; Pl. 51, Ill. 2). The musculature of the abdomen among the men is usually so well developed that its individual parts are visible under the skin (Pl. 36; 38, Ill. 1). The pelvis is narrow; girls and maidens in particular have pelves that are no broader than those of the male sex, and even those of the women are not essentially broader than those of the men. The strikingly broad pelvis of one woman observed by me is an exception, contrary to Ehrenreich, who describes them as figures tending toward broadness (1). Hand in hand with this slight development in the breadth of the pelvis goes the almost total absence of a waist (Pl. 16; 17; 42, Ill. 1), which is occasionally clearly present only among women /183/ (Pl. 42, Ill. 3). Peculiar to the male sex is the often strongly prominent inguinal line (Pl. 36; 44, Ill. 1).

1. Page 119. On page 101, however, he describes the hips of the women as relatively narrow.

The paddings of fat over the glutei are generally normal. Where they are more strongly developed (Pl. 16), the accumulation of fat appears more in the lower parts. A well-developed [836] [832] padding of fat is part of the Indians' ideal of beauty.

The Arms. As far as the length of the upper and lower arms is concerned, the upper arm seems to be proportioned like ours; the lower arm, on the other hand, seems long in relation to the upper arm (Pl. 43, Ill. 1), and the female sex has proportionately longer lower arms than the male (Pl. 17). The musculature of the upper arm is extraordinarily well developed among the men (Pl. 15, Ill. 1; 36; 43, Ill. 3); among young men and boys, as well as among the female sex, on the other hand, it is only slightly developed, so that one is obliged to call

/183 cont./

142 them thin-armed (Pl. 11, Ill. 4; 17; 38, Ill. 2; 47, Ill. 2).
[147] Quite obviously, the powerful development among the married men is the result of rowing and of tree-cutting for the planting. On the lower arm among the adult men, the stronger development of the inner muscle (toward the elbow) is striking (Pl. 36, Ill. 1; 49, Ill. 1); among the women, on the other hand, the outer muscle is more strongly developed (Pl. 17). Hands and fingers are small in comparison with ours.

The legs. The women, in comparison with the men, have shorter legs, whereas the proportion between thigh and calf does not differ essentially for the two sexes. The legs in general, especially in youth, are gracile. The individual bulges of the muscles on the thigh, however, are relatively prominent under the skin (Pl. 44, Ill. 1). A further phenomenon is restricted to the children and young people; in later years it gradually recedes and is only rarely visible. This is a marked prominence
[301] of stretches of skin on the inner side of the thigh, just above the knee joint, common among our children as well, which is probably caused by the strong pressure of the cotton bands worn around the calves as a sign of the unmarried state, which are crocheted directly on the body and are cut off and renewed only when they have become too tight and cut deeply into the leg (Pl. 11, Ill. 4; 12, Ill. 2; 38; 42, Ill. 1; 43, Ill. 1; 44, Ill. 1). This
[826] marked bulging of the parts above the knee is shown particularly
[832] among the clay dolls and is apparently regarded as beautiful (Pl. 8). The legs always grew straight; I never saw knock-knees; only two men showed bowlegs, namely, bowed lower legs (Pl. 15, Ill. 4b, and Pedro). The fetlocks are narrow (1); the foot

1. See under "Distinguishing Ornamentation": calf and ankle bands /see pp. 120 -123/.

is generally compact and well formed. The position of the foot, as among us, is outward, which is shown in the illustrations, and only rarely inward /184/ (Pl. 16; 42, Ill. 3; see Ehrenreich, p. 101). In walking they are likewise placed outward. I never

/29 cont./

622 If a theft is reported to the chief, he calls upon the perpe-
627 trator, by loud proclamations in the middle of the village, to
685 return the stolen goods. A response usually follows, and the object is simply put back in its place secretly, whereby the matter is settled.

Otherwise the chief has the right to have the huts searched. An object is taken away from a suspect as security until the corpus delicti is delivered. If the thief is found out, it is left to the victim to have himself indemnified.

622 If the chief does not fulfill his position or if the community cannot tolerate him for other reasons, he is simply deserted and another is chosen.

584 Marriage. The young man states his purpose to the parents of the chosen one; the latter ask their daughter for her consent. According to Couto Magelhães, a formal announcement is made
585 before the assembled community. Then the bridegroom hands over his weapons to the bride to keep and takes her to the house of one of his closest relatives, since, as a bachelor, he does not yet have one of his own. For four nights the two sleep on one mat, but separated by a wide intervening space, with no advances allowed. On the fifth day the bride is brought back to her father's house, where she hands the weapons back to the bridegroom. As a sign that he is capable of taking care of a family, the young man goes hunting for a few days and returns only with slain booty (1).

1. It is doubtful whether the test of strength by dragging a heavy block of palm wood, as is required among certain Gês tribes, also occurs among the Karaya.

A drinking bout, which the parents of the bride arrange, concludes the whole thing. Only then is the more intimate intercourse of the two spouses allowed (2). Then the erection of their own home follows.

●833 2. Karayae cum mulieribus more indigenarum Australiae concumbent. Vir pedibus extensis humi sedet et mulierum supinam ante se jacentem

/29 cont./

833 2. (cont.)
sursum attrahit, manus natibus ejus supponens. /The Karaya have intercourse with women in the fashion of the native Australians. The man sits on the ground, feet extended, and takes the woman, lying arched backwards above him, his hands supporting her buttocks./ (Cf. Miclucho Maclay, Verhandl. d. berl. Ges. f. Anthr., 1880, p. 87.)

844 Birth. For this the woman kneels on her heels, clasping a post with her hands, while the husband grasps her from behind with strong pressure around her body. Once the child is born, the afterbirth is awaited patiently; then the navel cord is compressed and cut off about three inches from the body with a sharp taquara splint. The blood contained in it is carefully pressed [752] out, "in order to prevent tetanus /Starrkrampf/," and hot ashes and powder from pulverized piranha teeth are sprinkled on the surface of the wound as a styptic. Since no ligature is applied, it is not rare that the child bleeds to death. The newborn is daubed with urucú red, wrapped tightly in a broad strip of jangada 846 bast, and laid in a "rede" tied by strings (see p. 19). For three days both spouses stay on a strict diet. In order to make the uterus contract, the wife lies down on her back and has her abdomen pressed together for a couple of hours by her husband, who sits next to her, or other persons who relieve him. Some 854 months after birth the child receives the above-mentioned cotton bands.

852 At the age of six to seven years the girls' ear-lobes are 304 pierced; for boys, the lower lip as well. The whole community gathers for this. The child sits on a stool decorated with arara feathers in the middle of a large circle. One of the relatives pierces his ears with spines from the tucuma palm, the lower lip with a sharpened monkey-bone. During this the men stand around [533] and sing a song with the closing verse: idžohä hä haṅ, hä haṅ idžiohä, i.e., "now it has happened!"

147 /184 cont. / In walking they are likewise placed outward. I never
[881] observed the frequently reported manner of walking, namely, that on the narrow paths one foot is placed in front of the other, although I conducted studies on this for days, walking behind different Indians on narrow Indian paths. Only if a tuft of grass interfered with the toes were these turned inward. Ehrenreich states that the second toe is the longest (p. 101) and that the fifth conspicuously recedes (p. 104). About the latter I did not observe anything, but in various cases I found that the great toe was considerably shorter than the second toe, as Steinen also observed on the Xingu. The great toe may shoot off far to one side. Apparently great individual differences must occur in foot
[826] formation, for the Indians recognize with certainty in the shape of the footprint in the sand (which probably also depends on the different way of stepping) the owner of the foot.

146 The bodies of the Indians generally give a well-nourished impression. It has already been noted above (p. 50) that a drum-like distended stomach is the rule among children, though the rest of the body does not by any means give an impression of weakness. Very well nourished persons (Pl. 44, Ill. 1) are regarded as the ideal of the Indians. Poorly nourished, positively emaciated persons are rare (Pl. 37, Ill. 1, the tallest). Thin women predominate by far, and such emaciation usually occurs in old age. In Villages 5 and 27 I saw a few very old people who were emaciated almost to skeletons (see also Ehrenreich, page 104).

147 Good nourishment gives the Indians good strength, which is hardened by rowing, work in the plantings, and practice in wrestling matches, so that even young people with slightly developed arm musculature have great endurance in rowing and often do surprisingly well in wrestling.

• 834 The sexual parts are visible only among the men. The foreskin of the penis in front of the glans is wound roll-like with a cotton thread; in this way the penis lies ball-shaped inside the skin, shortened, so that the entire male sexual organ, together with the testicles visible through the scrotum, gives the appearance of three balls (Pl. 36; 38, Ill. 2; 43, Ills. 1 and 3; 49, Ill. 1).

/204 cont./

4. Clothing.

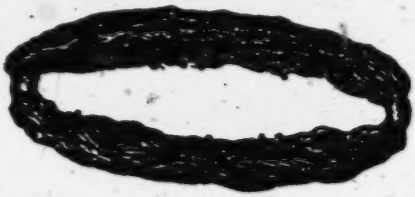
291 Clothing of the men. The male sex wears but little clothing. While children and boys go about completely naked, the youths and men wear the penis and hip cord as their only clothing.

[283] The penis cord (notekana, nõõdakãn; from nõõ = penis, wãdakana = belt) is a long, red (1), sometimes also black cotton

1. All three specimens in Ehrenreich's collection are black.

string which is wound roll-like around the foreskin drawn forward over the glans. The penis is thereby pushed back and takes on a spherical appearance, so that the scrotum looks like three balls with a small roll standing obliquely upright (Pl. 36; 38; 43).

[834] The cord is put on at the age of nine or ten, in other words, at the beginning of puberty, and, according to the unanimous statements of the Indians, it has the purpose of hiding the glans from the eyes of the women. Perhaps however, this is a secondary



Ill. 29.
Cotton belt of the smallest girls.

feeling of modesty originating from the constant covering for the purpose of protection.

In combination with the penis cord, the older youths /205/ and the men wear the hip cord (ẽtũ), whereas children, boys, and younger people do not put it on. Not all men, however, wear it, or perhaps not always. This seems to be left to the discretion of the individual (Pls. 36-38, 43-44).

/208 cont./

292 The net covering [rĩ(ĩ)ỗ, rĩũ], on the other hand, is worn by both sexes at all ages. It is knotted of cotton threads and has the shape of a hammock, the two ends of which are each tied together, but lack the cords for hanging it up. The net coverings of the Karajá are of a solid color; the original white color gradually becomes a dirty yellowish-brown with use. Patterned coverings come from the Šavajé or Tapirapé. They are worn for protection against mosquitoes, against sunburn, against the dew of the night, whether the Indians stand, lie, or sit. The manner of wearing them differs: either one end is pulled over the head so that the covering falls down the back (Pl. 12, Ill. 1), or the covering is wrapped around the shoulders so that the two ends fall down in front (Pl. 9, Ill. 1; Pl. 42, Ill. 1). At night they serve [513] as coverings: the feet of the drawn-up legs, in the side or back position, are stuck into one end, the head into the other end, so that the covering protects the body lying beneath it from mosquitoes and dew. Thus, they are not used as an underlayer, as Ehrenreich says, but as coverings. Small net coverings hung on strings as [854] [114] cradles for infants, such as Ehrenreich mentions, I did not see anywhere, despite the fact that I visited almost all the huts (1).

1. See, however, Šavajé, small net covering /see pp. 314-315/.

[287] Small plaited mats of bast are worn by pregnant women before and after birth, and, to be sure, in such a way that they are wrapped around the body from the back and held together in front with the hands (Pl. 42, Ills. 2, 3). They serve as a protection against wind and rain. Above all, women with nursing babies take such mats with them when they go out, so as to be able to protect the child and themselves to some extent in a sudden downpour.

● 834 I should like to add a very few words here about the Indians' feeling of modesty. As far as the men are concerned, I should [197] like to refer to my remarks above about the purpose of the penis cord /see p. 88/: the question is, however, whether the explanation given by the Indians does not go back to Brazilian influence.

/208 cont./

834 explanation given by the Indians does not go back to Brazilian influence. Women never removed or changed their bands in our presence, and small girls from whom I bought belts stepped behind the nearest mat wall, in order to put on a new one there before /Pl. 42 appears here/ /209/ they brought me the belt that they had been wearing. Thus, there seems to be a certain feeling of modesty corresponding to ours. Concerning the peculiar modesty about eating in front of strangers, see under "Eating" /see p. 172 /.

5. Ornamentation.

A. Ornamentation on the Body Itself.

302 a) Hair style and care. The head hair is worn by the female sex in a simple style that remains much the same throughout life, whereas the male sex prefers different hair styles according to age.

Small girls wear their hair hanging down to the neck at the sides and in back, while in front it reaches halfway down the forehead or to the eyebrows (Pl. 11, Ill. 4). At the onset of maturity, the girls have a parting about two fingers wide cut out, extending up in the center from the forehead to the /Ill. 37 appears here/ top of the head and usually painted red. The crown hair, which bounds it at the upper end, is shortened to a tuft. At the sides and in back, adults let the hair grow long (Pl. 17; 42). Older women no longer renew the parting, but comb over it so that it is seldom to be seen.

The hair style of the male sex is more elaborately worked out. Children either have the same hair style as girls, or their hair is cut in steps from the sides toward the back (Ill. 37), or they wear the well-known bowl cut (Pl. 11, Ill. 4; Pl. 12, Ill. 2). For the boys, the back hair is shortened several times. When the boy is bigger, about eight to ten years old, all of the hair is cut short to half a centimeter, except for a wreath of hair of uniform length left standing all around ((ĭ)djūlĕ, Pl. 43, Ill. 2). No clarity was to be obtained as to whether this cutting is done only once or whether this hair style is fashioned anew annually with the

[Text continues on p. 96]

/338 cont./

757 Venereal diseases are rare. The Karajá systematically
[164] avoid them in that infected Karajá, as long as they are not cured,
[834] are prohibited from intercourse with the women and possibly banished from the tribe altogether. Pedro I, who became infected in Conceição, said that if he went home that way he would be unable to remain there: he would then no longer be a Karajá. They seem to have a remedy for syphilis, but it is said to be effective only in the hands of a good doctor.

Persons with infectious diseases are left alone; even the doctor does not pay any attention to them. The people simply move away, but leave food behind for them. If they die, the
[753] others come and bury them. With death the disease, even an infectious one, is regarded as obliterated.

158 Mental illnesses seem to be very rare. I observed only one epileptic youth. Every month at the first quarter of the moon he is said to thrash about and walk around with his eyes closed. He had a strange look and his movements were heavy. For no reason
[828] that I could see, he was suddenly seized by the others, overpowered, and thrown down; after a time he was permitted to get up again and walk about freely, but he was always kept under control.

828 According to their view, mental illness (ĭdjŏdĕ) is located in the small of the back.

Raving madness (ãhãhã) is incurable. During attacks the patient, by order of the chief, is bound at ankles and hands and laid on a mat in the shade.

158 In Schischá, on my return journey, I observed a strange custom, which probably goes back to a sadistic tendency. At night, the old bachelor, Maudĭhĭ, and Mãŭzĭ were sitting with me in the tent. Suddenly the bachelor leaped at Mauzi's throat and squeezed it, saying, I want to kill you, and then finally let go. Thereupon all /339/ three of them tried this on themselves. They threw their heads back, placed their hands around their throats from behind, and, holding the breath, squeezed the larynx together from both sides with their thumbs. After a while, they let go, swallowed a few times, and took a deep breath. Extreme satisfaction was reflected on their faces.

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

The adulterous
woman is punished by her husband either by flogging, or by 684
torturing with fire brands. It is said that she is sometimes
even burned to death. The adulterous man is punished by
the nearest relatives of his wife. But among these people as,
unfortunately, among the higher races, far greater license is
allowed the man than the woman.

The Karayá seem to cherish an earnest desire to preserve 593
the integrity of the family, and to guard it against disturbing
influences of every kind. Children are reared with strictness 834
and maidenhood is respected; and any transgression of the
tribal laws regarding the relations of the sexes is severely
punished—even with death, in some cases. But children born 848
out of wedlock are not put to death, as is usually done among
savage peoples, but instead, are, like other orphans, reared
by the chief of the village as his own children.

The unmarried individuals, who are distinguished from the 589
married by the previously described wristlets and armlets,
are not required to support themselves, but are provided for
by the community as a whole. The bachelors and widowers
live together in a sort of "bachelors' hall"—a separate hut—
and participate in the hunting and fishing and other occupa-
tions of the tribe only as they feel inclined. But the un-
married women, while, like the single men, not required to
work, are not segregated, for they dwell in the huts of their
nearest relatives. These females are allowed certain liberties 836
with the unmarried men in order that they may not perturb 548
the married men and their families. They are the village
prostitutes. By this arrangement the single men, on the
other hand, are kept from endangering family life. Women [727]
taken captive from the enemy in intertribal wars, are retained
as prostitutes and semi-slaves. These unhappy females are
the common property of all the men, the married as well as
the single. Captive female children share the same sad fate;
and probably also the children born of captive parents.

We see in these customs, the dualism of the "ethics" of 577
the savage. They are moral, if we may use this term, only
when their own well-being is at stake—when it is a question

/27 cont./

684 Adultery on the part of the husband is avenged by the closest relatives of the wife.

Everywhere in the social order of the Karaya the endeavor to preserve the peace of family life from any disturbance is prominent. The young people are for that reason kept under strict
836 discipline. Virginity is highly prized and protected (4);
837
[113]

4. Couto Magelhães, Peterm. Mitth., 1876, p. 222.

extramarital intercourse between the sexes is punished with strict
848 penalties and under certain conditions with death. Children originating from such relationships are not, as among other primitive peoples, likewise killed, however, but rather are turned over to the chief's care, like other orphans.

589 /28/ Single persons, distinguished externally from the married
[291] ones by the above-mentioned cotton bands, are not obliged to
[736] support themselves, but rather are supported by the community.
[591] Bachelors and widowers live together in a special hut and take part in hunting expeditions only when they please. Likewise, unmarried and widowed women are excused from supporting themselves. They live in the house of one of their nearest relatives.

589 According to a communication from Couto Magelhães, the
736 latter seem to have some freedom in intercourse with unmarried
[836] men: "There are in the Karaya villages men destined to be viri viduarum /men deprived of a wife/. These people have no other occupation, they are supported by the tribe and do not, like the others, undergo the hardships of long travels and raids. To my remark that it did not seem right to me that the community take on the support of these people, Chief Koinama replied that the peace which the families enjoyed because of this far outweighed the effort spent on their support." (Selvagem, p. 116.)

836 For the rest, the unmarried men who wish to turn to the
[737] female sex are dependent on intercourse with the captured Kayapo
[589] women kept in half-slavery, of which among the Sambioa every village shelters at least a few. They are considered common

/28 cont./

836 property and are offered to ships' crews, despite their usually
727 most horrible appearance. Unfortunately, one also sees children
used for the same purpose. Here is clearly shown the dualism in
836 the ethics of the savages, whose moral laws apply only to mem-
727 bers of their own tribe. This view, common to all primitive
577 peoples, cannot therefore change our judgment of the morality
[186] of the Karaya in general. When Castelnau doubts this, saying,
[114] "Ce fait (the stern punishment of a transgression against morals) est peu d'accord avec les offres qui étaient fait continuellement a nos gens /this fact is hardly in accord with the offers that were continually made to our men/" (Hist. du voyage, I, p. 446), he overlooks the fact that these "offres" concerned not their own, but foreign women.

855 In spite of the lack of external signs of tenderness, which are absent among all Indians, the treatment of the children is very loving throughout.

854 The smaller ones are continually carried about by the mothers and tended with tireless care, hung with ornaments and
853 painted, etc. They are suckled for an extraordinarily long time.

857 Older children are left entirely to themselves, but in spite of this demonstrate a natural decency and a modesty of behavior that the highly educated offspring of civilized men only all too
858 often lack. It would be unthinkable among the Karaya that children be traded to the settlers, as unfortunately still frequently occurs in other regions of Brazil, especially on the Amazon. Upon the founding of the Collegio Izabel at Leopoldina, whose purpose was to train young Indians and settle them later as colonists, efforts to obtain Karaya children for it were in vain. Since they once allowed themselves to be misled years ago, and some were lured away and abducted by force, all the young people as a rule take flight at the approach of a boat and only with great difficulty are persuaded to return.

764 The fact that the animal decorations put on the grave poles
532 (cf. p. 63) are marks of the family concerned or of a wider kin
602 grouping indicates the existence of totemism, or clan formation. To be sure, nothing more precise is known about this, but the family system discovered among the Arawak by Im Thurn (1) may also hold for the relationship prevailing among the Karaya.

1. Im Thurn, op. cit., p. 175.

/326 cont./

586 longer wants the other. In any case the children remain with the father. The divorced wife keeps her property. Ehrenreich re-
[587] ports ("Beiträge," p. 27) that a man who rejects his wife may not marry again, but merely takes a housekeeper. According to my observations, the case from Village No. 5 reported above is quite typical. Contempt is by no means the lot of such a man, as Königswald reports (1).

[113] 1. Globus, Vol. 94, p. 237.

589 Widows and orphans. Widowed persons again don their leg
768 and arm bands. The widower lives like a bachelor; he may marry again, but generally does so only if he has children who need a mother. Otherwise he is afraid of the work incumbent on a husband. Widows continue to live in the house, which, of
589 course, is their property. They may marry again. They get their
736 maintenance from the chief, in case there are no grown sons who are able to care for them. Otherwise the chief appoints someone who is to plant and fish for her, and pays him for it. Orphans are reared and provided for by the brother of the mother.

836 Extramarital sex life. The girls do their utmost to pre-
se[illegible] their purity; thus, they do not go into the forest alone, fo[illegible]r of the young men. If a girl nevertheless has misfortune, sh[illegible] not punished, at any rate not in the south horde. Even in
[114] this case she is married by another party. I was unable to learn anything about the severe punishment for premarital intercourse and adultery, as reported by Ehrenreich and Königswald. /327/
[548] Before marriage, the men enjoy complete freedom. In many
[485] villages there are Tapirpaé and Šavajé women who serve as prostitutes and are also put at the disposal of strangers. The Karajá nevertheless also seem to become involved occasionally in adventures even with tribal members. Pedro flirted in many villages with young girls whom he called his primas (cousins); in Camp No. 23 proposals for nocturnal trysts were made to him by two women, but he refused them. I did not discover anything about the arrangement of viri viduarum, about which Ehrenreich reports from Magalhães ("Beiträge," p. 28).

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[725] female sex are dependent on intercourse with the captured Kayapo
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/37 cont./

597 The festival begins with a procession of the masks through
535 the village. The participants dress in the nearby forest and approach with a loud han̓ hm han̓. Then everybody cries: nakunerare! There they come!

During the procession the masked men throw sticks of wood in all directions. After they have withdrawn, everything is readied for the feast and drinking bout, until after a few hours the dancers approach again and the dance begins. Like that of the duck-duck, it consists of an odd hopping. The dancer is not permitted to let himself be recognized in any way; he
[688] may neither speak nor cough or sneeze, and particularly not fall. Otherwise, as in the case of the duck-duck and the Northwest American hametz, he is killed immediately.

If he finds it necessary to cough, which in view of the stifling heat in his masquerade is not uncommon, of course, he jumps into the circle of men standing about, who cover up his voice by likewise coughing.

The dances take place in a certain sequence; it is the chief who decides which one is to be at the beginning.

532 If a woman enters the secret hut out of curiosity or other-
535 wise takes advantage of an opportunity to see the mask costumes,
562 she is punished by death.
688 Usually the other women then bring a petition to the chief. The latter lets mercy prevail if the guilty one promises silence and is willing to undertake a task of atonement, which usually consists of weaving a riio or making a large buriti mat. If she refuses or if the work is not satisfactory, a place in the forest is pointed out to her, and she must appear there at a certain
[839] time. She is forced to yield to the men assembled there. If she does not appear, the latter have the right to kill her wherever
[966] they find her. The corpse of the guilty one is sunk in the river.
[978] No one may enter the hut of the victim, however, since this is considered a sanctuary.

In the same way a man who betrays the secret to a woman is declared an outlaw.

/9 cont./

*532 reaching down to the small of the back. These braids are narrow (Fig. 19a /see p. 48 /) or wide (Fig. 23 /see p. 48 /), bear a ribbon (Fig. 16b /see p. 48 /), or are completely entwined in string (Fig. 36 /see p. 49 /) and correspond to the braids woven round with bast or entwined in red-dyed cotton string, which the young people customarily wear (Fig. 37).

[302]

Of specially formed dolls of this type the following should be mentioned:

[142] [302]

1. Representations of children (Fig. 32 /see p. 49 /). These dolls have legs of type 1 and hair of type 1. Arms, breasts, eyes,

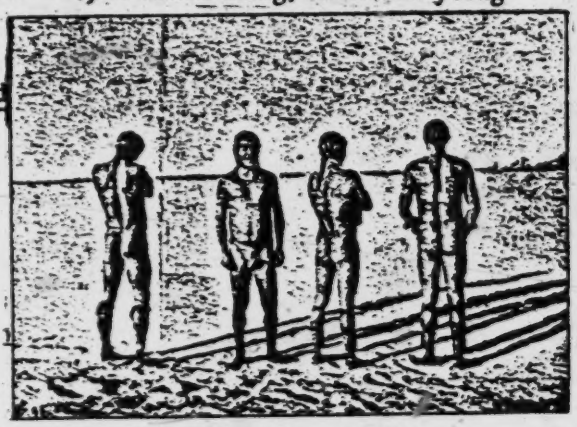

Fig. 37. Youths with long braids.

tattooing, navel, and stomach plate are missing. The male figures are characterized by a small penis, the female ones by a black string belt. Some wear necklaces, others neck-tassels and ear rosettes.

2. Seated figures (Fig. 21 /see p. 48 /, Fig. 38 /see p. 49 /). The upper body leans far back.

3. Bulky figures (Figs. 39, 40 /see p. 49/) represent pregnant women. The bulky abdomen is put on separately. On Fig. 40 it had broken off while drying and was stuck on again with wax.

I also obtained a male figure (Fig. 41 /see p. 49/) which is [84] made in similar fashion. When I asked what the bulky abdomen meant, they said: a child. Unfortunately I was unable to acquire further information on this, which might perhaps have thrown light on the origin of the custom of the male childbed.

4. Portrait of the old grandmother walking in a bent position (Fig. 42 /see p. 49 /). The figure is made like all the other female dolls; the upper body is bent very far forward. When I asked what this figure meant, the mother pointed, amidst the joyful shouts of her children, to the age-enfeebled grandmother, who was lying under a mat by the hearth fire.

/328 cont./

881 With the onset of puberty both sexes have the tribal rings
[304] cut on their cheeks; apparently no further ceremonies take place
561 in connection with this. From then on the maidens wear the
301 complete costume of the women, and the cotton pendant orna-
ment is given the red color instead of the black, which was proper
561 for children. The youths live by themselves; where there is a
591 mask house, they spend the day in it and sleep there at night or
beside a fire in its vicinity. Where there is none, they sleep
beside a fire away from the village. In small settlements with
one or two houses, they, too, live in the house.

855 Parents love their children very much. It is touching to
observe with what tenderness they cling to them, and how, far
from them, they are constantly with them in their thoughts.
When Pedro received the (false) message that his children had
died, he scarcely spoke for hours and even after that he was
noticeably more silent than he had been otherwise. The mothers
play with their small children; I even observed the kissing of
855 children. All conceivable ornamentation is put on the little
301 ones; the older the children become, the less ornamentation is
put on, until, finally, married persons give it up almost entirely.
One woman about 50 years old laughed at her own vanity when she
put chains of beads which I had given to her grandchild around
her own neck and looked down on them with pleasure. This
mania /329/ for adorning children goes so far that they hang
around their necks large pieces of broken colorful porcelain
[842] plates, without being aware of the danger (1). "Boys mean more

1. This custom is already reported for the Šambioá by Rufino in the year 1846 (Rev. trim. X, p. 196).

to the father, the mother would rather have girls" (Kuriší). The
861 father teaches the son, the mother the daughter. Contrary to
other reports, I was assured that beating as a punishment also
occurs. Otherwise I observed only the denial of food as a means
of punishment (in Village 17, because the boy in question did not
go fishing, but loitered around me in the Camp).

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628 feuds are common and are restrained only by the religious community,
626 sanctuary being granted at all religious ceremonials.

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/327 cont. /

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846 Confinement is very brief. The mother lies in the hut for only one day; on the second day she is already up. After four days have elapsed, during which she eats only honey and some manioc mush, she washes herself in the shade with hot water which she has in a pot standing beside her. After that she resumes her work and may again eat everything. In former times the husband was likewise obliged to adhere to a certain diet, whereas allegedly he no longer does this today. In ancient times, "when the Karajá were still living under water," he adhered to
[157] a diet for five months. Later, the husband merely remained in the house for six days; he ate neither fish nor manioc -- they were supposed to be too hard -- and daily emptied his stomach by vomiting, which he induced by eating honey with pepper or pineapple with pepper.

How long after the birth the husband stays away from his wife was not to be determined; in any case, however, the wife is treated with consideration for some time.

844 The skull of the newborn baby is pushed into proper shape by the father of the mother, or, according to another report, by the grandmother. It is then washed with warm water, then smeared with urucú and almesqua resin, whereby the red mucus comes off and the child becomes light. Then it is apparently

/366 cont./

526 The wrestling was very similar to that of the Karajá. If
574 one bout were not accepted, the challengers made a gesture of rejection with their arms, turned around, and went back to their row. Then one of them walked forward again, assumed the position of rest in the center, with his back to the opponents, and
[516] shouted until one of the latter accepted. The resting position was
[184] identical with that of the Karajá: they stood with the upper part of the body bent over and rested the arms on the knee. The victor performed a dance in front of the loser, shouting loudly; upon walking away, he moved his left hand over the head of the defeated one. Here, too, the chief stood on the side of the guests.

574 Only after the return from the wrestling match was food put before the Karajá; only now were they regarded as accepted and permitted to disperse into the individual houses.

843 Upon my departure from the village a strange ceremony took
628 place, the meaning of which, I believe, is that a girl made
123 pregnant during previous visits of Karajá was sent along with the Karajá to await the birth among them; whether she would then return could not be definitely ascertained; perhaps she went to the Karajá as a village prostitute. Shortly before departure, the chief took me by the hand and led me into the neighboring house. Here an obviously pregnant girl was sitting and /367/ spinning. She had to get up and lay her work aside; the chief's wife took off her neck ornament (I had already bought her leg bands from her in the morning). The girl then had to take a second bast apron and her net covering and go with us to the boat. Apparently this was very little to the girl's liking, for she wept bitterly and only gradually calmed down. The chief then made long speeches to me, the meaning of which, however, I could not understand. On the way, the girl was under the special charge of my Indian guide, who allegedly was her cousin. He was very gallant to her, carried her covering, brought food on a plate, etc. The girl always walked closely in front and behind him.

535 The masked dance that I saw among the Šavajé was a ĩdjãzõ
[184] dance and very similar to that of the Karajá. It took place on the first evening. The two masks stood side by side in front of the hut,

/29 cont./

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852 At the age of six to seven years the girls' ear-lobes are 304 pierced; for boys, the lower lip as well. The whole community gathers for this. The child sits on a stool decorated with arara feathers in the middle of a large circle. One of the relatives pierces his ears with spines from the tucuma palm, the lower lip with a sharpened monkey-bone. During this the men stand around [533] and sing a song with the closing verse: idžohä hä haṅ, hä haṅ idžiohä, i.e., "now it has happened!"

/200 cont./

514 water about 5/4 meters deep with their knees slightly bent and there untie the long penis string and tie it on again.

342 The houses are merely living and sleeping houses; cooking [252] is done outside.

[622] The chiefs in part have better built, larger houses; thus, Plate 41 appears here/ /201/ the one belonging to Chief João III was three to four meters high, five to six meters wide, and equally long (Pl. 39).

[344] There are no meeting houses; in order to bring about a de- [208] cision or announce regulations, the chief goes to the individual [609] houses.

Other special houses are:

343 1. Birth houses. These are erected for the woman when birth 844 is imminent; their construction is said to be identical with that of the other houses.

346 2. The mask house in which the dance masks are kept. It always stands apart from the village and in its method of construction is a dry-season house with a round structure on the narrow side turned toward the village. The arches are usually slightly curved and strengthened on top by a ridge beam (Pl. 12, Ill. 3). The mask houses serve as bachelor houses; the young people are said to sleep here. I saw only four mask huts, but cannot confirm 513 these statements from my observations. In any case, the young people do not sleep in the houses, but rather, if there is no mask house, [609] by a fire which is away from the village. Strangers are given shelter by the chief; they sleep in his house, even though they are unmarried (see the reception which I, with my men, found among the Šavajé /pp. 129 ff. in the first part of the work, which is omitted in the translation/).

342 The house belongs to the woman. The man builds it before 423 the marriage, with the assistance of the young people, who are 562 paid for it by the woman with chains of beads. The construction 768 takes one or two days. After death the house is said to be burned.

821 According to the accounts of the Indians, the houses are protected from bolts of lightning by a fish spine stuck on the roof on a pole about half a meter long. Probably only magic is involved here.

[Text Continues on P. 84]

/327 cont. /

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/336 cont./

164 I saw an umbilical hernia only once, in the case of a boy.

757 I did not learn anything about bloodletting, which Ehrenreich reports.

304 Scarification is very common; almost all Indians bear the scratch scars from it on upper arms and thighs. I was unable to observe anything about the procedure, which Ehrenreich ("Beiträge," p. 33) describes. Concerning the apparatus used for this, see above, page 109, Ill. 51.

[752] ← 164

Of illnesses for which the cure is not known to me, I saw a blind girl, a man blind in one eye, and a boy with dropsy, as well as a man whose legs were atrophied up to his knees and who was able to move forward only by crawling on hands and knees.

757 Ehrenreich reports ("Beiträge," page 32) that in the morning they induce vomiting by inserting a charred taquara rod

Ill. 187.
Bone for cauterizing wounds.

into their throats, in order to empty the stomach in this way. He even brought back such sticks (Berlin 3964). I never observed
●[846] this custom, but, as related above, simply heard that husbands induce vomiting artificially during the couvade (see page 273).

128 In the following I shall discuss the other illnesses, insofar as I obtained information about them; I shall stress in particular observed cases of illness.

752 In case of snake bite the affected limb is tied up and some pounded dōăhĭ root is put on it.

757 824 There are very many remedies for indigestion and intestinal disorders. For indigestion three different roots are used. Either one pounds the mōnă root (in Brazilian allegedly murizĭ), mix

/27 cont./

582 4. The marriage of Karaya women to foreigners is permitted only when the latter allow themselves to be adopted into the tribe and take up permanent residence in the village concerned, a case which in Castelnau's time was not at all rare, but could hardly occur today.

593 Although the husband is naturally in charge as head of the
562 family, the position of the wife is a completely honorable one. There is no trace of the degradation of women into beasts of burden, as has been falsely imputed for all Indians by analogy with the North American tribes. Certain tasks, to be sure, are performed exclusively by the women and they are tireless in fulfilling their manifold duties. The man, too, however, has his share to perform. His wife is his complete equal; he does nothing of importance without her advice. Even the chief shares his honors with his wife. Mistreatment of women is unheard of.

595 Monogamy is the usual thing. The husband, however, not uncommonly finds it necessary to take a second wife when the
[582] first one becomes too old. This is conditioned by the peculiar
[171] custom, widespread, it seems, among all South American tribes (2), that the young men court older women and the old

[113] 2. Cf. Im Thurn, op. cit., p. 223.

men younger ones. Perhaps the relatively small number of children can be traced to this.

●847 Artificial abortion occurs, but only on the demand of the husband. It is brought about by pressing the uterus together with the hands and is said to cause death not uncommonly.

586 If married people do not get along, the husband is allowed
587 to trade off his wife for that of another. Anyone who repudiates his wife cannot marry again, but is allowed to have a housekeeper.

684 The husband himself punishes an adulterous wife by a beating or burning her with glowing wood. Sometimes (3) the guilty one

[113] 3. Couto Magelhães, Selvagem, p. 116.

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/327 cont./

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593 the husband does not eat with his family, but instead
[364] with the family of his married sister, and is considered a member of his sister's family. Secondly, his share of the pro-
[768] ceeds of the day's hunting and fishing, does not go to his own hut, but to that of his sister; and, lastly, if his wife should die leaving dependent children, they are taken in charge by her parents and the widower again becomes one of the bachelors.

587 A Karayá woman is not permitted to marry an alien, unless
648 he will become adopted, or naturalized, into the tribe, and will consent to reside permanently at the wife's native village.
593 The Karayá wife appears to be considered the equal of her husband in many respects, for he never takes any important step in life without first consulting her. Even the village chief divides his honors with his wife. Furthermore, the wife as
[462] well as the husband, has an important part to perform, not only in the family, but in the social economy of the village; though her part is to do the heavy, laborious work, while her man does the light and fancy-work; his only heavy work being to hunt and fish.

595 The men usually have but one wife, though a few have
582 two. One reason for having two wives seems to be owing to the custom prevailing among nearly all South American tribes that the young men marry the older women, and the old men marry the young women. Therefore, when the first wife becomes old, her young husband takes to himself a youth-
163 ful wife. Perhaps this custom of the young men marrying the
[582] older women will account in part for the small number of
[862] children born to these primitive races; though another reason may be that children are allowed to nurse until they are six
171 or seven years of age. The custom of aged men marrying girls fourteen or fifteen years of age is common among the
847 civilized people of Brazil. Abortion among the Karayá is practiced only when the husband demands it. Whenever a
586 couple cannot live together harmoniously, the husband is al-
587 lowed to trade his wife for another woman. If he should drive her away, he will not be permitted to marry another
000 woman, though he may take a concubine. The adulterous

/27 cont./

684 Adultery on the part of the husband is avenged by the closest relatives of the wife.

Everywhere in the social order of the Karaya the endeavor to preserve the peace of family life from any disturbance is prominent. The young people are for that reason kept under strict
836 discipline. Virginity is highly prized and protected (4);
837
[113]

4. Couto Magelhães, Peterm. Mitth., 1876, p. 222.

extramarital intercourse between the sexes is punished with strict
●848 penalties and under certain conditions with death. Children originating from such relationships are not, as among other primitive peoples, likewise killed, however, but rather are turned over to the chief's care, like other orphans.

589 /28/ Single persons, distinguished externally from the married
[291] ones by the above-mentioned cotton bands, are not obliged to
[736] support themselves, but rather are supported by the community.
Bachelors and widowers live together in a special hut and take
[591] part in hunting expeditions only when they please. Likewise, unmarried and widowed women are excused from supporting themselves. They live in the house of one of their nearest relatives.

589 According to a communication from Couto Magelhães, the
736 latter seem to have some freedom in intercourse with unmarried
[836] men: "There are in the Karaya villages men destined to be viri viduarum /men deprived of a wife/. These people have no other occupation; they are supported by the tribe and do not, like the others, undergo the hardships of long travels and raids. To my remark that it did not seem right to me that the community take on the support of these people, Chief Koinama replied that the peace which the families enjoyed because of this far outweighed the effort spent on their support." (Selvagem, p. 116.)

836 For the rest, the unmarried men who wish to turn to the
[725] female sex are dependent on intercourse with the captured Kayapo
[589] women kept in half-slavery, of which among the Šambioa every village shelters at least a few. They are considered common

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

The adulterous
woman is punished by her husband either by flogging, or by 684
torturing with fire brands. It is said that she is sometimes
even burned to death. The adulterous man is punished by
the nearest relatives of his wife. But among these people as,
unfortunately, among the higher races, far greater license is
allowed the man than the woman.

The Karayá seem to cherish an earnest desire to preserve 593
the integrity of the family, and to guard it against disturbing
influences of every kind. Children are reared with strictness 834
and maidenhood is respected; and any transgression of the
tribal laws regarding the relations of the sexes is severely
punished—even with death, in some cases. But children born 848●
out of wedlock are not put to death, as is usually done among
savage peoples, but instead, are, like other orphans, reared
by the chief of the village as his own children.

The unmarried individuals, who are distinguished from the 589
married by the previously described wristlets and armlets,
are not required to support themselves, but are provided for
by the community as a whole. The bachelors and widowers
live together in a sort of "bachelors' hall"—a separate hut—
and participate in the hunting and fishing and other occupa-
tions of the tribe only as they feel inclined. But the un-
married women, while, like the single men, not required to
work, are not segregated, for they dwell in the huts of their
nearest relatives. These females are allowed certain liberties 836
with the unmarried men in order that they may not perturb 548
the married men and their families. They are the village
prostitutes. By this arrangement the single men, on the
other hand, are kept from endangering family life. Women [727]
taken captive from the enemy in intertribal wars, are retained
as prostitutes and semi-slaves. These unhappy females are
the common property of all the men, the married as well as
the single. Captive female children share the same sad fate;
and probably also the children born of captive parents.

We see in these customs, the dualism of the "ethics" of 577
the savage. They are moral, if we may use this term, only
when their own well-being is at stake—when it is a question

/29 cont./

83 2. (cont.)
sursum attrahit, manus natibus ejus supponens. /The Karaya have intercourse with women in the fashion of the native Australians. The man sits on the ground, feet extended, and takes the woman, lying arched backwards above him, his hands supporting her buttocks./ (Cf. Miclucho Maclay, Verhandl. d. berl. Ges. f. Anthr., 1880, p. 87.)

844 Birth. For this the woman kneels on her heels, clasping a post with her hands, while the husband grasps her from behind with strong pressure around her body. Once the child is born, the afterbirth is awaited patiently; then the navel cord is compressed and cut off about three inches from the body with a sharp taquara splint. The blood contained in it is carefully pressed [752] out, "in order to prevent tetanus /Starrkrampf/," and hot ashes and powder from pulverized piranha teeth are sprinkled on the surface of the wound as a styptic. Since no ligature is applied, it is not rare that the child bleeds to death. The newborn is daubed with urucú red, wrapped tightly in a broad strip of jangada 846 bast, and laid in a "rede" tied by strings (see p. 19). For three days both spouses stay on a strict diet. In order to make the uterus contract, the wife lies down on her back and has her abdomen pressed together for a couple of hours by her husband, who sits next to her, or other persons who relieve him. Some 854 months after birth the child receives the above-mentioned cotton bands.

● 852 At the age of six to seven years the girls' ear-lobes are 304 pierced; for boys, the lower lip as well. The whole community gathers for this. The child sits on a stool decorated with ârara feathers in the middle of a large circle. One of the relatives pierces his ears with spines from the tucuma palm, the lower lip with a sharpened monkey-bone. During this the men stand around [533] and sing a song with the closing verse: idžohä hä haṅ, hä haṅ idžiohä, i.e., "now it has happened!"

/30/

852 304 The wound holes are kept open with cotton threads passed through them and changed often. The patient must fast for one day and is permitted to take only liquid nourishment for some time. The whole post-operative treatment is handled by an older woman experienced at it.

852 301 291 From now on the boys wear the T-shaped lip ornaments of mother-of-pearl, not until later the piuva wood plugs. On this occasion the bast apron of the women is put on the girls.

881 304 [824] [752] With the onset of puberty the young people of both sexes receive the tribal tattooing amid similar ceremonies. The outline of a circle is marked on both cheeks with a stamp made out of a piece of gourd (tešiä). Then the place is cut out with a small sharp stone, and cotton lint is put in the wound. After stopping the bleeding, genipa juice rubbed in causes the blue color of the scar.

881 The first appearance of the period is not celebrated with special ceremonies. The menstruating woman is considered unclean and must live apart from the others during this time. She is not permitted to bathe, but is washed by other women from a gourd bowl especially intended for this purpose.

857 524 Games and dancing. At an early age the children imitate the activities of adults. The boys practice archery and fishing; the girls give their mothers a hand in the household as soon as possible. The clay figures have already been mentioned as children's toys. There are also small tops (kotauä, Fig. 15 /see p. 61/), canoes and oars, cooking dishes, etc. represented in the collection.

Games popular with the adults as well are the feather ball made of corncobs with ring-shaped inset, and furthermore the "game of cats cradle" /cited in English/ common in North America, as is well known, and recently described by Boas for the Eskimo. Strings drawn from hand to hand through the fingers represent certain animal figures by changing their arrangement. /Fig. 15 appears here./

/220 cont./ The hole necessary for receiving the
304 ornament /221/ (idjãrũlãnõ) is pierced in the center of the lower
[852] lip at the age of about six or seven years. This operation is per-
[237] formed with a piece of bone from the howling monkey (ãzõdi =
[463] howling-monkey bone) and by special men, of whom there was only one in the south horde, in Village No. 7. Special ceremonies are not supposed to take place in connection with it, but the piercing seems to take place on the occasion of certain festivities.

*301 In this hole, plugs of bone, shell, wood, or stone are worn. They are regarded as the insignia of the male sex and are never removed, since, as a result of their narrow base, they are no hindrance in eating. Only a few old men sometimes had no lip plug. In barter, a few gave them up without further ado, others hesitated a bit at first and were embarrassed when they no longer had a plug stuck in the hole; generally they immediately made themselves a new one or inserted a reserve plug. The plugs are stuck through the hole from the inside and drawn out again in the same manner.

Ill. 58 a-c.
Wooden lip-plugs of the youths.

Ill. 59 a, b.
Wooden lip-plugs of older bachelors.

The lip plugs are made of different material and in different forms, according to age.

[237] The smallest boys wear plugs made from the bone of the howling monkey. These are about four to eleven centimeters long,

/327 cont./

844 washed once more and again rubbed. After this it is wrapped
845 in a small net covering. Deformed children (blind ones, too)
[847] are drowned in the river by the mother; this is not regarded as wrong. Only well-formed children are raised, even when they are all girls. Nothing could be learned about the treatment of twins;
163 such a case had "not yet occurred." The families, on the average, have two to four /328/ children; five are already regarded as many. There are said to be even more children in one family,
862 however. The child is nursed for several years, and even children five or six years old still run to their mother in order to appease their hunger.

553 Children are given their names at birth by the grandparents
[603] on the paternal and maternal side. They keep these names all
[551] through life. Many Karajá bore Christian names, which were
[997] given them by the Brazilian boatmen; there are said to be only
551 one or two actually baptized Karajá in São José. I obtained quite a number of given names for persons of both sexes; unfortunately, translations of them could not be obtained. It is only in the following names that familiar syllables may be separated out: mãŭzĭ = addition to pottery clay (see above, p. 209); kūlĭ = tapir; ănănlŏă = cat; ănlŭāzĭ = jaguar-zi (zi = egg; possibly misheard for ti = bone). For the rest of the names, see the word list /untranslated; see the foreign text, pp. 454-455/.

852 Soon after birth the children have their ear lobes pierced for the insertion of the ear tulips (kūădjŭ), which are later replaced by the ear rods; it is only later that the lip-hole is pierced for the boys. Both procedures take place without any further ceremony.

291 The boys run about naked; girls wear a black string-belt.
561 It is only at the age of 9-12 that the boys tie the penis up and the girls hang the bast apron over the belt. From then on the boys
301 live with the young men. As insignia the children wear arm cuffs, calf and ankle bands, the latter of which are already removed by the boys at the age of six to eight years.

/9 cont./

142 The bridge is narrow, markedly convex with a somewhat pendulous tip. The alae are usually somewhat drawn up, so that the round nostrils seem to be directed toward the front.

In size the women stand significantly behind the men, but are just as well proportioned. Their figures tend to be somewhat full in their youth. Almost all the younger individuals have uncommonly delicate hands and feet and a perfect form of the bust, but, like [853] all Indian women, they lose their charms very early; in particular the long breast-feeding causes excessive lengthening of the [481] breasts. In the case of older women, the weak development of the lower extremities and the waddling gait of the inwardly turned feet make an unpleasant impression.

The real skin-color of the Karaya is difficult to determine at first glance. Staying on the sun-scorched praias changes the bright yellow-brown of their complexions, which one can still confirm only under their large cotton cuffs and knee-bands, into a dark copper-
302 brown. Even this is not easy to see in the case of many individuals because of the /10/ body painting used to the broadest extent (Fig. 1 /see p. 17 /). People painted black or red from head to foot are not rare. Others combine the black or red color into patterns which almost give the impression of European clothing. Black line-drawings on the face and extremities are the most popular.

302 Used for body painting are:

386 1. Urucú (uareriŏ). Paste made from the red berries of Bixa
[824] orellana.

[824] 2. The blue-black dye (beðēna) obtained from the seeds of the genipa (Genipa brasiliensis).

3. Soot. This is either simply scraped from the cooking pots and rubbed into the face or, mixed with genipa, it serves for diffuse painting of the whole body.

302 The line-decoration is put on with the fingers or little wooden
413 sticks, the diffuse coloring with a rag.

/28 cont./

836 property and are offered to ships' crews, despite their usually
727 most horrible appearance. Unfortunately, one also sees children used for the same purpose. Here is clearly shown the dualism in
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727 bers of their own tribe. This view, common to all primitive
577 [186] peoples, cannot therefore change our judgment of the morality of the Karaya in general. When Castelnau doubts this, saying,
[114] "Ce fait (the stern punishment of a transgression against morals) est peu d'accord avec les offres qui étaient fait continuellement a nos gens /this fact is hardly in accord with the offers that were continually made to our men/" (Hist. du voyage, I, p. 446), he overlooks the fact that these "offres" concerned not their own, but foreign women.

855 In spite of the lack of external signs of tenderness, which are absent among all Indians, the treatment of the children is very loving throughout.

854 The smaller ones are continually carried about by the mothers and tended with tireless care, hung with ornaments and
853 painted, etc. They are suckled for an extraordinarily long time.

857 Older children are left entirely to themselves, but in spite of this demonstrate a natural decency and a modesty of behavior that the highly educated offspring of civilized men only all too
858 often lack. It would be unthinkable among the Karaya that children be traded to the settlers, as unfortunately still frequently occurs in other regions of Brazil, especially on the Amazon. Upon the founding of the Collegio Izabel at Leopoldina, whose purpose was to train young Indians and settle them later as colonists, efforts to obtain Karaya children for it were in vain. Since they once allowed themselves to be misled years ago, and some were lured away and abducted by force, all the young people as a rule take flight at the approach of a boat and only with great difficulty are persuaded to return.

764 The fact that the animal decorations put on the grave poles
532 (cf. p. 63) are marks of the family concerned or of a wider kin
602 grouping indicates the existence of totemism, or clan formation. To be sure, nothing more precise is known about this, but the family system discovered among the Arawak by Im Thurn (1) may also hold for the relationship prevailing among the Karaya.

1. Im Thurn, op. cit., p. 175.

1:Lipkind E-5 (1937) 1948 SP9 Caraja SP9

78 are the product of intermarriage and formal friendship. Intervillage
628 feuds are common and are restrained only by the religious community,
626 sanctuary being granted at all religious ceremonials.

ETIQUETTE

576 All dealings with visitors are conducted according to elaborate formal
195 patterns. The language is rich in formal appellations, exclamations, and
562 honorific phrases. The most remarkable feature is that women are permitted to behave with perfect freedom, whereas men, until they become fathers, behave with a shy and deferential modesty resembling but exceeding that of the Victorian maiden. Normal relations between members
[522] of the same village are formal and dignified; only in the men's house or on fishing and hunting trips is the behavior of men relaxed enough to permit horseplay and casual joking.

LIFE CYCLE

553 **Childbirth and Childhood.**—The child gets two sets of names, one
551 male and one female, as soon as the mother is known to be pregnant. These
843 are one's own names given by grandparents of both lines. Taboos in
846 regard to diet and behavior are required of both parents before and after birth. There is a well-developed couvade based on the notion of an
● 853 intimate connection between the infant and its father. Babies are nursed
862 until they turn to other food of their own volition; sometimes ridicule is used as a sanction against particularly recalcitrant children. No inter-
854 course is allowed during the period of lactation. Babies are carried on the hip, and sleep with the mother until weaning, when they are paired
[291] off with other children or with a grandparent. The girl child wears no clothing until weaned and then receives a fringed belt.

881 **Puberty and Initiations.**—At menstruation, a girl's cheeks are scarified and she assumes the girdle.

[304] A boy passes through a first initiation at about the age of 8 or 9,
[302] when his lower lip is pierced and a small bone labret inserted. A couple of years later, he passes through a second initiation, when his hair is cut short to a tonsure, his entire body is stained black with genipa, and he assumes the penis cord. When his hair has grown out to shoulder length, it is put up in a braid, and he attains full status as a young man.

885 The next change of status for both boys and girls occurs at marriage, when, for the first time, they take on the responsibilities of regular work.
551 Teknonymy is a matter of pride and follows the birth of the first child. The name is retained permanently thereafter, even though the child should
888 die. At about 45 both parents discard their ornaments and accept the
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/11 cont./

291 Clothing. The men go about completely naked, but tie the foreskin over the penis glans with a black cotton thread, like the end of a sausage (Pl. I /see p. 103/, 1). The women wear the nantŏ, [824] a kind of sash made of the bast of the jangada tree (Apeiba jangada). [287] /Fig. 2 appears here./ Softened in water and beaten and dried with flat stones, it acquires a high degree of pliability and a gleaming white, almost cloth-like appearance, very similar to the Polynesian tapa cloth made in the same way. A piece one span wide and 1 1/2 meters long is placed around the hips, both ends drawn be-

302
531

Fig. 1. Body painting.

291 tween the legs from back to front and knotted below the navel, so that the ends hang down to the feet. When sitting down, the ends are thrown back under the seat (Pl. I /see p. 103 /, 2).

This primitive costume is supplemented by various arm and leg bands which represent a special tribal peculiarity.

854 Soon after birth the lower arm and lower leg of the child are
291 wrapped with heavy black cotton cords (aʒonrubĕ), while a band five centimeters wide and likewise black is put around the body (uaitakaui) (Pl. VII /see p. 109/, 3 and 4).

/11 cont./

854 Some months later the broad, knitted cotton cuffs (deši) are
291 put around the wrists and ankles, while narrower bands provided with tassels hanging down in front are tied under the knee. The former are cylindrical, five to six centimeters wide, with thicker edges projecting out like a hat brim, the latter smooth and only one to two centimeters wide. With increasing growth these bands are gradually replaced by larger ones (Pl. VII /see p. 109/, 6 and 8).

291 The boys wear the ankle bands until after the lips have been pierced, the girls until they marry. The cuffs, which cover almost the whole forearm among the adults, are, like the knee bands, not taken off by either sex until after marriage, and by the women usually
[301] not before the birth of the first child. Upon the death of one of the two spouses, the surviving one puts them on again.

571 The sharp external division of single persons from married ones by such distinguishing marks is deeply rooted in the whole social life of this people, as we shall see later. Other ornamental objects will be discussed below.

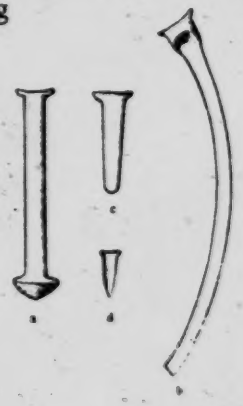

Fig. 2. Lip ornaments (1/4).

291 Also to be included among the articles of clothing is an object quite peculiar to the Karaya, the "riiŏ," incorrectly called "rede" (hammock) by the Brazilians and also designated as such by Castelnau and Martius (Pl. VII /see p. 109/, 1).

[illegible] This cotton plaiting looks very similar to an actual hammock, to be sure, but it is not used as such and is not hung up at all, not
[513] even having any cords for this purpose. It serves, rather, as a cloak by day and as an underlayer at night when sleeping on the ground.

/11 cont./

291 ground. One end is drawn hoodlike over the head, while the other covers the seat. Thus the riiõ is really part of the national costume.

[524] One sees, not only the adults, but also small children /12/ parading about with it, and even the little clay dolls of the latter are not

●854 without it. Mats hung up by strings are used only for cradles for the newborn.

171 The question as to how the Karaya came to have this original

352 article of clothing is of great ethnographic interest. It is well-known that a large part of the Brazilian tribes does not use the hammock. These are chiefly the Gẽs nations occupying the entire eastern part of the country, such as the Kayapo, Akuã, Kaingan /Caingang/, Botocudo, etc., as well as the Bororo corresponding to them throughout, not in language, to be sure, but in their way of life, usage, and customs. They all sleep on the ground or on wooden frames.

Of the other tribes using hammocks, the Karaib /Carib/ make them out of cotton, the Nu-Aruak out of palm fiber.

This situation is so characteristic that the presence or absence of the hammock for a people, as well as the method of making it, is decisive for their ethnographic classification.

[513] Only the Karaya cannot be fitted into this scheme, because they make cotton hammocks, to be sure, but sleep in them on the ground.

[177] This permits one to conjecture that they only recently adopted the "rede" from another people and did not want to give up their old custom of sleeping on the ground (1).

1. Therefore the anonymous author of an old travel report in Revista trim., Vol. 25, p. 251, states correctly: "These Indians sleep on their redes and the same rede serves as a blanket. This idea is neither innate nor did it arise out of necessity. They learned it from someone." /Translated from the Portuguese./

/28 cont./

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/29 cont./

833 2. (cont.)
sursum attrahit, manus natibus ejus supponens. /The Karaya have intercourse with women in the fashion of the native Australians. The man sits on the ground, feet extended, and takes the woman, lying arched backwards above him, his hands supporting her buttocks./ (Cf. Miclucho Maclay, Verhandl. d. berl. Ges. f. Anthr., 1880, p. 87.)

844 Birth. For this the woman kneels on her heels, clasping a post with her hands, while the husband grasps her from behind with strong pressure around her body. Once the child is born, the afterbirth is awaited patiently; then the navel cord is compressed and cut off about three inches from the body with a sharp taquara splint. The blood contained in it is carefully pressed [752] out, "in order to prevent tetanus /Starrkrampf/," and hot ashes and powder from pulverized piranha teeth are sprinkled on the surface of the wound as a styptic. Since no ligature is applied, it is not rare that the child bleeds to death. The newborn is daubed with urucú red, wrapped tightly in a broad strip of jangada 846 bast, and laid in a "rede" tied by strings (see p. 19). For three days both spouses stay on a strict diet. In order to make the uterus contract, the wife lies down on her back and has her abdomen pressed together for a couple of hours by her husband, who sits next to her, or other persons who relieve him. Some 854 months after birth the child receives the above-mentioned cotton bands.

852 At the age of six to seven years the girls' ear-lobes are 304 pierced; for boys, the lower lip as well. The whole community gathers for this. The child sits on a stool decorated with arara feathers in the middle of a large circle. One of the relatives pierces his ears with spines from the tucuma palm, the lower lip with a sharpened monkey-bone. During this the men stand around [533] and sing a song with the closing verse: idžohä hä haṅ, hä haṅ idžiohä, i.e., "now it has happened!"

Plate 12

1. Cooking place of the Karaja Indians.

3. Mask hut in Village 7 (South Horde).

2. Karajá boys.

4. Karajá women and girls.

/Plate 12 faces p. 56. /

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5: Krause--11 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9

Plate 17

Karajá Indians.

/Pl. 17 faces p. 76. /

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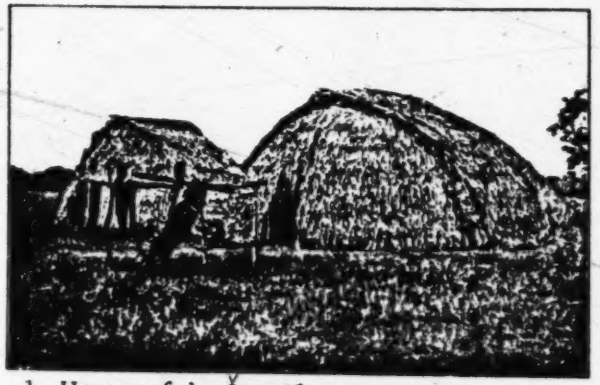
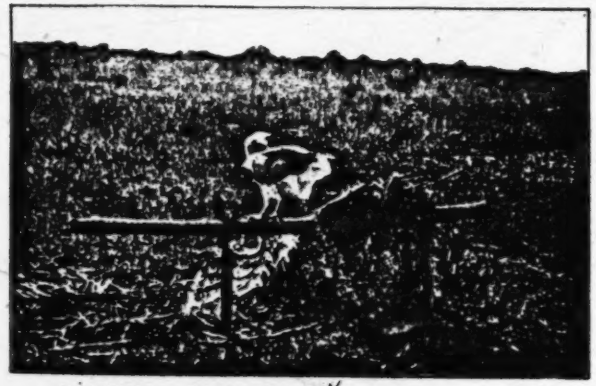
Plate 30



1. Houses of the Šavajé on Bananal.



2. Village bird of the Šavajé.

/Pl. 30 faces p. 136./

3. Šavajé women and children.

4. Šavajé men and youths.

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1. Karajá youths.

[854]

2. Karajá women and children.

/208 cont./

292 The net covering [rī(ī)ǒ, rīŭ], on the other hand, is worn by both sexes at all ages. It is knotted of cotton threads and has the shape of a hammock, the two ends of which are each tied together, but lack the cords for hanging it up. The net coverings of the Karajá are of a solid color; the original white color gradually becomes a dirty yellowish-brown with use. Patterned coverings come from the Šavajé or Tapirapé. They are worn for protection against mosquitoes, against sunburn, against the dew of the night, whether the Indians stand, lie, or sit. The manner of wearing them differs: either one end is pulled over the head so that the covering falls down the back (Pl. 12, Ill. 1), or the covering is wrapped around the shoulders so that the two ends fall down in front (Pl. 9, Ill. 1; Pl. 42, Ill. 1). At night they serve [513] as coverings: the feet of the drawn-up legs, in the side or back position, are stuck into one end, the head into the other end, so that the covering protects the body lying beneath it from mosquitoes and dew. Thus, they are not used as an underlayer, as Ehrenreich says, but as coverings. Small net coverings hung on strings as [854] [114] cradles for infants, such as Ehrenreich mentions, I did not see anywhere, despite the fact that I visited almost all the huts (1).

1. See, however, Šavajé, small net covering /see pp. 314 -315/.

[287] Small plaited mats of bast are worn by pregnant women before and after birth, and, to be sure, in such a way that they are wrapped around the body from the back and held together in front with the hands (Pl. 42, Ills. 2, 3). They serve as a protection against wind and rain. Above all, women with nursing babies take such mats with them when they go out, so as to be able to protect the child and themselves to some extent in a sudden downpour.

834 I should like to add a very few words here about the Indians' feeling of modesty. As far as the men are concerned, I should [177] like to refer to my remarks above about the purpose of the penis cord /see p. 88/; the question is, however, whether the explanation given by the Indians does not go back to Brazilian influence.

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1. Women's clothing and hair style.

2. Karajá women and children.

3. Karajá women and children.

/276 cont./

482 415 Smaller loads are carried in containers on a hand-strap, for example, in carrying sacks (mãsĭ; Pl. 57, Ills. 5 and 6), carrying bags (lōlŭ; Pl. 57, Ill. 4), two-piece baskets (wrābăhĭ; Pl. 57, Ills. 16 and 17), small pouches (Pl. 55, Ill. 6 a-c), or in small gourd vessels, the perforated edges of which hold the carrying-bands or which are either plaited round with bast (dăliliĭkŭ) or are set into a net of black cotton plaiting (wălăbŭkŭ; Pl. 56, Ill. 4 a-c).

●854 Children ride on the hip and are held there with the hand (Pl. 12, Ill. 4; Pl. 37, Ill. 2; Pl. 42, Ills. 2, 3).

50 [484] Their principal journeys take place by water in a boat. The boat (āwŏ), of which there is one or more in each family, consists of a dugout six to ten meters long and 40-60 meters wide. The two ends are greatly elongated and slope up from below, so that getting on and off the sandbanks is easily accomplished (Pl. 56, Ill. 5). The boats have no seats; one squats or sits on the narrow bottom. Sometimes cross-rods are put in, upon which the cargo is placed to protect it from the bilge water. In one place [372] in the boat there is often a layer of loam upon which lies the smoldering wood for transporting fire.

The boats are propelled with oars and poles; both are used in journeys upstream and downstream, the poles, of course, only in shallow water. The oars (nālĭhĭ) are manipulated freely as paddles, and, indeed, the rowers kneel or sit in the boat, their [502] faces in the direction of travel. If the boat is propelled by one man, he sits at the rear end and steers at the same time; with a crew of two men, one sits at the front end and one at the rear; several rowers distribute themselves over the entire boat. In the latter case, the rowing rhythm is entirely spontaneous, since the [533] ones in the rear must adjust to the man in front. The song which young people like to take up while rowing has nothing to do with the rhythmical rowing. There are various ways of working the oars: short strokes with pauses after each stroke; long, evenly spaced strokes; slow strokes with a lifting of the blade at the end, so that the water falls off the blade in a broad surge, are regarded [149] as a particularly elegant manner of rowing. The Indians have great endurance; they row for many hours without interruption.

/354 cont./

184 5. Clothing and ornamentation. In clothing, ornamentation, and body care no essential difference from the Karajá is to be noted.

[301] The men wear the hip cord and penis cord in the same
292 manner as the Karajá. Eye shades were not observed. Net coverings were worn by both sexes; they are made by the Šavajé

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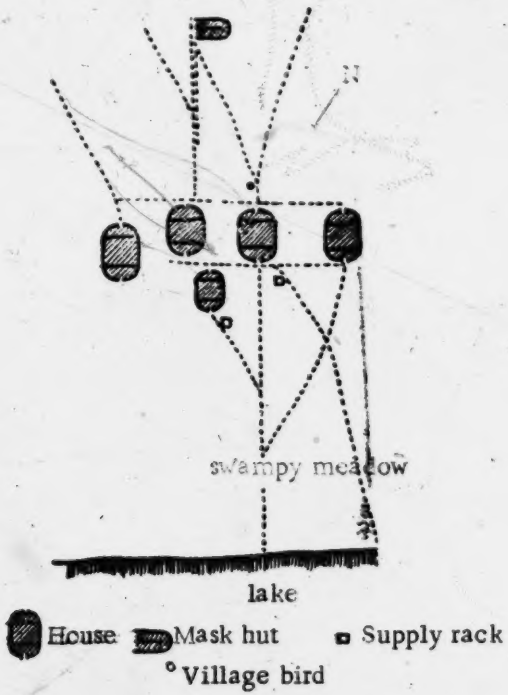

Ill. 188.
Ground plan of the village of the
Šavajé on Bananal.

292 themselves. The manner /355/ of knotting is the same as among the Karaja. Ill. 3 in Plate 59 shows a net covering only 24 centimeters long, which is knotted in the manner of the loose belts
[854] of the girls. Apparently it serves as a bed for a newborn child. Occasionally the brown warp threads of the coverings were shot through with white threads; on the basis of inquiries among the

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca.1900) 1909
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301 [286] fancy. Sometimes, however, these ornaments are woven on a wooden form.

292 513 Another article of dress, which is peculiar to the Karayá, is the *hammock*. It is made of cotton cords. Strange to say, it is never used as a hammock; nor can it even be swung up, as it is not provided with any cords for this purpose. It is only the body of a hammock. During the day, it is used as a kind of cloak, and is hooked over the head so as to cover the shoulders and back; and at night, it is used as a mat to sleep upon, *on the ground*. Both adults and children may be seen going about during the day with these huge, half-open-pea-pod like objects hooked over them. It reminds one of a snail with its shell on its back. Even clay dolls have this hammock cloak. It is, however, occasionally fastened up [854] like a hammock in order that it may be used as a cradle for an infant.

513 171 This *hammock* is of great ethnological interest, because the primitive races of Brazil are classified ethnographically according to whether they sleep in a hammock or do not. It is known that all the tribes occupying the eastern half of Brazil, [352] which includes the Karayá, sleep on the ground, or on slightly raised platforms made of poles; while those that are really hammock using tribes—that sleep in hammocks—make their hammocks of cordage twisted from cotton and palm-leaf fibre. But the Karayá *hammock* is made of cotton only; moreover, it is not a complete hammock and is not used to sleep in. This proves that the Karayá are not to be classified as one [177] of the hammock tribes. We are to understand, therefore, that they got the idea of the hammock comparatively recently from some other people, probably from the "civilized" Brazilians, who make them of cotton only; and though they value them, they are yet unwilling to give up their old custom of sleeping on the ground. A certain Brazilian explorer asserts that [986] he taught the Karayá to make a simple loom and how to weave.

293 Another article of dress used by the Karayá, is a kind of eye-shade, called an eye-umbrella. It is used to protect the

Brazil.

577 of preserving their own health and the perpetuity of their tribe. With them, the abstaining from or checking of vice, is not a question of conscience, or ethics. They do not regard vice, and evil generally, as wrong in a moral sense, but in a physical and utilitarian sense—because they see that it injures them physically and materially. Right and wrong, virtue and vice mean to them simply material well-being or damage—a question of expediency only. Their perception of moral principles is very dim. They possess the innate ideas of right and wrong, as do all human beings, but seemingly in a blind, instinctive, unintelligent sense only, like a child. [626] Though the taboo, or belief that dire calamities will be visited upon them if they should transgress the will of their divinities, exercises a powerful influence on their conduct.

584 Matrimony is consummated by the man in question making known his wishes to the parents of the maiden of his choice. These in turn ask their daughter if she gives her consent. If 585 she is willing, her affianced delivers to her all his weapons. He then conducts her to the domicile of one of his relatives, as he, of course, has no house of his own. Here they both remain four days as guests of the family. The fifth day, the bride is led back to the hut of her parents, following which, she returns to the bridegroom his weapons. As if to prove that he is competent to care for a family, the groom goes on a few days' hunt, returning when he has secured a quantity of game. The marriage ceremony terminates with a bacchanalian feast, given by the bride's parents, which corresponds to the wedding supper of civilized people. The couple may now live together, and a hut is built for them.

855 The Karayá love their children and treat them kindly, though they are stoical and make no display of their affections. This is true of most of the South American tribes. ●854 Very young children are carried about constantly by the mother, and cared for untiringly; and are coated with colored grease and decorated with bright feathers with the same pride and solicitude that the most civilized mothers care ooo for and dress their children. The older children are left to

/28 cont./

836 property and are offered to ships' crews, despite their usually
727 most horrible appearance. Unfortunately, one also sees children
used for the same purpose. Here is clearly shown the dualism in
836 the ethics of the savages, whose moral laws apply only to mem-
727 bers of their own tribe. This view, common to all primitive
577 peoples, cannot therefore change our judgment of the morality
[186] of the Karaya in general. When Castelnau doubts this, saying,
[114] "Ce fait (the stern punishment of a transgression against morals)
est peu d'accord avec les offres qui étaient fait continuellement
a nos gens /this fact is hardly in accord with the offers that
were continually made to our men/" (Hist. du voyage, I, p. 446),
he overlooks the fact that these "offres" concerned not their own,
but foreign women.

855 In spite of the lack of external signs of tenderness, which
are absent among all Indians, the treatment of the children is
very loving throughout.

854 The smaller ones are continually carried about by the
mothers and tended with tireless care, hung with ornaments and
853 painted, etc. They are suckled for an extraordinarily long time.

857 Older children are left entirely to themselves, but in spite of
this demonstrate a natural decency and a modesty of behavior
that the highly educated offspring of civilized men only all too
858 often lack. It would be unthinkable among the Karaya that chil-
dren be traded to the settlers, as unfortunately still frequently
occurs in other regions of Brazil, especially on the Amazon.
Upon the founding of the Collegio Izabel at Leopoldina, whose
purpose was to train young Indians and settle them later as
colonists, efforts to obtain Karaya children for it were in vain.
Since they once allowed themselves to be misled years ago, and
some were lured away and abducted by force, all the young
people as a rule take flight at the approach of a boat and only with
great difficulty are persuaded to return.

764 The fact that the animal decorations put on the grave poles
532 (cf. p. 63) are marks of the family concerned or of a wider kin
602 grouping indicates the existence of totemism, or clan formation.
To be sure, nothing more precise is known about this, but the
family system discovered among the Arawak by Im Thurn (1) may
also hold for the relationship prevailing among the Karaya.

1. Im Thurn, op. cit., p. 175.

/328 cont./

881 With the onset of puberty both sexes have the tribal rings
[304] cut on their cheeks; apparently no further ceremonies take place
561 in connection with this. From then on the maidens wear the
301 complete costume of the women, and the cotton pendant orna-
ment is given the red color instead of the black, which was proper
561 for children. The youths live by themselves; where there is a
591 mask house, they spend the day in it and sleep there at night or
beside a fire in its vicinity. Where there is none, they sleep
beside a fire away from the village. In small settlements with
one or two houses, they, too, live in the house.

855 Parents love their children very much. It is touching to
observe with what tenderness they cling to them, and how, far
from them, they are constantly with them in their thoughts.
When Pedro received the (false) message that his children had
died, he scarcely spoke for hours and even after that he was
noticeably more silent than he had been otherwise. The mothers
play with their small children; I even observed the kissing of
855 children. All conceivable ornamentation is put on the little
301 ones; the older the children become, the less ornamentation is
put on, until, finally, married persons give it up almost entirely.
One woman about 50 years old laughed at her own vanity when she
put chains of beads which I had given to her grandchild around
her own neck and looked down on them with pleasure. This
mania /329/ for adorning children goes so far that they hang
around their necks large pieces of broken colorful porcelain
[842] plates, without being aware of the danger (1). "Boys mean more

1. This custom is already reported for the Šambioá by Rufino in the year 1846 (Rev. trim. X, p. 196).

to the father, the mother would rather have girls" (Kuriší). The
861 father teaches the son, the mother the daughter. Contrary to
other reports, I was assured that beating as a punishment also
occurs. Otherwise I observed only the denial of food as a means
of punishment (in Village 17, because the boy in question did not
go fishing, but loitered around me in the camp).

577 of preserving their own health and the perpetuity of their tribe. With them, the abstaining from or checking of vice, is not a question of conscience, or ethics. They do not regard vice, and evil generally, as wrong in a moral sense, but in a physical and utilitarian sense—because they see that it injures them physically and materially. Right and wrong, virtue and vice mean to them simply material well-being or damage—a question of expediency only. Their perception of moral principles is very dim. They possess the innate ideas of right and wrong, as do all human beings, but seemingly in a blind, instinctive, unintelligent sense only, like a child. [626] Though the taboo, or belief that dire calamities will be visited upon them if they should transgress the will of their divinities, exercises a powerful influence on their conduct.

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6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
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The older children are left to
occupy and amuse themselves entirely as they may feel in- 857
clined. Nevertheless, they show a natural good behavior. [855]
But in observing them, the idea is somehow suggested to one that they are, to some extent at least, creatures of instinct, like irrational nature about them. In common with the brutes, they seem not inclined to go beyond limits whereby they might suffer injury. Just as the wild creature, left to itself, does not need to be governed or restrained by anything apart from itself for its well-being, neither do these wild children, apparently, need the oversight of their parents. There seems to be no danger that they will harm themselves, or get into trouble. They play naturally in a very quiet and restrained manner as if to avoid all possibility of attracting the attention of enemies. To sell children to traders, as is done in some parts of Brazil, particularly on the Amazon river, is unknown among the Karayá.

While still at a tender age, the children begin to imitate the doings of their elders. The boys amuse themselves with archery, and by fishing and swimming; and the girls aid their mothers in the household duties. Children's toys are 524
clay figures, small tops, miniature canoes, and even little cooking utensils, corresponding to the "tea sets" of civilized children. An amusement of which even adults are fond, is to play with a ball made of corn cobs and feathers, and a ring. Another, is a game known to many of us as "cat's cradle," which is the looping of a cord over the hands held some distance apart, and relooping and crossing it over the fingers from hand to hand so as to make it represent the figures of various animals. This game is common among the Indians [171]
of North America.

There appears to be clans among the Karayá. Each vil- 621
lage considers itself one large family—a paternal communistic society—possessing a distinct name, and having a certain district for its own peculiar hunting and fishing ground. The [423]
cultivated land—the little village plantation—is owned in com- [476]
mon, is tilled by all, and the products are divided systematically to each family. A similar arrangement existed among

1:Lipkind E-5 (1937) 1948 SP9 Caraja SP9

pushing aside a door of plaited palm. Every married woman in the family cooks at her own fireplace, which consists of two lumps of hardened clay. Mats used for sleeping and sitting are spread over the entire floor. Wooden stools (fig. 19) may also be found. Bows, arrows, and rattles

FIGURE 19.—*Carajá* wooden stool. (Redrawn from Ehrenreich, 1891 b, fig. 13.)

are shoved into the wall thatch. Baskets, used for storing such things as tobacco, urucú, and feathers, are hung by a string from the ridge poles. Large baskets containing vegetables lie on the ground next to the thatch.

The dry-season house is identical in form but smaller and of flimsier construction. Thatching is looser and the walls are thatched only about halfway to the ground, the north and west sides often being left completely open. The dry-season village is generally constructed on a long beach and, as the site grows dirty, is moved along the beach. The ground plan of the dry-season village is identical with the rainy-season village.

DRESS AND ORNAMENTS

The most prominent facial decoration is a blue-black circular scarification about an inch in diameter over each cheekbone. The ears of infants are pierced and an ornament consisting of a small polished capybara tooth with a feather attached is inserted. A common ear ornament for children is a mother-of-pearl disk with a cut feather fringe set on a blackened thin rod. In a perforation of their lower lips, men wear wood or bone labrets of a variety of shapes (pl. 21; fig. 21, *a*), each assigned to a different age grade; old men use simple wooden plugs.

Men wear their hair long, winding it round a plaited cotton rope reddened with urucú. Women wear their hair about shoulder length.

Armlets crocheted of cotton are worn at the wrists and just above the elbow; similar ornaments are worn just below the knee and at the ankle. These are worn particularly by children and are supposed to aid growth.

/28 cont./

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727 most horrible appearance. Unfortunately, one also sees children
used for the same purpose. Here is clearly shown the dualism in
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1. Im Thurn, op. cit., p. 175.

/30/

852 The wound holes are kept open with cotton threads passed
304 through them and changed often. The patient must fast for one day and is permitted to take only liquid nourishment for some time. The whole post-operative treatment is handled by an older woman experienced at it.

852 From now on the boys wear the T-shaped lip ornaments
301 of mother-of-pearl, not until later the piuva wood plugs. On
291 this occasion the bast apron of the women is put on the girls.

With the onset of puberty the young people of both sexes
881 receive the tribal tattooing amid similar ceremonies. The out-
304 line of a circle is marked on both cheeks with a stamp made
[824] out of a piece of gourd (tešiă). Then the place is cut out with
[752] a small sharp stone, and cotton lint is put in the wound. After stopping the bleeding, genipa juice rubbed in causes the blue color of the scar.

881 The first appearance of the period is not celebrated with special ceremonies. The menstruating woman is considered unclean and must live apart from the others during this time. She is not permitted to bathe, but is washed by other women from a gourd bowl especially intended for this purpose.

857 Games and dancing. At an early age the children imitate the activities of adults. The boys practice archery and fishing; the girls give their mothers a hand in the household as soon as
524 possible. The clay figures have already been mentioned as children's toys. There are also small tops (kotauă, Fig. 15 /see p. 61/), canoes and oars, cooking dishes, etc. represented in the collection.

Games popular with the adults as well are the feather ball made of corncobs with ring-shaped inset, and furthermore the "game of cats cradle" /cited in English/ common in North America, as is well known, and recently described by Boas for the Eskimo. Strings drawn from hand to hand through the fingers represent certain animal figures by changing their arrangement. /Fig. 15 appears here./

/250 cont./

[857] The way such anchored nets are set up is shown by the imitations with which children play (hãděkě). They are fastened to two long end rods; the net is stretched by means of several spaced sticks (Ill. 86). These stakes are driven down in front of the lake inlets, and by stretching the net on them the entrance to the lakes is blocked. From the boat the Indians beat the water and drive the thus frightened fish of the lake toward the entrance into the net, where they are then caught. (Such a device for catching pirarucũ is called dãðlãlũ; see pirarucũ net above.) Other nets (hãnduku[ši]) are allegedly set up along the sandbanks; the carĩ fish, which

[524]

Ill. 85.
[284] Knot formation of the fish nets.

Ill. 86. Barrier fish-net. Child's toy.

swims against the sandbanks at night, is caught in them and taken out in the morning. I never saw nets of this type set up; probably the narrow nets are used for this.

The largest mass catches are made by poisoning the water of the lakes; but this is at the same time the worst plundering exploitation. The lakes are blocked off by fences (liklõ), which consist of driven piles to which palm leaves [824] are fastened. The stems of the poisonous cipo (timbo: ãnzĩ) are placed on a forked stick and beaten soft with another stick, whereupon they are shaken out over the lake and a fine dust falls out. Then they are beaten a second time and shaken out. From the boat a second man stirs the water, which takes on a black coloring. The fish are stupefied by it

/304 cont./

11. Play and Sport.

Children's Toys.

857 868 Children at an early age imitate the activities of the adults: the boys practice shooting, rowing, fishing, and plaiting; the girls, spinning and cooking. Small-scale implements of the 524 adults are used in this. In addition, however, there are some implements which serve purely for play, such as small boats, imitations of the guns, tops, and clay dolls. Other games need no further equipment, such as balls, string game, etc., or are limited to adult men, such as the humming top, whizzing disk, and puzzle carving.

As for small-scale imitations of the implements of the adults, the boys use small bows and arrows, nets, and oars; the /305/ girls, small spindles and clay dishes. Strangely enough, small lances are entirely lacking.

524 411 The bows vary in length. The smallest have a bowstring length of only 27 to 32 centimeters and a very crude construction which does not measure up to that of the large bows. Small, unfeathered arrows of split cane are shot with them (Ill. 160 a, b). They serve for the first shooting attempts of small boys. Larger bows, intended for boys from three to four years old and older, fluctuate between 60 and 120 centimeters in length, depending on the age of the boys. Their construction corresponds to that of the undecorated bows of the adults; only a single bow bears as decoration a white-colored cotton winding with a maize leaf in the center and a feather tassel on the upper end /Ill. 160 appears here/ (Ill. 161). The arrows for these bows in part exhibit types other than those of the adults. Arrows with barbs (fish arrows) and similarly those with a toothed wooden point are lacking. Arrows with bamboo blade points (Ill. 162c) are very rare; on the other hand, those with a round wooden point, /Ill. 161 appears here/ which is 25-40 centimeters long, with a shaft length of approximately 80 centimeters (Ill. 162 a, b), are common. It is noteworthy that the feathering of such arrows in the case of three of my specimens has a character different from the common

/329 cont./

000 go fishing, but loitered around me in the camp). Children obey
593 their parents implicitly, and even adults still unquestioningly follow the advice of their mothers. Thus, Pedro's mother gave him the following good advice on his journey (Pedro was a widower with three children): Do not lend money (Pedro therefore flatly refused the attempts to borrow on the part of other comrades, with the argument that his mother had forbidden it); do not bring back a wife (in this respect, too, Pedro obeyed his mother and refused several attempts at matchmaking); men who run after women grow lean, but a person who eats a great deal grows fat.

Legally, too, parents, especially the mother, seem [illegible]tain authority over their grown sons. For I was obliged t[illegible]uct with his mother the final negotiations about Pedro's taking his children along. I did not negotiate at all with Pedro himself.

● 859 The result of this rearing is that the children are never ill-behaved and seldom quarrel among themselves; they are merry and gay and soon trusting toward the stranger, without being guilty of rude familiarity.

576 In general, great value is put on dignified and polite behavior. In the huts, the members of the family were separately
[126] introduced to me. When, in the evening beside the fire, I wanted to write down their information, they blew upon a chunk of wood and held it up to me in order to give me light. When they were looking for honey on the way, they always brought me part of it in a piece of tree bark.

514 Modesty is part of the Indians' good behavior. Defecation takes place far outside the village, if possible hidden from the
[291] glances of others. When a girl about eight years old was supposed to sell me her string belt, she ran behind the nearest mat wall, put on a new one there, and then brought me the old one. It is only in farting that they are somewhat more negligent. Loud sounds are greeted with laughter or accompanied by dog-barks. In some places this seemed actually to be good form, and one would outdo the other. On the other hand, foul smells were taken amiss; they would all glance indignantly at the presumed offender and would give expression to their annoyance with disapproving bw and hm̃ sounds.

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

The older children are left to
occupy and amuse themselves entirely as they may feel in- 857
clined. Nevertheless, they show a natural good behavior. [855]
But in observing them, the idea is somehow suggested to one that they are, to some extent at least, creatures of instinct, like irrational nature about them. In common with the brutes, they seem not inclined to go beyond limits whereby they might suffer injury. Just as the wild creature, left to itself, does not need to be governed or restrained by anything apart from itself for its well-being, neither do these wild children, apparently, need the oversight of their parents. There seems to be no danger that they will harm themselves, or get into trouble. They play naturally in a very quiet and restrained manner as if to avoid all possibility of attracting the attention of enemies. To sell children to traders, as is done in some parts of Brazil, particularly on the Amazon river, is unknown among the Karayá.

While still at a tender age, the children begin to imitate the doings of their elders. The boys amuse themselves with archery, and by fishing and swimming; and the girls aid their mothers in the household duties. Children's toys are 524
clay figures, small tops, miniature canoes, and even little cooking utensils, corresponding to the "tea sets" of civilized children. An amusement of which even adults are fond, is to play with a ball made of corn cobs and feathers, and a ring. Another, is a game known to many of us as "cat's cradle," which is the looping of a cord over the hands held some distance apart, and relooping and crossing it over the fingers from hand to hand so as to make it represent the figures of various animals. This game is common among the Indians [171]
of North America.

There appears to be clans among the Karayá. Each vil- 621
lage considers itself one large family—a paternal communistic society—possessing a distinct name, and having a certain district for its own peculiar hunting and fishing ground. The [423]
cultivated land—the little village plantation—is owned in com- [476]
mon, is tilled by all, and the products are divided systematically to each family. A similar arrangement existed among

/28 cont./

836 property and are offered to ships' crews, despite their usually
727 most horrible appearance. Unfortunately, one also sees children
used for the same purpose. Here is clearly shown the dualism in
836 the ethics of the savages, whose moral laws apply only to mem-
727 bers of their own tribe. This view, common to all primitive
577 peoples, cannot therefore change our judgment of the morality
[186] of the Karaya in general. When Castelnau doubts this, saying,
[114] "Ce fait (the stern punishment of a transgression against morals)
est peu d'accord avec les offres qui étaient fait continuellement
a nos gens /this fact is hardly in accord with the offers that
were continually made to our men/" (Hist. du voyage, I, p. 446),
he overlooks the fact that these "offres" concerned not their own,
but foreign women.

855 In spite of the lack of external signs of tenderness, which
are absent among all Indians, the treatment of the children is
very loving throughout.

854 The smaller ones are continually carried about by the
mothers and tended with tireless care, hung with ornaments and
853 painted, etc. They are suckled for an extraordinarily long time.

857 Older children are left entirely to themselves, but in spite of
this demonstrate a natural decency and a modesty of behavior
that the highly educated offspring of civilized men only all too
858 often lack. It would be unthinkable among the Karaya that chil-
dren be traded to the settlers, as unfortunately still frequently
occurs in other regions of Brazil, especially on the Amazon.
Upon the founding of the Collegio Izabel at Leopoldina, whose
purpose was to train young Indians and settle them later as
colonists, efforts to obtain Karaya children for it were in vain.
Since they once allowed themselves to be misled years ago, and
some were lured away and abducted by force, all the young
people as a rule take flight at the approach of a boat and only with
great difficulty are persuaded to return.

764 The fact that the animal decorations put on the grave poles
532 (cf. p. 63) are marks of the family concerned or of a wider kin
602 grouping indicates the existence of totemism, or clan formation.
To be sure, nothing more precise is known about this, but the
family system discovered among the Arawak by Im Thurn (1) may
also hold for the relationship prevailing among the Karaya.

1. Im Thurn, op. cit., p. 1'5.

8:Gow-Smith T-5 (no date)1925
SP9 Caraja SP9

535 [344] These costumes are made and kept guarded in a wigwam at some distance from the village, and at the conclusion of the festivities are destroyed. [411] [531] Covering the entire body as it does, the masquerade completely conceals the identity of the dancer, who must not under any circumstances reveal his identity to the women onlookers.

535 562 [358] Women and children are merely spectators and are never permitted to view the dress except when it encases the form of the dancer. The women of the tribe apparently cherish a profound respect for

FIG. 43.—A personator in the Fish Dance.

/328 cont./

881 With the onset of puberty both sexes have the tribal rings
[304] cut on their cheeks; apparently no further ceremonies take place
561 in connection with this. From then on the maidens wear the
301 complete costume of the women, and the cotton pendant orna-
ment is given the red color instead of the black, which was proper
561 for children. The youths live by themselves; where there is a
591 mask house, they spend the day in it and sleep there at night or
beside a fire in its vicinity. Where there is none, they sleep
beside a fire away from the village. In small settlements with
one or two houses, they, too, live in the house.

855 Parents love their children very much. It is touching to
observe with what tenderness they cling to them, and how, far
from them, they are constantly with them in their thoughts.
When Pedro received the (false) message that his children had
died, he scarcely spoke for hours and even after that he was
noticeably more silent than he had been otherwise. The mothers
play with their small children; I even observed the kissing of
855 children. All conceivable ornamentation is put on the little
301 ones; the older the children become, the less ornamentation is
put on, until, finally, married persons give it up almost entirely.
One woman about 50 years old laughed at her own vanity when she
put chains of beads which I had given to her grandchild around
her own neck and looked down on them with pleasure. This
mania /329/ for adorning children goes so far that they hang
around their necks large pieces of broken colorful porcelain
[842] plates, without being aware of the danger (1). "Boys mean more

1. This custom is already reported for the Šambioá by Rufino in the year 1846 (Rev. trim. X, p. 196).

to the father, the mother would rather have girls" (Kuriší). The
● 861 father teaches the son, the mother the daughter. Contrary to
other reports, I was assured that beating as a punishment also
occurs. Otherwise I observed only the denial of food as a means
of punishment (in Village 17, because the boy in question did not
go fishing, but loitered around me in the camp).

1:Lipkind E-5 (1937) 1948 SP9 Caraja SP9

78 are the product of intermarriage and formal friendship. Intervillage
628 feuds are common and are restrained only by the religious community,
626 sanctuary being granted at all religious ceremonials.

ETIQUETTE

576 All dealings with visitors are conducted according to elaborate formal
195 patterns. The language is rich in formal appellations, exclamations, and
562 honorific phrases. The most remarkable feature is that women are permitted to behave with perfect freedom, whereas men, until they become fathers, behave with a shy and deferential modesty resembling but exceeding that of the Victorian maiden. Normal relations between members
[522] of the same village are formal and dignified; only in the men's house or on fishing and hunting trips is the behavior of men relaxed enough to permit horseplay and casual joking.

LIFE CYCLE

553 **Childbirth and Childhood.**—The child gets two sets of names, one
551 male and one female, as soon as the mother is known to be pregnant. These
843 are one's own names given by grandparents of both lines. Taboos in
846 regard to diet and behavior are required of both parents before and after birth. There is a well-developed couvade based on the notion of an
853 intimate connection between the infant and its father. Babies are nursed
862 until they turn to other food of their own volition; sometimes ridicule is used as a sanction against particularly recalcitrant children. No inter-
854 course is allowed during the period of lactation. Babies are carried on the hip, and sleep with the mother until weaning, when they are paired
[291] off with other children or with a grandparent. The girl child wears no clothing until weaned and then receives a fringed belt.

881 **Puberty and initiations.**—At menstruation, a girl's cheeks are scarified and she assumes the girdle.

[304] A boy passes through a first initiation at about the age of 8 or 9,
[302] when his lower lip is pierced and a small bone labret inserted. A couple of years later, he passes through a second initiation, when his hair is cut short to a tonsure, his entire body is stained black with genipa, and he assumes the penis cord. When his hair has grown out to shoulder length, it is put up in a braid, and he attains full status as a young man.
885 The next change of status for both boys and girls occurs at marriage, when, for the first time, they take on the responsibilities of regular work.
551 Teknonymy is a matter of pride and follows the birth of the first child. The name is retained permanently thereafter, even though the child should
888 die. At about 45 both parents discard their ornaments and accept the
561 status of old age. All the above age grades are named and involve differential behavior and dietary observances.

/327 cont./

844 washed once more and again rubbed. After this it is wrapped
845 in a small net covering. Deformed children (blind ones, too)
[847] are drowned in the river by the mother; this is not regarded as
wrong. Only well-formed children are raised, even when they are
all girls. Nothing could be learned about the treatment of twins;
163 such a case had "not yet occurred." The families, on the aver-
age, have two to four /328/ children; five are already regarded
as many. There are said to be even more children in one family,
862 however. The child is nursed for several years, and even chil-
dren five or six years old still run to their mother in order to
appease their hunger.

553 Children are given their names at birth by the grandparents
[603] on the paternal and maternal side. They keep these names all
[551] through life. Many Karajá bore Christian names, which were
[997] given them by the Brazilian boatmen; there are said to be only
551 one or two actually baptized Karajá in São José. I obtained
quite a number of given names for persons of both sexes; unfortu-
nately, translations of them could not be obtained. It is only in
the following names that familiar syllables may be separated out:
mãŭzĭ = addition to pottery clay (see above, p. 209); kūlĭ =
tapir; ănănlŏă = cat; ănlŭāzĭ = jaguar-zi (zi = egg; possibly
misheard for ti = bone). For the rest of the names, see the word
list /untranslated; see the foreign text, pp. 454-455/.

852 Soon after birth the children have their ear lobes pierced
for the insertion of the ear tulips (kūădjŭ), which are later re-
placed by the ear rods; it is only later that the lip-hole is pierced
for the boys. Both procedures take place without any further
ceremony.

291 The boys run about naked; girls wear a black string-belt.
561 It is only at the age of 9-12 that the boys tie the penis up and the
girls hang the bast apron over the belt. From then on the boys
301 live with the young men. As insignia the children wear arm cuffs,
calf and ankle bands, the latter of which are already removed by
the boys at the age of six to eight years.

Brazil.

593 The husband does not eat with his family, but instead
[264] with the family of his married sister, and is considered a member of his sister's family. Secondly, his share of the pro-
[768] ceeds of the day's hunting and fishing, does not go to his own hut, but to that of his sister; and, lastly, if his wife should die leaving dependent children, they are taken in charge by her parents and the widower again becomes one of the bachelors.

582 A Karayá woman is not permitted to marry an alien, unless
648 he will become adopted, or naturalized, into the tribe, and will consent to reside permanently at the wife's native village.
593 The Karayá wife appears to be considered the equal of her husband in many respects, for he never takes any important step in life without first consulting her. Even the village chief divides his honors with his wife. Furthermore, the wife as
[462] well as the husband, has an important part to perform, not only in the family, but in the social economy of the village; though her part is to do the heavy, laborious work, while her man does the light and fancy-work; his only heavy work being to hunt and fish.

595 The men usually have but one wife, though a few have
582 two. One reason for having two wives seems to be owing to the custom prevailing among nearly all South American tribes that the young men marry the older women, and the old men marry the young women. Therefore, when the first wife becomes old, her young husband takes to himself a youth-
163 ful wife. Perhaps this custom of the young men marrying the
[582] older women will account in part for the small number of
[862] children born to these primitive races; though another reason may be that children are allowed to nurse until they are six
171 or seven years of age. The custom of aged men marrying girls fourteen or fifteen years of age is common among the
847 civilized people of Brazil. Abortion among the Karayá is practiced only when the husband demands it. Whenever a
586 couple cannot live together harmoniously, the husband is al-
587 lowed to trade his wife for another woman. If he should drive her away, he will not be permitted to marry another
ooo woman, though he may take a concubine. The adulterous

/262 cont./

411 526 171 113

1. (cont.)
the Indians near Rio de Janeiro, in Debret, Voyage pittoresque et historique du Brésil /Picturesque and historical journey to Brazil/, Vol. 1, Paris, 1836, Plate 5.

411 868

Boys learn how to shoot arrows at an early age; I saw boys three to four years old handling small weapons. These weapons (see under "Toys" /see pp. 241 ff./) serve for practice in shooting. First they shoot toward a fixed goal, a soft, cylindrically shaped root about 30 centimeters high and ten centimeters thick, which is set in the sand (Ill. 109). Later the father proceeds to instruction with the movable target. The father rolls a bast ring along on the ground. The boy stands about ten meters away from the father and shoots from ever greater distances into the moving ring. The arrow must remain hanging in the bast. A little boy four years old succeeded in doing this on the third shot at a distance of two meters. This bast ring [(wă)šĭŏlõlõ] is a ring-shaped bast pad three and a half centimeters thick and 18 1/2 centimeters in diameter, which is tightly wound with bast (Pl. 56, Ill. 2). Ehrenreich (Berlin 3960) designates it erroneously as a ring for carrying objects on the head, a practice which is not customary among the Karajá Indians. Later comes shooting at a flying target, with green gourds thrown into the air. Thus, the boys learn to shoot the bow at an early age and in general achieve great accuracy. There were Indians who made almost no missed shots while fishing; there were others, however, who were less skilled.

411 [438] [439]

The bow consists of palm wood. This wood (ŏlōtŏ, wŏālūŏ) allegedly grows only in the Tapirapé region. In any case, the Indians of the south horde, according to their unanimous testimony, obtain their bows or the material for them from the Karajá of the north horde or from the Tapirapé themselves. As a result, I was able to acquire bows only in the north horde; they were precious possessions in the south horde.

The bow is round, often slightly flattened on the front side, tapers /263/ /Ills. 109-112 appear here/ /264/ toward both ends,

[Text Continues on P. 182]

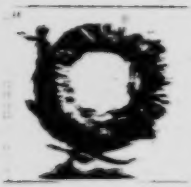
Plate 56

411

1. Archer.

868

415



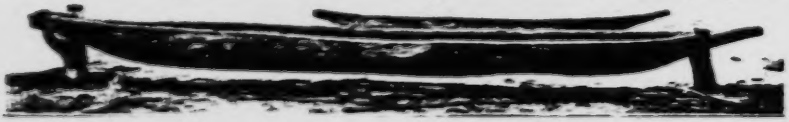
2. Target ring.

4 a–c. Small carrying-gourds.

411

3 a–c. Club sticks.

501



5. Karajá boat on work-rack.

/304 cont./

11. Play and Sport.

Children's Toys.

857 868 Children at an early age imitate the activities of the adults: the boys practice shooting, rowing, fishing, and plaiting; the girls, spinning and cooking. Small-scale implements of the 524 adults are used in this. In addition, however, there are some implements which serve purely for play, such as small boats, imitations of the guns, tops, and clay dolls. Other games need no further equipment, such as balls, string game, etc., or are limited to adult men, such as the humming top, whizzing disk, and puzzle carving.

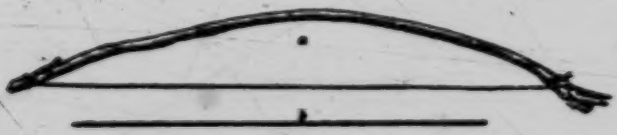
As for small-scale imitations of the implements of the adults, the boys use small bows and arrows, nets, and oars; the /305/ girls, small spindles and clay dishes. Strangely enough, small lances are entirely lacking.

524 411 The bows vary in length. The smallest have a bowstring length of only 27 to 32 centimeters and a very crude construction which does not measure up to that of the large bows. Small, unfeathered arrows of split cane are shot with them (Ill. 160 a, b). They serve for the first shooting attempts of small boys. Larger bows, intended for boys from three to four years old and older, fluctuate between 60 and 120 centimeters in length, depending on the age of the boys. Their construction corresponds to that of the undecorated bows of the adults; only a single bow bears as decoration a white-colored cotton winding with a maize leaf in the center and a feather tassel on the upper end /Ill. 160 appears here/ (Ill. 161). The arrows for these bows in part exhibit types other than those of the adults. Arrows with barbs (fish arrows) and similarly those with a toothed wooden point are lacking. Arrows with bamboo blade points (Ill. 162c) are very rare; on the other hand, those with a round wooden point, /Ill. 161 appears here/ which is 25-40 centimeters long, with a shaft length of approximately 80 centimeters (Ill. 162 a, b), are common. It is noteworthy that the feathering of such arrows in the case of three of my specimens has a character different from the common

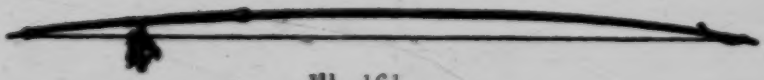
/305 cont./

524
411

type. The feathers are halved and fastened to the shaft by a continuous spiral winding (Ill. 162d); it is similar to the pitch-feathering, except that the pitch is lacking (see also above, p. 187). Bird arrows, which are used to kill birds, are common and consist of a cane shaft pointed in front (mālŏl; Ill. 163). Whether the blunt arrows are used for bird hunting or whether they are supposed to prevent injuries during practice or serve for shooting vertically into the air is not known to me. They have either a lump of wax in front (Ill. 164a), or the entire arrow consists of one piece of cane whose circularly carved root knob serves as



Ill. 160 a, b.
Smallest child's bow with arrow.



Ill. 161.
Child's bow.

a blunt point (Ill. 164b). Inserted wooden-knob points are lacking here, too (however, see Šavajé /see p.323 and pages 328 - 330/). For shooting vertically or diagonally into the air, there are arrows upon whose wooden point is pushed a small nut with a lateral hole (Ill. 165). The weighting by means of the fruit has the effect that the arrow, at the turning point, /306/ turns with the point downwards; I did not hear a whistling sound in connection with the shooting of these arrows.

[868] Targets for shooting practice are, first of all, oblong fruits which are stuck into the sand; later, moving bast rings (wāšiŏlōlo); and, finally, gourds thrown into the air.

/306 cont./

868 501 In order to learn to row, boys use small oars, which in general are similar in shape to those of the adults, but sometimes deviate in the shape of the blade (Ill. 166a). They are 64-96 centimeters long. Only one specimen /Ills. 162-166 appear here/ /307/ showed painting with red and black squares (Ill. 166b). They, too, have two grooves in the handle cylinder.

868 227 For learning to fish, boys use small anchored nets (hãdeke, lãhole) knotted out of bast, which they set up in the water on the edge of the sandbanks; they are mounted on two long side rods and are kept stretched by several vertical struts (Ill. 86). /Ill. 167 appears here/

868 283 Girls learn to spin and cook. They have small spindles on which they twist serviceable threads at an early age. One sees girls from six to seven years old already spinning almost constantly. The spinning whorls are either double-conical clay whorls or wooden whorls that are dome-shaped on one side (Ill. 167). This primitive shape has thus been preserved among the children, whereas it seems to have been lost to the adults.

868 415 Small clay dishes appear in all sizes; the larger ones may actually be used for cooking, whereas the smaller ones serve only as playthings. The actual cooking utensils are partly blackened with soot on the outside, in other words, have been exposed to the fire. Besides the usual forms (pot, Ill. 168a) and bowl (Ill. 168 b,c), other forms also appear: bowl with convex bottom (Ill. 168d), dish (Ill. 168 e,f); a four-part dish (Ill. 168g), the use of which did not become clear to me despite the long Indian explanation of the mother concerned, seems to be used for a very special purpose. /Ill. 168 appears here./

524 415 [184] /308/ All the other dishes are used only for play; some of them are not fired and are so small that cooking with them is impossible. It is surprising in this connection that in addition to the usual types there are quantities of different, almost European-looking vessels, which, strangely enough, all come from the village on the Tapirapé mouth. I did not see these peculiar forms

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 246]

/313 cont./

526 Diving is practiced a great deal; they are very skillful at it, dive for a very long time, and bring up lost objects almost with certainty. It is said that exercises in competitive diving take place, at which the winner receives an arrow. They are equally skilled in

[868] Swimming. Children allegedly are not taught it, but learn it through imitation and trial (like walking). They swim rapidly and with endurance. In one village all the young people swam after my boats. At my request they demonstrated for me the various methods of swimming: the men thrust their right and left arm forward alternately, turning over on the side concerned; the women paddle like dogs, but with both arms simultaneously, that is to say, with both arms closed they thrust them forward and under; girls are said to like to lie on their backs and, with both arms outstretched, to strike backwards with a jerk. According to another report, however, the women are said not to know how to swim (?). In swimming races, the distance from one bank of the river to the other (6-800 meters) serves as the course.

The most popular physical exercise is wrestling. At every opportunity, young people practice it; it then proceeds wholly without restraint. The holds are the same as ours, but interlocking the legs seems to be customary. Injuries to arms and legs are said to occur, but fatal ones only if the person concerned falls on his penis. The opponent is not blamed for this.

[527] When the tracajá lays eggs (August to September), wrestling matches (ĭdjāẑŏ) are said to take place; when there is fishing for the tartaruga in the lagoons (September to /314/ October), all-day wrestling festivals (ănărkăn) take place. On these occasions the entire young male population wrestles. The one who causes the most falls is called dĕrĭdŏ (= chief); he is given presents by the others, such as arrows and the like. A person who has never been thrown in wrestling is called ĭdjāẑūdŭ; he is also permitted to wear the arm cuffs as well as feather ornamentation, like a married man. The designations ĭdjāẑŏ and ĭdjāẑūdŭ are striking; is there perhaps some connection between the wrestling matches and the idjāẑŏ masked dances?

1:Lipkind E-5 (1937) 1948 SP9 Caraja SP9

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628 feuds are common and are restrained only by the religious community,
626 sanctuary being granted at all religious ceremonials.

ETIQUETTE

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LIFE CYCLE

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854 course is allowed during the period of lactation. Babies are carried on the hip, and sleep with the mother until weaning, when they are paired
[291] off with other children or with a grandparent. The girl child wears no clothing until weaned and then receives a fringed belt.

● 881 **Puberty and initiations.**—At menstruation, a girl's cheeks are scarified and she assumes the girdle.

[304] A boy passes through a first initiation at about the age of 8 or 9,
[302] when his lower lip is pierced and a small bone labret inserted. A couple of years later, he passes through a second initiation, when his hair is cut short to a tonsure, his entire body is stained black with genipa, and he assumes the penis cord. When his hair has grown out to shoulder length, it is put up in a braid, and he attains full status as a young man.
885 The next change of status for both boys and girls occurs at marriage, when, for the first time, they take on the responsibilities of regular work.
551 Teknonymy is a matter of pride and follows the birth of the first child. The name is retained permanently thereafter, even though the child should
888 die. At about 45 both parents discard their ornaments and accept the
561 status of old age. All the above age grades are named and involve differential behavior and dietary observances.

/30/

852 The wound holes are kept open with cotton threads passed
304 through them and changed often. The patient must fast for one day and is permitted to take only liquid nourishment for some time. The whole post-operative treatment is handled by an older woman experienced at it.

852 From now on the boys wear the T-shaped lip ornaments
301 of mother-of-pearl, not until later the piuva wood plugs. On
291 this occasion the bast apron of the women is put on the girls.

With the onset of puberty the young people of both sexes
881 receive the tribal tattooing amid similar ceremonies. The out-
304 line of a circle is marked on both cheeks with a stamp made
[824] out of a piece of gourd (tešiã). Then the place is cut out with
[952] a small sharp stone, and cotton lint is put in the wound. After stopping the bleeding, genipa juice rubbed in causes the blue color of the scar.

881 The first appearance of the period is not celebrated with special ceremonies. The menstruating woman is considered unclean and must live apart from the others during this time. She is not permitted to bathe, but is washed by other women from a gourd bowl especially intended for this purpose.

857 Games and dancing. At an early age the children imitate the activities of adults. The boys practice archery and fishing; the girls give their mothers a hand in the household as soon as
524 possible. The clay figures have already been mentioned as children's toys. There are also small tops (kotauã, Fig. 15 /see p. 61/), canoes and oars, cooking dishes, etc. represented in the collection.

Games popular with the adults as well are the feather ball made of corncobs with ring-shaped inset, and furthermore the "game of cats cradle" /cited in English/ common in North America, as is well known, and recently described by Boas for the Eskimo. Strings drawn from hand to hand through the fingers represent certain animal figures by changing their arrangement. /Fig. 15 appears here./

/218 cont./

304 [619] The tribal tattooing, which is characteristic of both sexes, consists of two small blue-black circles about 1.2 centimeters in diameter on /Ills. 50-52 appear here/ the cheeks below the eyes (Pl. 14; 16). As the name for this there was given: ŏdĕmăḷūḷĭ, ŏdĕmăḷĭḷŭ, ŏdemărĭnĭ. The tattooing is executed in the following manner: With a /219/ stamp (wālĭŏnă = tobacco pipe) made of aruera wood (kūwăŏ) the circular line is pressed into the cheek with a slight turn of the sharp, circular edge of the stamp (Ill. 52a), so that it remains visible for a long time (1).

1. Ehrenreich brought back a stamp made of the stem of a bottle gourd (tešiā, Berlin 3913).

Ill. 53.
Chief's tattooing. a) man. b) woman.

Any splinter of a smashed flint stone, which is newly made each time, serves as a knife. It is not further worked, but rather one simply selects a pointed, sharp splinter (Ill. 52b shows four such stone splinters smashed by the Indians and said to be suitable). With these stone knives (mănādjŭ = stone tooth), the circle is now cut out about two millimeters wide, the wound washed out with a wet cotton cloth, and then genipa juice is rubbed in, which soon takes on a blue-black coloring. Allegedly the wound is supposed to heal in two days without festering, but in the case of Mauzí, on whom the tattooing had been cut only recently, I noticed that the upper edges of the circle were slightly swollen. When the tattooing is still new, it is deep, has sharp edges, and has a very dark color. With age it forms a scar, gradually becomes entirely flat, and the color disappears. In a village of the north horde I also observed a man with red-colored tattooing.

[881] The tattooing is incised with the onset of puberty, namely, between the ages of 12 and 14. I occasionally, however, found

/219 cont./

304 the two circles drawn with black color on small children. In
881 the case of boys, the time is determined according to when, after the last cropping, the hair reaches down to the tip of the nose in front and to the shoulders in back.

304 The tattooing is done by special persons who own stamps
463 and stone knives and are called wairădŭ. There was only one such person in the south horde (in Village 6), whereas in the north horde there were several (for example, Ilk in Village 13). They are paid for this operation. No ceremonies of any kind are said to take place, and the children are not always tattooed together, but also singly on occasion, whenever one happens to be able to get hold of the master.

304 The chief's tattooing, which is characteristic of chiefs
[622] and their wives, consists of vertical black strokes between the lower lip and the lower edge of the face, which are arranged side by side in one or sometimes also in two lines, one above the other (Ill. 53 a, b). According to Kurĭĭ, this tattooing is supposed to be peculiar to women. Even girls are said to have such lines of blue dots on the chin, which is supposed to be regarded as very beautiful. I never observed this last phenomenon, however.

515 /220/ e) Body care. The Indians bathe a great deal; usually they take a bath early in the morning, and even during the day they plunge into the water whenever they feel like it, in most cases probably to cool off by means of the subsequent evaporation of the water in drying.

515 Two plant products serve as soap in washing; first, a
824 bark (ŭăbăkă = sabão do matto), from which one scrapes off a
388 little, /Ills. 54-57 appear here/, rubs this in water, and washes himself with the lather thus produced; then there is a tree bast (dŏŭ) which is also used as soap for cleansing.

302 The rubbing of the body, the arms, and especially the
824 hair with the fragrant resin (ăndĭlă) of the almecegeira (Hedwigia balsamifera), which is ordinarily stored in gourds, is very popular.

/221 cont./

*301 taper to a point at the bottom, and at the top have a wider end which rests against the inner side of the lower lip as a support [237] (Ill. 54 a, b). Bigger boys use plugs made of mussel shell (ĩdjé). The mussel used for this is the thin, two-pointed mussel (Pl. 45, Ill. 1c), which was called ĩdjé /Ill. 59 appears here/ or k(ã)dãlã. Also, according to Pedro, lip plugs called djãlãpũ are made from the thick, triangular mussel (bũlũ, Pl. 45, Ill. 1a). He maintained that I had such plugs in my collection; /222/ the name was never given to me otherwise, however. Apparently a number of shell plugs are actually made out of this mussel. The plugs made out of the two-pointed shell have a mother-of-pearl sheen, are flat and narrow, rod or wedge-shaped, and usually have a wide

Ill. 60 a-d.
Wooden lip-plugs of the men.

support (Ill. 55 a-e). Plugs made out of the triangular shell on the other hand, have a white sheen and are thick, and usually taper down to a curved point or exhibit curved forms (Ill. 56 a-c; see also Pl. 12, Ill. 2).

Boys at an age just before puberty sometimes wear spirally rolled plugs made out of narrow strips of wood (õdũhõ, Ill. 57).

[881] With the incising of the tribal tattooing the youths change [824] over to lip plugs of wood (õdũhõ) (according to Ehrenreich, made out of the light wood of the piuva tree). At first they like to wear huge wooden lamellae. The largest specimen of my collection is 25 centimeters long by two centimeters wide (Ill. 58a); such lip plugs reach down to the chest (Pl. 43, Ill. 1). At the lower transverse edge these lamellae usually run out to a small point. The older people become, the shorter the plugs they wear; the

/328 cont./

881 With the onset of puberty both sexes have the tribal rings
[304] cut on their cheeks; apparently no further ceremonies take place
561 in connection with this. From then on the maidens wear the
301 complete costume of the women, and the cotton pendant orna-
ment is given the red color instead of the black, which was proper
561 for children. The youths live by themselves; where there is a
591 mask house, they spend the day in it and sleep there at night or
beside a fire in its vicinity. Where there is none, they sleep
beside a fire away from the village. In small settlements with
one or two houses, they, too, live in the house.

855 Parents love their children very much. It is touching to
observe with what tenderness they cling to them, and how, far
from them, they are constantly with them in their thoughts.
When Pedro received the (false) message that his children had
died, he scarcely spoke for hours and even after that he was
noticeably more silent than he had been otherwise. The mothers
play with their small children; I ever observed the kissing of
855 children. All conceivable ornamentation is put on the little
301 ones; the older the children become, the less ornamentation is
put on, until, finally, married persons give it up almost entirely.
One woman about 50 years old laughed at her own vanity when she
put chains of beads which I had given to her grandchild around
her own neck and looked down on them with pleasure. This
mania /329/ for adorning children goes so far that they hang
around their necks large pieces of broken colorful porcelain
[842] plates, without being aware of the danger (1). "Boys mean more

1. This custom is already reported for the Šambioá by Rufino in the year 1846 (Rev. trim. X, p. 196).

to the father, the mother would rather have girls" (Kuriší). The
861 father teaches the son, the mother the daughter. Contrary to
other reports, I was assured that beating as a punishment also
occurs. Otherwise I observed only the denial of food as a means
of punishment (in Village 17, because the boy in question did not
go fishing, but loitered around me in the camp).

1:Lipkind E-5 (1937) 1948 SP9 Caraja SP9

are the product of intermarriage and formal friendship. Intervillage feuds are common and are restrained only by the religious community, sanctuary being granted at all religious ceremonials.

ETIQUETTE

All dealings with visitors are conducted according to elaborate formal patterns. The language is rich in formal appellations, exclamations, and honorific phrases. The most remarkable feature is that women are permitted to behave with perfect freedom, whereas men, until they become fathers, behave with a shy and deferential modesty resembling but exceeding that of the Victorian maiden. Normal relations between members of the same village are formal and dignified; only in the men's house or on fishing and hunting trips is the behavior of men relaxed enough to permit horseplay and casual joking.

LIFE CYCLE

Childbirth and Childhood.—The child gets two sets of names, one male and one female, as soon as the mother is known to be pregnant. These are one's own names given by grandparents of both lines. Taboos in regard to diet and behavior are required of both parents before and after birth. There is a well-developed couvade based on the notion of an intimate connection between the infant and its father. Babies are nursed until they turn to other food of their own volition; sometimes ridicule is used as a sanction against particularly recalcitrant children. No intercourse is allowed during the period of lactation. Babies are carried on the hip, and sleep with the mother until weaning, when they are paired off with other children or with a grandparent. The girl child wears no clothing until weaned and then receives a fringed belt.

Puberty and Initiations.—At menstruation, a girl's cheeks are scarified and she assumes the girdle.

A boy passes through a first initiation at about the age of 8 or 9, when his lower lip is pierced and a small bone labret inserted. A couple of years later, he passes through a second initiation, when his hair is cut short to a tonsure, his entire body is stained black with genipa, and he assumes the penis cord. When his hair has grown out to shoulder length, it is put up in a braid, and he attains full status as a young man. The next change of status for both boys and girls occurs at marriage, when, for the first time, they take on the responsibilities of regular work. Teknonymy is a matter of pride and follows the birth of the first child. The name is retained permanently thereafter, even though the child should die. At about 45 both parents discard their ornaments and accept the status of old age. All the above age grades are named and involve differential behavior and dietary observances.

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9:Gow-Smith T-5 (no date) 1925
SP9 Caraja SP9
Cayapo SP11

C Co 411 224 [226] [227]

to bleed freely in order that it will weaken before it can travel far. Barbed arrows are used for killing monkeys and shooting fish. The tail of the sting-ray is also used for tipping arrows.

C 411 [222] 682 808

Co [534] [531]

C [531]

Fig. 99.—Cayapó rattle

Formidable objects are the clubs that the Caraja tribesmen use to kill captives, as well as members of their own tribe who have broken taboo or who are too old to make the periodic migrations. These clubs vaguely resemble a baseball bat, except that they are heavier and a trifle thicker at the end. They are made of hard-wood, the long handle decorated with a beautiful covering of black and white woven canework in designs similar to those of the spears, and the heavy end is stained a sinister red with the juice of the urucú-berry and the blood of its victim.

C [386]

Co 411

The Cayapó clubs are of the same heavy wood,